

Italienische Fayencen der Renaissance

Ihre Spuren in internationalen
Museumssammlungen

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The Maiolica-Painter Francesco Durantino: Mobility and Collaboration in Urbino „istoriato”

Dedicated to Johanna Lessmann

The starting-point of my contribution (figs 1, 2) is the shallow bowl („coppa”)¹ with Pomona that serves

¹ The foot has probably not been broken by chance but deliberately cut off to facilitate fitting the dish into a frame. From the 17th to the 19th century framing „istoriato” maiolica to hang on the wall was common. The earliest inventory reference to framed maiolica I have found is in the inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Mazarin made after his death in 1661: Gabriel-Jules de Cosnac: *Les richesses du Palais Mazarin*. Paris 1884, pp. 358-360; Patrick Michel: *Mazarin prince des collectionneurs*. Paris 1999, pp. 495-496. Suzanne Higgott is preparing a study of the history of the framing of maiolica to be published in the *Journal of the History of Collections* in 2003. See also Postscript.

as the cover illustration to Silvia Glaser's catalogue of the interesting collection of Italian maiolica in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum². This is an object of individuality and charm, which serves as a warning about too facile attribution of „istoriato” maiolica to a place of production. It is evidently a work of the „scuola urbinata”, and were we unable to associate it with a particular painter, it would probably be attributed without much hesitation to Urbino, or more cautiously to the Duchy of Urbino.

² Silvia Glaser: *Majolika. Die italienischen Fayencen im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*. Bestandskatalog. Nürnberg 2000, no. 193.



Fig. 1 Shallow bowl with „Pomona”, Monte Bagnolo, by Francesco Durantino, dated 1548 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. LGA 4395. Diam: 22.8 cm



Fig. 2 Reverse of fig. 1, with trimmed foot. The inscription reads: *pomona dea d[e] gli orti* (Pomona goddess of gardens) 1548



Fig. 3 Plate with „The Giants attacked with thunderbolts by Jupiter“
Urbino, Francesco Durantino in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1543
Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, inv. Ke 6699. Diam: 45.8 cm

However, it was not made in Urbino, or even in the Duchy of Urbino. It is instead a characteristic work of a man who was one of the most individual, prolific, and influential of Urbino maiolica painters, and at the same time epitomizes the „diaspora” of ceramic artists who went from Urbino and Castel Durante to take their skills further afield.

The style of the painting is distinctive. Characteristic are the muscular naked body, the fluid painting of swirling drapery, and the lyrical landscape. Even more easily recognizable are the painting of the eyes, which seem cast up to Heaven, and the exaggeratedly expressive open mouth. The handwriting on the back occurs on many pieces similar in style, and (though there exist several demonstrable instances³ of inscriptions on Urbino „istoriato” being written by someone who had not painted the front of the dish) is certainly the painter's own.

This painter's works are abundant and, thanks to his signed works and a group of archival documents, we know as much about him as we do about any „istoriato” painter of the 16th century. His name was Francesco di Berardino

(i.e. son of Berardino or Bernardino⁴) and, because he was originally from the town of Castel Durante, he signed himself „Francesco Durantino”. Although I have been interested in this painter for nearly twenty years, the present article is a provisional study, which I expect future archival and other research may enhance, develop, and perhaps in some respects contradict. The groundwork⁵ for serious study of Francesco was laid in Johanna Lessmann's 1979 catalogue of the maiolica in Braunschweig⁶.

There are five surviving works known to me with dates in the 1540s, which are signed or initialled by Francesco, as follows:

1. A large plate in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna, dated 1543, is painted with „The Giants attacked with thunderbolts by Jupiter” (figs 3, 4)⁷. The ultimate source of the complicated composition is the fresco by Perino del Vaga in the Salone dei Giganti in the Palazzo Doria in Genoa, and Francesco probably used an engraving from the circle of Marcantonio, which accurately reproduces the figures in Perino's ceiling. He has treated his source with confidence and freedom, moving, adapting, and adding figures to fit the circular composition, and inserting the trees. The stylistic characteristics of the Pomona are readily recognizable – the thick, muscular naked bodies, the open mouths and cast-up eyes, the swirling drapery.

The subject, as stated by Francesco in the inscription, is from book 1 of Ovid's „Metamorphoses” and the wording echoes the chapter heading („De gli giganti fulminati & mutate in simie”) to chapter 15 of book 1 of Ovid's „Metamorphoses” in the Italian allegorised paraphrase by Giovanni Bonsignori, an illustrated edition of which had

³ See, among other instances, Timothy Wilson: *Italian Maiolica of the Renaissance*. Milan 1996, nos 116 and 117, for two „istoriato” plates seemingly „en suite” and painted by the same hand, but with different handwritings on the back.

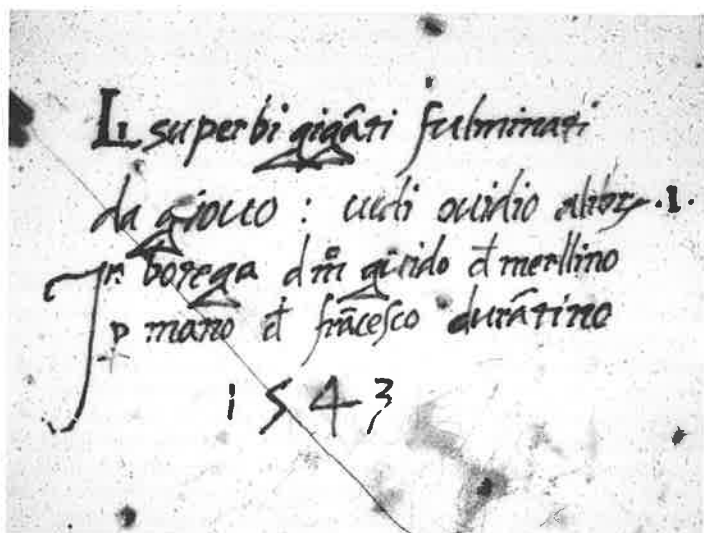


Fig. 4 Reverse of fig. 3. The inscription reads: *Li superbi giganti fulminati da giove: vedi ovidio alibr. I. In botega d[i] mo guido d[i] merllino p[er] mano di fr[ancesco] durantino* (The proud Giants attacked with thunderbolts by Jupiter. See Ovid, book I. In the workshop of Guido di Merlino, by the hand of Francesco Durantino) and the date 1543

⁴ According to Giuliana Gardelli: *Italika. Maiolica italiana del Rinascimento*. Saggi et Studi. Faenza 1999, p. 281, n. 1. Berardino is a variant of Bernardino; this has been confirmed to me by Monsignor Franco Negroni.

⁵ For previous work on Francesco, see Vivian Scheidemantel: *An Italian Majolica Wine Cooler in: Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Studies*, 3. Chicago 1968, pp. 42–62; Johanna Lessmann: *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Italienische Majolika. Katalog der Sammlung*. Braunschweig 1979, p. 183; Carola Fiocco/Gabriella Gherardi: *Maioliche ombre del secolo XVI. Orvieto, Gubbio, Montebagnolo (Lo Specchio del Bargello)*, 36. Florence 1991, pp. 10–15; Timothy Wilson: *Renaissance Ceramics*. In: *Systematic Catalogue of the National Gallery of Art: Western Decorative Arts, Part 1*. Washington DC/Cambridge 1993, pp. 223–225; G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 275–277; Timothy Wilson: *Catalogue entries*. In: *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo. Exhib. Cat. Palazzo Te. Mantua 2001*, p. 214.

⁶ The present article is offered in affectionate tribute to this superlative maiolica scholar.

⁷ Faenza, 29, 1941, pl. XXIIIa; Angelica Alverà Bortolotto: *Maiolica a Venezia nel Rinascimento*. Bergamo 1988, p. 52; T. Wilson, *Renaissance Ceramics* (note 5), p. 224.



Fig. 5 Shallow bowl on low foot with an unidentified subject
Urbino, Francesco Durantino,
perhaps in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1543
Glasgow, City Museums and Art Galleries,
inv. 05.114b. Diam: 27 cm

been printed in Venice in 1497⁸; this and the subsequent editions in prose and verse became the favourite quarry for Urbino maiolica painters. Francesco often includes specific „bibliographical” citations from vernacular editions of Ovid and Livy like this in the inscriptions on the back of his plates; it was a habit that had been introduced onto Urbino maiolica around 1530 by Francesco Xanto Avelli.

⁸ „Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare”, Venice 1497; „Ovidio metamorphoseos in verso vulgar”, Venice 1522, and subsequent editions up to 1547. For the bibliography of these illustrated editions of the „Metamorphoses”, see Bodo Guthmüller: *Ovidio Metamorphoseos Vulgare* (Veröffentlichung zur Humanismusforschung, 3). Boppard am Rhein 1981; Victor Massena Prince d’Essling: *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*. Florence/Paris 1907-1914, vol. 1, pp. 223-236. For their use on maiolica, see Timothy Wilson: *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance*. Exhib.Cat. British Museum. London 1987, pp. 113 and 137; *L’istoriato. Libri a stampa e maioliche italiane del Cinquecento*. Exhib.Cat. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Faenza 1993. The prose and verse editions both have similar headings to this episode, but the fact that the verse edition, like Francesco’s inscription, has no chapter headings, makes it in this case the more likely source.

The inscription informs us that the plate was painted by Francesco in the workshop of Guido di Merlino⁹. This important workshop was located in the San Polo district of Urbino, a few hundred metres south of the Ducal Palace, near the Porta Santa Maria. It was close to the workshop owned by Guido Durantino, alias Guido Fontana. Recent work by John Mallet, and in the Urbino archives by Giuliana Gardelli, has added to our knowledge of what was, probably, after that of Guido Durantino and his son Orazio Fontana,¹⁰ the most important „istoriato”-producing workshop in Urbino around the middle of the century¹¹. Guido di Merlino is mentioned in documents between 1523 and 1564; he was one of the most prominent workshop owners in Urbino in this period, and his workshop seems, as we shall see, to have made a speciality of large and elaborate „istoriato” dishes with Classical subjects. Guido owned the workshop; but there are no works signed by him as painter, so we have no way of knowing if he was himself a painter of „istoriato”.

2. In the City Art Gallery in Glasgow¹² is a plate with an unidentified subject and coat of arms, dated 1543 and inscribed „FD” (figs 5, 6). The exaggerated musculature,

⁹ For a conspectus of information on Guido di Merlino, see J. Lessmann (note 5), p. 175; T. Wilson, *Renaissance Ceramics* (note 5), p. 225; John V. G. Mallet: *Au musée de Céramique de Sèvres: majoliques historiées provenant de deux ateliers de la renaissance*. In: *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 1996, pp. 52-53; and, with much valuable new documentation, G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 233-243. His name is given in documents as Guido Benedetti Merlino; this probably means that Guido was the son of Benedetto and that the family used the surname Merlino. See also T. Wilson (note 3), pp. 266-267 (this book, printed in 1996, was, for reasons beyond my control, not put into distribution. Copies are available for public consultation at the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza, the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, the Musée national de Céramique at Sèvres, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

¹⁰ For the Durantino/Fontana workshop, see John V. G. Mallet: *In Bottega di Maestro Guido Durantino in Urbino*. In: *Burlington Magazine*, 129, 1987, pp. 284-298.

¹¹ Among documents mentioning Guido, mostly assembled by Gardelli, who was able to draw on the knowledge of Franco Negroni, are a 1523 contract with the Duke of Urbino for tiles (note 10, p. 287); a 1530 boycott of certain painters by workshop owners including Guido, see Franco Negroni: *Niccolò Pellipario: ceramista fantasma*. In: *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* (Urbino), 14, 1985, p. 18, and Julia Triolo: *The Armorial Maiolica of Francesco Xanto Avelli* (Ph. D. Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1996), pp. 388-389 for a full transcript; compare J. Mallet (note 10), p. 286; a contract in 1536 for Cesare Cari, a painter from Faenza, to work for Guido, see Pungileoni. In: *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi*. Ed. by Giuliano Vanzolini. Pesaro 1879, vol. 1, p. 336; a contract of 1537 to take on Paolo di Marino as an apprentice maiolica-painter, an order for „istoriato” and other wares in 1538 for two Genoese residents at Palermo, see G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 235-239, correcting the date of 1558 given by Pungileoni, in: G. Vanzolini, p. 336; another in 1540, see G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 238-240; a contract to employ Paolo di Marino in 1540; and a contract to supply maiolica in 1547, see G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 241-242; further archival citations in 1555 (seemingly marking Guido’s retirement from running the workshop) and 1564.

¹² Simon Olding: *Italian Maiolica*. Glasgow Museums Art Galleries, 1982,



Fig. 6 Reverse of fig. 5, inscribed .F.D. 1543

the drapery, the upcast eyes and open mouth of the figure second from the right, and the manner of painting the landscape, all confirm this as a work by Francesco. The figures, as noted by Mallet, echo Marcantonio-school engravings, but no source for the composition has been identified.

3. A large basin (figs 7, 8) and its accompanying ewer (fig. 9), both with an unidentified impaled coat of arms, belong to the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, and are exhibited at Schloss Güstrow¹³. They show episodes of the Punic Wars, the victory of Marcus Silanus over the Carthaginian forces of Hasdrubal in 207 BC, as described at the beginning of Book 28 of Livy. The basin is signed as made by Francesco in the

no. 47; J. Mallet (note 9), p. 56, with discussion of the iconographical sources. Formerly in the Fountaine collection, Narford Hall, Norfolk; Catalogue of the Celebrated Fountaine Collection of Majolica, Henri II. ware, Palissy ware, Limoges enamels ... Removed from Narford Hall, Norfolk, Christie's, London, 16-19 June 1884, lot 331. The arms are "azure two lions rampant or supporting a tree, in base two swords crossed in saltire".

¹³ A. Alverà Bortolotto (note 7), p. 53; J. Mallet (note 9), p. 53; Karin Annette Möller: Italienische Majolika in Schwerin. In: Von Venedig bis Neapel. Renaissance und Barock in Italien. Sammlungen, Malerei, Zeichnung, Plastik, Majolika, Staatliches Museum Schwerin. Schwerin 1999, pp. 33-35 and 263. I have not examined these pieces myself and the last figure of the date is not completely clear in photographs, but the date on the basin was confirmed to me by Dr Strutz, former director of the Museum, to be certainly 1544. I owe to Karin Annette Möller the transcription of the inscription on the ewer and the information that the charge in the dexter half of the shield is a green stag's head on a blue ground.



Fig. 7 Basin with „The battle between Hasdrubal and Marcus Silanus“ and unidentified arms Francesco Durantino, in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, Urbino, 1544 Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, Kunstsammlungen Schlösser und Garten, inv. KG 513. Diam: 49 cm

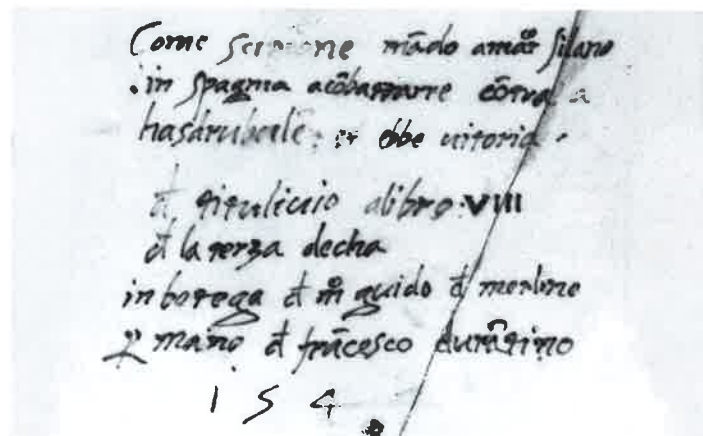


Fig. 8 Reverse of fig. 7. The inscription reads: Come scipione mado amaro silano in Spagnia acobattere cōtro a hasdrubale: et ebbe vitoria. d[i] titulivio alibro: VIII d[i] la terza decha inbodega d[i] mo guido d[i] merlino p[er] mano d[i] fràcesco duratino (How Scipio sent Marcus Silanus to Spain to do battle with Hasdrubal, and he was victorious. In the eighth book of the third decade of Titus Livius. In the workshop of Guido di Merlino by the hand of Francesco Durantino) and the date 1544



Fig. 9 Ewer, accompanying fig. 7
The inscription is stated to read: *marco silano i d[i] tito livio alibro viii la terza* 1544, an abbreviated version of the inscription on the basin
Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, Kunstsammlungen Schlösser und Gärten, inv. KG 520. H: 32.5 cm

workshop of Guido di Merlino and both pieces are dated 1544.

4. The shallow bowl in the British Museum¹⁴ (figs 10, 11), signed by Francesco in the same year, is not stated in the inscription to have been made in Guido di Merlino's workshop, but, since we know that around 1543-4 Francesco was working in Guido's workshop, it is likely that it was. The subject is the mother and son of Coriolanus begging him not to attack Rome. The inscription is derived from the edition of Livy in Italian translation, published with convenient small woodcut illustrations in Venice in 1493¹⁵ and several times thereafter. The woodcut (fig. 12) in the 1493 Livy apparently provided the seed for Francesco's composition but, characteristically, Francesco has elaborated the primitive graphic source in his own style¹⁶.

5. The next piece that one may describe as signed is a fragment (figs 13, 14) dated 1546 in the National Museum, Stockholm, with the subject of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, killing Polyxena (Ovid, „Metamorphoses”, book 13, 448-80) after the sack of Troy¹⁷. The composition is loosely derived from a woodcut in one of the early 16th-century Italian versions of Ovid's „Metamorphoses”, probably the verse translation by Niccolò degli Agostini first published in 1522¹⁸. Above the inscription on the back are two monograms decipherable as „FRANCESCO” and „URBO”.

¹⁴ T. Wilson (note 8), no. 84.

¹⁵ „Deche di Tito Livio vulgare historiate”, Venice 1493; V. M. Prince d'Essling (note 8), pp. 48-54. „Deche” („Decades”) are the groups of ten books into which Livy was divided in the manuscript tradition and in Renaissance printed editions. Francesco tends to cite references in an odd order (eg. „libro decha terta sexto”, for „Decade III, book 6”), perhaps read off the top line of the page, raising the suspicion that he did not properly understand the system.

¹⁶ John Mallet has observed (personal communication) that the child is an addition not present in the woodcut, and that the figure of Coriolanus echoes similar figures on other Urbino „istoriato”. There seems to be some iconographic continuity, not explicable by print sources, and deserving of closer study, to maiolica treatments of the subject of Coriolanus; see Pierre Verlet: A Faenza Panel at the Victoria and Albert Museum. In: Burlington Magazine, 71, 1937, pp. 183-184; Bernard Rackham: The „Coriolanus” dish in the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche. In: Faenza, 34, 1948, pp. 30-34; the version marked as made in the workshop of Guido di Merlino referenced in note 44 below; a plate in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (KHL 48); a plate dated 1546 published by G. Gardelli (note 4), no. 108; one from the Lancieri set, sold in Rouen, Hôtel des Ventes, 23 May 1992; and a plate sold at Sotheby's, London, 21 November 1978, lot 16, and again Sotheby's, New York, 24-25 October 2002, lot 743.

¹⁷ Helena Dahlbäck Lutteman: Majolika från Urbino och andra orter i Italien i Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Stockholm 1981, no. 5. Bernard Rackham: Islamic Pottery and Italian Maiolica. Illustrated Catalogue of a Private Collection. London 1959, p. 145, questioned his own earlier attribution (Bernard Rackham: Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Italian Maiolica. London 1940, p. 286) of the fragment to our Francesco, but in my view needlessly.

¹⁸ Ovidio metamorphoseos in verso vulgar. Venice 1522, and subsequent editions up to 1547. Where a particular edition of Ovid used by Francesco can be identified, it is usually one of the Agostini editions, but his use of sources is so unslavish that it is difficult to be sure.



Fig. 10 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Coriolanus and his mother“
Urbino, Francesco Durantino,
probably in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1544
London, British Museum, inv. MMC 1855,12-1,74
Diam: 26.7 cm

There may yet be other signed works of Francesco to discover or rediscover. In 1879 Giuseppe Vanzolini reported „un bel vaso di casa Patrizi in Roma con fatto di storia sacra e l'epigrafo M[aest]ro Francesco Durantino“. I have not been able to trace this piece¹⁹. But even in its absence, these five pieces, consistent in style and handwriting, provide a basis for attributions to Francesco in the mid-1540s more secure and distinctive than we have for any other maiolica painter later than Francesco Xanto Avelli.

We also have fragmentary but precious documentary information about him. In 1537, a legal document was signed in the workshop of Guido Durantino²⁰; the witnesses were Berardino di Nicola and Francesco di Berardino, both of Castel Durante but resident in Urbino and both potters („figuli“). It has been suggested, but is doubtful²¹,

¹⁹ G. Vanzolini (note 11), vol. 1, p. 139. The reference is not in the original 1846 edition of Raffaelli, p. 33.

²⁰ G. Gardelli (note 4), p. 275.

²¹ This Berardino is described as the son of Nicola, but in a document executed in Rome in 1570; see G. Gardelli (note 4), p. 276. Berardino or Bernardino, father of a Francesco who is apparently our man, is referred to as the son of Giovanni.

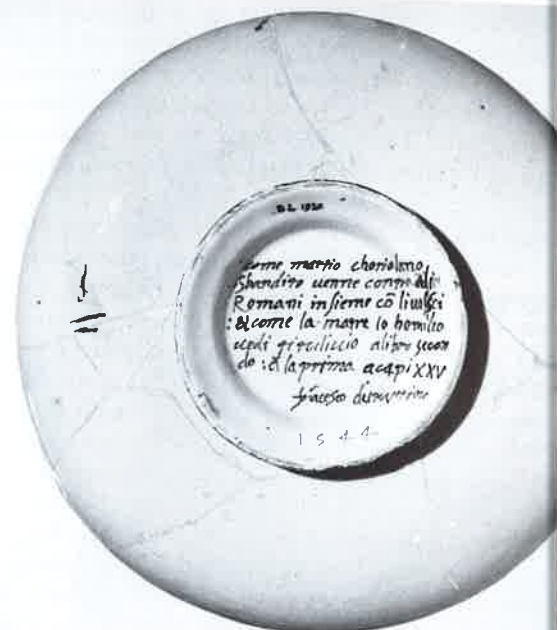


Fig. 11 Reverse of fig. 10. The inscription reads:
come martio choriolano sbandito venne contra ali
Romani insieme cò li volsci: & come la matre lo ho
vedi titulivio alibro secondo: d[i] la prima a capi XXV
frâcesco durantino (How Marcus Coriolanus, having
banished, came against the Romans with the Volsci
and how his mother humbled him. See the second
of the first [decade] of Titus Livius, chapter 25. Fra.
Durantino) and the date 1544



Fig. 12 Woodcut and chapter heading from „Declaratio
Tito Livio vulgare historiata“, Venice 1493, decade
2, chapter 25, London, British Library

that this Berardino was the father of Francesco; in any case the document constitutes some degree of evidence that Francesco may have been working in association with Guido Durantino. It is not certain when Francesco moved from Castel Durante, where he was presumably brought up, to Urbino, or in which of the towns he learnt his trade.

Francesco is a common name and I must here correct confusion caused in previous writings, including my own²². Francesco di Berardino of Castel Durante, known as Francesco Durantino, is not the same man as Francesco di Piero of Castel Durante, whose unusually large kiln in Venice was admired by Piccolpasso²³. Nor is he, apparently, the same man as Francesco di Silvano of Urbino, a potter in whose workshop Francesco Xanto Aveli signed a plate in 1541, and who was Guido di Merlino's brother-in-law²⁴. Confusingly, Francesco di Silvano too was the son of a Berardino, but I am grateful to Monsignor Franco Negroni for assuring me, from his incomparable knowledge of Urbino archives, that they are two different people; that Francesco di Silvano was from Urbino, not from Castel Durante; and that he remained in Urbino after Francesco Durantino had left to seek his fortune elsewhere²⁵.



Fig. 13 Fragment of a plate with
„Pyrrhus killing Polyxena“
Urbino, Francesco Durantino, 1546
Stockholm, National Museum, inv. CXV 693
Diam: 8.2 cm

In February 1543, a contract was signed which gives us unusually detailed information on the circumstances of „istoriato“ production²⁶. The men involved were, on the one hand, Guido di Merlino, and on the other, three potters living in Urbino – Luca son of Bartolommeo, Fedele son of Giovanni, and Francesco son of the late Berardino. The contract was for the collaborative production of large quantities of maiolica. It was arranged that Guido should be responsible for all aspects of manufacture except for the „formatio“ and the „pictura“, that is the making of elaborately shaped vessels and the painting. Appended to the contract is a list of pieces and the prices at which they were to be valued; they include plates and basins of

²² A. Alverà Bortolotto (note 7) conducted valuable archival research and usefully illustrates numerous works by Francesco Durantino, but the text is vitiated by confusion between the two Francescos. There is no reason to suppose any of the pieces she illustrates and attributes to Francesco Durantino were made in Venice.

²³ Cipriano Piccolpasso: *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*. Ed. by Ronald Lightbown and Alan Caiger-Smith. London 1980, vol. 2, p. 64. On Francesco di Piero of Castel Durante (d. 1571), who operated ceramic businesses both in Castel Durante and in Venice and married one of the daughters of the Venetian potter Giacomo da Pesaro, see G. Vanzolini (note 11), vol. 1, p. 139; Corrado Leonardi: *Il pavimento in maiolica della cappella dei conti Oliva*. In: *Il Convento di Montefiorentino* (Studi montefeltrani. Atti dei convegni, 2). San Leo 1982, p. 160; Timothy Wilson: *Maiolica in Renaissance Venice*. In: *Apollo*, 125, 1987, pp. 186-187; A. Alverà Bortolotto (note 7), pp. 27-30; G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 28-31; Timothy Wilson: *Review of Watson*. In: *Burlington Magazine*, 144, 2002, p. 362.

²⁴ Ercole Scatassa: *Vasai di Urbino o che vi lavorarono: contributi alla storia delle maioliche nelle Marche*. In: *Arte e storia*, 27, 1908, p. 168, mentions „Francesco di Berardino Silvano vasaro“. From the identical patronymic, I hypothesized in T. Wilson (note 3), p. 261, that Francesco Durantino and Francesco Silvano might be the same person; and thereby misled J. Mallet (note 9), p. 56. I am grateful to Monsignor Negroni from rescuing me from this tempting but, he assures me, erroneous hypothesis. He informs me that Francesco di Silvano married Guido di Merlino's sister in 1527. For a plate dated 1542 with a monogram including the letters „F“, „S“, „M“, and „A“, and probably others, attributed by J. Mallet (note 9), p. 56, to the „Painter of the so-called Della Rovere dishes“, and by Aurelio Minghetti: *I ceramisti*. Milan 1939, p. 386, to Francesco di Silvano, see *CeramicAntica*, 6, 1996, cover illustration and p. 56; the monogram seems hard to relate to Francesco di Silvano.

²⁵ F. Negroni has kindly shown me a document; Archivio di Stato di Urbino, Notarile, Oddi Vincenzo 463, fol. 23-4, made on 23 November 1550 in the workshop of Federico di Giovanni Antonio, for whom see G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 202-211, in the presence of Giovanni Maria di Francesco of Castel Durante „figulus“ and „habitor Urbini“ and of Francesco di Berardino Silvani „civis urbinatis“. He has also referred me to other documents mentioning Francesco Silvani in Urbino: of 23 May 1530 (ASU, Notarile, Santinelli Guido 506, 1523-61, ff. 35-6); of 4 April 1551 (Quadra di Posterula 111, fol. 10v); and of 10 March 1553 (Mazzanti Marcantonio 605, 1525-61, nn).

²⁶ Published by Ercole Scatassa: *Una fabbrica di maioliche in Urbino nella prima metà del secolo XVI*. In: *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, 4, 1901, pp. 202-203, and in a corrected transcript by G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 240-241.

various sizes, „renfreschatori” (wine coolers), „fiasche” and „boccali” (bottles and jugs), „saliere e candelieri” (salts and candlesticks), and „scarpe”, which I suppose to be humorous vessels in the shape of shoes²⁷. In this contract it appears that Guido, the owner of the workshop, provided the capital and materials, while the three potters provided the technical and artistic skill. All three of the potters are identifiable.

Luca di Bartolommeo is Luca Baldi, a potter from Castel Durante, who was born no later than 1502 and had been working in Urbino since at least 1527; he is prominent in Urbino documents in the 1530s and 1540s²⁸. From about 1550 till his death around 1569 he may be one of the many potters from the Duchy of Urbino who had a workshop in Rome. Gardelli has recently pointed out²⁹ that Luca supplied „una credenza di vasi historiati de Terra da me ordinati” for Cardinal de Lenoncourt, made in 1550, for which the contract survives; and that a flask with the arms of Cardinal de Lenoncourt in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 15) may well be from this set. The document does not explicitly state that Luca painted the service himself, but since we know that he was a maiolica-painter, it seems likely that he himself painted at least



Fig. 14 Reverse of fig. 13. The inscription reads: *Pirro ch[e] da morta ala vergine pulisena p[er] v[er]detta del padre suo detto Achille = d[el] ovidio alib XIII - 1546*. The monograms at the top appear decipherable as *FRANCESCO* and *URBO*



Fig. 15 Pilgrim flask with scenes of the story of Europa and the arms of Cardinal de Lenoncourt. Probably Urbino, possibly by Luca Baldi or an associate, perhaps 1550. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. C2299-1910. H: 35 cm

some of the pieces, and on this basis Gardelli attributes to his hand the flask in the Victoria and Albert Museum. However, a plate with the same arms painted with „Judah and the Canaanites” was in the Pannwitz collection,

²⁷ I do not know of any maiolica shoes attributable to Urbino at this date; a fine Faenza example of a few years earlier is at Schönenwerd, Switzerland, see Giuseppe Liverani: *Un raro cimelio di maiolica faentina*. In: *Faenza*, 40, 1954, pp. 30-33; for maiolica shoes in general, see Tjark Hausmann: *Fioritura. Blütezeiten der Majolika. Eine Berliner Sammlung*. Berlin 2002, p. 128.

²⁸ G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 277-279. Gardelli notes that he was already over twenty-five at the time of the 1527 document. Franco Negroni is preparing an article in which further documents about Luca and his associates will be published.

²⁹ Carlo Grigioni: *Figulini da Castel Durante a Roma nel Cinquecento*. In: *Faenza*, 31, 1943-1946, p. 80; Carlo Grigioni: *Figulini di Urbino a Roma nel Cinquecento*. In: *Faenza*, 33, 1947, pp. 84-86; G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 277-279.



Fig. 16 Plate with „Judah defeating the Canaanites“ and the arms of Cardinal de Lenoncourt
Probably Urbino, possibly by Luca Baldi or an associate, perhaps 1550

Present location unknown

Formerly in the Pannwitz collection. Diam: 36 cm

sold in 1905³⁰ (fig. 16); its present whereabouts is not known to me, and, insofar as one can judge from the available photograph in the Pannwitz catalogue, it looks rather different in painting style from the flask; furthermore the way the shield of arms is painted differs. It is even possible that there were two different orders for the Cardinal at different times. It is therefore hard to say positively that either the flask or the plate were painted by Luca himself, so that neither constitutes a secure basis for recognizing his style.

„L“ seems to have been an inconveniently (for us) common initial among Urbino pottery workers. There exist several surviving ambitious and elaborate „istoriato“ pieces from between about 1530 and 1550, by at least four different painters, which are marked „L“ or „Lu Ur“³¹; „L“³²; „LF“³³; or „LV“; one possible hypothesis might be that two large plates marked on the front „LV“, in the British Museum and in Seattle, might be by Luca Baldi; but I leave this speculation and possible identification of Luca's work for discussion elsewhere³⁴.

Fedele di Giovanni was also known as Fedele Fulmine. I know of only one recorded work attributable to him. In 1850 the London dealer T. M. Whitehead exhibited at an exhibition in London³⁵ „a vessel in the form of a satyr's head, the horns of which compose the handle ... supposed to have been executed after a model by Cellini ... inscribed „Fidelos.Fulminas.Urbin“.“ I have found no later reference to this piece, which it would be desirable to rediscover. Monsignor Negroni informs me that Fedele's father

³⁰ Die Sammlung von Pannwitz München. Kunst und Kunstgewerbe des XV.-XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Helbing, Munich, 24-25 October 1905, no. 254, pl. XXX; sold Helbing, Munich, 24-25 October 1905, bought by Böhler (Munich). The inscription as given in the catalogue, „Judas dux Israelitarii expugnat Chanaanos“, suggests that the painter may have known the „Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones“ by Hans Holbein, where these words are used as the text heading for Judges Book I; but the maiolica composition is not based on the Holbein woodcut.

³¹ The person who signed „L“ or „Lu Ur“ and worked alongside Francesco Xanto Avelli in the 1530s was a ham-fisted painter and one is reluctant to believe he can have gone on to paint any of the much more competent other pieces discussed here; see Timothy Wilson: Il pittore di maiolica „Lu Ur“. In: Fimantiquari, Arte Viva, 2, 1993, pp. 19-31; T. Wilson (note 3), pp. 212-214 and 220. Contrary to what is there stated, a „Luca de Durante“ is listed, alongside Xanto, as one of the „laboratores sive lavorenti artis figulo habitatores in presentiam civitatis Urbini“ black-listed by a group of Urbino pottery-owners in the „lockout“ document of 1530 (Archivio di Stato di Urbino, Notarile, Teofili Marcantonio n. 375, Div. 1, Cas. 17, 1512-43, p. 492); see F. Negroni (note 11), p. 18. I quote from the corrected transcript in J. Triolo (note 11), p. 388.

³² A plate with a „Battle scene“ at Waddesdon Manor (National Trust, the Rothschild Collection) has „L.“ on a rock on the front. In his unpublished catalogue entries on the Waddesdon maiolica, which he has kindly allowed me to consult, John Mallet suggests this plate might be by the painter of the 1536 plate at Princeton, marked as made in Castel Durante; Joan Prentice von Erdberg: Outstanding Maiolica at the Art Museum, Princeton University. In: Burlington Magazine, 103, 1961, pp. 299-305, figs 6 and 8; Timothy Wilson: La Maiolica a Castel Durante e ad Urbino fra il 1535 e il 1565: alcuni corredi stemmata. In: I della Rovere nell'Italia delle corti. Atti del convegno di Urbino 1999, vol. 4: L'arte della maiolica. Ed. by Gian Carlo Bojani. Urbino 2002, pp. 132-133, figs 13 and 14; and also the plate in the Louvre dated 1537; Jeanne Giacomotti: Catalogue des majoliques des Musées nationaux. Paris 1974, no. 994.

³³ A large plate with a Last Judgement scene at Ickworth (National Trust), rather in the manner of the Fontana workshop, is marked front and back „LF“ and dated 1550. A publication of the Ickworth maiolica is awaited from Julia Poole.

³⁴ A plate with „The Conversion of Saul“, after a Venetian woodcut, in the British Museum, see T. Wilson (note 8), no. 84; and a „Marcus Curtius“ in the Seattle Museum of Art (57.50), formerly in the Spitzer collection (Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité, antiques du moyen-âge & de la renaissance composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer, Paris, 17 April-16 June 1893, lot 1154); see the website www.seattleartmuseum.org. Both are signed or marked on the front „LV“. I have not myself seen the Seattle plate, but it seems plausible to suppose these two pieces may be the work of the same painter.

³⁵ Catalogue of Works of Ancient and Mediaeval Art, Exhibited at the House of the Society of Arts. Exhib. Cat. Society of Arts. Ed. by Augustus Wollaston Franks. London 1850, p. 55, no. 537.



Fig. 17 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Jacob's blessing“ Urbino, Workshop of Guido di Merlino, by the „Painter of the Orpheus basin“, 1543
Frankfurt/Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, inv. X.15,602. Diam: 29.1 cm

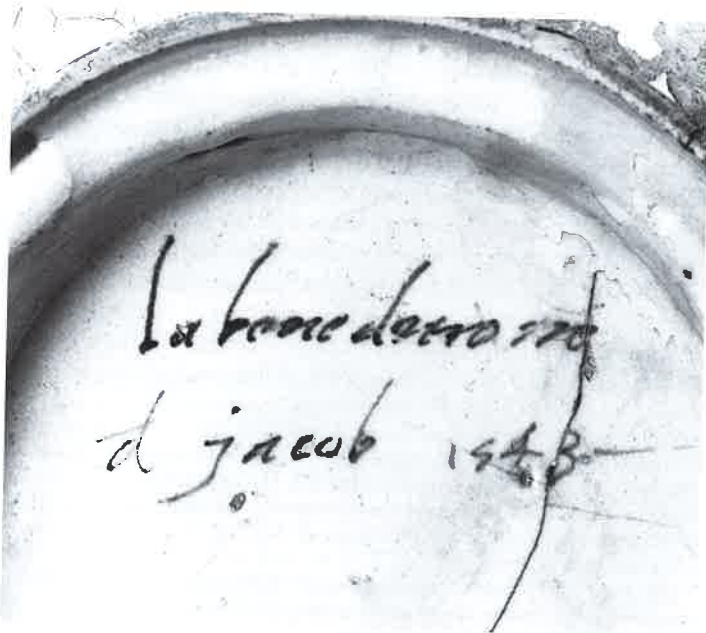


Fig. 18 Reverse of fig. 17. The inscription reads: *La benedictione d[i] jacob* (Jacob's blessing) and the date 1543

Giovanni, known as Giovanizza, was a cook to the Duke of Urbino and that the earliest reference he has found to Fedele in the Urbino archives is when he witnessed a will in 1541. It remains uncertain whether he might be the same Fedele da Urbino who in 1535 had petitioned the Signoria of Siena for privileges for an invention he claimed to have made of firing gold and silver onto pottery³⁶. In the absence of access to the satyr-head vessel, I am unable to suggest any attributions to Fedele.

Even did we not have this 1543 document, it would be abundantly clear that Guido di Merlino employed or collaborated with a number of painters. I know of thirteen³⁷ works marked as made in his workshop, with dates between 1542 and 1551; they are the work of at least four painters. One of these is Francesco Durantino, whose two works marked as made in the workshop are, as we have seen, dated 1543 and 1544.

Earlier than this, and earlier than the contract, is a plate at Sèvres with Orpheus and sea-deities, dated 1542, the object of a study by John Mallet³⁸. This painter's work is characterized by drooping, almost narcotic, eyelids. The same hand was evidently responsible for an undated, damaged plate at Kassel, also marked as made in Guido's workshop, but not dated³⁹. Some of his work is lustrated⁴⁰. This painter, whom I have long thought of by the not-very-academic name of „the droopy-eyes painter“, has been more soberly named by Mallet after the basin at Sèvres, „the Painter of the Orpheus basin“. He may also have

³⁶ For the 1541 document, Archivio di Stato di Urbino, Notarile, Giordani Pietro, no. 279, 1510-22, fol. 366. For the Siena document, Gaetano Guasti: *Di Cafaggiolo e d'altre fabbriche di ceramiche in Toscana secondo studi e documenti in parte raccolti da Comm. Gaetano Milanesi*. Florence 1902, pp. 332-333; Mario Luccarelli: *Contributo alla conoscenza della maiolica senese. Parte 2: Fedele da Urbino*. In: *Faenza*, 69, 1983, p. 199.

³⁷ In a ceramics shop near the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino in 1999 was displayed a plate with „Perillus“, apparently by one of the painters active in the workshop of Guido, which was stated to be „firmato“. This has now been presented to the Museo del Duomo, Urbino; it is dated 1543, but is not marked.

³⁸ Musée national de céramique, Sèvres, no. 24735; J. Mallet (note 9), p. 55, and T. Wilson (note 6), p. 225, both point out that work apparently by this painter is sometimes attributed to Pesaro. It is not impossible that he moved from Urbino to Pesaro after 1542, or was itinerant between both towns.

³⁹ J. Mallet (note 9), figs 12 and 13.

⁴⁰ For example a plate of 1543 with „The vision of Constantine“ in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Fortnum collection, WA 1888.CDEF.C454), see C. D. E. Fortnum: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maiolica ... in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Fortnum Collection*. Oxford 1897, p. 72; and two in the Wallace Collection, see A. Vesey B. Norman: *Wallace Collection. Catalogue of Ceramics, vol. 1: Pottery, Maiolica, Faience, Stoneware*, London 1976, nos C98 and C99. It is uncertain whether these pieces were sent to Gubbio for lustring, or lustrated at the Urbino workshop run ca. 1538-ca. 1546 by Vincenzo Andreoli, son of Maestro Giorgio of Gubbio.

painted, perhaps not single-handedly, the undated „Battle of Greeks and Trojans” sold in 1999 from the Rothschild Collection⁴¹. Figs 17 and 18 show a characteristic example of his work, now in Frankfurt.

By a third painter in Guido's workshop, there exist six large plates with subjects from Roman history. Figs 19 and 20 show one in the Metropolitan Museum in New York⁴² with „The sacrifice of Marcus Curtius”. Others by the same painter, all dated 1542, are one in Weimar⁴³, one in Braunschweig⁴⁴, one formerly owned by Alfred Pringsheim and now in a private collection⁴⁵, one in Linz (Austria)⁴⁶, and one formerly in the collection of the King of Bavaria and now the property of the Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfond⁴⁷. On each of the six plates of this group, there are two distinct handwritings on the back; one might guess that the upper part is the handwriting of the painter, and that the lower part of the inscription, stating that the plate was made in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, was written by someone else, possibly Guido himself. A fourth, later, group consists of a plate with „Judith and Holofernes” in the Louvre dated 1551⁴⁸ and a plate at Knightshayes, in the west of England, with a „Battle between the Romans and the Samnites”⁴⁹. It is not clear from the published documents how long the agreement with Guido di Merlino lasted, but, as we shall see, by 1545 at least one of the signatories, Fedele Fulmine, had left Urbino and was working elsewhere.



Fig. 19 Plate with „The sacrifice of Marcus Curtius” Urbino, workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1542 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael Friedsam Collection, inv. 32.100.365

I now return to Francesco. His style is already formed and recognizable by 1541, the date of a plate with „Cephalus and Procris” in Vienna (figs 21, 22) and of a lusted plate probably by him in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁵⁰. I am less confident about attributing to him work earlier than this date, some of which may have been made in the workshop of Guido Durantino, alias Fontana. His hand does not seem to me recognizable on any work known to me marked as made in the workshop of Guido Durantino⁵¹. John Mallet⁵² has suggested that his earlier manner, around 1540, may be represented by two handsome dishes, one in the Museum für Kunsthandwerk in Frankfurt⁵³, and the other in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington D.C.⁵⁴ These two dishes, which were once

⁴¹ Christie's, London, 8 July 1999, lot 141. This plate was formerly kept at the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, with the inventory number Ke 8040, and was cited as such in T. Wilson (note 3) p. 267, note 10. It has resemblances to the work both of the „Painter of the Orpheus basin” and of Francesco, and may possibly be the result of collaboration between them.

⁴² MMA inv. 32.100.365, from the Michael Friedsam collection; Alessandro Del Vita: *Le maioliche del Museo Civico di Bologna*, vol. 3: *Le maioliche metaurensi*. In: *Dedalo*, 5, 1924-1925, pp. 155-183, esp. p. 175 (as belonging to the dealer Stora); T. Wilson (note 3) p. 268, fig. a.

⁴³ Goethe-Nationalmuseum, Weimar, Inv.No. IK 93; T. Wilson (note 3) p. 270, fig. b.

⁴⁴ J. Lessmann (note 6), no. 150; T. Wilson (note 3), p. 270, fig. c.

⁴⁵ T. Wilson (note 3), no. 112; formerly Pringsheim collection; Otto von Falke: *Le maioliche italiane della collezione Pringsheim/Die Majolikasammlung Alfred Pringsheim/Italian Maiolica of the Pringsheim Collection*. With essays by Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, Tjark Hausmann and Timothy Wilson. Ferrara 1994 (amplified reprint of the edition of 1914-23), vol. 2, no. 279; most recently sold Christie's, London, 20 May 1991, lot 68.

⁴⁶ Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz, Inv.No. K1; given in 1836; T. Wilson (note 3) p. 270, fig. d. I owe my knowledge of this piece to Johanna Lessmann.

⁴⁷ Inv KII c 6; T. Wilson (note 3), p. 270, fig. e.

⁴⁸ J. Giacomotti (note 31), no. 1040.

⁴⁹ John V. G. Mallet: Catalogue entries. In: *The Treasure Houses of Britain*. Exhib.Cat. National Gallery of Art. Ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops. Washington D.C. 1985, no. 510.

⁵⁰ B. Rackham (note 16), no. 731. Of the other pieces Rackham attributes to Francesco, the following seem to me by other hands: 855, 856, 857, 862, 863.

⁵¹ See the classification of painters who worked for Guido Durantino in J. V. G. Mallet (note 10).

⁵² J. Mallet (note 9), p. 57.

⁵³ Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Inv.No. 3336; reproduced in Wendy Watson: *Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the William A. Clark Collection*. Exhib.Cat. Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., and Mount Holyoke College Art Museum. London 1986, p. 122.

⁵⁴ W. Watson (note 53), no. 48.



Fig. 20 Reverse of fig. 19. The inscription reads: Marco cuzio quando se gito in qela oragine p[er] liberare la patria - (Marcus Curtius when he threw himself into that gulf to liberate his country) with the date 1542, and (in a different handwriting): fata in botega de guido de merlino in san polo - - (made in the workshop of Guido di Merlino in San Polo)



Fig. 21 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Cephalus and Procris“ Probably Urbino, Francesco Durantino, 1541 Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, inv. KHM 10.

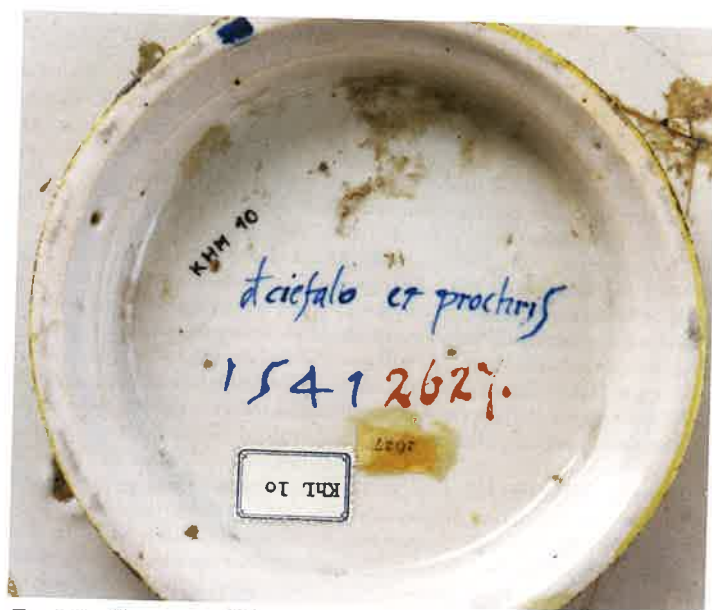


Fig. 22 Reverse of fig. 21. The inscription reads: d[i] ciephalo et procris (of Cephalus and Procris) and the date 1541

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together in the Fountaine collection, have no inscription on the reverse, but are marked on the front with the Greek letters „φ“ and „ν“. These could conceivably stand for „Francesco Durantino“, but there are other possibilities⁵⁵ and I am unable to convince myself that the painting on the two dishes is by Francesco⁵⁶. A suggestive hypothesis proposed by Michael Brody is that Francesco's hand can

⁵⁵ W. Watson (note 53), p. 121, is inclined to follow the suggestion first made by John Charles Robinson: Catalogue of the Soulages Collection. London 1856, p. 200, that these stand for „Fontana Durantino“ and denote Orazio or Guido Fontana. Since documentary evidence links Francesco Durantino and Guido Durantino in 1537, this interpretation would not be incompatible with an attribution of the painting to Francesco. See T. Wilson: Renaissance Ceramics (note 5), p. 225, for the ingenious alternative suggestion made to me by Hugo Morley-Fletcher that the letters stand for „Phi-delta“, that is „Fideltà“, and refer to Fedele Fulmine.

⁵⁶ Nor does there seem to me to be a convincing link between Francesco's style and the interesting shallow bowl with „Orpheus entering the Underworld“, in a private collection in Paris, which is marked with the letters „F.D.“, flanking an „S“ within a circle with a vertical stroke through the centre, see on p. 124

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be identified as one of the painters of the „istoriato” service made, perhaps in the workshop of Guido Durantino, ca. 1535-40, for Giacomo Nardi, Bishop of Urbino, who died in 1540⁵⁷.

Francesco must have worked hard. Plates by him bearing the dates 1544 and 1545 are especially numerous. There are ten examples with these dates in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, alone⁵⁸; several more awaiting publication in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart; and numerous others. It seems likely, though not certain, that these pieces of 1543-44, and perhaps those of 1545, too, were made in the workshop of Guido di Merlino.

An important contract which may have been placed in Guido di Merlino's workshop at this period was a tile pavement painted with grotesques on a blue ground, made for the Rocca Paolina at Perugia. Some of these tiles bear the arms of Ascanio Parisano, cardinal-legate of Perugia from 1542. Others bear the date 1543 and Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, noting documentary evidence that „amatonati” (pavements) for the Rocca Paolina were ordered in these years from, among other places, Urbino, have cogently suggested the order may have been placed with Guido⁵⁹. If this is correct, such a large order would probably have involved a number of painters, and it



Fig. 23 Tile from a pavement for the Rocca Paolina, Perugia Urbino, perhaps by Francesco Durantino in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1543. Deruta, Museo Regionale delle Ceramiche. 18.3 x 19.5 cm

J. V. G. Mallet (note 9), p. 55. This was formerly in the Tordelli sale, Paris, 9-10 May 1870, lot 50. If we must now, on the authority of Monsignor Negroni, abandon the idea that Francesco di Silvano and Francesco Durantino are the same person, the initials and monogram remain to be explained.

⁵⁷ Michael Brody: *Istoriato Maiolica with the Arms of Giacomo Nardi, Bishop of Urbino, 1523-1540* (M.A. thesis, The Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum and Parsons School of Design, New York, 1998), pp. 27-32. The pieces attributed by Brody to this „Nardi painter C”, possibly Francesco, are: „Venus at Vulcan's Forge”, private collection, see T. Wilson (note 3), no. 106; „Rape of Proserpina”, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon, see Carola Fiocco et al.: *Majoliques italiennes du Musée des Arts Décoratifs de Lyon. Collection Gillet. Dijon 2001*, no. 161; „Rape of Europa”, Louvre, see J. Giacomotti (note 32), no. 1012; „Mercury and Argus”, Louvre, see J. Giacomotti (note 32), no. 1013. Brody notes that his classification by painting style does not correspond with the handwriting on the back, suggesting that it was not necessarily the painter who wrote the inscriptions.

⁵⁸ J. Lessmann (note 5), pp. 183-189.

⁵⁹ Carola Fiocco/Gabriella Gherardi: *Considerazioni su un pavimento di stile durantino a Perugia*. In: *Italian Renaissance Pottery. Papers written in association with a colloquium at the British Museum*. Ed. by Timothy Wilson. London 1991, pp. 96-100; C. Fiocco/G. Gherardi (note 6), pp. 12-15; Giuliana Gardelli: *Maiolica per l'architettura. Pavimenti e rivestimenti rinascimentali di Urbino e del suo territorio*. Urbino 1993, pp. 65-68; Carola Fiocco/Gabriella Gherardi: *La ceramica di Deruta dal XIII al XVIII secolo*. Perugia 1994, pp. 55-56. For Ascanio Parisano, see Ciaconius (A. Chacon): *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum et S.R.E. Cardinalium*. Rome 1677, vol. 3, col. 646, where the quarterings are shown reversed from the way they appear on the tiles. For a tile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see Alun Graves: *Tiles and Tilework*. London 2002, p. 53. See Julia Poole: *Italian Maiolica and Incised Slipware in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge. Cambridge 1995,



Fig. 24 Fragment of a plate with „The capture of New Carthage by Scipio” Urbino, Francesco Durantino, perhaps in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1543-1545 England, private collection. Max. width: 14.6 cm. Photo copyright Trustees of The Wallace Collection

seems entirely likely that Francesco, in the year he made his contract with Guido, might have been involved in the painting. Attribution of grotesque-painting to a painter we know mainly as an „istoriato” painter is treacherous, but the tile in fig. 23, presently displayed in the Museo Regionale delle Ceramiche in Deruta, looks to me as if it might have been painted by Francesco⁶⁰.

Among the most careful and substantial works by Francesco around this time, perhaps made in Guido's workshop, is a series of plates illustrating scenes from the life of Scipio Africanus during the Punic Wars (ca. 216 BC), with long inscriptions derived more or less precisely from the 1493 Livy; at least some of these, as was suggested by the late Rudolf Drey⁶¹, look likely to have been made as a single set. Figs 24 and 25 show a fragment of a plate from the series that has recently come to light in a private collection in England; figs 26 and 27 a plate that passed through the London salerooms in 1990; and figs 28 and 29 a plate in the Grassi-Museum, Leipzig. Others with Scipio subjects attributable to Francesco are one in the Stein Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art⁶²; one in the Faringdon Collection at Buscot⁶³; one formerly in the Clemente collection⁶⁴; one in the British Museum⁶⁵; one (with „The continence of Scipio”) in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; and one in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm⁶⁶. None of these is signed or dated, but a near-

for the suggestion that Cardinal Tiberio Crispi, who succeeded Parisano as Legate of Perugia in 1545, may have had an interest in maiolica, and even had something to do with the Monte Bagnolo enterprise.

⁶⁰ Stylistic comparison with the sphinxes on the 1544 plate by Francesco in the Victoria and Albert Museum, B. Rackham (note 16), no. 860, suggests that they may be by the same hand, without being conclusive.

⁶¹ Rudolf E. A. Drey: *Istoriato maiolica with scenes from the Second Punic War. Livy's history of Rome as source material*. In: *Italian Renaissance Pottery. Papers written in association with a colloquium at the British Museum*. Ed. by Timothy Wilson. London 1991, pp.51-61. The plate dated 1537 in the Louvre, with the arms of Varano of Camerino, note 31, no. 994, and note 60; Drey, no. XXXV, is, in my opinion, not part of the present discussion. Another Scipio subject, with the number 9 at the end of the inscription, came to my notice while this article was in proof. It is in the Hermitage, and published by E. Ivanova: *Il secolo d'oro della maiolica*. Exhib. Cat. Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza, Milan 2003, no. 52.

⁶² „After the Battle of Cannae, the young Scipio forces Roman noblemen to swear loyalty to the Republic.” Wendy Watson: *Italian Renaissance Ceramics. The Howard I. and Janet H. Stein Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Exhib. Cat. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Philadelphia 2001, no. 21; R. E. A. Drey (note 61), no. XXXIV; previously in the Barker and Cook collections; sold Sotheby's, London, 6 June 1989, lot 6.

⁶³ „Scipio Africanus volunteers to command the army in Spain.” This plate has a long provenance to some of the greatest of maiolica collections: it is probably the piece which was in the 1750s in the Ferretti collection, Ancona, as mentioned by Passeri, see G. Vanzolini (note 10), vol. 1, p. 62; then Geremia Delsette, Bologna, see Luigi Frati: *Di un'insigne raccolta di maioliche dipinte delle fabbriche di Pesaro e della provincia metaurens*



Fig. 25 Reverse of fig. 24. The inscription reads: *e co magio furor e ch' d'... no naveano aialinno la citta: el vendendo inteso da pescatore taraconesi che la fortuna te d'el mare gia era mancata: e ch[e] p[er] lo stagna teva codure alemura apiede facilmente co soi ratan dusse la gente darne introrno nela citta. Senza in alcuno ÷ vedi titulivio alibro decha terza sexto a XLVIII (And they attacked the city with greater e than before. [Scipio] having been informed by fish Tarraco that the tide was ebbing and the sea less re that he could easily get to the walls with his men o through the lagoon, he quickly led his soldiers that entered the city without any obstruction. See Titus in the sixth book of the third decade, chapter 48).* Photo copyright Trustees of The Wallace Collection

descritta ed illustrata. Bologna 1844, no. 254; Alexander Barker, Francis Cook, London, see Bernard Rackham: *Italian Maiolica Pottery*. In: *Catalogue of the Art Collection, 8 Cadogan Square, Collection*, vol. 1. London 1904, no. 73; Cook sale, Christie 7-10 July 1925, lot 3; Henry Harris, see Tancred Borenius: *Cat. Collection of Italian Maiolica Belonging to Henry Harris*. London 1925; Harris sale, Sotheby's, London, 20 June 1950, lot 116. See R. 61), p. 54, no. XXXVI.

⁶⁴ „Scipio lands at Emporiae.” Clemente sale, American Art Anderson Galleries, New York, 15-17 January 1931, lot 432; R. 61), no. XXXVIII. A photograph of this is among the French and York) photographs at the Getty Research Institute, so it probably to that firm at some date after the Clemente sale.

⁶⁵ „Scipio leading his legions from New Carthage.” T. Wilson (1 217; R. Drey (note 61), no. XXXIX.

⁶⁶ „Scipio allows his soldiers to rest.” H. Dahlbäck Lutteman (1 6; R. Drey (note 61), no. XLI.

replica⁶⁷ of the one in figs 26 and 27, apparently not by Francesco but by a painter closely related to him, is dated 1545; and this, or shortly before, looks a plausible date for the whole series.

It is just possible that the armorial basin and ewer in Schwerin, which are painted with Scipio subjects and dated 1544, but are on larger scale than the other extant Scipio pieces, were part of this series. If the series was made in Guido's workshop around 1543-45 and if, as looks likely, it is earlier than the celebrated series of plates illustrating the campaigns of Hannibal⁶⁸, it was ground-breaking in its systematic sequential representation of episodes from Roman history. The Hannibal series is usually attributed to the workshop of Guido Durantino. One wonders if these two series, from the two principal „istoriato“-producing workshops of Urbino, were in some way made in deliberate rivalry with each other. However, at present

⁶⁷ Illustrated front and back in the catalogue of the Christie-Miller sale, Sotheby's, London, 28 July 1919, lot G, fig. H; and, the front only, in colour, Sotheby's, London, 21 October 1980, lot 154; R. Drey (note 61), no. XLII.
⁶⁸ R. E. A. Drey (note 61); addenda to which are in note 3, no. 122.



Fig. 26 Plate with „Scipio's troops lay out their arms“ Urbino, Francesco Durantino, perhaps in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, c.1543-1545, Ex-Phillips, London, 12 December 1990, lot 143. Diam. 29 cm. Photo by courtesy of Bonham's



Fig. 27 Reverse of fig. 26. The inscription reads: *il secondo di comando Scipione a ciascuno che hor dinase le arme sue et li stendese davante al suo padiglione vedi titolivio alibro decha tertia sexto a capi. LV* (On the second day Scipio ordered each man to put his arms in order and lay them out in front of his tent. See Titus Livius, in the sixth book of the third decade, chapter 65). Photo by courtesy of Bonham's

Altomare 2013

there are no criteria for a precise dating of the Hannibal service, which may possibly be a decade or even more later than the Scipio service.

There exist a number of plates closely related to the Scipio series plates, and perhaps derived from them, which are not, in my opinion, by Francesco⁶⁹. Others seem to be at least in part by him, but stand apart from the main Scipio series. When I first saw the plate in the Metropolitan

⁶⁹ A plate in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna, „The departure of Scipio for Spain“, Francesco Zurli/Anna Maria Iannucci: Ceramiche dalle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna. Bologna 1982, no. 19; R. Drey (note 61), no. XXXVII, is not by Francesco, but is conceived much in the manner of the Scipio series. Another plate in the same museum (F. Zurli/A. M. Iannucci, no. 14) not by Francesco, but possibly by the same painter as „The departure of Scipio for Spain“, replicates the composition of fig. 26 in the present article. A plate in Berlin, Tjark Hausmann: Majolika. Spanische und italienische Keramik vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert (Kataloge des Kunstgewerbemuseums Berlin, 6). Berlin 1972, no. 211, is probably a muddled representation of the subject as the plate in the Stein Collection (note 62 above), but is compositionally unrelated, and not by Francesco.



Fig. 28 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Hasdrubal's troops at the Pillars of Hercules“
Urbino, Francesco Durantino, perhaps in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1543-1545
Leipzig, Museum für Kunsthandwerk-Grassimuseum, inv. 1908.194. Diam: 27.5 cm

Museum of Art in New York (figs 30, 31), I judged it to be by Francesco, but I am now inclined to wonder whether it may be a collaborative work. If this is correct, the „C“ in the square at the end of the inscription, which does not seem to be explicable as a Livy chapter number, may be the initial of this collaborator, though other possible explanations – for example that it might be the initial of the client – cannot be excluded. The handwriting of the inscription does seem to be Francesco's. The subject, Scipio Africanus refusing to take sexual advantage of a beautiful young woman brought to him as a prisoner, is traditionally known as „The continence of Scipio“ and was a celebrated instance of the virtue of self-restraint, a well-known artistic subject outside the historical context of the Punic Wars⁷⁰. The quite different version of the same subject by Francesco, in Hamburg, which has the typical quotation from Livy, looks more likely to be part of the main Scipio series. The Scipio series seems consistent

⁷⁰ Valerius Maximus, IV, III, 1, as well as Livy 26, 50.

with the scene envisaged by J. Mallet⁷¹ of „istoriato“-painters working together in a workshop, and sometimes collaborating, with as perhaps the dominant artistic personality.

It seems likely that Francesco was trained in Castel Durante, before going to Urbino. Through the 16th century Castel Durante trained more potters than any other workshop, so that potters from Castel Durante could employ, so that potters from Castel Durante brought their skills to Urbino, to Pesaro, to Rome, and elsewhere. Guido di Savino moved to Antwerp about 1550, founded the Italianate maiolica industry in Antwerp. Francesco di Piero, as already mentioned, ran a

⁷¹ J. Mallet (note 9), p. 54.

⁷² Henri Nicaise: Les origines italiennes des faïences d'Anvers au XVI^e siècle. In: Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge d'Anvers, 14, 1934, pp. 109-129; Timothy Wilson and (with bibliography) Claire Dumortier, Maiolica production in Antwerp. The documentation both in: Maiolica in the North. The archaeology of tin-glazed earthenware in north-west Europe c. 1500-1600. Ed. by David Gaimster (British Museum Occasional papers, 122). London 1999, pp. 5-21 and pp. 106-111; Claire Dumortier: Céramique de la Renaissance à Anvers. Brussels

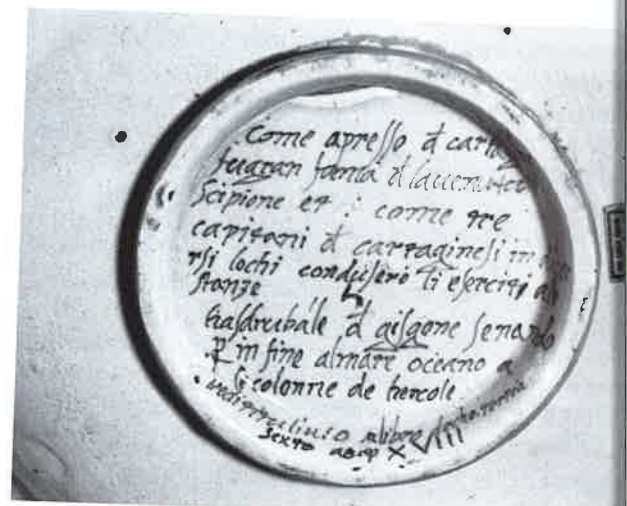


Fig. 29 Reverse of fig. 28. The inscription reads:
come apresso d[i] cartagine fugran fama d[i] lavenuta
d[i] Scipione et / come tre capitani d[i] cartaginesi in
diversi lochi condusero li eserciti a le stanze hasdruba
d[i] gisgone senando p[er] in fine almare oceano a le co
de hercole vedi titulivio a libro decha tertia sexto a ca
XVIII (How at Carthage there was much talk of the
coming of Scipio, and how three Carthaginian genera
took their troops to different quarters. Hasdrubal son
of Giskon went as far as the ocean, to the Pillars of Her
See Titus Livius, in the sixth book of the third decade
chapter 18)



Fig. 30 Plate with „The continence of Scipio“ Urbino, probably by Francesco Durantino, perhaps in collaboration with another painter, in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, c.1545 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 94.4.332, gift of H.G. Marquand. Diam: 26 cm



Fig. 31 Reverse of fig. 30. The inscription reads: Ala presa di cartagine d[i] spagna Come d[i] nanze.a.Scipione africano fu menata una belletissima giovane ch[i] era moglie d[i] Lutio principe d[i] celtebari (How at the capture of Carthage in Spain a most beautiful woman was brought before Scipio, the wife of Lutius prince of the Celtiberians), followed by .C. in a square

in Venice; the painter Sforza di Marcantonio, who may have been much the same age as Francesco Durantino, worked in Urbino, then in Pesaro⁷³; the most successful of all Urbino workshops was run by Guido Durantino and his son Orazio Fontana; and as discussed by Mallet in this volume, Diomedede Durante was one of many „durantini“

who went to Rome⁷⁴. Piccolpasso accurately said „buona parte de gli mastri che lavorano in Urbino sono della terra di Durante“⁷⁵.

In the Art Institute of Chicago (figs 32-34) is a large oval basin or cooler („rinfrescatoio“) which documents the next phase of Francesco's work⁷⁶. It is ambitiously painted inside and out with „istoriato“ scenes. The battle round the sides is freely derived from Giulio Romano's fresco in the Sala del Costantino in the Vatican of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. No print after the painting that Francesco

⁷³ For Sforza di Marcantonio de' Giuliani, see J. Lessmann (note 5), p. 345; Grazia Biscontin Ugolini: Sforza di Marcantonio: figulo pesarese cinquecentesco. In: Faenza, 65, 1979, pp. 7-10; Paride Berardi: L'antica maiolica di Pesaro. Florence 1984, p. 189; Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti: Ceramiche occidentali del Museo civico medievale di Bologna. Bologna 1985, no. 129; T. Wilson (note 8), no. 98; Piero Bonali/Riccardo Gresta: Girolamo e Giacomo Lanfranco dalle Gabbie maiolicari a Pesaro nel secolo XVI. Rimini 1987, pp. 92-94; John V. G. Mallet: Xanto: i suoi compagni e seguaci. In: Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 1980. Rovigo 1988, pp. 82-84; Carola Fiocco/Gabriella Gherardi: Il pittore „S“ e la coppa di Tiberio. In: Faenza, 82, 1996, pp. 145-151; Riccardo Gresta/Piero Bonali: La maiolica pesarese della seconda metà del Cinquecento. In: Pesaro nell'età dei della Rovere (Historica Pisaurensis, 3,2). Venice 2001, p. 344.

⁷⁴ C. Grigioni (note 29) documents some of the numerous „durantini“ active as potters in Rome and notes that this emigration intensified towards the end of the 16th century. See also J. Mallet in the present volume.

⁷⁵ C. Piccolpasso (note 23), vol. 2, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Acquired in 1966. Formerly Fountaine, Miller von Aichholz, and Adda collections; B. Rackham (note 17), no. 448; V. Scheidemantel (note 5), with detailed bibliography and provenance. On the Fountaine collection see also Andrew Moore: The Fountaine Collection of Maiolica. In: Burlington Magazine, 130, 1988, pp. 435-447.



Fig. 32 Deep bowl, interior with
„The destruction of the Trojan ships“ (?)
Monte Bagnolo, Francesco Durantino, 1553
Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, The Mary Waller
Langhorne Fund, inv. 1966.395.
51.4 x 41.3 cm; height: 26 cm



Fig. 33 Side view of fig. 32, with
„The Battle of the Milvian Bridge“,
after Giulio Romano's painting in the Vatican Stanze



Fig. 34 Inscription within the rim of fig. 33, reading
Francesco. Durantino vasaro Amore Bagnolo di Peros
(Francesco Durantino, potter, at Monte Bagnolo, Per
and the date 1553

could have used is recorded to have existed at this date it seems that the painter must have seen Giulio's painting had access to a drawing. In the inside is a complicated scene that has been identified as the burning of their own ships by the Trojan women from Book 5 of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The basin is signed by „Francesco Durantino Vasaro Amore Bagnolo di Peroscia 1553“. The place in question is Monte Bagnolo, a wooded hill some five miles north of Perugia⁷⁸. It has in recent years become possible to reconstruct the story of this venture from archival sources.

In 1984 I met in Perugia an Italian researcher, Giocondo Ricciarelli. Dr Ricciarelli had discovered in the Archivio di Stato in Perugia a contemporary account book documenting in some detail Francesco's presence at Monte Bagnolo, and we agreed together to prepare a collaborative publication in „Faenza“, in which I would write about the surviving works of Francesco and Dr Ricciarelli would publish the documents. To my great sadness, Dr Ricciarelli died before he had finished his work, and our publication never took place. Distressingly, when a search was made in the Archivio di Stato in Perugia, after Dr Ricciarelli's death, the account book was not found in its proper place. It has never been traced. Recent publications by me and Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi⁸⁰, and by Giulio Gardelli, have relied on the letter Dr Ricciarelli wrote to me in September 1984 in which he summarized his documentation.

⁷⁷ V. Scheidemantel (note 5), p. 45; compare Grazia Pezzini et al.: *Faenza. Invenit. Stampe da Raffaello nelle collezioni dell'Istituto Nazionale di Grafica*. Rome 1985, p. 113.

⁷⁸ The name is pronounced locally with the stress on the first syllable, Bagnolo. The site is presently partly occupied by buildings, but it is hoped that it may prove possible to survey the site to discover whether there are significant quantities of kiln waste nearby.

⁷⁹ T. Wilson, *Renaissance Ceramics* (note 5), pp. 223-225.

⁸⁰ C. Fiocco/G. Gherardi (note 5), pp. 19-20; note 4, p. 242. For a hypothesis about the impact of Francesco's presence nearby on the potter Elia Deruta, see C. Fiocco/G. Gherardi: *Considerazioni* (note 59), p. 5. Possible echoes of Francesco's style in maiolica pharmacy jars probably

The document was among papers relating to a legal case between Matthaeus Teininger (alias Lang) of Perugia and a certain Mariotto di Francesco da Cordigliano, who was accused of wrongfully taking timber belonging to Lang⁸¹. Lang, who was the legitimized natural son of Cardinal Matthaeus Lang (1468-1540)⁸², owned land at Monte Bagnolo. Between 1545 and 1547 a kiln on the property was occupied by „maestro fedel fulmine”, that is the same Fedele whom we have already met in 1543. Fedele seems to

made in Perugia in 1565, see Giulio Busti/Franco Cocchi in: Musci e Gallerie di Milano. Museo d'Arti Applicate. Ceramiche, vol. 1. Ed. by Raffaella Ausenda. Milan 2000, no. 60.

⁸¹ Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Giudiziario, Processus, 493, no. 14. It may not be fantastical to deduce from the names he chose for his daughters, Foresta and Silvia, that Lang was particularly interested in trees!

⁸² For Cardinal Matthaeus Lang, diplomat in Italy in the service of the Holy Roman Emperor from 1511 to 1514 and later Archbishop of Salzburg, see Ciaconius (note 59), vol. 3, cols 299-306; Ludwig von Pastor: Storia dei Papi dalla fine del medio evo. Rome 1950-65, vol. 3. I have not seen Alois Schopf: Ein Diplomat Kaiser Maximilians (Matthaeus Lang), nach Quellen dargestellt. Vienna 1882, cited in the Enciclopedia Cattolica.



Fig. 35 Shallow dish on low foot with „Apollo slaying Marsyas“
Monte Bagnolo, Francesco Durantino, 1547
London, British Museum, Inv. MME 1895,12-20,2.
Diam: 25.5 cm



Fig. 36 Reverse of fig. 35. The inscription reads: *Vilan scurtichato [er] m. de Apollo [followed by a squiggle] amote bagnolo (peasant flayed by the hand of Apollo. At Monte Bagnolo) and the date 1547, followed by a second squiggle that might be intended for FD*

have been a problematic individual, because in September 1547 he was arrested, fined, and expelled from the Perugia region⁸³.

From September 1547 to September 1556 Lang's account book, which was appended to court documents, recorded transactions with Francesco Durantino and indicates that the workshop and kiln at Monte Bagnolo were occupied by Francesco. Lang provided him with materials, wood, food, clothing, and money; in exchange Francesco apparently gave him the maiolica produced. Other documents relating to Lang, however, do not suggest that he was active as a merchant⁸⁴; so it remains unclear whether Lang sold the maiolica he received, or used it for gifts or for some other purpose⁸⁵.

⁸³ The staff of the Archivio di Stato in Perugia report that the archives of the criminal courts from the period have not been preserved.

⁸⁴ Archive documents refer to him as „dominus” and „nobilis vir”, suggesting the social status of a gentleman landowner. See Appendix 1.

⁸⁵ Appendix 1 is a summary, kindly compiled from unpublished documents by the staff of the Archivio di Stato of Perugia, of what is presently known about Lang.

If we were in a position to study Lang's account book, there is no Renaissance maiolica business which would have been as well understood as this one; the account book evidently throws exceptional light on the relation between a maiolica potter and a patron or investor. It is currently being searched for by the staff of the Archivio di Stato and it is much to be hoped it will soon be traced and published. Pending this, Dr Ricciarelli's letter to me, of 10 September 1984, remains the only first-hand account of the documentation; it is reproduced as Appendix 2 to the present article.

There exist two other works marked as made in Monte Bagnolo, which can be attributed to Francesco's hand. The earlier is a dish in the British Museum⁸⁶ (figs 35, 36), dated 1547, the year of the move, with „Apollo flaying Marsyas”. It is possible that the squiggle at the end of the inscription, which is similar to one of about the same period in the



Fig. 37 Oval basin, the sides with mythological scenes, the interior with marine deities making love
Monte Bagnolo, Francesco Durantino, 1549
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 35.
48 x 35.5 cm.; height 20 cm

Ashmolean Museum reproduced below (figs 37-39), similar in shape to the one in Chicago, marked as made at Monte Bagnolo in 1549. On the sides are mythological scenes, on the inside what Giovanni Conti calls „accoppiamenti di divinità marine”, one reminiscent of Giulio Romano – an artist with whom Francesco seems to have felt some affinity⁸⁹. One of this form seem to have been a speciality of Francesco at Monte Bagnolo. The other examples known to me are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London⁹⁰, and in Vienna (fig. 40), all with ambitiously elaborated compositions inside, are all evidently by Francesco.

Dr Ricciarelli⁹¹ suggested that Lang's interest in maiolica might be linked to the Papal officials in Urbino and the construction (following the defeated rebellion of the city against a Papal tax on salt) of the Rocca Paolina for Pope Paul III Farnese, Pope from 1534 to 1549, and the biographical facts known about Lang (Appendix 1) tend to confirm an association with the Papal circle. In this connection it is interesting that what may be the earliest pieces made at Monte Bagnolo was made by a member of the Pope's immediate family.

Figs 41 and 42 show a plate in a private collection dated 1547, with „Postumia defending herself against a charge of incest”; the seed of the composition and the work on the back are from the 1493 Livy⁹². The coat of arms is Sforza impaling Farnese, and also occurs on a plate by Francesco in the Louvre. The arms on the Louvre plate were identified in 1974⁹³ as those of Bosio Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, and his wife Costanza Farnese, the illegitimate daughter of Paul III. However, Costanza died in

⁸⁶ T. Wilson (note 8), no. 94. Formerly Charles Ross collection, Christie's, London, 18-19 April 1894, lot 159.

⁸⁷ Similar signature-squiggles are on a plate by Francesco dated 1547 in the Faringdon Collection at Buscot Park, ex-Henry Harris collection. T. Borenius (note 63), no. 70, and on an undated one in the Musée des Décoratifs, Lyon, see C. Fiocco et al. (note 57), no. 169.

⁸⁸ Giovanni Conti: Museo Nazionale di Firenze. Palazzo del Bargello. Catalogo delle maioliche. Florence 1971, no. 35; C. Fiocco/G. Gherardini, no. 6; Marco Spallanzani: Ceramiche alla corte dei Medici nel Cinquecento. Modena 1994, pl. 28.

⁸⁹ The wider relationship of Giulio Romano to Urbino maiolica might repay study. There is reason to suppose that as early as 1524-1525 he have provided drawings for or after the Vatican Logge to Nicola da Ugento. see Timothy Wilson in: R. Ausenda (note 80), p. 183.

⁹⁰ B. Rackham (note 17), nos 864 and 865.

⁹¹ See Appendix 2.

⁹² Deche di Tito Livio vulgare historiate. Venice 1493, Decade I, Book 1, chapter 37.

⁹³ J. Giacomotti (note 32), no. 889.



Fig. 38 Side view of fig. 37

after her husband, so, if the date is correctly read as 1547, the arms are likely to be for one of their children. The two youngest of their six sons, Alessandro (later a Cardinal) and Paolo, had by 1547 both been appointed „scrittori apostolici” by their grandfather the Pope, and we have evidence dating from 1549 that at that time both of them were studying at the University in Perugia⁹⁴; it seems a plausible hypothesis that the plate might have been made for one of these two potentially influential young men at Lang's request immediately after Francesco's arrival in the neighbourhood of Perugia.

The documents seem to indicate that Francesco had given up working at the Monte Bagnolo kiln by the end of 1556. His movements thereafter are not certainly recorded, but in 1566 a Francesco di Bernardino of Castel Durante is recorded, together with his son Giovanni Antonio, „vascellarius seu fornaciarius et fabricator vasorum”, in Rome⁹⁵. This Francesco used the name Nanni („de Nannis” in the Latin of the documents), perhaps from the name of his grandfather. Various other documents record the activity of this father and son as potters in Rome; the last document mentioning Francesco, when pottery from his workshop is sold to the potter Angelo Picchi of Castel



Fig. 39 Base of fig. 37. The inscription reads: *Amôte Bagn[...] peroscia - (at Monte Bagnolo, Perugia) and the date 1549*



Fig. 40 Oval basin, scenes inside and out of the story of „Deucalion and Pyrrha”
Monte Bagnolo, Francesco Durantino, between 1547 and 1554
Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, inv. KHM 46. 51.5 x 30.7 cm; height: 26.9 cm

⁹⁴ For the children of Bosio Sforza and Costanza Farnese, see Pompeo Litta et al.: *Celebri Famiglie Italiane*. Milan/Turin 1819-1923, „Attendolo Sforza”, pl. II; Niccola Ratti: *Della famiglia Sforza*. Rome 1794-5, vol. 1, and for a document of 1549 indicating that Paolo and Alessandro were at Perugia University at that date, Ratti pp. 289 and 294.

⁹⁵ C. Grigioni (note 29), part 2, pp. 26-27; G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 275-277.

Durante, is from 1575. If, as seems likely⁹⁶, this is the same man, it is possible that there may still exist a work signed by him in this period: in 1889 Urbani de Gheltof mentioned „un piatto lavorato a Roma” bearing the name Francesco Durantino; but unfortunately Urbani de Gheltof, who is always an unreliable source, did not say where the piece was⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ Colleagues from the Archivio di Stato have reached the same conclusion, noting the similarity between Francesco's handwriting on maiolica and the signature on a document signed by „Francesco de nannis vasaro da Urbino” in Rome in 1573 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notai Tribunale Auditor Camerae, 7 June 1573, prot. 7055, c. 599v), which strengthens the case for this being our Francesco. Monsignor Negroni, however, has warned against excessive confidence in the identification, pending further research. He notes that Cipriano Piccolpasso, in 1565, praised extravagantly „mastro Francesco Gnagni” of Castel Durante, said at that time to be in the service of the Duke of Savoy, as „eccellentissimo et compito vasaro”. This important reference, Cipriano Piccolpasso: *Le piante et i ritratti delle città e terre dell'Umbria sottoposte al Governo di Perugia*. Ed. by Giovanni Cecchini. Rome 1963, p. 242, deserves more study, as to whether this Francesco might be identical with Francesco Durantino, or any of the other Francescos recorded.



Fig. 41 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Postumia defending herself against a charge of incest”. Arms perhaps for one of the sons of Bosio Sforza and Costanza Farnese, Count and Countess of Santa Fiora. Probably Monte Bagnolo, Francesco Durantino, 1547. Private collection. Diam: 28 cm

In the light of this account of Francesco's career it is possible to place the Nuremberg „Pomona”. It was made and painted at Monte Bagnolo in 1548 by Francesco when he was working in Lang's kiln⁹⁸. It is more meticulously painted than some of his earlier work. I believe one can detect greater speed in Francesco's work in the Monte Bagnolo period, as if he was under the pressure to work more quickly; however, this seemed to be a development of a tendency already discernible before. The „Pomona” also evinces the paler colouring and the dominant shades of yellow which are characteristic of the Monte Bagnolo period.

⁹⁷ Giuseppe Marino Urbani de Gheltof: *Notizie storiche ed artistiche della ceramica italiana*. In: *Arte ceramica e vetraria*. Catalogo delle opere. Exhib. Cat. Museo artistico industriale, Roma. Ed. by R. Erculei. I, p. 49.

⁹⁸ A document among the legal papers (c. 18 bis) dealing with accounts of 1556, refers to a load of wood „per cocere la nostra fornace”. Of the Archivio di Stato note that neither in the acquisition document nor in Lang's 1541 „catasto” is there any reference to a kiln on the site. It is possible that it was constructed after 1541.

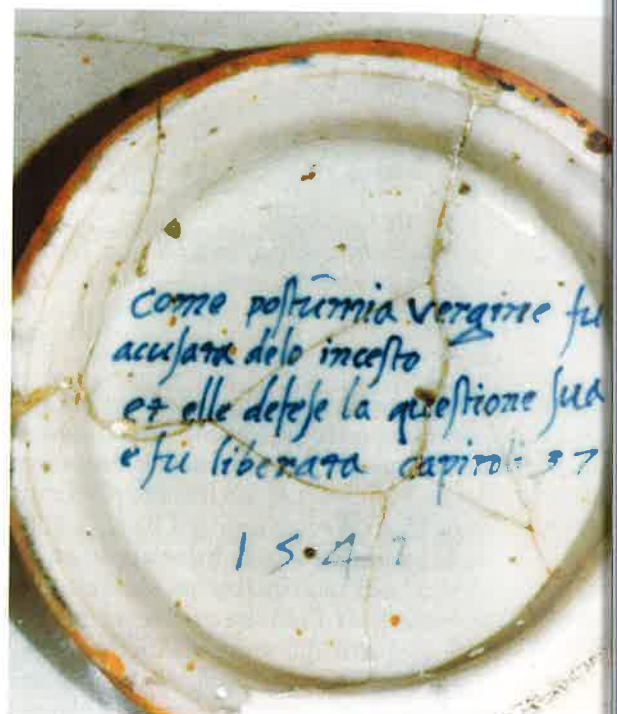


Fig. 42 Reverse of fig. 41. The inscription reads: *Come postumia vergine fu accusata delo incesto et ella defeje la questione sua e fu liberata capitol: 37* (How the virgin Postumia was accused of incest and defended her own case and was set free. In chapter 37) and the date 1547



Fig. 43 Fresco in Sala delle Cariatidi,
Pesaro, Villa Imperiale, attributed to Dosso Dossi, c.1530

Silvia Glaser found no print source for the Pomona and nor have I. Francesco was perfectly capable of composing such figure subjects. However, his confident freedom in elaborating primitive graphic sources, such as the woodcuts from the 1493 Livy or from the vernacular Ovids, is such that source-hunting is rather less straightforward for his work than for painters who transcribed print sources more literally. A detailed analysis of Francesco's use of graphic sources is outside the scope of the present article, but we have already seen, on the Chicago basin, that there are echoes of Giulio Romano that cannot readily be explained by prints; and the relationship of his work to Giulio, and perhaps to other artists such as Perino del Vaga⁹⁹, as well as his use of print sources, might reward study.

⁹⁹ See T. Wilson, Perino (note 5).



Fig. 44 Dish with „The Birth of Adonis“
Urbino, Francesco Durantino,
probably in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1544
Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum,
inv. Kgt 237. Diam: 27.3 cm

Another artist whose work may perhaps have had some effect on Francesco is Girolamo Genga. Genga, who came back to Urbino with Francesco Maria della Rovere around 1522, was the most influential architect and general designer at the Urbino court until his death in 1551. I have elsewhere argued that he was involved in designing for „istoriato“ maiolica¹⁰⁰. His most important project was the reconstruction and decoration for Francesco Maria of the Villa Imperiale outside Pesaro. The resemblance between the frescoes of caryatids in a landscape¹⁰¹ (fig. 43), probably painted about 1530 by Dosso Dossi, in Genga's Villa Imperiale and Francesco's maiolica-painting (fig.

¹⁰⁰ Timothy Wilson: Girolamo Genga: designer for Maiolica? In: Italian Renaissance Pottery. Papers written in association with a colloquium at the British Museum. Ed. by Timothy Wilson. London 1991; note 59; G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 50-52.

¹⁰¹ Reproduced from Giuseppe Marchini: La Villa Imperiale di Pesaro. Pesaro 1986, pl. V. For the attribution to Dossi and the dating, see Alessandro Ballarin: Dosso Dossi. Citadella 1994, p. 350, cat. no. 458.



Fig. 45 Shallow bowl on low foot with
„The Fall of Phaethon“
Probably Monte Bagnolo, Francesco Durantino, c. 1547-50
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA 1888.CDEF.C451.
Diam: 28.4 cm

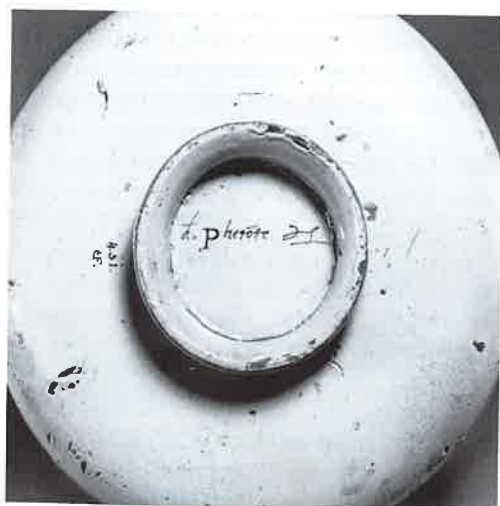


Fig. 46 Reverse of fig. 45. The inscription reads: *d[i]*
Phetôte (of Phaethon) with a squiggle that might be read
as *FD*

44)¹⁰², noted some years ago by John Mallet¹⁰³, may – if one cannot speak of direct influence – not be a coincidence.

If Francesco was impressed by Genga, or even met him personally, this may be connected to his obvious pleasure in creating architectural compositions as intricate and elaborate (if not always in correct accordance with architectural canons) as those appearing in any Renaissance maiolica-painting¹⁰⁴. A dish in the Ashmolean Museum (figs 45, 46)¹⁰⁵, with „The fall of Phaethon“, was painted at Monte Bagnolo in the late 1540s, since both in the painting and the inscription the sense of architectural fantasy is characteristic of this phase of Francesco's work. The scene is apparently based on a primitive woodcut in an edition of Ovid in Italian verse first published in Venice in 1544, but Francesco has characteristically elaborated a simple arcade in the woodcut source into a full-scale two-story Renaissance building. Figs 47¹⁰⁶ and 48-49¹⁰⁷ show other instances of Francesco's enjoyment of architectural fantasies of his real protagonist of the scene. Whether these architectural fantasies of Francesco's might reflect contact with Genga or merely a generalized awareness of up-to-date „all'architectura“ in the Duchy of Urbino and elsewhere is a subject which might be rewarding for a historical architect to study in more detail. I owe to Sabine Eiche a specialist in Genga's work¹⁰⁸ who has kindly looked

¹⁰² The inscription reads: „el nascie adoni figlio d[i] mirra (the birth of a son of Myrrha) – 1544“. Other versions of the subject from the same year at Loreto, see Floriano Grimaldi: Loreto: Palazzo Apostolico (Musei d'Arte – Meraviglie d'Italia, 11). Bologna 1977, no. 749, and at Braunschweig, see Lessmann (note 5), no. 163.

¹⁰³ In an unpublished lecture.

¹⁰⁴ The only maiolica painter with a comparably well-informed architectural imagination is Nicola da Urbino; on the architecture in his maiolica-painting, see Sandra Manara: L'architettura „picta“ sulla maiolica di Nicola da Urbino. In: Faenza, 86, 2000, pp. 83-103.

¹⁰⁵ Timothy Wilson: Maiolica. Italian Renaissance Ceramics in the Ashmolean Museum. Oxford 1989, no. 17. Close in style is a dish dated 1548 in the National Museums of Scotland; Celia Curnow: Italian Maiolica in the National Museums of Scotland (National Museums of Scotland Information Series, 5). Edinburgh 1992, no. 75.

¹⁰⁶ J. Lessmann (note 5), no. 172. Sabine Eiche suggests that there may be a distant echo of Sangallo's designs for the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence.

¹⁰⁷ The source of the composition, including the colonnade, is a vignette in the engraving by Marcantonio after Raphael known as the „Quos Ego Vincam“ (Bartsch XIV, p. 264, no. 352), but the upper part of the building has been added by Francesco.

¹⁰⁸ Sabine Eiche: Girolamo Genga the Architect: An Inquiry into the Architectural Background. In: Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, 35, 1991, pp. 317-324; Sabine Eiche: The Duke of Urbino's Villa Imperiale. Observations on the Facade. In: Apollo, 151, no. 457, March 2000, pp. 10-11 and works cited therein.



Fig. 47 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Procne and Philomela“
Urbino, Francesco Durantino,
perhaps in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1545
Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 696.
Diam: 27 cm

some illustrations of Francesco's work, the observations that some of his architectural compositions seem to have their roots in prints¹⁰⁹; and that she has been unable to identify direct and specific echoes of actual buildings by Genga.

Although Francesco's own style from the 1540s onwards is distinctive, the analysis of the production of Guido di Merlino's workshop in this period is complicated by the fact that collaboration between painters seems to have been common. We have already seen that some of the large plates of 1542 by another painter in the workshop are inscribed in two separate handwritings. If two handwritings appear on the backs, it seems a fair supposition that two painters may also sometimes have

collaborated in painting the fronts¹¹⁰. Figs 50 and 51 show a plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum with „The Death of Pelias“, the painting of which looks to me, as it looked to Bernard Rackham¹¹¹, like the work of Francesco. However, the reverse has two separate handwritings. The middle line of the inscription is, I think, Francesco's handwriting, but the lower part, with the letter „P“ and the indication that it was made in Urbino, as well as the date above, 1543, seems to be written by another hand. This handwriting is recognizable as that which occurs on a group of other pieces marked with a letter „P“ which have been studied by Mallet¹¹²; one of these is shown in figs 52 and 53¹¹³.

Two more of these „P“-marked pieces are dated 1543 and all are, like the „Death of Pelias“, marked as made in Urbino; they all (except the „Pelias“) seem to be painted by the same hand, not a very distinguished one and quite different from Francesco's. If this is correct, the „Pelias“ may be a collaboration between Francesco and this other painter, perhaps in Guido di Merlino's workshop. Following Gardelli's discovery that in 1537 Guido took on as an apprentice Paolo di Marino, and that in 1540 he signed a new agreement with Paolo to paint maiolica („in pingendo vasa“) it would be tempting to suppose that „P“ is no other than the initial of Paolo di Marino.

A difficulty with interpreting the „P“ as the initial of the painter, however, is the existence in the Ashmolean Museum of another plate (figs 54, 55)¹¹⁴ which has the same handwriting as the group marked „P“ and seems to be by the same painter, but which, instead of „P“, has the words „P:tte Fco or P:tto Fco“. Gardelli¹¹⁵ has interpreted the first word as „pitto“ (painted) and the second as an abbreviation for the name of the painter, who she suggests may have been Federico di Giovanni Antonio. But if that is correct, what is the meaning of the „P“ on the other pieces of the group? I am unable to suggest a resolution of this problem, but,

¹¹⁰ The possibility of collaboration in painting „istoriato“ maiolica is one that John Mallet has repeatedly raised; see for instance John V. G. Mallet: Pottery and Porcelain at Erddig. In: *Apollo*, 108, 1978, p. 42.

¹¹¹ B. Rackham (note 17), no. 859.

¹¹² See J. Mallet (note 110). The other pieces noted are a „Camilla“ at Erddig; and a „Psyche“, marked „P“, in an English private collection.

¹¹³ Mallett bequest to the Ashmolean, 1947. Formerly Fountaine sale, Christie's, London, 16-19 June 1884, lot 183; Swaythling collection, sold Christie's, London, 15th June 1946, lot 113.

¹¹⁴ T. Wilson (note 105), no. 19. See also C. Fiocco/G. Gherardi (note 5), pp. 14-15, for a comparison between the mannerisms of this plate and the Rocca Paolina tiles, reinforcing the linkage of both to the workshop of Guido di Merlino. See, however, also G. Gardelli (note 4), p. 211, note 28, where she disputes (I believe wrongly) the stylistic coherence of the group assembled by Mallet and followed by me.

¹¹⁵ G. Gardelli (note 4), pp. 207-209.

¹⁰⁹ For the rusticated tower in fig. 10, Eiche suggests comparing Bartsch XIV, p. 134, no. 85 (Bonasone); for fig. 13, Bartsch XIV, p. 64, no. 56 (Marcantonio); and for fig. 24, Bartsch XIV, p. 159, no. 195 (Marco da Ravenna, ultimately echoing the Colosseum).



Fig. 48 Shallow bowl on low foot with „Aeneas at Carthage“. The colonnade, but not the architecture above, is derived from an engraving after Raphael known as the „Quos Ego“.

Urbino, Francesco Durantino, perhaps in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1545

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (on loan from the Barlow Collection). Diam: 25.3 cm



Fig. 49 Reverse of fig. 48. The inscription reads: d[i] dido piè da miratiò il bō troiano (the good Troian with wonder at the city of Dido) and the date 1545

even if (as is quite possible) the „P“ has nothing to do with Paolo di Marino, the „Pelias“ seems further evidence that collaboration between „istoriato“ painters was practised in Guido di Merlino's workshop in this period.

The other wider point that study of the work of Francesco Durantino brings out is that stylistic analysis has to take account of the fact that potters moved between workshops and between cities. Some Italian scholars, who are specialists in the production of a particular place, believe that there is a recognizable „ductus“ to the „istoriato“ style of particular towns, so that, for instance, there are consistent characteristics that distinguish, say, the production of Pesaro from that of Urbino. This may sometimes be true for technical characteristics of potting, but it is questionable how appropriate a concept it is for the stylistic analysis of „istoriato“ painting.

We can follow Sforza di Marcantonio of Castel Durante to the circle of Xanto in Urbino, and to Pesaro; and we can follow Francesco Durantino of Castel Durante, to the circle of Guido Durantino in Urbino, to the workshop of

Guido di Merlino in the same city, and to Montecassiano. The style seems to remain recognizably the same when he moves. A few years later Gironimo di Tomaso moved from Urbino to Savona to Lyons, and painted „istoriato“ in three places¹¹⁶. Furthermore, within the duchy of Urbino, where distances are short, there is no reason why potters based in Castel Durante should not have been employed for short periods in Urbino or Pesaro, without permanently moving home.

To attribute „istoriato“ to a place, if you try to attribute it to a painter, is risky. On the other hand, the issues of collaboration raised above should caution against undue confidence in attributions to particular places. If progress is to be made in this difficult field

¹¹⁶ Timothy Wilson: Gironimo Tomasi et le plat marqué 1582 le Musée de Montecassiano. In: Majoliques européennes. Reflets de l'estampe Lyon XVIe-XVIIe siècles). Actes des journées d'études internationales „Majoliques“. Ed. by Jean Rosen, Dijon 2003, pp. 86-101.



Fig. 50 Shallow bowl with „The death of Pelias“ Urbino, attributed to Francesco Durantino and a collaborator (Paolo di Marino?), probably in the workshop of Guido di Merlino, 1543
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. C2230-1910.
Diam: 28 cm



Fig. 51 Reverse of fig. 50. The inscription reads: *la morte di pelias*, perhaps in Francesco's handwriting and, in another handwriting: *in urbin :P:*, with the date 1543

stylistic and technical analysis of surviving specimens and the handwriting of their inscriptions has to be carried out with humility, and in conjunction with archaeological and documentary research. Otherwise it may be prudent to follow the cautious practice of historians of painting and, unless we can be sure where a piece of Urbino-type „istoriato“ was made, limit ourselves to the phrase „scuola urbinata“.

These difficulties arise particularly in the study of the „istoriato“ production of Pesaro. Several pieces which are marked as or attributed to Pesaro seem to me to have stylistic affinities to Francesco or to work from Guido di Merlino's workshop in the early 1540s. It has already been noted that the „Painter of the Orpheus basin“, who was working in the workshop of Guido di Merlino in Urbino in 1542, is either identical with or very close in style to the „Painter of Samson and the Philistines“, whom Gresta and Bonali argue to have worked at Pesaro¹¹⁷. Future

research may show that there is more than a chance affinity between the workshop of Guido di Merlino and the style of „istoriato“ developed at Pesaro in the 1540s; and that the explanation lies in the movements of particular individuals¹¹⁸.

One constantly notices, in studying Francesco's work, how many pieces by him are now in museums in the German-speaking world, especially the great old collections in Braunschweig, Stuttgart, and Vienna. These collections are strikingly rich in Francesco's work and even more so in the production of Guido di Merlino's workshop. No less than nine of the thirteen marked works from Guido's workshop listed above are in, or were first recorded in, German or Austrian collections. This is so statistically extraordinary that it can hardly be coincidence. Could they

¹¹⁷ Compare R. Gresta/P. Bonali (note 73), p. 343, noting affinities between painting in Francesco Durantino's circle and work attributed to Pesaro.

¹¹⁸ See J. Mallet (note 9), p. 55, where it is pointed out that potters in Pesaro might have retailed maiolica imported from elsewhere, and that some such process might explain some stylistic or iconographical similarities to Urbino maiolica.



Fig. 52 Plate with „Abraham and the Angels“
 Urbino, probably workshop of Guido di Merlino, possibly by Paolo di Marino, 1543
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA 1947.191.264. Diam: 27.8 cm



Fig. 53 Reverse of fig. 52. The inscription reads: *Camo habram lavo li piedi a li tre Angel de poi la sumersa de le [...]cita In Urbin :P:* (How Abraham washed the feet of the three angels and then the city was submerged), a muddled reference to events in Genesis 18. The phrase *Sarmoneta F.* is a later, perhaps eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century, addition in cold paint, spuriously seeking to suggest that the painting was by the sixteenth-century Italian painter Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta

have reached Germany in the 16th century¹¹⁹? There is no doubt that the workshop had commercial contact, direct or indirect, with Germany in the 1540s or thereabouts: the most substantial „istoriato” service of the period demonstrably made for German recipients, bearing the arms of Hörwarth and Schellenberg of Augsburg, has been convincingly attributed by Lessmann to the workshop of Guido di Merlino¹²⁰.

¹¹⁹ For documentation of the marketing of Renaissance maiolica from Augsburg in the first half of the seventeenth century, when pieces of 16th-century „istoriato” were beginning to acquire the status of rare antiques, see the letters of the Augsburg patrician-dealer Philipp Hainhofer, discussed by Mallet in J.V.G. Mallet/Franz Adrian Dreier: *The Hockmeyer Collection. Maiolica and Glass*. Bremen 1998, pp. 38–42.

¹²⁰ J. Lessmann (note 6), nos 154–158; cf. T. Wilson (note 105), no. 18. To the fourteen pieces listed by Lessmann may be added: a pilgrim flask in the Saint Louis Art Museum (52:1927, formerly in the collection of the German Emperor, and illustrated as a loan from him, in: *Ausstellung von Kunstwerken*



Fig. 54 Plate with Saint Luke Urbino, probably workshop of Guido di Merlino, possibly by Paolo di Marino, 1543 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA 1888.CDEF.C450. Diam: 25 cm

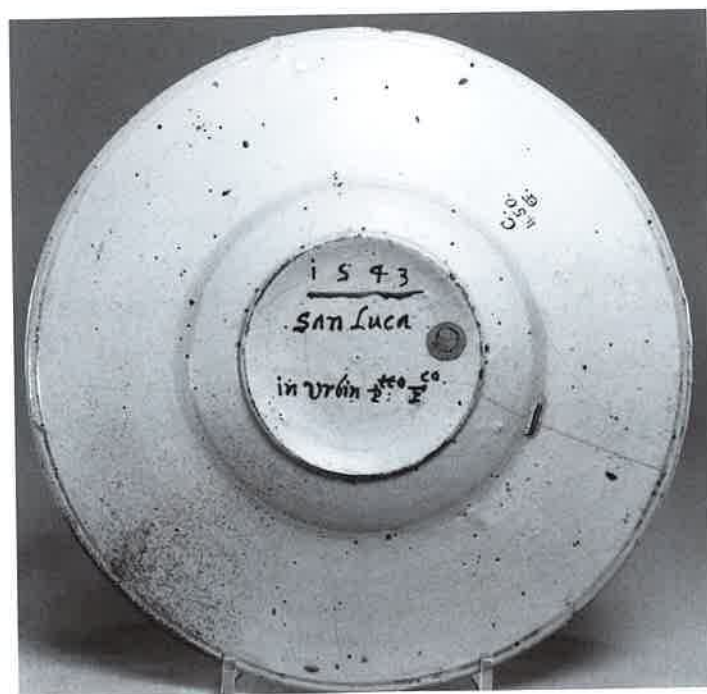


Fig. 55 Reverse of fig. 54. The inscription reads: *1543 San Luca in Urbin P:tte Fco? (or P:tto Fco?)*



Fig. 56 Plate with „The transformation of Narcissus into a flower“ and the arms of Trevisan or another family Urbino or Montebagnolo, Francesco Durantino, c. 1540-50 Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. Ke 2368. Diam: 25 cm

In the particular case of Francesco Durantino, one is tempted to speculate about the role of Matthaeus Lang. His father was German and he is described in the documents as „germanus“ as well as „de perusio“. Could he, even though apparently a gentleman landowner rather than active as a merchant, have been a channel by which maiolica by Francesco found its way to Germany? In this connection it may be worth thinking about fig. 56, a plate by Francesco in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich¹²¹, with the death of Narcissus and a hitherto unidentified coat-of-arms, „~~azure~~ a chevron ~~or~~“. Another from the same set

(or)

azure

des Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz, 1898. Berlin 1899) and salts in Schloss Pillnitz, Dresden (38,532), and in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (F 851), Ivanova (note 61), no. 61. At least two, perhaps three painters, worked on this set, one of them being, probably, the painter of the group of marked pieces with two handwritings listed above.

¹²¹ A. Alverà Bortolotto (note 7), p. 55, illustrates the reverse.

¹²² J. Lessmann (note 6), no. 161; A. Alverà Bortolotto (note 7), p. 54.

is in Braunschweig¹²². The arms have been attributed to Alverà Bortolotto to the Trevisan family of Vercelli is possible, but the elaborate scrollwork and a type characteristic of German armorials. Even in this case – and I have not found a German coat of arms¹²³ – it is a speculation worth considering. The pieces by Francesco, or by Fedele Fulmine, or by the workshop of Guido di Merlini in Urbino, could have been commissioned, from Urbino or from Bagnolo, through Lang, for clients in Germany.

In 1729 the Augsburg enamel painter Bartholomäus Seuter was recorded by the traveller J. G. Keyssler „by him above a hundred earthen dishes by Francesco Duranei, who lived about the middle of the 16th century, and though not comparable to Raphael, are not without their beauty“¹²⁴. What Keyssler presumably a collection of Urbino „istoriato“ or at least some were signed by Francesco, and perhaps by other painters. It seems not improbable that some of these are in museums in Germany. I have long hoped that a scholar would examine the 16th- and 17th-century evidence, both archival and armorial, for the transformation of maiolica into Augsburg and Nuremberg. J. Lessmann's paper in this volume is a ground-breaking contribution to the Nuremberg side of this subject; and there is a probability more discoveries to be made.

¹²³ No promising-looking German names are listed as using „or azure“ in Théodore de Renesse: Dictionnaire des figures héraldiques, 1894-1903, vol. 5, 43.

¹²⁴ As cited by Bernard Rackham: Victoria and Albert Museum. Italian Maiolica. London 1933, p. 64: „über hundert gemalte irdene von Francesco Duranei“. See Johann Georg Keyssler: Travels in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorraine. London 1756-7, letter 10, vol. 1, p. 75.

Postscript

I owe to Clara Busti the reference¹²⁵ to two plates perhaps by Francesco which formed part of the dowry of an Umbrian lady in 1659, which seems of interest to add here. The description is from a list of the dowry of Filena Rossi Leoni, on the occasion of her marriage to Marcello Cantucci. Her property included a farm at Monte Bagnolo and also „doi piatti antichi fatti a Monte Bagnolo, uno legato in argento in una scatola, e l'altro semplice“ („two old plates made at Monte Bagnolo, one mounted in silver in a box and the other plain“). For the inventory clerk to describe the plates so specifically, they were probably marked as made at Monte Bagnolo. It seems a possibility that they had been painted by Francesco there and may never have left Monte Bagnolo. Interesting, too, is the fact that one was valued enough to be silver-mounted or framed, and boxed. If this is right, Francesco might have had mixed feelings to know the value that would be put on one of his works a century after the apparent failure of his Monte Bagnolo venture.

Appendix 1

Biographical note on Matthaeus Lang (Matthaeus Teininger, alias Langus de Germania superiori)
(by Serena Balzani, Tiziana Biganti, and Marina Regni, Archivio di Stato di Perugia¹²⁶)

Matthaeus Lang was a person of undoubted social and political prestige, described in documents as „dominus“ and „nobilis vir“. He was the natural son of Matthaeus Lang, Cardinal of Salzburg (Augsburg 1486 - Salzburg 1540), and the brother of Marco „of Lansburg“, mentioned by Cipriano Piccolpasso as „a diligent cosmographer and a good humanist“¹²⁷.

Matthaeus probably settled in Perugia in the 1520s, living in the district of Porta Sant'Angelo and in the parish of San Cristoforo. In 1537 he obtained from the civic authorities citizenship of Perugia in recognition of his valuable services as mediator between the city and Pope Paul III during the dramatic occupation of the territory of Perugia

by Papal troops. In the same year, 1537, he acquired the property at Monte Bagnolo, consisting of the „castello“ and some surrounding land. The documentation makes no mention of a kiln on the site, although it does mention other structures, including a baker's oven, conduits, and a water tank. In the same period he married Filomena di Mariotto Sozi, a rich widow belonging to a prominent family of merchants, as a result of which Lang acquired extensive property. His children were both girls: Foresta born in 1538, and Silvia the following year; the girls would marry two brothers who owned commercial businesses.

From 1544 to 1553 Matthaeus increased his patrimony with further acquisitions of buildings and landholdings in the Perugia countryside; and within the city, in 1551-53, he rented out a workshop beneath his own house. Despite his familiarity with the world of commerce, Lang appears to have been mainly involved in managing his own landed property and in selling its products and foodstuffs (especially wood and grain). This activity is extensively documented in the Notarial Archives: in particular, between 1555 and 1559, he received deliveries of fuel-timber from the land at Monte Bagnolo, which he sold locally.

From 1541 Matthaeus acted as guardian of his brother Marco, declared of unsound mind; he took him into his own house and took responsibility for maintaining him. The uneasy relations between the two brothers led, in 1563, to a hearing before the court of the Papal Legate, which concluded after three years in a ruling of legal incapacity against Marco, and with Matthaeus being entrusted with the administration of the residue of their inheritance from their father. By 1579 Matthaeus was dead. The previous September he dictated his will, making his daughter Silvia his universal heiress.

¹²⁵ Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Notarile, notaio Bordoni Tiberio, prot. 4040, cc. 296v-307r.

¹²⁶ Sources: Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio storico del comune di Perugia, Consigli e riformanze, 134, cc. 100v-101r; Catasti, II, 11, cc. 8r-9v; 27, c. 279r; Notarile, Protocolli, 711, cc. 309r-310v, 567r-568v, 584r-586v; 792, cc. 128v-132r; 1007, cc. 157r-158r, 197r-199r; 1088, cc. 43r-44r; 1127, cc. 148v-149v; 1339, cc. 1208v-1209r; 1976, cc. 131v-132v; Giudiziario antico, Processus, 493, fasc. 14; 576, fasc. 11; 750, fasc. 2.

¹²⁷ C. Piccolpasso (note 94), p. 88.

Appendix 2

Extracts from letter from Giocondo Ricciarelli to Timothy Wilson about documents in the Archivio di Stato di Perugia.

Perugia, 10 settembre 1984

Dear mr. Wilson

... Tutto quello che Lei mi dice ed anche l'esame delle allegate fotocopie è di grande interesse, ma prima di parlarne penso che sia opportuno che io Le dia più dettagliate notizie sul documento che ci interessa.

Ho rinvenuto il documento in un Fondo dell'Archivio di Stato di questa città. Il Fondo è archiviato col titolo „Processus” ed ha carattere giudiziario poichè formato di fascicoli di cause civili dibattute davanti ad Autorità ecclesiastiche. Sono circa tremila buste, ognuna contenente un numero vario di dossiers, per un tempo che va dal 1418 al 1820.

Il dossier che ci interessa è costituito da circa 75 carte (150 pagine) scritte in lingua latina, ed è intitolato:

„1550 - 28 maij

[processus] Mathei Langhi de Perusio et Mariocti Francisci de Villa Cordiliani contra plures”¹²⁸

Allegato al fascicolo di causa, forse, come prova, ho trovato un quadernetto di circa 35 carte (70 pagine) completamente scritto in volgare (italiano dell'epoca) da persona abitualmente usa a parlare in dialetto veneto.

La prima pagina del quadernetto reca questo „incipit”:

„+ in questi doj seguenti quinterneti farò mention/ de tucto il debito et credito/ [che] serà tra me Matheo Lango et/ maestro Fidele Fulmine da Urbino”.

L'oggetto della causa civile riguarda appunto un contratto di fornitura di legna da ardere per la fornace di Monte Bagnolo, di proprietà del Lang, affittata al maestro Urbinato per la fabbricazione di ceramiche artistiche.

I rapporti di lavoro del Lang col maestro Fidel Fulmine vanno dal 4 ottobre 1545 al 3 settembre 1547; a questa data appaiono cessati ed il mastro arrestato è condannato a pene pecuniarie e bandito dal territorio della Legazione di Perugia.

Subito dopo iniziano i rapporti col maestro Francesco Durantino e nel quadernetto, a carta 11, il Lang ripete:

„1547 - Qui farò mention de tucte le cose/che io spenderò per maestro Francesco Durantino et che lui haverà da me/ tanto in denari quanto in altre robbe et

piggion de la fornace/ et bodega de Monte Bagnolo. Sembra che le robe del maestro Fidel, lasciate a Bagnolo siano andate a risarcimento dei danni a Lang a da questi trattenute.

Tutto quanto viene rilevato del Durantino è fatto inventario per mano di Notaio; purtroppo indicato il Notaio ed il ritrovare l'atto sarà un'operazione difficilissima ed occorrerà molta fortuna per avere questo interessante inventario.

In fine, il rapporto del Lang col Durantino è datato del 2 settembre 1556, in cui appare il saldo reciproco, ma la produzione di ceramiche doveva già cessata da circa due anni, poichè non ne viene cenno e non compaiono più registrazioni di pezzi ceduti al Lang, a compenso delle spese da lui anticipate al maestro: per contanti e per le forniture di legna, di materie prime per la produzione e di vestimenta.

Più oltre nel tempo, il quadernetto viene utilizzato per registrare fatti interessanti la azienda rurale del Monte Bagnolo, come appare nel suo catasto.

Congetturando, senza prove, si può credere che la fornace di Monte Bagnolo preesistesse per la fabbricazione di mattoni, laterizi o terraglie domestiche; la destinazione della fornace alla produzione di ceramiche artistiche è probabile che sia stata organizzata con la fornitura di tale materiale al costruendo quartiere entro la cosiddetta „Fortezza Paolina” assai cara al Lang finchè visse ci veniva una volta all'anno.

A questo punto, ritorno alle fotocopie inviatemi¹²⁹, per dirle che io penso che il contratto dai tre maestri: Luca di Bartolomeo, Fedele di Giovanni e Francesco di Martino¹³⁰ col il maestro Guido di Urbino si colloca esattamente nei tempi indicati dal documento di Perugia; Fedele di Giovanni è il nostro Fidel Fulmine e Francesco di Martino è pure il nostro Fidel detto Durantino.

La produzione di Monte Bagnolo si inizia nel 1545 con il maestro Fidel e prosegue nel 1547 con il maestro Francesco. La lettura del testo da Lei inviatomi mi suggerisce l'esistenza di errori di trascrizione, dovuti forse al testo ma piuttosto credo al primo lettore, e sarà utile confrontare sull'originale, andando ad Urbino, il che io farò ...

Questo atto notarile andrà quindi pubblicato una seconda volta dal 1901 e l'omissione degli errori giustificata ampiamente ...

¹²⁸ Dr. Ricciarelli's description of the case's cover sheet is accurate but the cover sheet itself is doubly erroneous: the date should have been 1559, not 1550; and the case was Lang against Mariotto, not the two of them against others.

¹²⁹ This was in response to my sending Dr Ricciarelli a copy of the contract published by E. Scatassa (note 26), together with a draft of the projected joint article, dealing with pieces marked by and to Francesco.

¹³⁰ „Martino” instead of „Berardino” is an error in Scatassa's 1901 edition of the 1543 contract.

Il lavoro di preparazione procede con i miei tempi
nici, tenendo presente che io non posso pagarmi dei
pretari.

Devo portare a termine una prima lettura dell'intero
cesso, nelle cui pieghe, potrebbe trovarsi qualche
taglio, poi debbo trovare l'atto notarile recante
ventario di consegna fatto al Durantino, rileggere e
reggere la antica lettura del contratto di Urbino¹³¹.

Spero che la mia lettera, molto imperfetta nella forma,
sia di agevole lettura, tuttavia io sono a Sua disposizione
ogni eventuale chiarimento ...¹³²

Abstracts*:

Der Majolika-Maler Francesco Durantino: Mobilität und Zusammenarbeit bei Urbinater Istoriato-Malerei

Der Ausgangspunkt für diesen Beitrag ist eine Schale
im Germanischen Nationalmuseum. Sie zeigt Pomona und
ist ein typisches Beispiel von Francesco di Berardino aus
Castel Durante, sich selbst Francesco Durantino nennend,
einem der produktivsten Majolika-Malers der Schule von
Urbino.

Francesco lebte nachweislich in Urbino seit 1537.
Von ihm signierte oder monogrammierte Werke sind in
Wien (datiert 1543), Glasgow (1543), Schwerin (1544),
dem British Museum (1544) und in Stockholm (1546). Die
beiden Stücke in Wien und Schwerin tragen zudem eine
Bezeichnung, dass sie in der Werkstatt von Guido di Mer-
lino in Urbino entstanden waren. Ein Dokument von 1543
vermerkt Francescos Einwilligung für Guido zu arbeiten,
zusammen mit Fedele Fulmine and Luca Baldi. Neben an-
deren Werken, die Francesco zugeschrieben werden können
und wohl zu dieser Zeit entstanden, sind einige Kacheln
der Rocca Paolina in Perugia und eine Serie von Platten mit
der Geschichte des römischen Generals Scipio. Trotzdem,
Zuschreibungen an einzelne Majolika-Maler, die in Guido
di Merlino's Werkstatt tätig waren, sind schwierig, denn es
scheint, dass die Maler bei einigen Projekten zusammenge-
arbeitet haben.

Ein Becken im Art Institute of Chicago ist von Fran-
cesco signiert, mit dem Entstehungsort Monte Bagnolo,
nördlich von Perugia, bezeichnet und 1553 datiert; zwei
andere, ihm zugeschriebene Stücke, sind im British Mu-
seum und im Bargello sowie datiert 1547 und 1549. Der
Grund und Brennofen gehörte Matthäus Teininger (alias
Lang) aus Perugia, einem natürlichen Sohn von Kardinal
Matthäus Lang, dem Erzbischof von Salzburg. Ein No-
tizbuch im Archivio di Stato in Perugia, entdeckt vom
verstorbenen Giocondo Ricciarelli, aber momentan nicht
auffindbar, gab Einzelheiten des Unternehmens in Monte
Bagnolo. Aus diesem Notizbuch geht hervor, dass der
Ofen zwischen 1545 und 1547 von Fedele Fulmine genutzt
wurde, und von 1547 bis 1556 von Francesco Durantino.
Ein Francesco „de Nannis“ aus Castel Durante, mögli-
cherweise dieselbe Person, ist später als Töpfer in Rome
vermerkt und dort tätig bis 1575.

¹³¹ Dr Ricciarelli later retranscribed the 1543 document, which has
subsequently been republished in a new transcript by G. Gardelli (note 4),
240-241.

¹³² For help on the present paper, I thank museum colleagues and others who
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* Die Übersetzungen liegen in der Verantwortung des Verfassers.

Francescos Kompositionen scheinen Werken von Giulio Romano verpflichtet zu sein, während die Architektur auf seinen Platten die Auffassung des Architekten und Designers Girolamo Genga widerspiegelt.

Der Verfasser bemerkt, dass Francescos Werke und diejenigen anderer, die in der Werkstatt von Guido di Merlino nachweisbar sind, besonders in älteren deutschen und österreichischen Museen, wie Braunschweig, Stuttgart und Wien, nachweisbar sind und spekuliert darüber, ob sie möglicherweise bereits im 16. Jahrhundert in die deutschsprachigen Gebiete kamen.

Il pittore di maiolica Francesco Durantino: mobilità e collaborazioni nell'istoriato urbinato

Il punto di partenza di questo contributo è una coppa con Pomona nel Germanisches Nationalmuseum, lavoro esemplare di uno tra i più prolifici pittori di maiolica della scuola di Urbino; Francesco di Bernardino da Castel Durante, che si faceva chiamare Francesco Durantino.

Francesco viveva a Urbino almeno dal 1537. Suoi lavori dipinti in quella città, firmati o solo con le iniziali, sono a Vienna (datato 1543), Glasgow (1543), Schwerin (1544), il British Museum (1544) e Stoccolma (1546). I pezzi di Vienna e Schwerin sono marcati come fatti in Urbino nella bottega di Guido di Merlino. Un documento del 1543 riporta un accordo nel quale Francesco accetta di lavorare per Guido nel 1543 insieme a Fedele Fulmine e Luca Baldi. Tra gli altri lavori attribuibili a Francesco in questo periodo ci sono alcune mattonelle dalla Rocca Paolina di Perugia e una serie di piatti con storie del generale romano Scipione. Attribuzioni sicure ai pittori della bottega di Guido di Merlino sono complicate dal fatto che i pittori sembrano a volte collaborare tra loro.

Un bacile all' Art Institute di Chicago è firmato da Francesco come fatto a Monte Bagnolo, a nord di Perugia, nel 1553; altri suoi pezzi, nel British Museum e al Bargello, sono marcati come eseguiti lì nel 1547 e 1549. Il terreno e la fornace di Monte Bagnolo appartenevano a Matthaeus Teininger (alias Lang) di Perugia, figlio naturale del cardinale Matthaeus Lang, Arcivescovo di Salisburgo. Un taccuino trovato dall'ormai scomparso Giocondo Ricciarelli, nell'Archivio di Stato di Perugia (oggi perduto) fornisce dettagli del centro di produzione di Monte Bagnolo. Da questo taccuino, emerge che dal 1545 al 1547 la bottega fu usata da Fedele Fulmine, e dal 1547 al 1556 da Francesco Durantino.

Un Francesco „de Nannis” di Castel Durante, che potrebbe essere lo stesso uomo, viene ricordato come vasaio a Roma fino al 1575.

Le composizioni di Francesco sembrano a volte debitrice a Giulio Romano; mentre le architetture nei suoi piatti riflettono piuttosto il lavoro dell'architetto e progettista Girolamo Genga.

Chi scrive nota che i lavori di Francesco e di altri della bottega di Guido di Merlino sono particolarmente diffusi nelle più antiche collezioni tedesche, come Braunschweig, Stoccarda e Vienna; e ipotizza che possano aver raggiunto le terre di lingua tedesca già nel sedicesimo secolo.

Abbildungsnachweis

Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum: 1, 2; Wien, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: 3, 4, 21, 22, 40; Glasgow, City Museums and Art Galleries: 5, 6; Schwerin, Staatliches Museum: 7, 8, 9; Nürnberg, Archiv Dr. Pechstein: 13, 14, 32, 34; London, Victoria & Albert Museum: 15, 50, 51; Frankfurt/Main, Museum für Angewandte Kunst: 17, 18; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 19, 20, 30, 31; Leipzig, Grassimuseum: 28, 29; Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago: 33; Florenz, Museo Nazionale del Bargello: 37, 38, 39; Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum: 44; Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum: 47; München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum: 56; London, British Museum: 10-12, 35, 36; London, The Trustees of the Wallace Collection: 24, 25; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 16, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52-55; Deruta, Museo Regionale delle Ceramiche: 23; London, Bonham's: 26, 27; Verfasser: 41-43.