STUDIES FOR THE ATTRIBUTION OF A
"MADONNA AND CHILD" TO DOMENICO PULIGO

by

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To Dott. Luciano Berti, Director of the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and Professor of Art History, Pius XII Institute, Florence, I am indebted for his sincere and personal interest and encouragement in the undertaking and execution of this work. Full credit is due to Dott. Berti for the original attribution of the painting to Domenico Puligo.

Invaluable assistance was given to me by Prof. Ulrich Middeldorf, Director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence. His advice was particularly valuable in drawing the conclusions of this study.
My research was much facilitated by the cooperation of the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, by the personnel of the Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe at the Uffizi, Florence, of the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, of the Galleria Borghese, Rome, of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome, and of the faculty of Pius XII Institute, Florence.

I would also like to thank the photographers, Mr. George W. Cushing and Mr. Herbert P. Vose of Boston, who expertly and patiently photographed the painting which is the subject of this study.

For the typing of the final manuscript, I am indebted to my mother, Mrs. Byron G. Tosi.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. "Madonna and Child," owned by Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo G.W. Cushing, no. B5530A.


7. Drawing of a Madonna's face and head, Domenico Puligo, Uffizi no. 290 F, Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.


INTRODUCTION

In 1953 a sixteenth century Italian "Madonna and Child," Figure 1, came into the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi, of Chestnut Hill, Boston, Massachusetts. The painting was acquired by them in May, 1953, from Mr. Giovanni Castano, art dealer, Boston.

Since its acquisition there has been considerable discussion as to whom it may be attributed. The purpose of this study is to present the results of my research to tentatively attribute this authentic period painting to Domenico Puligo, 1492 - 1527, follower of Andrea del Sarto.

Permission was given to me by my parents to have the painting photographed and analyzed. After interviews with the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the purposefulness of my work became more justified, and intensive research was begun in Florence.

To arrive at an attribution of an unidentified painting, it is necessary to first establish the school and period in order to find an artist to whom it may be attributed. Preparatory drawings must be traced if they exist. The similarities in style of these elements should correspond to a particular artist's
characteristics and subsequently matched with the qualities of the painting in question.

This method has enabled me to arrive at the conclusion presented in this work.
CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF "MADONNA AND CHILD"

The "Madonna and Child" owned by Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi, Figure 1, is an authentic period painting of the early sixteenth century. A charming and graceful work, it has been the subject of considerable curiosity and interest as to its attribution.

The Madonna, seen in three-quarter position, is seated against a rustic landscape, with her head turned slightly to her right and looking tenderly down at the nude Infant Jesus whom she is holding seated on her right thigh. The Infant, looking down over his left shoulder, is gently lifting his mother's veil around to his right. The Madonna has her right hand on his right thigh, and her left hand is holding him at his waist. His left leg is bent, as he gently balances his left foot on his Mother's thigh, while his right leg dangles.

The coloring of the complete painting, Figures 2 and 3, is soft, except for the darker blue-green drapery over the
Madonna's knees. Her robe is red, with a yellowish cowl across her chest bordering the dress. The veil seems to be a mixture of violets and browns which blend into the landscape behind her. The flesh-tones are rosy, with highlights on the Madonna's face, the baby's left arm and left knee. In the landscape to the right there is a brightness at the skyline, which accentuates the tall thin pine tree and the outline of the rocky mountain behind the Madonna. To the left, the landscape is not certain. The outline of the mountain is identifiable nearer the edge of the painting, but the presence of another thin tree causes a curious illusion, as though it were seemingly set in space. However, beyond the edge of the mountain in the upper left, the landscape becomes more definite, with two thin trees and patches of greenery, which are also noted near the Madonna's robes along the left side of the painting.

The painting, executed on wood, measures 22 inches in width by 31 1/2 inches in height, and 1 3/8 inches in thickness. It seems, however, that a piece of wood had been added to the top of the painting, and thus, without this added piece, it would measure only 30 1/2 inches in height. On the right side of the painting, there is a long crack, measuring 20 1/2 inches long, which begins at the joint of the added piece and runs down to the point where the drapery covers the Madonna's knees. The back of
the painting proves interesting. Fourteen and one-half inches from the bottom of the painting, there is an area which is indented across the back of the panel, a groove, measuring 1 1/2 inches wide, signifying that this panel could have been originally set into a prepared frame, such as an altarpiece. In the upper left-hand part, there is a patch in the wood, ever so slightly raised, 5 1/2 inches wide, by 1 3/4 inches high. In the lower left-hand corner, there is a dark red seal, of either wax or paint, but with no identifiable markings.

At the time of its acquisition, Mr. Giovanni Castano told the buyers that he had bought the painting ten to twelve years previously, (ca. 1941-1943), from the Francis Shaw Collection, but that it came originally from the Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, which bought it in Italy in 1845. Mr. Castano also said that Adolfo Venturi viewed it and suggested that Mr. Castano take the painting to the now late Bernard Berenson in Florence, who could authenticate it.¹ When I personally discussed this matter with Mr. Castano in August, 1965, he stated that he bought the painting from an art dealer in New York City. Therefore, at the time of

¹ Interview with Mr. Giovanni Castano, art dealer, Boston, by Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi, May, 1953.
this writing, the actual collection from which this painting came, as well as its original departure date from Italy, cannot be definitely established.

On July 8, 1953, the painting was taken to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, for possible authentication. Mr. Hanns Swarzenski of the Department of Paintings viewed it and subsequently wrote his opinion:

Your Madonna and Child seems to be rather close to Andrea del Sarto and I feel strongly that it would be worth while to have it competently cleaned in order to see if it is an authentic painting by Andrea del Sarto.2

On November 3, 1954, Mr. William G. Constable, then Curator of Painting at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, studied the painting and his opinion was as follows:

I was very glad indeed to see your painting "Virgin and Child" which you brought here for examination today. In my opinion, it is certainly Florentine School of about 1550. I do not think it can properly be described as School of Andrea del Sarto, though the type and expression of the child undoubtedly reflects his influence. The Virgin, however, has another line of descent, and notably from Raphael. The combination of these two influences together with the proportions of the Virgin and the color, all point to its being of the

2 Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi from Mr. Hanns Swarzenski, Department of Paintings, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, July 8, 1953.
school and date I have mentioned. Probably intensive comparisons with the work among the painters active in Florence in the middle of the sixteenth century might enable one to make a more definite attribution. 3

In his discussion with Mrs. Tosi, Mr. Constable also pointed out that someone, about 200 years ago, retouched certain parts of it, especially the left-hand corner of the robe, (where there is visible damage to the baby's right foot), as well as the Virgin's left hand, the shadows on her neck, and the left side of her hairline, and possibly the landscape at the upper left-hand corner.

Today, the painting is in excellent condition, with only slight cracking in the paint from aging, notable only on the baby's face and stomach.

3 Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi from Mr. William G. Constable, Curator of Painting, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, November 3, 1954.
CHAPTER II
A PREPARATORY ENGRAVING

As Mr. Constable had suggested in his letter, intensive comparisons of Florentine painters who were active in the early part of the sixteenth century have been made, and have resulted in an artist to whom this painting may be attributed. In April, 1965, Dott. Luciano Berti, on seeing the photographs of the painting, first mentioned a possible attribution to Domenico Puligo. In November, 1965, I was directed by Dott. Berti to the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, where I was subsequently introduced to Dr. Hans Woner Grohn, a German scholar who is currently compiling the first complete catalogue of Puligo's works. His opinion supported that of Dott. Berti that this painting without a doubt was a work by Puligo. With this name somewhat definitely established, research work at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, the Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe at the Uffizi, Florence, and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, resulted in more concrete evidence for an attribution to Domenico Puligo.

The work of tracing possible preparatory sketches or
designs would be too vast to present in this study. After considerable research at the Gabinetto dei Disegni at the Uffizi on the original sketches of Puligo, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, Pontormo, Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, Sogliani, Mariotto Albertinelli, Franciabigio, and numerous other related minor artists of this epoch, the results have produced two major preparatory problems: an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi, follower of Raphael, and a drawing attributed to Pontormo.

Marcantonio Raimondi, Bolognese, 1487 to 1538?, studied the works of Durer in Venice, and later went to Rome. According to Vasari, a "Lucrezia" was the first engraving done by Raimondi in Rome, and this proved to be the beginning of his relationship with Raphael Sanzio. It is supposed that practically upon his arrival in Rome, ca. 1510, Raimondi began to reproduce the designs of Raphael. From several designs, obviously Raphael's, one can deduce that much liberty was granted to Raimondi who in turn added at random certain particulars to the master's composite sketches. Recently, arguments have been presented concerning Marcantonio's fantasy, and how this reflects on the originality.

of certain parts of the engravings. But it has been stated that
Marcantonio lacked such a capacity of innovation, and that he
destroyed his personal ambitions to work towards one end—fidelity. 2
Vasari wrote that Marcantonio and Agostino Viniziano between them
"engraved almost all the things that Raphael ever drew or painted." 3
In Gaudio's book, the following passage casts light on Marcantonio's
fidelity:

... generally the contours of the figures in all of
Marcantonio's engravings are so just, true, exact and
precise; the design is so pure, and so correct, that
Raphael could not better outline or design his own
figures. 4

The engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi which I here present
as a problem is described as follows by Bartsch: "The Virgin
Seated on the Clouds," Figure 4:

The Virgin is seated on the clouds, holding with her
two hands the Infant Jesus, sitting partly on his
Mother's right leg, lifting her veil with his two hands.
The Virgin has her left hand placed on the Infant's
left midriff, and her right hand on his right thigh.

2 Ibid., p. 142.
3 Giorgio Vasari, The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and
4 Luigi Gaudio, Il Fiore dell'Arte dell'Intaglio Nelle Stampe
(Padova: Tipografia della Minerva, 1823), p. 15. (Translated from the
Italian by the author).
One sees her hair floating on her left shoulder. Her head is encircled by an aurora, and her whole figure is enclosed in rays of glory. Engraved after Raphael by Marcantonio, whose seal, without initials, is seen at the lower right.5

An exact copy of this engraving was executed by Enee Vico, as described in Bartsch's Le Peintre Graveur, Vol. XV, page 283, no. 6.

A repetition is described as follows:

This piece is a repetition of the preceding no. 52, engraved with several changes, in that the Virgin is holding the Infant Jesus with her right hand under his armpit; that the hair floating on the Virgin's left shoulder is omitted; that the rays of glory at the right and left of the engraving are missing. Also, the direction of the lines are completely different. Mariette is convinced that this engraving was similarly engraved by Marcantonio.6

J.D. Passavant describes another engraving, "The Virgin Seated on the Clouds," executed after the designs of Raphael:

She is holding the Infant Jesus against her left side. Four little angels in the clouds. This is perhaps a preparatory design for the Madonna of Foligno.7

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6 Ibid., p. 60, no. 53. (Translated from the French by the author).
After a close comparison it is rather obvious that Marcantonio's engraving, Figure 4, is a reversed study of Raphael's "Madonna of Foligno," Vatican Museum, Figure 5, executed in about 1511. As previously stated, Marcantonio's acquaintance with Raphael began about 1510, so the conclusion that Marcantonio engraved Figure 4 after Figure 5 can be somewhat definite. The similarities and differences are obvious. The compositions are reversed. Both Madonnas are seated on the clouds; the positioning of her feet, knees and drapery in that area are almost identical; the Infant is held by his Mother on her upper thigh, leaning out to hold her veil, or to pull it around him; the positioning of both heads, and their glances downward are identical. The main differences occur in the study of the background, the Madonna's dress decoration, her hair, and the position of her hands on the baby, and his hands as he holds her veil.

Comparison with innumerable photographs of paintings executed during the early part of the sixteenth century showed that the only study similar to the painting owned by Mr. and Mrs. Tosi was Raphael's "Madonna of Foligno," that is, a Madonna whose Child is holding or pulling her veil. And once this finding, as well as that of the engraving in reverse to Raphael's "Madonna of Foligno," was established, the following statement may now be
presented. Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of a "Virgin and Child Seated on the Clouds" is an exact study for the "Madonna and Child" painting in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Tosi.

There is one major difference however. The painting has a landscape for a background, whereas in the engraving, the Madonna is enthroned on the clouds. The artist of the painting changed only the Virgin's wavy hair, the folds of her drapery around her stomach, and added halos and extra drapery near the baby's right leg. Particulars otherwise have remained faithful to the engraving. The positioning of both figures remains true, except that in the painting there is a slight difference in spacing between the baby's head and hair near his Mother's cheek. Their glances are identical; the folds and details of her robes are identical, even to the two small buttons on her sleeve. The hands of both figures show the exact curvature and placing of the fingers. The contours of the baby's body, muscle structure, shadows - every "chubby" part corresponds to the engraving. The same may be said of the Madonna's face in both works, even to the curvature of her ear, to the shadows around her eyes, the part in her hair, the double-chin line.

Since no dates have been given for either work, it can only be presumed that, as the engraving is a reversed study of the
"Madonna of Foligno" which was executed ca. 1511, then the engraving must have been done around that date. If it can be established that the painting was copied directly from this engraving, the painting may be dated shortly after.
CHAPTER III

PREPARATORY DRAWINGS

In tracing possible original preparatory sketches for the painting, work at the Gabinetto dei Disegni at the Uffizi produced many studies of Madonnas and Infants in similar, but mostly reversed positions. These studies were attributed and easily recognizable as preparatory sketches for the various artists' final paintings. Only one study drawing from all of the original sketches of the artists examined and analyzed proved to bear the necessary resemblance. The study is a "putto," an infant or angel, executed in red chalk, found among the works of Jacopo Pontormo, Uffizi catalogue no. 272 F, Figure 6.

As noted, the positioning of this child is in close approximation to that of the child in the painting, Figure 1. Both Infants are half-sitting and half-standing; on each the left leg is bent, and the right leg straight; both have their left arm reaching across their chest, with the right arm
positioned underneath; and both Infants are looking over their
left shoulder. The positioning, as well as the particulars, though
quite similar, are not identical. In the sketch the figure is more
elongated, as noted in the spacing between the left thigh and the
left arm. The Infant in the painting is counterbalanced against
his Mother, and more is seen of his chin-line, and the right side
of his face; whereas, in the drawing, the Infant leans completely
back to his right, his upper left arm practically hiding the lower
part of his face. The muscle structure and the shadowing of the
arms and legs is somewhat parallel, if one takes into consideration
the slight changes in positioning and later adaptations. The major
differences in the drawing can be seen in the baby's stomach
muscles, which are more pronounced than in the painting. The same
may be said of the muscles in the baby's upper left thigh.

In Janet Cox Rearick's book, The Drawings of Pontormo,
this drawing is described as such:

Uffizi 272 F; Study of a Putto; 225 x 150; red chalk;
inscribed in red chalk: Andrea. This putto was given
to Andrea del Sarto by Ferri, Jacobsen and Knapp (as for
the Dresden altar), to Pontormo by Berenson and Marcucci,
and to an Andrea assistant of ca. 1515 - 1518 by Clapp.
Although this study recalls both Andrea's and Pontormo's
drawings of ca. 1513 - 1515 (ct. cat. 15), it is not by
either artist. The extremely soft quality of the
surface, the lack of an underlying structure to the
forms, and the somewhat mechanical modelling suggest Puligo, who was Andrea's assistant at the time of the Dresden altar and in the years following.\(^1\)

This particular drawing is listed under "Attributed Drawings."

Freedberg stated that toward 1512, at about 18 years of age, Pontormo was "competent enough to become - apparently on a contract basis, like Puligo - an assistant to Andrea del Sarto. Attempts to discern Pontormo's participation in works by Sarto have not been successful, and it is likely that the nature of their association did not in fact result in actual collaborations."\(^2\)

In Andrea del Sarto's "Marriage of St. Catherine," Dresden, executed in 1513, there are three angels, two of which are in similar positions to that of the child in the drawing attributed to Pontormo. Since it has been established that Pontormo was an assistant under del Sarto beginning in 1512, and the Dresden altar-piece was done in 1513, it is very likely or possible that this drawing could be a study for the altar-piece.

But the main question is that this particular drawing has


not been definitely attributed to either Pontormo or Andrea del Sarto, but rather now to Puligo, who was Andrea's assistant at the time of the Dresden altar and later. And the presence of two angels in the altar-piece, similar to the drawing as well as to the child in the painting in question, leads to another hypothesis, since Puligo assisted del Sarto in executing the altar-piece, and since he may also have been the artist of the painting owned by Mr. and Mrs. Tosi.

However, how is certitude established that Puligo is the artist of the sketch, rather than Pontormo? Bernard Berenson began reducing the number of drawings attributed to Pontormo, clarifying some of the confusion between Pontormo and del Sarto, due to recent emergence of their contemporaries as distinctive individuals. More recently, many drawings have been assigned to less important draughtsman, such as Sogliani, Puligo, and Bacchiacca. These artists, strongly influenced in their graphic style by both Andrea and Pontormo, are responsible for a number of so-called early Pontormo chalk drawings. In particular,

numerous other drawings attributed to Pontormo are now being proposed as more Puligesque, due to Puligo's style of drawing, characterized by a soft roundness of the forms, sfumato, and a vagueness of the features.

A comparison may be made between the drawing of the child, Figure 6, and a study of a Madonna's face and head, Figure 7, definitely attributed to Puligo, presently found in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi no. 290 F. Both of these drawings, though reflecting different sharpness in the outline, reveal Puligo's quality of roundness, as noted in the Madonna's cheeks, chin-line, and neck, as well as the baby's complete figure. There is a soft vagueness to her facial features, as well as her hairline. The noted characteristic in both is the lack of an underlying structure to the forms. Other than the baby's evident muscle structure, mostly in outline, there is only a modelling of the forms, rather than a noted bone structure. Nothing is harsh or dominating in either of these drawings. Thus, it is more than likely that the drawing of the child is also by Puligo.

Another important comparison may be made between the drawing of the Madonna, Figure 7, and the Madonna in the Tosi's
painting, Figure 1. Though the heads are not in identical positions, the drawing helps to establish the Puligesque qualities in the painting, an important and necessary factor in attempting to attribute this painting to Puligo. The most prominent similarities are to be found in the outline and shape of the face, oval, with a more defined chin projection, in the shape and softness of the mouth, in the wide separation between the elongated, slit eyes, in the shape and shadowing of the nose, in the subtlety of the eyebrows, shadowing and bone-structure in that area, and in the hairline, with a defined part in the middle, which, if this painting is by Puligo, is one of his few paintings with this characteristic.

With the drawing of the Madonna's face and head, Figure 7, actually by Puligo, and with the drawing of the child, Figure 6, attributed to Puligo, both of which are most similar in style and positioning to the painting in question, it may be proposed that Puligo, being the artist of these preparatory sketches, may be the artist of the "Madonna and Child" owned by Mr. and Mrs. Tosi.
CHAPTER IV

THE MADONNAS OF DOMENICO PULIGO

Domenico Puligo, 1492 - 1527, studied in the workshop of Ridolfo di Domenico Ghirlandaio, who kept a number of young men engaged in painting. According to Vasari's accounts, Puligo was the best in design, and also a more charming and graceful colorist than the others. But Puligo replaced his early model when, as stated by Freedberg, almost certainly in 1513, he was employed by Andrea del Sarto to assist him. As Vasari described it, Andrea proved to be not only a mere teacher, but also an intimate friend, in that he showed Puligo his work and instructed him how to avoid the faults and errors committed by those who never take others into their confidence. As a result of this friendship, Puligo's works are well drawn and beautifully colored. Had he studied more laboriously, he no doubt would have achieved greater excellence.

Madonnas constitute the major part of Puligo's works, and these present us with excellent examples to study the progress of his style. The first accounting of Puligo's style came from Vasari:

He rendered his painting soft without dying his works or making them crude, causing the distances to recede gradually as if veiled by a mist, thus endowing his productions with relief and grace. Although the outlines of his figures gradually vanish so that they cannot be exactly determined, yet the expression of the heads and his coloring give pleasure, and he always adopted the same style, causing his works to be valued while he lived.2

Freedberg states that what seems to be Domenico's earliest extant independent work is a "Madonna and Child with St. John," Rome, Palazzo Venezia, ca. 1512 - 13, Figure 8. In this work, Puligo still reflects Ridolfo's approximately contemporary painting style, that of the conservative Cinquecento Florentines, in that Puligo displays a very nearly archaic insistence on line in the painting's execution.3 The outstanding characteristic that distinguishes Puligo from his teacher Ridolfo is the presence of sentimentality, obvious in the expression of the Madonna and Child in communication with the spectator, as well as in St. John's

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glance at the Infant. Puligo's insistence on line and drawing is particularly noted in the outline of the Infant's body, in the profile of St. John's face, and in the preciseness of the curls. There is a gracefulness in the execution of the landscape seen through the window which, as Vasari has stated, recedes gradually into the distance as if veiled by a mist.

In about 1513, Puligo became an assistant to Andrea del Sarto, and it is here that a noted change in Puligo's expression begins, with the "Madonna and Child with St. John Approaching in a Landscape," 1515, Rome, Galleria Borghese, Figure 9. That constraint and stiffness is no longer seen as in his earliest Madonna; no longer is there that conservative mood of expression. The harsh lines become more dissolved, the details less accentuated, the expression more lively, the image more active. Compared with his earliest Madonna, Figure 8, noted similarities are in the positioning of the Madonna's head and her communication with the spectator, in her facial features, in the type of dress, notably in the billowy sleeve and the bordering on her dress, and in the baby's muscle structure. The first painting is more static whereas the presence of St. John approaching in the background adds movement to the second painting. The landscape behind the
Madonna, with its vagueness of order, nonetheless is an added element of movement.

Puligo's progress of style may be observed in yet another painting, "La Sacra Famiglia," Rome, Galleria Borghese, painted in ca. 1520, Figure 10. Distinctive in its grace and charm, the painting shows the Madonna and Child with St. Joseph and a young St. John the Baptist set against a misty, softly toned background. It is obvious that Domenico has become more responsive to Andrea del Sarto's softness of forms. Not only does this painting reveal Puligo's draughtsmanship and a roundness of form, but also a more humanistic expression which is communicated to the Virgin by St. Joseph, then to the Infant by the Virgin, and in turn, by the Infant and St. John to the spectator. Through this element, movement is achieved within the painting itself. Adding to this is the use of chiaroscuro, in which the play of darks and lights leads one in and out of this work. The brightness at the horizon line accentuates depth. The highlights on the face of the Virgin, the Infant and St. John, bring the action to the foreground, whereas St. Joseph is recessed into the shadows, and the dark drapery in the middle creates the illusion of recession. The drapery of the Virgin's dress and veil have become more fluid,
as well as the rendering of hair in each of the personages. Puligesque qualities are also to be noted in the facial features of the Virgin and Child which, in following the progress of his style from his first Madonna to this one, have become more Sartesque. A work to be noted with definite Sartesque qualities is the Madonna's facial expression in Figure 11, "Madonna and Child with Two Angels."

Another work which proves interesting to this study is a "Magdalen," Rome, Capitoline Museum, Figure 12. Puligo's style of drawing becomes most evident in this particular painting, especially if one makes a comparison with Puligo's drawing of a Madonna's face and head in Figure 7. Likewise, in the painting, the most noted characteristic is the lack of an underlying structure to the form. Every feature is softly molded and modelled, with no apparent bone structure. The outline of the figure vanishes and in certain parts cannot be exactly determined, as noted on her left side at her neck and shoulder-line. The expression, though somewhat melancholy, is nonetheless pleasing. The elongated, almond-shaped eyes, the lack of defined eyebrows, her high hairline, her soft mouth and projected chin-line are all typically Puligesque. The light drapery across her bust accentuates Puligo's tendency to model his forms.
From these five paintings alone the progression of style from a more static conservative rendition, inherited from Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, to a freer, less formal interpretation, from Andrea del Sarto and Fra Bartolommeo, leads one to believe that Puligo might have been too easily influenced by his teachers. Despite the fact that Puligo did borrow much from these artists, it does not take away from his highly personal treatment of forms and subject matter.

These paintings along with other studies of the Madonna and Child or the Holy Family, especially those in the Pitti Gallery, Florence, display Puligo's particular characteristics needed in the study of the "Madonna and Child" owned by Mr. and Mrs. Tosi, Figure 1.

For composition, Puligo followed the same pattern, in that the Infant in nearly every "Madonna and Child" is either to the extreme left or right side or leaning across his Mother's lap. Aside from his earliest Madonna, nearly every other Child has one arm reaching across his body or reaching over to his Mother. In nearly every work, the Infant has one leg bent, and the other straight. In his earlier works, the Madonna looks out to the spectator, but later, her glance is down at her infant Son.
Another point to be noted is that in nearly every Madonna, one of her shoulders is usually not seen, hidden by the Infant's head.

As Puligo progressed and his style became freer, certain elements showed a marked change. Earlier, Puligo had stressed detail in the hair and curls, in dress decoration, in his defined outlines, and in his preciseness of landscape. Later, each of these elements achieved a softness, as though seemingly Puligo had taken less care in executing the particulars. But it must also be remembered that in the later working years before he died, he was an intimate contemporary of del Sarto, Fra Bartolommeo, Pontormo and Rosso.

Thus the qualities and particulars to be stressed in comparing Puligo's Madonnas with the painting in question are the positioning of both figures, dress, facial features, and landscape.

As noted in Puligo's other works, the Infant is seated on his Mother's lap and is on the extreme left of the painting, his left arm reaching across his body to lift her veil. In this position his head hides his Mother's right shoulder. As in most of Puligo's Infants, even this one has his left leg bent and his right leg straight. Both the Madonna and Child are glancing downward, evoking that sentimentality that Puligo had always
created. The most notable likenesses appear in the facial features of the Madonna. In the painting in question, it is obvious that the same model was used as for his other Madonnas. The oval face, most similar especially to the Madonna's face in Figure 9, the widely separated almond-shaped eyes, the subtle eyebrows, the molded nose, the soft mouth, the modelled cheek and chin structure, all point to Puligo. The "Magdalen," Figure 12, also helps to see this similarity. Another example of a Madonna's face more like the one in question is in the "Holy Family," Pitti Gallery, Florence, inv. no. 294. The Madonna in this painting has the same downcast slit eyes, the same mouth and the shadowing in that area, a similar chin-line, a fuzzy hairline, and even the same type of thin halo encircling her head.

This same painting in the Pitti also shows a marked similarity in the landscape, seen through an open window, with a similar brightness at the horizon line, and the tall willowy pine trees, also noted in Figures 8 and 10. In a previous discussion of the landscape in the painting in question, it was pointed out that a pine tree seemed to be set in space against the rocky mountain, but if studied closely, Figure 10 shows the identically placed tree.
The Madonna's dress type in each work is typically Florentine, with a red under-robe, a blue-green mantle draped over her knees, and a brownish-violet veil. There is usually some decoration or cowl drapery at the neckline.

Her body form under the drapery reveals the tenuous shape that Puligo gave to each of his Madonnas, accenting her motherhood and femininity. Also to be noted in his Madonnas are the long willowy fingers that are gently curved, and in most of his works, the thumb is usually hidden.

Despite the progression in details, Puligo nonetheless retained a similar hairline in the Infant's curls, with a shock of them falling onto the forehead. The interpretation of the curls in the painting in question is much freer than in any of his other Infants. Also, the figure of the Infant in each of his works retains a certain "chubbiness," noted particularly in his legs and arms. In his numerous paintings of the Madonna and Child, Puligo seems to have portrayed the Infant at the same age, as well as the Madonna, both of whom retain a youthful, lively quality.
The Madonnas which constitute the major part of Puligo's production permit us to follow the development of his artistic ideas. From the characteristics of his art, as defined in the previous discussions, Puligo, in his earlier works, derived a certain hardness of forms and darker shadows from Ridolfo. However, under the influence of Andrea del Sarto, these gave way to a more sfumato manner of painting. His softness of coloring left his forms enveloped as though in a mist, which, in turn, rendered grace and charm to his paintings. In the construction of his figures, the outlines became less defined, a result of his delicate coloring.

Taking into consideration Puligo's qualities of design, form, coloring, and various particulars, the painting owned by Mr. and Mrs. Tosi reveals with a great exactness, Puligo's characteristics. In Puligo's development of style, from Ridolfo's to del Sarto's influence, this painting can be most likely dated...
as one of his later ones, probably between 1523 and 1525. The obvious trend from stiffness to softness suggests the date mentioned, since the Tosi's "Madonna and Child" is one of his least defined works as well as one of his most beautiful and gracious. This is evident in the baby's face and figure, the Madonna's face and hands, and in the very hazy landscape.

Though many of Puligo's paintings are darker in coloring than this one, note Figures 2 and 3, this may be attributed to heavy varnishing and age, which the Tosi's painting seems to have survived. Puligo's refined and tenuous colors are most evident in the warm red of the dress, the rich blue-green mantle, the tender violets of the veil, the rocky brown mountain, the accent of yellow light at the horizon of the misty blue sky.

The particular style of painting in the "Madonna and Child" in question points to Domenico Puligo. As established in a preparatory study, an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi is an exact study for the Tosi's "Madonna and Child." This engraving seems to be a reverse study of Raphael's "Madonna of Foligno," ca. 1511, and thus the engraving must have been executed around that time, and the painting copied directly, or used as a model for the painting, which would then substantiate the dating of the painting in the
Puligo became an assistant to Andrea del Sarto ca. 1513, and collaborated with him in the Dresden altarpiece, 1513, in which there are two angels who are in similar positions to the child in the drawing, Figure 6, recently attributed to Puligo. And this child is in a similar position to the Infant in the Tosi's painting.

The drawing of a Madonna's face and head, Figure 7, is also similar to the Madonna in the painting.

The engraving as an exact study for the painting, the two drawings by and attributed to Puligo, the comparisons of Puligo's style with marked similarities to the painting, lead to the conclusion that the painting owned by Mr. and Mrs. Byron G. Tosi is an authentic period painting of the first quarter of the sixteenth century by the Florentine artist, Domenico Puligo.

To substantiate this attribution to a greater degree, further research should be done to document the collection from which the painting originally came, its date of departure from Italy and arrival in the United States. X-raying of the painting is recommended.

A more definite conclusion to the final attribution of
the "Madonna and Child" will be made when the results of my research are passed on to Dr. Hans Woner Grohn of the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, who will include this attribution in the catalogue of Puligo's works which he is presently compiling.
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