

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 19147

CALL No. 702.0945/Har

D.G.A. 79

D.G.A. 79

8517

R. 27/21-

~~1200~~
~~12003~~

FLORENTINE ART
UNDER FIRE

23/12

FLORENTINE ART UNDER FIRE



BY FREDERICK HARTT

19147

702.0945
Harr



PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

1949

439
~~25.9.1950~~
709.45/has.

COPYRIGHT, 1949, BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 19147.....

Date 21.1.63.....

Call No. 702.0945/Har.....

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY PRESS AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

TO PEGGY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to thank individually all those who collaborated in the work described in this book. Of many I have no trace, not even their names. Others are mentioned at length in the description of incidents in which they took part. Nonetheless there are many to whom I owe a special word of appreciation. Prof. Ernest DeWald and Mr. John Ward Perkins, as director and deputy director respectively of the Monuments and Fine Arts Sub-commission of ACC, placed me in my assignment with a full knowledge of the magnitude of the responsibility and gave me whole-hearted support. Prof. Deane Keller and Prof. Norman Newton were understanding superiors during the periods when some portion of my duties fell under their jurisdiction. Col. Robert G. Kirkwood, my Regional Commissioner, was as fine a commanding officer as I ever had the good fortune to obey, and Brig. Gen. Edgar Erskine Hume gave me the same measure of support he would have accorded to one of his own officers. To Cecil Pinsent, Roger Enthoven, and Edward Croft-Murray I owe a debt of gratitude for their devoted work in Florence. Without such Provincial Commissioners as Colonels Rolfe of Florence, Nichols of Siena, Walters of Pisa, Mc Bratney of Pistoia and Quin-Smith of Arezzo the work here described would not have been possible.

The Italian Superintendents not only did excellent work but were loyal to the Allied officers who worked with them during the war and its aftermath. Comm. Giovanni Poggi, Profs. Filippo Rossi, Ugo Procacci, Raffaello Niccoli, Piero Sanpaulesi, and their assistants deserve my warm thanks. I wish also to express my appreciation to Commendatore Poggi, Professor Procacci, and Sig. Bruno Farnesi for permitting me to publish their narratives. My assistants in the MFAA office, Signorina Ester Sermenghi, Miss Ingeborg Eichmann, Paul O. Bleecker, Franco Ruggenini, and Alessandro Olschki were hard workers and good friends.

Work would have been infinitely more difficult without the hospitality and friendship of Donna Lucrezia Corsini, in whose palace I stayed for ten months. Chief among the other Italians whom I would like to thank for innumerable personal kindnesses are Count and Countess Guido Rasponi, Countess Bocchi-Bianchi dei Franceschi, Comm. Aldo Olschki, Mons. Giuseppe Bertocci, Prof. Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, Prof. Mario Salmi, Sen. Gaetano Pieraccini, Comm. and Signora Marino Querci. To the architects, inspectors, parish priests, officers, soldiers, engineers, carabinieri, my appreciation for the help they gave, each in his own sphere.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One hardly knows where to begin to thank Bernhard Berenson. Throughout the difficult winter of 1944-1945 he and Signorina Nicky Mariano gave me the kind of moral support that made even failures seem worth while.

Finally my sincere thanks to Miss Margot Cutter of Princeton University Press, for her encouragement and for her help in revising the manuscript.

Acknowledgment for the use of photographs is made to the Superintendency of Galleries, Florence, for Figures 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 38, 39, 45, 47, 48, and 49; to Alinari for Figures 7, 11, 20, and 44; and to Brogi for Figures 1, 5, 6, and 15.

New York, January 17, 1949

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	3
II. SIENA AND ITS PROVINCE	9
III. THE PICTURES OF FLORENCE	15
IV. THE LIBERATION OF FLORENCE	36
V. SALVAGE IN AND AROUND FLORENCE	48
VI. MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES	67
VII. SALVAGE IN PISA AND AREZZO	80
VIII. THE RETURN OF THE FLORENTINE ART TREASURES	96
APPENDIX	111
I. INTACT MONUMENTS	113
II. DAMAGED MONUMENTS AND THEIR REPAIRS	118
III. MONUMENTS TOTALLY DESTROYED	143
IV. DESTROYED WORKS OF ART	145
V. WALLED-UP PICTURES	146

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES	FOLLOWING	110
MAPS		
1. TUSCANY		126
2. GERMAN CONVOY ROUTES		126
3. DAMAGED AND DESTROYED AREAS OF FLORENCE		140

FLORENTINE ART
UNDER FIRE

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Allied Control Commission
AFHQ	Air Force Headquarters
AMG	Allied Military Government
AMGOT	Allied Military Government Occupied Territory
BBC	British Broadcasting Company
CAO	Civil Affairs Officer
CNL	Committee of National Liberation
MFAA	Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives
OP	Observation Post
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PBS	Peninsular Base Section
SCAO	Senior Civil Affairs Officer
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters American Expeditionary Force

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

EVERY region of Italy is rich in works of art, but none so rich as Tuscany. Wars have passed over it. Time, weather, vandalism and neglect have destroyed possibly more than remains. Rare prizes have been carried off by invaders or sold by priests and private owners. Yet what is left in the birthplace of the Renaissance is still the greatest and most nearly complete artistic heritage that mankind possesses. In peacetime thousands of tourists visited the Tuscan cities each year, many hundreds went to the hill towns, some indefatigable students always managed to reach the remote villages, each of which cherished some fine fresco or sculpture or church tower, or was itself, complete with walls and towers on its hilltop, a work of art. To the student who knew Italy before the war the beauty of the Tuscan towns and cities, the magnificence not only of the Pitti and the Uffizi but of the scores of provincial collections, the grandeur of the churches and the palaces, must have seemed as inviolable as the matchless Tuscan landscape.

What happens when this dense fabric of human achievement, so infinitely precious, so incalculably old, so carefully guarded, is struck by the full force of modern warfare? This is what I shall try to record in the following pages. It is a chapter of recent history, in which I hope Allied successes and Allied failures will receive equally objective treatment, and in which honest German attempts to protect and to save works of art will be related side by side with the concerted Nazi program under which Tuscany was to be insofar as possible despoiled of her art treasures. German mines, often needlessly, obliterated a high proportion of Tuscan monuments; Allied bombers damaged many a church and palace with bombs intended for nearby railway yards or troop concentrations. What remained intact was protected and what was injured was salvaged through fourteen months of ceaseless efforts by Allied and Italian officials in daily collaboration. I cannot hope to tell the whole story. Many an event, of intense significance for us who lived through these unforgettable months, can no longer be recaptured in anything like its full force. I have tried therefore to include in this account only the most dramatic incidents; more complete information is recorded in the Appendix.

The Italian authorities had done, as we later found out, almost everything possible to protect their country's treasures against bombardment. In most cities every movable work of art from churches and museums had been taken to villas, castles, or monasteries outside the city to form deposits guarded by local custodians and periodically inspected by expert restorers from the great mu-

INTRODUCTION

scums. In addition, the contents of many of the largest libraries and archives had also been evacuated to similar deposits in order to preserve illuminated manuscripts, early printed books, and valuable historical documents.

Those works which could not be moved—frescoes on church walls, sculptured portals, pulpits, fonts, and tombs, carved decorations on church façades—were covered to minimize the damage from high explosives. Granted that no feasible shelter could be designed to protect these works from direct hits, it was still possible to reduce the even more frequent danger from nearby explosions. After preliminary protection by paper or cloth to prevent scratches to the surface, these immovable works of art were generally hidden behind a barrier of sandbags held in place by a scaffold, and sometimes an additional wall of reinforced concrete or of brick. Unusually slender columns were often sheathed in brickwork to the top, and fragile arches propped at the center by piers of brick. In the case of frescoes, air holes had to be left in the protective walls to permit circulation of air and prevent the growth of mold. But works of architecture could not be protected on any extensive scale. Their size and their number made that impossible.

This work of protection was the responsibility of Italian government agencies. All works of art in Italy are under the supervision of the Superintendencies of Monuments and Galleries, jurisdiction of archives and libraries falling to the Ministry of the Interior. These Superintendencies, of which there are more than fifty, are responsible to a General Direction of Fine Arts, part of the Ministry of Public Instruction. With few exceptions the Superintendencies are staffed with an unusually competent group of art historians, architects, restorers, who have the final word on all questions relating to the preservation of works of art considered part of the national heritage, even if they are private property. In this connection it should be observed that most museums in Italy are not, as in the United States, private corporations, but are the residue of the numerous royal or ducal collections of the great principalities into which Italy was formerly divided, and to which in 1870 the united Italian State fell heir. Furthermore, the Italian Kingdom also expropriated the holdings of the Church throughout Italy, so that Church buildings became government property. Parish and cathedral churches were left to the occupancy of the clergy, while the State, since it had confiscated the Church lands from which income was derived, assumed the responsibility for the maintenance of the Church buildings in perpetuity. Monastic establishments were in many cases sold back to the monastic orders. Very often, however, they were used by the State as office buildings, barracks for troops or carabinieri, or sold to private individuals. Many Italian palaces came under State control, either through direct inheritance by the Crown or through purchase. But whether public or private property,

INTRODUCTION

Italian law provides strong safeguards for the maintenance of the condition and original appearance of any building of artistic importance.

To the Allies, also, the safety of Italian art was a cause for deep concern. The story of Roosevelt's appointment of the Commission for the Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas, generally known as the Roberts Commission, needs no retelling. This commission had a British counterpart, installed in the War Office in London, and both American and British commissions suggested the appointment of specific experts on art to the staffs of the military commanders in the fields. These officers, known as Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Officers (generally abbreviated to MFAA), were provided with exhaustive lists and maps indicating the location of the monuments and collections. The lists were the result of many months of devoted labor by American scholars.

The first MFAA officers in Italy were attached to the headquarters of AMOCT in Sicily. On the establishment of the Allied Control Commission (known as the ACC), a Subcommission for Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives was founded under the ACC with authority over the entire artistic heritage of Italy as long as it remained under direct Allied control. Throughout most of its work this Subcommission was under the leadership of Major, later Lieutenant Colonel, Ernest T. DeWald, Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University, an outstanding authority on mediaeval art and Italian painting. He was assisted by a British Deputy Director, Maj. John B. Ward Perkins, a classical archaeologist, now director of the British School in Rome. Another MFAA officer was assigned to Fifth Army and still another to Eighth Army as staff officers of the army AMG, for each army commander had his own fairly autonomous AMG organization, guided only in the broadest sense by directives from ACC in Naples (later in Rome). The rest of the MFAA officers were assigned to the staffs of the regional commissioners of the various regional AMG's into which Italy was to be divided, directly responsible to the ACC. While these regions, such as Campania, Apulia, Umbria, Tuscany, Lombardy, each contained several Italian governmental provinces, they corresponded in a general way to the basic regional divisions of the nation. I had the good fortune to be the regional MFAA officer for Tuscany.

On the basis of material furnished by the Roberts Commission and by the Harvard American Defense Group, as well as from Baedeker and the indispensable twenty-four volume *Guida d'Italia* published by the Touring Club Italiano, we published our own *Lists of Protected Monuments*, slender, pocket handbooks with two or three regions in each booklet. Each contained a copy of General Eisenhower's famous order to his commanders to protect cultural treasures insofar as was possible in the progress of the war. This was followed

INTRODUCTION

by a specific order from Headquarters Allied Armies in Italy forbidding the occupation of any monument on the list except under certain narrowly limited conditions. Then there was an alphabetical list of the towns, their geographical coordinates keyed to the military maps, and all their principal buildings and collections of cultural importance listed. Our information about the location of deposits of works of art was fairly vague at the time the lists were published in Naples, in the absence of complete Italian government records available only in Rome, but we included all deposits known to us. These pocket lists were distributed to all commanders down to battalion level, and were extremely helpful in controlling thoughtless damage by troops after a given area was taken.

The duty of the army MFAA officers was to reach all important artistic objectives as rapidly as the progress of military operations permitted, make a complete survey of the condition of the monuments and collections in each town or village, and report at once on their findings. While the original report was addressed to the senior civil affairs officers of the AMG of the appropriate army, a copy went to ACC for the information of the Subcommittee and another copy to the regional AMG concerned for the action of the regional MFAA officer. The plan worked very well, and these two officers, Maj. Norman Newton with Eighth Army and Capt. Deane Keller of the Yale University Art School with Fifth Army, spent all their time moving up with the troops and exploring each newly liberated center. If a town had been only slightly damaged their job was simple, but many Italian towns and cities had been devastated either by the actual fighting or by the bombardments which preceded. Often the Superintendency was situated in a provincial or regional capital which had not yet been liberated. Thus the MFAA officer had to contact local officials and obtain labor for salvage work under fantastically unsettled conditions and often under fire, in order to clear the rubble from buried paintings or sculpture, excavate precious books or documents buried under tons of wreckage, prop masonry which seemed ready to fall, and protect in whatever manner possible frescoes exposed to rain and sun. The provisions of the *List of Protected Monuments* forbidding requisition of certain buildings had to be enforced, a matter for considerable diplomacy under immediate post-combat conditions. Not all the solutions were in the book. But the tact and resourcefulness of these two officers was equal to every situation, and they were able to prevent further damage to many immensely important works of art.

Both officers spoke Italian fluently, made contact with local officials, and when the seat of a Superintendency was reached, they cooperated with the responsible superintendent in the most urgent projects of repair. In addition to the usual precautions for the safety of deposits of works of art, the army

INTRODUCTION

MFAA officers arranged for military guards to supplement the Italian custodians wherever necessary to prevent looting and damage either by troops or civilians. These military guards could ill be spared by the army, but were often maintained for considerable periods until normal conditions returned. Off Limits signs excluding troops from protected buildings were liberally posted, usually over the signature of the army commander or of General Alexander as commanding general of Allied Armies in Italy. In the main they proved quite effective.

The regional MFAA officers were to maintain liaison with their counterparts in the army AMG, receive copies of those reports which concerned their regions, and move up into the regions as soon as practicable in order to take over the work where the army MFAA officers had left off. Permanent relations with the Italian Superintendencies, long-term programs of repair to war-damaged monuments, return of evacuated works of art from deposits to the museums and churches—all these were to be the work of regional MFAA. To it fell the long, slow job of the permanent repairs after army MFAA had departed with the moving front. The repair work was always undertaken with one object: prevention of further deterioration to war-damaged monuments of aesthetic or historical importance. No restoration was contemplated; the replacement of missing pieces, the completion of broken decorations, and the replastering and repainting could wait. We were only to repair the roofs so that rain and snow could not endanger frescoes or altarpieces below the smashed tiles, consolidate broken or shell-perforated masonry, replace shattered timbers and, in extreme cases, excavate for decorative fragments and building materials in the ruins of hopelessly wrecked structures. Rebuilding of entirely destroyed portions was attempted only when mere retaining walls would have cost very nearly as much. The work was to be executed by the Superintendencies, but it was closely supervised by the regional officers, who decided which projects should be attempted and which were either impossible or inadvisable. Furthermore, it was the regional MFAA officers who had to obtain the release of strictly controlled building materials, appropriations of Italian government funds, gasoline for the Superintendency cars so that the officials could reach the often widely separated monuments, permissions for them to travel in areas controlled by the army, and a thousand other practical details. The regional officer was to work in his area as long as the region itself remained under AMG.

The plan was splendid, but in practice it gave rise to many difficulties. For the regional MFAA officer there was always an intermediate period of waiting and planning while assigned to a regional AMG headquarters which had to receive army orders before it could move into the newly liberated and still army-controlled areas of its own region. Tuscany was Region VIII, and in late June

INTRODUCTION

1944 our headquarters, under the command of the regional commissioner, Col. Robert G. Kirkwood, an extremely capable administrator with over thirty years' experience in the American army, was established in Orvieto. The beautiful and famous town, on its huge flat-topped rock overlooking the valley of the Paglia, was absolutely unscathed by the war. It was a joy to walk through the vast interior of the black and white Gothic cathedral, or to stand in the chapel frescoed by Signorelli with the heroic Last Judgment series. But it was, alas, a fallow month with little else to do save cull lists of works of art out of guidebooks and study and restudy the towns for which I was to be responsible.

Both Fifth and Eighth Armies had already entered Tuscany. The region was to be split between them. This meant that we had to learn two totally different sets of regulations and customs, for nothing could be more different than the personalities of the two senior civil affairs officers, Brig. Gen. Edgar Erskine Hume for Fifth Army, Group Captain Benson of the RAF for Eighth. Although I had a driver with me—a friend, Franco Ruggenini, whom I had known before the war in Mantua and had discovered in Naples quite by accident a few weeks before—I had no vehicle. An effort to obtain transportation of any sort meant a long, and usually losing, struggle at the Region VIII transportation office. Furthermore, I was receiving no reports from either Fifth or Eighth Army MFAA on what was happening to the monuments in Tuscany.

Every morning massive formations of four-engine bombers thundered up the Paglia valley and over the cone of Mount Cetona on the horizon, marking the boundary of Tuscany. All night the guns could be heard, their flashes making a brilliant show against the dark sky. As I watched and listened I had fresh in my mind the disasters of bomb-ravaged Naples: the shapeless wreckage of all the Baroque decorations and Gothic tombs of Santa Chiara, the shattered Quattrocento chapels of Santa Anna dei Lombardi, the dozens of ravaged churches and palaces, and even more recently the devastation of Gaeta and Terracina, Itri and Fondi, Velletri and Valmontone. I could imagine the same fate befalling Tuscany, and in Orvieto, despite its beauty and quiet, I became increasingly impatient.

In the meantime Captain Keller had been steadily progressing with Fifth Army up through the southwestern part of Tuscany, the wild region of the Maremma, sending in voluminous reports on its tiny hill towns, castles, Etruscan remains, and scattered altarpieces by Siennese Quattrocento painters. Through an error at the Fifth Army AMG message center, none of these reports reached me until, weeks later, the MFAA Subcommittee recopied them for my information. Communications with Fifth Army headquarters were difficult—impossible by telephone. Finally, waiting became unendurable and I resolved to do some exploring of my own, with whatever transportation I could find.

CHAPTER II

SIENA AND ITS PROVINCE

ON June 13 I set out on my first journey. Under wartime conditions the shortest trip had to be carefully calculated. Roads, worn to bedrock by years of neglect and the subsequent weight of Allied traffic, had in addition been mined by the Germans. Only the roughest repairs had been made. Interminable traffic jams at by-passes and broken bridges meant hours of waiting in line. Military trucks, jeeps, artillery, and tanks churned up a dust so thick that the road was at times completely hidden. Twenty miles an hour was a good average speed in the light British truck which I was forced to use, being unable to get a jeep. But under such conditions I visited Chiusi, Montepulciano, and Pienza. The damage to the archaeological museum in Chiusi and to the roof of the cathedral in Pienza was offset by the almost complete escape of Montepulciano, perhaps the most spectacular of the Tuscan hill cities. This cluster of mediaeval houses and Renaissance palaces is massed on a rock towering more than a thousand feet above the Valdichiana, visible for miles across the plains and hills, above the blue mirror of Lake Trasimeno.

Before long I acquired a battered jeep to which I was to become deeply attached. In two years of service this curious vehicle had sustained both the North African and Sicilian campaigns. Region VIII had received it from Sardinia. Its windshield was shattered, it had only four, much worn, tires, its radiator leaked, its springs were weak, its shock absorbers defective. It possessed neither mirrors nor canvas top, and its rattling body threatened momentarily to disintegrate. Below the windshield appeared its name, "13 Lucky 13." "Lucky" acquired a certain fame in Tuscany. It carried bishops, priests, and monks; princesses, countesses, and dukes; old peasant women and rich merchants; superintendents, architects, directors, and inspectors; colonels and privates, black, white, brown, and yellow; a U.S. Senator and the Assistant Secretary of War. Every kind of freight was loaded in it—sacks of flour or charcoal, cheeses, turkeys, chickens, pigs, and lambs, dead and alive; cement, plaster and other materials for restoration; priceless manuscripts, Sansoni's negatives for the complete series of photographs of the Upper Church at Assisi, and even such important paintings as Masaccio's *St. Paul* from the Pisa Carmine altarpiece and Duccio's *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation in the Temple* from the *Maestà* in Siena. Before its duties in Tuscany were over it had towed Grand Duke Ferdinand, all in bronze, from the courtyard of the Uffizi into the public square. Unfortunately the speedometer broke so many times that it was impossible to compute the mileage, but between the time I first rode in it in

INTRODUCTION

1944 our headquarters, under the command of the regional commissioner, Col. Robert G. Kirkwood, an extremely capable administrator with over thirty years' experience in the American army, was established in Orvieto. The beautiful and famous town, on its huge flat-topped rock overlooking the valley of the Paglia, was absolutely unscathed by the war. It was a joy to walk through the vast interior of the black and white Gothic cathedral, or to stand in the chapel frescoed by Signorelli with the heroic Last Judgment series. But it was, alas, a fallow month with little else to do save cull lists of works of art out of guidebooks and study and restudy the towns for which I was to be responsible.

Both Fifth and Eighth Armies had already entered Tuscany. The region was to be split between them. This meant that we had to learn two totally different sets of regulations and customs, for nothing could be more different than the personalities of the two senior civil affairs officers, Brig. Gen. Edgar Erskine Hume for Fifth Army, Group Captain Benson of the RAF for Eighth. Although I had a driver with me—a friend, Franco Ruggerini, whom I had known before the war in Mantua and had discovered in Naples quite by accident a few weeks before—I had no vehicle. An effort to obtain transportation of any sort meant a long, and usually losing, struggle at the Region VIII transportation office. Furthermore, I was receiving no reports from either Fifth or Eighth Army MFAA on what was happening to the monuments in Tuscany.

Every morning massive formations of four-engine bombers thundered up the Paglia valley and over the cone of Mount Cetona on the horizon, marking the boundary of Tuscany. All night the guns could be heard, their flashes making a brilliant show against the dark sky. As I watched and listened I had fresh in my mind the disasters of bomb-ravaged Naples: the shapeless wreckage of all the Baroque decorations and Gothic tombs of Santa Chiara, the shattered Quattrocento chapels of Santa Anna dei Lombardi, the dozens of ravaged churches and palaces, and even more recently the devastation of Gaeta and Terracina, Itri and Fondi, Velletri and Valmontone. I could imagine the same fate befalling Tuscany, and in Orvieto, despite its beauty and quiet, I became increasingly impatient.

In the meantime Captain Keller had been steadily progressing with Fifth Army up through the southwestern part of Tuscany, the wild region of the Maremma, sending in voluminous reports on its tiny hill towns, castles, Etruscan remains, and scattered altarpieces by Siennese Quattrocento painters. Through an error at the Fifth Army AMG message center, none of these reports reached me until, weeks later, the MFAA Subcommittee recopied them for my information. Communications with Fifth Army headquarters were difficult—impossible by telephone. Finally, waiting became unendurable and I resolved to do some exploring of my own, with whatever transportation I could find.

CHAPTER II

SIENA AND ITS PROVINCE

ON June 13 I set out on my first journey. Under wartime conditions the shortest trip had to be carefully calculated. Roads, worn to bedrock by years of neglect and the subsequent weight of Allied traffic, had in addition been mined by the Germans. Only the roughest repairs had been made. Interminable traffic jams at by-passes and broken bridges meant hours of waiting in line. Military trucks, jeeps, artillery, and tanks churned up a dust so thick that the road was at times completely hidden. Twenty miles an hour was a good average speed in the light British truck which I was forced to use, being unable to get a jeep. But under such conditions I visited Chiusi, Montepulciano, and Pienza. The damage to the archaeological museum in Chiusi and to the roof of the cathedral in Pienza was offset by the almost complete escape of Montepulciano, perhaps the most spectacular of the Tuscan hill cities. This cluster of mediaeval houses and Renaissance palaces is massed on a rock towering more than a thousand feet above the Valdichiana, visible for miles across the plains and hills, above the blue mirror of Lake Trasimeno.

Before long I acquired a battered jeep to which I was to become deeply attached. In two years of service this curious vehicle had sustained both the North African and Sicilian campaigns. Region VIII had received it from Sardinia. Its windshield was shattered, it had only four, much worn, tires, its radiator leaked, its springs were weak, its shock absorbers defective. It possessed neither mirrors nor canvas top, and its rattling body threatened momentarily to disintegrate. Below the windshield appeared its name, "13 Lucky 13." "Lucky" acquired a certain fame in Tuscany. It carried bishops, priests, and monks; princesses, countesses, and dukes; old peasant women and rich merchants; superintendents, architects, directors, and inspectors; colonels and privates, black, white, brown, and yellow; a U.S. Senator and the Assistant Secretary of War. Every kind of freight was loaded in it—sacks of flour or charcoal, cheeses, turkeys, chickens, pigs, and lambs, dead and alive; cement, plaster and other materials for restoration; priceless manuscripts, Sansoni's negatives for the complete series of photographs of the Upper Church at Assisi, and even such important paintings as Masaccio's *St. Paul* from the Pisa Carmine altarpiece and Duccio's *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation in the Temple* from the *Maestà* in Siena. Before its duties in Tuscany were over it had towed Grand Duke Ferdinand, all in bronze, from the courtyard of the Uffizi into the public square. Unfortunately the speedometer broke so many times that it was impossible to compute the mileage, but between the time I first rode in it in

July 1944 and the rainy day in August 1945 when I bade it farewell in Salzburg, "Lucky" must have covered between thirty and forty thousand miles.

Franco Ruggenini drove the jeep superbly, with a real genius for negotiating the infernal military traffic. He was, moreover, a hardworking assistant and a loyal friend. During July we traveled from Orvieto to the principal towns of southern Tuscany, largely untouched by the war. I shall never forget the first visit to Cortona, which has always seemed to me the quintessence of Tuscany. The few Renaissance buildings and severe Gothic churches above the streets of intact twelfth and thirteenth century houses rise, in long masses of grey sandstone and brown roof-tile, high above the Valdichiana to the summit guarded by the gigantic fourteenth century castle. Halfway up from the valley floor stands Francesco di Giorgio's greatest work, the church of the Madonna del Calcinaio. The war, raging in bitterly contested Arezzo twenty miles away, had not disturbed the peace that lay upon the cypresses and olive trees and upon the austere perfection of the architecture.

We learned to know well the Via Cassia, that climbs from the Umbrian border through desolate lands to the strange castle-town of Radicofani, more than three thousand feet above the sea. From this grim peak one looks across a succession of arid ridges, west to the cone of Mount Amiata, south to the blue hills of Latium, north to where on clear days the Apennines above Florence are visible a hundred miles away. We explored the roads through the chestnut forests of Mount Amiata, where here and there a disemboweled tank had been left behind by the tide of war, and along the barren pastures of the Orcia valley to the hovels of Castiglione d'Orcia and Rocca d'Orcia clustered around their castle ruins—inspecting Siene primitive and Della Robbia reliefs surprisingly little damaged by the war. We visited the towered city of Montalcino on its ridge, last stand of the Siene Republic against the Florentine invader, and San Quirico d'Orcia, shorn of its tallest tower but with its sculpture intact. But the climax of these early days of exploration was the trip through the succession of brown brick towns along the poplar-bordered course of the Arbia, many of them wrecked by heavy fighting, up to where across the ridges the miracle of Siena, its towers and spires flashing in the sunset, rose against the sky.

Once in the town, I walked the ancient streets with their Gothic arcades and windows, brick walls and travertine carvings, looked across the Campo to the Palazzo Pubblico, climbed to the cathedral. Only a shellburst here and there, scarring an occasional bit of wall with flying fragments, showed that the war had passed over the city. The Siene, who have always called their town the City of the Virgin, believed firmly that the Madonna herself had intervened to save it. Be that as it may, I walked the streets all evening, giving especial

thanks for the preservation of this enchanted web of history from the fate that had overwhelmed Viterbo and the shining towns of the Alban hills.

Yet the sound of not-so-distant artillery was a firm undertone to all the chatter and noise of the crowded streets. And it was in Siena that two alarming reports reached me from Captain Keller on conditions in San Gimignano.

With its marvelous crown of mediaeval towers, the best preserved skyline of any town in Tuscany, San Gimignano is regally enthroned above the blue-green valley of the Elsa. Captain Keller's detailed reports told of the terrible havoc wrought by two days of shelling by the Germans with 280 millimeter projectiles. (I was luckily ignorant of the uninformed report which had appeared in *Time* that the city and all its works of art had been totally destroyed.) While the towers seemed to have stood up very well under the attack, roofs everywhere had given way and many walls had been shattered. The roof of Sant' Agostino had been damaged, exposing to the weather the enchanting fresco series of the Life of St. Augustine by Benozzo Gozzoli. In the same church the altar of San Bartolo by Benedetto da Maiano had been spared. A shell had crashed against the chapel of Santa Fina in the Collegiata and by some special miracle had missed all the treasures the chapel contained. The two frescoes of the Vision and the Funeral of Santa Fina, by Ghirlandaio, were unscratched and only a few pieces of the plaster architecture surrounding the altarpiece by Benedetto da Maiano were snapped off. The Palazzo del Podestà had been heavily shelled and the windows and roof smashed, endangering the frescoes within, particularly the huge *Maestà* by Lippo Memmi. The little museum of the Collegiata had been completely unroofed, but the contents had been previously placed in safety by the clergy.

But the chief tragedy had befallen the nave of the Collegiata. Shells directed at the nearby tower of the Palazzo del Podestà, which the Germans with good reason believed was a French artillery observation post, had exploded all over the roof, destroying more than half of the tiled surface, shattering beams and crosspieces, and tearing great holes in the stone vaulting of the Romanesque nave. The unique fresco series by Barna da Siena had been badly hit. A 280 had gone right through the *Crucifixion*, the most dramatic and moving of the whole series, carrying away a circular section a yard in diameter. Two shells had pierced the *Marriage in Cana*, tearing out nearly half of it. Benozzo Gozzoli's *St. Sebastian* on the inner wall of the façade had been splashed with fragments, and a shell had pierced the *Paradise* of Taddeo di Bartolo. So far my work in Tuscany, for all its inconveniences, had been a pleasure trip. Now I was faced with a major disaster beside which the damage at Pienza and San Quirico seemed trifling.

With the cooperation of Colonel Michie (then SCAO of the French Corps), and the help of Capt. Sidney Waugh, the CAO of San Gimignano, Captain Keller had in the five days since the liberation of the town begun an active program of salvage and repair. The communal engineer, Simonelli, had already been set to work on the damaged roof of Sant' Agostino. The Collegiata had been closed to visitors; Off Limits signs in French and English had been posted on the monuments; and the unwilling clergy had been directed and assisted in the salvage of the precious vestments exposed to the weather in damaged sacristies. I was naturally anxious, however, for the superintendent of monuments and galleries, Raffaele Niccoli, to reach the town as quickly as possible to assume direction of the work and make plans for permanent repairs. An hour after I read Captain Keller's report we set out for San Gimignano. A brief stop at Colle di Val d'Elsa, whose magnificent upper town on its high rock had escaped the heavy damage that had laid waste the artistically unimportant lower town, was our only delay.

San Gimignano appeared from across the fields to be intact but the spectacle on arrival was terrifying. Glass, smashed bricks, tiles and stones and jagged shell fragments littered the streets. Great holes yawned in mediaeval house walls. Ragged eaves betokened shattered roofs. The two portals in the severe façade of the Collegiata, posted Off Limits in large, bilingual signs, were closed, so we entered through the cloister, whose graceful arcades had suffered severely from shellfire. The church floor was covered ankle deep with rubble. Shafts of sunlight shone into the nave through the gigantic hole where the shells had destroyed the vaulting. Not a fragment of glass remained in any of the windows. But already the entire right aisle where the Barna frescoes were had been roped off so that careless feet would not destroy the salvageable pieces of fresco that lay under the rubble. Of the frescoes, the *Crucifixion* was badly mutilated. Barna's talent for the dramatic and the diabolical had shone particularly in the group of Roman soldiers who stood under the cross, gloating over the garments of Christ. This group had been carried away almost entirely by the shell that pierced the wall, and the surrounding areas of the fresco were bulging ominously outward, loosened by the concussion. Moreover, the great blocks of masonry to which the plaster had been applied were weakened all around the hole by the explosion and were about to fall, carrying with them still more areas of the fresco. The condition of the *Marriage in Cana* was similarly threatening. Consolidation of the masonry was urgent. Niccoli therefore decided to send his restorer, Dalmas, with provisions for a long stay, to undertake the work, under the supervision of Prof. Enzo Carli, director of the Siena gallery.

Tired of the c-rations we usually brought with us, we decided after this unhappy morning to try our luck on a hot lunch at the Albergo Cisterna. To our

astonishment the place looked as if nothing had happened. When we emerged onto the terrace restaurant which looks over the countryside it was just as I had seen it before the war, crowded with the same elderly English spinsters enjoying the food and the wonderful view. The only additions were a sprinkling of French officers and French wacs. We had an excellent lunch.

We spent the afternoon examining the damaged monuments of the town, particularly the frescoes in the Collegiata. It was apparent that the shaken masonry would have to be dismantled, stone by stone, the stones numbered, and rebuilt, and that the bulging frescoes would have to be anchored to the walls with injections of plaster in order to prevent collapse. At the same time the rubble on the floor must be picked up with meticulous care to save whatever could be pieced together from the fragments of the missing group. With the aid of photographs these pieces could be identified and reattached insofar as possible in their original positions. The new roofing was to be left to Engineer Simonelli, who had already begun work on it, but the reconstruction of the vaulting of the Collegiata could safely be deferred for a while. The one problem thus far insoluble was the provision of any sort of covering for the empty windows. No glass was obtainable, and the mediaeval windows were so small that even a partial covering of opaque materials would have made the interior too dark for any work of restoration to be carried on inside. It might be weeks before the electric current could be restored in that sector.

Actually our troubles at San Gimignano continued all winter. It proved almost impossible to get tiles to cover the roof of the Collegiata, and sometimes I entered the church to find parts of the floor ankle deep in water. Not until December was the roof completed. But on the evening of December 22 a high wind precipitated an alarming situation which we had not at first suspected. The Trecento frescoes had been painted right over the three original aisle windows which had been blocked up by flimsy walls of brick. One of these walls, severely shaken by the shelling, fell inward under the force of the wind, carrying with it a large section of the already badly damaged *Flight into Egypt*, and the other two windows, each of which contained sections of four different scenes, began to bulge horribly. Restoration, which had started with the patching of the *Crucifixion* but had been stopped on account of the intense cold and dampness, had to begin again. The masonry of the windows was replaced from the outside and the threatened frescoes propped from within, but the final solution of this exasperating problem was achieved only some time after the departure of AMG.

After the afternoon's work, and assurances from Captain Waugh that Niccoli and Dalmas could start their operations at once, we returned to Siena. The

following morning Franco and I started on another journey, to the ancient Etruscan citadel of Volterra, the principal town of the southern half of Pisa Province, and not more than twenty miles from Colle di Val d'Elsa, thence to Massa Marittima in Grosseto Province, and from there to remote sites in the hills west of Siena. As we traveled the sunlit road from Massa Marittima we often came upon burnt-out tanks or ruined vehicles, abandoned to the quiet of the forests, which in many places were charred brown by the flash of artillery and overhung with the stench of death.

At a turning in the road we unexpectedly emerged on the flank of a mountain to behold a view of such beauty as I have seldom seen. It was a spectacle of magical, almost supernatural perfection. Unusually bright and clear, the sky arched over a world of hazeless hills, each summit sharp and palpable in the glassy air. Half of Tuscany lay before us. On the other side of the German lines, more than sixty miles away, the mountains above Florence cut the horizon. Even farther to the west the phenomenal clarity of the atmosphere rendered the marble peaks of the Apuan Alps beyond Carrara distinctly visible, while the broad bulk of the Pratomagno above Arezzo to the east was dappled by the blue shadows of the motionless clouds. Set in the middle was Siena, easily ten miles from us, but seeming almost at our hand—the flashing campanile of the cathedral, the empty marble arch of the unfinished façade of the Duomo Nuovo, the slender Torre di Mangia, all perfectly distinct. No slightest sign betrayed the existence of desperate warfare in the midst of this enchanted landscape.

CHAPTER III

THE PICTURES OF FLORENCE

AN unlooked for circumstance brought me on July 27 to Eighth Army headquarters, two hot encampments near Castiglione del Lago, leaving Franco at regional headquarters in Orvieto. Major Newton had proposed that I be attached on temporary duty to Eighth Army AMG so as to be among the earliest of the AMG officers in Florence. He was to enter the city with the first team, and I was to come up with the so-called "first follow-up party," a few hours or a few days later. The opportunity of being able to get to work in Florence at once, backed by Eighth Army authority, outweighed all other considerations.

It is only with difficulty that I can now convince myself that my stay at Castiglione del Lago lasted only four days. Time dragged. Since at any moment orders might come for us to move up to Florence, Group Captain Benson advised us to take no trips that might cause us to be away when the call came. Major Newton had scarcely left his tent in days, and the atmosphere of tension and suspense on all sides was almost intolerable. Capt. Roger Ellis, a brilliant young archivist from the Records Office in London, with a wide knowledge of art, was Major Newton's assistant. We three were to form the MFAA team in the early days of the liberation of Florence.

The happy escapes of Rome and Siena, the restricted character of the damage to southern Tuscany, and Hitler's declaration of Florence as an open city had lulled everyone into the belief that Florence would be taken intact. The only urgent problem, therefore, seemed that of preventing the occupation of structures whose artistic contents could be damaged by troops. In anticipation of the great moment, we were to prepare an extended list of all the palaces in Florence that were not under any circumstances to be requisitioned, and another of those which we might relinquish for use as offices, or other special purposes. This was done at the request of 71 Garrison, the occupying military unit, whose Town Major (the officer responsible for all requisitions of real estate) had read in the *List of Protected Monuments* that the entire city of Florence was to be considered a work of art of the first order, and that no requisitions were to be made without the authority of MFAA officers.

Fortunately for the Florentine monuments, the Town Major took this phrase literally and wanted an exhaustive and precise list. We therefore sat day after day under the tree before Major Newton's tent combing our guidebooks and our memories. Thus while Captain Keller was working valiantly to salvage

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

the great Labronica Library in Livorno, village after village on the outskirts of Florence was falling to Allied troops with no MFAA officer on hand.

It was thought that the question of the deposits of Florentine art could be solved only when we made direct contact with the Superintendency of Florence, which everyone expected in short order. We had been provided with a list of these deposits by the officials of the Ministry in Rome, very shortly after the liberation of the capital, but we had also been told that, although almost the entire contents of the Florentine museums had originally been evacuated to castles and villas surrounding the city, Hitler's declaration had led the Florentine Superintendency to move them all back again. Therefore, on the basis of the latest information available at the disorganized Ministry, the list was to be disregarded. The events of the next three weeks were to show how mistaken the officials in Rome were, and how erroneous was the policy of waiting for the capture of Florence rather than moving up with the troops. Neither the Allies nor the Germans nor the Florentines themselves were correct in their predictions regarding the fate of the city.

At breakfast on the morning of July 31 the officers' mess of Eighth Army AMG was electrified by an astonishing announcement by the British Broadcasting Company. Outside Florence, in the midst of the fiercest fighting of the war in Italy, a correspondent had stumbled unawares on a group of the greatest masterpieces from the Uffizi and Pitti Galleries. Works by Raphael, Botticelli, Giotto, Cimabue, Duccio lay covered with dust, unprotected, one against another in a villa in one of the hottest sections of the front, rocked by artillery and small arms fire. The policy of inaction came to an abrupt close. I was at once ordered by the Group Captain to proceed to the area, take charge of the deposit in the name of Eighth Army, and come back and report. I was provided with a jeep and a driver and in a few minutes I departed, armed and helmeted, for the front. I was at first under the impression that the villa was at San Michele in Torri, a tiny village near Florence which had figured largely in the earlier portion of the broadcast, being the scene of the most savage hand-to-hand fighting. I had moreover chosen a road which looked clear on the situation map at Eighth Army headquarters but which later turned out not to have been captured. Finally, I had rushed off with only enough clothing and equipment for a day's trip. I was to regret all three of these errors.

Rapidly the familiar places went by, in unusually light traffic. We passed Cortona on its promontory, with the morning sun just catching the tips of its roofs and towers; then the slender towers of the castle of Montecchio, like a detail from a Fra Angelico background; then the damaged town of Castiglione Fiorentino, still perfectly grouped around the summit of its dome-shaped hill; then Arezzo, around which all traffic was still rerouted; then the

long Arno valley, dominated by the Pratomagno from which came the steady thunder of German artillery. We circumnavigated the ruins of the poor little village of Levane, completely blown up by the Germans, sped through the industrial cities of Montevarchi and San Giovanni Valdarno, and headed for our crossroad beyond Figline. Before this town, however, we were turned back by heavy artillery fire and the disquieting fact that neither the town nor the road had yet been taken. We thus had to choose wild roads through the hills, passing through the territories of four different British and Empire divisions, inquiring at each divisional headquarters about the military situation.

The last stretch led us through the worst country I have ever traveled, but somehow we came out onto the Via Cassia near Tavarnelle and found our way by nightfall to the Eighth Army press camp at San Donato in Poggio. The hills beyond, sloping down toward Florence, shook continuously with gunfire in the darkness while their ridges stood out fitfully against the constant flashes of the artillery. At the press camp I met the novelist, Eric Linklater, and Vaughan Thomas, the *aac* correspondent. That night they told me the story of how they had run onto the villa and its incredible contents.

Contrary to the reports of the authorities in Rome, the great works of art from the Florentine galleries and churches were still outside the city. We found later on that there were no fewer than thirty-seven of these deposits, only some ten or twelve of which had been evacuated to Florence before the Allied bombing and strafing of the roads and the German refusal to provide either transportation or fuel made any further movement impossible. The greater part of the entire art treasure of Florence was therefore still in these hilltop refuges, ideal for protection against bombardment yet conspicuous targets for artillery. Major Linklater and Vaughan Thomas had seen four of the deposits, the castle of Montegufoni (a former Acciaiuoli stronghold long the property of the Sitwells), the Villa Bossi-Pucci at Montagnana, and the Villa Guicciardini and Castello Guidi at Poppiano. All of these were within sight of each other and of San Michele in Torri, where the battle was still raging.

At Montegufoni and Montagnana were stored a series of the finest pictures from the Uffizi and the Pitti, some altarpieces from Florentine churches, and almost the entire contents of the Museo San Marco and the picture gallery of the Accademia—approximately a fifth of the paintings in Florence. In the two deposits at Poppiano were the hundreds of pictures exhibited at the *Mostra del Cinquecento*, the ill-fated show held for so short a period in Florence in June 1940. Since arrangements for the return of the pictures had been cut short by the war, every important sixteenth century Tuscan picture from Italian collections, and indeed many from foreign countries as well, filled these two buildings. In addition to the custodians who had accepted legal re-

sponsibility for these incalculably precious treasures, an official from the Superintendency had come up from Florence on foot to supervise the four villas and hand them over to the advancing Allies. He was Prof. Cesare Fasola, librarian of the Uffizi Gallery, as devoted, selfless, and fearless an official as I was ever to meet in Italy.

Early in the morning of August 1 we started off for Montegufoni, on a winding road with wonderful views into a landscape of endless low hills, each crowned with a villa or a group of houses surrounded by cypresses. The landscape, for all its resemblance to the frescoes of Gozzoli, vibrated incessantly to the sound of the guns around Florence. Montegufoni, an almost exact miniature of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, was extended in the broad style of the Tuscan Seicento and set in magnificent Baroque gardens and massed cypresses. The villa was then occupied by the First Battalion, Mahratta Light Infantry, Eighth Indian Division. Less than three miles away stood the gutted wreck of San Michele in Torri, the sun shining through its shell perforations.

During that day, as Professor Fasola led us about the incredible collection at Montegufoni, the hillside shook with the thunder of the British guns placed all around us, and an occasional German shell screamed overhead to explode nearby among the vineyards and cypresses. At every staircase in the villa Indian sentries, black, quiet, and immaculately uniformed, snapped to attention. The custodian turned a huge key in the Baroque door of the *salone* off the courtyard, the sunlight streamed into a dark, vaulted hall and fell on the *Primavera* of Botticelli leaning against the wall. The high shutters were then opened, and the room was seen to be filled with pictures, lining the walls two and three deep and leaning against a rack built in the center. On the left of the doorway Andrea del Sarto's *Annunciation* from the Pitti stood in all its harmony of muted color, the angel gazing quietly upward at Mary against the tranquil architecture and the Florentine landscape. Farther down the wall rose the majestic figure of Giotto's *Madonna* from the Uffizi, seated on her marble throne, her gold background glowing in the half-light. Over the tops of other pictures rose the still Byzantine head of the Cimabue *Madonna*. Down the line of carefully stacked pictures I could make out the *Supper at Emmaus* by Pontormo, Rubens' *Nymphs and Satyrs*, and an *Enthroned Madonna* by Botticelli. Still farther the sunlight touched the armor and spears of Paolo Uccello's *Battle of San Romano*. Although we did not know it, the undulating fields of San Romano, scarcely twenty miles away down the Arno valley, were at that moment the scene of another and very different type of battle, with little chivalry or armor and unlimited quantities of barbed wire and high explosives.

In the same room stood Raphael's *Madonna del Baldacchino* from the Pitti and the *Descent from the Cross*, from the Uffizi, by Perugino and Filippino

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

Lippi. Lying on a huge table in the adjoining room was Botticelli's *Coronation of the Virgin*. Everywhere were stacked primitives from the Accademia: Madonnas, Crucifixions, saints, huge altarpieces with gilded pinnacles. In malodorous contrast to the chaste art of Fra Angelico was the unmistakable evidence that the Germans had used the dark corridor containing eight of his pictures as a latrine. Room after room was jammed with pictures, and in the last and largest lay Ghirlandaio's circular *Adoration of the Magi*. The Germans had used it as a table top, and had answered Fasola's request that they remove their bottle and glasses by flicking a sheath knife into the picture. It pierced the sky, but it could just as easily have cut away some of the heads. The same room contained the important series of Dugento Crosses from the Accademia. Finally we were led into a smaller room off the entrance court, one wall of which was almost filled by the immense Rucellai *Madonna* from Santa Maria Novella, an awesome presence in the dim chamber.

A description of these pictures would constitute a history of Italian painting. There were 246 of them, representing every period and almost every painter. They were in immediate danger, for these deposits were all pathetically exposed to shellfire. The promptness of Major General Russell, the divisional commander, in placing a guard upon the pictures at once, under combat conditions, was beyond praise, and his thoroughness as well as the traditional discipline of the Indians insured that no damage was done to the collections by Allied troops. Nonetheless, only the further progress of the exasperatingly slow Eighth Army advance through the Tuscan hills could save the pictures from the constant menace of destruction.

Professor Fasola had come up from Florence, on foot, without any German permit, during the last days of the occupation. Until constant shellfire made movement on the roads impossible, he had gone from one deposit to the next constantly looking after the condition of every room and every picture. German service and headquarters units had been orderly and had obeyed the Off Limits signs over Kesselring's signature (furnished by Professor Heydenreich, the last director of the German Art Historical Institute in Florence, and an official of the German *Kunstschutz* organization). In the course of the retreat, however, these units had been replaced by paratroopers and SS groups of the utmost brutality. They had committed numerous depredations about the countryside, had broken open the doors of the rooms that sheltered the paintings, scattered pictures and furniture about, and had threatened over and over to set fire to everything. More than once Professor Fasola himself had kept the soldiers from the pictures. In addition, the lower portions of the castle were swarming with pitiable refugees from Signa, Lastra a Signa, Montelupo, and other towns where the heavy fighting was now going on. Under such con-

ditions Fasola had to maintain order and some semblance of cleanliness throughout the enormous collection.

Yet conditions at Montagnana were even worse. Here Fasola had arrived from Florence to find a scene of complete desolation. The villa was deserted, its custodian and his family driven away by the Germans. On the floor, or piled loosely against the wall, covered with layers of filth, lay only a few of the nearly three hundred pictures that had been housed there. The upper rooms of the house were filled with the furniture which had been systematically smashed by the Germans until not a table leg remained in one piece. The wreckage was adorned with the usual German accompaniment of human excrement. The other pictures were gone, 297 of them—Giovanni Bellini's *Pietà* from the Uffizi, Botticelli's *Pallas and the Centaur*, five paintings by Piero di Cosimo and four altarpieces by Filippo Lippi, the two tiny *Labors of Hercules* by Pollaiuolo, Signorelli's *Crucifixion*, Roger van der Weyden's *Entombment*, all from the Uffizi, and from the Pitti Palace Pontormo's *Martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion*, and Tintoretto's *Venus, Amor, and Vulcan*, to mention only a few of the most outstanding. At one blow at least an eighth of the most prized contents of the Uffizi and the Pitti had vanished. One remembers almost with amusement the hue and cry when the *Mona Lisa* disappeared from the Louvre, or when Watteau's *L'Indifférent* was stolen. Never in modern history had there been such a sack as this. Worse, owing to the proximity of Montagnana to Florence these pictures had been brought to the villa in padded vans without boxes or crates. The Germans therefore had moved them away uncrated, in military trucks. The state of the remaining rooms and the way the few pictures left had been tossed about, together with the fact that some of the most important things, such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple* had been abandoned, gave small hope that the paintings had been taken by anyone who understood them or knew how to handle them. The unit responsible was, as we later discovered, the 562nd Infantry Division under the command of General Greiner.

The full narrative of what had happened at Montagnana we reconstructed only months later, when we came into possession of the archives of the German *Kunstschutz*. While we were coming up from the south, working in the liberated areas of Tuscany, the devoted Professor Heydenreich, who under the *Kunstschutz* had charge of the protection of monuments and works of art in Tuscany and of whom we heard nothing but good, had intervened with the *Militärkommandantur* for military transport and fuel so that the contents of some of the deposits of the Mugello, at the foot of the Gothic Line, could be brought back to Florence. Furthermore, when it became necessary for the Germans to reopen the abandoned railway tunnel at Incisa in the Valdarno

just north of Figline, it was Heydenreich who aided the Superintendency in the withdrawal of the contents, which included, among other things, the bronze doors of the baptistery of Florence.

These transports had had to stop, because in the end neither the Germans nor the Italian Fascist military units would provide any more transportation or gasoline; indeed, since February the better of the two trucks that the Superintendency possessed had been requisitioned by the Germans. Nevertheless, on June 15, 1944, an order was issued by the Fascist Ministry of Education in Padua¹ for all the principal works of art of Siena and Florence to be transferred at once to northern Italy. Professor Anti, the general director, was charged with its execution, and he came to Florence on June 18 for that purpose. At a memorable meeting in Palazzo Pitti, attended by all the chief Superintendency personnel and by the German military authorities, Anti was convinced that it was materially impossible to carry out his orders, for the Germans declared themselves unable to provide any trucks or gasoline, and the Italians had none. It was the unanimous agreement of those present that the works of art should stay where they were or, in case of direst necessity, should be brought to Florence. An official report made to us by Comm. Giovanni Poggi, the revered superintendent for the provinces of Florence, Pistoia, and Arezzo, preserves the story of the succeeding events:

"On July 4, 1944, I was called by Counsellor Metzner of the *Militärkommandantur*, who asked me if there were any works of art in the villa of Montagnana so important that they should be transported, for security reasons, beyond the Apennines. A little surprised by the abrupt question, I answered that there were indeed works of art of great importance at Montagnana, coming from the galleries and museums of the State, but that according to agreements previously made between the General Direction of Fine Arts and the office of Colonel Langsdorff² it was decided, as in the case of the other deposits, to remove nothing, unless in case of urgent danger, and then only to transport the paintings to Florence and not beyond the Apennines.

"The counsellor replied, 'Then you refuse our offer,' and I answered, 'We do not refuse it, indeed we are most grateful for it; we accept it in case it becomes necessary to transport these works to Florence.' I immediately informed the German consul, Wolf, of this conversation. A few days later he communicated to me that he had been advised by a military unit that 257 paintings had been taken by truck from the deposit of Montagnana to a village twenty kilometers south of Modena, a village which later information identified as Marano. I expressed at once my shock at a transport which had taken place without our knowledge and without our help, so much so that Consul Wolf,

¹ Seat of the Republican Fascist government.

² Head of the *Kunstschutz*, German equivalent of our MFAA.

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

much impressed, deemed it advisable to bring Colonel Langsdorff immediately from Verona to Florence in order to take charge of the affair. Langsdorff arrived in fact on July 17 and I informed him of everything, asking him to try to find out at once where the precious paintings had gone and, as soon as possible, to bring them back to Florence.

"In the meantime I had been able to determine that the transport of the paintings had taken place in the first days of July, perhaps the second or third, *that is before the interview with Counsellor Metzner which took place the fourth* [italics Poggi's]. Langsdorff asked me for a memorandum with a list of the pictures which were at Montagnana; when, however, I brought it to the Hotel Excelsior where the Colonel had been staying—and this was the nineteenth of July—I found that he had left Florence a few hours before. In fact, that afternoon the German military and civilian authorities began to leave the city.

"In a letter of July 20 I was therefore able to inform Prof. Carlo Anti, General Director of Fine Arts at Padua, of what had happened. . . ."

The same Germans who declared on June 18 that they had no trucks to give were able on July 2 to transport 297 pictures, some of them enormous altarpieces, without the approval, help, or even knowledge of the Superintendency. What neither Poggi nor Anti knew was that Langsdorff, *on the same day* as his solemn agreement with the Italians in the Palazzo Pitti, wired to the German Military Government headquarters, for the information of the SS Commanding General Wolff, that he was taking personal charge of all deposits and directing evacuation measures by German troops!

Montagnana was, at the moment of my first visit, under enemy shellfire, so we proceeded from Montegufoni to Poppiano in the intense noon heat. Here the Villa Guicciardini had received a direct shell hit on one corner, reducing to shambles one of the principal rooms. The New Zealand soldiers here were by no means so meticulous as the Indians and had knocked down Pontorno's *Visitation* from Carmignano, so that when the shell burst, the picture received the full weight of the falling rubble from the crumpled upper floor. Thereafter they tramped over the altarpiece with their hobnailed boots, grinding the plaster and brick dust into the surface of the picture. It is a tribute to the durability of Cinquecento panel painting that there was anything left. The day before my arrival Vaughan Thomas had labored with Fasola to clear off the rubble and lift the damaged masterpiece to comparative safety. The picture seemed in frightful condition. Parts of it were unrecognizable. Apparently the plaster had been ground into the color, and in other places the color removed to lay bare the underlying *gesso*. But later the delicate cleaning in the *Gabinetto dei Restauri* showed that only a few portions of the surface, mostly in the drapery, had been really badly damaged. The ground-in dirt was care-

fully washed off and the varnish removed to show that the plaster and dust had not penetrated to the pigment and that the surface was only here and there disfigured by deep gouges.

In the same room was Rosso Fiorentino's *Descent from the Cross*, whose absence I had noticed in Volterra ten days before, very dusty from the shellburst and also slightly scratched. Even more impressive in the middle of all the rubble, dirt, and disorder of the villa was the haunting beauty of Pontormo's uninjured *Deposition* from Santa Felicità in Florence, whose grief-stricken figures seemed to soar above the desolation in an unearthly realm of silver light and rose and green shadows. The visitors who came in such hundreds to see the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio would have been most surprised if they could have beheld the paintings which form the walls of that little jewel box, scattered about the chapel of the Villa Guicciardini, some pushed to the floor by the New Zealanders.

I now made the acquaintance of a man who was to be of help throughout my stay in Tuscany, a member of the British Military Police, Captain Roberson. He had appeared with Italian civilian police guards, already requested by Vaughan Thomas, and together we all began the long job of moving the pictures out of the damaged room and into a place of greater safety. Leaving Captain Roberson and Professor Fasola at the villa, I later went down the hill to the Castello Guidi, where as yet no disasters had occurred, save for two small and unimportant sixteenth century canvases which had been slashed by a New Zealand soldier. It was a relief to walk through undamaged rooms, but the appearance of security soon proved to be illusory. The main tower of the castle was being used as the observation post for an artillery battalion attached to the New Zealand division, directing all fire in the area.

I immediately conferred with the battalion commander, who advised me to try to evacuate the pictures at once. As soon as the Germans discovered the ore, he stated, the village would be plastered. In the early evening Vaughan Thomas and I visited the neighboring Indian Brigade headquarters, where the operations officer at first promised us trucks and men, only to tell us later that we could not use the roads, as an attack was to be launched over them that evening. So the pictures had to be left where they were. As luck would have it, however, the New Zealanders left the following day, and no shell ever hit Castello Guidi.

We were all deeply concerned with the problem of guarding these deposits to prevent any repetition of the thoughtless damage caused by the New Zealanders. Captain Roberson's Italian police would prevent any harm from civilian marauders, but a military guard was essential. This had to come from a headquarters higher than the continually shifting divisions. I therefore wrote

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

a secret letter for Vaughan Thomas to present next morning to the aide-de-camp to Lieutenant General Leese, the Eighth Army commander, whose tiny encampment was on a hillside near San Donato in Poggio. In this rather unconventional letter, entirely out of military channels, I requested guards not only for the liberated deposits but for those which might be found later, and supplied a list of all those we knew anything about, with approximate map references.

Late though it was, I had to return to Castiglione del Lago that night and report to Major Newton and Group Captain Benson. The urgency of the problem of the deposits was far beyond anything we had yet encountered in Tuscany, even the disaster at San Gimignano. I wanted to be detached from the Florence team, which could perfectly well be handled by two officers, be assigned the job of the deposits, and be the first to reach each one before there was time for much damage by troops. I could then make the reports, set the guards, and take any measures possible for safeguarding the Florentine treasures.

After a late supper at the press camp the driver and I, tired to the bone, set out on the ninety-mile trip. The evening was wonderfully cool and clear, and a high moon, almost at the full, compensated for the fact that we could use no lights in this combat zone. The events of the past two days, combined with apprehension over the fate of the deposits, filled my tired brain with a fantastic confusion of images as the Via Cassia swept us over the Florentine hills, past the silent, deserted ruins of Poggibonsi, around the walls and towers of Staggia, through the mediaeval streets of Siena, and off into the desolate world of barren hills and wide, dry valleys opening out toward the familiar cone of Mount Amiata. This mournful landscape, the magical background of Giovanni di Paolo's pictures, seemed more wild and melancholy than ever in the moonlight.

The curves of the Arbia were marked only by their misty poplars and willows. At Buonconvento the Bailey bridge substitute for the destroyed mediaeval bridge was for northbound traffic only, so we took the detour which had been bulldozed through the fields. The jeep churned up enormous clouds of dry dust which boiled around and above us, choking white and luminous in the moonlight. Blinded by dust we missed the turning beyond Buonconvento, and lost our way on country roads. Only after half an hour did we come to a straight-away which gave promise of leading to a bridge across the Arbia. Too tired to think clearly, the driver again took a wrong turn and we charged up an embankment leading to a blown bridge. The brakes were defective, but miraculously we stopped on the jagged edge of the smashed abutment. The front wheels were exactly even with the edge, and we looked down thirty-five feet to the mass of rubble reposing on the dried river bed, and up to the distant

black hill on which the towers of San Quirico were silhouetted against the moon.

We proceeded without further mishap as far as Montepulciano, our last obstacle before emerging into the plain of Lake Trasimeno. But at the top of Montepulciano hill, at two-thirty in the morning, our defective brakes gave out entirely and we had to spend the rest of the chilly night curled up in the jeep until I could hitch-hike to Castiglione for help.

I had small difficulty in persuading the Group Captain and Major Newton to agree to my plan, and thus temporarily exchanged my job as regional MFAA officer for a post far in advance of army AMG. Since my jeep and driver were still immobilized in Montepulciano, I was given Captain Ellis's jeep, a fine vehicle rejoicing in the name of "Georgette." The driver, Pfc. Howard, was a stocky taciturn ex-infantryman from the West Virginia hills, excellent both as driver and mechanic. As soon as I had cleaned off the grime of forty-eight hours of mined and shell-torn roads we started out again, arriving at San Donato in Poggio in the early evening. The next morning General Leese's aide informed me that the General had approved my request for guards, which were to be supplied at once. As a matter of fact, this policy was continued later when the area came under Fifth Army, and not until November were the last guards removed from the deposits in the area around Montegufoni. The aide also informed us that we had been invited to lunch at General Leese's mess the following day to meet General Alexander, then Commander-in-Chief, Allied Armies in Italy, and accompany him through the collection at Montegufoni.

That same afternoon Howard and I moved into the castle of Montegufoni. The picturesque Mahratta battalion had already left for the assault on Florence, to be replaced by a small guard unit under the command of a young British lieutenant. I chose a large room with a gigantic four-poster Seicento bed and a view out over the valley to the towers and cypresses of Poppiano. Directly below this room was the *salone* containing the largest of the pictures. Water had ceased to flow in the absence of electricity to work the pump. Light was furnished by whatever candles we could steal. Meals were sketchy at first, until through the good offices of the custodian we discovered an old peasant woman to cook for us. It was more than a month before I was to move my belongings from this room again—a month of wild trips on dusty, traffic-packed roads, a month of shellfire and ruin, a month of work and worry and grief as one shattered monument after another, one rifled deposit after another, demanded help that was almost impossible to give; a month of unspeakable fatigue and sleepless nights, looking from my window down the hill into the crowding cypresses of the Baroque gardens, while the countryside trembled from the guns all night long.

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

Though I did not know it, the first night we spent in Montegufoni was the night in which the Germans blew up the bridges of Florence and eviscerated the mediaeval city. No exact reports were forthcoming in the morning at the press camp, but it was known that New Zealand units had already entered the portion of the city lying on the south bank of the Arno, that the city was divided between the opposing armies by the destruction of the bridges, and that there was fierce machine-gun fire from bank to bank. So ended our hopes that Florence would be spared! The wonderful city, the birthplace and nucleus of the Renaissance, lay a victim of the conflict we had felt sure would pass it by. Yet not until my own entrance into Florence on August 13 did I begin to realize the full extent of the tragedy.

After lunch the next day, General Alexander, his chief-of-staff, Lieutenant General Harding, and several of his aides, started off with Vaughan Thomas and me to Montegufoni, in spite of warnings against the dangers of the area. Three open jeeps had been prepared for the party, undecorated save for a tiny Union Jack on the nose of the lead vehicle, driven by Alexander himself, four rows of ribbons glittering on his grey bush jacket. We arrived covered with dust and Professor Fasola was there to receive us. The General greeted the refugees and peasants who had gathered about the castle and shook hands warmly with Fasola, congratulating him on his devotion to duty. Then for two hours we walked about the collection. The General wanted to see each room and wished an explanation of every picture. He had a considerable knowledge of art, and although his favorite period was French Impressionism he was much interested in the Renaissance and enjoyed particularly the *Primavera*. Before leaving, he expressed his willingness to do everything possible to aid our work. I never had the honor of seeing General Alexander again, but I more than once had cause to thank him for his interest in the MFAA officers and their work.

The following day Howard and I went on one of our most harrowing trips, to the deposit of 284 pieces of sculpture from the Uffizi Gallery, housed in an eleventh century castle, called Torre del Castellano, opposite Incisa in a curve of the Arno above Figline, which by this time the Eighth Army advance had left in the rear. Torre del Castellano contained much of the Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman sculpture from the Medici collections, as well as numerous portrait busts of the Medici family. Perhaps the most important objects there were the series of the Children of Niobe. We arrived at Figline across the same hill road that had not yet been taken when I first came up to Montegufoni, and found that the bridge across the Arno at Incisa, destroyed by the Germans, had not yet been replaced. We therefore forded the stream at a shallow spot and pro-

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

ceeded toward the castle on the hill above us on roads that were just being de-mined as we moved slowly up, along with the advancing British tanks and artillery.

On arrival at the foot of the hill on which the castle stood we found that its immense mass, two towers united by a central building block, was being used as defilade for the British guns firing over it, while German artillery was trained on a road junction about a hundred yards farther to the left. Every few minutes columns of dust and smoke rose to indicate a hit, but no individual shots or explosions could be distinguished in the unbelievable din, echoed and magnified by the steep walls of the gorge through which the Arno passes at Incisa. The whole landscape had been splattered by bombs intended for the Incisa cement factory, and the famous railway tunnel, which once had housed the Florentine baptistery doors, had been hit again and again. The jeep could go no farther, so I had Howard place it in an already de-mined spot on the shoulder of the road against the hill, out of direct danger from shellfire, and promised to come back and get us both out of there as soon as possible. Crouching and crawling to the top of the hill, I made a dash along the exposed skyline and reached the castle.

The noise of the battle had reached such a pitch that only with the greatest difficulty could the owner, Signor Pegna, give me any information. The Germans had left the castle only the preceding day, leaving behind the usual sort of damage. The deposit was walled up and probably intact, and there had been no attempt to disturb it. But the rooms which contained the sculpture were unfortunately on the north side of the castle, exposed to the artillery fire all around us. Actually the deposit was never much damaged, but it was many weeks before I could fulfill my promise to send Italian officials to take care of it.

Meanwhile the situation in Florence was so desperate that Group Captain Benson would permit only the most essential AMG officers in the city. German shells were falling all over the liberated Oltrarno district, and civilians and Allied troops were being killed constantly. There was no water, very little food, and thousands of refugees, so the problem of feeding and bringing medical supplies to the population under these appalling conditions took precedence over everything else. Public safety, welfare, and medical officers were allowed in the town, but the old plan of a concerted MFAA team, to which so much had been sacrificed, had gone glimmering. The Group Captain, aware of the new magnitude of the work in the deposits, made arrangements to have other officers and Italian authorities come up from Rome to Montegufoni. Major DeWald came for a week. Capt. Sheldon Pennoyer, an American painter who

was responsible for the photographic work of the Subcommittee, and Capt. Roderick Enthoven, a British architect, were to stay in the castle, working with Dr. Giorgio Castelfranco, former director of the Pitti Gallery, exiled by Fascism, and Dr. Emilio Lavagnino, one of the most prominent Italian art historians, both from the Ministry of Public Instruction. Later Col. Henry Newton from SHAEF arrived for a couple of days with his assistant, Lieutenant Lippmann. Eventually Captain Ellis came to stay, to take charge of all the archives in the region.

According to the new plan I was to continue making the first visits to all the deposits, taking whatever action was necessary, with the authority of Eighth Army. Then the careful checking of the contents, object by object, would be done by teams composed of one Allied and one Italian official. The Italians had brought with them from Rome the inventories of the supposed contents of each deposit, inventories which I had sought in vain in the early days of the liberation of the capital. In addition I had taken a flying trip to Siena to persuade Colonel Kirkwood of the urgent need for more transportation, so I returned with "Lucky" and Franco, thenceforward permanent members of my staff, and was able to restore to Captain Ellis his borrowed "Georgette."

With the greatly increased going and coming at Montegufoni, sometimes as many as fourteen people at once, the dinners became huge family parties. Officers, enlisted men, Italian officials, and Italian drivers sat down together. For most of us lunch was a can of c-rations in a ditch, but dinner, once we had bathed in the huge earthenware pot that served as a tub, was a pleasant affair. Our peasant woman proved an excellent cook, and her hearty, Tuscan meals were washed down with many a glass of good Chianti. Although the Italians generally excused themselves early, many of us remained to talk, to walk about the gardens, or to climb the great tower and look across the hills to the continuous blaze of artillery fire that indicated the presence of the Arno, along which the war was now stabilized. In spite of the Allied guns all around us and the German shells falling intermittently in the vicinity, I usually fell asleep at once from sheer exhaustion. By two or three, however, I was generally wide awake, planning the trip for the next day, obsessed with worry over the deposits we had not yet reached and over the fate of Florence.

On August 7 Franco and I started off for one of the most important deposits of all, the villa of La Torre a Cona which, according to the information received at the press camp, should already have been liberated. The villa, property of Count Rossi (of Martini and Rossi), was a large, seventeenth century building surrounded by vineyards. The inventory was spectacular, listing the complete series of statues by Michelangelo from the Medici tombs in San Lorenzo, the colossal statues of Prophets by Donatello and others from the campanile

of the Duomo of Florence, the two *cantorie* by Donatello and by Luca della Robbia from the Opera del Duomo, all the Michelangelo material from the Casa Buonarroti, including the *Madonna della Scala*, the *Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs*, the model for the façade of San Lorenzo and the rich series of drawings and autograph manuscripts. Then the Verrochio *putto* from the fountain in the courtyard of Palazzo Vecchio, the Della Robbia reliefs from the pendentives of the Pazzi Chapel in Santa Croce, a mass of sculpture from the Bargello, three of the Paolo Uccello frescoes from the Chiostro Verde at Santa Maria Novella (three more had been abandoned by the Germans at Montagnana), and some sixty-three paintings from the Uffizi, including the Portinari altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Lorenzo Monaco, and the Rubens pictures for the Triumph of Henry IV.

Our way from San Donato in Poggio to San Donato in Collina, near which was the villa of La Torre a Cona, lay through country as wild and deserted as the region I had traversed on my way to Montegufoni, and the increasing din as the road turned northward gave me uneasy memories of the battle around Torre del Castellano. But I decided to continue as long as I found recent wheel tracks, ask information from military units, and watch out for signs of disturbance in the surface of the road, for the worst danger was from mines. In this manner we eventually arrived at La Torre a Cona, a massive building liberated only the preceding day, and already occupied by a mechanized battalion of the Irish Light Horse. The villa was on the very edge of Allied-held territory, and German shells were being poured constantly into the road ahead. Major Welch, the battalion commander, readily understood the importance of the deposit, promised to undertake full guard responsibility during his stay in the place, and to post the section containing the works of art Out of Bounds. The building was still undamaged, although the Germans had made carnage out of the library and all the business papers of the winery. The director of the establishment, Signor Calvelli, led me about the upper floor to where the *Assumption* by Perugino stood, quite undamaged, although some huge and mediocre nineteenth century Italian paintings lying in rolls on the floor had been slit open by a German bayonet.

The walled-up refuge which contained the major part of the paintings had been broken into, and in the interior many of the boxes had been shifted about. Luckily, however, none of the boxes had been broken and the opening made by the Germans was too small to have permitted the passage of any of these crates. Then Calvelli showed us into the principal storage room, a huge hall in the substructions of the building, which opened onto a terrace at a lower level than the front entrance. For that reason and over Calvelli's protests the Germans had insisted on using this room as a garage.

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

In the sudden sunlight which streamed through the outer doors as Calvelli flung them open the colossal statues by Donatello and Michelangelo were revealed, still in their protecting crates. Unable to suppress an exclamation of shock and wonder, I climbed over the crates, identifying with great emotion one after another until I found myself gazing through the bars of a crate into the agonized face of Michelangelo's *Dawn*, every tragic lineament disclosed by the light from the door.

The sculpture was all in order. No attempt had been made to move or disturb anything. But as I looked toward the door, I saw, leaning one against the other like so many burlap screens, the *Expulsion from Paradise*, the *Flood*, and the *Sacrifice and Drunkenness of Noah* from the Chiostro Verde, detached from their walls and fixed to canvas. I learned later that the job had been done by authority of the Central Institute of Restoration in Rome, and against the advice of the Florentine Superintendency. The work had been badly bungled, and the Germans had moved the already damaged frescoes without regard for their importance. The abandoned implements of the military garage were piled against them, tearing holes in the sadly battered masterpieces. I at once asked Calvelli for workmen, and together we moved the beams, the boards, and the crowbars, and then shifted the monstrously heavy frescoes to positions where nothing could touch or lean against them.

At Montegufoni that night it was decided that the laborious job of checking should be undertaken by Captain Enthoven and Dr. Lavagnino. This team would stay in Torre a Cona five days, verifying the inventory and examining the placing and condition of every object. If possible they were to have local masons wall up the whole deposit, so that no military units could use that portion of the building. Furthermore, if they could in any way obtain transportation, they were to go over to Torre del Castellano and make another inspection there, the type of thorough check which could not be made on the day of my first visit. On the twelfth we were to bring them back to Torre a Cona.

The morning of August 8, therefore, we set out. Our first stop was the village of Grassina on the outskirts of Florence, in order to notify the *cao* there of the presence of this deposit. The interdict that forbade us to enter the liberated portion of Florence became more poignant when for a second we caught sight of the hills beyond the city, and the immense brown form of Brunelleschi's dome with its marble lantern shining in the sun. Grassina was an uncomfortable spot at the moment, under intermittent shellfire. There, however, I had the good fortune to run into Capt. Lawrence L. Miller, who told me that there was a large collection of pictures in the unused clubhouse of a golf course at Campo dell' Ugolino, a few miles south of Grassina. I was reluctant to stop but could not ignore the chance that there might be something of importance.

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

The clubhouse proved to be quite modern, with windows in horizontal strips—all boarded up. We soon located the custodian and discovered that inside were a considerable section of the Museo Civico of Pisa and a number of altarpieces from Pisan churches. We crawled through the hole the Germans had made in the walled-up portion of the clubhouse and with the help of a candle and a tiny flashlight explored the hot, airless rooms, jammed with the Sieneese and Pisan Trecento pictures in which the Museo Civico is particularly rich, our faint lights striking reflections from the gold backgrounds and glittering pinnacles. Upstairs against the wall stood the whole row of magnificent Crucifixes which are the principal works of Pisan Dugento painting, and indeed among the most beautiful monuments of thirteenth century painting in Tuscany. On both floors every object was nearly stacked so that no damage could be caused by the pressure of one panel against another; there seemed to be very little dust, and the order had probably not been disturbed. According to the custodian, the Germans, not satisfied with the sign that placed the building under the protection of the Vatican, had insisted on searching for hidden arms but had not moved any of the pictures.

We were all mystified at the presence of these pictures here, the more so as Lavagnino assured me that no information as to their removal from the region of Pisa had ever been received at the Ministry in Rome. The caretaker then told us that the superintendent of monuments and galleries for Pisa, Engineer Piero Sanpaolesi, had brought them here comparatively recently, and indeed was still living in an apartment in the Palazzo Pitti. The necessity of seeing Sanpaolesi made a fine pretext for requesting permission to enter Florence, so after proper delivery of Enthoven and Lavagnino at La Torre a Cona, Franco and I set out for Eighth Army. The headquarters had just been moved to a more convenient spot between Poggibonsi and Staggia, in a wood off the Via Cassia. I found Major Newton still sitting in his tent waiting for Florence to be liberated. The Group Captain granted no permission to go to Florence, but at least he offered to send for Sanpaolesi at once and deliver him to Montegufoni.

All of us at Montegufoni took a rather dim view of a superintendent abandoning his post at a time of danger, and it was therefore with considerable interest that I found on returning to the villa that evening that Sanpaolesi had arrived on schedule, in the custody of two carabinieri. He had, as a matter of fact been sent for by four carabinieri, apparently in the belief that he was a dangerous character. There is no necessity to dwell on the conversation that followed. Captain Keller (since Pisa was in Fifth Army area) and I decided to assume the responsibility for retaining Sanpaolesi as superintendent, despite the questionable aspects of his presence in Florence rather than in Pisa, and despite his political past. Our decision was prompted by strict necessity, for there was no

one else available who both could and would take the post. Yet it would be unfair to Sanpaolesi not to state that he had been an excellent superintendent up until his flight from Pisa, had saved all the works of art from the Pisan churches by prompt evacuation, and that after his return to his post labored indefatigably to bring order out of ruin under the most difficult circumstances.

I learned from Sanpaolesi that Pisa had suffered much worse damage than the air photographs I had seen in April had led me to believe. Yet terrible as had been the bombardment of the railway yards south of Pisa, spreading destruction over much of the southern half of the city, some of the worst damage was caused by the late July bombardments of the bridges and by the forty days of fighting inside the city. Neither of this nor of the fate of the Campo Santo, a tragedy already a fortnight old, did Sanpaolesi or I have the least suspicion.

Many of the most precious objects from the Museo Civico, together with the offices of the Superintendency and most of the other governmental offices in Pisa, had been moved to the Certosa of Calci at the foot of Monte San Giuliano. The inspector of the Pisa Superintendency, Eugenio Luporini, remained at Calci with the pictures. As for Campo dell' Ugolino, Sanpaolesi did not have his inventories with him but assured me that the numbering system would immediately disclose any gaps. The following day Captain Pennoyer took Sanpaolesi over to Campo dell' Ugolino, and their long and careful examination showed that nothing had been touched. After a few days we delivered Sanpaolesi to Volterra, to work there under the supervision of Captain Keller.

The return of Enthoven and Lavagnino from La Torre a Cona made clear that no exact inventory check of that deposit was feasible. The Superintendency had already started the evacuation of the villa some months before, bringing back to Florence a number of statutes, including some of the Medici tomb figures by Michelangelo. A complete check of the remainder had been made, however, and it was evident that nothing was in danger. Enthoven and Lavagnino had supervised the construction of walls blocking off entirely every room containing works of art, and the deposit seemed secure enough to obviate the necessity of military guards. During this same period Major DeWald, Professor Fasola, and Dr. Castelfranco were making an exact check of the contents of Montegufoni, Poppiano, and Montagnana, rectifying the disorder caused by the Germans and by the battle, under very difficult circumstances indeed. With the exception of the 297 paintings missing from the Villa Bossi-Pucci at Montagnana, it could be announced that the contents of the deposits corresponded to the inventories.

I was still worried by the deposit at Castel Oliveto, which contained, in addition to a group of pictures from the Horne Foundation in Florence and from

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

the galleries of Florence and Empoli, numerous altarpieces taken from the Florentine churches for safekeeping. Altogether there were 189 paintings, 9 pieces of sculpture, and 57 boxes of works of minor art, such as ecclesiastical vessels and illuminated manuscripts. The place had already been visited since its liberation, but it was so far away, over in the Val d'Elsa near Castel Fiorentio, that it had been hard to get to it and do any work. On the day that Captain Pennoyer, Dr. Castelfranco, and I started out for Oliveto we had our first taste of the drenching rains that were to make the autumn offensive impossible and our own work exceedingly difficult. The road up to the hill on which the castle stood was so slippery that it was almost impassable. After much slithering about in the bottomless mud, "Lucky" accomplished the ascent and we entered the castle.

The story there narrated to us by Cavaliere Conti, the overseer of the castle and its vineyards, can best be told as written in Superintendent Poggi's report:

"During the night of Sunday, July 16, 1944, I was notified by Dr. Popp of the German consulate that a convoy of three trucks had left during that same night from a non-specified place in the Valdelsa to bring works of art to the German headquarters in Piazza San Marco in Florence, where it was to arrive at eight in the morning. He asked me to be present at the arrival. In fact at eight the trucks arrived, accompanied by the paratrooper, Colonel von Hofmann, Captain Tweer, and paratroopers and gendarmes of the *Feld-gendarmerie*. With them was Cav. Augusto Conti, the custodian of our deposit of Oliveto.

"It was explained to us that since the castle of Oliveto was under the fire of the Allied artillery, the military command of the sector had decided upon the immediate transport to Florence of the works of art. This operation had been executed by the *Dienststelle* L. 5837, commanded by Colonel von Hofmann. The works were unloaded in the Museo San Marco; there were 84 paintings, 23 crates, and 5 pieces of frames. The rest was left at Oliveto. Through good luck, although the loading took place at night and with the labor of soldiers, the objects arrived in good condition with slight and easily reparable damage.

"Conti, who accompanied the convoy, told me, however, that it was not correct that the castle of Oliveto was already under artillery fire and that, on the contrary, the zone to which it belongs and which does not have major communication arteries was still fairly quiet. He added further that, besides the objects which had arrived in Florence, two panel paintings by Lucas Cranach, the *Adam* and the *Eve* from the Gallery of the Uffizi, had also been taken by order of Colonel von Hofmann, and loaded into an ambulance but had never arrived in Florence. I looked immediately for the Colonel, but he was no longer

on the spot; Captain Tweer told me he knew nothing of the affair because he had arrived at Oliveto after the ambulance had already left [this later proved to be true]. Monday, July 17, I informed Colonel Langsdorff of the fact, and during the night of the seventeenth he went to Oliveto, and upon his return let me know that there was no need to worry about the other things remaining at Oliveto as the locality was considered quite safe; as to the two Cranachs he was already tracing them and would remain personally responsible for their restitution. Following this communication I wrote him a letter with the urgent request that he continue in his search in order to insure that the two precious paintings be brought back to Florence as soon as possible. The letter could not be consigned to Langsdorff, as he left Florence on the nineteenth. However, I was able to notify the director general, Carlo Anti, of the fact immediately in a letter of July 20. . . .

"A few days later Casoni, a lawyer of Florence, informed me that Colonel von Hofmann on Sunday, July 16, had spoken in a friend's house of the two pictures, and had given to understand that they had been taken at the wish of Field Marshal Goering. . . . On July 28 at eleven o'clock I had an unexpected visit from Colonel Langsdorff. . . . To my question he replied that he had found the two paintings by Cranach, and that they were in a safe place, but he was unable to give me any more details. . . . This was my last conversation with him."

It was a long time before any of us knew that on July 17, when Langsdorff was protesting to Poggi that he knew nothing about them, the pictures were at the Hotel Excelsior in Florence—in *Langsdorff's room*! Had Poggi arrived with his letter a few minutes earlier on the nineteenth he might have been in time to see them leave.

Langsdorff and soldiers of the 71st Infantry Regiment on the night of the seventeenth began to move the remaining pictures down into the wine cellar to protect them against the nonexistent shells, leaving only the monumental frames, too heavy and bulky to carry down the narrow stairs, still in the main halls of the villa. When we reached the wine cellar, it was a shocking sight. The pictures had been piled rudely against wine casks in a damp and moldy spot, and Pennoyer and I at once obtained from Conti the men to bring the pictures up again into the upper rooms. It was a long and delicate job. Captain Pennoyer stood downstairs and I at the top as the pictures came up, while Dr. Castelfranco checked them off on the inventory and stowed them away in the principal rooms of the villa.

As two sweating Tuscan peasants labored up the stairs, the light fell upon Filippo Lippi's wonderful *Annunciation* from San Lorenzo, innocent of any frame or protection, hoisted on their shoulders like a cowshed door being car-

PICTURES OF FLORENCE

ried from the carpenter's shop. The last time I had seen it was in that most luminous of all Renaissance interiors, installed on its altar and protected by the gilded columns and cornice of its Quattrocento frame. Among other treasures in the cellar was the Crucifix by Cimabue leaning against a wine cask. The damage from dampness would have been irreparable had these things been left where they were, so we worked all day long putting them into safe places, consolidating the entire deposit into two large rooms which could easily be locked up.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIBERATION OF FLORENCE

ON August 11 the German forces defending the north bank of the Arno in the center of Florence withdrew to the periphery of the city, leaving the major part of the town in the hands of the Partisans but subject to sporadic shellfire. Only a few Allied officers and their enlisted assistants were permitted into the center of the city for the all-important purpose of bringing some quantities, however small, of food, water, and medicine to the stricken population. For nine days the inhabitants had been shut up in their houses, cut off from all public services by the blowing up of the water mains, the gas and the light, always the last graceful gesture of the Germans before leaving a city. By August 12 the suspense of waiting for an order to go to Florence had become unbearable, and I drove down to Eighth Army headquarters to try to cut the waiting short, only to find that on the preceding day Captain Ellis had already been to Florence. He had not crossed the river, however, nor had the still unsettled conditions on the south bank permitted him to do much exploring. He was able to report only that the principal monuments of the south bank, such as the Pitti Palace and the churches of Santo Spirito and the Carmine, were apparently intact, although the Masaccio frescoes in the latter were walled up and could not be seen. Ponte Santa Trinita, the finest bridge of the Renaissance and perhaps the most beautiful bridge in Italy, was definitely and completely gone (Figs. 1, 2). The design for this masterpiece of Bartolommeo Ammanati has been revealed by a recently discovered letter to have been corrected and reworked by Michelangelo himself.

But for me the necessity of getting in touch with the Superintendency to find out about the rest of the deposits was by this time absolute. I succeeded in obtaining from the Group Captain permission to visit the south bank of the Arno, for the sole purpose of going to the Palazzo Pitti to interview the chief personnel of the Superintendency. I was on no account to cross the river, as the military situation was still highly unsettled and the center of the city, held only by small bands of Partisans and those AMG officers essential for health and police purposes, might be retaken by the Germans at any moment.

I therefore started out for Florence the next morning in a state of feverish excitement, and the recollection of the sights of that day makes it difficult to write even now, two years later. I presented my pass to the Military Police at San Casciano, not even noticing that the graceful town, one of the loveliest of the villages surrounding Florence, had been gutted by Allied air bombardments. We drove down the hill from San Casciano to the Greve valley with

a sense of overwhelming tragedy. The destruction of Florence seemed the end of all civilization. How long would this situation last? Would Florence become another Cassino? Already that comparison was on the thoughtless lips of young staff officers unaware of its significance. How could they know if they had never seen Florence glitter in the valley through the cypresses of Bellosguardo; or looked from San Miniato at sunset to see the Arno under its bridges turn to copper, the cathedral standing ankle deep in roof tops, flanked in majesty by Giotto's campanile and defended by the towers of the Bargello and Palazzo Vecchio; or if they had never walked in solemn amazement through the incomparable spatial harmonies of Santa Maria Novella and Santo Spirito?

We passed below the Certosa di Galuzzo, still undamaged on its hilltop, which I had last seen as a young student years before. At the road fork below Poggio Imperiale the direct road into Porta Romana, the great southern gate of the city, was closed by a simple sign with the words "Under Enemy Observation." We turned right, up the slope of Poggio Imperiale and then down the tree-masked road to Porta Romana. Through the trees I caught a quick glimpse of that luminous spectacle of the city which no one who has ever seen it from the hills can possibly forget. The valley around reverberated with shellfire.

The people on the streets seemed to be emerging from some dreadful illness. They were drawn, pale, miserably thin from the long siege. I drove up to Villa Torreggiani, in whose gardens the temporary AMG headquarters had been set up for several days, penetrating with difficulty the hurly-burly of trucks, jeeps, officers, soldiers, and Italian civilians that filled the gardens. I was suddenly recognized by the provincial commissioner for AMG in Florence, the young British lieutenant colonel, Ralph Rolfe. He at once ordered me to cross the river into the northern part of the city. My previous orders could thus be disregarded. But first I was to write out passes for all the Superintendency personnel to cross the Arno. This was my first experience with the famous travel passes, the writing of which was to take up so much of my time in the ensuing months. It struck me as ludicrous that after fighting for nine days to get a pass to come to Florence myself, my first duty on arrival should be the writing of passes for twelve other people.

In the Torreggiani gardens I met for the first time one who was to become a faithful collaborator during the next year of hard work, Prof. Filippo Rossi, director of the galleries of Florence. After the complicated passes were completed and Franco and I had lunched on c-rations under a pine tree, we started through the crowded streets of Oltrarno for the Pitti Palace. From the shade of Via Serragli with its overhanging eaves we drove through crowds of liberated Florentines into the blazing sun of Piazza Pitti and up the slope to the mountainous façade of the palace. How many tourists from every country had

once entered that gate and gazed up through the courtyard of Ammanati at the fountain playing against the sky, and to the cypresses and oleanders of the Boboli gardens! Now the vast court was a crawling mass of unfortunate humanity. The palace of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany looked like the most crowded slum in Naples. Mothers, babies, men, boys, with bundles of clothing and mattresses and a few miserable belongings, lay under the huge arches, swarmed through the courtyard and up the stairs, screamed from the palace windows. Sheets and clothing hung in quantities from every balcony. Here and there tables and even little charcoal stoves were set up for the preparation of pathetic meals. There was only one source of water in the palace, and there were six thousand refugees who had come to find shelter in these massive walls after the Germans had evacuated the whole section of the city along the riverbanks. Even the royal apartments had been put to use to accommodate this tide of human misery, and the romantic walks of the Boboli Gardens were used as a public toilet. It was months before the gardeners got them clean again.

In a moment my jeep was surrounded by curious, joyful people. My future colleagues were about me, overflowing with questions. "We have been waiting for you so long!" cried Poggi's son, "Why didn't you come sooner?" I seemed to be borne bodily from the jeep by the wave of spontaneous affection and good will. I met dozens of people in quick succession, but particularly Prof. Ugo Procacci, one of the two directors of the Superintendency, responsible for the preservation of all works of art outside Florence in the three provinces, as well as for the famous *Gabinetto del Restauro* in the Uffizi, where, with slender material means, many a miracle is worked and many a masterpiece saved for posterity. In later months the self-sacrifice and devotion of Procacci and his all-consuming love of art were to increase my respect for him beyond description. And then appeared the superintendent himself, grave and self-contained, like a figure from a Masaccio fresco, whose true nobility was disclosed by the events of this terrible period.

I was soon extricated from the crowd and led to a conference table which had been prepared in one of the frescoed halls of the palace. At this meeting I outlined the administrative structure of MFAA, explained who we all were and in what ways we would be able to help the Superintendency, and also the limitations of the work possible under AMG. I then obtained from the Superintendency the full list of the still-occupied deposits and ascertained their location. Thus began a year of collaboration in which Allied officers and Italian officials faced together the disasters of a war which in a few months ruined so large a proportion of the monuments of Tuscan art.

But I had not yet seen the devastated area and the blown bridges. Procacci and I therefore departed on foot toward the scene, and on the way he related

the events of the terrible night of August third. I asked him to record in writing this most tragic period in the history of Florence, and with Procacci's permission I here quote his remarkable story in full:

"The morning of July 29, 1944, the Commune of Florence was notified that the German Command needed immediately a detailed map of the area of the city adjacent to the bridges. Engineer Giuntoli, head of the technical office of the Commune, ran to warn Superintendent Poggi, who went at once to His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Florence, along with other Florentine authorities. In view of the increased gravity of the situation Superintendent Poggi was instructed to prepare a memorandum citing the promises to respect Florence as an open city. This was to be taken the following morning to the German commandant, Colonel Fuchs.

"In the meantime a proclamation was posted throughout the city ordering the inhabitants of the sections along the Arno to evacuate their houses before twelve noon on the following day. This provision was justified by saying that 'while the German Command has recognized and treated Florence as an open city, the enemy up to now has not declared whether it recognizes Florence as an open city or not.' The ordinance therefore was made 'to spare losses to the population in case of eventual attacks or attempts against the bridges across the Arno'; and to reassure the public even further, it concluded by saying that the removal of personal possessions, especially furniture, was not necessary.

"The following day, Sunday, July 30, the Florentine authorities met again with the Cardinal, and after the memorandum was ready and unanimously approved by those present the group went to the German headquarters and the memorandum was presented and read to Colonel Fuchs. Herein he was reminded of 'the negotiations of the German ambassador in Italy, of Marshal Kesselring and of the German consul in Florence, for the city to be considered an open city and spared as much as possible of the damages of war, and the orders given in this respect personally by the Führer.' He was further reminded that 'the chief of staff of the supreme headquarters of the *Wehrmacht* declared, at the Führer's headquarters on May 12, 1944, in the name of the Führer, that every effort would be made not to furnish the enemy with any military motive for attacking Florence, the "jewel of Europe," ' and it was noted that 'in consequence of such assurance and measures the Italian Government has given orders to bring back into the city the works of art transported elsewhere to save them from the danger of air raids and has interrupted the work begun for the protection of the Florentine monuments . . . in full accord with the German military authorities who for this purpose had lent their assistance.' It was also noted that 'in recent publications in the Florentine newspapers controlled by the Germans, and specifically in the *Nazione* of July 29, the gratitude of the Florentines was

LIBERATION OF FLORENCE

expressed to "those who have promised and obtained for Florence the treatment of an open city," and it was recognized that the Anglo-American Allies had respected the monumental parts of the city of Florence, and that in fact no damage had been caused to its more ancient quarters or more important buildings.

"In conclusion, it was stated that the authorities, 'alarmed now and surprised by the announcement of serious measures in evident contrast with what had up to then been declared and brought to the knowledge of the citizens; and unable to take effective provisions due to the restricted time and the difficulty of the situation, but desirous of accomplishing as much as possible for the salvation of the city—ask the German headquarters whether they still intend, as repeatedly declared, to consider and treat Florence as an open city. Further, the authorities requested authorization and means to communicate directly with the Anglo-American military headquarters to inform them of the situation in order that the responsibility for acts which could bring grave harm to a city of such importance, not only for the Florentines but for the Italians and for the whole civilized world, should remain clearly determined before the judgment of history.'

"Colonel Fuchs, although the movements of his face betrayed an inner irritation at the last part of this memorandum, offered no objections to the contents of the note which had been read to him; he said only that he did not have the authority to concede a safe-conduct for the Cardinal to cross over to the Allies as was requested, and that for this he would have to ask Marshal Kesselring. But on the other hand, he assured all present that the measures adopted were only precautionary. Then he took one of the little proclamations dropped by Allied airplanes the day before over Florence, with the instructions of General Alexander's headquarters to the Florentines, and said that the Allies, however, did not count Florence as an open city. With these words the meeting was dissolved.

"Reassurances similar to those of Colonel Fuchs were explicitly repeated in the last newspaper issued in Florence, the *Nazione* of that same day, July 30, in an article commenting on the ordinance for the evacuation of the area of the bridges, an article which could not but be official in a newspaper controlled by the German authorities. This statement read: 'The German headquarters wishes to confirm its responsibility for the initiative in having declared Florence an open city according to international standards, but although the German side has entirely fulfilled the agreements of the international conventions, a confirmation on the part of the Anglo-Saxons is still lacking. In other words the enemy has not expressly declared that he intends on his part to respect Florence as an open city. Therefore it is not surprising if the German head-

LIBERATION OF FLORENCE

quarters suspect a possible enemy action against the six Florentine bridges, which constitute so many objectives within the reach of Anglo-Saxon offensive means. But it is purely a suspicion, and thus a form of precaution which does not in the least change the determination of the German headquarters to abide by the standards of the international conventions up to now scrupulously respected. . . . Evacuation of the strip of habitations bordering on the Arno means only the prevention of possible injury to the population in case the enemy attempts to damage the bridges across the river.¹

"It would have seemed, therefore, following so many and such explicit declarations, official and semiofficial, that there was nothing to fear regarding the intentions of the German authorities, but these illusions were not to last for long.

"In the early afternoon someone from an unidentified German unit telephoned to the superintendent asking if it would be possible to remove during the day the four statues from Ponte Santa Trinita. The superintendent informed him that this was absolutely impossible, since the statues were so large that a scaffolding would be required, and also because it was impossible to find workmen at the moment, given the circumstances as well as the fact that it was a holiday. No matter how quickly one tried to work, at least several days would be necessary; but the German replied that that was not possible.

"On the following day [Monday, July 31] no one was permitted to cross the bridges or to move in the area which had been evacuated, so that the city was divided into two parts. Thus the tragic days began for the Florentines. We understood now what a frightful destiny hung over our bridges but we did not yet suppose that the enemy fury would go so far as to destroy entire streets, and among the most beautiful, of the mediaeval city. . . .

"I had been for some time lodged with my family in a few rooms of Palazzo Pitti, since I had had to abandon my house, which was too close to the Campo di Marte railroad station.¹ When on Sunday I crossed Ponte Santa Trinita for the last time and in dark sadness climbed Piazza Pitti to enter the great portal, an atrocious spectacle roused me from that nightmarish sense of being lost that had seized us all, a feeling that we were tiny and impotent against the adverse development of events. On all sides in the Ammanati courtyard was a chaotic mass of people, looking for a place to put their mattresses and what few things they had been able to bring from their abandoned houses. It was the most humble populace of the Oltrarno section who sought refuge in the great palace, finding that its massive walls gave a slight sense of protection and security. Thus began for us a new life which fortunately forced us to forget, at least for some moments, our terrible situation. We constantly had to find shelter

¹ The main freight yards, frequently bombarded by the Allies.

LIBERATION OF FLORENCE

for new refugees, because the Germans continued to evacuate more streets and more dwellings. We had to take care of sanitation, provisions, water. We carried on all trades, for the only satisfaction was to be able to help one another, brothers all in this tragic misfortune.

"Monday morning, I walked along the corridor which unites² Palazzo Pitti to the Uffizi to see what was happening around the bridges. One had to go cautiously knowing that the Germans would certainly have fired upon whoever was found in the evacuated zone. I arrived at the arch of Via de' Bardi and looked toward Borgo San Jacopo. Two Germans were battering down the door of a house; as the door resisted, they stepped backward and quickly threw a hand grenade. The entrances to the houses ahead, nearer to Ponte Vecchio, appeared all broken open. In that moment I guessed everything which was to happen—in addition to the bridges, they were mining even the houses; they were going to blow up the ancient quarter of the city, I had to move back from the window because one of the German soldiers glanced in my direction. A lump closed my throat; there was nothing to hope for now. I looked at the bare walls of the corridor; I would never see them again. I returned toward Palazzo Pitti; I had tears in my eyes and my closed throat almost kept me from breathing.

"There was now no hope, but I still could not give up. I still tried to convince myself that the two German soldiers were breaking down the doors only to rob the houses. However, I did not succeed in deluding myself; the smashed doors of Borgo San Jacopo still returned before my eyes.

"Monday night there was a fierce Allied bombardment against the German positions; for hours and hours the fire was uninterrupted and of ever-increasing intensity. The shells now fell close to the city; one could even hear the whistle. The terrified people were crowded into the lower parts of the palace and into the air raid shelters. To me, however, the bombardment gave a sense of joy: if the Allies arrived in Florence now the bridges and the city would perhaps be saved, for the Germans would not have been able to place all their mines. But at dawn the bombardment ceased and by the first light of day I could see on the Piazza the motionless German soldiers guarding the entrance to Via Guicciardini.

"Tuesday passed in this agony, and Wednesday; Thursday morning [August 3], just before noon, the rumor ran that an ordinance from the German headquarters forbade anyone to leave his house or to look out of the windows; the populace was to retire into the lower floors of the buildings. I ran to Via Romana and read the proclamation; the streets were already almost deserted;

² Procacci wrote "unites," even though at the time of writing the corridor was completely destroyed. Apparently he could not bring himself to realize it.

from the distance I saw a German patrol advance, in front of which the few passers-by scattered.

"That evening I went out with my wife into the courtyard among the crowd of refugees. Suddenly, a little before nine, there was a formidable explosion; everything seemed to crumble and for a moment we thought it was the end. It seemed that the earth was trembling and that the great palace would be conquered from one moment to the next; at the same time from every side glass and pieces of window rained on the crowd, and the air became unbreathable. Terror seized the crowd; a few began to cry 'The bridges, the bridges!' This brought back a little calm. Most of the people fled immediately to the ground-floor rooms and to the shelters; the more courageous applied themselves to helping the wounded. My wife and I tried to run to our children who were left in the palace. A second explosion caught us while we were in a narrow corridor between two courtyards. We were beaten to the wall along with the other people.

"In the apartment the children were calm; after a few minutes my brother arrived. From the height of the Boboli Gardens, where he was at the moment of the first explosion, he had seen a streak of smoke gliding above Via Guicciardini to only a few score yards from the palace. Now there was nothing left to hope for. My thoughts rested on one thing only: Ponte Santa Trinita—if at least that were saved! This idea became almost a nightmare; it did not leave me, and often, shaking myself as from a state of unconsciousness, I found myself repeating, 'Ponte Santa Trinita, Ponte Santa Trinita, Ponte Santa Trinita.' For a few hours there were no more explosions. With my brother I went to the high rooms of the Palace toward the Arno; everything was shattered. I looked from the windows hoping to see something, but darkness enveloped all Florence. Toward midnight the explosions began again, loud but not terrifying like the first two, and they continued until dawn. In the early light I looked from a window onto the Piazza. There was no one, but in a moment from behind the wing of the palace toward Piazza San Felice came two Partisans. I opened the window and cried 'Where are the Germans?' 'There are none here any more, but they are still across the Arno!' came the answer. 'And the bridges?' 'All blown up except Ponte Vecchio.' 'Viva l'Italia!' cried one of the Partisans. 'Viva l'Italia!' I answered. But Italy no longer had the Ponte Santa Trinita!

"I descended into the courtyard weeping. 'What's the matter?' I was asked. 'Ponte Santa Trinita is gone,' I answered, without even knowing what I said. Some must have thought me insane. But at the moment there returned a thread of hope: had the Partisans been mistaken? It was not possible to leave the palace by the front entrances; all the doors had been barred. I ran therefore into the

LIBERATION OF FLORENCE

Boboli Gardens, up, up, all the way to the Kaffeehaus. I climbed the stairs in haste. 'Don't look out!' cried a woman, 'The Germans are firing!' I looked out nonetheless and in the still feeble light of the early morning I saw the massacre of my Florence. The ruins of Oltrarno were there at a few paces. That marvelous panorama which for generations had been admired by the whole world showed a tremendous gash in a tragic foreground along the Arno around Ponte Vecchio, and the dust and smoke were still rising from the rubble.

"I could not keep my mind long on these ruins. Already my thoughts had become accustomed to this destruction, but Ponte Santa Trinita could not be seen from there. I came down from the Kaffeehaus and went with the others toward the 'Cavaliere.' Suddenly shots passed close by. A sniper hidden in the Fortezza del Belvedere had aimed at us. For some time we had to hide and could not move. Not even from the 'Cavaliere' could we see Ponte Santa Trinita.

"I returned to the palace; now exact news had come from outside. No illusion was possible any longer. Ponte Santa Trinita, they told me, collapsed only at dawn, after the third attempt by the Germans to mine it. In the immense sorrow, this gave me a little comfort: the giant had resisted to the very last the destructive rage of the bestial enemy.

"I had hardly returned to the palace when suddenly came the rumor, 'The Allies are here!' The crowd rushed to one side, I along with the others. On the grand staircase of the palace you could not pass. While I was trying to get through, suddenly on the landing of the grand staircase appeared an English soldier and an English officer, embraced on every side by the crowd. Everyone shouted enthusiasm and applauded; for a moment I forgot everything. A sort of delirium seized me; the abjection of more than twenty years, the agony of the last months were over. I was a free man again. With the others I began to applaud and shout frantically, and after the greatest of sorrows I experienced in that moment the greatest joy."

Thus ends the sad recital, with its images of the majestic integrity of Poggi and the Cardinal, confronting without fear the German commander in their vain attempt to intercede for Florence, and of the vulpine treachery of this officer who had at that moment already started his soldiers on their errand of destruction; of the love of the Florentines for their wonderful city, and of the final Dantesque scenes of destruction and horror in the awful night.

* * *

To reach Ponte Vecchio from where we were in the Palazzo Pitti, on the afternoon of August 13, was impossible. A mass of rubble thirty feet high spilled from the end of Via Guicciardini almost into the Piazza Pitti. We therefore had to climb an improvised ladder from one side of the Boboli Gar-

dens into the Corridor, which still ran as far as the other side of Piazza Santa Felicita. Here we descended a dark staircase and emerged into the graceful little piazza in front of the church—and to a scene of horror and devastation. The tall column in the center of the piazza had fallen with everything else, caught in the avalanche of rubble. Shattered masonry, splintered beams, broken bedsteads, glass, metal, plaster, bricks, lay under shattered ruins of Trecento houses.

Soldiers and civilians together poured in a narrow stream constricted by the ruins on one side and the rubble on the other to cross the littered roadway of Ponte Vecchio, chary of the live mines that still filled the wreckage. Once in safety on the bridge we could look around and gain a fairly complete picture of the catastrophe. From the Loggia del Mercato Nuovo, deep among the buildings of the north bank, all the way to the Piazza Pitti was a clean sweep of destruction, over which only one or two buildings and weirdly shaped fragments of buildings, together with a few of the rude mediaeval house-towers, still rose. Por Santa Maria, almost all of Via Guicciardini, Via de' Bardi, and half of Borgo Sant' Jacopo were demolished. Half the Lungarno Acciaiuoli was gone, palaces and all. On the south bank the wonderful old buildings that overhung the river, those anonymous accretions of ages, floor on floor, balconies, arches, crowding roof tops all supported on consoles over the water—how often had we seen them, how often walked at night to gaze through Vasari's arches at the picturesque wall of houses reflected in the quiet stream. It was these houses that had given the Ponte Vecchio its beauty, a city vaulting the river. Now it stood stripped, the houses all one gigantic trash pile together, spilling into the Arno.

One could now look straight through to see the giant block of Orsanmichele and the dome of the cathedral, so little was left of the buildings between. This had been the heart of Dante's Florence. These were the streets and squares scarcely altered since Giotto and Masaccio walked them. Here had been preserved, as nowhere else in the city, the Florence of the Middle Ages. Now, houses, towers, palaces with all they contained and with all their glorious memories, lay collapsed in mountainous heaps of rubble. Form to formlessness, beauty to horror, history to mindlessness, all in one blinding crash. The wreckage stank sharply in the August sun, for the sewers were broken and this last nauseating insult was flung in characteristic German style to grace the deliberate crime.

And why? This whole devastation was carried out only to block Ponte Vecchio, so that the Allies could not cross it. To keep from blowing up Ponte Vecchio the Germans had leveled a thousand yards of ancient Florence: a score of palaces, fifty mediaeval houses, a dozen towers. Yet such was the clumsiness

of the operation that it did not even block the bridge. Within a few hours loopholes were found through which Allied vehicles could cross. The river, moreover, was nearly dry. Crowds of people were pouring over the dams, and small tanks for the support of the Partisans eventually made their way over the rubble of Ponte alle Grazie and up the other side. Had the Allies really wished to attack in this sector the destruction of the bridges would have been a very minor impediment.

According to Lieutenant Colonel Zolling,² who was present as the aide to Kesselring at a meeting with Hitler and Goering, it was Hitler himself who gave orders to blow up the bridges of Florence, saving only the "most artistic one." This apparently was Ponte Vecchio. Ponte Santa Trinita was not "artistic" enough to be worth saving. And there it lay, a few wretched stones and smashed fragments in the shallow water, below the mutilated piers (Figs. 1, 2). Sharp as a sword blade, its curve had carried from the Renaissance palaces of Via Maggio to the magnificence of Via Tornabuoni. The marble statues of the Four Seasons had stood in all their exquisite grace to dramatize one's progress across the bridge. The triangular masses of the piers had directed the water under those incredible arches, the most subtle curves in the world, severe, elliptical, tense, compressed by the bulk of the piers and the clean line of the roadway. The mighty bridge was gone, and over the stumps of the piers soldiers were busy swinging a Bailey bridge to make life possible for the stricken city.

Around the monstrous scene I walked with Procacci. The Germans had time to sow the rubble thickly with mines, and it would be months before the population could get through those streets again. The destruction may not have held up the war in Italy five minutes, but it paralyzed the city. Now that the initial stupor had worn off I began to realize the full extent of the disaster. We crossed the river and came out into the Piazzale degli Uffizi, a sea of broken glass from the windows and skylights of the gallery. The Florentines were all out in the streets for the first time in weeks of siege, careless of the shells still dropping in the city. Feeling strangely alone in my American uniform among those people who had as yet seen so few Allied soldiers I felt the more embarrassed at the occasional ripple of applause from the crowds among which I moved.

We walked to the other side of Piazza della Signoria and gazed through the truncated walls of Via Vacchereccia to the vast desolation of Por Santa Maria, above which rose in shattered majesty the mediaeval towers. Beyond these ruins stood the unfinished walls of Brunelleschi's Palazzo di Parte Guelfa,

² Interrogated in the summer of 1945 by Lieutenant Colonel DeWald and Wing Commander Cooper.

for the first time exposed to the sun. The roof had largely collapsed and the great ceiling by Vasari was badly wrecked. Then we returned to the Uffizi, climbed the glass-strewn staircase to the top floor, to emerge among the columns of the famous loggia that runs around the top of the building, gives access to the galleries of painting and sculpture, and looks out on the Arno. Windows and window frames alike were wrecked. Hardly a roof tile was not displaced or shattered. All the skylights were gone. And of the charming Cinquecento and Seicento decorative frescoes of the loggia, large sections had become loosened from the straw. Some entire bays had fallen to the ground. Others, loosened, were hanging free. The charming *groteschi* of Allori and his pupils in the Medici armory were terribly battered, many sections lying smashed on the floor. The painting galleries were a dreary sight without their pictures, the floors buried in broken glass and plaster, the brocades spotted and ripped. From the famous loggia over the river, whence so many rapt visitors had once gazed, we looked out on the horror of the destruction. What had once been houses and palaces on the opposite bank were a gigantic sand pile slipping into the green Arno (Figs. 3 and 4). I do not wish to exaggerate. With the exception of Ponte Santa Trinita the best-known monuments of the city were intact or only slightly damaged (although we did not know what vital portion a shell might strike next). But the matrix of it all, the mediaeval portion of the city, had been at least a third obliterated. As I recall from this distance in time the fearful sight, the bitter despair of that day, I can still see the words which appeared in chalk below the statue of Dante in his niche in the colonnade of the Uffizi:

*In sul passo dell' Arno
I tedeschi hanno lasciato
Il ricordo della loro civiltà.**

* "On the banks of the Arno the Germans have left a reminder of their civilization."

CHAPTER V

SALVAGE IN AND AROUND FLORENCE

IN August and early September of 1944 the operational front was largely determined by the course of the Arno River, from its mouth near Pisa due east to Florence and thence in a great hook south toward Arezzo and north again to its source in the Casentino. On this curve, one hundred and twenty miles in length, the war had come to a grinding stop. Gunfire, shells, bombs, and mines were working terrific havoc in all the Arno towns from Florence to the sea. Although Florence had now reverted from Eighth to Fifth Army, coming therefore under the jurisdiction of Captain Keller, no one officer could possibly carry out the MFAA work over so large an area. By arrangement between Fifth Army, Eighth Army, and Toscana Region (as Region VIII was now called), I was delegated responsibility for the work in the three eastern provinces, Florence, Siena, and Arezzo, and Captain Keller continued in the three western provinces, Grosseto, Pisa, and Livorno. Major Newton, technically responsible for Arezzo, still under Eighth Army control, moved with Eighth Army to the Adriatic. This arrangement continued in force throughout the autumn and winter, the dividing line between our territories changing as new areas were liberated, by informal agreement between Captain Keller and me. During all the time I was associated with Captain Keller, reporting to him, he gave me an absolutely free hand in areas delegated to me, and whenever I needed help he intervened with the full authority and material aid of Fifth Army.

The situation in Florence in the early days was such that we were not eager to leave our quarters in Montegufoni, and Franco and I returned there every night. In the city there was no water, no light, the hotels had no windows, the mosquitoes came in clouds from the stagnant Arno, the heat was intense and the air suffocating with the odors from the broken sewers and gas mains, the unflushable closets, and the corpses still buried under the ruins along the Arno. Fascist snipers from windows all over the town picked off civilians at random. During this period nearly four hundred persons, mostly civilians, were killed by the German batteries which continued to shell the town sporadically from Fiesole.

The military situation bordered on the insane. Only the center of Florence was liberated, and in the hands of the Partisans. The only Allied military personnel in the town, aside from those AMG officers and soldiers essential to the maintenance of public services, were the police and engineering personnel of 71 Garrison. Nowhere else had the Allies crossed the Arno. The Germans still

held the outskirts of the city, and the intervening districts formed a bloody No Man's Land whose residents made frantic expeditions for water between the bursts of machine-gun and rifle fire. At night German patrols and light tanks came down through the city to the banks of the river, and apparently the only reason the Germans did not retake the center was to avoid the responsibility of caring for the miserable population, suffering from thirst, hunger, sleeplessness, overcrowding, and the impossibility of maintaining the most elementary hygiene.

The city was caught between two opposing armies, and for all we knew might be ground to bits before the deadlock was broken. All day long over Florence the Allied shells whistled from guns situated just outside the city, bombarding the German positions around Fiesole, and the city shook to the rumble of the Long Toms. Not an Allied shell fell in Florence, but the uncontrolled German bombardment hit Santo Spirito, Santa Croce, the flank of the cathedral, the campanile of Giotto, the roof of the baptistery, the central section of the Uffizi, the Palazzo Strozzi, and the Loggia del Bigallo, carrying away the head of the marble Madonna relief by Alberto Arnoldi. Every morning the personnel of the Superintendency patrolled the streets of Florence to pick up the fragments of what German shells had knocked down during the night. In this way the beautiful head was found and returned to the Superintendency intact.

Captain Ellis and I established our office with Florence Province AMG in the top floor of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, whose chapel with its Gozzoli frescoes could be seen only by candlelight. Here we were some seven hundred yards from the first German positions in the Fortezza da Basso. No one as yet lived in the Palazzo—a wise precaution, for on one occasion the German patrols came into it at night, after the AMG officers had returned to Villa Torreggiani across the Arno.

On Sunday morning, August 20, at about eleven o'clock, the shelling became more intense, and the explosions quite close around us. An appalling crash nearly shook us to the office floor. We were stunned for a moment, but nothing seemed to be broken and we resumed work in the midst of the deafening concussions. Later I found out that the shell had landed on the roof directly above our heads, exploding without piercing the ceiling. The brunt of the shelling had been borne by the church of San Lorenzo. The construction over the inner cupola at the crossing of nave and transept had suffered seven direct hits, wrecking the roof and imperiling the cupola. It was just after High Mass, and a shell landed in the crowd outside, killing twenty-four persons.

In our office we received countless requests for Off Limits signs from frantic villa proprietors, each of whom insisted that his villa was a *monumento na-*

zione and should not be requisitioned. There was not time enough to investigate one such situation before another applicant arrived. I was constantly being confused with a Lieutenant Dart, displaced persons officer, and the office besieged by helpless refugees. Urgent problems of salvage and repair had to be discussed with the Superintendency personnel. In desperation I accepted the invitation of the Superintendent to move my establishment into the ground floor of the Uffizi, beside Rossi and within easy reach of Procacci. This brought only a momentary surcease. The visitors trebled and quadrupled, and now Allied requisitioning officers arrived with requests to occupy one monument after another, understandable enough with an army group, an army headquarters, and an air force, including their subsidiary units, all stationed in and around Florence. Few requisitioning mistakes were made, but even the Palazzo Pitti was three times in danger of being taken over by the army.

Through all this the office had to be established, records kept, letters answered, reports written, *preventivi* (construction estimates) analyzed and approved. Each *preventivo* had to bear my signature below that of the superintendent, and the channels through which they then proceeded became daily more complex. Eventually they had to pass (in five copies) through nine separate steps in Italian and AMG bureaucracy. With luck it took an individual *preventivo* anywhere from two to four months to run the whole labyrinth, and by then the lira would have fallen again so that the collected sums were no longer sufficient for the work. These sums were, incidentally, all from Italian state funds. But many *preventivi* were not so fortunate. Often they were returned for compliance with some entirely new regulation or because they had not been understood. Often they were sidetracked or even mislaid for months by harassed civil engineers who were responsible for water mains and bridges and had little time to deal with the monuments.

But we could not sit and watch the monuments fall to pieces while the bureaucracy, Italian and Allied, haggled over the *preventivi*. With my approval the Superintendency went ahead engaging the contractors to do the jobs. The contractors had to pay their workmen and buy their materials, and often when they came to the Superintendency there was no money for them. When I left Florence the Superintendency was still besieged by its creditors and has only recently freed itself from debt. The impressive list of repaired monuments should, however, justify the policy of immediate action.

I was aided with the burden of administrative detail by an Italian secretary, Signorina Ester Sermenghi, a real heroine of the days of Partisan resistance in Florence and a devoted helper, and by Pfc. Paul O. Bleecker of New York City, who was assigned to my office in mid-September, doing an excellent job until he was taken away to be reassigned to MFAA in liberated Bologna. AMG

SALVAGE IN FLORENCE

Toscana Region did not move to Florence until May 1945. This left me fairly independent, save for my responsibility to AMG Fifth Army and its senior civil affairs officer, General Hume, who in September installed himself in the frescoed halls of Palazzo Vecchio. I had many an occasion to thank General Hume for his interest in Florentine art and for his prompt intervention when his authority was needed.

During these days I had to bid a regretful farewell to Montegufoni and move my lodgings as well as my offices into Florence. Yet the presence of my command in Siena, later in Lucca, meant that no military organization in Florence felt itself responsible for billeting me. I was therefore pushed from one requisitioned hotel to another until rescued by the generosity of Princess Lucrezia Corsini. Moved by the work that MFAA was doing in saving Italian art, she placed at my disposal an apartment in Palazzo Corsini, where I remained until I left Florence in August of the following year.

With September came the rain. The first storms wrought havoc in the unroofed churches and palaces, but by the end of the month the thirty-five day downpour had begun which was to bring the offensive in the Apennines to a dead stop before Bologna, convert every by-pass around a broken bridge into a bottomless slough, every stream bed into a wall of water, every jeep trip into a sort of submarine excursion through rain and mud. The Arno, empty in August, rose in October till one could hear its roar five or six blocks away. By November 1 the flood was bringing down beams and trees, and sometimes actual patches of earth with squashes growing on them drove by under the arches of Ponte Vecchio and over the ruins of Ponte Santa Trinità. Soon the new Bailey bridges were threatened, and cars crossed over them only one at a time. The yellow whirlpools reached the balustrade and spray was flung into the streets. Under Palazzo Corsini the embankment collapsed and the river rushed into the alleys. Pisa was flooded six feet deep, Grosseto twelve.

With the establishment of a permanent office in Florence, our nomadic phase was succeeded by as systematic a program of inspection tours as was possible under the circumstances. The expansion of my duties necessitated the assignment of still another officer to MFAA in Tuscany, attached to AMG Florence City. This position was filled first by Capt. Edward Croft-Murray from the Print Room of the British Museum, then by Capt. Cecil Pinsent, a British architect who had resided in Florence for nearly thirty years, then by Captain Enthoven, then again by Captain Pinsent. All of these officers did magnificent work, and the appearance of the city of Florence bears the lasting imprint of their efforts.

Florence was the center of all our efforts. It was essential to retain every fragment still partially surviving from the destroyed palaces and towers—not much, alas, for the brutal thoroughness of the German demolitions was carried out

by means of bombs placed in the basements, blowing the buildings vertically. Gothic and Renaissance arcaded courtyards disappeared without a trace. But the towers had to be retained as a nucleus for any future rebuilding in the area, to preserve at least the basic plan of mediaeval Florence. The Florentines themselves were intensely aware of this, and the head of the Tuscan Committee of National Liberation, Dr. Carlo Lodovico Ragghianti, himself an art historian, appointed a commission for the study of the area. No Italian outside the Government had the authority to appoint commissions, and then only with Allied approval, but I readily waived formalities in view of the spontaneous enthusiasm for the project. The "Art Commission for Destroyed Florence," as this group was called, soon took on in the popular imagination another and more grimly appropriate title, the "Rubble Commission." These men, mostly young architects who had volunteered their time and their efforts to aid the Superintendency, did excellent work in the early days of the liberation of Florence.

We were, however, not the only organizations to have an interest in the devastated area. Under the rubble lay buried the broken water and gas mains, necessary for the continued existence of the city. The British engineers entrusted with the restoration of these essential services worked with remarkable speed and efficiency, yet were apt to pay scant attention to fragments of mediaeval wall or buried libraries. Such an attitude would have been justifiable in the slum areas of a modern metropolis, but in the center of Florence it threatened to complete the German job of destruction. Mechanical excavation for the water line which followed the route of *Via de' Bardi* was found too slow, and the chief engineer for 71 Garrison ordered the use of a bulldozer. To insure the safe motion of this heavy equipment, he wanted to demolish all standing walls at once, and all rubble in the path of the machine was to be pushed into the Arno. On this exact spot had stood the home of the Colombaria Society, a group of Florentine artists, historians, and bibliophiles, founded in 1735. The rich library of the Society, a collection of manuscripts, incunabulae, letters, diaries, and archives, was in addition to its great bibliographic value and importance for the early development of research in Etruscan archaeology, a primary source for the study of the history of Florence. With the collapse of the building the entire library was buried under tons of rubble—this was now to be pushed into the river by the bulldozer.

Interviews with the British engineers confirmed the absolute necessity of excavating for the water in that spot and disclosed our own desire not to slow down their vital work. An agreement was worked out under which the Superintendency would supply the necessary personnel to remove any objects found, while the engineers were to operate the bulldozer in such a way that the workmen and inspectors could perform their task. Yet in spite of all pledges, the

bulldozer worked too fast and raised too much dust for systematic salvage to be possible. At such a distance in time it is useless to indulge in recriminations. But under the universal strain tempers were frayed and regrettable incidents occurred before the direct intervention of General Hume brought about a *modus vivendi* whereby the machines circumnavigated entirely the site of the Colombaria, leaving our workers free for their exacting job. Actually the water main was discovered nowhere near the river, and I have not yet been able to understand why it was considered necessary to clear the neighboring sites completely in order to reach it.

As the bulldozer, manned in two shifts, worked continuously from eight to eight, we had to have two shifts of workmen at the site of the Colombaria throughout the fierce heat of the day. Each shift was under the direction of an assistant from the Superintendency, and the whole job was run by a volunteer worker, Signor Mario Bellini. As the excavation proceeded, the books were brought to the tiny German Protestant church on the Lungarno, later to the rooms of the Museo Bardini, and there sorted out. Here Dr. Gustavo Bonaventura, of the *Istituto della Patologia del Libro* in Rome, received the damaged volumes, and administered whatever first aid he could. When the late September rains began, the job was almost over. What had been retrieved from the apparently hopeless rubble more than justified the struggle for its salvage. The exquisite loggia with its arcades looking out on the Arno was irrevocably gone, only about a sixth of the modern library was found, the archives of the Colombaria Society and various other literary societies had almost completely disappeared, but the manuscripts and incunabulae, by far the most precious possessions of the Colombaria, turned up in surprising numbers, and for the most part in a better state of preservation than could have been hoped for. In addition to more than a thousand books and over four thousand pamphlets, forty-two out of eighty-two of the historical and scientific manuscripts were found, thirty out of thirty-eight precious codices, and thirty-four out of thirty-six incunabulae, almost all in a condition that made restoration possible. After the delicate and painstaking work of Bonaventura, who spent six weeks flattening, dusting, drying every page, the precious books were deposited in the National Library in Florence as part of the national cultural heritage.

Less encouraging was the story of the Torre di Parte Guelfa. This massive tower which, with two others, had once composed the famous triangular Piazza dei Rossi at the southern end of Ponte Vecchio (Fig. 6), survived only in fragmentary state. Two of the four walls were still standing. The façade on Via Guicciardini was split from the top down to a point approximately at the level of the cornice of the ground story. The crack was as much as a foot wide at the top. Yet this building, an essential element in the scheme of the destroyed

mediaeval area, was considered of first importance by the "Rubble Commission." A detailed letter was sent to 71 Garrison, in which the Commission offered to take over all responsibility for shoring and chaining the ruin so that reconstruction would be possible. The leading architect for the Florence railway station, Giovanni Michelucci, was convinced the operation was feasible. What was the astonishment of the Florentines, therefore, to find on the day following the delivery of their letter that the wall at right angles to Via Guicciardini had already been pulled down, and that the engineers were attaching a cable to the upper portions of the façade to pull down the rest of the building!

A second spirited intervention of General Hume produced a compromise. The engineers were to demolish only the leaning section and we would assume responsibility for the rest, of which enough remained to permit reconstruction of the tower. On September 8 the demolition took place in the presence of Captain Croft-Murray, while I was out of the city on another job. According to Croft-Murray the cable attached near the bottom of the north section and dragged with the full force of the bulldozer had no effect on the supposedly threatening structure. It had to be untied and reattached approximately half-way up. The north section then came down, and a second later, so great was the shock, the rest of the façade followed. The tower was thus gone past hope of reconstruction, and the engineers were faced with a mass of rubble whose clearance would require as long as it would have taken us to complete shoring operations. They never did clear it, and made no attempt to excavate for water at that point. The most picturesque square in old Florence had disappeared, without even the comfort that its destruction was necessary.

To forestall further disasters of this nature we obtained a plan of the devastated area from the Commune. On this Captain Enthoven, who had by now succeeded Captain Croft-Murray as MFAA officer for Florence City AMG, indicated by numbers every structure for which we and the Superintendency assumed responsibility. General Hume wrote a firm letter quoting his authority from General Clark and requesting the adoption of our plan. There were no further difficulties and our work in the area continued. The appearance of the city of Florence will retain for all time the evidence of the energetic aid of General Hume and the care and precision of Captain Enthoven.

By the end of September, however, Captain Enthoven was called away and replaced by Captain Pinsent, whose wisdom and tact avoided all friction with the engineers. The work in the devastated area now proceeded in a rational manner. Aside from a few fragments of minor importance, the work concerned two damaged façades which faced each other across Via Guicciardini, five damaged towers which still stood, although roofless and water-soaked, the church of Santo Stefano al Ponte, the roofless Palazzo di Parte Guelfa, and the small

section of Palazzo Acciaiuoli which still remained standing (Figs. 7, 8) with two-thirds of the Poccetti frescoes adhering miraculously to its walls (Fig. 10). Detailed surveys of the area were made by Captain Pinsent and Engineer Morozzi of the Superintendency, and the plan of work decided upon. One tower had to be pulled down, the foundations being completely shattered. Three were merely unroofed and badly shaken, and their repair was no problem. But the immense Torre degli Amidei, in the center of Por Santa Maria, was in even worse condition than the Torre di Parte Guelfa (Figs. 11, 12). The responsibility for the lives of the passers-by was so grave that few wished to assume it. The engineers agreed to drive their roadway in a loop around the ruin, and the Superintendency then proceeded, about the middle of September, to shore and chain the one completely standing wall. Beams strong enough to hold this wall were unobtainable until I heard from one of the architects that some colossal timbers had been abandoned by an Allied unit at the top of the hill on the other side of the river. Unable to discover to whom they belonged, I obtained a truck and hauled the monstrous timbers back, on a long route around the city, to Por Santa Maria. A concrete base was built for them, and the first series of struts went up at once (Fig. 12).

For a while everyone despaired of being able to save the tower, even after the cracks in the masonry had been reworked and the top bound by clamps. Eventually, however, the shoring was replaced by a brick spur, and in March the spur extended, as a continuous core, to complete all the missing portions of the tower, carefully planned to serve as a framework for the original stones, which were reused to cover the façade (Fig. 13). When I returned in February 1946, I found that the Florentines had completed the building on their own, the pointed arches and the windows had been completely reconstructed from drawings and photographs with the original stones, the lions' heads were in place, and the imposing tower needed only a few years of weathering to give a patina to the new mortar (Fig. 14). We had thus proved that reconstruction of the shattered mediaeval buildings was not only feasible but desirable.

One can only wonder what the final solution will be. The melancholy Florentine ruins have been the subject of a long controversy between those whose purist gorges rise at the slightest mention of a "forgery" and the lovers of the old Florence who believe it possible to reconstruct every street. The truth lies somewhere between. The Superintendency possesses so many and such detailed photographs of certain buildings and streets, particularly the famous line of houses hanging over the river, that an exact reconstruction is surely possible down to the last roof tile and the last spot on the *intonaco*. In many cases existing fragments can serve as the model for what has disappeared. In all cases the ground plan is known and measurable. But in little-photographed streets it

will never be possible to rebuild exactly, and the solution should consist in the maintenance of the same roof line, the same coloring of *intonaco*, and a simple, Tuscan house style that any master mason in Florence can still produce.

The problem of roof tiles to replace those smashed by the explosions and the prolonged shelling was as difficult in Florence as anywhere else. Poggi had one windfall, however. The Fortezza di Belvedere, by Buontalenti, had long been spoiled by a group of barracks erected in its garden by the Fascist army. After September 8, 1943, the Superintendency resumed control of the entire area, and the barracks served as a mine for roof tiles, sufficient to cover all the shell holes in the church roofs and the frescoed loggia of the Uffizi. But this did not cover the galleries of the Uffizi, in which one could wade up to the ankles during the autumn rains, or the scores of damaged monuments throughout the provinces. In late October, looking out through the glassless windows of the Uffizi, it seemed as if the whole structure, and indeed the frail city of Florence, would be washed away by the ceaseless downpour. Repeated interventions by Captain Pinsent, Captain Enthoven, and me brought dribblets of tiles flowing from the few reactivated tileworks, but only a small fraction of what we needed. Yet by spring the Uffizi was dry and safe, the first consignments of glass began to arrive from the reactivated glass factories, and some of the skylights could be repaired. Most windows had to be covered with oil paper for a long time, however, and almost every monumental church in Florence required repairs of some kind.

Aside from the devastated area, the principal salvage problem was Ponte Santa Trinita, of which nothing remained save the two piers and the abutments, heavily damaged above but well preserved at the bases. All four of the Mannerist statues were smashed, and sections of these fell into the river. Any salvage operations were complicated by the fact that the Bailey bridge across the wreckage was the principal means of communication across the river, and further by the security problem involved in the location of the front in the very outskirts of the city. Yet in spite of all this, salvage operations were started only a week or so after the liberation of the city, under the direction of the young sculptor, Giannetto Mannucci.

Small fragments which might be destroyed by engineering troops building the Bailey bridge were the first to be removed to safety. Large sections of the figures of *Spring*, *Summer*, and *Winter* were found on the Lungarno and carried in handcarts and barrows, those on the north bank to the Uffizi and those on the south to the Pitti. The principal portions of Giovanni Caccini's *Autumn* appeared under layers of rubble in the bed of the river. By swimming and by the use of a homemade raft, after the early rains of September, all the pieces of one of the two principal cartouches were recovered, and the head of *Autumn*

SALVAGE IN FLORENCE

was found in five feet of water. Horrible sights attended the work. At one time, when Mannucci was diving for fragments, a severed human head kept rotating in an eddy at this very point, staring him in the face when he rose to the surface.

Aside from the many minute fragments, *Autumn* was broken into five principal pieces, and *Summer* and *Winter* into four each. Francavilla's lovely *Spring*, being much more delicate, was shattered into innumerable fragments. But the only important piece still missing from the group is the head of *Spring*, which is reported to have been seen on the Lungarni in the first days of the liberation, but which subsequently vanished. Searches and appeals for the return of the head alike proved useless.

While the restoration of the statues proceeded, the weight of the flood in the Arno threatened by the end of October to corrode and carry away what remained of the piers. These had to be partially dismantled, with each piece numbered, preliminary to reinforcement. In November Riccardo Gizdulich, an architect, undertook the work, and has been responsible for all subsequent studies of the bridge. Gizdulich has executed complete measured drawings of all remaining fragments, and also twenty-one plaster casts of various sections, recovered from the river bottom. The complete elevations made by Gizdulich from these studies, from photographs, previous drawings, and measurements of the ruins, are sufficient to insure an extremely accurate reproduction of the original bridge. The remarkable restoration of statues and decorative elements by Mannucci will enable the Florentines to reconstruct a bridge hardly distinguishable from the destroyed masterpiece. The money to do so is rapidly being raised by the Florentines, aided by impressive contributions from American private citizens.

* * *

On the pine-wooded ridge that separates the valleys of the Greve and the Ema, in a spot first settled by the ancient Etruscans, stands the town of Impruneta, whose chief glory is the basilica of Santa Maria, consecrated in the year 1054. The wide square before the arcaded portico of the basilica is yearly the scene of a famous fair, whose seventeenth century aspect is preserved for us in a celebrated engraving by Jacques Callot. The interior of the basilica, extensively converted in the late Renaissance and lined with altarpieces by sixteenth and seventeenth century painters, was filled with a golden light reflected from the magnificent carved and gilded baroque ceiling (Fig. 15). On the high altar stood a gigantic Gothic altarpiece, by the Trecento painters, Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza. Although these painters are otherwise hardly known, their polyptych with its twenty-eight panels and fourteen golden

pinnacles was not only the largest Italian Gothic altarpiece but one of the most complete examples of the iconography of the Virgin (Figs. 20, 21).

On either side of the apse stood two superb shrines, the chapel of the Madonna and the chapel of the Cross. The severe beauty of the fluted Corinthian columns and massive entablatures, carved from hard, grey *pietra alberese* according to the designs of Michelozzo, framed the coloristic and formal perfection of the glazed terra cotta reliefs and ceilings of Luca della Robbia.

Only a military historian with access to all the documents of the Air Force could clarify the reasons for the two American air attacks on the town of Impruneta after the Germans had left. It was perhaps another case of the frequent failure of Allied Intelligence. But whatever the reason, the two bombardments ruined a considerable section of the town and killed a large number of refugees. We entered the basilica on August 15 to find a scene of utter devastation (Fig. 16). The roof tiles were blown away, and the light pouring through the shattered beams fell on masses of wood and rubble piled twenty feet high in the interior. On top of this lay a covering of splinters and rags, all that was left of the baroque ceiling. The apse with its roof and triumphal arch had disappeared almost completely, so that we looked out into empty sky. Somewhere under all this wreckage might be the pieces of the huge polyptych, on which the bomb had exploded.

Like a log-jam on an Alaskan river, the smashed beams were piled over the ruins of the *tempietti* of Michelozzo and Luca della Robbia. The altarpieces by Rosselli, Allori, and Empoli were torn by flying fragments, and the *Assumption* by Cigoli reduced to rags. Fortunately the Passignano altarpiece escaped, having been removed for the *Mostra del Cinquecento*. The frieze of charming Settecento paintings, largely by Domenico Ferretti, which ran around the eaves, was badly mutilated. Three of the pictures were torn to ribbons, and the others were in imminent danger of destruction by the weather. But the crowning horror was the fact that the entire right wall of the basilica had been blown outward by the explosions, and was leaning so sharply that we expected its collapse from one moment to the next. The heavy Trecento roof timbers, still standing over the greater portion of the nave, held onto this wall only by their finger tips. Should they fall, the leaning wall, too, would crash, and the shock would probably destroy the left wall as well. There would be nothing left but the façade.

The rest of that day we crawled over the beams and the rubble, to determine what was still salvageable. I don't think it occurred to any of us that we were in danger of being crushed at any moment, so great was our concern over what had been lost. Of the Robbia reliefs the *Crucifixion* was the most nearly intact; only the left arm of the Christ and the head of the sorrowing Virgin were broken

away (Fig. 18). The pediment was partly smashed and the two saints had fallen forward to be covered by the rubble. The predella was below the level of the rubble and could not be seen. The saints flanking the tabernacle of the Madonna were badly broken. The terra cotta ceilings had disappeared under the rubble, the columns of the right *tempietto* were broken off, and those of the left tottered into the wreckage, still valiantly upholding the front of the entablature which everywhere else was destroyed. The entablature of the chapel of the Cross had held a frieze of *putti* and garlands by Michelozzo, which, being of stucco, must have been pulverized.

As we worked, the heat intensified the stench of six bodies, victims of the first raid, which were awaiting interment when the basilica was hit for the second time, burying them finally before the chapel of the Madonna, under tons of rubble. To add to the gruesomeness, the Renaissance tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Agli, who died in 1477, which had stood in the right transept, had been ripped open and the bones and pathetic rags of brown and dried flesh spilled out upon the wreckage. Although the skull had fallen, the rich fifteenth century brocade cushion was still in place.

Although one of the two sacristies had been battered by the bomb that wrought so much damage to the Renaissance furnishings, the Trecento and Quattrocento pictures and other precious objects preserved there were only slightly scratched. The cloisters, a small and interesting one from the Quattrocento and a much larger two-story Trecento structure, were intact save for the usual damage to tiles and beams.

Undaunted by the immense proportions of the disaster, Procacci at once proceeded to organize salvage operations—ten short days after the destruction of the center of Florence and his own liberation. Ten local workmen were hired, directed by four overseers working in shifts. The work began at once. Before the middle of September the rubble had been cleared from the church. The ten workmen labored with the energy of forty, cutting a sort of corridor through the rubble (all with handbarrows and shovels), until they reached the *tempietti*. From there on every microscopic fragment of terra cotta and stone was carefully examined to see if it might not form a part, however insignificant, of the Robbia reliefs or of the Michelozzo shrines. The rubble was sorted out, every usable brick or stone or timber being set apart in the cloisters. The architectural fragments were placed in the cleared nave of the church, and near them the Robbia reliefs, whose standing sections were detached carefully from the walls. The altarpieces were taken down, and with ladders borrowed from the Florence fire department the eighteenth century pictures, in spite of their size and weight, were removed and lowered, even from the leaning wall. The work of the first weeks went on at continual danger to life

SALVAGE IN FLORENCE

and limb, and all the while that the rubble was being cleared and the works of art and fragments transported to Florence, almost the entire piazza of Impruneta was filled with steel Bailey bridges to be used in the September offensive.

Before long it became necessary to reach a decision concerning the leaning wall. Luckily the primitive Romanesque campanile was still standing. This was made to serve as a prop for the leaning wall by filling the intervening space with timber shoring. But the situation could not continue, for the strain on the campanile was excessive, and the horizontal cracks in the wall would sooner or later cause it to collapse. Early in September Poggi proposed that the roof timbers be shored up by a system of wooden scaffolding from the floor while the entire leaning wall was dismantled, the stones numbered and the wall rebuilt. It was a very expensive plan, but seemed to be the only solution, and work began immediately under the competent supervision of Engineer Mario Rossi. Before the end of September the interior of the basilica was a forest of scaffolding supporting the timbers. The demolition of the leaning wall began.

Meanwhile, the thousands of minute fragments of the Robbia reliefs, recovered through three siftings of mountains of rubble, had been taken in the decrepit Superintendency truck, using AMG gasoline, to Florence, where the laborious work of recomposition was begun (Fig. 19). But not all the pieces had been found; and chief among the missing elements was the head of Saint Romulus, one of the two saints flanking the tabernacle of the Madonna. One day in November I returned to find a note from Procacci on my desk. The head had been found, and in a most extraordinary way. It was discovered *inside* the closed altar below the tabernacle. Apparently in the violence of the explosion the altarstone had split apart at the exact moment that the head of the saint had fallen from his body, and then clapped to a fraction of a second after the head landed in the open altar, just before the shower of rubble from the ceiling and walls descended to bury altar and all. The complete tabernacles with all their figures could now be reconstructed, with the sole exception of the tiny Madonna relief, which had lost the chin of the Virgin and the head of the Christ Child. All winter the meticulous work went on; by summer the reliefs were complete and the ceilings nearing completion. In the winter of 1946-1947 the rescued statue of Saint Romulus went on tour in the United States, as part of the exhibition, "War's Toll of Italian Art."

In December the demolition of the threatening portions of one of the sacristies brought to light the structure of a fine Gothic chapel, until then unknown, with enough of its elements preserved to permit complete restoration. By January the demolition of the leaning wall was completed and Rossi's new wall begun. By July not only this wall but a new apse following the exact lines of

the old had been virtually completed (Fig. 17). During the autumn of 1945 the new roof beams went up, by winter the roof was completed, and the church was again usable. True, it will never be the same. Too badly smashed to be reconstructed, the Baroque ceiling was omitted, leaving bare the mediaeval timber roof, thus giving the church somewhat the appearance it had before the Renaissance and Baroque reconstructions. But of the great Gothic altarpiece only the most miserable fragments were ever found (Fig. 21).

In the immediate environs of Florence the only other artistic tragedy to compare to the disaster at Impruneta was caused by the deliberate vandalism of the Germans at Badia a Settimo. The campanile of the former abbey church, cylindrical at the base and octagonal at the top, was an unforgettable landmark over the curving river (Fig. 22). On August 4, 1944, the Germans, under the pretense that it could have been of use to the Americans as an artillery observation post, mined it at the bottom and blew it up completely (Fig. 23). Even less excusable was the German demolition of the *Colombaione*, the bastion on the far corner of the abbey. This square tower hardly rose above the tree tops. Above the portal which it formerly defended stood a colossal relief sculpture, representing Christ enthroned between Saints Benedict and Bernard (Fig. 24). Although the lost heads of the figures had been replaced by simple spheres to indicate the approximate proportions, the relief was still the grandest example of Romanesque sculpture in the surroundings of Florence. The German soldiers placed their mines in the chamber directly behind the relief, and it was at the exact height of the relief that the tower was blown away. Unfortunately the sculpture was of stucco. Not a fragment could be identified in the pulverized rubble that covered the lawn below.

There has been considerable discussion of whether or not the German demolition of bell towers was justified. The Allies quite generally shelled them, as our artillerymen knew perfectly well the Germans used them for observation posts. In certain cases the Germans blew up the campanile out of which they had just removed one of their own observation posts. But in other instances the blanket order to blow up towers seems to have been obeyed without regard to military usefulness. Only two miles behind Badia a Settimo, on the peak of a range of considerable hills, stands the tower of San Martino alla Palma, commanding a far wider range for artillery, yet this was not mined. The accusation of deliberate vandalism is supported by a report of the priest, Don Novello Chellini, in which he tells how the Germans used the church and the former abbey as artillery targets by day and then recrossed the shallow Arno by night to examine the damage they had wrought. The shelling continued for days, causing ruin to the abbey roofs and a partial collapse of one of the cloisters.

The crash of the campanile brought with it more than half the left aisle of the church, and the beautiful Romanesque wall, which Niccoli's restorations, while he was an architect for the Superintendency in Florence, had so recently brought to light, was crushed under the masses of descending masonry. The explosions and the shellfire smashed most of the roof tiles, leaving the beamed ceiling, with its rich Trecento painted decorations, largely uncovered. At the same time one of the walls of the chapel of San Quintino collapsed, damaging severely the frescoes by Giovanni da San Giovanni. Most of the structure was luckily intact, including the beautiful apse by a follower of Brunelleschi, with its decorations in Della Robbia style. The famous frescoes attributed to Buffalmacco, and already almost indecipherable, suffered no further damage. Most of the abbey buildings, long given over to private ownership, were intact, including the magnificent French Gothic hall and chapter house.

Shortly after Poggi and I visited the abbey, Nello Baroni, the same architect who was working on the roofs for the Florentine towers, started work at Badia a Settimo. Our plan did not include for the time being any repairs to the left aisle wall. It was intended rather to wall off the aisle from the rest of the church, wall up the chapel of San Quintino, and replace the roof tiles to save the painted beams. This much was completed by February 1945. The huge summit of the campanile, lying still intact on top of the heap of rubble, we were able to cast in plaster, preserving its exact shape to serve in any future reconstruction. Little else was left of the campanile save the great bronze bells.

Of the cities in Florence Province, Prato and Empoli suffered the worst damage from high explosives. In Prato a raid by American Liberators reduced the house of Filippino Lippi to a heap of gravel, in which only a few pieces of the original architectural decoration were still intact. But the street tabernacle with its *Madonna and Child Adored by Saints*, which Filippino had painted in fresco for his house, was completely smashed. The salvation of this work is one of the most remarkable stories of the Italian campaign. Leonetto Tintori, an expert restorer who has often worked for the Superintendency, had come on the scene an hour or so after the bombardment of March 7, 1944, and started at once to dig in the rubble for possible fragments of the fresco. He wrapped up in handkerchiefs every tiniest piece and, with only a bicycle for transportation, carried the remains back to his cottage outside the city. Here, with incredible patience, he labored for months detaching the colored surface of each fragment from its plaster and reassembling the whole on a canvas-covered panel which had the exact curvature of the original surface of the tabernacle.

When Giuseppe Marchini, our inspector for Prato and Pistoia, took me out to the cottage, the fresco had been already largely recomposed from literally

thousands of fragments. The work had been done with such skill that the Madonna stood again in all the sensitive delicacy of Filippino's imagination, the arch of cherubs in the sky as perfect as before, the saints almost complete (Figs. 25-27). Not a stroke of repaint marred the work. Where pieces were missing no effort had been made to replace them, the intervening plaster being left a neutral grey. But the composition was complete and again a thing which could be enjoyed, owing not only to Tintori's skill but to his prompt action which spared the shattered fresco a single day's damage by weather or abrasion.

The wholesale German demolitions which destroyed so many of the lovely Arno valley towns wiped out in Empoli fine Florentine streets, houses, and squares, ostensibly to deny passage through the city by blocking all the main streets. It apparently never occurred to the Germans that there was a perfectly good road that circumnavigated the town entirely. Leaving two of the campanili that gave the skyline of Empoli its character, they blew up the two finest. These fell into the churches, destroying in each case half the building and leaving the rest open to the sky (Figs. 28, 29). While the green and white marble Romanesque façade of the Collegiata was safe, the interior was a heap of rubble and broken beams—as badly damaged as Impruneta. The entire right transept was destroyed, half the cloister was gone, the baptistery had collapsed, and what had been the museum was a crumpled mass of beams and shattered walls. The interior of the church was of a fairly cold eighteenth century style, good, but not of exceptional importance. But some of the works of art contained in it were of supreme value. The Superintendency, when it became aware that Empoli might be bombed, had removed as many of these as possible. The triptych by Lorenzo Monaco, the bas-relief by Mino da Fiesole, the marvellous altarpiece with its marble Saint Sebastian by Antonio Rossellino, painted angels by Botticini, and architectural frame by Cecco di Bravo, as well as many other works of the Trecento, Quattrocento, and Cinquecento were safe, either in Florence or in various deposits. Even the fresco of the *Pietà* by Masolino, the greatest work of art in Empoli, had been carefully detached from its wall and taken to Florence.

But there were certain things that could not be moved. The *Annunciation* by Botticini, two enormous pictures by Cigoli, a large Della Robbia relief, and a picture by Jacopo da Empoli were too big to go through the door of the little museum, which had apparently been built around them. These were all caught in the collapse of the building and smashed to bits. Under the ruins of the baptistery lay buried a huge baptismal font by a follower of Donatello, a splendid example of early Quattrocento architectural ornament. The other Masolino, a Madonna lunette in Santi Agostino, had also been removed, as had the *Annunciation* statues of Bernardo Rossellino. The whole apse of the church

had collapsed, and its wide Gothic arches held up only fragments of the roof. Long and scrupulous work on the part of Procacci had previously succeeded in unearthing fragmentary and hitherto unknown frescoes by Masolino and Starnina, in the right lateral chapels of Sant' Agostino, following the documents which recorded the commission of these paintings. All the work of restoration in both churches had been financed by considerable expenditures on the part of an Empoli lawyer, Del Vivo, who for years had served as honorary inspector of monuments for his native town. Now everything that had been brought to light through such sacrifice and labor was either endangered or already smashed.

Our melancholy visit produced for the moment only the plans for the clearance of the rubble. Del Vivo, notwithstanding the destruction by the Germans of his own house and everything in it, was willing to begin all over again and follow the work through. He found the laborers, and in a few days the work began. Of the smashed and torn pictures, not enough was found to be worth preserving. But the pieces of the terra cotta relief were discovered in good enough condition to permit reconstruction, for which they were taken back to Florence. And ultimately Procacci was able to announce to the Superintendency that the great baptismal font had suffered only negligible damage from the tons of rubble precipitated upon it.

In Sant' Agostino the chief problem was to keep roof tiles over the frescoes so recently discovered. Our workmen made a new roof of undamaged tiles gathered from all over the church, left it at night and returned in the morning to find that the tiles had disappeared. The aisles were stripped three times, until finally the mayor of Empoli provided a guard to prevent further depredations. The rubble clearance in the Collegiata was a colossal undertaking, and it was February before it could be considered complete. But Sant' Agostino had been less gravely damaged, and in January began the task of erecting walls to close off the two-thirds of the church which was still more or less intact, and which contained the precious early Quattrocento frescoes and the fine Baroque chapel frescoed by Volterrano. In March reconstruction began on the transept of the Collegiata, the destroyed portion of the nave, and the rooms of the museum and the baptistery. New roof beams had to be placed over the nave, and in early summer these were completed. By the autumn of 1945 both churches were ready for the public again, even the Baroque ceiling of the Collegiata restored, although only the interest of future years will provide, as in Badia a Settimo and so many other mutilated churches throughout Italy, the missing campanili.

During the early days of the liberation of Florence one of the most constant worries in the minds of art lovers in America, England, and Italy concerned not a place but a person. Whatever future scholarship may discover, whatever

shifts in evaluation may be made by the taste of changing epochs, the principles laid down by Bernard Berenson will always underlie our knowledge of the painting of the Trecento, the Quattrocento, and a good part of the Cinquecento. And our methods for the investigation of problems of attribution will always to a great extent be his. At "I Tatti," close to Settignano, the cypresses, the gardens, and the rooms lined with works of the period which Berenson helped to discover were the setting for a cultural life that gathered artists, writers, scholars, musicians, philosophers, political figures of every nation to enjoy the conversation of this brilliant personality. By nationality, origin, and unconcealed political conviction Berenson was a shining target for Fascist hatred. During the years before the war his international importance was such that Fascism was able to do little to harm him or to hinder the life at "I Tatti." But the new and more virulent form of Fascism which had broken out under the German occupation and after September 8, 1943, was another story. Danger to Berenson at the hands of the SS or of Mussolini's terror gangs was bitterly real. Yet no one in Rome or in Florence seemed to know what had become of him.

"I Tatti" was still within the German lines when, on August 14, in front of the Excelsior Hotel Captain Pennoyer excitedly presented to me Prof. Giovanni Colacicchi, director of the Accademia di Belle Arti, who had come to the Excelsior expressly to locate some Allied officer who would know what the name of Berenson meant. By good fortune he found Pennoyer. Professor Colacicchi revealed that Berenson had been in hiding near Florence for nearly a year, ever since the eighth of September. He had been offered asylum in a villa called "Le Fontanelle," near the hospital at Careggi. The house enjoyed diplomatic protection as the home of His Excellency Marquis Filippo Serlupi-Crescenzi, Minister Plenipotentiary and Ambassador Extraordinary of the Republic of San Marino to the Holy See. Here, provided with false identification papers, Berenson lived in retirement surrounded by the Serlupi family, his generous and kind friends, who risked their lives for his protection. But although the best of his collection was at "Le Fontanelle," thirty pictures had been taken to a house in Borgo San Jacopo in Florence, where they were later caught in the crash of one whole side of the mined building.

"Le Fontanelle" was still inside the German lines (indeed the first German outposts were hardly more than half a mile from where we were talking that moment), but at least we were able to visit Borgo San Jacopo. We made our way over the rubble to the house, number 18, wary of possible mines. In the general devastation it was impossible to tell in what portion of the house the pictures had been, so all hope of excavating had to be renounced until we could get more accurate information. But I arranged at once for an Italian police guard to be put on the building to keep looters out. A fortnight later

SALVAGE IN FLORENCE

Signor Luigi Albright and Berenson's restorer, Prof. Giannino Marchig, came to my office to request permission to proceed with the excavation, assuming all responsibility for the pictures, and they began work at once.

Pennoyer had informed Allied Intelligence officers of the importance of locating Berenson as soon as possible, but we did not yet know whether he was dead or alive. Not till September 2 did Albright and Marchig come to tell me that, according to their information, the area around Careggi had been liberated and that the way was open to "Le Fontanelle." Although efforts to obtain information from military units encountered on the way failed as usual to produce anything precise, we continued on a fairly exciting trip through the Florentine suburbs and the lanes bordering the great Careggi hospital, arriving at the villa to find it perforated by shells. We were informed by Serlupi-Crescenzi that Berenson was alive and well, and in a few minutes I was taken to him. He was resting on a chaise longue in an upper room, terribly pale and suffering somewhat from shock, but otherwise perfectly safe.

It had been a difficult experience for a man of seventy-nine. The villa had been hit by more than thirty small-caliber shells during a bombardment that lasted seven days and nights. Berenson and the Serlupi family had taken refuge in two small rooms at the back of the villa, safer than any of the others because hollowed out of the side of the rock. Shells had passed through the villa quite near this shelter, and at one time Berenson had narrowly escaped being struck by a shell when he left the room for a few minutes. Shells had burst in the living room, which contained the precious paintings, but only one or two small fragments were embedded in the masses of protective cushions, blankets, and upholstery, and the surfaces of the pictures themselves were unscratched. The fighting in the area had ceased only the morning before, and shortly afterward Major Samson, the AMG displaced persons officer, had arrived, depriving me of the honor of being the first Allied soldier to reach Berenson.

Before long "I Tatti" was liberated, the damage repaired, the pictures brought back to their places, the great library to its shelves from the refuges where it had been concealed in Florence, and Berenson himself returned to change his exiled retirement for a triumphant life of converse with innumerable Italian friends and Allied visitors. My own weekly visits to "I Tatti" were the happiest hours spent in all that year of ceaseless work. Eventually even the shattered pictures from Borgo San Jacopo began to return. Through the skill of Giannino Marchig most of them had been saved. Only nine of the thirty small paintings were damaged beyond redemption, even by Marchig. But "I Tatti," with its illustrious occupant and priceless treasure of books and paintings, was once more safe. After all these years our Off Limits sign still hangs on the gate below the cypresses.

CHAPTER VI

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

OUR responsibility for the Florentine deposits by no means ceased with the discovery and guarding of Montegufoni and its neighboring villas. Ten more deposits formed by the Superintendency were visited in the month of September alone, and our discoveries more than doubled the imposing list of works of art stolen by the Germans. Santomato, Striano, Incisa, and Scarperia had all been evacuated and their contents returned to Florence before the liberation. The stained glass of the Duomo was all safe in the villa of Comm. De Marinis at Montalto, near Maiano. A very extensive deposit of the important works from the Pitti and the Uffizi was stored at Poggio Imperiale, in the southern outskirts of Florence. But a considerable section of the artistic treasure of the city was still to be accounted for.

After what we had seen at Montagnana and Oliveto, the fate of these works of art was a matter for grave concern. Nor was our worry alleviated by Poggi's account of an ominous visit to his office in the last days of the German occupation. A certain Colonel Baumann of the German SS, accompanied by another officer and an interpreter, presented himself at the Superintendency on the morning of July 26, 1944.

"Colonel Baumann," reads Poggi's report, "claimed to have an order from Himmler, in accordance with agreements between Hitler and Mussolini, to transport to northern Italy the most precious works of art of the city of Florence, in order to save them from the rapine of the American troops. I replied that the orders of my Government, also in accordance with recent agreements concluded with Minister Pavolini, who had been in Florence, were to leave the works in the city, and that in any case there were in Florence no movable and easily transportable works of art, these being all in distant deposits. There were only works of secondary importance, unpacked, and therefore not in condition to withstand a long journey if not first boxed. There were also works of sculpture of the greatest importance, but too large to carry away.

"Colonel Baumann replied that he had all the means necessary for loading and transporting, and precise orders to provide for the transport at all cost. I asked him to go with me and talk to Consul Wolf. We went, and the Consul confirmed what had been said. Colonel Baumann declared sharply that he would have to ask for further instructions. Immediately afterward I accompanied him and his companions to see the deposits where the large works of art were—the courtyard of the Pitti, the shelter under the Loggia dei Lanzi, the armor hall in the Bargello. He was persuaded that it was not possible to transport such works, given the brief time available.

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

"On the morning of the following day, July 27, he returned, insisting on the transport of other objects in conformity with the orders he had received. I repeated my arguments, and I added that according to recent agreements between Minister Pavolini, the Podestà of Florence, and the Cardinal Archbishop, who had assumed protection of the works of art in the city in the name of the Vatican, I would be able to consign nothing without the authority of the Cardinal. Colonel Baumann, after many objections and even threats, appeared finally to give in to my arguments. He asked me if there were any works of art of private property to place in safety; I answered that I believed that those few important ones which still remained in private possession had been taken out of Florence at the beginning of the war, to protect them against air raids. The Colonel left, telling me that he would return at eleven to go with me to Consul Wolf and inform me of his decision. He returned instead at twelve to tell me that he had given up his conversation with Wolf, and to take leave."

The superintendent's matter-of-fact report omits to state that at the time he was showing Colonel Baumann enormous works of sculpture, such as the baptistery doors and Cellini's *Perseus*, which could not possibly be moved with the means and in the time available, there were in Florence all the most important pictures from Arezzo, including the polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti from the Pieve, the best things from Empoli, including the Masolino *Pietà* and the *St. Sebastian* by Rossellino, the Fra Angelico *Annunciation* from Montecarlo, the Piero Della Francesca *Madonna della Misericordia* from Borgo Sansepolcro, the Ambrogio Lorenzetti *Madonna* from Vico l'Abbate, as well as many other pictures of great importance, and the entire contents of the *Gabinetto dei Disegni* of the Uffizi, just back from outlying deposits, and still in their boxes. This the Colonel was never permitted to discover.

Against such a background the reader may well imagine our feelings on receiving on August 31 the following message, dated August 27, from ACC headquarters in Rome: "Swiss Government informed by German Legation at Berne that German authorities have stored in VILLA REALE POGGIO A CAIANO five kilometers northwest of Signa valuable artistic collections and archives concerning Tuscan Renaissance works. Stated by German Government that there are in neighborhood VILLA REALE no repeat no German troops and VILLA REALE itself not used for military purposes. German Government desires to inform British and American Governments of its desire to avoid bombardment or destruction VILLA REALE. Grateful you inform Army AMG of contents of this message." We informed them, if they needed any such information, for on the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth the German radio had been bombarding us with similar announcements. We were not long in doubt of the reasons for this extraordinary campaign. Only a few days later, on Septem-

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

ber 5, the push across the Arno made it possible to reach Poggio a Caiano. Professor Rossi, who was responsible for all the deposits of the Florence Superintendency, set off with me in the early morning for Poggio. On arrival at a point where the roof of the Villa Medici could be distinctly seen over the tree tops of the surrounding park, we found that the bridge over the canal had been blown. We therefore left the jeep with the proprietor of a neighboring house, and Rossi, Franco, and I waded the canal, climbed the other bank, and found ourselves greeted as liberators by a village which had never before seen an Allied officer. The Germans had left two or three days before, and the Allied advances had skirted the town.

At the villa we had a reception of a very different sort. The custodian, Giuseppe de Luca, met us under the arches of the portico, with the announcement that, despite all his efforts and the earnest protest of the local clergy, who pointed out that the villa and everything in it was under the protection of the Vatican, the Germans had made off with fifty-eight cases of sculpture, including the *Saint George* of Donatello, *during the days when they were broadcasting appeals to the Allies not to bombard the villa!*

Donatello's *Saint George*! What loss could Florence have felt more keenly? The ideal hero, the saintly warrior, represented for the Florentines the very incarnation of the martial vigor of their lost republic. And this was only the beginning of the list of sculptural masterpieces that the Germans removed under cover of their perfidious broadcast. Three other works by Donatello were on the list: the *Marzocco*, the marble *David* from the Bargello, and the *Annunciation* relief from Santa Croce. Michelangelo's *Bacchus* was gone. So were two fine Madonna reliefs by Michelozzo, a *Madonna* and the *Resurrection* by Verrocchio, and a considerable group of other works of Renaissance sculpture. So was a long series of ancient statues from the Uffizi, including one of the *Dying Giants* of the school of Pergamon and the Medici *Venus*.

Unarmed and powerless to prevent the rape of these treasures, De Luca had successfully insisted that the Germans sign a document assuming responsibility for the theft, and admitting that General Kesselring's order of protection and the Cardinal's letter placing the villa and its contents under the aegis of the Holy See had been called to their attention. At the end of the first inventory of the objects, taken on August 23, are these words in German script:

Plenipotentiary General of the German Armed Forces in
Italy, Chief of Military Government, Department of Art
Protection,

by order, Prof. Reidemeister

Military Government Adviser.¹

¹ "Bevollmächtigter General der deutschen Wehrmacht in Italien, Chef der Militärverwaltung Abtg. Kunstschutz i. A. Prof. Reidemeister M. v. Rat."

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

The second inventory, dated August 26, is signed by a Lieutenant Wawrowetz. The general referred to is of course General Wolff, the head of the SS in Italy, the "Chief" is Langsdorff, and Reidemeister was Langsdorff's principal assistant, of whom we shall hear much.

None of the works of art from Prato—the entire contents of the Museo Civico—had been touched, and the precious reliefs by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano from the Pisa pulpits were still walled up. But it was some time before any of us regained our composure. Our one gratification was that the many shells that had struck the villa had caused no damage to the architectural details nor to the wonderful frescoed hall. After giving De Luca an Off Limits sign for the villa, we returned to Florence. That night I sent to Major DeWald in Rome a telegram I could scarcely believe myself.

Only ten days later came an agitated message from De Luca; the villa had been requisitioned in spite of the Off Limits sign. I went at once to investigate, and found that the occupying unit was the 54th South African Field Dressing Station. Major Morton, the commanding officer, had received permission to use the villa through a misunderstanding. The Major told me that in the country around Poggio there was no other building large enough to contain all the activities of his hospital, which took casualties as they came from the battlefield and gave them their first surgical treatment. There could of course be no question but that the dressing station be permitted to use the building. The Major took me on a tour of the hospital. The smaller rooms were in use as bandaging rooms, operating rooms, and medical storage rooms, and the great hall was the ward. Under the coffered barrel vault the lyrical *Vertumnus and Pomona* of Pontormo looked down on fifty beds filled with wounded South African soldiers. I have sometimes wished I had taken a picture of the great hall as it was then, so harrowing was the contrast between the suffering of the soldiers and the splendor of the Renaissance. Yet at the time the thought of making a photograph never occurred to me; it would have seemed almost blasphemous.

Major Morton's concern for the safety of the villa and its contents under such circumstances was touching in the extreme. The strictest orders were given to all his men, and these orders were meticulously complied with. Before he left, Major Morton wrote to thank me for the use of the villa. During the period in which his unit was there, he said, 199 severe battle casualties were treated—before the frescoes of Pontormo, Andrea Del Sarto, and Alessandro Allori.

The most important deposits of the Superintendency still to be visited lay in the Casentino, that green valley in the Apennines where the Arno starts southward on its first triumphant rush. Here, in the Palazzo Pretorio at Poppi

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

and the monastery of Camaldoli were all the rest of the great treasures of the Pitti and the Uffizi, more than half of the total. Unfortunately, during these days the fighting had left the Casentino in a sort of backwater. The valley and its surrounding mountain masses (Pratomagno, Alpe di Catenaia, Alpe di Serra) suffered a protracted occupation by SS and German paratrooper units, who carried on for two months a campaign of plunder, terror, and murderous reprisals against local populations, actually thirty miles *south* of the Allied advances.

On September 7 in Arezzo I made my first attempt to get to Poppi, but the Casentino was still occupied by Germans. On September 18 I tried again from Florence, thinking to cut the journey short by taking the road over the Consuma, the pass that descends into the Casentino from the Pratomagno, due east of Florence. We arrived at the village of Consuma, at thirty-two hundred feet, in the middle of a cold fog. At the other side of the village was a laconic sign across the road: *THIS IS THE FRONT*. In the village we learned that the area was only lightly held by an Italian paratrooper unit in British uniforms and under British command, and that the Germans marauded at will through the ridges and forests of the Pratomagno. About four miles up the road German patrols had a most convenient crossing. While we might conceivably pass that point, there was small certainty. A week later, September 25, we tried it again. This time the road was open, yet so much of it was demolished by the Germans that we were often forced into open fields for considerable distances, over rocky ledges and along streambeds where only light ranks had been before us.

Reports by the peasants that the Germans had carried off everything from Poppi increased our pessimism. Taking a by-pass around the gutted village of Borgo alla Collina, blown up by the Germans, we could already distinguish under the gloomy cloud masses and through intermittent rainstorms the tower of the castle of Poppi, from which in the Middle Ages the Guidi family dominated the Casentino. We had to ford the howling Arno twice before we finally reached the hill of Poppi itself and, since the mediaeval town gate, with all its surrounding houses, had been blown up by the Germans, we entered the town by a rear gate, difficult of access across narrow lanes. The beautiful arcaded streets were intact and, save for a few shell holes, so was the castle. Examination of the deposit within showed that most of the pictures were still there, all in boxes and cases carefully cleated together. Only one truckload was missing, between twenty-five and thirty cases. With a sense of relief I made out by candlelight such labels as Botticelli, *Birth of Venus*; Leonardo da Vinci, *Adoration of the Magi*; Filippo Lippi, *Madonna and Child with Angels*—at least the major part of the deposit was safe.

It was not until I returned to Poppi on September 27 with Rossi and the

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

inventories that we found what it was the Germans had loaded on that one truck. One hundred ninety-six paintings were missing. This was a raid surpassed in scale only by the gigantic theft from Montagnana. Three Raphaels were gone, the early *Self Portrait*, the portrait of Cardinal Bibbiena, and the marvellous *Donna Velata*. Two *Madonnas* by Botticelli, Titian's *Concert*, three paintings by Andrea Del Sarto, Dürer's *Calvary*, a *Madonna and Child* by Correggio, the late Rembrandt *Portrait of an Old Man*, the Rubens *Holy Family*, Watteau's *Flute Player*, all were missing. What was particularly interesting was the number of German, Flemish, and Dutch pictures that had been taken. Five Dürers, seven Cranachs, one Breughel, one Holbein, four Memlings, and works by Ruysdael, Steen, Joos Van Cleve, Terborch, Teniers, and many other northern painters were on the list, seeming to show a particular interest on the part of the Germans in getting as many German or Germanic pictures as possible.

According to a series of sworn statements from various citizens of the town of Poppi, the raid took place under the most dramatic circumstances, with every accompaniment of treachery and violence. About August 18 a German officer visited the acting mayor of the Commune of Poppi under the pretext of searching for hidden arms. He suggested that the deposit, which he inspected, could be better guarded by walling up the doors. The following day, work was started. On August 22, about eight o'clock in the evening, a German captain, accompanied by a second lieutenant and a noncommissioned officer, arrived at the castle and in a most peremptory manner demanded the keys. They began their search with the upper floors, breaking down those doors for which keys were not immediately forthcoming.

On the arrival of an interpreter, the Germans charged that the village was a nest of spies and rebels, and demanded to see whether the castle contained arms. But the moment they were inside the deposit they revealed their true intentions. Drawing their revolvers, they forced the unfortunate town policemen who had been brought along by the village officials to carry one of the boxes of pictures outside. It then appeared that while the town officials had been going through the castle with the Germans, a truck had arrived in front of the castle, taking side streets so as not to alarm the population. Thereupon the three Germans, firing their revolvers to scare away all passers-by, loaded the box into their truck, and drove off, after informing the town authorities that they would be back in a short time, and that until their return no one was to approach the castle.

Around nine o'clock trumpets were sounded by German soldiers in the streets, and the town was informed that mines were about to be set off under the town gate, that the nearby houses were to be evacuated at once, and that

the population was to remain in the cellars until further notice. Then began for the unarmed inhabitants an interminable night of waiting in darkness. Apparently it was midnight when the Germans returned with an unknown number of soldiers and a truck and began their work of selection and carrying off. At six o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third, according to the testimony of the priest, the truck left. At nine the acting mayor resolved to go to the castle, although the mines had not yet exploded and there might still be Germans about. The courtyard was full of the smashed bricks from the new walls, doors had been forced, broken and empty boxes littered the interior.

The officials therefore had the outer gate to the castle locked to prevent the entrance of unauthorized persons. At eleven-thirty two German second lieutenants arrived; the interpreter and the town officials were recalled, and as the party went up to the castle the German officers explained that the entire operation was official and had been ordered by the High Command, that it had been executed only in order to save the works of art from the damage of war and especially from theft by Anglo-American troops, that the German authorities were extremely sorry they had not been able to remove all of the works of art, and that the remainder would have to be protected by the population. With this the two lieutenants ordered that the courtyard be cleaned up at once, and for about two hours supervised a hasty job which removed only the most obvious signs of violence. At one-thirty they left, and at two the mines exploded, blowing up the town gate and the only secure road that united the village to the outside world.

We found many of the smashed cases, some empty, some hastily closed up after it was discovered that they contained not pictures but sections of dismantled Della Robbia reliefs. There was one comical detail, still unexplained. An erroneous report appeared in the Florentine newspapers that the Germans had taken from Montagnana not the *Adam and Eve* of Cranach but the rather dissimilar portraits by Cranach of Martin Luther and his wife! Yet when we arrived in Poppi, where these portraits were supposed to be, we found that this time they really were missing.

The story of the rest of the Casentino deposits is very brief indeed. At Camaldoli, the most important one, were stored such things as Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi*, the Titian *Venus of Urbino*, Botticelli's *Judith*, Leonardo's *Annunciation*, a Mantegna *Madonna*, the portraits of Federigo da Montefeltro and his wife by Piero Della Francesca. On the twenty-seventh we made a determined attempt to reach Camaldoli in a blinding rainstorm that converted the forest-hung mountain-road into a waterfall, but were turned back by blown roads. Only by accident did we meet the Father Chamberlain of Camaldoli on the road near Poppi. He reported at once that the Germans had not entered

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

the monastery and nothing had been touched, nor had the buildings suffered the slightest war damage.

Not so fortunate was the deposit of works of sculpture and minor arts from the Bargello, the Bigallo, the Carrand collection, and several Florentine churches that had been deposited in the Villa Bocci at Soci, near Bibbiena. A German hospital had occupied the villa, and the Germans had carried off everything, some sixty-nine cases. There was nothing of such universal importance as the works missing from Poppi, Poggio a Caiano, and Montagnana, but there were many fine things, including large reliefs by Luca and Andrea della Robbia.

After posting the Castello Guidi at Poppi Off Limits, we returned to Florence, satisfied about the safety of what remained in the deposit. The castle itself was a secure place, easily locked. There were very few Allied troops in the area, so there would be no problem of requisition and no guards would be necessary. But we could not help wondering at the selection of works made by the Germans. They took, along with the masterpieces, so many pictures of very secondary importance and left behind them not only the things I have mentioned earlier but the *Doni Madonna* by Michelangelo and the *Adoration of the Magi* by Mantegna.

Another important group of deposits lay in the Mugello, the valley of the Sieve some twenty miles from Florence, the home of both Giotto and Fra Angelico. The first of these deposits was housed in the Villa Medici at Cafaggiolo, but no longer contained much of artistic importance. The Superintendency had already brought back during the preceding winter the entire collection of drawings from the Uffizi, leaving only the largest cartoon drawings, and had also removed the ninety-five cases of silversmith work which formed the *Museo degli Argenti* of the Pitti Palace. In addition to the cartoons, much important botanical material belonging to the University of Florence was still in the building. Although part of the structure was occupied by troops, the deposits were safe, and Off Limits signs had been posted and respected.

The next deposit was a large, much modernized castle at Barberino, still containing forty-eight cartoons from the Uffizi, the drawings, as at Cafaggiolo, having already been brought back. This villa was occupied by the 34th Division Artillery, under the command of Brigadier General Tate. No one apparently knew anything about a collection of works of art, and the room where they had been was in use as the central control post for the division artillery. I was, however, given permission to search the building, and finally, in a dark basement amid water and every kind of filth I discovered the cartoons. Most of the glass and many of the frames were broken. Many of the frames were empty and piled loosely in the dark cellar. At the bottom of the stairs was a con-

siderable section of the palaeographic library of the University of Florence, trodden into unrecognizable muck by the hobnailed boots of the Germans who had previously occupied the villa.

The American officers, including the chaplain, all assured me that the main deposit room had been absolutely empty when they arrived, that they had found the cartoons in this condition, had not recognized their importance, and had not disturbed them further. General Tate soon sent for me, and when I explained to him the value of the collection he promised to issue protective orders and give me every assistance in removing what remained to Florence. This cooperation was the more remarkable as I had to use civilian workmen in the middle of a highly operational headquarters, and the security problem involved would worry any commander. Two days later I returned with a truck provided by Fifth Army and workmen from the Superintendency, screened by the British Field Security Service, and we began to evacuate the cartoons, superintended by the ever-present Rossi. It was a curious spectacle, for the General insisted on watching, and demanded a short lecture on every piece that left the castle. This I had to deliver to the thunderous accompaniment of the General's artillery and the whistle and crash of German shells so near that more than once the workmen ran for cover.

Rossi's check of the inventory disclosed the melancholy tidings that twenty-five of the cartoons were missing, mostly torn from their frames. The conditions under which we found the remainder offered little hope that the missing works had been taken by anyone who understood their value or knew how to care for them. It was not for many months that it was discovered, when the material belonging to the University of Florence was removed, that nineteen of the cartoons were merely mislaid among the books and papers. The losses were therefore reduced to six, Callot's *Temptation of St. Anthony*, the Tintoretto *Christ Borne by Angels*, a *Madonna* by Lorenzo di Credi, and cartoons by the Carracci and Furini and after Raphael.

On the same day as my first visit to Barberino, September 20, I continued on through the Mugello to Dicomano, a small village at the foot of the Gothic Line, where the Superintendency had deposited a number of works of sculpture from the Uffizi, mostly classical, in a small, early nineteenth century church, the Oratory of Sant' Onofrio. Dicomano was a scene of fantastic ruin. In order to block the road which led to the first fortifications of the Gothic Line, the Germans had blown up nearly half the town, and British bulldozers were just plowing their way through the rubble, in the midst of which stood the little church, its doors wide open. There was a cleared area in the front of the nave, as if the cases next to the door had been removed, and two or three crates stood ready for loading. A complete check, made on my return on Sep-

tember 23 with Rossi, disclosed that the Germans had taken twenty-six cases of sculpture, including the *Niobe with her Youngest Daughter* and the Uffizi version of the *Doryphoros* of Polykleitos.

According to the accounts of the few civilians who had returned to the ruined town, a German captain, provided with a list of deposits, arrived to inspect the Oratory of Sant' Onofrio only a few days before the destruction of the village. Then came the forced evacuation of all the civilians in the town and the mines did their deadly work. When the custodian returned to the town, after the departure of the Germans, he found the doors of the chapel forced and a considerable part of the contents gone, although his inventories had been destroyed in the general catastrophe, and he could not verify just what or even how many objects had been taken. When Rossi had completed the checking, a task made doubly difficult by the size of the cases and the lack of electricity, we gave orders to the mayor to board up the door, and our job here was for the time being at an end.

None of the other deposits was of such importance, and from none was anything missing. In one deposit of works from the churches of Prato, however, the misguided zeal of the Partisans had resulted in considerable damage to the contents. By early October it was possible to estimate how much of the artistic heritage of Tuscany had been carried off and how much still remained. The deposits where the works from the museums and churches of Siena, Arezzo, Grosseto, Lucca, Pisa, Pistoia, and Livorno had been sheltered were intact. Only Florence, the most important of all, had suffered robbery, and that on a scale to dwarf the depredations of Napoleon. A grand total of 529 paintings, 162 works of sculpture and minor arts, 6 large cartoon drawings, and 38 pieces of mediaeval and Renaissance textiles had been taken from the public collections of Florence, all in all 735 objects. Even in a city as rich in works of art as Florence, this represented a staggering proportion. Although many of the stolen works, perhaps more than fifty per cent, were things of comparatively minor importance, the rest were all works of the very highest quality and fame. It is fair to estimate that about one-fourth of the most important objects from the museums of Florence disappeared in German hands between July 2 and August 23, 1944.

Most of the thefts bore the mark of official action. None took place with the agreement of any Italian authority. Some were accompanied by violence, all by treachery. These raids occurred in direct violation of promises made by the Germans that the works should remain in Florence and in the deposits, and at a time when the Germans were protesting their inability to spare any transportation to bring the contents of the deposits back to Florence. Only the fearless conduct of Superintendent Poggi prevented the departure of even more

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

treasures, then all present in Florence. Nor was this all. In spite of Poggi, the Germans had laid their hands on portions of three private collections, taking pictures belonging to the late French banker, M. Finaly, the noted American art historian, Mason Perkins, and the art dealer and collector, Count Contini-Bonacossi. They made determined attempts to get Berenson's pictures as well, but never discovered their location. In all cases two reasons, equally transparent, were adduced: the pictures must be protected against damage by military action, and they must be safeguarded against the plundering troops of the Allies. (The only deposit whose contents were in fact damaged by the war was Poppiano, and that by a German shell.)

I wish it could be said that no Allied soldier had ever taken a work of art, but the occasional individual examples of looting and damage by Allied troops involved works of little consequence, and the scrupulous sense of responsibility for works of art exercised at all levels of Allied command was in sharp contrast to the German propaganda concerning us. Constant amusement was afforded the officers of the Subcommittee by the daily German and Fascist Republican broadcasts, referring to us as the "American art-Jews" who were pillaging Italy. According to these stories the captured works of art were spread out for the Allied generals to take their pick, and the remainder went to America and Britain as fast as the ships could carry them. Every month a convoy was assembled in Salerno Bay for this purpose. We had dismantled the cathedral of Monreale stone by stone, and sent that along too. A huge auction had taken place in New York, in which all the finest things from Sicily were offered for sale to the public; the Germans even had a copy of the sale catalogue. When in a ceremony at the National Gallery in Washington the late President Roosevelt expressed the gratitude of the nation for the gift by Mr. Samuel Henry Kress of his splendid collection of Italian paintings, the radio screamed that the "Jew" Kress² was giving to the Americans all the treasures of Italy which had been stolen by Negro troops. But the humor of the situation wore a bit thin for those of us who were then working in the midst of the rubble to which the Germans had reduced the center of Florence (after blaming it on us), or struggling to reach deposits the Germans had just emptied.

Why did they do it? At the time they made the haul from Florence the Germans had already lost all of western Europe and most of the east as well. The end of the war—when they would be forced to disgorge—was only a matter of months. They had lost thousands upon thousands of vehicles in the flight from Rome, and movements of works of art on such a scale must have been

² Mr. Kress is of Gentile (German!) origin, and his collection was assembled before the war began. Since the war his gifts for the restoration of Italian monuments have totaled \$100,000.

MORE FLORENTINE PICTURES

an additional drain on their transportation facilities. It is one of the strangest aspects of German mentality that up until the end, and even after the end, they continued to behave as if they were going to win. Rapine, demolition, plunder, and mass murder went on in the Italian villages until the very arrival of the Allies. The bridges of Verona were blown up exactly a week before the Germans in Italy had to surrender.

To ask all this gave us small comfort. All we knew was that the works of art, ostensibly to save them from a few shells that might have hit the roofs above them, were exposed to a far greater danger. A third of them had no cases or boxes of any kind, and all of them were being moved over mountain roads which the Allies were shelling and strafing day and night. The charred remnants of German trucks that lined the road from Rome for a hundred miles brought visions of what a fighter plane might do to a convoy of works of art. And even if these works of art did arrive safely in North Italy or Germany or wherever, who was to assure us that in a last holocaust of nihilistic fury the Germans would not blow them up or set fire to them?³

For the Florentines and for us, September added only deeper gloom to the despair of August. All we could do was to protect what was left, bringing the works of art in the least secure deposits back to Florence as soon as possible, profiting by the presence of Fifth Army Headquarters, whose truck companies were within easy reach. I received unusual cooperation from Fifth Army Freight Section, considering that their main job was to carry supplies to the troops of a great army engaged in an extremely difficult offensive. With the trucks obtained from Fifth Army I was able to move supplies in Florence, especially the enormous beams for Torre degli Amidei, but particularly to evacuate completely Villa Guicciardini at Poppiano and Villa Bossi-Pucci at Montagnana.

Captain Pennoyer, Rossi, and I took the first convoy of four trucks to Montagnana and Poppiano on September 16. One truck was left here, while the others went on to Poppiano. With rollers and ropes the only means at the disposal of the Superintendency, the work of moving the huge Mannerist altarpieces, to say nothing of the slate panels from the Studiolo of Francesco I, was heavy indeed. The pushing, groaning, hauling, and easing, interspersed with rich Tuscan blasphemy, took the whole day. In the early evening we rejoined the fourth truck at Montagnana and started back to Florence. There were not enough materials for boxes or crates, so we had to move the pictures as they were, but the weather was perfect and we did not have to worry about open trucks. The pictures were packed with cushions of excelsior on the frames,

³ In fact, this nearly occurred in Altaussee in Austria, where a German order to blow up a deposit of over six thousand stolen pictures, including the Ghent Altarpiece by Jan van Eyck, was foiled by the Austrian miners.

blankets, quilts, and tarpaulins, and so well roped to the trucks that nothing could move. The workmen had to travel with us, carefully deployed so that each truck carried several workmen who could catch at overhanging boughs or dangling wires.

I had taken great care to brief the drivers on the value of the load they were carrying, and issued instructions that no truck was to exceed ten miles per hour. At this crawl the short journey back to Florence took over two hours. The four trucks contained in addition to the Pontormo *Deposition* from Santa Felicita and *Visitation* from Carmignano, the Vecchietta *Madonna Enthroned*, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple*, the Rosso *Depositions* from Volterra and from Sansepolcro, a long series of Mannerist altarpieces by Vasari, Salviati, Pomarancio, Cigoli, Santi di Tito, Passignano, and others, the entire Studiolo of Francesco I, and three more of the detached frescoes by Paolo Uccello from the Chiostro Verde. At one time we passed through an olive orchard where was encamped the headquarters of iv Corps, occasioning incredulous stares and salty comments on the part of the GI's as the towering altarpieces moved slowly down the road. Some of the soldiers, trying to hitch their free ride to town, had to be dislodged from the gilded frames.

In this manner we arrived in Florence in the gathering dusk. Passing through the crowds along the Via Romana the caravan crawled up to the Palazzo Pitti. Thus, less than three weeks after the Germans finished their raid on the Florentine art treasures, the Allies had begun their job of restitution. I intended to bring back all the works from the deposits as long as I could get trucks for the purpose. One thing stopped me. I was informed by Colonel Michie, now CAO of Florence, that the Germans had a v-weapon site in northern Italy, pointing in the vicinity of Florence. Not until after hostilities were at an end could we risk returning any more works of art to Florence.

CHAPTER VII

SALVAGE IN PISA AND AREZZO

OUR worst days in Florence had come in August. In September Captain Keller, who had been working in Volterra and Livorno, fell heir to a task of colossal proportions, the first salvage work in Pisa. The terrible bombardments that had reduced to ruins so many of the buildings on the south bank of the river had been followed by three fighter-bomber attacks on the bridges, carving enormous holes in the center of the city. For forty days static warfare had been carried on within the town, with barbed wire, small arms, machine guns, and grenades. Artillery duelled from side to side of the Arno. On September 2 Captain Keller arrived to find Pisa a scene of utter devastation, shattered, piled with rubble, wreckage, and barbed wire, and sown thick with mines and booby traps. Half the streets could not be explored at all. Captain Keller entered buildings at the risk of his life, identifying as many as four or five booby traps in one room. Most of the population had fled. On every side lay ruin and desolation. The famous Lungarni of Pisa, those two majestic crescents of palaces, were torn and shattered, littered with broken stone and glass. And the German shelling still continued.

Of all the artistic tragedies of Pisa, however, the greatest was the loss of the Campo Santo. When Keller, unaware of what had happened, arrived in the Piazza del Duomo, he found that the entire roof of the Campo Santo, two tracts of 415 feet and two of 171, had been destroyed by fire (Fig. 32). The delicate tracery of the Gothic marble arcades enclosed little but ruin. The blazing beams had fallen, crushing the Gothic tombs and Roman sarcophagi throughout the interior of the building. The lead, which had covered half the roof, melted in the heat of the flames and ran down the frescoed walls, covering the marble pavement and its mediaeval tomb slabs. When it cooled, there was a layer of lead half an inch thick over the entire area, encrusting the broken tombs and sarcophagi. The vast series of frescoes that lined all the walls, including the celebrated *Triumph of Death* series and the cycle by Benozzo Gozzoli, had been literally cooked by the violent heat. Pitiful rags of frescoed plaster peeled and sagged from the walls. Thirty-eight days of exposure to the intense sun of the Pisa plain had done much to aggravate the damage caused by the fire, and over large tracts the plaster was reduced to a sort of chalky dust.

The only clear written account of this destruction, which must rank immediately after the loss of the Mantegna frescoes in Padua as the most severe artistic disaster of the war in Italy, is the moving story written by Bruno Far-

PISA AND AREZZO

nesi, the modest technical assistant of the Opera del Duomo, who tried so valiantly to extinguish the flames. I quote it here in its entirety:

"CHRONICLE OF THE DESTRUCTION BY FIRE, CAUSED BY AN ARTILLERY SHELL, OF THE INCOMPARABLE JEWEL OF ART WHICH WAS THE CELEBRATED CAMPO SANTO OF PISA, WHICH TOOK PLACE JULY 27, 1944.

"At the fall of evening, toward seven o'clock, after a violent artillery fire directed at the Piazza del Duomo, about half an hour after the firing had ceased, a small column of smoke was seen rising over the roofs of the Campo Santo. Running immediately into the interior of the monument, I noticed with terror that the part of the roof above the north aisle, to be exact, over the Cappella Aulla, was in flames, which had already assumed considerable proportions.

"This was contrary to my optimistic predictions, made when two shells had struck another section of the roof during the preceding day and night, causing an explosion and consequent fall of material but no signs of fire. I rushed to the cathedral to call for help, intending to arrest the fire somehow, and sent word immediately to Don Luigi Luccesini, sacristan of the cathedral, so that he could notify His Excellency the Archbishop, which he did at once.

"With the custodian, Giuseppe Quercioli, and former workmen of the Opera del Duomo, Antonio Mazzei and Gino Farnesi, together with a few other volunteers provided with picks, shovels, clubs, and poles, we climbed to the roof by means of the tall ladder which I had purposely left in the interior of the monument for two months, to facilitate the climb to the roof in case of necessity, but certainly never thinking of fire. Now, on the spot, with anguish and terror I realized that, given the lightning speed with which the flames were proceeding favored by the wind, and with the few means at our disposal, we would not be able to master the fire. With only a few jets of water the thing in itself would have been easy, but even this was impossible, because for many days the city had been without water. Nevertheless at some distance from the fire we began to tear off the sheets of lead and to break the wood below. But the flames ran swiftly and it was quickly apparent that our efforts were in vain. We had to descend again, hoping to obtain more effective aid and means.

"Meeting Don Paolo Battini, prior of San Michele in Borgo, I asked him to go personally to His Excellency the Archbishop, to see if through the German Command, the air raid authorities, or the fire department we could get proper help. Don Battini returned to say that His Excellency the Archbishop had neither the means nor the communications to solve the problem, but that if we could suggest any method to him he would undertake it at once. In the meantime we were to try to do everything possible which the love of the monu-

ment suggested to us. Don Battini was accompanied by a German¹ met accidentally on the way, and whom he entreated to intervene. We returned to the Campo Santo and I suggested to him the use of dynamite or something similar, to try and blow up the two bays of the roof in an attempt to save the east, north, and south aisles. He did not agree with the proposal, saying that in his opinion, given the lack of water, the only possible thing to do was what we had already tried. We climbed up again and began again to strip another section of the roof; personally I was without hope, because of the colossal size of the roof and the flames which approached more swiftly. While the work was proceeding on the roof, a new and violent burst of shellfire began, right on the Piazza del Duomo, hitting the cathedral and the buildings nearby. Thus we had to descend and flee to shelter behind the walls of the Campo Santo. One shell exploded so near that the person beside me was knocked down by the blast. It was a real miracle that we were able to reenter the cathedral unharmed, while outside another violent cannonade began.

"When the crash of the shells ceased, night was about to fall; I went again to the monument and now more than ever realized that we were absolutely helpless to prevent its complete destruction. With a sob in my throat and my heart oppressed and bleeding I had to watch the tragic sight, impotent. As we gazed upon the destroying flames I saw swiftly but clearly the long time spent there, and my thoughts went to the many labors completed with care and love, the complete restoration of the roof, the entire new arrangement of the sarcophagi and all the other monuments, the commissions, the polemics for the conservation of the famous frescoes and their restoration, the worries about a drop of water on the walls, the care of the roses and the lawn, all that daily for more than twenty years had taken place there.

"I saw again the visitors, the numerous groups of Italians and foreigners who, dazzled by all this harmony, by all this splendor, remained rapt and astonished by such luminous beauty, in the admiration of what was the most beautiful cemetery in the world. All now was burning. The spread of the fire was so rapid that at midnight the destruction had already taken place, and the last pieces of burnt wood had fallen. In the night the Piazza dei Miracoli seemed to bleed in the vermillion color of the flames; the cathedral, the baptistery, the campanile, again targets for the cannons in the first light of dawn, were there, solemn, almost tinted with blood, to witness the tragic destiny of their brother, minor in age but not in beauty, who perished and was irredeemably consumed."

There is no doubt that the shells which poured on the cathedral, the baptistery, the Leaning Tower, and the Campo Santo were American shells. Again only military historians will ever be able to tell us why the glorious group of

¹ Probably a private soldier, whose name was never ascertained.

structures in the Piazza dei Miracoli should have become targets for artillery. But a likely suggestion is contained in Farnesi's assertion that the Germans were using the campanile as an artillery op, and the fact that Captain Keller, in his first exploration of the tower, found numerous objects left behind by the Germans.

An airplane passes over in a fraction of a second, and a hundred factors may influence its failure to hit an objective. But artillerymen do not waste their shells or jeopardize the lives of their men by a continued bombardment of an unnecessary target. Under the conditions which prevailed in the sector in July, and knowing the fairly accurate means by which the artillery determines the location of an enemy observation post, I am willing to be convinced that the Americans believed that the German artillery fire in the area was being directed from the Leaning Tower, a scant hundred yards from the Campo Santo. Under such circumstances the decision of a commander responsible for the lives of his men and the success of a military operation cannot be questioned. Ultimately the crime of warfare in such a country as Italy is to be laid at the door of Hitler and Mussolini. "Fewer works of art," said Mussolini after the bombardment of Genoa, "and more banners wrested from the enemy!"

The measures subsequently taken to save what could be rescued from this debacle were unique in the history of warfare and will redound to the everlasting credit of the United States Army. No civilian agency could have coped with the situation. Indeed there were only a few hundred miserable civilians left in the battered city. The army took hold at once. At Captain Keller's earnest request General Hume came to see the Campo Santo on September 4, and promised all possible aid in covering the frescoes so as to prevent any further damage. On September 5 large tarpaulins, obtained by Keller from IV Corps AMG, were applied as a first attempt at protection. On September 8 Keller received the welcome news that General Hume had taken the matter of the Campo Santo up with General Clark and that the latter had ordered the Fifth Army Engineers to place an engineering officer at Captain Keller's disposal. This officer arrived on September 9, suggesting a lean-to roof some eight to twelve feet wide, running around the top of the walls, and supported from the ground by a system of struts, the roof to be covered with tarpaper.

Then Fifth Army enlisted the support of Peninsular Base Section, for on September 11 four officers from PBS arrived to take over the job. Captain Foster of the 338th Engineers was in charge of the work, and he was to bring a company of eighty-two Italian soldiers under the command of their own Italian officers, but attached to the 338th. With Captain Keller the engineers inspected the shell-pocked roof of the cathedral, decided on the use of lead for its repair,

and on September 12 the Italians arrived and started work both at the Campo Santo and the cathedral.

The first problem in the Campo Santo was to clear the debris in the interior, and with maximum care in order to preserve all fragments of the fallen frescoes. This meticulous task had already been begun by Farnesi, together with Professor Biagi, president of the Opera del Duomo. Carefully grouped and labeled with the position in which they had been found, the fragments were gathered together in the Opera del Duomo. Sanpaolesi was brought from Volterra to supervise the work of the Italian technicians. The soldiers worked well, rolling up the sheet of lead like an endless carpet. Specialized workmen, provided by the contractor, Signor Conforti, the good angel of the Pisa Superintendency, began the colossal undertaking of cleaning the lead and fragments of burnt wood from the broken tombs and sarcophagi, and repairing the fragments. There were seventy-two funerary monuments that needed attention.

In the meantime in Florence I tried to obtain restorers to consolidate the remaining frescoes so that nothing more would fall from the walls. The Florence Superintendency, bitterly though it needed all its own personnel, provided three capable restorers for the job, old Cavaliere Benini, the head of a family of restorers, and two assistants, Nini and Cassini. Maj. Ward Perkins arrived from Rome on September 11, with Cesare Brandi of the Central Institute of Restoration, and accompanied the elder Benini to Pisa. I followed on the thirteenth with the other two restorers. That day, as we passed through the gutted southern half of Pisa, not a single living thing was visible. The city was utterly deserted and reduced by bombs to the appearance of a landscape on the moon.

The problem ahead of the restorers was staggering; the frescoed walls measure approximately forty feet in height and over a fifth of a mile in aggregate length. Most of these frescoes were badly damaged, and only a few were of poor quality. The stupendous series of the *Triumph of Death*, the *Life of the Hermits in the Thebaid*, masterpieces of Trecento dramatic style now attributed to the Pisan painter, Francesco Traini, had suffered severely. It was a shock to find that these frescoes had been executed on plaster held to the walls by means of a wicker mat. Wicker six hundred years old is of a certain fragility. The heat of the burning beams caused large sections of it, with their load of frescoed plaster, to fall away entirely, and the heat and flames weakened further areas. Approximately a quarter of the *Triumph of Death* had thus fallen away, a third of the *Thebaid* and almost all of the *Resurrection*. The *Last Judgment* had not been as badly affected by the fire. Those portions of the frescoes which still adhered to the wall were in a most precarious condition, exhibiting large bulges and blisters. In fact, on the night following the arrival of the restorers

and before they were able to get to work, one of the most moving passages in the *Thebaid*, the scene where Christ appears to a monk in the wilderness, fell out and was smashed (Fig. 33).

The *Assumption of the Virgin* attributed to Lippo Memmi, over the south door of the building, fell in its entirety to the pavement. But the succeeding fresco series of the south aisle, the *Life of Saint Ranieri*, by Andrea Buonaiuti da Firenze and Antonio Veneziano, and the *Life of Saints Ephesus and Potitus* by Spinello Aretino, already badly damaged before the fire, suffered little further harm. The *Story of Job*, by an unknown Trecento master, already in part destroyed, came through without further damage. As for the dismal frescoes in the east and west aisles, by mediocre sixteenth and seventeenth century painters such as Agostino Ghirlanda, Aurelio Lomi, and Zaccaria Rondinosi—they were practically intact. The fresco in the north aisle, representing *God the Father Upholding the Universe*, a majestic composition by Piero di Puccio from Orvieto, was not badly damaged. All the Trecento frescoes, however, and particularly the series attributed to Traini, experienced lamentable alterations in their color schemes. The heat was so great that it affected the chemical constituents of the pigments, turning the soft blues and greens to a hard grey, and all the flesh tones to brick red.

The worst damage was suffered by the twenty-four frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli. These were underneath the section of the roof which had been covered entirely with lead, and were thus subjected to the greatest and most prolonged heat. Moreover, they faced south, which exposed them to six weeks of blazing sunlight. As a result they were almost completely obliterated. Very few areas of these once lovely frescoes are now more than faintly recognizable; none are still enjoyable. To preserve them at all was fantastically difficult, for the plaster had so disintegrated throughout that at a touch it crumbled like grated cheese.

Sometimes when the hand of tragedy seems too heavy to bear, fortune administers a few drops of balm. So it was here, for when many sections of the frescoes, destroyed past hope of salvage, fell away, remarkably fresh red earth drawings by Benozzo Gozzoli's own hand, full-scale preparations for the compositions of the lost frescoes, were discovered perfectly preserved under the plaster. These sketches reveal a hardly suspected energy and rhythmic motion on the part of an artist whose finished works were often marred by woodenness. Brought to light under such tragic circumstances, they will remain instructive examples of Quattrocento graphic style, and give a new insight into the process of Renaissance composition.

The work of consolidation began at once with scaffolding already existing in Pisa. Supports had to be improvised with whatever means could be found.

The system used was admittedly temporary, so as not to prejudice later and more permanent arrangements. Small wedges of brick were placed at the lower edges of all threatened portions, and fixed to the surface of the wall by means of plaster. Bulges were supported by a sort of basketwork of wire drawn taut across the bulge between nails on either side. The stability of the frescoes, at least for a limited period, was thus assured.

The work went on under extreme difficulties and dangers. At no time during the entire undertaking were the Germans more than thirty miles away. All through September huge German railway guns lobbed 280-millimeter shells into Pisa. Mines and booby traps killed and wounded people daily. One of the eighty-two Italian soldiers was blown to bits while walking in a forbidden area of the city. Not a house in Pisa had glass in its windows. Twenty per cent of the buildings were razed to their foundations, another thirty per cent partially destroyed; most of the roofs in the city were either completely gone or converted to sieves by the frequent explosions. Aside from a few public fountains, there was no water, nor did it return for six months, since the Germans had blown up the enormous aqueduct from Monte San Giuliano. All fall and winter there was no electric light, the power returning only to a few government offices in late winter and to the town as a whole in the spring. Neither were there any candles to be had, nor oil for lamps save at fantastic prices in the black market.

Bit by bit the people started to come back, but life was intolerable. The conditions which made Florence hell for two months lasted in Pisa half a year. The only food was the slender rations AMG was able to bring into the city. Restaurants began to reopen, perhaps four in the entire town, offering a diet of unidentified boiled vegetation. Although Sanpaolesi established a kind of mess for the specialists at the offices where the Superintendency was reestablished, it provided little more than a starvation diet. Yet not only the buildings of the Piazza dei Miracoli were damaged—every church and palace of any importance, Romanesque or Gothic, Renaissance or Baroque, was in desperate need of attention (Figs. 30, 36, 38).

But the work continued. On October 11, not six weeks after the arrival of Captain Keller at the Campo Santo, the lean-to roof over the Gozzoli frescoes and the series attributed to Francesco Traini was completed (Fig. 32). Although not included in the original scheme, Captain Keller appealed for materials for the erection of a somewhat narrower roof, supported by brackets, over the frescoes of Antonio Veneziano and Spinello Aretino. On December 22 this tract also was complete, and the work of first aid to the frescoes was at an end.

The devoted work of Captain Keller, supported whole-heartedly by General Hume, and the labor of American and Italian engineers and Italian experts

thus saved for posterity what a few weeks of neglect would have brought to total ruin. But, it must be emphasized, the work was only preliminary. Nothing more was conceivable under wartime conditions a few miles from the front. The vast structure, more than four hundred feet in length, still lacks a permanent roof, and the slender construction of wood and canvas necessary to span the aisles, the thousands of wooden crosspieces, the hundreds of thousands of roof tiles, the many months of labor, will cost nearly half a million dollars, a heavy burden for ruined Italy.³

A heartening contrast to all the disasters of Pisa was the miraculous escape of the little chapel of Santa Maria della Spina (Fig. 34). This masterpiece of Pisan Gothic ornament and sculptural decoration was barely missed by the same type of 1000-pound demolition bomb that made gravel out of San Michele in Borgo. The bomb struck instead a Trecento Gothic brick house across the street, not twenty feet away, leaving nothing but the cellar and a heap of dust, over which the almost unscratched beauty of the Spina stood in quiet triumph. Had the bomb fallen five yards farther on, the Spina would have been blown into the Arno. As it was, all the statues by followers of Giovanni Pisano and by Nino Pisano had been taken to safety by the Superintendency, and since the lateral blast of these penetration bombs is relatively slight, the Spina suffered only the cracking of a few pinnacles.

* * *

In the desperate urgency of the work in Florence and its environs, it was not until September that I was able to get to Arezzo, and only in November began to explore the wild and desolate ranges of Arezzo Province. It was another world from the garden-and-villa landscape of Florence. On these uplands only an occasional shepherd's hut faces the lonely roads between the ancient towns which ride the rock with a certain fierce pride. In these grim solitudes where the Alpe di Catenaia merges into the Alpe di Serra, Saint Romuald beheld the heavens opening to a procession of his white-robed monks, Saint Francis received the Stigmata of Christ, and in a house of untrimmed stone in a village clinging to a castle-ruin Michelangelo first saw the light.

For all its richness in works of art, Arezzo, except for the Piazza Grande, is not one of the handsomest of Tuscan cities. Scores of Flying Fortress raids on the neighboring railway yards did nothing to enhance its appearance. The

³ Since the writing of this chapter I was appointed to administer a contribution of \$15,000 from the American Committee for the Restoration of Italian Monuments, for the salvage of the frescoes in the Campo Santo. The systematic detachment of the frescoes from the walls was completed during the winter of 1947-48, with spectacular results. The Italian Government has now provided the funds for the beginning of the roof over the Campo Santo. These operations are discussed in greater detail in the Appendix.

bombs were so widely scattered over the center that it is very remarkable that there was not more widespread and serious damage to the monuments. The most serious disaster was the destruction by bombs of two rooms in the museum. Although the Fascist director, Alessandro del Vita, had assured the Superintendency in Florence, by letter, that the museum had been completely evacuated, when the bomb struck every picture was still in place. Ten were blown to bits so minute that reconstruction was out of the question, and six were badly damaged but in part salvageable. Approximately three hundred pieces of majolica were demolished, luckily not the priceless collection of Aretine, Gubbio, and Deruta ware of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento, but still fine pieces, including a lovely series of eighteenth century Montelupo plates. Del Vita did nothing to clean up the rubble and salvage the pieces, so the whole burden fell on Procacci and Morozzi, with the one Superintendency truck which the Germans had not requisitioned. Making several trips, they brought back to Florence every work of art from the museum that would fit in the truck, leaving the largest things, the huge altarpieces by Signorelli, in the firm and comparatively safe substructions of the museum, protected by a rapidly constructed shelter of concrete. On one of these trips, just as the truck, the workmen, Procacci, and Morozzi were about to leave the town with a load of works of art, there was another Flying Fortress raid. Procacci and Morozzi escaped with their lives only because the bomb that struck not twenty feet away happened to be a dud.

Most of the mediaeval and Renaissance churches of the city suffered damage of some sort, although in general not beyond repair. The Badia, however, whose interior is a severe and imposing example of Vasari's architectural style, was hit, and the complex system of vaulting and saucer domes was being rapidly waterlogged by rain leaking through the devastated roof. Still worse, the spacious two-story cloister, a marvel of Renaissance elegance and harmony, attributed to Giuliano da Maiano, had lost two of its sides (Figs. 44-45). Their ruins lay spilled in a mountainous tangle of beams, rubble, and broken columns. And even in San Francesco, where the roof tiles had been disarranged by near-by blasts, the water was leaking into the matchless fresco series by Piero della Francesca.

Furthermore, no one as yet had the slightest idea what had happened to Borgo Sansepolcro, with its fresco of the *Resurrection* by Piero della Francesca. We could find no one in Arezzo who had yet been to Borgo, and the Germans were still entrenched in the heights of the Alpe della Luna, overlooking the city and the Tiber valley. Our journey to Borgo, accompanied by Procacci and Professor Salmi of the University of Florence, on September 8, a year after the Italian surrender, was a memorable trip indeed. Such were the almost in-

credible exasperations, particularly the bogging down of an entire British convoy in the bottomless fields of mud near Palazzo del Pero, blocking the only by-pass around the blown bridge, that the twenty-five-mile trip took more than three hours.

The town was severely damaged. Allied fighter bombers had attacked German military transport outside the gates, so the modern quarter was devastated. Several fine mediaeval houses had been damaged by bombs, others blown up by the Germans, and the huge tower in the center of the Piazza, known affectionately as "La Berta" (Bertha), had been mined and utterly destroyed, covering the square with rubble ten feet deep. The *Resurrection* was safe. The custodian of the Palazzo Comunale unlocked the door of the main hall and we saw the fresco in all its impersonal majesty. Deeply moved, we gazed on the triumphant central figure, quiet as a statue in the light of dawn, upon the bare Aretine hills beyond, upon the grey clouds, upon the soldiers, in their armor and blue and lavender and red cloaks, sleeping below the mighty miracle.

On the way back to Arezzo we made a detour to Monterchi to see Piero's *Madonna del Parto* in the little cemetery chapel. The protecting wall was taken down while we watched, and we could return rejoicing in the news that every work by Piero in Tuscany was intact.

For the work of repair in Arezzo Province we appointed a young engineer, Ubaldo Lumini, whose father and brother both worked for the Superintendency as restorers. He set up housekeeping in the Casa Vasari, and with poor food and no fuel worked devotedly throughout the winter against the greatest obstacles. He traveled on anything, walked, hitched rides, pedaled a bicycle over mountain roads in any kind of weather, used every wile known to the Tuscans in order to obtain material for the monuments and get the work organized and under way. His country owes Lumini a real debt of gratitude for his extraordinary energy. Leonetto Tintori, the miracle worker from Prato, his wife, and his assistant, Rosi, were brought down to Arezzo in mid-September to work on the frescoes which were to be detached, and during November the Lorentino d'Andrea fresco from San Sebastiano, the frescoes by Vasari and by Marco da Montepulciano in the ruined church of San Bartolommeo, and several other damaged frescoes were brought back to Florence to be completely restored in Procacci's *Gabinetto del Restauro*. By this time all the roof repairs were completed at the Badia, and by the end of February there was no longer a monument in Arezzo with a leaky roof or gaping windows. In May the last of the work in the cloister of the Badia was completed—every column and capital salvaged from the rubble, and the existing sides of the cloister properly consolidated and reroofed.

Much of my time in Arezzo Province was spent in the Casentino, the upper

valley of the Arno, rich in mediaeval and Renaissance monuments. During all these trips there loomed above us the wild crag of La Verna, to which somehow, sometime, we had to ascend. For here was not only the sanctuary where St. Francis received the Stigmata, but the finest series of terra cotta reliefs outside Florence, the masterpieces of Andrea della Robbia. It is difficult enough to get to La Verna in peace time; in war time it was impossible. The three roads which approach the four-thousand-foot peak were all blown up by the Germans in crucial spots. Bailey bridges installed to permit passage of troops were removed at once for use elsewhere. At each of the three roads we were turned back, sometimes after half completing the ascent.

After three unsuccessful attempts, on October 21 we navigated a mud road through valley farms, a ford across a torrent, and several miles of mountain mule track which eventually rejoined the main road beyond the last blown bridge. From there we climbed in curve after curve onto what seemed the ridge-pole of the world, with endless views off into the Casentino in the colored luminosity of the late afternoon. There, like two toy cities, sat Poppi and Bibbiena on their little mounds, under the immensity of the Pratomagno, over which we could gaze into the Chianti hills toward Siena, south past Arezzo and the Valdichiana to the profile of Mount Cetona. Finally we came to the village of Chiusi della Verna and the cobblestone path that climbs at almost forty degrees up to the sanctuary.

The simple buildings of the monastery and its church and chapels presented the too familiar aspect of a shelled village. Roofs were full of gaping holes, walls were battered, debris littered the terraces. The Father Superior told us that the bombardment had lasted ten days, from August 26 to September 4. Although no Germans were in the monastery at any time, according to his account, they had artillery positions directly below it. These and the entire monastery were heavily shelled by the British. On one occasion when a flight of Allied planes passed over, the monks were certain that La Verna was going to suffer the fate of Montecassino, but no bombs were dropped. Since the shelling continued for a day and a half after the departure of the Germans, the monks finally sent one of their number with a white flag to the British officers of the Indian division that was operating in the area to inform them that there were no longer any Germans on the peak. At first he was taken for a spy, but the officers who returned to the sanctuary with him found that it could no longer be considered a military objective.

The loggia around the Chiesa Maggiore was more than half destroyed and all the roofs devastated by uncountable shells, and a direct hit on the shrine near the entrance of the church destroyed the *Pietà* by Giovanni della Robbia, a work of minor importance. The campanile was damaged and badly shaken,

a primitive Romanesque double-arched window in the Cappella degli Angeli was smashed. Several shells pierced the vaulting of the church, yet the beautiful reliefs by Andrea della Robbia and the best of the school pieces escaped any sort of injury, either by flying fragments or falling masonry. On either side of the nave, under their tabernacles, still shone the two reliefs of the *Annunciation* and the *Adoration of the Child*; in the left transept stood the immense *Ascension*, a thick choir of superbly draped apostle figures below the Christ borne heavenward by angels. The shells had passed harmlessly over the little chapel of the Stigmata. The great *Crucifixion* relief by Andrea della Robbia dominates, even forms, the apse. In this colossal work Andrea rises above the decorative charm customarily associated with the glazed reliefs of his shop into a realm of tragic suffering and intense spirituality.

The problem was now how to accomplish the repair of the damaged church, to prevent the vaulting from falling and crushing the reliefs, how to get men and materials to this inaccessible place. I am sorry to have to admit that La Verna was one of the total failures on the part of the MFAA office. Whatever work was done during my stay in Tuscany was executed by the monks themselves, without help from anyone. Lumini succeeded in making one trip to the mountain top in December—on a bicycle—before the winter snows cut off La Verna entirely from the outside world. He was able to do no more than advise the monks on improvising repairs to the church roof by using tiles and slate from other portions of the monastery, and boards sawn from the timbers of the surrounding woods. This the monks did, and it was sufficient to protect the building against further damage by rain and snow. In the spring Lumini returned and drew up a complete *preventivo* for the necessary repairs. This was one of the projects which were held up by the cumbersome finance system, and was still unfinanced when the Province of Arezzo was turned back to the Italian Government on May 10.

On one of the unsuccessful attempts to reach La Verna, I had one of the most moving experiences of my whole stay in Tuscany. Pieve Santo Stefano, a village of two thousand inhabitants, lies not far from Borgo Sansepolcro. Walled in by desolate hills that rise fifteen hundred feet above it, the town hangs in one long clump of houses and towers above the young Tiber, here rushing by as green as glass upon its stones and ledges. At first, as we approached Pieve, Franco and I thought the town was still there. Then we began to realize what had happened. Nothing but a few walls and roofs, and the façade of the town overhanging the Tiber, still stood. The Germans had systematically demolished the entire village house by house, leaving only the Collegiata, two small chapels, the parish house, and two-thirds of the Palazzo Comunale. The operation took weeks. The use of airplane bombs instead of

mines resulted in blowing the center of each house, while the corners, sometimes the end walls as well, remained standing with fragments of roof still adhering to them. These jagged, amputated portions of habitations standing above the wreckage presented a somehow even more tragic aspect than the completely leveled towns such as Levane and San Godenzo.

The principal work of art in the town, a large relief by a follower of Andrea della Robbia, was in the Oratory of San Francesco, which could be reached only by climbing over some two hundred yards of snapped beams and shattered masonry. The door of the chapel was open, and we gazed into the wrecked interior. The left wall of the chancel had fallen inward and spilled across the high altar and the sanctuary. Above this heap of brick and plaster, threatened momentarily by the collapse of the unsupported apse vaulting, stood the enormous relief of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Fig. 35). Serene in its blue and white perfection, the great altarpiece shone like a vision in the sudden light of the broken apse.

Presently I became aware that some of the townspeople had followed me into the chapel, the aged mayor among them. Emboldened by their evident interest in the relief, I told them that I planned to dismantle it as soon as possible and take it to Arezzo where it could be restored and kept safely until there was some place in Pieve where it might be received. At once their faces fell. The people pleaded with me not to take the relief away. The town would answer for its safety. A young man, who I found out later was the *geometra comunale*, a kind of town engineer, offered to shore the vault with the beams from the destroyed houses, of which there was, alas, a copious supply at hand. If I could send the restorer to Pieve, they would find some way of putting him up and feeding him while he dismantled the relief, and reassembled it in their own Collegiata.

"E tutto quello che ci rimane!"² said someone. These people had no houses save what they could put together out of the standing fragments, they had lost all their belongings, they had not even a motor vehicle or a wagon to take away the rubble, which they were moving with spades and wheelbarrows, but they were willing to work and sacrifice to save the one really beautiful thing in the town. Moved beyond all words, I agreed. I promised to send a restorer as soon as I could spare one, but I warned them that the difficulties of the journey from Florence might cause considerable delay. No matter, said they; whenever I arrived I would find the vault properly shored and the relief as safe as they could make it. The people went back to their job of carrying away with their hands the ruins of their homes, and I renewed my attempts to reach La Verna.

² "It is all we have left!"

Not for four months was I able to return to Pieve Santo Stefano. On March 7 I transported the restorer Liso from Florence to Arezzo, and from there sent him off by bicycle to Pieve. When I arrived in Pieve on March 17, with some of the special plaster needed for the work, I found that Liso had the relief half dismantled. The upper portion was being laid out carefully in the apse of the Collegiata. True to their word the townspeople had safely shored the vault of San Francesco. They had cleared the streets of the town so well that we were able to drive from one end to the other. And they had even built a suspension bridge across the Tiber. The towers were made of tree trunks, the roadway of planks, the cables of the cable line which the Germans had used to transport building materials to the near-by fortresses of the Gothic line. Primitive though the construction and the materials were, the principles involved were perfectly sound, and the whole thing was a triumph of resourcefulness, so strong that not only the jeep but a small truck that the Commune had acquired could cross it in complete safety. Before leaving Tuscany for good I had the joy of returning to Pieve Santo Stefano, across this same bridge, to see the Della Robbia relief remounted intact in the Collegiata.

One of the most tragic cultural losses in Tuscany concerned not a work of art but a creation of nature, the dense forest of Camaldoli. The columns of this living temple were once the setting for an intense spiritual life. Here, after Saint Romuald's vision, he founded the most ascetic order known to the West, under whose rule white-robed hermits lived in solitary huts under the most rigorous conditions, ate their few meals alone, celebrated solitary mass, communicated with no one, came together only for the daily offices. Their tradition of penitential meditation persisted into the Renaissance as a countercurrent to the paganism of revived antiquity, and the shadow of this mountain forest haunts the most luminous moments of the Florentine Quattrocento. The Medici and other great families had their cells here in the silence of the lofty fir trees, and Lorenzo the Magnificent walked with his Platonic Academy through the forest of Camaldoli.

Early in March of 1945 I received a distraught letter from Professor Calamandrei, rector of the University of Florence, that the Allies were cutting down the ancient forest, indeed that the most beautiful section, lining the road from the convent up to the Sacred Hermitage nearly a thousand feet above, had already been laid waste. It seemed scarcely believable that this could have taken place without our knowledge. Poggi had been to Camaldoli in late October and found all in order. In mid-December I had met the Father Chamberlain in Niccoli's office in Siena, and he had said nothing of any cutting. Furthermore, the Italian Forest Militia was bound by law to notify the Superintendency of

any disaster to the forest, which since 1900 has had the status of a national monument.

Procacci and I went immediately to Camaldoli to see what could be done. The account was only too true. The solemn aisles of the millennial forest were a scene of wholesale destruction. Fir trees of immense height, some of them hundreds of years old, were strewn for three miles along the road. The dense black forest was gone, nor could its beauty be replaced for at least a century. The rich undergrowth of golden moss, fern, cyclamen, broom and wild strawberries was trampled to pulp and slime by the trucks, bulldozers, and tractors of the 2nd Forestry Group (British). As we climbed the steep road the silence of the black forest suddenly closed around us, as if a door had shut behind us. In these heights the untouched snow lay all about, and hundred-foot trunks walled out the sunlight, the shouts, the noise of the machines, the rapacious saws, and the falling trees. High around the white huts of the monks in this last retreat waved the black crown of the ancient fir trees.

At all costs we had to insure that at least this area around the Sacred Hermitage remain unspoiled. The British forestry officer stated frankly that the destruction of the great forest by means of felling entire tracts without regard to appearances or the future of the land was a crime justified only by military necessity. The wood was needed for the bridges across the Po, essential for the conduct of the spring offensive that would end the war in Italy. No other method would procure the wood as fast as it was needed. Other forests existed near by, at La Lama and at Campigna, but were inaccessible because the roads were mined. Enough ready-cut wood lay about the forest to make it unnecessary to fell near the Hermitage itself for two months. More than that the forestry officer could not promise.

We made our way sorrowfully down again, through the dense pillars of the forest to the destruction that reached daily nearer. We had done what we could. All that remained was to write a long and earnest report to the MFAA Subcommittee, asking that it urge AFHQ to de-mine the roads to La Lama and Campigna so that those forests could be used instead. The Subcommittee's efforts were successful. The mighty crown around the Sacred Hermitage, the site of St. Romuald's dream, is still inviolate. But the forest of Camaldoli is no longer what it was. Here the insatiable demands of war reached very near to the heart of Italian culture.

* * *

Many adventures—too many to be told—filled fourteen months of ceaseless activity in Tuscany. Hardly a road in the region was not traveled by "Lucky 13"; few villages from Pontremoli to Piombino were not visited—Pistoia, Pescia,

and Lucca under the Apennine wall, the ravaged churches and palaces of half-destroyed Livorno, intact Carrara, and devastated Massa, the mediaeval villages of the high Garfagnana, the tranquil valley of Lunigiana under the glittering Apuan Alps. The cold statistics of the Appendix must suffice to suggest the work we did, or attempted, or left undone. But no such account could ever recreate the events as they happened, or communicate to others the emotions that can never be eradicated from the memory of those whose lives were so bound up with a period in which the continued existence of the art of Italy hung in the balance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RETURN OF THE FLORENTINE ART TREASURES

THROUGHOUT the autumn and winter of 1944-1945 the fate of the missing works of art was of constant concern. In September Poggi and I went to the Archbishop of Florence, His Eminence Cardinal Elia della Costa, to request his aid in tracing them. Deeply moved by our appeal, the Cardinal promised to appeal to the Vatican for aid in convincing the Germans of the importance in world opinion of keeping these works of art intact and in Italy, and perhaps even in persuading them to disclose their whereabouts.

In the following month we were informed through these ecclesiastical channels that the works of art were in the Upper Adige, in a place called Neumelans in Sand; but I could find no such place in any Italian guide, nor did even Poggi know where it might be. On November 20 a Bolognese Partisan who had crossed the Allied lines came to the Superintendency to look for me. His narrative, taken down by Fasola during my absence, told how, near the end of July, two German trucks with trailers, loaded with works of art, arrived at the Villa Taroni at Marano sul Panaro, a small village in the hills some fifteen miles south of Modena. Here the unpacked works of art, which the Germans said came from the Pitti and the Uffizi, and must therefore have been from Montagnana, were unloaded into the villa, a number being left outside under the portico for lack of space. Some of them had served as decorations at a ball given by the German military in the early days of August. About the middle of August the Germans left the villa and the pictures recommenced their wanderings.

Allied broadcasts reproaching the Germans with the colossal looting of Florentine works of art brought indignant replies from Fascist and Nazi radio alike, and finally, on December 11, elicited a release by Prof. Carlo Anti, the Republican Fascist Director General of Fine Arts, declaring that he had inspected the deposits of works of art removed from areas near Florence then involved in war operations, and found that except for slight damage they were all intact. He did not disclose their location nor whether they were in Italian or German hands.

In March, as the time drew near when the breaking of the German lines below Bologna would permit deposits to be reached, I made contact with the oss to determine what help they could give in the protection of the works of art. It was decided that the oss agents in North Italy should try to obtain in-

formation from the Patriarch of Venice. The ingenious notion was due in its entirety to Marchese Serlupi-Crescenzi, who had protected Berenson during the German occupation, and who had acquaintances among the officials, particularly with the American major, Alessandro Cagiati, who undertook to assist us. Early in April assurances were received from the agents in North Italy that they were investigating the condition and the safety of the works of art, and that, indeed they were up until that moment, quite safe.

On April 27, only a few days after the liberation of Bologna, Captain Croft-Murray, newly installed as MFAA officer for Emilia, wrote from Bologna the exact position of the works of art, which he had learned from Dr. Pietro Zampetti, temporary director of the gallery of Modena. Zampetti had not only been able to make a short visit to Marano while the pictures had been there, but had received oral instructions from the Fascist Republican Ministry of Public Instruction in Padua concerning their further transference and the location of everything taken from the surroundings of Florence.¹ It was all housed in two deposits, one at the castle of Campo Tures above Brunico and the other at San Leonardo in Val Passiria, north of Merano—both sites only a few miles from the Brenner Pass. Not until I reached Campo Tures did I discover that this was actually the place mentioned by the Germans through the Vatican, for the castle was originally the property of the *Neumelans* family, and the pre-1919 name of the village was *Sand im Taufers*.

The story of the fantastic proceedings was fully recorded in the documents of the German *Kunstschutz*, turned over to us by the Germans and analyzed at length by Lieutenant Colonel DeWald and Wing Commander Douglas Cooper of the RAF. To make clear the background, it is necessary to recall that, as related in Chapter III, Colonel Langsdorff had conferred with the Florentine authorities in the Palazzo Pitti on July 15, assuring them of the complete German agreement with the orders of Professor Anti from Padua that nothing be removed from the Florentine deposits to North Italy. On the same day he had wired to his own Military Government that he was nonetheless going to take over immediately supervision of the evacuation of these deposits. On the nineteenth he had promised Poggi that he would diligently trace down the two Cranachs (which were at that moment in his room in the Excelsior), and on the twenty-eighth he returned for a last visit to Florence. Actually in the intervening days Langsdorff had been in Verona, conferring with SS General Karl Wolff, head of the German Military Government in Italy, referred to in previous chapters.

Wolff referred the matter to Heinrich Himmler, and as a result ordered

¹ A complete account of his excellent work as custodian of the Bologna deposits under appalling conditions was published in pamphlet form by Dr. Zampetti in 1946.

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

Langsdorff to return to the area of Florence and remove all works of art that could possibly be "saved," placing eight trucks at his disposal for this purpose. Langsdorff pretended to Poggi to know nothing of the visit of Colonel Baumann, which had taken place on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh. He assured Poggi, who was then worried over the proximity of the deposit at Dicomano to the Gothic Line, that if the sculptures were moved from there they would be brought back to Florence. He then went at once to Dicomano, loaded his trucks with sculpture, and sent them not to Florence but to Verona, where they arrived on the night of August 4.

During the return journey Langsdorff stopped at Marano to inspect the pictures from Montagnana. In the meanwhile, Professor Anti, by no means as easy in his mind about the safety of the works of art as his subsequent broadcast of December 11 might have led one to suppose, was trying desperately to obtain the transfer of the Montagnana pictures into a central deposit formed by the Italians in the Isole Borromee in Lago Maggiore. It was for this purpose that he had sent Zampetti to Marano. When Langsdorff again visited General Wolff on August 5, the frequent visits of Italian officials to his headquarters and their specific requests for the removal of the pictures to the Isole Borromee had left him in no doubt of the wishes of the Fascist Government in the matter.

Yet General Wolff's decision was to send all the works of art taken from Florence into the Alto Adige, or South Tyrol, already thoroughly absorbed by Germany, and Italian in name only. Langsdorff was at once despatched to Bolzano to obtain accommodations for the works of art. He toured the area with Dr. Ringler, the German installed as superintendent in Bolzano, and selected the castle of Campo Tures and the unused jail at San Leonardo. Thereupon Langsdorff returned to Tuscany, where the movements of the team are known from day to day. Here is the main outline of the events of August:

- 8th Langsdorff transmits to General Greiner at Marano the orders from General Wolff to evacuate Montagnana pictures to Alto Adige. Inspects Poggio a Caiano with Lieutenant Wawrowetz, under heavy artillery fire.
- 9th Returns to Marano and begins loading.
- 10th Starts in the evening for Bolzano with Marano pictures, arriving on the twelfth.
- 11th Reidemeister takes Dicomano sculptures from Verona to Campo Tures.
- 13th Langsdorff arrives with Marano pictures at San Leonardo.
- 20th Reidemeister and Wawrowetz visit Poggio a Caiano.
- 22nd Begin evacuation of Poggio, including Contini pictures at Trefiano.

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

- 23rd Thirty cases from Poggio sent to Bologna, for temporary storage in the Accademia.
- 24th Reidemeister returns to Bologna to organize convoy; discovers that works of art from Soci and Poppi had been taken independently by the 305th Infantry Division to a site near Forlì, on the Adriatic.
- 26th Twenty-eight more cases from Poggio arrive in Bologna.
- 27th Five truckloads go from Bologna to Verona.
- 28th Reidemeister visits Poppi and Soci loot near Forlì; orders their movement north. They leave on the thirty-first.

By September 7 the last of the stolen works of art from the surroundings of Florence had arrived at the deposits in the Alto Adige, over roads which were under constant bombardment by the Allies. From August 29 until September 3, however, the trucks had continued to arrive in Bolzano from the south, only to be refused the fuel necessary to continue their journey. By the time a special fuel ration was finally received, no fewer than twenty-one trucks full of works of art, plus the ambulance containing the *Adam* and *Eve* of Cranach, had piled up in Bolzano, *immobilized in a town which was being bombed by Flying Fortresses daily*. In the struggle to obtain control over these works of art, the Germans were perfectly willing to sacrifice the objects themselves.

The subsequent correspondence demonstrates that the Italians tried desperately to regain control, and that Langsdorff stalled them, pretending to have saved the works of art from inevitable destruction by shellfire or bombing, while he informed his superiors that they had been rescued from the depredations of the Anglo-American barbarians. Not only the Italians were worried; honest Germans also were deeply concerned. In October Langsdorff received from those staunch friends of international culture and decency, Heydenreich and Consul Wolf, an astonishing proposal in view of the circumstances. They requested a special order from the Führer declaring that the works of art were held in trust for the Italian nation, a complete inventory to be delivered to the Italians, and a visit of inspection by an Italo-German team consisting of the petitioners, Langsdorff, Anti, Pacchioni (superintendent of Milan), Morassi (superintendent of Genoa), and others. Langsdorff made no reply. A renewal of the request was met by a pointed inquiry on the part of Langsdorff as to why Heydenreich was so interested in the Italians. Not until November 28 was Anti permitted to make his inspection, and then the inventories handed him were amended to omit the name of the deposit, the names of the compilers, the date, and the Finaly collection, which had been brought up to Bolzano independently by a German unit quartered in the Villa Landau-Finaly. Moreover, the two Cranachs were displaced to form part of the body of the inventory,

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

instead of being on a separate sheet. A similarly altered list was handed to Mussolini.

On December 12, the day following Anti's broadcast, four grim visitors were conducted around the deposit at San Leonardo by Dr. Ringler. They were Dr. von Hummel from the Reich Chancellery (later the prime mover in the theft of the gold coin collections belonging to the Austrian monasteries), Professor Rupprecht from the Vienna Armory, Herr Brueschwylar and Herr Schedelmann, dealers from Munich and Vienna respectively. No explanation of this visit was given. On January 26, 1945, a circular letter was sent at the order of Martin Bormann, Hitler's deputy, to the supreme SS headquarters in each of nine still occupied countries, ordering that all confiscated works of art be reported to Hitler's advisers so that the Führer himself could decide what use he wished to make of them. General Wolff received a copy. When interrogated by Colonel DeWald and Wing Commander Cooper, Wolff later stated that he received direct orders from Himmler to transport the entire contents of both Campo Tures and San Leonardo to Altaussee in Austria, the huge salt mine which already contained over six thousand works of art looted from Poland, Belgium, France, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, and which were destined for the Führermuseum in Linz. Wolff protested that he was unable to comply for lack of transportation and fuel. Yet on February 23, 1945, Dr. Schmidt, one of Langsdorff's assistants, and a young lady photographer from Wolff's staff were despatched to Campo Tures and San Leonardo to photograph all they could—for an album to present to the Führer on his birthday, April 20. Ringler found them still at it on March 20, taking Contax pictures of Raphael's *Donna Velata* and the Rembrandt *Old Man*, unpacked, unframed, outdoors in the snow. Ringler's protest to Langsdorff elicited an emphatic warning that the works of art were under the direction of the highest authority. Requests for restitution, by the Italian Ambassador to Ribbentrop and by Mussolini to General Wolff, proved equally futile. When the Germans surrendered on May 2, it was not to the Italians but to the Allied authorities that General Wolff ordered Langsdorff and his gang to deliver the contents of the two deposits.

The foregoing seemed to us conclusive evidence that Hitler wished to incorporate the works of art removed from Florence into the Führermuseum in Linz. Without any doubt and beyond all comparison the works of art stolen from Italy represented the most important cultural treasure from the point of view of quality taken by the Germans from any occupied country, or for that matter from all the other occupied countries together. Despite the enormous volume of the works of art stored at Altaussee, many hundreds were worthless German nineteenth and twentieth century paintings, and the majority were by

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

perfectly competent Dutch, Flemish, and occasionally Italian masters. More than half of the works in the two Alto Adige deposits were in this second category, but the rest were on a level of universal importance. In Altaussee only the Ghent Altarpiece, the Bruges Madonna of Michelangelo, the Lobkowitz Breughel, the Czernin Vermeer, the Altdorffer St. Florian Altar, some Rembrandts, and the loot from Naples were in this supreme category. Moreover, most of the works in Altaussee were in some way or other purchased (although often under duress), and none of them came from state-owned museums. Yet so much publicity has surrounded the Altaussee salt mine that the importance of the Italian booty has been generally ignored; indeed it is not widely known in this country that the Germans took anything from Italy. The mass looting of the public collections of Florence may well measure the Germans' opinion of Italian collaboration—or their basic convictions that Italian efforts and sympathies had been on the side of the Allies all along.

If the Fascist Republican Government had been anxious to recover the Florentine works of art, the attitude of the Superintendency personnel in the north, mostly anti-Fascist and in close contact with the Committee of National Liberation, can be imagined. The contact already established between our office and the Partisans through the agency of the *oss* blossomed and bore fruit when Venice and Venetia (under whose administration the Alto Adige normally falls) were liberated. Prof. Ferdinando Forlati, superintendent of monuments and galleries for Venice, had long been in contact with members of the Committee of National Liberation on the subject of the art deposits of the Alto Adige. On April 30 Forlati went to the newly arrived provincial commissioner of AMG in Venice in order to make clear the necessity of reaching the site as soon as possible.

On May 2 the German forces in Italy surrendered. On May 3 Forlati was invited by the *oss* to a meeting at the Albergo Danieli. There he indicated to the *oss* officers the exact site of the deposits, and obtained from a Captain Kelly not only the documents that would facilitate his own journey into the area, still in a state of total confusion and not yet occupied by the Allies, but an American car, an Italian driver, and an Italian warrant officer. Forlati left the same day, arriving at Trento the following day along with the columns of American troops, and in the midst of the Italian flags that flew from every window. On the fifth, along with Antonino Rusconi, the superintendent of Trento, he arrived in San Leonardo to find the town still completely under German control.

There was Reidemeister, on the spot and waiting, with his assistant, Professor Bruhns. Comm. Teodoro Nazari, president of the Committee of National Liberation in Merano, had accompanied the party from that city, along with

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

a dubious character called von Harten, who pretended to be the local representative of the International Red Cross, whose "protection" he claimed to be able to dispense. Together the strange party visited the deposit and found that, except for slight damage to certain pictures, the whole collection had survived remarkably well. At that time Nazari, intensely interested in the restitution of the works of art to Florence, offered his services and the aid of the CNL for the solution of the exacting problem of packing the hundreds of loose pictures.

On May 6 the party from Venice, Trento, and Merano continued to Campo Tures, where they found an American unit already in occupation. On the following day they received from Capt. Michael Mohr, Infantry, stationed in nearby Brunico, the permission to make their inspection. The document which records this visit is signed not only by the Italians and by Captain Mohr, but by Bernhard Degenhardt (German art historian, formerly employed at the Herziana Library in Rome and for a short while director of the Albertina), Captain Schmidt and Major Evers of the *Kunstschutz*, and Langsdorff himself. The Germans were most anxious, *post facto*, to demonstrate how scrupulous had been their care and how high their moral purpose. Present also at this inspection was the British Major Minor, from the staff of AMG Fifth Army, sent to assure the safety of the works of art during the period when Captain Keller, whose territory now ran from Genoa and Turin nearly to Venice, and from the Brenner to Bologna, was busy in Milan.

In the meantime, since the responsibility for the works of art found in the Alto Adige was that of Fifth Army, there was nothing I could do but wait impatiently to be called. On May 9 Major Minor wired me to come at once. Franco, Rossi, and I started early the following day, not knowing how far that trip might take us or how soon we would be able to return. The excitement at the Superintendency was past description. Actually, may I confess, it was not the first time since the break-through at Bologna on April 23 that Franco and I had crossed the Apennines. Distracted by worry over his family, from whom he had not heard since his liberation in Naples in September of 1943, Franco had appealed silently by every look and action to be taken home. On April 30 I could resist no longer and started off, without permission and against orders, over Route 65, the scene of such bitter conflicts during that interminable winter, through the blasted villages of Loiano, Monghidoro, Zula, past the complete desert that had once been Pianoro, through Bologna, fat and proud and brown in the middle of its ruined suburbs, along the Via Emilia crowded with German convoys coming in to surrender, and finally to Mantua, its domes and spires tranquil across the shallow lakes of the Mincio. When we finally found Franco's family in a refuge in the country, the parents wept,

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

the school teacher wept, Franco wept, I wept, even the geese seemed profoundly affected.

So we knew the road, with its vistas of hundreds of square miles of country pitted everywhere by shell holes, and mountainsides showing more shell holes than grass. The trees were shaved into spikes by the passing shells, the farmhouses reduced to sand heaps, the roads torn by artillery and mines, the villages smashed and tottering, reeking sharply of death in the warm air of a spring morning. On May 11 we arrived at Fifth Army headquarters in a hot meadow on the outskirts of shattered Verona. Since Captain Keller was still detained in Milan, Major Minor advised me to continue on to Bolzano. Inured as we were to destruction and horror by this time, the catastrophic ruin of the Adige valley was still something new, where mass raids of Flying Fortresses had altered the very landscape, ploughing it into craters twenty feet deep, leaving freight and passenger trains dangling into the muddy stream like bunches of grapes.

More and more Germans were encountered, in trucks, staff cars, and armored vehicles all along our route, and when in the last light of afternoon we arrived in Bolzano, we began to wonder which side had surrendered eight days before. The colossal arrogance of the still-armed Germans, who outnumbered us on the streets of the city ten to one, and shouldered us into the gutter when they could, was countered by no American protest save the clenched jaws of the GI's who slept in the Pfarrplatz. From there they could see the Germans in the best hotels, and watch the glittering and be-swastikaed officers feasting on rich foods and rosy Merano wine. The Americans, who held the area only lightly owing to the rapidity of the German collapse in North Italy, were under orders to avoid any appearance of an incident with the Germans, largely SS, until the area could be brought more completely under control.

Major Minor had been only to Campo Tures, so Rossi and I decided to start the following day for San Leonardo. During the whole drive through the beautiful, but somewhat uninteresting Alpine valley above Merano we did not meet a single Allied vehicle or see a single Italian civilian. Often we met German trucks and automobiles, full of glowering Germans, still in uniform and heavily armed. Every village along the route was bursting with German soldiers, every inn guarded by German sentries, until we finally arrived at the hamlet of San Leonardo in Val Passiria (the former Sanct Leonhard im Passeiertal), like any Austrian village, save for a scattering of Italian working people. Passing the great oak before the house of Andreas Hofer, the local south Tyrolean hero, in a flurry of dust amid honking geese and screaming children, we arrived before the simple Austrian jail which contained the Florentine treasures.

For Rossi, Franco, and me, who had together visited the rifled deposits in

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

August and September of 1944, it was a moment of intense excitement. The GI on guard fumbled long with the keys before he was able to let us into the dark hallway of the ground floor, and further keys had to be produced and identified as we went from floor to floor and from room to room. But the long months of work and waiting seemed suddenly worth while.

Here, piled against each other in damp and narrow cells, were the pictures from Montagnana. In one room all the *Virtues* of Antonio and Piero del Polaiuolo stood against the wall, in another we could quickly recognize Caravaggio's *Bacchus*, and Titian's *Philip II* gazing at the *Saint Sebastian* of Ercole da Ferrara, in another the two great Rubens landscapes were stacked against the *Bambocciata* of Dosso Dossi. With a cry of glee Rossi lifted a cheap bed covering to disclose the *Eve* of Cranach with the *Adam* visible behind her. One solemn room contained the *Crucifixion* of Signorelli, Botticelli's *Pallas and the Centaur* (Fig. 50), the *Adoration of the Magi* by Lorenzo Monaco, and the *Annunciation* and the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* by Baldovinetti, over whose delicate cypresses we could look through the jail window to the lofty pine woods and the snowy upper slopes of the Alpine valley. In an inner room, past a *Madonna* by Cima da Conegliano, Filippino's *Adoration of the Child* and the *Nativity with Saints Jerome and Hilarion* by Filippo Lippi, we came upon the awesome late *Pietà* by Giovanni Bellini (Fig. 51), the light coming full through the window on the dead Christ and the unspoken dialogue of grief between the saints who hold him.

So narrow indeed were the jail cells that in many cases it was almost impossible to move the pictures so as to obtain a full view of each. They had been moved unpacked, without any kind of protection save blankets and straw. This we were later able to prove by photographs made by the Germans themselves. It is almost incredible that they survived the trip over Apennines and Alps under combat conditions as well as they did. Although few were wholly unscratched, the damage was generally very minor. Several large flecks were missing from the *grisaille* surface of the Bellini *Pietà*, there were two long and deep scratches across the Baldovinetti *Annunciation*, small rips in the Signorelli *Crucifixion*, and a large hole clean through the Botticelli *Pallas and the Centaur*, luckily in the grass rather than in one of the faces. The *Adam and Eve* by Frans Floris was broken in two. What seemed at first, in the half light, to be irreparable damage to a very large section of the sky in the magnificent Rubens *Return of the Peasants*, was found later to be merely a whitish deterioration of the varnish through exposure.

No complete inventory check could be made that day, so we returned in the early evening to Bolzano. There, in the meantime, Lieut. Col. J. B. Ward Perkins, Colonel DeWald's deputy, had arrived. On the following day, therefore,

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

Colonel Ward Perkins went to San Leonardo to begin the interrogation of Reidemeister, whom we had not seen, while Rossi, Franco, and I went up the other valley to Brunico and Campo Tures. Here we found a fantastic situation; the typical Tyrolean sixteenth century, four-turret manor house, shadowed by enormous Alpine peaks, was guarded at the same time by Germans, Partisans, and GI's from the 85th Division. Yet after the topsy-turvy town of Bolzano, where the AMG provincial commissioner had to plod about the town on foot, hot, red-faced and dusty, while haughty and glittering SS generals sped past in motor cars loaded with blondes, we could believe anything.

In the castle we were received by no less a personage than Colonel Langsdorff himself (Fig. 52). The executor of the greatest single art-looting operation in recorded history received us with a certain amount of petulance, as if we had not really been fulfilling our duty to Art by arriving so late. He had been expecting us for days, anxious to turn over to us his responsibilities. He made it clear that he expected not only praise for his idealistic labor in protecting art but also the deference due his superior rank. I was unable to disillusion him completely on either score, in spite of one or two determined attempts.

The castle, dry and airy, was an excellent refuge for the works of art, immeasurably better than the jail at Campo Tures. Most of the pictures arranged neatly around the walls of the late Gothic rooms were from the collections of Contini and Finaly. Amusingly enough, the latter were all labeled as coming from the "Finaly-Acton" collection. Acton, a neighbor of Finaly, is a well-known English collector, but the Germans had fused him with the Frenchman Finaly to produce the mythical Finaly-Acton—an "American Jew." These pictures, also removed without packing, showed extensive minor damage to surfaces and frames.

The great masterpieces were all stored outside the castle in a Gothic stable now used as a garage, perfectly dry and safe, and beautifully packed. These were the boxes from Poggio a Caiano, Poppi, Dicomano, and Soci. When the garage doors were unlocked, we looked into the dark interior piled to the ceiling with the stout, Florentine boxes, knowing that within them were the *St. George* of Donatello, the *Bacchus* of Michelangelo, the *Donna Velata* of Raphael, and the whole wonderful series torn from the Florentine deposits. So closely were the cases jammed together that even a count of their number was impossible. But on each box was a clean, freshly lettered placard for our benefit: *Kunstwerke aus Italienischen Staatsbesitz*.

During the next few days, Rossi and I made our inventory check while Colonel Ward Perkins and Captain Keller visited the deposits and made their preliminary interrogations of the Germans, in particular the dry and shifty Langsdorff and the sleek red-haired Reidemeister. The officials of the *Kunst-*

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

schutz lost some of their polish after a few weeks in the prisoner of war cages at Ghedi, which in the early days after the surrender were merely enormous fields enclosed by barbed wire fences with no shelter of any sort against the blazing sun of the Po valley, and with clumsy sanitary facilities arranged near the fence in full view of the road. But at Campo Tures their arrogance was still magnificent.

Rossi's minute inventory revealed that the pictures, missing from Montagnana, did not appear at all in the Alto Adige or in any of the German lists. Among them were Lorenzo di Credi's *Self-Portrait*, the Bronzino *Deposition* from the Uffizi, and the most tragic loss of all, the two little Hercules pictures by Antonio del Pollaiuolo. To this day none of these pictures has been found, nor has there been the slightest information as to how they disappeared.

With the exception of three (the Rosa, the Feti, and the Huysum) all had been in boxes, the only ones in Montagnana, and had been part of the original deposit in Poggio a Caiano before so much of it had been moved by the Florentines to avoid excessive concentration. The ten pictures apparently were not among those which General Greiner turned over to Langsdorff in Marano sul Panaro. They appear neither on his rough inventory nor on the precise *Kunstschutz* list. They were not at Montagnana, however, when Fasola arrived there in early July, a few days after the Germans had left. Were they taken by General Greiner's troops and abandoned en route? Are they still in some mountain hut between Florence and Modena? Were they dropped into a ravine to lighten an overloaded truck? Were they removed by local peasants from the Bossi-Pucci villa after the Germans had left? We do not know and perhaps we never shall. For the moment these two marvelous little Pollaiuolo paintings have joined the sad company of Signorelli's burnt *School of Pan* and the destroyed frescoes of Mantegna in Padua.

What should be done with these two huge deposits, containing so large a proportion of the artistic heritage of Italy and the world? They could, of course, be left in the Alto Adige for the Italians to bring back when they were able. Yet as long as the Allies assumed responsibility for military government in that area the deposits would have to be constantly guarded to prevent not only theft but sabotage, especially from SS troops still left wandering about in the unsettled mountainous region. Such a prolonged commitment, with troops badly needed elsewhere, was an unsatisfactory solution. The alternative was to bring everything back to Florence. We were all convinced of the necessity of restitution to the Florentines at the earliest possible moment. It will be to Captain Keller's eternal credit that he managed to convince all the authorities of AMG Fifth Army of the urgency of the problem, and to enlist their enthusiastic cooperation.

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

For more than two months Captain Keller remained at the maddening job of arranging and supervising all the details of guarding, packing, and transporting the works of art, in the midst of the unsettled conditions that prevailed in Bolzano Province during the summer of 1945. To list a quarter of the problems that beset him and his assistant, T/5 Charles S. Bernholz, Jr., during this hot summer would fill this book. A twenty-four hour guard was maintained by Fifth Army soldiers at both deposits during the entire two-month period. Italians were called in to do the packing. Signor Nicolussi, an assistant from the Superintendency of Trento, supervised the construction of 109 large crates at San Leonardo, which had to be built in a stable as there was no room in the jail. Expert packers from Milan built 46 crates for the pictures and other objects from the Contini and Finaly collections. Lumber came from captured German stores, especially released by Fifth Army.

Early in June Captain Keller called again for Rossi and me, and we made our second trip up from Florence to determine exactly what objects would go into what cases and make a complete case-by-case numbered inventory to be used during unloading in Florence. On the way we regretfully left the faithful Franco with his family in Mantua, his place being taken by Alessandro Olschki, the son of Comm. Aldo Olschki, the noted rare-book dealer and publisher. From then until the end of August, when I left Tuscany for good, Sandro labored cheerfully with us. It seemed to all of us at this time that the only way to transport the hundreds of heavy cases all the way back to Florence was by truck, and all our calculations were made with this in mind. In fact we went so far as to agree on the use of fifty GI trucks for the purpose, and to estimate a travel time of four days, proceeding at a crawl, with three nights spent on the road. Captain Keller placed the request for the trucks with Lieutenant Colonel Toscani (the Major Joppolo of *Bell for Adano*), and Rossi and I, on our way back to Florence, were assigned the job of picking our bivouac areas for the entire convoy.

This was no small task. We had to find places where the trucks could all be parked under cover, where fifty drivers and their relief, another fifty, plus the Military Police guards and the officers could eat, sleep, and obtain fresh water. After careful search in a number of cities and the elimination of many suggestions we decided upon stops at a large factory in a place called Mas Deserta, just south of Trento, the Cavallerizza of the Ducal Palace in Mantua (with alternative shelter under the palace arcades in case of rain), and the Bologna stadium with the adjacent cavalry barracks—inspected by my old assistant Paul Bleecker, who had for the past month been helping Captain Pinsent in Bologna.

The deciding factor was the availability of the trucks. Colonel Toscani could

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

not let us have them. They were hauling emergency rations to the famished cities of Turin and Milan, from which they could not be spared. So all plans were scrapped and Captain Keller began to work out the details of a trip by rail, since it was hoped that by July rail communications would be restored between the Alto Adige and Florence. The contents of Campo Tures would be loaded onto freight cars at the nearby station, and when the train was completely made up in Brunico, five miles or so away, it would go to Bolzano to meet another section bringing the San Leonardo load from Merano. Three trucks were needed at Campo Tures and six at San Leonardo, which was more than an hour's drive from the Merano railway station. The completed train would proceed to Florence as soon as possible, to be met there by trucks from PBS, which would unload the entire treasure and transport it to the Pitti Palace.

So for the third time Rossi and I, familiar now with every bomb crater in the road, made our long trip from Florence to Bolzano. Keller had his new plan all ready down to the last detail, with the efficient collaboration of the staff of Fifth Army AMG. The army commander, Lieut. Gen. Lucian C. Truscott, had even lent his personal plane so that Captain Rust, the administrative officer, might fly to Livorno, pick up a load of fifty fire extinguishers and get them back to Bolzano in time to be of use during the trip.

Lieut. Col. Elmer N. Holmgreen, the governor of Anzio for the duration of the famous beachhead, was in command of the train. Maj. Arthur R. Schmidt, commanding officer of the 630th Anti-Aircraft Battalion, Military Police, had brought sixty of his men and four officers to guard the shipment, whose value Rossi estimated at \$500,000,000. On Monday, July 16, loading started simultaneously at San Leonardo and Campo Tures, with Keller supervising in the latter deposit and me in the former. I had by far the easier assignment, as the job of moving the heavy sculpture fell to Keller, who had to obtain a wrecker to handle the larger pieces, as well as freight cars with especially large entrances to accommodate such enormous masses as the *Niobe* and Pietro Tacca's *Boar*. As I accompanied my first truckload of towering crates, dustproof and practically waterproof, down the mountain road toward Merano, guarded by an MP with a glittering helmet, it gave me not only unspeakable personal satisfaction but a deep pride in the Allied cause when I realized how sharply this journey contrasted with the manner in which the pictures had come up the same road (Fig. 53).

By July 20 we were ready. The works of art filled thirteen freight cars. In addition there were six cars for the guards, spotted throughout the train, a kitchen car, a passenger and office car, and a flat car carrying the jeeps assigned to Captain Keller and Colonel Holmgreen. At the last minute it was decided that someone was needed in Florence to arrange the details of the unload-

RETURN OF THE ART TREASURES

ing procedure, as well as the ceremony in which the works of art were to be delivered to the people of Florence by General Hume, as head of AMG Fifth Army. The choice fell on me. The trip by car normally took two days, given the condition of the roads. Sandro and I started off at ten in the morning and reached Lake Garda about one, speeding along the road carved through the cliff high over the iridescent lake. At Gardone we made a two-hour stop at Fifth Army headquarters and then set off again across the valley of the Po and up into the dark Apennines at night, along Route 64 to Pistoia. In the network of by-passes and cut-offs surrounding the obliterated village of Marzabotto we got lost at midnight, and only at four in the morning did we arrive, exhausted, in Florence. At seven we had to begin again, arranging storage space for the works of art in the Bargello and the Pitti, and transporting workmen to the Campo di Marte railway yards.

Meanwhile the train had proceeded without major incident. At Trento there was a long stop because the relief train crew had not arrived, so Captain Keller, in the words of his report, "made a speech to the Inspector, and told him that if there was going to be palaver at every stop we would put an MP with drawn automatic at the back of the engineer and treat him in true SS manner. There were no stops of any length for some time." It is worth noting that this was the first freight train to cross the Po since the Germans blew up the bridges. Also, by one of the sublime ironies of history, the immense wooden bridge on which the train carrying the Florentine art treasures crossed the Po was made of the logs from the forest of Camaldoli.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of July 21 the train arrived in the searing heat of the Campo di Marte. Unloading began at once, and by the end of the afternoon twelve truckloads had been safely stowed away in the basement of the Palazzo Pitti. On Sunday morning we loaded six more trucks. The first one, flying American and Italian flags, was provided with a huge sign bearing the Fifth Army insignia and an inscription, worded by Poggi. Others had suggested such wording as "The Florentine treasures, stolen by the Germans, are returned by the Americans," and similar obvious propaganda phrases. Poggi crossed out all these inscriptions and wrote simply, "Le opere d'arte fiorentine tornano dall'Alto Adige alla loro sede" (The Florentine works of art return from the Upper Adige to their home). Nothing more was needed (Fig. 54).

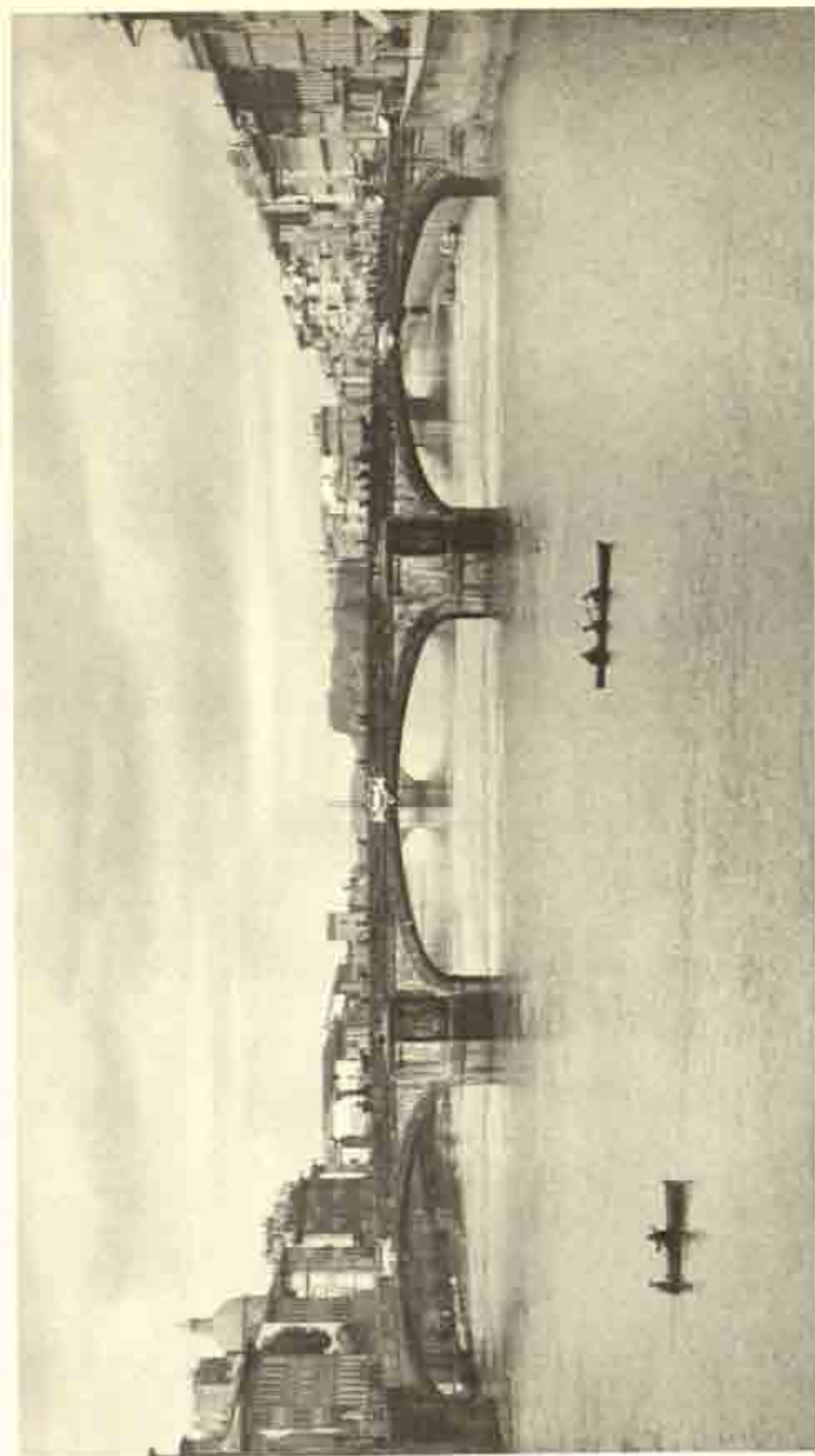
At eleven-thirty the procession formed. First came a jeep loaded with MP's; then "Lucky 13," well shined and proudly driven by Sandro, carrying Poggi, Rossi, and me; then Captain Keller's jeep driven by Bernholz, bearing Keller, Colonel Holmgreen, and Major Schmidt. Slowly we moved at the head of the six trucks forming our symbolic convoy around the city to Piazza Donatello,

from there at a snail's pace down Via Cavour and Via Martelli, through crowds of cheering, even weeping Florentines. By the time the simple procession reached the Piazza del Duomo, white with marble in the summer sun, High Mass had let out and the police were holding back the crowds on the steps of the Duomo.

A wave of applause and cries of "Bravo!" greeted us. From the slender heights of the campanile of Giotto the great cathedral bells struck twelve as we moved down the dark cleft of Via Calzaïoli, past the majestic figures now replaced in their niches in Orsanmichele, into the crowded Piazza della Signoria. The arches of the Loggia dei Lanzi were filled with Allied and Italian dignitaries, and the Florentine trumpeters in their mediaeval costumes blew us a salute inaudible over the shouts of the crowd, as the huge trucks manoeuvred around to their positions below the bulk of Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 55). Brief and moving speeches were delivered by General Hume and the venerable mayor of Florence, Prof. Gaetano Pieraccini. As the General walked into Palazzo Vecchio the populace burst into a demonstration the like of which for sincerity and spontaneity I have seldom witnessed. The people crowded about him, embracing him, weeping with joy, striving to touch his uniform.

Then it was all over. In the words of Colonel DeWald, our mission in Italy was accomplished. But day after day the careful job of unloading continued, all the paintings going to the Pitti and to the Uffizi, all the sculpture being unloaded into the courtyard of the Bargello. Not a single discrepancy in the inventory turned up, not an object was damaged. By July 24 the complex operation, which in addition to the Superintendencies of Florence, of Venice and of Trento, the Committee of National Liberation, the Italian State Railways, the MFAA officers of Fifth Army, Emilia, and Tuscany, had in two months enlisted the aid of no less than ten separate military units of Fifth Army, PMS, and OSS, was completed. There was little more for me to do save write my final report to the MFAA Subcommittee on the work of fourteen months of salvage and repair in Tuscany, now turned over completely to the Italian Government save only for Lucca and Apuania Provinces.

After so many experiences it was a terrible wrench to leave Florence. On August 21, as "Lucky 13" took me for the last time up Route 65 and I turned my head for my last look at the crystal clear form of Brunelleschi's cupola against the Tuscan hills I thought of all that we had accomplished since that day, a little over a year before, when Franco and I entered the city from Poggio Imperiale under the thunder of the guns.



1. Florence, Ponte S. Trinita, by Bartolommeo Ammannati



2. Florence, Ponte S. Trinita, August 13, 1944



3. Florence, destroyed portion of Via de' Bardi, seen from the Uffizi, August 13, 1944



4. Florence, Ponte Vecchio and destroyed area of Oltrarno after partial clearance of rubble, April 1945



5. Florence, courtyard of Palazzo Ambron, now totally destroyed



6. Florence, Piazzetta dei Rossi, showing Torre dei Mannelli, now restored, the arch of Via de' Bardi, and Torre di Parte Guelfa, now totally destroyed



7. Florence, Palazzo Acciaiuoli, March 1944



8. The same, and Palazzo del Turco, August 1944



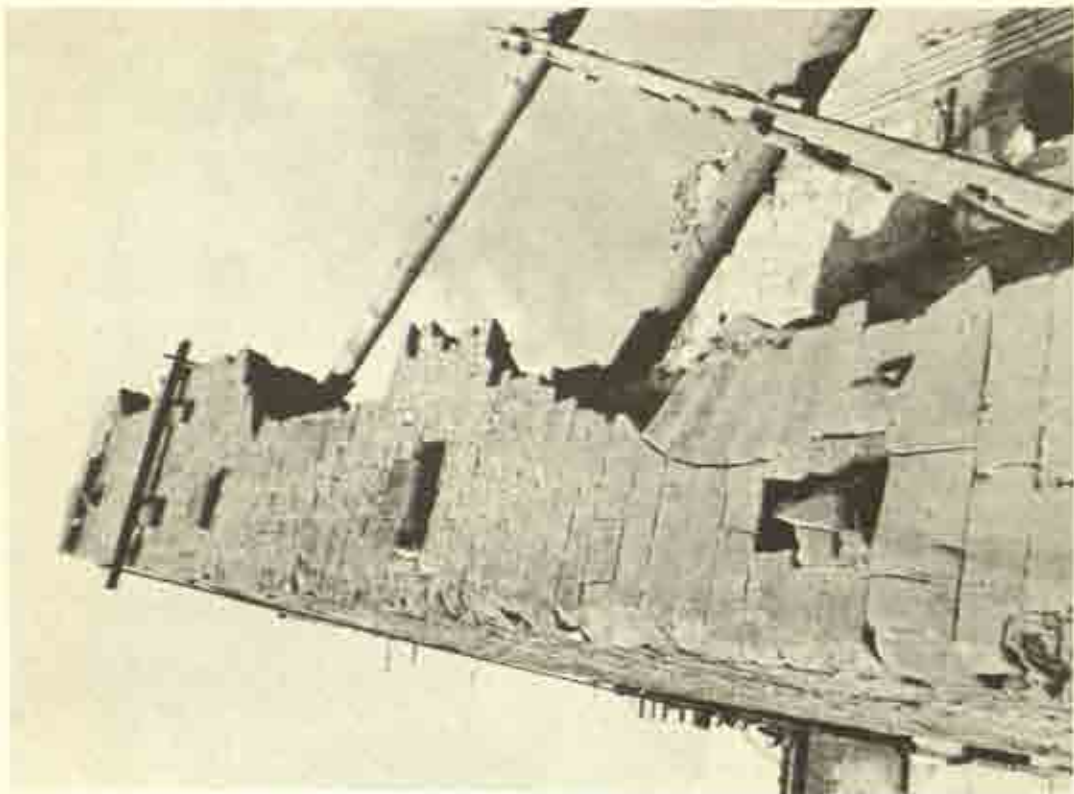
9. Florence, Palazzo Acciatoli. Wall with frescoes by Poccetti



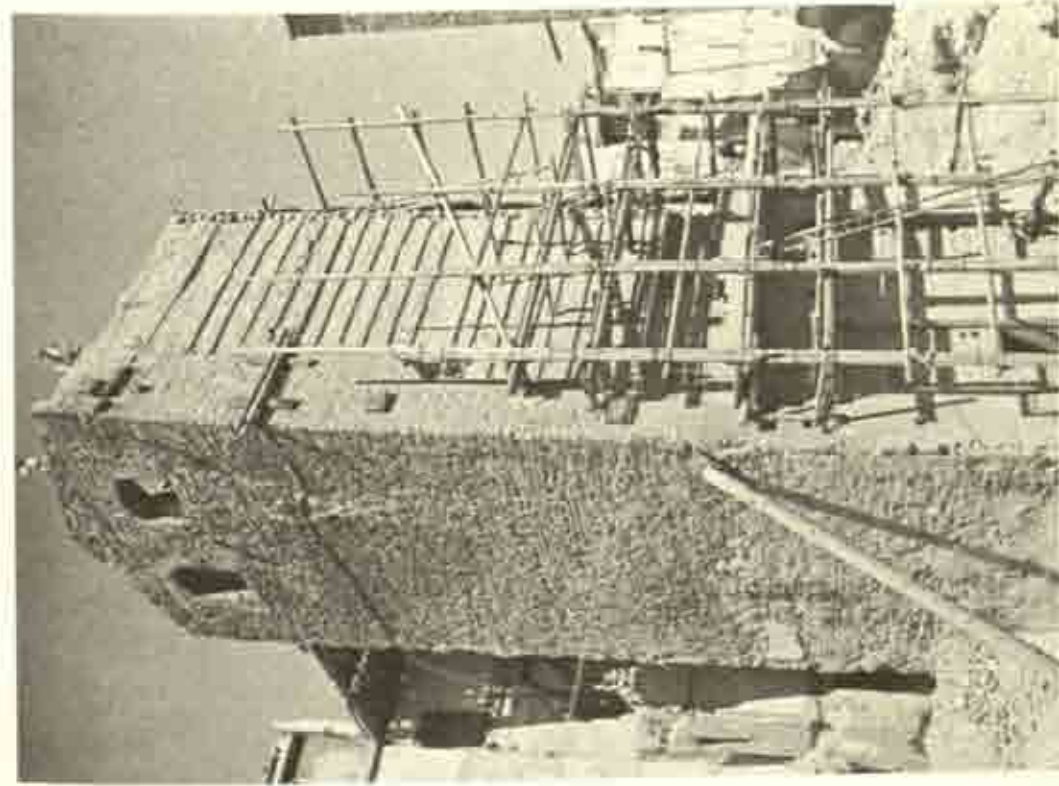
10. The same, after destruction of the rest of the palace



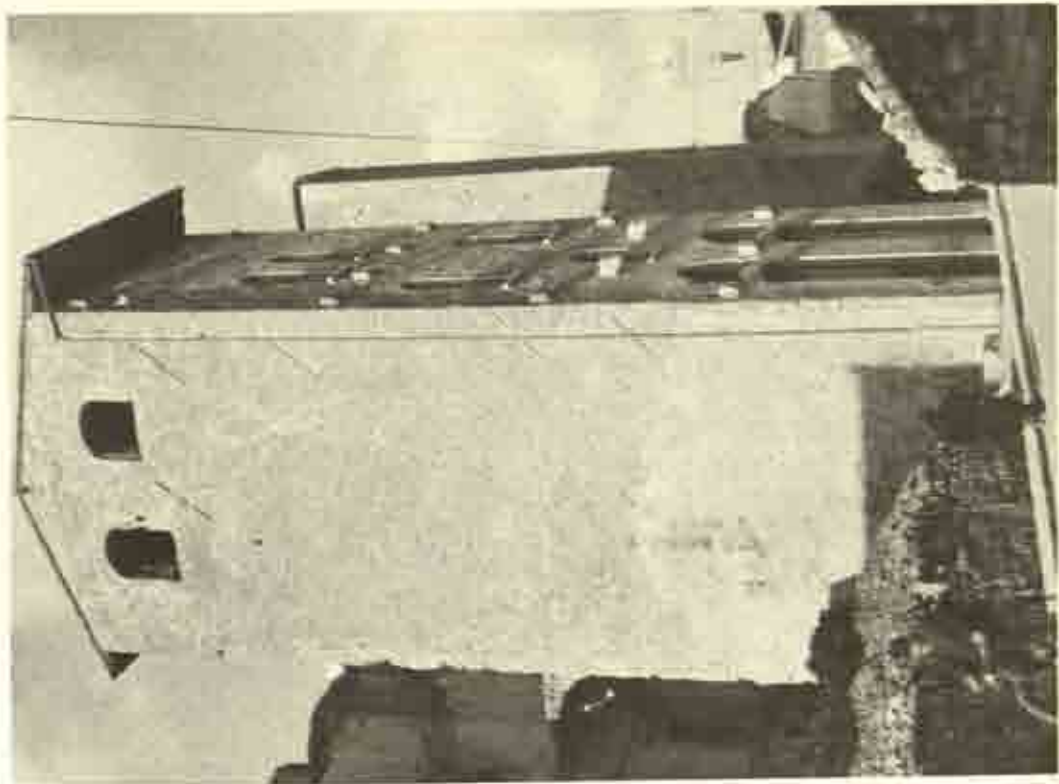
11. Florence, Via Por S. Maria, showing Torre degli Amidei



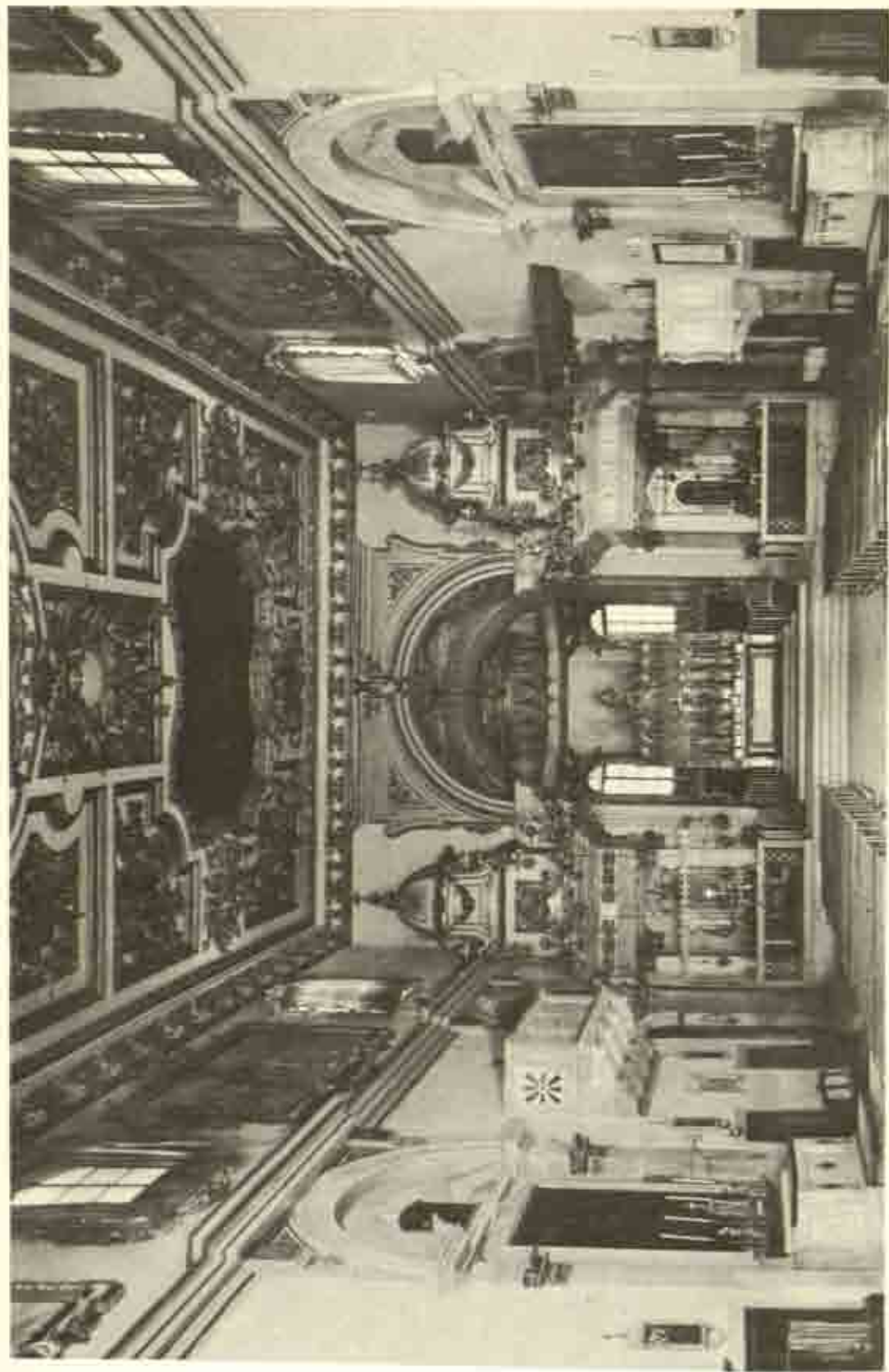
12. Torre degli Amidei, after shoring of surviving fragment



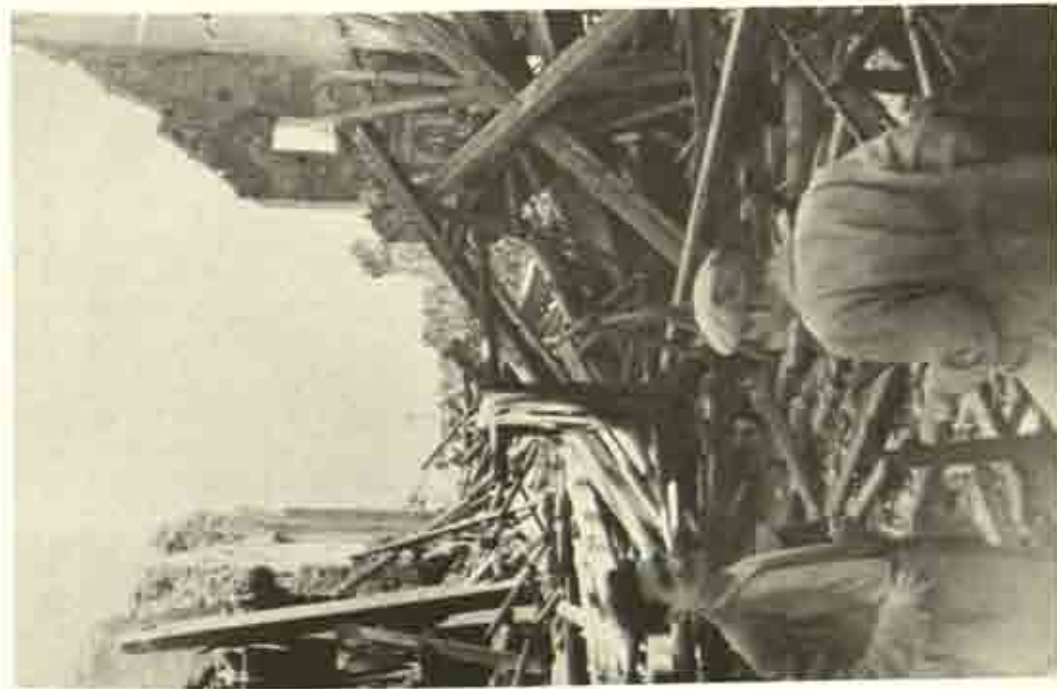
13. The same, August 1945, showing core of brick, reconstruction of arches, and construction of roof.



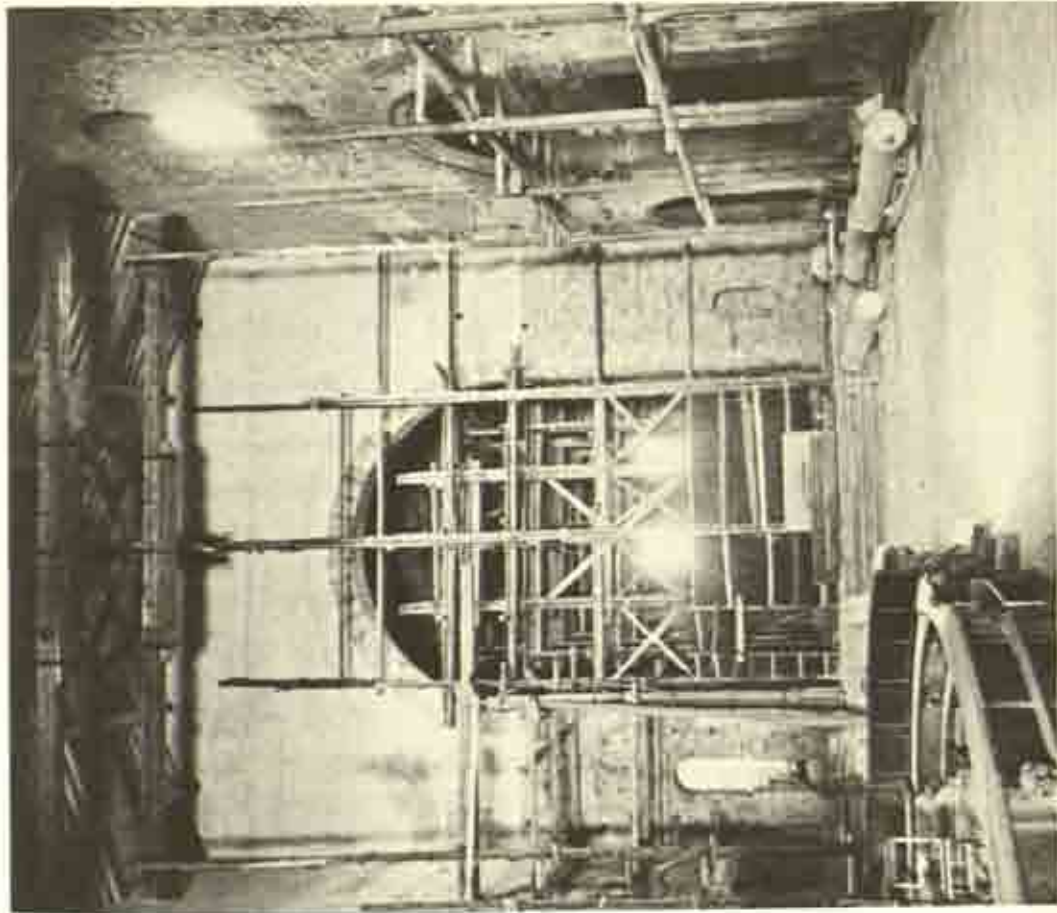
14. The same, December 1945, completely restored



15. S. Maria dell'Impruneta, interior



16. The same, August 15, 1944 (Professors Procacci and Lavagnino in foreground)



17. The same, December 1945, showing apse reconstructed and ready for replacement of tabernacles



18. S. Maria dell' Impruneta. Relief by Luca della Robbia, partially buried under rubble and broken beams



19. S. Maria dell' Impruneta. Head of St. John the Baptist from Luca della Robbia 'panel', in process of recomposition from fragments



20. S. Maria dell' Impruneta. Polyptych by Pietro Nelli and Tommaso di Marco



21. Surviving fragments of the polyptych (in the foreground can be seen the Pontormo panel from the church at Pontormo)



22. Badia a Settimo, church and campanile.



23. The same, showing remains of campanile with corbel table partially intact.



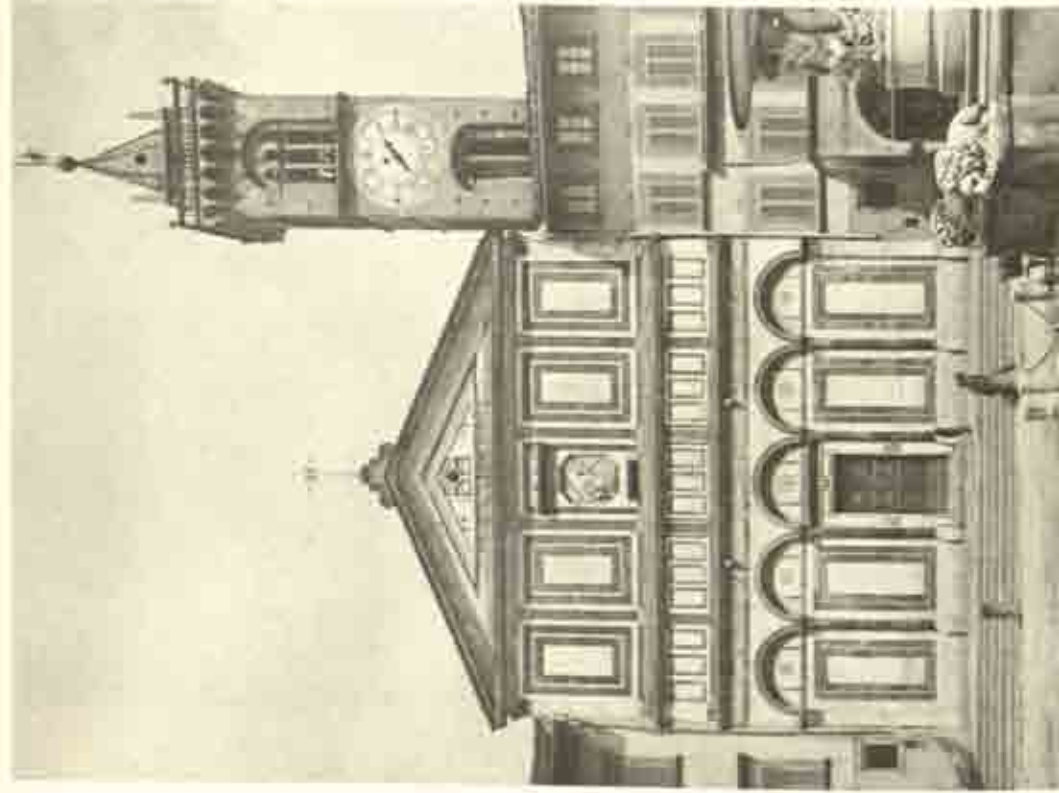
24. Badia a Settimo, Stucco relief on *Colombaione*, now destroyed.



25-26. Prato. Details of tabernacle by Filippino Lippi, recomposed.



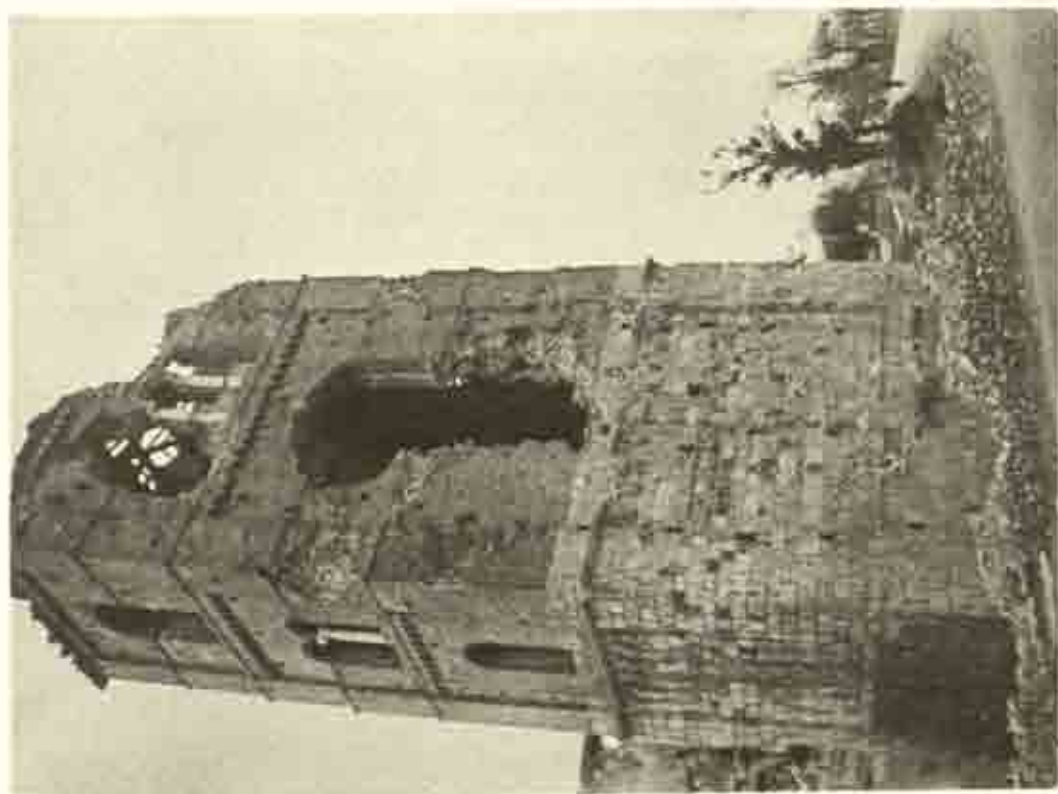
27. Detail of figure 25



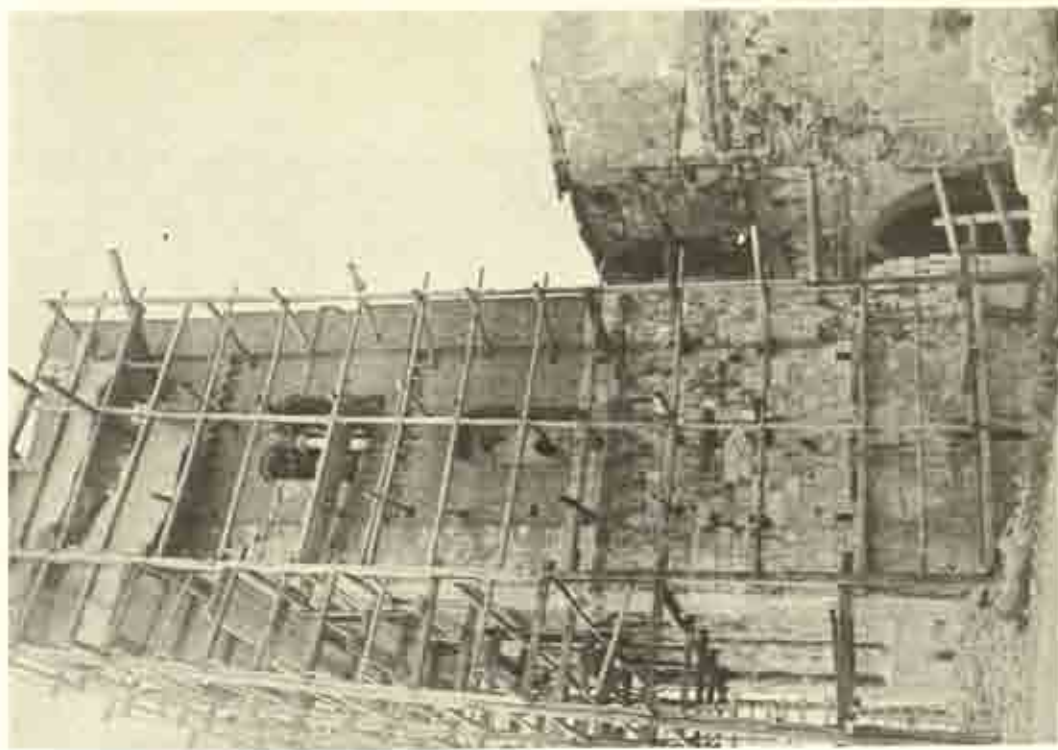
28. Empoli, Collegiata. Façade with campanile



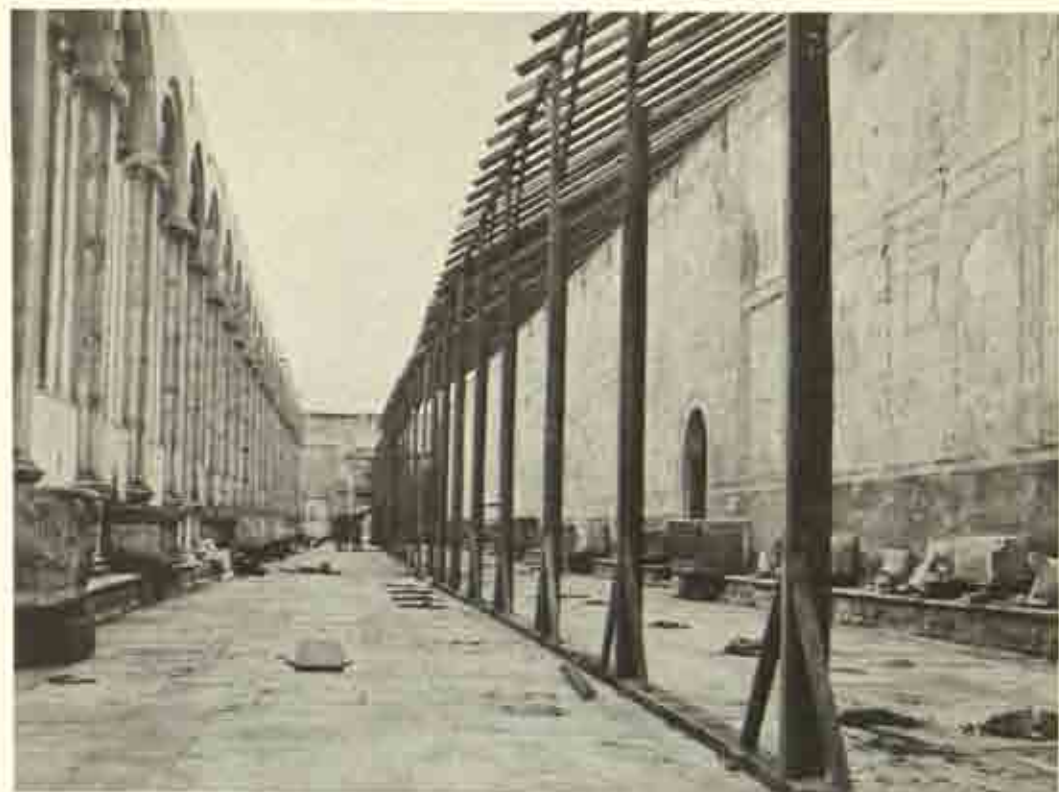
29. The same, interior, September 1944, showing ruins of campanile lying in destroyed right transept



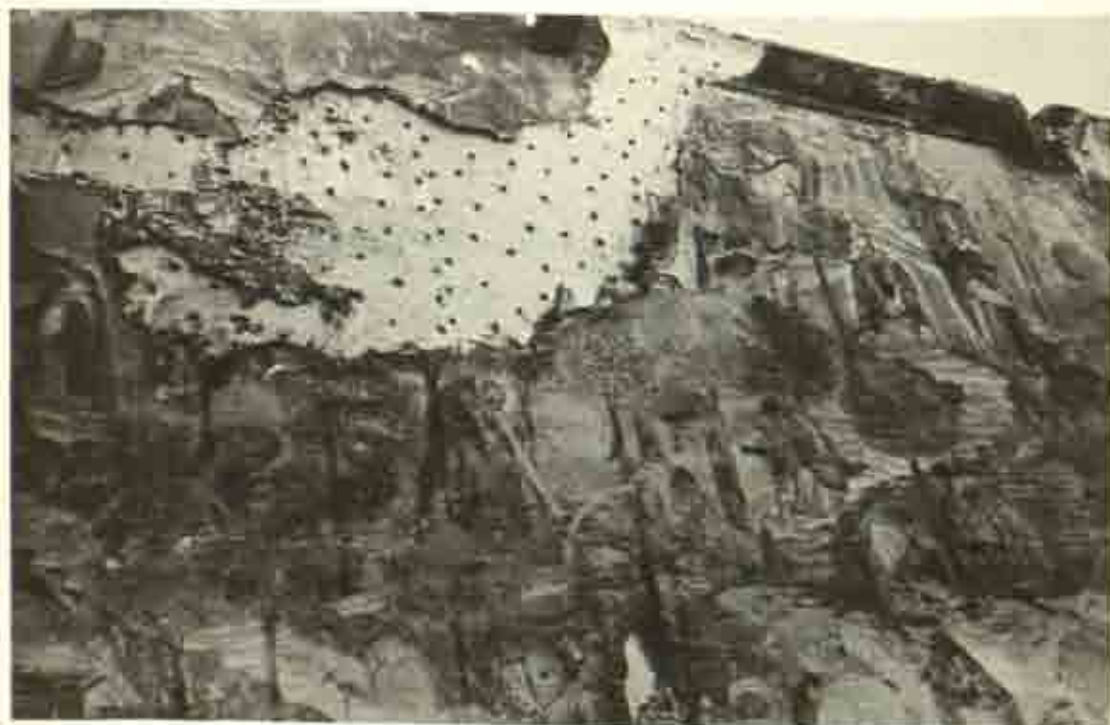
30. Pisa, San Michele degli Scalzi. Campanile,
November 1944, before repairs



31. The same, March 1945, showing repairs half completed



32. Pisa, Campo Santo, September 1944. North aisle, showing damaged Benozzo Gozzoli frescoes, shattered sarcophagi, and lean-to roof awaiting canvas covering



33. Pisa, Campo Santo. *Hermits in the Thebaid* by Francesco Traini. Detail showing wicker matting and one of the destroyed areas



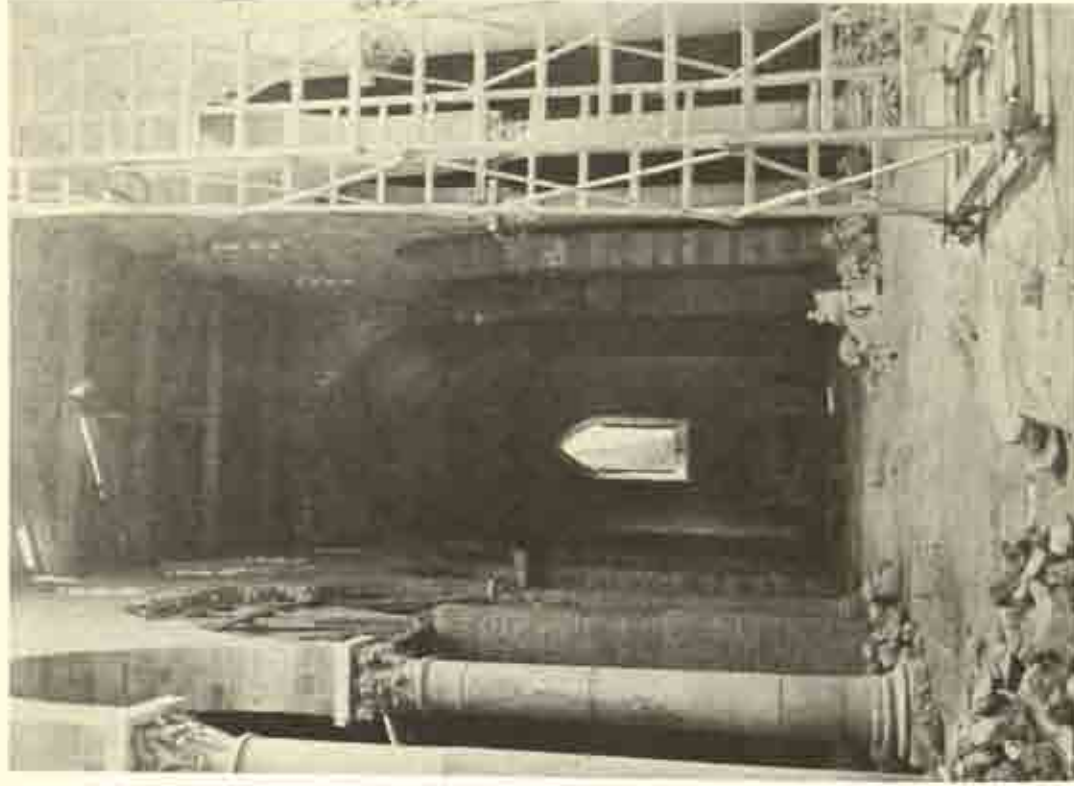
34. Pisa, S. Maria della Spina, miraculously spared by bomb which destroyed corner of house whose ruins are seen in foreground



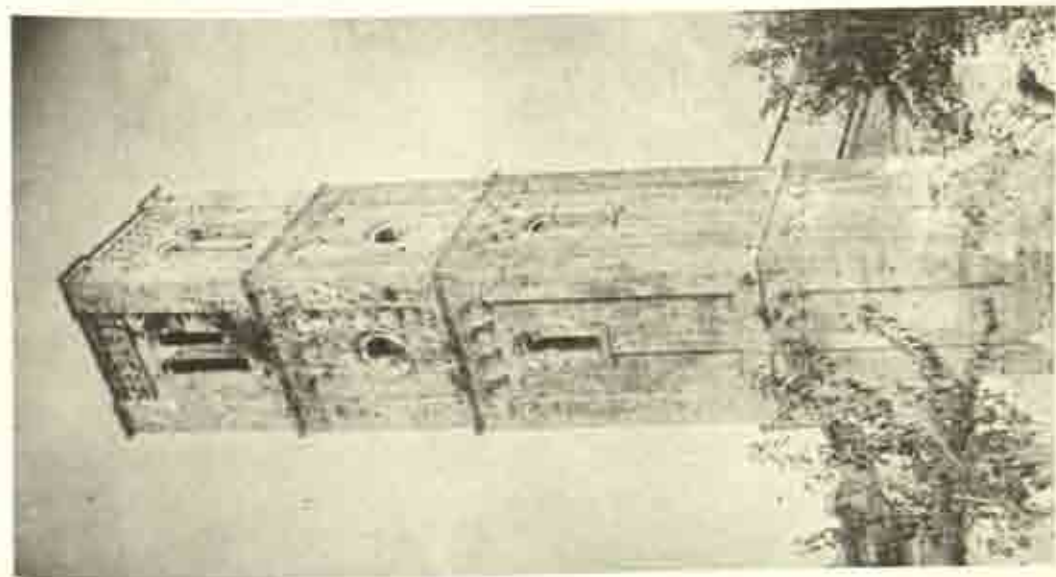
35. Pieve Santo Stefano, San Francesco, *Assumption of the Virgin* by a follower of Andrea della Robbia, intact among the ruins of the church



36. Pisa, San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno. Interior, November 1944



37. The same, June 1945, showing repairs



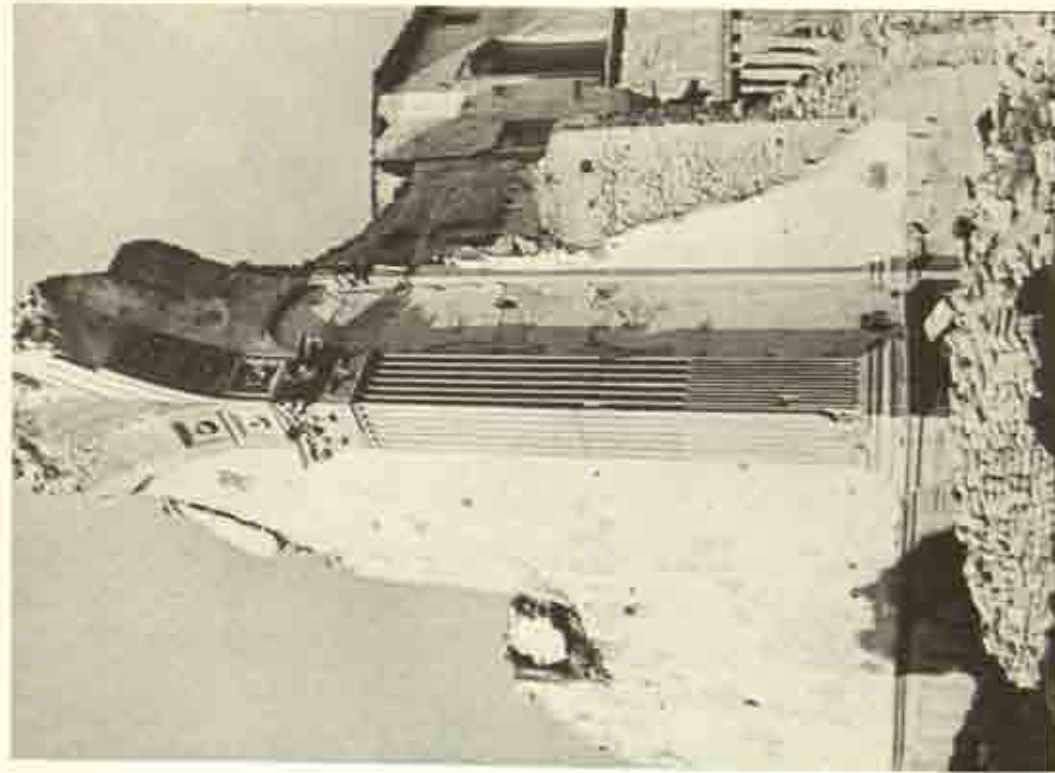
38. Pisa, S. Piero a Grado, Campanile



39. The same, December 1944, showing ruins of campanile and damaged left aisle of church



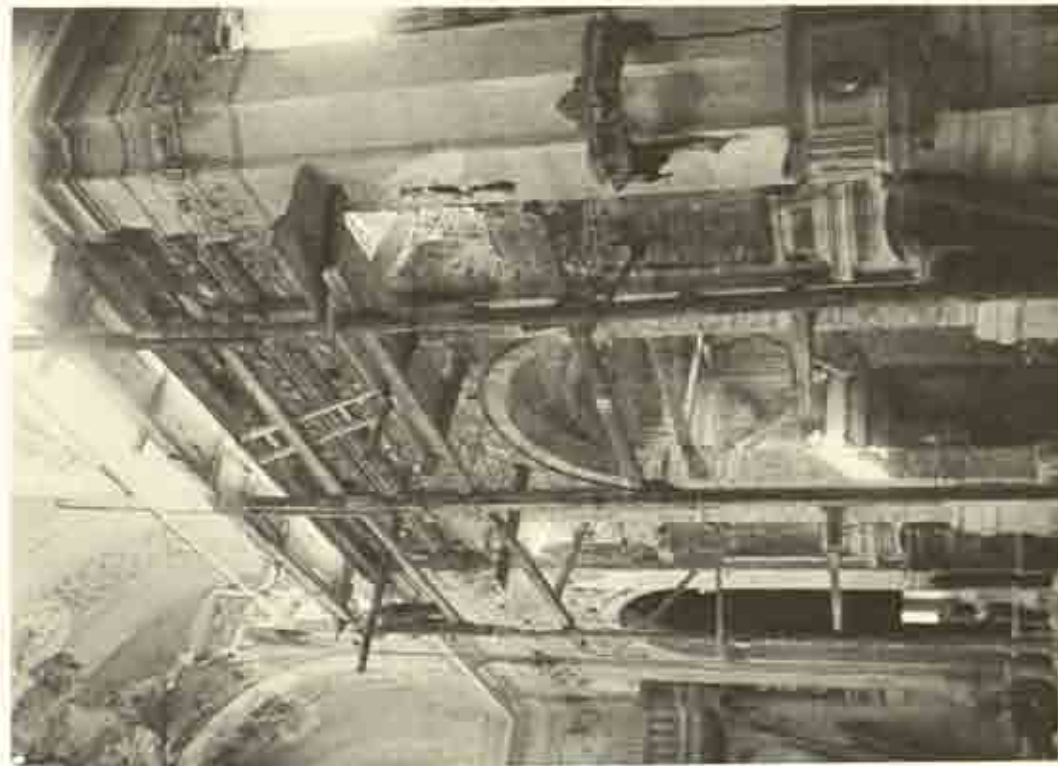
40. Pistoia, San Giovanni al Corso. Interior by Ventura Vitoni



41. The same, after clearance of rubble, showing one of the piers which upheld the dome



42. Livorno, San Ferdinando, January 1945, showing destroyed left wall of nave



43. The same, June 1945, showing left wall rebuilt



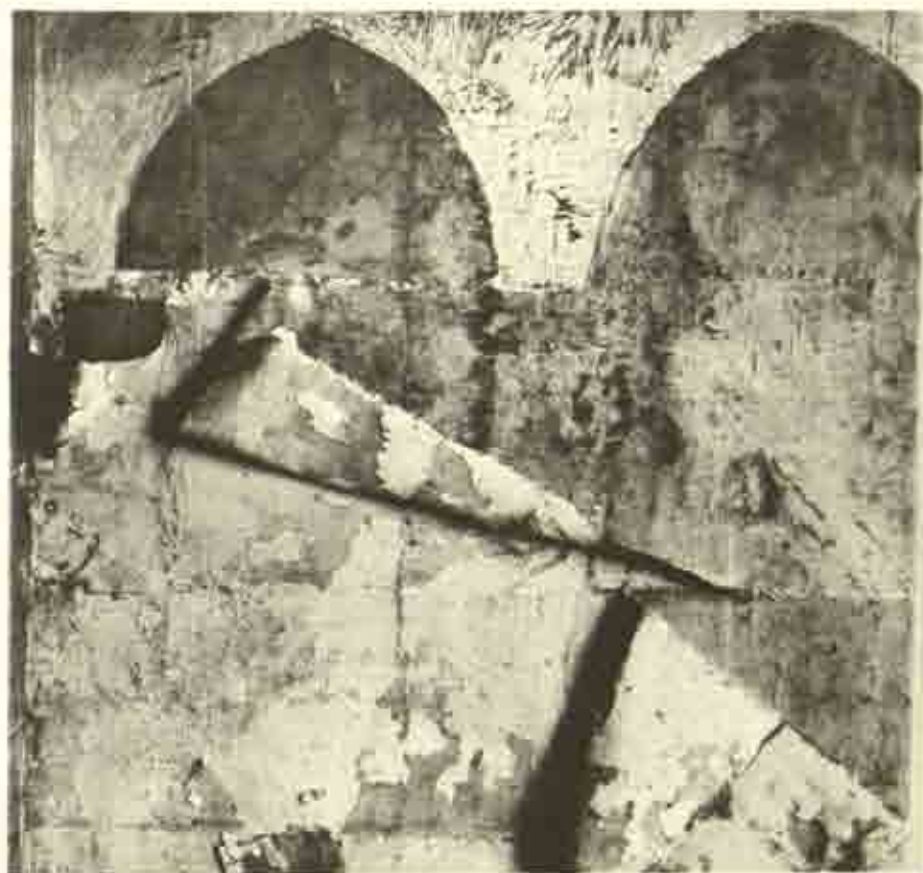
44. Arezzo, Badia, Cloister, attributed to Giuliano da Maiano



45. The same, September 1944



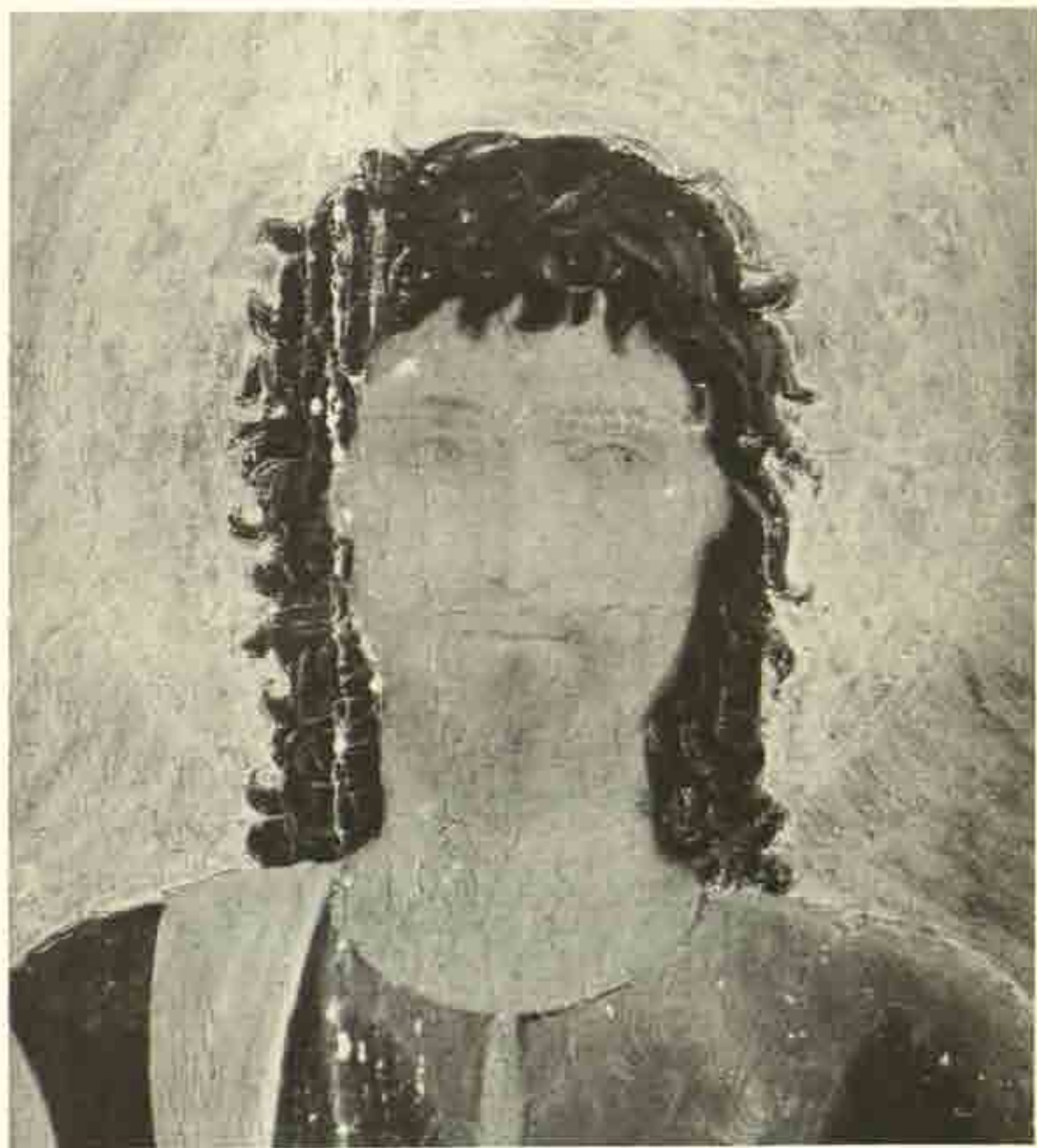
46. Cortona, S. Domenico. Fra Angelico, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, triptych, December 6, 1944.



47. The same, showing gesso-soaked linen being removed from reverse of the pigment after detaching the panel.



48. Detail of Fra Angelico triptych, seen from reverse side of the pigment, showing underdrawing and underpaint



49. Detail of Fra Angelico triptych, seen from reverse side of the pigment



50. German soldiers unloading Botticelli's *Pallas and Centaur* before the jail at San Leonardo



51. Bellini's *Pietà* in the jail at San Leonardo



52. *The Kunstschutz* (Captain Schmidt and Colonel Langsdorff)
with Colonel Ward Perkins (far right)



53. The first truckload of paintings, en route to Merano



54. The convoy of works of art about to leave railway yard in Florence
(Professor Poggi in foreground)



55. General Hume addressing the crowd in front of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence,
on the return of the works of art

APPENDIX

SECTION I

INTACT MONUMENTS

THE following monuments were found to be either intact, so slightly damaged as to make intervention by the MFAA office unnecessary, or under repair by local authorities. The works of art they contained were likewise intact. It should be borne in mind that under wartime conditions all the monuments of interest could not possibly be visited.

ANGHIARI (Arezzo)

Badia
Collegiata
Palazzo Comunale
S. Agostino

ANTELLA (Florence)

S. Caterina
Parish church
Villa Mondeggi

ARCETRI (Florence)

Villa Capponi
Torre del Gallo
Villa La Gallina
Villa Curonia

ARCIDOSO (Grosseto)

S. Maria delle Grazie
Palazzo Sforza
Rocca

AREZZO (Arezzo)

SS. Annunziata
Palazzo Comunale

ARTIMINO (Florence)

Villa Medici

ASCIANO (Siena)

Collegiata
S. Agostino
S. Francesco
S. Sebastiano
Palazzo Tolomei
Abbey of Rofeno

BADIA A ISOLA (Siena)

Parish church

BADIA S. SALVATORE (Siena)

Abbey church

BADIA TEDALDA (Arezzo)

Parish church

BAGNO A RIPOLI (Florence)

Villa Gli Olmi

BARGA (Lucca)

S. Francesco

BELCARO (Siena)

Castle

BELLOSGUARDO (Florence)

Villa Belvedere al Saraceno
Villa Roti-Michelozzi

BIBBIENA (Arezzo)

Pieve

S. Lorenzo

Madonna del Sasso

Palazzo Dovizi

BROZZI (Florence)

S. Donnino

BUONCONVENTO (Siena)

S. Pietro e Paolo

Palazzo Farnetano

CAFAGGIOLO (Florence)

Villa Medici

CALENZANO (Florence)

S. Donato

CAMALDOLI (Arezzo)

Convent

Sacred Hermitage

CAMIGLIANO (Pisa)

Villa Torrigiani

CAPRESE MICHELANGELO (Arezzo)

Palazzo Comunale

CAREGGI (Florence)

Villa Medici

CARRARA (Apuania)

Cathedral

Carminc

S. Francesco

House of Emmanuele Repetti

Castello Malaspina

Museo Luna

APPENDIX I

- CASAVECCHIA (Florence)
Villa Antinori
- CASEROTTA (Florence)
Villa Canucci
- CASTELFIORENTINO (Florence)
S. Francesco
Oratory of the Visitation
Madonna della Tosse
Chiesa delle Monache
- CASTELLO (Florence)
S. Michele
Villa Corsini
Villa Pozzino
- CASTELNUOVO DELL'
ABATE (Siena)
S. Antimo
- CASTIGLION FIORENTINO (Arezzo)
Collegiata
Gesù
- CASTIGLIONE IN GARFAGNANA
(Lucca)
Parish church
Castle
- CERBAIA (Florence)
Casa Bandinelli
- CERRETO GUIDI (Florence)
Parish church
Villa Medici
- CERTALDO (Florence)
Cathedral
SS. Michele e Jacopo
Palazzo Pretorio
- CERTOMONDO (Arezzo)
Parish church
- CHIANCIANO (Siena)
Chiesetta della Morte
Palazzo Comunale
- CHIUSSINO (Siena)
House of S. Galgano
- CHIUSI (Arezzo)
Cathedral
- COLLE VAL D' ELSA (Siena)
Cathedral
S. Caterina
S. Maria Canonica
S. Pietro
House of Arnolfo di Cambio
Hospital
Museo Civico
Palazzo Campana
Palazzo Pretorio
- Palazzo Vescovile
- COLLODI (Pistoia)
Villa Garzoni
- COMPIOBBI (Florence)
Villa Poggio alle Palme
- CORTONA (Arezzo)
Cathedral
S. Domenico
Gesù
S. Marco
S. Margherita
S. Niccolò
Loggia del Grano
Etruscan Walls
Palazzo Pretorio
Palazzone
Casa Berettini
- CUNA (Siena)
Parish church
Castle
- DIECIMO (Lucca)
Parish church
- FALTIGNANO (Florence)
S. Bartolommeo
- FARNETA (Lucca)
Certosa
- FIESOLE (Florence)
Cathedral
S. Domenico
S. Francesco
Museo Bandini
Museo Archeologico
Roman theater
Villa Medici
- FIGLINE (Florence)
Collegiata
Palazzo Pretorio
- FIVIZZANO (Apuania)
Parish church
- FLORENCE
All monuments not listed as damaged
have been inspected and found intact.
- GALLICANO (Lucca)
Parish church
- GAMBASSI (Florence)
S. Maria in Chianni
- GRASSINA (Florence)
Villa L'Ugolino
Villa Signorini
Castel Montauto
- GROPINA (Arezzo)

INTACT MONUMENTS

- Parish church
- GROPPOLI (Pistoia)
 - S. Michele
- GROSSETO (Grosseto)
 - Cathedral
 - S. Pietro
 - Museo Comunale
 - Rocca
- GROTTI (Siena)
 - Castello Nerli
- LA FOCE (Lucca)
 - Villa Foce
- LA GATTAIOLA (Lucca)
 - Parish church
 - Villa Gattaiola
- LA LOGGIA (Florence)
 - Villa Salviati
- LA PIETRA (Florence)
 - Villa Acton
 - Villa Capponi
 - Villa Landau
- LASTRA A SIGNA (Florence)
 - Villa Lotteringhi della Stufa
- LECORE (Florence)
 - S. Pietro
 - S. Angelo
- LEGNAIA (Florence)
 - S. Angelo
- LE ROSE (Siena)
 - Villa Antinori
- LIGNANO (Florence)
 - S. Giusto
- LIVORNO (Livorno)
 - S. Caterina
 - Fortezza Vecchia
 - Sanctuary of Montenero
- LUCCA
 - All monuments not listed as damaged have been inspected and found intact.
- LUCIGNANO (Arezzo)
 - Collegiata
 - S. Francesco
 - Museum
 - Torre del Cassero
- MAGLIANO IN TOSCANA (Grosseto)
 - S. Giovanni Battista
 - Annunziata
 - Palazzo dei Priori
 - Casa Checco il Bello
- MANTIGNANO (Florence)
 - Parish church
- MARCIOLA (Florence)
 - S. Maria
- MARLIA (Lucca)
 - Villa Reale
 - Villa Grabau
 - Villa Paolozzi
- MASSA MARITTIMA (Grosseto)
 - Cathedral
 - Castle
 - Museum
 - Palazzo Pretorio
 - Porta Senese
- MENSANO (Siena)
 - S. Giovanni Battista
 - S. Sebastiano
- MENSOLA (Florence)
 - S. Martino
- MIRANSÙ (Florence)
 - S. Lorenzo
- MOLINO NUOVO (Pistoia)
 - Villa Bellavista
- MONSUMMANO (Pistoia)
 - Parish church
- MONTALCINO (Siena)
 - Cathedral
 - S. Agostino
 - S. Antonio
 - S. Caterina
 - S. Egidio
 - Osservanza
 - Museum
 - Palazzo Comunale
 - Rocca
- MONTECATINI (Pistoia)
 - Parish church
- MONTEFOLLONICA (Grosseto)
 - S. Leonardo
- MONTEGUFONI (Florence)
 - Villa Sitwell
- MONTELUPO (Florence)
 - Villa Medici
- MONTEMARCIANO (Arezzo)
 - Parish church
- MONTEMERANO (Grosseto)
 - Parish church
- MONTE OLIVETO (Florence)
 - Villa Guicciardini
- MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE (Siena)
 - Monastery

APPENDIX I

MONTEPULCIANO (Siena)

Cathedral
S. Agnese
S. Agostino
S. Biagio
S. Maria delle Grazie
S. Maria dei Servi
Museo Civico
Pinacoteca Comunale
Palazzo Angioletti
Palazzo Comunale
Palazzo Contucci
Palazzo Ricci
Palazzo Tarugi

MONTERCHI (Arezzo)

Cemetery chapel

MONTERIGGIONI (Siena)

Mediaeval walls

MONTE S. SAVINO (Arezzo)

S. Agostino
S. Chiara
Loggia del Mercato
Palazzo Comunale

MONTEVARCHI (Arezzo)

Collegiata

MONTICCHIELLO (Siena)

Parish church

MONTICELLO (Siena)

S. Pietro

MONTISI (Siena)

Parish church

NAVE A ROVEZZANO (Florence)

Villa Le Sentinelle

ONANO (Grosseto)

S. Croce
Madonna del Piano
Mediaeval houses
Palazzo Madama

ORBETELLO (Grosseto)

Cathedral
Museo Etrusco
Etruscan walls

PAGANICO (Grosseto)

S. Michele
Torre Grossetana
Mediaeval walls

PASSIGNANO (Florence)

Badia

PERETOLA (Florence)

S. Maria

PESCIA (Pistoia)

Cathedral

S. Francesco

Palazzo Galeotti

Palazzo Pretorio

PIENZA (Siena)

Palazzo Ammanati

Palazzo Vescovile

Palazzo Piccolomini

Palazzo Comunale

PISA (Pisa)

Torre Campana

Palazzo della Carovana

Baptistry

Almost all the other monuments of Pisa were damaged.

PISTOIA (Pistoia)

S. Andrea

S. Bartolommeo in Pantano

S. Francesco

S. Maria delle Grazie

S. Paolo

Ospedale del Ceppo

Biblioteca Forteguerri

Vescovado

Palazzo Comunale

Palazzo Pretorio

Palazzo Rospigliosi

Torre di Catilino

PITIGLIANO (Grosseto)

Cathedral

Etruscan walls

Municipio

Palazzo Orsini

POGGIBONSI (Siena)

Collegiata

La Magione

Villa Montelonti

PONTE A ELSA (Florence)

Villa La Bastia

PONTE A GREVE (Florence)

Villa L'Acciauolo

PONTE-LUNGO (Pistoia)

Villa Bocchi Bianchi

PONTREMOLI (Pisa)

S. Francesco

Mediaeval gates

POPPI (Arezzo)

Chiesa delle Monache

S. Fedele

Madonna del Morbo

Palazzo Pretorio

INTACT MONUMENTS

- POPPIENA (Arezzo)
Badia
- PRATO (Florence)
Cathedral
S. Domenico
S. Francesco
Madonna delle Carceri
Castle
- PRATOLINO (Florence)
Villa Demidoff
- QUARTO (Florence)
Villa Di Quarto
- RADICOFANI (Siena)
Castle
- REMOLE (Florence)
S. Giovanni Battista
- REMOLUZZO (Florence)
S. Maria
- RIGNALLA (Florence)
S. Maria
- RIGOLI (Florence)
Parish church
- ROCCA D'ORCIA (Siena)
S. Egidio
- ROMENA (Arezzo)
Pieve
Castle
- ROMOLA (Florence)
S. Maria
- ROSANO (Florence)
Convent and church
- RUBALLA (Florence)
S. Giorgio
- SALA (Florence)
S. Lucia
- SALTOCCHIO (Lucca)
Villa Bernardini-Querci
- S. CASCIAO (Florence)
Villa Corsini (Le Corti)
- S. CASSIANO (Pisa)
S. Giuseppe
- S. COLOMBANO (Siena)
Parish church
Villa
- S. GALGANO (Siena)
Abbey
- S. GENNARO (Lucca)
Parish church
- S. GIMIGNANO (Siena)
S. Jacopo
S. Pietro
- Vecchia Cancelleria
Ospedale S. Fina
Palazzo Pratesi
Palazzo del Toro
- S. GIOVANNI D'ASSO (Siena)
Hospital
- S. GIOVANNI IN SUGANA (Florence)
Parish church
- S. MARIA DEL GIUDICE (Lucca)
Pieve Nuova
Pieve Vecchia
- S. MARTINO ALLA PALMA
(Florence)
Parish church
- S. MINIATO (Pisa)
S. Domenico
S. Francesco
Palazzo Comunale
Palazzo Formichini
- S. QUIRICO D'ORCIA (Siena)
Medieval walls
S. Maria
- S. SEPOLCRO (Arezzo)
Cathedral
Palazzo Comunale
S. Francesco
- S. STEFANO (Lucca)
Villa Sardi
Villa Frediana
Villa Massoni
Villa Orsetti
Villa Orsini
- SATURNIA (Grosseto)
Parish church
Castle
Museo Etrusco
Walls
- SCANDICCI (Florence)
S. Bartolo in Tuto
S. Maria a Greve
- SEGROMIGNO (Lucca)
Villa Manzi
- SETTIGNANO (Florence)
Chiesa dei Monaci
Misericordia
S. Romano
La Vannella
- SIENA (Siena)
All monuments not listed as damaged
are intact.

APPENDIX II

SIGNA (Florence)	TORRITA (Siena)
S. Giovanni Battista	S. Fiora
S. Mauro	Madonna della Neve
SINALUNGA (Arezzo)	TOSA (Grosseto)
Collegiata	Etruscan ruins
S. Croce	TREBBIO (Florence)
S. Lucia	Medici castle
Palazzo Pretorio	VALLOMBROSA (Florence)
SORANA (Grosseto)	Monastery
S. Pietro	VILLABASILICA (Lucca)
Palazzo Orsini	Parish church
SOVANA (Grosseto)	VILLAMAGNA (Florence)
Cathedral	S. Romolo
S. Maria	VOLOGNANO (Florence)
Palazzo Aldobrandesco	Villa Poggio a Luco
Palazzo del Monte	VULCI (Grosseto)
Palazzo Pretorio	Aqueduct
STAGGIA (Siena)	Montalto di Castro
S. Maria	VOLTERRA (Pisa)
STIA (Arezzo)	S. Agostino
Parish church	S. Francesco
S. Maria delle Grazie	S. Girolamo
STRADA (Arezzo)	S. Giusto
Parish church	S. Michele
TORRE A CONA (Florence)	Cappella Sergardi
Villa Rossi	Fortress
TORRE DEL CASTELLANO	Palazzo Pretorio
(Florence)	Palazzo dei Priori
Castle	Walls and gates

SECTION II

DAMAGED MONUMENTS AND THEIR REPAIRS

A considerable number of monuments of minor importance have been omitted from this list. Only the most summary indications of the character and contents of the buildings have been given.

ALTOPASCIO (Lucca)

S. Jacopo

Important Romanesque transept façade. Remainder of church modern. Shell struck close to large marble lion at upper corner of façade, pushing it out of place. Replaced.

AREZZO (Arezzo)

Cathedral

Trecento Gothic building, with rich series

of works of art, notably Gothic tombs, Della Robbia reliefs, the *Magdalen* by Piero della Francesca, and ceiling frescoes and stained glass by Guglielmo di Marcillat.

Shell holes in roof, ten per cent to reset; broken windows. Repairs completed February 15, 1945.

Badia

Fine Cinquecento church by Vasari with

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

important Renaissance cloister attributed to Giuliano da Maiano (Figs. 44-45).

Direct hit by a stick of heavy caliber bombs completely destroyed two sides of the cloister, both stories. Concussion smashed most of the roof tiles over church, and rain water seeped through the vaults. By October the church was awash.

Roof of church completely retiled. All rubble cleared from cloister and all architectural fragments sorted out. One leaning column of top story of cloister brought back into line by tie rod and screw, reconstructing the vault above. Twenty per cent of roof timber of cloister replaced. Remaining two sides of cloister completely reroofed, largely with new tiles. Work completed in May, and monument out of danger. It is possible to reconstruct the cloister completely. Altarpieces, decorations, and Bartolommeo della Gatta fresco have not suffered. Three lunettes by Angiolo di Lorentino detached from cloister and brought to safety. Enormous Vasari painting of *Banquet of Ahasuerus* removed from ruins of cloister and brought to museum, almost unscratched.

S. Bartolommeo

Unimportant mediaeval church.

Heavy damage to roof, eighty per cent to reconstruct; façade badly cracked. Work completed March 30, 1945.

S. Bernardo

Small church, built on ruins of Roman arena. Contained the only known frescoes by Marco da Montepulciano, and fresco by Bartolommeo della Gatta. Porch contained earliest preserved fresco by Giorgio Vasari.

Church unroofed and partially demolished by heavy caliber bombs. It seemed useless to try to save the structure itself, and work was limited to detaching the endangered frescoes.

S. Domenico

Gothic church with frescoes by Trecento Aretine masters.

Roof largely disarranged by blast; twenty-five per cent of tiles to replace, and prac-

tically all to reset. Interior frescoes already beginning to show effects of dampness. Work completed January 15, 1945.

S. Francesco

Gothic church with fresco series of first importance.

Minor but widespread roof damage, with consequent danger to frescoes of Piero della Francesca; fifteen per cent of tiles to replace. Work completed May 20, 1945.

S. Maria in Gradi

Good Cinquecento church rebuilt by Bartolommeo Ammanati. *Madonna del Soccorso*, by Andrea della Robbia. Fine Cinquecento gilded and painted organ. All works of art intact.

Widespread blast damage to roof and to fine wooden ceiling. Twenty-five per cent of tiles to replace. Windows damaged. All damage repaired May 27, 1945.

S. Maria delle Grazie

Slight roof damage by blast and flying fragments to loggia by Benedetto da Maiano. All damage repaired December 30, 1944.

Pieve

Romanesque church of first importance.

Widespread blast damage to roof; seventy windows broken, three per cent of roof timbers and thirty per cent of tiles to replace. Effects of continuous rains already felt in ancient and fragile interior. All damage to roof repaired May 18, 1945, but still impossible to close the windows. Great altarpiece by Pietro Lorenzetti taken to safety in Florence.

S. Sebastiano

Uninteresting church badly wrecked by bombs. Fine *Enthroned Madonna* fresco by Lorentino d'Andrea had to be detached from threatened wall.

House of Petrarch

Trecento house in which Petrarch was born, completely rebuilt in Quattrocento, with fine, two-story loggia.

Half destroyed by bombs. Repairs to remaining part, fifty per cent of roof to

rebuild. Demolition of endangered external walls, about twenty per cent of total surface. Reconstruction of walls for consolidation about ten per cent of surface. Repairs to roof completed, but rest of work turned over to Italian Government; now completely reconstructed.

House of Vasari

Sumptuous interiors, frescoed and stuccoed by Giorgio Vasari for his own residence.

Shell damage to roof, five per cent to replace and fifteen per cent to reset. Cracks in walls. Repairs completed February 20, 1945. Frescoes by Vasari intact.

Palazzo Altucci

Interior of this fine Gothic house half destroyed by bombs. Corresponding half of façade pulled down by British engineering unit without warning or permission. Remaining half to be consolidated and partly reroofed. Work completed by the end of July 1945.

Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo

Trecento palace.

Half destroyed by bombs; in remaining portion fifteen per cent of roof to reconstruct and thirty per cent of new tiles to lay. Roof repairs, consolidation of masonry, and construction of a supporting spur for façade completed July 13, 1945.

AULLA (Apuania)

S. Caprasio

Heavy damage to roof and left wall.

BADIA A RIPOLI (Florence)

S. Bartolommeo

Eleventh century church remodeled in Cinquecento. Works of art, chiefly by Mannerist and Baroque minor masters, all intact.

Roof damaged by shells, to reset with five per cent new tiles. Some damage to masonry. All repairs completed.

BADIA A SETTIMO (Florence)

Former Abbey Church of S. Salvatore

See text, pp. 61-62, and figs. 22-24. Germans blew up campanile and Torre del

Colombaione, destroying completely the left aisle of the nave for three-quarters of its length, the room adjacent to the chapel of S. Quintino, and the great Gothic relief on the Colombaione, as well as carrying away or smashing most of the roof tiles. Two bays of cloister have fallen as a result of artillery damage. Relief on Torre del Colombaione completely destroyed.

All rubble of campanile has been excavated, uncovering the plan. Approximately one meter of campanile remains standing. A plaster cast of the top of the campanile has been taken in order to make reconstruction possible. Walls have been erected to close off completely the left aisle. Nave completely reroofed, so that mediaeval painted ceiling is out of danger. No damage to the Della Robbia medallions in chancel. Chapel of S. Quintino also walled off and reroofed. Consolidation of frescoes of Giovanni da San Giovanni completed. Left aisle reconstructed by Italian Government.

BARGA (Lucca)

Cathedral

Fine Romanesque church, badly restored after earthquake of 1920. Magnificent pulpit of 1233 attributed to Guido da Como. All works of art intact, save for two or three fragmentation scratches on pulpit.

Almost complete destruction or dislocation of roofing surface. Several shell holes in roof and walls. Work of reroofing completed.

S. Annunziata

Church lined with rich wooden carved and gilded Baroque altars in local style. Heavy shell damage to roof; had to be at least half replaced. All roof repairs completed.

Chiesa del Conservatorio di S. Elisabetta
Unimportant church with large Della Robbia relief.

Heavy shell damage to roof, now completely repaired.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

Chiesa del Crocifisso

Church with interesting local Baroque wood-carved choir stalls.

Roof mostly gone. Vaults collapsed.

S. Rocco

Damage to roof, windows, and doors.

Palazzo Pretorio

Early Quattrocento building.

Heavy damage to roof, now repaired.

BIVIGLIANO (Florence)

S. Romolo

Unimportant church with fine terra cotta altarpiece by school of Andrea della Robbia.

Considerable roof damage, repaired December 1944.

BRANCOLI (Lucca)

S. Giorgio (Pieve)

Fine Lucchese Romanesque church in spectacular position, with splendid Romanesque pulpit.

Heavy damage to roof by shellfire, approximately seventy per cent of material to replace. Slight damage to pulpit and none of Della Robbia relief of *St. George*. Roof already completely repaired. Repairs to damaged masonry and architectural details completed by Italian Government.

BROZZI

S. Andrea

Mediaeval church with Quattrocento campanile. *Annunciation* by Giovanni dal Ponte and Crucifix by Giovanni di Francesco removed to Florence for restoration. Campanile and apse mined and utterly destroyed by Germans. Roof tiles largely fractured and blown away.

Apse, triumphal arch, and base of campanile rebuilt in order to close the church. Roof completely repaired. Works of art, especially fresco of *Baptism* by Ghirlandajo, undamaged by war. Campanile now reconstructed by Italian Government.

CALCI (Pisa)

Certosa

Vast, late Baroque monastery, with rich Settecento sculptural and pictorial decora-

tion. Used as deposit for most precious works of art from Pisa.

Hundreds of shell hits throughout, ruining the roof and damaging marble and masonry. All roof damage repaired almost at once in order to save interior from damage by rain water. Repairs to masonry yet to be done.

CAMAIORE (Lucca)

S. Biagio di Lombrici

Thirteenth century church.

Roof considerably damaged.

S. Michele

Eleventh century church. Heavy damage to roof, now repaired.

Museo d'Arte Sacra

Contains important works of mediaeval and Renaissance liturgical art, all intact. Considerable damage to roof and walls.

CANDELI (Florence)

S. Andrea

Interesting Rococo church.

Roof over central aisle gone completely, and partly destroyed over side aisles and chapels. Damage also to walls. Wall repairs completed and roof rebuilt.

CANIPAROLA (Apuania)

Villa Malaspina

Sumptuous late Baroque villa in Ligurian style, with rich decorative frescoes of illusionistic architecture.

Roof almost completely destroyed, endangering frescoed halls.

CAPRAIA (Florence)

S. Stefano

Romanesque church, unimportant save as key to one of the most beautiful hill towns of Arno valley.

Heavy damage due to continuous shelling for a month. Roof almost completely collapsed, as well as certain parts of walls. Heavy damage to campanile. Repairs to walls and roof completed under AMG; campanile dismantled and rebuilt by Italian Government.

CARDOSO (Apuania)

S. Maria Assunta

Considerable damage to roof and marble altar.

APPENDIX II

CASCIA DI REGGELLO (Florence)

S. Pietro

Magnificent early Romanesque church, related to Gropina, Romena, Strada, Stia, and Santa Maria in Chianni. Romanesque capitals intact.

Shell damage to portico and to apse. Work completed and apse liberated from adjacent structures.

CASOLE D'ELSA (Siena)

S. Maria Assunta

Interesting Trecento church, with important works of art.

Roof almost completely blown off by shell-fire, including damage to some of the beams. Fragmentation damage sustained by Della Robbia school altarpiece, Segna di Bonaventura fresco, and two Gano da Siena tombs. Superintendent waited eight months before making a *preventivo*, which was later held up and never financed. Superintendent gave orders May 10, 1945, to suspend work, but *parroco* went ahead anyway, and church is now completely re-roofed and out of danger. Altarpiece by Andrea di Niccolò and fragments of damaged sculpture collected by priest and stored in his house.

CASTELLO (Florence)

Villa Reale

Badly restored villa, with superb Mannerist garden designed by Tribolo. Garden largely intact.

Roof badly damaged by shellfire, 130 sq. meters destroyed, 900 sq. meters disconnected. Holes in façade, one demolished ceiling. Repairs to roof and masonry completed end of May 1945.

Villa La Petraia

Castle, reconstructed by Brunelleschi and Buontalenti. Fine Baroque frescoes by Volterrano in courtyard.

Many shell hits throughout the building, devastating the roof, and ruining walls, ceiling, drapery, furniture, architectural details, etc. Roof completely repaired. Repairs proceeding to interior and to architectural details. Volterrano frescoes luckily undamaged.

CASTELNUOVO DI GARFAGNANA

(Lucca)

Collegiata

Church often rebuilt. Fine Renaissance façade (1504), rich series of Baroque altars with spiral columns. *Assumption* by Santi di Tito destroyed.

Enormous bomb damage to roof, vaults pierced in several places, left lateral chapel demolished; all damage repaired by Italian Government with funds provided by AMG.

CASTIGLION FIORENTINO (Arezzo)

Collegiata

Church completely rebuilt early nineteenth century. Substructions used as deposit for all important works of art in town.

Extensive blast damage to roof; to be seventy per cent reset. Work completed early August. No damage to great Madonna by Segna di Bonaventura, to Bartolommeo della Gatta altarpiece, or to treasure.

S. Agostino

Early Trecento church.

Roof destroyed, about 35 sq. meters. Repairs completed early in August.

S. Lazzo

Small, abandoned Trecento church, with interesting frescoes by Siennese masters.

Three-quarters of roof destroyed; much of timber to replace. Roof completely repaired, and large *Crucifixion* fresco consolidated.

CERBAIOLO (Arezzo)

S. Paolo

Small thirteenth century church in magnificent location on desolate mountainside. Mined and half destroyed by the Germans. In process of reconstruction by the Italian Government.

CHIUSDINO (Siena)

Chapel of Monte Siepi

Circular Romanesque church.

Shell destroyed 20 sq. meters of roof, smashing beams, damaging masonry as well. All damage repaired; frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti school intact.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

COLLE VAL D'ELSA (Siena)

S. Agostino

Church by Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio, much restored. Works of art by Taddeo di Bartolo, Bronzino, Cigoli, and Baccio da Montelupo all intact.

CORTONA (Arezzo)

S. Francesco

Thirteenth century Gothic church.

Damage to roof timbers of one bay, now repaired.

S. Maria del Calcinaio

Masterpiece of Francesco di Giorgio.

Damage to roof, about 400 sq. meters had to be redone. Stonework on the outside in bad state. Roof of the cupola recovered in lead; much of architectural detail badly crumbled by infiltrations of water; restored by Italian Government.

S. Maria Nuova

Fine Cinquecento church on Greek cross plan, now attributed to Vasari. Altarpieces by Empoli and others.

A few shaken roof tiles permitted water to enter roof of right transept; roof beams became water-logged, water seeped into one of four piers upholding cupola, froze, and started splitting the pier. Whole sandstone pier in shattered condition and stability of entire monument endangered. The two small upholding arches have been very well shored by a dense structure of beams which carries much of the weight of the cupola. Lumini erected a brick structure topped with a reinforced concrete collar which will take all the weight of the cupola, and permit the substitution of the pier. Work being completed by Italian Government.

Palazzo Casali

Often restored mediaeval town hall.

Large section of interior destroyed by German mines. Work of reconstruction and restoration completed by Italian Government, with renovated Museo Civico.

EMPOLI (Florence)

Collegiata

Church with green and white marble

Florentine Romanesque façade and stately Settecento interior by Ruggini (Figs. 28-29).

Campanile blown up by Germans, destroying completely in its fall the museum, the rear half of the nave roof and ceiling, half of the cloister, and the rear half of the right nave wall with the lateral chapels and right transept. Rubble was piled in a tangle of beams and stone throughout the nave. The baptistery and adjacent corridor were largely destroyed, but magnificent Quattrocento font salvaged intact.

Right wall with lateral chapels and transept reconstructed, incorporating original capitals, in order to close the church. All new roof beams in place. Church reroofed under AMG; Baroque ceiling restored by Italian Government. Five pictures from the museum (an Empoli, two Cigoli, a Macchietti, and a Botticini) were completely smashed to bits. The great Masolino fresco had been detached and taken to Florence, where it is now intact. All other works of art saved. Campanile in process of reconstruction by Italian Government and local authorities.

S. Agostino

Gothic church with important works of art.

Campanile blown up by Germans, demolishing entire apse, plus triumphal arch, left lateral chapel, and last two arches of left nave arcade. Roof beams in this location fell, and roof tiles were largely blown away or fractured throughout the church.

Destroyed arches and triumphal arch completely reconstructed to permit closing of church. Destroyed apse and left chapel walled off. Destroyed beams replaced and church completely reroofed with new tiles. Recently discovered frescoes by Masolino and Starnina have suffered from dampness during winter. Destroyed portions now completely reconstructed by Italian Government.

S. Maria al Petroio

Roof blown away completely, with only a few beams left. Reconstruction completed.

APPENDIX II

FIESOLE (Florence)

S. Alessandro

Sixth century church, often restored. Sixteen Roman columns of oriental marble. Panel by Gerino da Pistoia.

Roof severely damaged by shellfire; thirty per cent to reconstruct and fifty per cent to reset. Cracks in wall of apse. Rubble cleared and roof repairs completed. Restoration proceeding under Italian Government.

S. Ansano

Damage by shellfire to walls and roof. Work completed, May 3, 1945; campanile and portico still to be reconstructed.

Badia Fiesolana

Romanesque façade embedded in magnificent Quattrocento church formerly attributed to Brunelleschi. Interior and all works of art intact. Shell damage to roof, particularly to fifteenth century loggia. Work completed September 15, 1945.

FIGLINE (Florence)

S. Francesco

Gothic church with important frescoes. Explosion of a munitions train in neighboring freight yard caused heavy damage to roof and bent façade outward. Rain began to fall on frescoes of Francesco di Antonio and of school of Botticelli. Façade demolished down to level of frescoes and rebuilt; 250 sq. meters of roof rebuilt and 500 sq. meters reset. Work finished January 1945.

Maria SS. del Ponterosso

Damage to roof through shelling. About 300 sq. meters redone.

FLORENCE (see map, following p. 140)

SS. Apostoli

Eleventh century church, heavily restored. Works of art intact.

Widespread damage to roof tiles due to explosion. Work completed March 30, 1945.

Badia

Gothic church with fine octagonal campanile, and superb portal by Benedetto da

Rovezzano. Interior remodeled in 1627. Works of art intact, including *Vision of St. Bernard* by Filippino Lippi (in deposit).

La Calza

Small Trecento church, remodeled. Works of art intact, including Crucifix by Lorenzo Monaco and *Last Supper* by Franciabigio.

Shell holes in roof, damaging 35 sq. meters of tiles. Repairs completed October 30, 1944.

Carmine

Shell holes in roof of church and cloister; broken windows had to be closed at once as church was awash with rain. Work completed February 1945. Masaccio and Masolino frescoes unharmed, though danger from dampness was feared. Gentle cleaning of this great fresco series has brought to light new beauties of surface and detail.

S. Croce

Gothic church of universal importance. One shell hole, and other damage to roof; many windows broken. All repairs completed in December 1944. Recent survey has disclosed that roof timbers are in a dangerous condition throughout, due to extreme age, and that enormous labors will be necessary to assure the stability of the roof. All frescoes, sculpture, altarpieces, illuminated manuscripts, and other works of art intact. Removal of large Cinquecento altarpieces for cleaning has disclosed considerable sections of Orcagna's *Last Judgment*, whose surface, though hacked away in strips for altarpieces, is remarkably fresh where preserved.

S. Felice

Small Gothic church, with splendid Quattrocento façade by Michelozzo. Works of art intact.

Shell holes in roof, 200 sq. meters to reset. Work completed.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

S. Felicità

Church rebuilt in eighteenth century by Ruggini.

Roof damaged by explosions, ceiling damaged, windows and door frames disconnected and destroyed; tombstones cracked and broken. Roof completely repaired; repairs to smashed doors and windows completed under AMG. Pontormo altarpiece (in deposit) and frescoes in Capponi chapel intact, with all other works of art.

S. Frediano

Pretentious Baroque church.

Roof and dome damaged by mines and shellfire. Most of roof and many large windows to repair. Work completed April 30, 1945. Decorative frescoes intact.

S. Jacopo sopr' Arno

Twelfth century church with Rococo interior.

Fine eighteenth century ceiling frescoes by Meucci completely destroyed through explosions; 30 sq. meters of roof to replace and 150 to rework. Repairs to roof completed April 30, 1945.

S. Lorenzo

Brunelleschi's finest church, with works of art of universal importance. Both Sagrestia Vecchia and Medici Chapel escaped damage. Works of Donatello were well protected. Michelangelo statues removed to Torre a Corna. Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation* removed to Oliveto.

Damage to roof and windows by shellfire (seven direct hits); 150 sq. meters of roof reset and 35 sq. meters of windows to repair. Roof repairs completed in October 1944, and windows in June 1945.

S. Maria sopra Porta

Roof heavily damaged by explosions, many beams broken. Roof repairs completed June 1945.

S. Michele

Romanesque church with Cinquecento interior. Works of art intact.

Roof damaged by shells. About ten per cent of the roofing material had to be replaced.

S. Miniato al Monte

Romanesque church of first importance with Romanesque sculptural decoration, frescoes by Spinello, Aretino and others, and chapel with sculpture by Antonio Rossellino and Luca della Robbia and paintings by Baldovinetti and Piero del Pollaiuolo. Escaped damage to works of art although shells landed around building for more than three weeks.

Considerable roof damage; 100 sq. meters to reset and some windows to repair. All repairs completed.

Ognissanti

Church rebuilt in seventeenth century. Frescoes of Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and Giovanni da San Giovanni intact.

Damage to windows of chapter house threatening Ghirlandaio's *Last Supper*. Repaired in December 1944.

Orsanmichele

Minor roof and window repairs; completed January 1945. Gothic building of first importance. All works of art intact. Bronzes by Verrocchio, Ghiberti, Nanni di Banco, Lamberti, Giambologna, and marble by Donatello now cleaned, repaired, and replaced in their niches.

Huge tabernacle of Orcagna was well protected by construction of sand bags and brick.

S. Spirito

Renaissance church by Brunelleschi and others, of first importance.

Roof pierced by shellfire in several places; tiles shaken and disarranged; 60 sq. meters replaced and 300 sq. meters reset. Completed end of October 1944. All works of art intact (many removed to deposits).

S. Stefano al Ponte

Fine façade, part Romanesque, part Gothic. Impressive interior reconstructed in seventeenth century by Pietro Tacca. Works of art, of secondary importance, damaged by explosions. Building heavily damaged by German mines. Roof tiles blown off completely and beams greatly weakened. Façade so weakened and

APPENDIX II

cracked that it had to be demolished piece by piece for more than half its height, numbering the stones. Façade now completely rebuilt with original stones under AMG. Roofing now completed.

S. Trinita

Splendid Gothic church with Mannerist façade by Buontalenti and two chapels with frescoes of first importance by Lorenzo Monaco and Ghirlandaio.

Several holes in roof from flying fragments of destroyed area. Tracery of great apse windows severely damaged by explosion. All windows gone throughout church. Frescoes in first and second chapel on left heavily shaken. Some holes in outer walls. Ghirlandaio and Lorenzo Monaco frescoes undamaged behind protections of brick; all other works of art intact.

Church largely reroofed, apse window tracery dismantled, masonry repaired, frescoes consolidated; all repairs completed under AMG.

Fountain of Neptune

Colossal fountain by Bartolommeo Ammanati and others.

Minor repairs to damage caused by mines in the fountain. Minor repairs to bronze statues, all intact.

Loggia del Bigallo

Exquisite little Gothic loggia. All movable works of art evacuated and safe.

Roof damaged by three direct shell hits. Shell also hit portal by Alberto Arnoldi, carrying away the head of the Madonna. Head slightly damaged, not yet reattached. All roof repairs completed in October, 1944.

Palazzo Acciaiuoli

Rich Cinquecento Lungarno front of palace and all the rooms behind totally destroyed. Small section remaining in Borgo SS. Apostoli contains the frescoed room by Poccetti, very badly damaged. One wall has come down entirely, and portions of the others are mutilated. Standing section of palace has been reinforced with spurs of brick and reroofed. First aid measures

have been taken to keep remaining frescoes from collapse (Figs. 7-10).

Palazzi Barbadori and Rossi

Impressive thirteenth century houses in Via Guicciardini.

Façades heavily damaged and out of plumb, main buildings completely demolished. Stonework and beams were salvaged and some work of consolidation done. Owner of Palazzo Barbadori has since rebuilt interior. All of façade of Palazzo dei Rossi has had to be demolished.

Palazzo Nonfinito

By Buontalenti, Cigoli, Santi di Tito, Caccini, and Nigetti.

Minor damage to masonry; repaired May 1945.

Palazzo di Parte Guelfa

Majestic structure by Brunelleschi.

Roof almost completely destroyed, including beams. Ceiling by Vasari heavily damaged, walls inside and out badly cracked, as well as the vaulting of several rooms. Loggetta by Vasari heavily damaged. Masonry has been repaired, walls raised to complete the oculi, and a completely new timber roof has been built and covered with tiles; ceiling completely repaired.

Palazzo Pitti

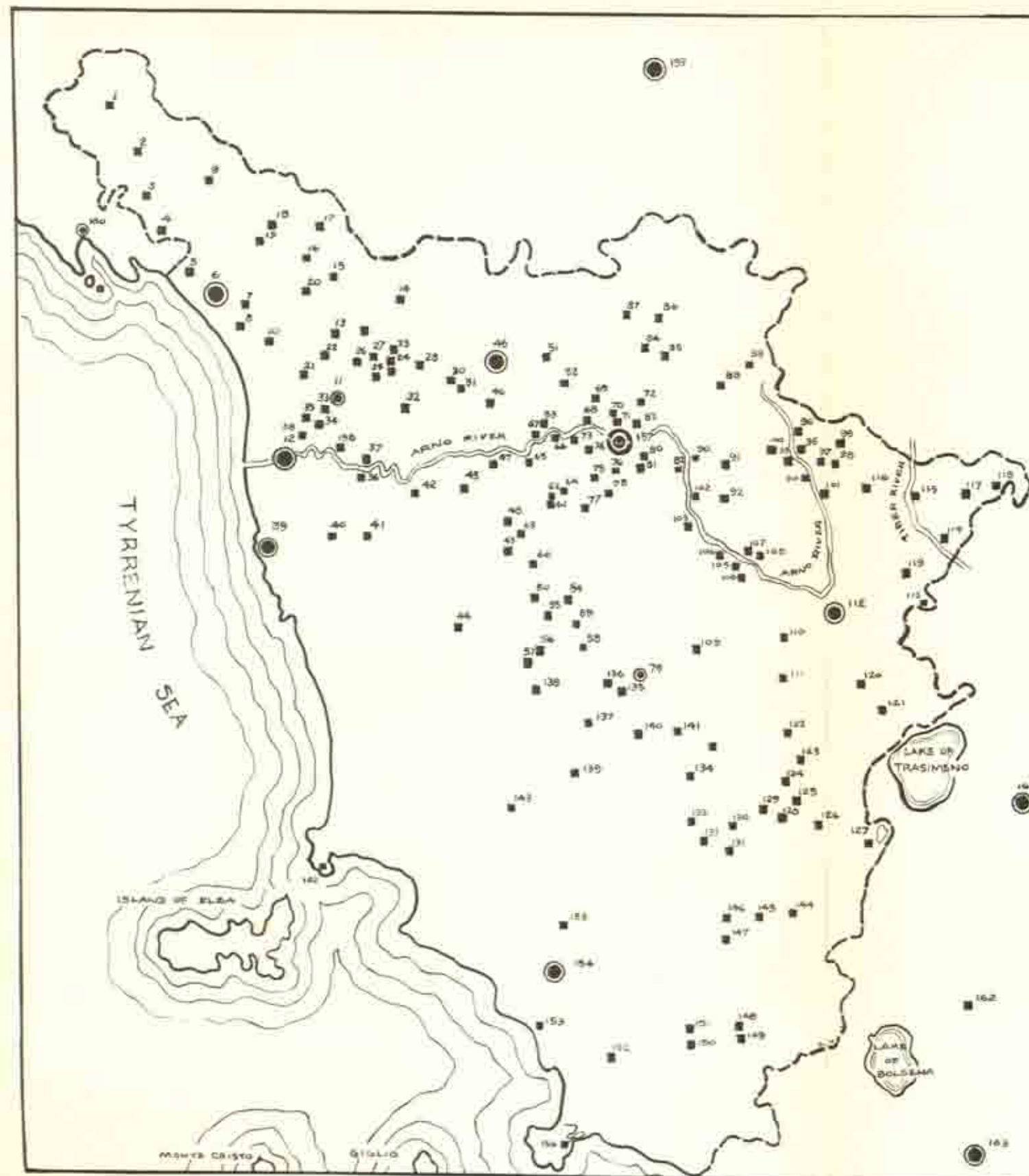
Considerable damage to roofs, and windows by shellfire and explosions. No structural damage; all damage repaired.

Palazzo Vecchio

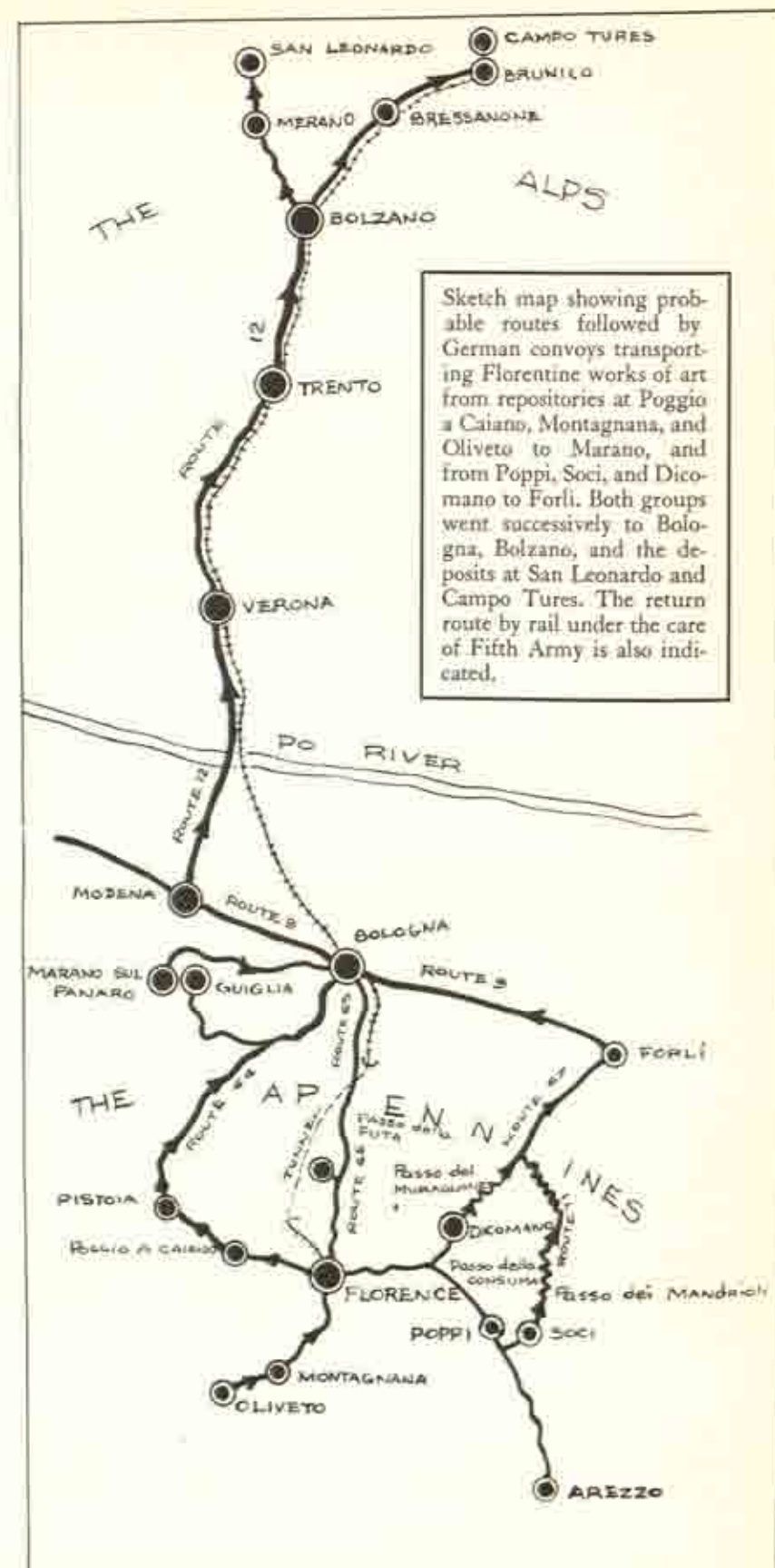
Roof above Salone del Cinquecento received several shell hits, and windows throughout the building smashed. Roof repairs completed. Leaded glass restored in Quartiere Monumentale which contains frescoes by Ghirlandaio, Bronzino, Vasari, Salviati, and others. Frescoes and ceiling paintings undamaged. Ceiling paintings in Salone del Cinquecento replaced after departure of AMG.

Ponte S. Trinita

By Bartolommeo Ammanati with criticism from Michelangelo; statues of *Spring* by



MAP 1. Tuscany



MAP 2. German convoy routes

KEY TO MAP 1. TUSCANY

Capital letters indicate provincial capitals, as FLORENCE; italics indicate major artistic centers and repositories of first importance, as *Poggio a Caiano*.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Pontremoli | 36. <i>Mensanella</i> | 111. <i>Monte S. Savino</i> |
| 2. Villafranca in Lunigiana | 37. Casole d'Elsa | 112. AREZZO |
| 3. Aulla | 38. Badia a Isola | 113. <i>Monterchi</i> |
| 4. Fivdinovo | 39. Staggia | 114. <i>Sansepolcro</i> |
| 5. <i>Carrara</i> | 60. Certaldo | 115. <i>Pieve S. Stefano</i> |
| 6. MASSA | 61. <i>Poppiano</i> | 116. <i>La Verna</i> |
| 7. Seravezza | 62. <i>Montegufani</i> | 117. <i>Badia Tedalda</i> |
| 8. Pietrasanta | 63. <i>Oliveto</i> | 118. Sestino |
| 9. Fivizzano | 64. <i>Montagnana</i> | 119. Anghiari |
| 10. Camaiore | 65. Montelupo | 120. <i>Castiglione Fiorentino</i> |
| 11. LUCCA | 66. <i>Lastra a Signa</i> | 121. <i>Cortona</i> |
| 12. PISA | 67. Artimino | 122. Sinalunga |
| 13. <i>Diciano</i> | 68. Brozzi | 123. Torrita |
| 14. S. Cassiano | 69. Sesto | 124. Montefollonico |
| 15. Barga | 70. Quarto | 125. <i>Montepulciano</i> |
| 16. Castelnuovo in Garfagnana | 71. Careggi | 126. Chianciano |
| 17. <i>Castiglione in Garfagnana</i> | 72. Pratolino | 127. <i>Chiusi</i> |
| 18. Camporgiano | 73. <i>Badia a Settimo</i> | 128. <i>Monticchiello</i> |
| 19. <i>Vagli Sotto</i> | 74. <i>Ponte a Greve</i> | 129. <i>Pienza</i> |
| 20. Galliano | 75. <i>S. Martino alla Palma</i> | 130. <i>S. Quirico d'Orcia</i> |
| 21. <i>Certosa di Farneta</i> | 76. <i>Certosa di Galuzzo</i> | 131. <i>Castiglione d'Orcia</i> |
| 22. <i>Villa Forci</i> | 77. <i>S. Casciano</i> | 132. <i>Montalcino</i> |
| 23. <i>Villabasilica</i> | 78. <i>Impruneta</i> | 133. <i>S. Animo</i> |
| 24. <i>S. Genaro</i> | 79. SIENA | 134. <i>Buonconvento</i> |
| 25. <i>Camigliano</i> | 80. <i>Rubbiana</i> | 135. <i>Castello di Belcaro</i> |
| 26. <i>Saltochio</i> | 81. <i>Antella</i> | 136. <i>Lecceto</i> |
| 27. <i>Segromigno</i> | 82. <i>Torre a Cona</i> | 137. <i>Torri</i> |
| 28. <i>Pecia</i> | 83. <i>Fiesole</i> | 138. <i>Memmo</i> |
| 29. <i>Collodi</i> | 84. <i>Catagliolo</i> | 139. <i>Monticiano</i> |
| 30. <i>Montecatini</i> | 85. <i>Borgo S. Lorenzo</i> | 140. <i>Corsano</i> |
| 31. <i>Monsummano</i> | 86. <i>Scarperia</i> | 141. <i>Lucignano</i> |
| 32. <i>Altopascio</i> | 87. <i>Barberino</i> | 142. <i>Piombino</i> |
| 33. <i>La Gattaiola</i> | 88. <i>Dicomano</i> | 143. <i>Marina Marittima</i> |
| 34. <i>S. Maria del Giudice</i> | 89. <i>S. Godenzo</i> | 144. <i>Radicondoli</i> |
| 35. <i>Pugnano</i> | 90. <i>Rosano</i> | 145. <i>Abbadia S. Salvatore</i> |
| 36. <i>Cascina</i> | 91. <i>Vallombrosa</i> | 146. <i>Arcidosso</i> |
| 37. <i>Vicopisano</i> | 92. <i>Cascina di Reggello</i> | 147. <i>S. Fiora</i> |
| 38. <i>Certosa di Calci</i> | 93. <i>Borgo alla Collina</i> | 148. <i>Sovana</i> |
| 39. LIVORNO | 94. <i>Poppi</i> | 149. <i>Pitigliano</i> |
| 40. <i>Fauggia</i> | 95. <i>Pratovecchio</i> | 150. <i>Montemerano</i> |
| 41. <i>Lari</i> | 96. <i>Stia</i> | 151. <i>Saturnia</i> |
| 42. <i>Varramista</i> | 97. <i>Certomondo</i> | 152. <i>Magliano in Toscana</i> |
| 43. <i>S. Miniato</i> | 98. <i>Soci</i> | 153. <i>Ruins of S. Romano</i> |
| 44. <i>Volterra</i> | 99. <i>Campaldoli</i> | 154. GROSSETO |
| 45. PISTOIA | 100. <i>Romena</i> | 155. <i>Ruins of Roselle</i> |
| 46. <i>S. Baronto</i> | 101. <i>Bibbiena</i> | 156. <i>Orbetello</i> |
| 47. <i>Empoli</i> | 102. <i>Torre del Castellano</i> | 157. FLORENCE |
| 48. <i>Castelfiorentino</i> | 103. <i>Figline</i> | 158. <i>S. Maria a Monte</i> |
| 49. <i>S. Maria in Chianni</i> | 104. <i>S. Giovanni Valdarno</i> | 159. BOLOGNA |
| 50. <i>S. Gimignano</i> | 105. <i>Terranuova Bracciolini</i> | 160. LA SPEZIA |
| 51. <i>Villa Batone</i> | 106. <i>Montevarchi</i> | 161. PERUGIA |
| 52. <i>Prato</i> | 107. <i>Montemarciano</i> | 162. <i>Orvieto</i> |
| 53. <i>Poggio a Caiano</i> | 108. <i>Gropina</i> | 163. VITERBO |
| 54. <i>Poggibonsi</i> | 109. <i>Arezzo</i> | 164. <i>Brancoli</i> |
| 55. <i>Colle di Valdelsa</i> | 110. <i>Civitella della Chiana</i> | 165. <i>Monte Oliveto Maggiore</i> |

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

Pietro Francavilla, *Summer and Autumn* by Giovanni Caccini, and *Winter* by Taddeo Landini.

See text, pp. 56-57. All three arches of the bridge were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but the two piers and part of the abutments, which were heavily damaged at the top, but well preserved below. Both piers were heavily damaged, especially at the top, but the south pier more so than the north. All four statues with their pedestals were smashed into hundreds of pieces, and considerable sections of these fell into the river.

Any salvage operations were complicated by the absolute necessity of constructing and maintaining over the wreckage a Bailey bridge, which remained for weeks the sole method by which wheeled vehicles could cross from the northern to the southern part of the city, and for many months thereafter the only bridge for civilian vehicles. In spite of these difficulties and of the security problem involved in the fact that the front was still located in the outskirts of the city, salvage operations were started under direction of the sculptor Giannetto Manucci, only a few days after the liberation of the center of Florence.

Small fragments which might be destroyed by engineering troops building the Bailey were the first to be removed to safety. Large sections of the figures of *Spring*, *Summer*, and *Winter* were found on the Lungarni, and since it was not possible to traverse the bridge, were carried in handcarts and barrows to both the Uffizi and the Pitti. It was necessary to dive for the other pieces. The only important piece still missing from the group is the head of *Spring*.

By October the flooded Arno threatened to corrode and carry away what remained of the piers. Under the direction of the architect Riccardo Gizdulich, the stonework still standing was dismantled piece by piece, numbering the pieces, and measured drawings and twenty-one plaster casts were made of all remaining frag-

ments. Complete elevations of the bridge were executed, based on fifty-seven photographs of various sizes, all taken before the destruction, and on the studies of Ferroni, Vulliamy, and Parigi. Reconstruction of the statues, also on the basis of photographs, was undertaken by Manucci. All four figures are now complete save for the missing head of *Spring*. Eventually, if the Florentines wish, it should be possible to reconstruct a bridge practically indistinguishable from the destroyed masterpiece, with all its decorative elements complete.

Torre degli Amidei

Huge thirteenth century tower, one of the most important of all, situated in the very center of the destroyed area.

See text, p. 55. The north wall, part of the west wall, and almost all of the east wall had completely collapsed, leaving the south wall in highly fractured state, riddled with cracks.

The south wall was first strutted with enormous beams which had been abandoned by the military. In spite of adverse counsel of engineering authorities, rubble was cleared from below and all ancient blocks of stone sorted out. One of the great lion heads emerged intact. A concrete foundation was laid, the masonry of the south wall reworked, and the remaining walls rebuilt in rough brick. The entire façade has now been faced with the old stone, the lions and other decorative elements replaced, and a roof over the tower is complete (Figs. 11-14).

Torre dei Baldovinetti

Thirteenth century tower, one of few remaining to full original height.

Roof completely destroyed and walls damaged by mines. Reroofing and consolidation completed by the end of March 1945.

Torre dei Carducci

Fine thirteenth century tower.

Roof completely destroyed and heavy damage to adjacent structures by mines. Re-

APPENDIX II

roofing and demolition of threatened structures completed in April 1945.

Torre dei Mannelli

Thirteenth century tower, key structure for south end of Ponte Vecchio (Fig. 6). Roof entirely removed by explosion. Rebuilt by July 1, 1945. Repairs to shattered portion of Vasari's corridor, here connected to tower, consisted only of consolidating still standing consoles, and covering them with roof tiles.

Uffizi Gallery

See text, pp. 46-47. Gallery severely damaged throughout by explosions. Roof tiles largely smashed and disarranged, and almost all glass windows and skylights shattered. Many sections of decorative frescoes badly damaged; large sections of Allori frescoes in early part of gallery have fallen, and sixteenth and seventeenth century decorative frescoes in corridors damaged. Roofing of gallery complete. Skylights complete in first five galleries under AMG. Remaining skylights restored by Italian Government. Restoration and consolidation of decorative frescoes almost complete by departure of AMG. First section of gallery reopened to public in November 1947.

Uffizi-Pitti Corridor

Roof damaged throughout, corridor filled with wreckage, arch to Torre di Parte Guelfa and continuation destroyed to south edge of devastated area; angle at north entrance to Ponte Vecchio severely damaged. Wreckage has been cleared, corridor reroofed; angle at Ponte Vecchio has been rebuilt, and remaining portions around Torre dei Mannelli covered with a temporary roof.

FIRENZUOLA (Florence)

Castle

Important fourteenth century structure almost destroyed by American air action. Completely reconstructed by Italian Government.

FORTE DEI MARMI (Lucca)

Fortino Mediceo

Cinquecento fort.

Shell damage to roof and walls.

FOSDINOVO (Apuania)

SS. Annunziata

Late Renaissance church.

Considerable damage to roof and interior.

S. Remigio

Church lined with rich Baroque altars in marble. Fine Gothic tomb of Galeotto Malaspina, 1367.

Heavy damage to roof, vaults, campanile. Repairs completed by Italian Government with funds furnished by AMG.

GALLUZZO (Florence)

Certosa

Numerous shell hits on roof of church, convent, and cloisters, including above the frescoes of Pontormo. Slight damage to frescoes; 200 sq. meters of roof to replace and 300 to reset. All roof damage has been repaired. Damage to campanile still to be repaired.

GAVILLE (Florence)

Pieve

Fine early Romanesque church belonging to group of eight erected in the province during time of Countess Matilda.

Damaged by shellfire and by weather. Repaired only after departure of AMG.

GIOGOLI (Florence)

S. Alessandro

Twelfth century Romanesque church.

Shell damage to roof and campanile. Almost entire church roof and vault below had to be demolished and reconstructed. Damage repaired.

I Collazzi

One of the three or four finest villas in the environs of Florence. Splendid arcades by Santi di Tito.

Heavily shelled on both south and north façades. Roofs devastated, portion of arcade destroyed. All repairs undertaken by proprietor, and completed.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

GROPINA (Arezzo)

Pieve

Splendid early Romanesque church, same group as Gaville, Stia, Strada, Romena, etc. Shell damage to exterior loggia around apse. Repaired after departure of AMG.

IMPRUNETTA (Florence)

S. Maria dell' Impruneta

See text, pp. 57-61. Devastated by heavy caliber bombs. Roof almost entirely destroyed. Baroque gilded wood ceiling blown to bits, beams which remained were ready to fall. Right wall leaned perilously outward. Triumphal arch and apse utterly destroyed. Wreckage piled ten to fifteen feet high throughout church. Tabernacles by Michelozzo badly wrecked, with plaster frieze by Michelozzo totally destroyed. Luca della Robbia altarpieces and ceilings inside tabernacles blown to small pieces save for large section which still adhered to the wall. In August appeared beyond repair (Figs. 15-21).

Tons of rubble were sifted three separate times to disgorge all tiniest fragments of works of art. Apse now reconstructed in rough masonry up to the eaves, and re-roofed. Right nave wall has been completely demolished and rebuilt up to the eaves, while the roof beams were supported on scaffolding.

A reinforced concrete collar has been built along the whole top of the right nave wall in order to consolidate it properly, and unite it to the apse. A reinforced concrete beam has been built to solidify the joining of the nave, sacristy, and apse below floor level.

Left nave wall developed alarming cracks near façade and was dismantled at that point and reconstructed; roof beams shored at that point.

Rococo ceiling of small choir of the Madonna fell entirely, disclosing conoids of fine fourteenth century Gothic vaults underneath. This structure, to the left of the nave, together with the left sacristy, containing a fine Renaissance *armadio*, was re-roofed at once, and the vaulting has now been rebuilt by the Italian Government.

The fragments of the majestic tabernacles by Michelozzo have been pieced together. The church, which seemed a hopeless wreck in August was not only out of all danger by the time AMG left but was already half re-roofed with tiles. While the Baroque ceiling is beyond hope, the rest of the church will possibly be more interesting than before. The roof was completed during the fall of 1945, and the church reconsecrated for the festival of the Madonna dell' Impruneta in 1946.

WORKS OF ART: Two tabernacles by Luca della Robbia blown to bits by high explosives. Hundreds of pieces carefully put together again; work of recomposition nearly complete. Two temples by Michelozzo collapsed by high explosive, and now recomposed. Polyptych by Tommaso del Mazza and Pietro Nelli blown to bits by high explosive and buried under tons of rubble. All fragments have been sifted from rubble and carried to the Uffizi. Large decorative paintings and altarpieces in basilica damaged by explosives and rain; detached at once and taken to safety. All panel pictures from the sacristy have been taken to safety. Renaissance choir stalls badly damaged by rubble under wreckage of destroyed apse, now restored.

LASTRA A SIGNA (Florence)

S. Martino a Gangalandi

Church of which Leon Battista Alberti was prior. Fine apse by Alberti. Important tabernacle frescoed inside and out by Bicci di Lorenzo, all intact.

Slight shell damage to roof of the portico.

Torre di Baccio

This mediaeval city gate was unroofed and heavily cracked by bombs. Completely repaired May 1945, after repeated intervention by MFAA office.

LA VERNA (Arezzo)

Franciscan Convent

See text, pp. 90-91. Under shellfire for ten days; roofs smashed in various parts. About fifteen per cent to reconstruct, and seventy per cent new material needed. Half of portico destroyed.

APPENDIX II

Portico reconstructed by Italian Government. Reliefs by Andrea della Robbia intact. Relief of *Pietà* by Giovanni della Robbia smashed by direct shell hit; fragments salvaged.

LIVORNO (Livorno)

Cathedral

Baroque church largely by Giovanni del Fantasia. Portico attributed to Inigo Jones. Rich interior decoration.

About seventy per cent destroyed. Huge gap in façade of right transept. Transept wall re-erected and some rubble removed. Further salvage work awaits financing of projects.

Although the great gilded ceiling is totally destroyed, the ceiling paintings by Jacopo Logozzi were all removed by the superintendent before the bombings and are safe in Calci.

Sma. Annunziata dei Greci

Sumptuous Baroque church with large seventeenth century Greek iconostasis.

Half destroyed. Sculptured façade and rear half of church remain standing, in dangerous condition. Movable parts of iconostasis have been dismantled, only after theft of several of the panels, part of which were recovered by MFAA office. At the departure of AMO the rest of the work awaited financing of projects. Missing portions of structure now completed by Italian Government.

S. Caterina dei Domenicani

Large octagonal church by Giovanni del Fantasia. Only church in Livorno which was still usable.

Minor damage to roof and doors.

S. Ferdinando

Splendid late Baroque church by Giovanni Battista Foggini, with rich marble sculptures by Giovanni Baratta.

Explosion of bomb against south aisle of church blew in almost two-thirds of south wall, up to the crossing pier, which withstood miraculously. All sculpture by Baratta saved in advance by superintendent. Vaulting badly cracked and roof tiles shattered (Figs. 42-43).

Destroyed wall and lateral chapel completely reconstructed in rough masonry, incorporating fallen architectural fragments. When plastered, and sculpture re-installed, repairs will not be detectible.

S. Giovanni Battista

Early Baroque church.

Structural lesions by near miss resulted in collapse of apse just missing splendid Baroque high altar and baldachin by Ferdinando Tacca. Apse has been reconstructed and roof largely repaired.

S. Giulia

Small church with rich, early Baroque painted and gilded interior. Giottoesque panels of *Life of S. Giulia* removed to safety by superintendent. Splendid altarpiece by Matteo Rosselli totally destroyed by vandals after liberation of city.

Roof damaged almost throughout; big holes in two side walls. Ceiling and interior decorations threatened. Repairs completed April 25, 1945.

S. Giuseppe

Early nineteenth century neoclassic church. Roof destroyed completely, damage to walls.

S. Gregorio degli Armeni

Sumptuous late Baroque church with rich marble sculpture and architectural decoration.

Devastated by direct hit, which destroyed the cupola and all the altarpieces, filling church with rubble. Rubble has been removed, and statues and architectural fragments saved.

Church of the Madonna, and Convent

Roof seventy per cent damaged. Big hole in wall of convent. Damage to vaulted ceilings. Removal of rubble and saving of artistic fragments. Library sacked by vandals. Roof repaired by Italian Government.

Synagogue

One of the most important in Europe. Splendid late Renaissance building, erected by Ferdinand I.

Devastated by direct bomb hits; roof com-

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

pletely collapsed. One side of gallery has collapsed. Rubble removed. All major work still to commence. Silver treasure stolen by vandals. Manuscripts intact.

Palazzotto del Comune

Late Baroque palace.

Heavy damage to the part facing sea, various ceilings collapsed, roof partly collapsed; seventy per cent to be redone.

Bastione Mediceo

Cinquecento fortress.

Considerably damaged in central part. Roof hit by shells, about ninety per cent to rebuild. Big holes in walls.

Palazzo Granducale

Seventeenth century Baroque palace.

Heavily damaged by bombs. Ninety per cent of roof to be redone. Damage to southwest wall and interior.

Palazzo del Monte di Pietà

Fine, late Baroque palace.

Hit by bombs, roof and walls heavily damaged.

Palazzo Pretorio

Seventeenth century.

Partly demolished through bombardments. Reconstruction of three rooms at ground, first, and second floor.

LOPPIA (Lucca)

Pieve

Romanesque church, with Baroque ciborium.

Shell damage to façade.

LUCCA (Lucca)

Cathedral

Splendid Romanesque and Gothic church of first importance. German 280 mm. shell pierced roof of north aisle, exploding directly above the chapel of the *Volto Santo*, by Matteo Civitali, causing considerable damage to the marble lantern, but not hurting the *Volto Santo* itself. Fragments flew all over church, scarring several altarpieces of minor interest and damaging badly the fine Cinquecento gilded and painted organ panels. One entire bay of

aisle vaulting had to be reconstructed. Exterior sculpture and ornament intact.

MASSA (Apuania)

Cathedral

Gothic, much restored and rebuilt.

Heavily damaged by shellfire. Works of art intact.

Palazzo Ducale

Splendid Baroque palace.

Palace devastated by concentrated shellfire. Interiors badly wrecked, roof almost blown off, walls and floors inside demolished, architectural decorations on enormous façade damaged in innumerable places. Repairs executed with funds administered by AMG.

Castello Malaspina

Imposing Gothic castle.

Heavily damaged by continued shellfire.

MEZZAVIA (Arezzo)

S. Maria degli Angeli

Sixteenth century octagonal church mined and utterly destroyed by Germans, save for small section of wall. All rubble removed, architectural fragments sorted out and remaining wall consolidated by April 30, 1945. Now half reconstructed by Italian Government.

MONTECARLO S. SALVATORE

(Pisa)

S. Andrea Apostolo

Fourteenth century Gothic church.

Damage to roof and vaults.

MONTELUPO (Florence)

S. Lorenzo (Pieve Alto)

Large shell holes in masonry of campanile, causing severe damage to precious thirteenth century frescoes by Corso da Firenze. Roof of church completely gone for many decades. Fresco repairs commenced under AMG. Church now reroofed by Italian Government, and tabernacles reconstructed.

MONTE SENARIO (Florence)

Convent

Cinquecento structure in spectacular position.

APPENDIX II

Two hundred sq. meters of damaged roof. Repairs completed May 1945.

NOVOLI (Florence)

S. Cristoforo

Roof tiles displaced by explosion. Repair completed April 1945.

PALAIA (Pisa)

Pieve

Trecento Gothic church in brick, much restored.

Hit by shells, roof heavily damaged, shell damage to walls, repaired by Italian Government.

PASSIGNANO (Florence)

S. Michele

Church rebuilt by Passignano. Frescoes by Passignano and others, and in refectory *Last Supper* by Domenico and Davide Ghirlandaio (1476); all intact.

Shell damage to roof; thirty per cent to reconstruct, fifty per cent to reset; most urgent work completed June 15, 1945.

PIAN DI MUGNONE (Florence)

La Maddalena

Quattrocento church by Michelozzo, with works of art by Fra Bartolommeo and others, all intact.

Shell holes in roof; ten per cent to reconstruct, fifty per cent to reset. Column knocked down by truck, with danger to vault of portico. Roof repaired, portico shored; column replaced.

PIETRASANTA (Lucca)

Cathedral

Gothic, with splendid façade. Fine Renaissance furniture largely by Stagio Stagi and Lorenzo Stagi, all intact.

Roof vaults and apse and campanile heavily damaged by shellfire; work completed by Italian Government through funds provided by AMG.

Baptistry

Baroque building, attached to cathedral. Damage to roof and façade.

S. Agostino

Fine Quattrocento Gothic façade. Considerable damage to roof, altar, pave-

ment, marble confessional, façade, campanile, and Sacrato. Repaired by Italian Government.

PIENZA (Siena)

Cathedral

Superb Gothic and Renaissance church by Bernardo Rossellino, centerpiece of the Quattrocento town.

Church shelled so long by French artillery that it is a miracle it is not more damaged. Numerous shell holes in roof, vaulting, and window tracery; almost entire roof to replace. Shell damage to campanile. MFAA office provided for roof repairs, but Bishop and Count Piccolomini raised money for all other repairs, including tracery, decorations, etc.

Except for a few of the nave windows, still walled up, the cathedral is now in absolutely perfect condition, as if nothing had ever happened to it. All the altarpieces by Giovanni di Paolo, Vecchietta, Sano di Pietro, Matteo di Giovanni, and Rossellino, are back in their places, and the only damage was the shell fragment that struck the Vecchietta. All works from rich diocesan museum intact.

PIEVE DI S. CASSIANO (Lucca)

Pieve

Splendid thirteenth century Romanesque church.

Campanile completely destroyed by mines.

PIEVE A RIPOLI (Florence)

S. Pietro

Early Romanesque church. Works of art intact.

Damage not only to tiles but also to roof timbers. Roof damage completely repaired.

PIEVE STO. STEFANO (Arezzo)

S. Francesco

See text, pp. 91-93. Uninteresting church badly wrecked by German mines. Della Robbia school relief still filled apse of church. Tottering vault was shored by citizens of destroyed town until great altarpiece could be dismantled piece by piece. Relief now in place in undamaged Collegiata.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

Palazzo Comunale

Building thirty per cent destroyed by German mines. Standing façade covered with Della Robbia coats-of-arms had started to buckle. Before demolition all reliefs were rescued, and all pieces rescued from adjacent rubble. Recomposition completed.

PIOMBINO (Livorno)

Fortezza

Sixteenth century fort.

Heavily damaged by bombs.

PISA (Pisa)

Cathedral

Grandiose Romanesque basilica of first importance.

Shell damage to lead roof. Completely repaired in September 1944. All works of art intact.

S. Agata

Unimportant mediaeval church.

Outside wall of cloister partially collapsed. Removal of rubble.

S. Antonio

Fine marble façade, lower story Gothic, upper Cinquecento.

Roof of church completely collapsed, together with south wall. Cloister partly destroyed. Entrances to church closed, rubble removed.

S. Bernardino

Heavily damaged modern church was beyond repair, so was demolished to free the tiny Romanesque round church; holes in walls still to be patched.

S. Biagio in Cisanello

Small brick Gothic church.

Roof largely collapsed. Repairs to outside walls completed May 20, 1945.

Campo Santo

See detailed account in text, pp. 80-87, and figs. 32-33.

The first-aid work was done by the end of October. The temporary roof was built and temporary consolidation of frescoes completed, lead and rubble cleared up, fresco fragments gathered for repair, and sculptures restored. But the vast under-

taking of providing a new roof for the building and performing the intricate restoration job for frescoes has been assumed by the Italian Government. The frescoes have now been detached from the walls at the expense of the American Commission for Italian Monuments, with remarkable discoveries of sinopia drawings of excellent quality underneath the frescoes.

Carminè

Mediaeval church rebuilt in seventeenth century.

Shell damage to roof; sixty per cent to replace. Complete collapse of east wall of cloister. Roof completely repaired and retaining wall built for cloister April 21, 1945.

S. Caterina

Important Pisan Gothic church, with rich marble façade. All works of art intact.

Shell hole in roof; windows broken almost throughout. Roof damage repaired.

S. Cecilia

Small Romanesque church in brick.

Left wall collapsed almost completely, bringing down greater part of roof. Rubble cleared, fragments salvaged, left wall rebuilt, campanile shored, roof rebuilt over façade. Roof over high altar remains to be rebuilt. Reconstruction of rest will depend on Italian Government.

SS. Cosimo e Damiano

Unimportant church totally destroyed by bomb. Marble altars excavated and taken to safety.

S. Cristina

Twelfth century church, much rebuilt. Roof heavily damaged by shellfire; eighty per cent of surface to reconstruct. Deep cracks in vaulting. All damage repaired by April 11, 1945.

S. Croce in Fossabanda

Fourteenth century Gothic church.

Shell damage to roof, and to campanile, completely repaired. Unfinanced project provides for repairs to portico.

APPENDIX II

S. Domenico

Charming Rococo church.

Direct bomb hits destroyed completely the right nave wall with all its exquisite eighteenth century stuccoes; the vaulting collapsed without a trace, and the roof on top of it. Roof beams badly damaged and all tiles lost. Right wall now completely reconstructed in brick, new roof with largely new timber and completely new tiles. Out of danger. At a later time it will be necessary to reconstruct the vaulting and the stuccoes. All altars were dismantled, and the pictures were removed to safety before the bombardment. Fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli in adjoining convent is intact.

S. Ermete

Small Gothic church.

Shell damage to roof; sixty per cent to be reconstructed. Large hole in façade. Damage to masonry of church and campanile. All damage repaired by June 13, 1945.

S. Francesco

Important Gothic church with fine marble façade.

Shell hole in roof. Many broken windows. Roof repairs completed. Considerable sum was necessary to repair damage caused by Agrarian Federation who used church as a granary, with permission of Archbishop of Pisa.

S. Francesco, Chapter House

Shell hit on roof. Flood of November 1, 1944, filled room with mud, and mud was sucked up into the space between inner and outer walls, threatening the Agnolo Gaudì frescoes with destruction by dampness. Shell hole fixed, mud drained, and frescoes dried out with wood-stoves.

S. Frediano

Important Pisan Romanesque church, with marble façade and impressive interior arcades. All works of art intact. Roof of church and campanile hit by shells in several places, endangering vaulting of interior. All damage repaired June 1, 1945.

S. Giovanni al Gatano

Roof of unimportant church totally destroyed; heavy damage to interior. Bronze bells salvaged; structure abandoned.

S. Giovanni Spazzavento

Frescoes by Domenico Tempesta badly damaged.

Church half demolished. Rest of church was cleared of rubble and walled up.

Madonna dei Galletti

Small but very beautiful early Baroque church.

Shell pierced roof and also splendid carved wooden ceiling of the seventeenth century, by Vignali, with reliefs of *Passion* and paintings of symbolism of the cross. All damage repaired. Paintings dismounted, restored, and replaced.

S. Maria Maddalena

Eighteenth century church by Vacca.

Church half destroyed. Beams, building materials, and altars have been salvaged.

S. Maria della Spina

Gothic jewel of first importance.

Damaged by near miss of heavy caliber bomb. Fragments of fallen pinnacle have all been collected and put together again; all damage to lead roof has been repaired. Repairs of minor damage to marble blocks and decoration of south flank. Statues ready to be replaced at close of exhibition of Pisan sculpture (Fig. 34).

S. Martino

Trecento church. Works of art intact.

Roof damaged by shells, forty per cent of the surface to be reconstructed. Roof repairs completed save over lateral portal.

S. Matteo and Convent

Half Romanesque, half Baroque, both of high quality.

Heavily damaged by explosion of bombs on Chiesa delle Monache behind apse of main church, demolishing the vaulting with its frescoes by Boscoli, leaving the Boscoli lunettes exposed to the weather, heavily damaging the retrochoir and shattering all the roof tiles of the main church. Water seeped through and caused con-

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

siderable damage to important Baroque ceiling frescoes by Francesco and Giuseppe Melani. Convent largely unroofed, and architecture itself endangered.

Roof of main church was quickly remade into a small projecting roof to save the Melani frescoes from further damage. Repairs to the convent completed; those to the retrochoir, to be incorporated in the new home of the Museo Civico of Pisa, still under way.

S. Michele in Borgo

Splendid Gothic edifice with superb arcaded marble façade.

Left wall and left nave arcade completely demolished. Roof totally collapsed. The Gothic façade luckily intact. All rubble has been cleared, beams and architectural fragments, columns and capitals salvaged, and small roof rebuilt over what remains of organ and over apse. Left aisle will have to be rebuilt entirely to close the church. Work suspended for lack of funds at the departure of AMG, but now resumed by the Italian Government and well advanced.

S. Michele in Oratorio

Unimportant mediaeval church.

Roof damaged by shellfire, sixty per cent to replace. Damage to walls and campanile. All damage repaired April 26, 1945.

S. Michele degli Scalzi

Splendid Romanesque church. Façade and sculpture intact.

Heavy damage to church and campanile through forty days of shellfire. Roof blown away almost entirely, vaulting fell, few existing roof timbers can be reused. Many holes in walls, campanile so riddled with shell holes that it was ready to fall. Campanile now completely repaired. Repairs to church held up through lack of funds (Figs. 30-31).

S. Nicola

Fine Pisan Romanesque façade.

Two holes in roof, and heavy crack in façade. Façade repaired, but work on roof held up through lack of funds. Resumed by Italian Government.

S. Paolo all' Orto

Fine Pisan Romanesque church.

Shell holes in roof. All work completed April 1945.

S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno

Superb Romanesque church, the most important in Pisa after the cathedral.

Several bomb hits on nave, collapse of large section of nave roof and third column of right aisle. All remaining roof tiles stolen by population. Roof beams damaged by weather.

Fallen column replaced by timber shoring before arrival of Allies. Under MEFAA roof reconstructed by replacing damaged timbers and covering with under-layer of terra cotta panels. Roofing completed by Italian Government. Second arch on right dismounted and rebuilt, with wall above it, and roof timbers placed (Figs. 36-37).

S. Piero a Grado

Romanesque campanile, one of the finest in Italy, blown up by Germans. Explosion destroyed adjacent corner of church, and wrecked almost all the roof tiles, exposing the great thirteenth century fresco series to the rain. Campanile so completely destroyed as to obliterate all elements necessary for the reconstruction.

Church completely reroofed, very largely with new material. All rubble removed. Part had to be blown up as the rain had compacted it into a sort of cement. Missing walls at corner of church rebuilt. Campanile can only be rebuilt from photographs and measured drawings (Figs. 38-39).

S. Piero in Vinculis

Fine Romanesque church.

Shell holes in roof and on campanile. All work completed February 1945.

Church of the Qualconia

Interesting late Renaissance church.

Heavy damage to roof, walls and ceiling; repaired by Italian Government.

S. Sebastiano in Banchi

Mediocre church damaged beyond repair.

APPENDIX II

Rest demolished as a public menace, and all salvageable materials put aside.

S. Sisto

Important early Romanesque church. Shell hole on south aisle, repaired January 1945.

S. Stefano dei Cavalieri

Splendid Mannerist church by Vasari. Widespread damage by German mortar shell which landed in garden, backfired and hit the campanile, destroying colonnettes and balusters and dropping debris through the ceiling, severely damaging a portion of the great gilded wood ceiling. Subsequent rains caused further damage, especially to the shell-thin vaults of the side aisles, which were filled with debris from an early disorderly repair of the roof. This debris turned into mud, and several of the vaults collapsed. Shell hits on campanile particularly dangerous on account of the fragility of the open Renaissance arcaded structure. All ceiling paintings had previously been removed and taken to safety.

Roof has had to be remade almost throughout. It is now complete. Repairs to campanile complete. Bits of carving from ceiling out and recomposed. All endangered mediaeval banners had been removed to safety.

S. Zeno

Minor Gothic structure. Damage to roof, windows and walls through shells.

Casa Bocca-Travaglini

Fine mediaeval house-tower, with Romanesque windows and arcades. Hit by shells. Damage to roof and walls; now completely repaired.

Loggia dei Banchi

Fine loggia by Cosimo Pugliani, possibly on designs by Buontalenti. Roof pierced by shellfire, about forty per cent of surface to replace. Damage to ceilings and marble floors. Roof repairs completed and building out of danger.

Palazzo Agostini

One of the richest Gothic palaces in Tuscany. Shell damage to roof repaired by proprietor; repairs to interior continuing.

Palazzo della Carovana

Superb façade by Vasari, with rich *sgraffiti*. Damage to portions of the interior through fire caused by negligence of American air corps unit. All damage repaired.

Palazzo alla Giornata

Handsome late Cinquecento palace. Partial collapse of part of palace overlooking courtyard by German mines. Heavy damage to interior and to roof. Removal of rubble mostly completed and roof on west side and on tower practically finished by AMO and proprietor. Repairs completed by Italian Government.

Palazzo Medici

Rich Gothic palace, much restored. Three-quarters of the palace destroyed; now rebuilt by Italian Government.

Palazzo Pretorio (Torre dell' Orologio)

Tower completely destroyed. Bronze bell and building materials have been salvaged from the ruins.

Palazzo Reale

Hit by bombs and also damaged by German mines. Roof badly damaged, and central portion at rear demolished. Reroofing of standing portions completed. Demolition of threatened portions and removal of rubble remains to be done.

Palazzo Toscanelli

Fine Cinquecento palace, damaged by shells and mines. No project made. Work consisted only of walling up entrances. Repairs now completed by Italian Government.

Sostegno sul Fosso dei Navicelli

Gothic canal gate. Roof completely gone. Arches and vaults partly collapsed.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

PISTOIA

Cathedral

Gothic structure of first importance. All works of art intact.

Heavy blast damage to roof over apse, imperiling the fresco series by Passignano and other sixteenth century painters. All roof and wall repairs completed June 30, 1945.

Baptistry

Splendid Gothic building in black and white marble.

Blast damage to roof and walls. Roof damage repaired June 20, 1945. Wall damage recently patched.

S. Antonio del Tau

Small building with unusual fresco series by Florentine and Pistoiese late Trecento painters. Damaged by blast from near miss. Urgent repairs made.

S. Domenico and Convent

Gothic church with painted timber ceiling and rich series of frescoes and sculptures. Direct bomb hits largely demolished cloister and chapter house, plus approximately one-third of south nave wall, including the tomb of Filippo Lazzari by Bernardo Rossellino, smashed into little pieces. Painted fourteenth century roof timbers in affected area collapsed, and many were reduced to splinters. Roof tiles throughout were badly damaged, so that church leaked everywhere. Convent devastated.

Several frescoes totally destroyed including a *Madonna and Child* by Fra Paolino, a Trecento *Annunciation*, and a fresco by Bartolommeo Cristiani. The series of frescoed lunettes in the large cloister, by Sebastiano Vini, illustrating the lives of the Dominican saints, now practically destroyed by rain.

All rubble has been cleared and sorted. Many architectural fragments have been saved, and reconstruction of cloister is possible. Protection made of roof tiles has been placed over conoids of vaults still remaining attached to wall. Rescued beams have been covered with tiles, and will be ready to replace. Remaining section of

roof has been completely redone and is now watertight.

Bomb damage to right wall is now repaired. Demolished portion has been replaced by new wall, complete from floor to eaves. Adjacent badly damaged section has been dismantled and is now reconstructed, while timbers above are shored. Restoration of interior nearing completion. Temporary protections have been erected over frescoes by Lippi Dalmasio in cloister and magnificent thirteenth century *Crucifixion* fresco in chapter house, entirely freed from rubble, and now protected from further damage by dampness and sun. This latter suffered severely from having remained half covered by damp rubble for more than a year.

Fresco fragments of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of fine quality, have had to be detached from nave to be saved. Others remain still in place, undamaged. Sixteenth century frescoes of cloister largely destroyed by dampness.

Tomb of Filippo Lazzari was fortunately excavated soon after bombing of church, and all pieces have been saved, ready to be put together.

S. Giovanni al Corso

Beautiful late Quattrocento church by Ventura Vitoni.

Cupola, vaulting, all four arches completely collapsed, with roof on top of them. Walls so damaged that they too will have to be demolished. Cloisters destroyed in many places and what remains unroofed. The following works of art were utterly destroyed: *Nativity*, from high altar, by Sebastiano Vini, twelve pictures by minor seventeenth century artists; four pendentive frescoes by Pistoiese artists of sixteenth century; *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, by Pistoiese artist of sixteenth century; seventeenth century *Last Supper*. The Baratta sculptures on the high altar were smashed into bits, but these can be put together.

Mountainous rubble has been excavated, showing that practically all the elements are present for the reconstruction of the

APPENDIX II

church. Most of the magnificent architectural features in *pietra serena* have come out of the rubble intact, and since the structure of the church was of rough masonry covered with plaster, these and the complete measured drawings which exist will be sufficient to bring back this masterpiece by Ventura Vitoni. Standing portions now shored by Italian Government, but no reconstruction attempted (Figs. 40-41).

S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas

Bomb landed in street before church, causing some fragmentation damage to façade. Buildings behind church wrecked. All tiles blown from roof. Roof timbers damaged through remaining uncovered for year and a half. Altar rail damaged by fragmentation. Protections effective in preventing damage to the portal, pulpit by Guido da Como, and stoup by Giovanni Pisano. Della Robbia group removed for safety. Church completely reroofed.

Madonna dell' Umiltà

Grand octagonal church by Ventura Vitoni, with cupola by Vasari. Slight damage to roof and cupola.

S. Maria delle Grazie

Fine Quattrocento church by Michelozzo. Shell hole in roof, shell hits in walls. Roof repaired; work on walls not yet completed. Works of art intact.

S. Salvatore

Thirteenth century Gothic church. Damage to roof and walls.

Palazzo Comunale

Superb Gothic palace. Minor damage to windows and walls.

Palazzo Panciatichi (Bail)

Impressive Quattrocento palace. Roof destroyed by bombs, portico and rear of building, facing Via Panciatichi, destroyed down to first floor. Roof over existing part has been rebuilt, and rubble cleared. Rest awaits financing of project.

PITECCIO (Pistoia)

Parish Church

Roof destroyed. Walls damaged.

POGGIBONSI (Siena)

S. Lucchese

Completely unroofed by fire caused by artillery shells. Movable works of art, including Raffaello dei Carli, *Noli me Tangere*, triptych by pupil of Orcagna, and a Gothic statue of the Virgin, totally destroyed by fire. Frescoes by Gaddi school damaged by fire and rain. Della Robbia school altarpiece damaged by shell fragments. Paolo di Giovanni Fei frescoes slightly damaged by rain and sun. Gerino da Pistoia frescoes in convent damaged by rain.

Remarkable Trecento cabinets in sacristy, with tiny panel paintings by Ugolino da Siena, perfectly intact.

Fei frescoes and Robbia altarpiece were covered by protections of porous brick, with air holes. Chapels have been reroofed, as has portion of adjoining house containing Gerino da Pistoia frescoes. Superintendency has provided for excellent cleaning of the frescoes by the restorer Pettinelli. Roof over church commenced by AMG and completed by Italian Government.

POGGIO A CAIANO (Florence)

Villa Medici

Majestic villa by Giuliano da Sangallo, with important frescoes by Pontormo and others.

Part of roof destroyed by shells. Hits on walls as well. Doors and windows damaged; frescoes intact. Part of park enclosure and gates destroyed. Roof and walls completely repaired.

PONTE A GREVE (Florence)

Tabernacle

Shaken and cracked by explosion of mines that destroyed adjacent fourteenth century bridge. Neri di Bicci fresco cracked. Fresco consolidated, tabernacle masonry reworked; fresco restored.

POPPI (Arezzo)

S. Fedele

Damage to roof by shells and blast; seventy per cent to reset. Work completed June 30, 1945. All works of art intact.

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

PRATO (Florence)

Cathedral and cloister

Romanesque and Gothic church of first importance.

Slight damage to roof. Windows near Filippo frescoes broken. Loggia of cloister ruined, portico in bad condition. Roof repaired over church, but work on cloister held up awaiting financing. All works of art, including sculpture by Giovanni Pisano and Donatello and frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi and Filippo Lippi, intact.

S. AGOSTINO

Gothic church.

Apse destroyed by bomb. Chapel with frescoes of Poccetti school badly shaken and cracked. Reconstructed by Italian Government.

S. Bartolommeo

Trecento church.

Church totally destroyed by bombs. Attempt made to salvage cloister; demolition later proved necessary.

S. Maria delle Carceri

Superb Renaissance church by Giuliano da Sangallo.

Damage to outer wall of right transept by near miss. Damage to wall repaired. Della Robbia medallions had been removed to safety and are intact.

S. Maria del Giglio

Four-fifths of roof over nave collapsed, as well as part of right wall with its altar and one arch of portico. Clearing of rubble and recovery of architectural fragments complete.

S. Maria della Pietà

Early Seicento church with arcaded loggia. Shell holes on roof of nave and choir; one-quarter of roof of portico damaged; some of vaults of portico cracked. Roof repaired.

House of Filippino Lippi

See text, pp. 62-63. House completely demolished by direct bomb hit, which smashed in thousands of pieces the tabernacle fresco by Filippino. This fresco has been completely recomposed by the restorer

Tintori and the fragments of fifteenth century architecture rescued from the house.

Palazzo Pretorio

Fine thirteenth century palace.

Three shell holes in roof, opening building to rain which caused floor of one room to collapse; almost all windows broken. Repairs completed.

PUGNANO (Pisa)

Parish Church

Simple Romanesque church.

Campanile destroyed by German mines, wrecking portion of church. Walls now rebuilt by Italian Government.

S. ANDREA A CERCINA (Florence)

Pieve

Eleventh century church often restored. Shell damage to roofs of church, cloister, loggia, and chapter house; 70 sq. meters to reconstruct and 350 to reset. Most urgent work completed under AMO; remainder under Italian Government.

S. BARONTO (Pistoia)

Parish Church

Fine primitive Romanesque church in idyllic landscape setting.

Church almost totally destroyed by German mines; rubble cleared. Poccetti school frescoes largely lost. Reconstruction by Italian Government now under way.

S. CASCIANO (Florence)

Church of the Misericordia

Unimportant church with splendid pulpit by Giovanni di Balduccio, triptych by Ugolino da Siena and Crucifix by Simone Martini, all intact.

Roof tiles completely blown away by bombs. New roof completed June 30, 1945.

S. DONATO A CALENZANO

(Florence)

San Donato

Part of the roof damaged by shells. Campanile now reconstructed by Italian Government.

S. DONNINO (Florence)

Tower of the Tornabuoni Palace

Roof completely destroyed through bomb-

APPENDIX II

bardments, 80 sq. meters of roof to be replaced; now reconstructed.

S. GIMIGNANO (Siena)

Collegiata

See text, pp. 11-13. Heavily pounded by artillery. Roof tiles blown off or fractured throughout building. Large holes in nave and aisle vaulting. Direct hit on chapel of S. Fina brought down only one side of curtain of Benedetto da Maiano tomb. Large hole in Barna *Crucifixion* and *Marriage in Cana*. Large shell hole in Taddeo di Bartolo *Paradise*.

Arrangements for roof repairs quickly contracted by Captain Keller. Roof eventually entirely recovered in church itself. Windows have either been bricked up or filled with composition board and glass. All shell holes in masonry have been repaired. Three windows, preexistent to, and covered by, the frescoes, have been walled up from the back. Window nearest the façade, most likely to fall, was shored from the inside to prevent immediate collapse.

Fragments have been recovered and fitted into the frescoes of the *Crucifixion* and the *Marriage in Cana*, now solid and out of danger. Smaller pieces seem to be in conditions beyond recovery, so that certain sections of both these frescoes are lost forever. The *Flight into Egypt*, on the window which fell December 22, 1944, has been pieced together on a wood stretcher and replaced in the window. The work, a job of infinite patience, was complicated by the half obliterated condition of that section of the series, and by the fact that the fresco, falling from such a height, was disintegrated rather than smashed. The result of the long labor is a mosaic in which hardly more than the outline of the composition is decipherable.

Careful cleaning by the Italian Government has removed all the nineteenth century repaint, already loosened by dampness, which formerly disfigured the Barna frescoes. They are now consolidated and, except for the missing sections, in better condition than before the war.

San Bartolo

Small but very fine Romanesque church in brick. Roof totally collapsed. Only outside walls remain intact; roof now rebuilt by Italian Government.

Palazzo Comunale

Struck by numerous shells of heavy caliber. Roof badly smashed, and some large holes in masonry. All masonry holes have been patched and roof has been repaired. Fresco by Lippo Memmi intact. Thirteenth century hunt frescoes damaged in several places; work of consolidation complete.

S. GIOVANNI VALDARNO (Arezzo)

S. Lorenzo

Blast damage to roof; 70 sq. meters to replace and 100 sq. meters to reset. Repairs completed December 31, 1944. Della Robbia reliefs and Madonna by Master of the Fogg *Pietà* intact; latter in Florence.

S. Maria delle Grazie

Bombing of adjacent railway destroyed eighteenth century half of basilica right down to the crypt, and badly damaged roof of sixteenth century portion. Roof of sixteenth century portion completely reset with large percentage of new tiles, walled off from destroyed portion, and consolidated by masonry spurs. Vasari gilded altar intact. Reconstruction of eighteenth century portion of church now begun by Italian Government.

Palazzo Pretorio

Fine arcaded Gothic palace.

Military truck backed into corner of palace at full speed; knocked down octagonal stone column, which brought down vaulting, column above, and vaulting above that—entire corner of palace. Six Robbia school and five stone coats-of-arms smashed to bits. Corner completely reconstructed, largely with original material and re-roofed. Robbia reliefs reconstructed and replaced.

S. GODENZO (Florence)

Abbey

Imposing Romanesque church.



1. Palazzo Guicciardini
2. Casa Guicciardini-Mattoli
3. Casa Ventura
4. Palazzo Frescobaldi
5. Casa dei Marchionni
6. Palazzo Pitti-Ricciardi
7. Palazzo Barbadori
8. Torre dei Rossi-Corchi
9. Palazzo Rossi-Corchi-Cantigiani
10. Magione dei Templari
11. Mediceo Palazzo
12. Palazzo Novellucci-Soragni
13. Torre dei Serragli
14. Torre dei Ridolfi
15. Palazzo Barbadori
16. Palazzo Roffredelli
17. Ponte Santa Trinita
18. Palazzo del Turco
19. Palazzo de Angelis
20. Palazzo Arcivescovi
21. Palazzo and Torre del Carducci
22. Torre degli Amidei
23. Torre dei Baldovinetti
24. Palazzo Buonaiuti
25. Palazzo di Piero Guelfa
26. Torre dei Gondi
27. Houses of Various Periods
28. Torre dei Gherardini
29. Palazzo Bartolommei
30. Torre dei Gherardini
31. Torre dei Gherardini
32. Church of Santo Stefano
33. Corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti
34. Torre dei Mannelli
35. Arch of the Corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti
36. Palazzo Mannelli-Gallati
37. Palazzo Bardi
38. Palazzo Cantigiani
39. Palazzo Bargagli-Petracci
40. Palazzo Ambron
41. Palazzo Mannelli
42. Palazzo Cantigiani
43. Bath of the Medici
44. Torre di Piero Guelfa
45. Palazzo de Rossi
46. Church of Santa Felicità
47. Colonnade of the former Convent of Santa Felicità
48. Palazzo Frescobaldi

Map 3. Damaged and destroyed areas of Florence

DAMAGED MONUMENTS

Heavy roof damage through explosions of German mines which completely destroyed the village. Right corner of apse has severe crack. Damage completely repaired.

SAN LEO (Arezzo)

S. Leo

Tiny primitive Romanesque church with fine Quattrocento apse and transepts.

Church already in bad condition before the war. Direct hit by artillery shell brought down half the campanile and destroyed what remained of roof. Triumphal arch badly shaken and ready to collapse. Two fourteenth century Madonnas in fresco as well as fine Quattrocento architectural details have suffered from rain and sun.

Under AMO triumphal arch was dismantled and rebuilt, and church reroofed. Work on architectural details and campanile completed under Italian Government.

S. MARCELLO PISTOIESE (Pistoia)

S. Marcello

Heavy damage to walls; roof and vaulting completely destroyed. Rubble has been removed; rest awaits financing.

S. MARIA A MONTE (Pisa)

Parish Church

Romanesque church, much rebuilt, with fine tower and superb pulpit.

Many artillery hits caused heavy damage to roof and walls, and two hits at base of campanile undermined it dangerously. Church completely reroofed, and campanile and walls repaired.

S. MINIATO (Pisa)

Cathedral

Trecento church, often restored. Scene of German massacre of scores of helpless civilians.

Many shell hits on roof and right wall penetrating into interior; damage to wooden ceiling and to campanile. Rubble completely removed and roof and masonry repaired.

S. Chiara

Roof partly gone, damage to walls through mines.

S. Francesco

Impressive Gothic church.

Shell hits on roof and walls; all repairs completed.

Palazzo Grifoni

Fine Cinquecento palace by Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo.

Germans blew up the entire right wing of the palace and part of the center in order to block the road. Retaining walls have been built to hold up what is left of the palace. All work financed by proprietor.

S. QUIRICO D'ORCIA (Siena)

Collegiata

Gothic church with magnificent decorative sculpture.

Roof badly damaged by shellfire and masonry by shell fragments. Fine choir stalls open to rain. Sano di Pietro altarpiece buried by rubble. All roof repairs are now completed and monument out of danger. Architectural restorations interrupted by war will have to be recommenced. Sano di Pietro brought back to Siena. Great Gothic portal intact.

S. SAVINO (Pisa)

Badia

Fine Romanesque abbey church.

Campanile destroyed through mines. Roof of the church almost gone.

SESTINO (Arezzo)

S. Pancrazio

Small Romanesque church on site of Roman temple.

Some shell damage. Damage repaired and architecture cleared of incrustations by Italian Government.

SERAVEZZA (Lucca)

Cathedral

Provincial Renaissance church.

Heavy damage to roof over the nave, chapels, and baptistery. Repaired by Italian Government with funds provided by AMO.

Palazzo Medici

Fine Mannerist building by Ammanati.

Shell damage to roof and walls. Repaired

APPENDIX II

by Italian Government with funds provided by AMG.

SETTIGNANO (Florence)

Villa La Gamberaia

Fine Cinquecento villa with one of the most perfectly preserved Renaissance gardens in Italy. Germans set fire to files of Institute of Military Geography stored in villa, gutting the building completely. Only outer walls left, in ruinous condition. Garden intact.

SIENA (Siena)

Mending of large number of broken windows in cathedral and Piccolomini Library. Completed with temporary means under AMG, now repaired with glass.

S. Francesco

Important Gothic church. Lorenzetti frescoes and all other works of art intact. Two hundred and ten sq. meters of roof ruined, 400 sq. meters damaged, by near misses. All windows broken. Two beams endangered by seeping water. Some damage to masonry. Roof repairs completed. Windows closed with bricks and glass.

Hospital of S. Maria della Scala

Frescoes by Beccafumi, Domenico di Bartolo, and Vecchietta, damaged by infiltration of water. Beccafumi fresco consolidated and cleaned. Vecchietta frescoes in Sala di S. Pietro one-third obliterated through infiltrations. Scaffolding erected and consolidation of crumbling frescoes by restorer Pettinelli effected by AMG.

Osservanza

Fine Quattrocento church designed by Giacomo Cozzarelli.

Church largely destroyed by bombs; complete collapse of roof, vaulting of nave, side aisles, chapels, and sacristy, and almost total destruction of cupola.

Fragments of Robbia and Cozzarelli reliefs have all been excavated from rubble and carefully put aside ready to be repaired. Fragments detached from pendentives; all rubble cleared and walls consolidated under AMG. Reconstruction nearing completion under Italian Government.

Museo dell' Opera del Duomo

Repair to hole in wall and to windows, all of which were broken by small caliber bomb. Contents intact.

Palazzo Bindi-Sergardi

Frescoes, the masterpieces of Beccafumi, severely shaken by bomb that destroyed adjoining room. A few small pieces fell, and were reattached. Endangered portions of frescoes, already largely detached from ceiling, were supported by props and consolidated by means of injections through the frescoes and through holes in the vault above them.

Pinacoteca (Palazzo Buonsignori)

Roof gone for 14 sq. meters and damaged for 60 sq. meters. Considerable breakage of glass. All repairs completed by December 1944.

STAZZEMA (Lucca)

S. Maria Assunta

Fine Romanesque church with Quattrocento rose window. Explosion of bridge below caused damage to roof, coffered ceilings, campanile, and to pavement in the portico.

TERENZANO (Florence)

S. Martino

Heavy shell damage to roof. Small campanile collapsed, holes in walls. All urgent work completed. Works of art intact.

VAGLI SOTTO (Lucca)

S. Agostino

Eleventh century church with traces of Romanesque frescoes.

Some shell damage to roof and walls; repairs completed.

VICCHIO DI RIMAGGIO (Florence)

S. Lorenzo

Shell damage to walls and roof (40 sq. meters). All damage repaired May 20, 1945. Early fourteenth century Madonna and Lorenzo di Bicci frescoes safe.

VILLAFRANCA LUNIGIANA

(Apuania)

S. Francesco

Fine church, originally mediaeval but

DESTROYED MONUMENTS

much rebuilt. Quattrocento cloister. Church more than half destroyed. Robbia relief badly damaged, and another buried under rubble.

VILLAMAGNA (Florence)

S. Donnino

Primitive Romanesque church.

Shell damage to walls and roof (50 sq. meters), to façade and campanile. Repairs completed. Granacci, Gherardo, and Mariotto di Nardo altarpieces safe.

VINCI (Florence)

S. Ansano

Heavy damage through direct bomb hit; portico completely destroyed, half of campanile collapsed, roof badly damaged. Removal of rubble completed; interior restored. Rest of work awaits financing.

VOLOGNANO (Florence)

Parish Church

Church being without importance, it was decided to repair adjacent oratory roof, as refuge for large altarpieces by Fra Bar-

tolommeo and Puligo. Repairs completed July 31, 1945.

VOLTERRA (Pisa)

Cathedral

Splendid Romanesque church, with colonnade and ceiling rebuilt in late Renaissance.

Heavy damage to roof by shellfire, damaging also part of Capriani ceiling, and uncovering entirely the chapel of S. Carlo. All roof repairs completed in August. All works of art, including the great thirteenth century Crucifixion group, and candle-bearing angels by Mino da Fiesole, intact.

S. Alessandro

Romanesque church, partially rebuilt.

Partial destruction of roof and apse; entire sacristy collapsed. All repair work on church completed.

Cappella Guidi or Sta. Croce

Slight damage to roof had permitted water to filter into vaults and cause some damage to important, though repainted, frescoes by Cenni di Guido di Ser Cenni. Roof tiles were reset.

SECTION III

MONUMENTS TOTALLY DESTROYED

A. Towers demolished by the Germans because of possible usefulness as observation posts:

BADIA A SETTIMO (Florence)

Campanile

BROZZI (Florence)

Campanile

EMPOLI (Florence)

Campanile of Collegiata

Campanile of S. Agostino

MONTISI (Siena)

Torre del Comune

QUARTO (Florence)

Torre degli Agli

SALA (Florence)

Campanile of S. Lucia

SANSEPOLCRO (Arezzo)

La Berta

SAN CASSIANO (Lucca)

Campanile of parish church

SAN BARONTO (Pistoia)

Campanile and most of church

SAN MINIATO (Pisa)

Castle of Frederick II

APPENDIX III

SAN PIERO A GRADO (Pisa)

Campanile

SAN SAVINO (Pisa)

Campanile of former abbey

B. Other monuments blown up by the Germans to serve as road blocks:

BARBERINO VALDELSA (Florence)

Town gate

BORGO ALLA COLLINA (Arezzo)

Arcaded streets (fifteenth century)

CAMAIONE (Florence)

Villa Antinori

CASTIGLION FIORENTINO (Arezzo)

Town gate

CERBAIOLO (Arezzo)

Parish church

FAIANO (Arezzo)

Parish church

FLORENCE (Florence)

Ponte S. Trinità

Casa Macchiavelli (house of the author of the *Principe*, many other ancient houses in the area totally destroyed)

Palazzo Acciaiuoli (rich Cinquecento palace; only small section remains)

Palazzo Ambron (Renaissance palace with superb cortile)

Palazzo de' Bardi (seat of Colombaria Library, with fine Quattrocento arcades over Arno)

Palazzo Barbadori (section of façade remains)

Palazzo Belfredelli (section of façade remains)

Palazzo Canigiani (fourteenth century, with fifteenth-century cortile)

Palazzo Canigiani (fifteenth century)

Palazzo de Angelis

Palazzo Firidolfi-Ricasoli (fourteenth century)

Palazzo Guicciardini-Mazzei (fourteenth century)

Palazzo Mannelli (fourteenth century, with early fifteenth-century cortile)

Palazzo Mannelli-Galilei (small portion remains, clinging to Torre dei Mannelli)

Palazzo Novellucci-Strozzi (seventeenth-

century façade destroyed; cortile in style of Baccio d'Agnolo partly preserved)

Palazzo de Rossi (fourteenth century, portion of façade remains)

Palazzo Rossi-Cerchi-Canigiani (fine sixteenth-century palace with fifteenth-century cortile)

Torre dei Girolami

Torre dei Guidi

Torre dei Gherardini

Torre di Parte Guelfa

Torre dei Rossi

Torre dei Ridolfi

Torre dei Serragli

Fine mediaeval towers

MEZZAVIA (Arezzo)

S. Maria degli Angeli (handsome octagonal Cinquecento church)

MONTEPULCIANO (Siena)

Town gate

PIEVE SANTO STEFANO (Arezzo)

Half of Palazzo Comunale

POPPI (Arezzo)

Town gate

SAN MINIATO (Pisa)

Two-thirds of Palazzo Grifoni (splendid palace by Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo)

SPAZZAVENTO (Pistoia)

Parish church

STAGGIA (Siena)

Porta Senese

TERRANOVA BRACCIOLINI

(Arezzo)

All four superb towered gates of this unique castellated village

VICCHIO DI MUGELLO (Florence)

Two-thirds of the walls and towers

DESTROYED WORKS OF ART

This account cannot even list the innumerable bridges of artistic interest, and often minimal military importance, blown up by the Germans. It may be assumed that less than five per cent of these are

still standing. They were an essential element in the Italian landscape. Numerous towns and villages of great beauty, such as S. Godenzo and Pieve S. Stefano, were also eviscerated by German mines.

C. Monuments destroyed by Allied air action:

AREZZO (Arezzo)

S. Bernardo

CAMAIORE (Lucca)

S. Michele

CERTALDO (Florence)

House of Boccaccio

LIVORNO (Livorno)

Cathedral. Less than one-third remains.

PISA (Pisa)

SS. Cosma e Damiano

Numerous fine mediaeval houses. Some

of these could have been repaired, but were subsequently demolished by the Air Corps engineers and removed to use as fill for the airstrip.

PRATO (Florence)

House of Filippino Lippi

In addition numerous fine mediaeval and Renaissance towns and villages, such as San Casciano and Pontassieve, were terribly damaged by Allied bombardments. Firenzuola, with all its Quattrocento arcades, was totally destroyed.

SECTION IV

DESTROYED WORKS OF ART

THE following are the more important works of art in Tuscany known to have been either obliterated by the war or so badly damaged as to render restoration impossible:

AREZZO (Arezzo)

S. Bernardo. Frescoes by Marco da Montepulciano, lost save for small fragments Normal School Chapel. Fresco by Vasari S. Pier Piccolo. Tomb of Bonucci, by follower of Montorsoli, except for bust Museo Civico. Panel by Jacopo del Casentino

Madonna with Saints, Florentine, fifteenth century

Madonna with Saints, Florentine, early fifteenth century

Annunciation, Florentine, early fifteenth century

Pietà, Florentine, fourteenth century

Virgin and Child, Florentine, fourteenth century

Pietà, drawing, Florentine, fourteenth century

Giovanni del Biondo, *Madonna with Angels*

Two pictures by Bicci di Lorenzo

EMPOLI (Florence)

Museo della Collegiata, Empoli, *Presentation in the Temple*

Cigoli, *Last Supper*, and *Heracles bringing the Cross to Jerusalem*

Botticini, *Deposition*

Macchietti, *Glory of St. Lawrence*

Collegiata. Fifteenth-century fresco of saints

S. Agostino. Two fifteenth-century fresco medallions

APPENDIX V

Sixteenth-century wooden choir stalls
S. Pietro a Biotoli. Cigoli, *Calling of Peter*

FIRENZUOLA (Florence)

Parish church. Naldini, *Virgin of the Rosary*

FLORENCE (Florence)

S. Jacopo sopr' Arno. Vincenzo Meucci, eighteenth century, ceiling frescoes
Palazzo Bargagli Petrucci. Gherardini, eighteenth century, ceiling frescoes
Borgo S. Jacopo. Nine pictures of minor importance from Berenson Collection

GABOIANO (Pistoia)

Parish church. Dome frescoes by Valiani, eighteenth century

IMPRUNETA (Florence)

S. Maria. Tommaso del Mazza and Pietro Nelli, polyptych
Michelozzo, stucco relief
Cigoli, *Assumption*
Bilivert, *Magdalen*
Three eighteenth-century decorative canvases

LIVORNO (Livorno)

S. Giulia. Matteo Rosselli, *Martyrdom of St. Julia* (huge altarpiece torn to ribbons by vandals)

MARESCA (Pistoia)

Parish church. Dome frescoes by Valiani

MAIANO (Florence)

Utili, tabernacle

MEZZAVIA (Arezzo)

S. Maria degli Angeli. *Madonna and Child*, fresco, fifteenth century

PISTOIA (Pistoia)

S. Domenico. Fra Paolino, *Madonna and Child*
Nasini, altarpiece
Bartolommeo Cristian, fresco
Annunciation, fresco, fourteenth century
S. Giovanni al Corso. *Nativity*, Sebastiano Vini
Numerous unimportant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings

POGGIBONSI (Siena)

S. Lucchese. Follower of Orcagna, Polyptych
Raffaellino dei Carli, *Noli me tangere*
Statue of Virgin, wood, fourteenth century

PRATO (Florence)

S. Bartolommeo. G. A. Ferretti, *Coronation of Virgin*, vault fresco, eighteenth century
G. A. Fabbrini, frescoes, 1779
Wooden crucifix, fourteenth century
S. Agostino. Carved wooden choir stalls, fifteenth century

SALA (Florence)

S. Lucia. *Crucifixion*, fresco, fifteenth century

SAN BARONTO (Pistoia)

Parish church. Frescoes by Poccetti
Two seventeenth-century altarpieces, one by Gherardini

SECTION V

WALLED-UP PICTURES

SERIOUS damage to paintings, especially panels, was sometimes caused through an excess of zeal on the part of local clergy, by their being walled up with no holes left for the circulation of air and no other precautions against atmospheric damage. Some of the principal incidents are worth recording.

CORTONA (Arezzo) S. Domenico

Sassetta, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, triptych
Fra Angelico, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, triptych

WALLED-UP PICTURES

Both of these triptychs, of great artistic importance, had been for centuries in chapels made damp by the changed level of the street behind the church. Impregnated with dampness, they were walled up by the *parroco* in a small, dry, and completely airless room. Not until December, 1944, was it possible to get the *parroco* to unwall them. When the pictures were brought out they were covered with mold nearly an inch thick, all over the painted surface, the pinnacles, and the backs of the panels (Fig. 46). Only the immediate action of Procacci saved them from quick disintegration, and in spite of the risk of collision on the traffic jammed road from Arezzo, the pictures were taken at once to Florence.

The removal of the mold showed the wood to be so decayed that it would have to be completely removed from the back of the pigment, and the pigment then re-mounted on new panels. This job of infinite delicacy was greatly complicated by the advanced stage of decomposition and the difficulty of maintaining sufficient humidity in the *Gabinetto del Restauro* at a time when the electrical supply in Florence was continually breaking down. The work was of such urgency and complexity that the restorers had to abandon every other task in the frantic race against time and the elements to prevent dissolution of the painted surface. Even the layer of gesso between the wood and the paint had disintegrated to the consistency of flour. The work on these pictures took nearly two years. They were exhibited recently at the *Mostra del Restauro* in Florence in such a way that the pigment could be seen *from the back*, showing the first pencil drawing and the underside of the veil of paint (Figs. 47-49), before the new gesso and seasoned panels had been applied to complete the restoration.

MONTEPULCIANO (Siena) Cathedral

Taddeo di Bartolo, Polyptych

This huge altarpiece, the largest Italian Gothic panel painting, now that the Impruneta altarpiece is destroyed, was walled up by the Bishop of Montepulciano under somewhat similar conditions. The damage was, however, not grave, and only one of the panels required treatment.

BADIA A ISOLA (Siena) Parish Church

Master of Badia a Isola, *Madonna and Child*

Sano di Pietro, *Madonna and Child*, triptych

These two pictures, of which the first is one of the finest remaining works of the immediate following of Duccio, were walled up in the left aisle of the church, in a spot heavily stained by dampness. The *parroco* at first denied their presence in the church, but a second visit, prompted by the disaster at Cortona, produced the panels. Possibly the dampness of the spot was the salvation of the pictures, for when exhumed they appeared not to have suffered at all.

CASTIGLIONE D'ORCIA (Siena) S. Maria Maddalena

Lippo Memmi, *Madonna and Child*

Vecchietta, *Madonna and Child with Angels*

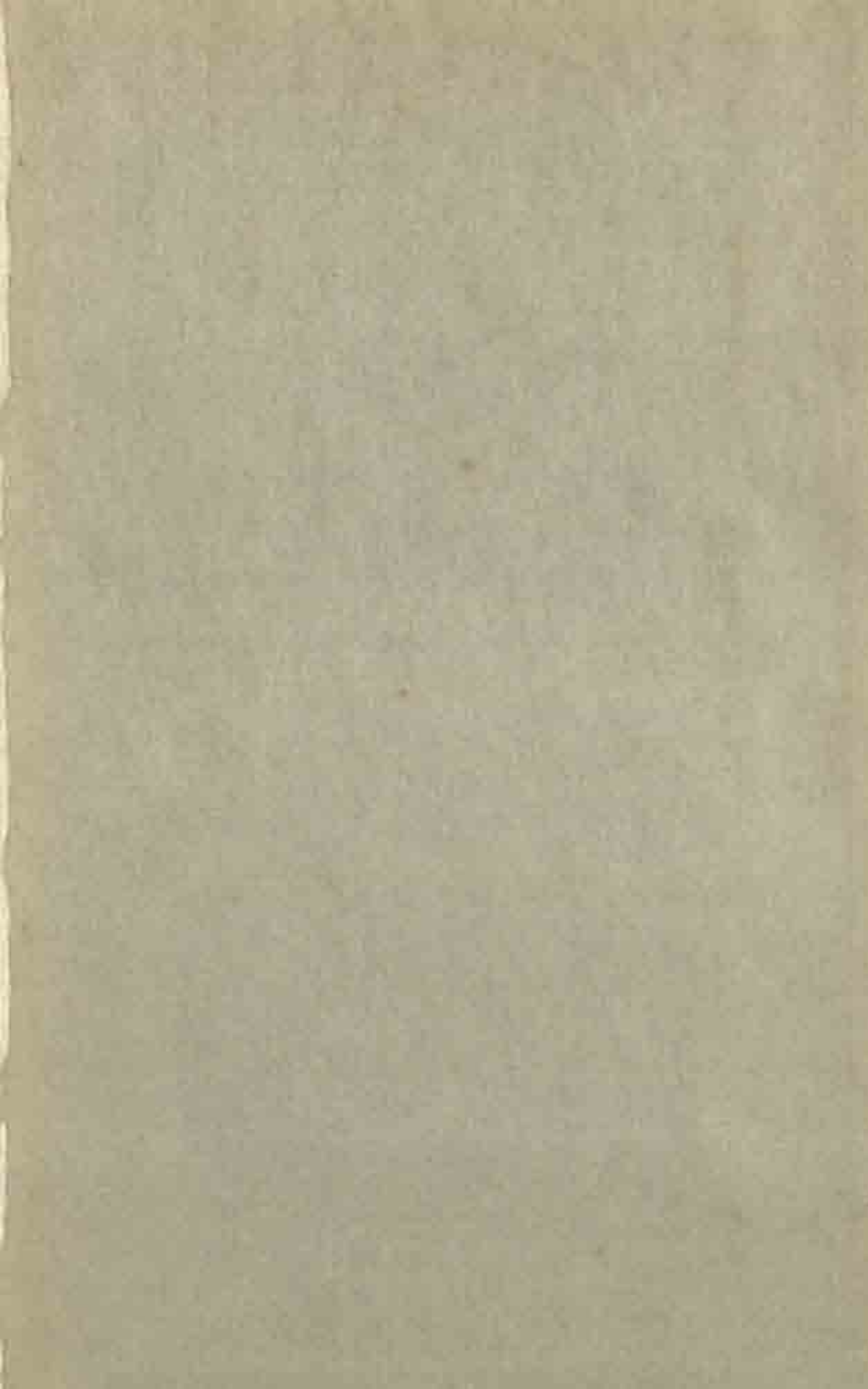
The conversion of the little church into a granary meant that these panels had been walled up for four years in their chapel. The arrival of a truck from Siena with

APPENDIX V

Prof. Enzo Carli, to bring the pictures back for restoration, was the signal for a veritable uprising of the women of the village. They cared little whether the pictures were visible or not, or even whether the paint fell off the panels, but the removal of these powerful fetiches was to the primitive inhabitants a disaster of the first magnitude. Such was the vehemence of their threats that Carli, who had braved the authority of a German general, to save the Sieneſe pictures in the deposit at Arceno, had to turn the truck about and flee before the women of this mountain village. No promises as to the eventual return of the pictures would satisfy the old women, and eventually it took an order from the prefect of the Province of Siena and two armed carabinieri before the panels could be removed to safety.



ERRATUM: In the legend for Figure 20, for *Tommaso di Marco* read *Tommaso del Mazza*.



cal

709.45 (only a - study list
count)

~~Hilly~~ -

Arts - Hilly

Hilly + Arts - Hilly

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.
