Landscape Drawings by Pietro da Cortona

JÖRG MARTIN MFRZ.
University of Augsburg

Dedicated to Prof. Dr. Klaus Schwager, Tübingen

Era Pietro un Pittore, 
che faccia bene ciò che voleva, 
e così ancora i Pittori.  
—RIDOLFINO VENUTI

PIETRO BERRETTINI DA CORcona (Cortona 1597–Rome 1669) did not play a central role in Roman seventeenth-century landscape painting; he was more concerned with prestigious large-scale fresco decorations and architectural projects. Yet, while acquiring fame in these fields, he also developed as a landscapist, adding a small but delectable body of work to the broad spectrum of landscapes by, among many others, the Carracci and their school; Agostino Tassi and his famous pupil, Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain; Gaspard Duchet and Nicolas Poussin; and the Neapolitan Salvador Rosa.1 Cortona’s most important contribution consists of a fresco cycle of landscapes with small religious scenes painted in 1628 on the chapel walls of the residence of his patrons the Sacchetti at Castel Fusano (now the Villa Chigi), a remote countryside near Ostia.2 In these frescoes he exploited the classical ideal developed by Annibale Carracci and perpetuated by Annibale’s pupil Pietro Paolo Bonzi—with whom Cortona collaborated on decorations in the gallery of the Palazzo Mattei (1622–23)—in landscape friezes executed in the mid-1620s in the Palazzo Pallavincini-Rospigliosi in Rome.3 Regarding Cortona’s frescoes at Castel Fusano, Rudolf Wittkower perspicaciously noted that “their painterly freedom is an unexpected revelation, and in a more accessible locality they would long have been given a place of honour in the development of Italian landscape painting.”4

Besides this cycle of frescoes, Cortona executed several casd paintings incorporating landscapes, also mainly for the Sacchetti, which, however, do not form a homogeneous group. They include a pair of small and charming oval panels of a river scene and a seascape, a dramatic view of the rocky alum mines at Tolfa that Marcello Sacchetti had rented from Pope Urban VIII (both, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome), a bird’s-eye view of an unidentified rural estate (private collection, Naples), and a front view of the villa at Castel Fusano and its formal gardens (Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome), which originally formed a cycle with three other views—probably all by Cortona but now lost—of various Sacchetti estates.5 More ambitious is a landscape with the Calling of Peter and Andrew that exists in several versions and in which Cortona transposed the scene with figures from the homonymous fresco at Castel Fusano into a grandiosc panorama, recalling the idealized landscapes of Domenichino.6 Comparable in this respect is a landscape with two temples recently discovered by Louise Rice in the apartment of a cardinal at the Vatican and traced back to the Sacchetti inventories.7

The latter two paintings suggest that Cortona’s interest in landscape continued after the Castel Fusano frescoes. This is underscored by a number of his landscape drawings, which—unlike the paintings—have hitherto received only sporadic attention, as well as by a number of landscapes by his followers. An occasion to deal with them more comprehensively is offered by the exquisite Landscape with Wine Harvest (Colorplate 5; see also Figure 8) recently acquired by the Department of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.8 This drawing, which is neither signed nor otherwise inscribed, does not bear a collector’s mark or any hint as to its first owners, and—to the best of my knowledge—has never been mentioned in a sale catalogue or published before its inclusion in the Metropolitan Museum’s bulletin of

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recent acquisitions. It was first shown to me in 1998 with the suggestion that it might be by Cortona, but confirmation of the attribution was complicated by the fact that another version had just surfaced on the art market that could be determined without doubt to be a faithful copy.

The borders of the original drawing are shaded, partially overlapping the gray wash design. While the right and lower margins are tinted yellow, the opposite borders have a brown tonality, thus conveying the illusion of a gilt frame illuminated from the upper left, which corresponds to the direction of the light in the scene. Ultimately, it is difficult to say whether this “frame” was conceived by Cortona or added later, since some of his early drawings have similar, undoubtedly original borders, but all his other landscape studies and later drawings generally are without them. Unlike the framing lines in the early studies just mentioned, the border on the sheet in the Metropolitan Museum does not seem to have been drawn at the same time as the scene. Rather, it was added to the finished drawing and was therefore more likely the work of a later owner.

The composition consists of scenery with small figures in the foreground, a town along a cascading river in the middle ground, a towering mountain overgrown with trees and bushes at the left, and a hill fading into the distance at the right. Rays of sunlight emanate from the cloudy sky, shining on the mountain and the river valley, which is dominated by a basilica and a church spire. Filling the left foreground is a huge tree, its trunk covered with vines, and a peasant on a ladder harvesting grapes. Behind the tree is the trellised ruin of a classical building serving as a wine cellar; and above it, in the middle ground, rises an antique temple, the town’s most prominent feature. The themes of antiquity and wine making are also associated in the foreground, where architectural fragments lie scattered before a group of barrels being prepared for use. Several peasants carry baskets with grapes to a central point under the large tree, and, with the same intention, in front of some trees and a trellis at the far right a group of women are loading baskets onto their heads. In the valley toward the river, a herd of mules and a drover are moving in the opposite direction. While recession in space is rendered with a diminishingly intense gray wash, the outlines in the foreground are enhanced with pen and iron-gall ink, which originally was almost black and integrated with the gray wash but now has turned brown with age, thus making the overall appearance of the drawing more colorful.

In its composition and motifs, the Metropolitan Museum’s drawing closely resembles the painting in the Vatican of a landscape with two temples mentioned above, as well as a number of landscape drawings in brush and wash discussed below (see Figures 4–9), which are unanimously accepted as autograph works by Cortona. Traditionally, the majority of these drawings and paintings have been dated to the artist’s early career, contemporary with the Castelfusano frescoes. In favor of this assumption, one could argue that Marcello Sacchetti—as noted, Cortona’s principal patron at the time—was, himself, an amateur landscape painter and certainly fostered activity in this field, but he had already died by 1629. However, a few documents indicate that Cortona drew landscapes even in the 1660s, and landscape motifs appear in some of his later compositional studies that are similar to the autonomous landscape drawings, thus suggesting that a number of the latter works might also have originated in this late period. This view, which was first expressed by Walter Vitzthum and variously endorsed by later scholars, seems correct, and will be supported in the following review of all of Cortona’s extant drawings in combination with evidence from documents and early sources.

Early Pen-and-Ink Drawings

Cortona’s earliest drawings of landscapes appear in the backgrounds of some of his anatomical illustrations of about 1618, which were engraved at the time by Luca Cambelliano but remained unpublished until the eighteenth century. Drawn in pen and brown ink, over either black chalk or brush and brown wash, they were inspired thematically and stylistically by the landscape drawings of members of the Carracci school, such as Cortona’s compatriot Pietro Paolo Bonzi.

Early on, Cortona mastered the handling of pen and ink in studies that included landscapes. It is reported by Giulio Mancini in both versions of his short biography of the artist—dating slightly before and about 1625, respectively—that Cortona’s virtuosity in this technique was equalled by only a few of his colleagues. Mancini had seen Cortona’s Nocturnal View of the Ripa Grande, Rome’s old harbor on the banks of the Tiber, opposite the Aventine, with a variety of boats in perspective, people milling about, and other details, which made him wonder how the artist could have drawn it with only the light from a lantern. At about the same time, according to Luca Berrettini, the artist’s nephew, the extraordinary quality of a drawing in pen and ink, representing the burning of Troy, convinced Marcello Sacchetti of Cortona’s
genius and induced him to become his patron. In fact, this drawing held a place of honor in the Sacchetti collection, but, like the View of the Ripa Grande, it is unfortunately now lost.

The single extant landscape drawing with an old attribution to Cortona which might be from his early period is the large Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Town at a Distant Mountain (Figure 1) in the Uffizi. Recently, it has tentatively been identified as the landscape that Cortona’s pupil Giro Ferri sent to Leopoldo de’ Medici in Florence in 1662, but this hypothesis can be dismissed since the drawing—unlike the description in Ferri’s letter—does not represent the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, with its terraces and exedra, but a small, circular temple, above a picturesque town, in a landscape setting. In addition, it can hardly be labeled a paesino, or little landscape, but corresponds instead to the “Veduta grande di paese con antiche rovine, a penna e acquerello bello” in Leopoldo’s album “Universale XIII,” containing drawings attributed to Cortona, which is described in an inventory of 1784. The ambitious panorama was inspired by Northern Über-schaulandschaften (landscapes seen from a high viewpoint), and the juxtaposition of a prominent antique ruin in the left foreground with a high, rocky mountain in the distance recalls Polidoro da Caravaggio’s fresco Landscape with Noli me tangere in the Chapel of Fra Mariano, San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome. The three-storied structure in the left foreground represents the ruins of the so-called Septizonium, whose monumental facade was erected, under the Roman emperor Septimius Severus’s reign, at the south end of the Palatine facing the Via Appia and was frequently drawn by Renaissance artists before it was torn down during the reign of Pope Sixtus V in 1589. All the other buildings are products of the artist’s imagination and are freely arranged on the slope of the mountain, forming an imposing silhouette against the cloudless sky. The artist began with brush and brown and gray wash, later reinforcing the contours of the architecture, the foliage, and parts of the ground with pen.

This sheet appears faded throughout, almost as if it were a copy, but the graphic quality of the pen-and-ink
Figure 2. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Hermitage*, 1629. Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk, 35 x 22 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 841 P (photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence)

Figure 3. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Classical Building*, ca. 1630. Pen and brown ink, with brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 22.5 x 42 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 2000.996
drawing closely resembles that of a preparatory study in the Uffizi (Figure 9) for the landscape in the background of the painting *Saint Peter Damian Offering His Book of Rules to the Madonna* (Toledo Museum of Art), which was originally in the Barberini collection and for which payment was made by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in August 1629. This drawing is executed in pen and dark brown iron-gall ink over black chalk traces. Since comparable preparatory studies are not known, the close correspondence of its motifs with those in the painting might lead one to regard it as a copy. However, the lines bordering the landscape on the left, and a number of minor variations and additions that do not appear in the painting, indicate that it must be an original. Taking into account the testimonies of Giulio Mancini and Luca Berrettini quoted above, this work should be considered an example of the drawings in pen and ink for which the young Cortona was famous among his contemporaries but which are no longer extant.

Supporting evidence for this conclusion is provided by a spectacular landscape drawing recently purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 3). It represents various unidentified groups of figures in front of a classical building under construction, and in the adjoining valley at the foot of a steep mountain. The rendering of the vegetation and the parallel hatchings in pen and ink to designate the terrain are almost identical to the technique employed in the study for the painting in Toledo (see Figure 2), but there are considerable additions in brush and wash, including the dramatic clouds that partially overlap the building, obscure the peak of the distant mountain, and indicate a downpour at the upper right. The drawing probably dates from the early 1630s, since the rendering of the mountain and its vegetation closely resembles that of Cortona’s contemporary drawings of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina. Furthermore, the figures in the left foreground gathered around a globe with the zodiac recall the principal figural group in Cortona’s *Allegory on the Emblem of the Parthian Academy* engraved by Charles Audran about 1630–32.

The drawing in Boston (Figure 3) combines Cortona’s masterly pen-and-ink technique with a painterly use of wash, which is typical of his compositional studies of the 1630s with figural scenes and landscape elements, such as the *Venus and Aeneas* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), *Jason Carrying Off the Golden Fleece* (British Museum, London), and the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (now in Chicago). In the latter two drawings, white gouache was added to enhance the plasticity of the figures and to achieve painterly values. Pen and ink with wash, usually over black chalk and frequently heightened with white gouache, was Cortona’s preferred medium for compositional studies until the 1640s. Occasionally, he used red or black chalk only, as, for example, in the *Nymphs Carving on Trees* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) from the early 1630s, or in the design for the frontispiece of Giovanni Battista Ferrari’s *Hesperides* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin), published in 1646. In all of these drawings, the landscape motifs are executed in the same technique as the figures. From the mid-1650s, while continuing to use pen and ink, Cortona gradually favored brush and wash for compositional studies. Accordingly, the landscapes in the backgrounds of such drawings as the *Saint Martina on the Pyre* (British Museum) from the late 1650s or the *Saint Ivo Assisting the Poor* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) of 1660 are also drawn with brush and wash.

**Early Brush-and-Wash Drawings**

A number of landscapes drawn in brush and wash, usually over black chalk, must be fitted into Cortona’s graphic oeuvre. All include small figural elements, but none is connected with a painting, fresco, or print. The group is not entirely homogeneous, and closer scrutiny reveals different degrees of success in rendering space and in the artist’s technical skill, which provide a clue for dating them in relation to the frescoes at Castel Fusano.

Beforehand, it is well to recall that in the landscape cycle in the chapel, and in two overdoor frescoes executed in 1628–29 in the gallery at Castel Fusano, Cortona handled the brush with an extraordinary mastery, inventing textures to convey the abundant vegetation, variety of flowers and grasses in the foreground, knobby tree trunks, thick foliage of the tops of the trees, and airy clouds in the tranquil sky. Some touches were apparently added *al secco* and partly rubbed off over time. While no studies for the frescoes are extant, it appears unlikely that Cortona made preparatory drawings in pen and ink for them; he seems, rather, to have concentrated on related studies in brush and wash in order to increase his virtuosity. In fact, the brushwork in the frescoes and in the drawings is very similar, but not all the drawings match the masterly skill of the frescoes.

This is particularly true of the *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* in Edinburgh (Figure 4), which was not executed directly in brush and wash but was first sketched in black chalk, which remains visible throughout. Some details in black chalk, such as the
Figure 4. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1628. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 33.3 x 49.5 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, RSA 118 (photo: National Galleries of Scotland)

Figure 5. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Wine Harvest*, ca. 1628. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 31 x 47.3 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 1837 (photo: National Galleries of Scotland)
figures in the boats to the right of the Holy Family, were reinforced with wash, whereas in other passages—as, for instance, at the tops of the palm trees—the wash was applied without regard to the indications in black chalk. The two pyramids at the right and the two others partly obscured by the palm trees at the left were conceived in black chalk, whereas the pair on the mountain slope were painted in afterward with the brush. The boats near the herm at the right are rendered rather clumsily, and the plants along the shore, in front of the Holy Family’s boat, were added later, once the water had been executed.

Very similar vegetation appears in the Edinburgh Landscape with Classical Buildings and a Wine Harvest (Figure 5), which consists of foreground scenes set against a junglelike profusion of trees that cut diagonally through the picture, demarcating the middle ground. The trees and buildings in this area, including a church spire, are drawn considerably lighter than the foreground, but still darker than the mountains in the distance. The black chalk is less visible than in the Landscape with The Flight into Egypt (Figure 4), and does not interfere with the wash. While the rural buildings in the foreground are integrated organically into the landscape setting, the circular temple at the center left and the triangular pediment below it look as if they had been pasted onto the scene. Similarly, the clouds behind the temple do not convincingly overlap the mountain but, instead, seem to have been cut out from it. Thus, the overall impression resembles a decorative tapestry more than a deeply penetrated, illusionistic space. A peasant with a basket of grapes at the lower right strikes the same pose as the peasant to the right of the huge tree in the Metropolitan Museum’s Landscape with Wine Harvest (Figure 8, Colorplate 5) and a corresponding figure in the landscape in the Vatican, mentioned above. Further to the left, the pose of the boy gathering grapes is similar to that of the figure of Vertumnus in a drawing from life, related to the compositional study The Triumph of Nature over Art, for an engraving by Johann Friedrich Greuter in Giovanni Battista Ferrari’s book on horticulture published in 1693.38

Virtually the same degree of mastery is displayed in another Landscape with The Flight into Egypt (Figure 6), which was sold at auction in Switzerland in 1996.39 There, the low viewpoint makes the composition less complex. The elements in the foreground are arranged perfectly parallel to the picture plane, their dark gray—almost black—wash in strong contrast to the light gray.
of the background: the boat at the left, with the figures in a similar grouping to that in the Edinburgh version (Figure 4); a small island in the center; and the tall trees on the shore at the right, which recall the tree on the left in the Metropolitan Museum’s drawing (Figure 8, Colorplate 5). At the foot of the distant mountain, which looms up at the right, the buildings of a town were added to counterbalance the slanting tree in the foreground. Sharing the same axis as the keel of the boat is the church spire, which turns out to be a leitmotif in these drawings. Some dots of dark gray wash were applied to the outlines of the town and the adjacent foliage to mark the transition between the foreground and the middle distance.

Another drawing that can be related to this group (Figure 7), in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, has an old but obviously incorrect attribution to the Carracci school.\(^4\) It is also a landscape, with a river in the foreground; a town, including a church spire, at the foot of a hill; and men in a boat. In addition, the Baptism of Christ is represented at the lower edge, while God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit appear in an opening in the clouds, and an angel approaches the baptismal group from the right. These figures correspond to the homonymous fresco at Castel Fusano, although there Cortona did not depict a town at the foot of a high mountain but instead portrayed an open river view with a mountain in the far distance similar to that in the Edinburgh *Landscape with The Flight into Egypt* (Figure 4). What is remarkable in this fresco is the light radiating from behind the figure of God the Father seated on a cloud, foreshadowing the golden tonality of the landscapes of Claude Lorrain.\(^4\) It is hard to imagine that the competent but rather conventionally composed drawing in Montpellier (Figure 7) postdated the avant-garde fresco at Castel Fusano.

While none of these drawings is preparatory in the proper sense, some of them seem to have had a preparatory function in that they represent formulative steps toward the skills displayed in the Castel Fusano frescoes. However, the question as to whether they were executed as practice exercises or as an end in themselves might be better left open. Probably, the commission for the Castel Fusano landscapes generated its own studies, variations, and independent approaches to the task at hand. If so, then the Metropolitan Museum’s
**Landscape with Wine Harvest** (Figure 8, Colorplate 5) would appear to be a revised and improved version of the drawing with the same subject in Edinburgh (Figure 5), since the spatial conception is more developed, the composition—which includes motifs from the landscape in Montpellier (Figure 7)—is more deliberately balanced, and the brush is handled with greater mastery. Rather than having been carried out solely for the artist’s diversion, it might well have been commissioned by a specific patron as an independent work of art.

**Later Brush-and-Wash Drawings**

It is not merely an academic exercise to classify Cortona’s landscape drawings according to their evident technical skill, since the artist himself obviously wanted to achieve perfect mastery of his technique. Proof of this is the *Coastal Landscape with Mountain at Windsor Castle* (Figure 9), which outshines the examples hitherto discussed in its conception of space and free handling of the brush and brown wash, so that it should no longer be regarded as preparatory to the frescoes at Castel Fusano.44 Because the wash does not cover the entire surface but leaves parts of the foreground and the sky blank, the sheet appears sketchily unfinished, an effect shared, for example, by one of the few landscape drawings in brush and wash by Guercino.45

The drawings in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 8) and at Windsor Castle (Figure 9) were used as models for a pair of paintings of identical size (about 65 x 80 cm) and with the same frames and provenance.44 To judge from the available small photographs, the pictures are sadly obscured by thick layers of yellow varnish, which hinders an attribution. Cortona’s authorship, however, can reasonably be excluded because one of the paintings is based on a copy (Art Institute of Chicago, Figure 10)—certainly not by Cortona himself—of the Windsor drawing, in which the unfinished areas in the foreground are filled in with figures and vegetation.45 Since the proportions of the original drawing (Figure 9) and the copy (Figure 10) do not correspond to the Metropolitan Museum’s sheet (Figure 8), it seems unlikely that the two landscapes were intended as pendants from the outset. Furthermore, the copy is not executed in the same technique as the original but, instead, with gray and black wash, as is the Metropolitan Museum’s drawing. In addition, the figures and the horses in the foreground, and the plants and tree trunk at the lower margin, appear to have been introduced by the copyist to relate to the motifs in the Metropolitan Museum’s drawing. Finally, the proportions of the drawing in Chicago, which is slightly more oblong, were changed in the painting derived from it, so that the latter became the same size as the painting executed from the Metropolitan Museum’s sheet.

If the draftsman of the copy in Chicago (Figure 10) was a member of Cortona’s studio, it is possible that Cortona himself had received the commission from a patron for this pair of pendant paintings, but the drawing could also be the work of a later follower, made without Cortona’s intervention. Of course, the execution of pendants and cycles has always appealed to artists who depicted landscape subjects, including Cortona himself, and the frescoes at Castel Fusano, indeed, are positioned as pendants with contrasting compositions.46 However, only some of his other landscapes were conceived as pairs or cycles, as, for example, the two small oval panels in the Pinacoteca Capitolina cited above. On the other hand, two drawings mentioned in the inventories of the Sacchetti collection were decidedly executed independently of each other.47 Another single sheet, in the Uffizi (Figure 11), which depicts a landscape with a group of trees on a slope and a mountain beyond, appears almost to be a detail of the drawing at Windsor (Figure 9); it bears the old inscription “Livio Mehus” and, therefore, has been published repeatedly as by this Flemish artist, who worked at the Medici court in Florence and was occasionally Cortona’s pupil.48 While no comparable drawings occur in Livio Mehus’s oeuvre, there are close similarities to Cortona’s landscapes.

In his later career, Cortona did not carry out landscape commissions, but occasionally he helped other artists to obtain or execute them. During his stay in Florence in the 1640s, he is reported to have recommended Gaspard Dughet (1615–1675) to paint a landscape, measuring five *palmi* (about 110 cm), for the grand duke, who is said to have paid the considerable sum of one hundred scudi for it.49 Back in Rome in 1650, Cortona supervised the commission for five landscape paintings and two canvases with festoons for his early patron, Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti, which would serve as overdoors for a mezzanine room in the palace in the Via Giulia that recently had been bought by the cardinal.50 Two of the landscapes were by Dughet’s pupil Crescenzo Onofri (after 1632–after 1712), two were by a certain Giovanni Fiammingo, and the others are unattributed. Onofri’s paintings can be identified with the oblong canvases from the Sacchetti collection now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, and one wonders whether the artist, who by then was barely twenty years old, was influenced by Cortona, or even
Figure 8. Pietro da Cortona. Landscape with Wine Harvest, ca. 1630. Brush and gray wash, with pen and brown ink, over black chalk, 36.7 x 48.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 2002 Benefit Fund, 2003 (2003.101). See also Colorplate 5.

Figure 9. Pietro da Cortona. Coastal Landscape with Mountain, ca. 1630. Brush and brown wash, 33 x 48.6 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, RL 5797 (copyright © 2003 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)
instructed by him on how to achieve the broad panoramic views and the detailed rendering of vegetation.51

On another occasion Cortona does actually seem to have provided designs for a cycle of landscapes depicting the Four Seasons, for which scattered evidence exists in a group of lunette-shaped drawings, almost identical in size, three of which have comparable

figural scenes. Dancing nymphs representing Spring (Figure 12) appear in a rather faded drawing traditionally attributed to Cortona (Musée du Louvre) but never seriously considered by modern scholars as an autograph work.52 A summer grain harvest (Figure 13) is the theme of another drawing (Philadelphia Museum of Art), which, in spite of its old attribution to Ferri, has to be given to Cortona on stylistic grounds.53 A third lunette (Figure 14), in Bologna, which depicts a wine harvest and, hence, is an allegory of Autumn, is drawn so coarsely that it is most probably a copy of a lost original by Cortona.54 The shapes of these drawings and their finished quality strongly suggest that they were intended for a specific commission, about which nothing is known as yet. The rendering of the plants and foliage in the two original studies (Figures 12, 13) is very similar to that in the drawings discussed earlier (Figures 4–9), whereas the figures closely resemble those in Cortona’s drawings from the 1650s, such as the compositional study for the Saint Martina on the Pyre mentioned above, or the design at Windsor for the stucco figures—executed by Cosimo Fancelli in the late 1650s—on the arch separating the nave and the octagon in Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.55

It is tempting to add to this group a study for a fourth lunette (Figure 15) that I discovered among the anonymous Italian drawings in the British Museum, which

Figure 10. After Pietro da Cortona. Coastal Landscape with Mountain, ca. 1650–90. Brush and black and gray wash, with touches of black gouache, over black chalk, 28.7 x 45.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, 1922.300R

Figure 11. Pietro da Cortona. Landscape with Trees on a Hill and a Mountain Beyond, ca. 1650. Brush and gray wash, 16 x 28.1 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 741 P (photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence)
Figure 12. Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Dancing Nymphs*, ca. 1650. Brush and brown wash, contours partially reinforced with pen and brown ink, 24 x 40.1 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts Graphiques, 509 (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris)

Figure 13. Pietro da Cortona. *Harvest Scene*, ca. 1650. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 24.2 x 40.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984-56-240

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shows foresters, some felling trees and others gathered around a fire; an allegory of Winter, it thus represents an iconographic link to the autumn scene in Figure 14.56 In size it corresponds to the other lunettes (Figures 12–14), but the figures are much smaller and more like those in the other landscape drawings (Figures 4–9). My initial suggestion, accepted by Nicholas Turner, that this drawing reflects Bonzi’s influence on the early Cortona might be challenged in light of the late date that is proposed below for two ex–Holkham Hall landscape drawings (Figures 18, 19). In fact, the rendering of the conifers in the British Museum’s study (Figure 15) is close to that seen in the Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen (Figure 19) and in the lunette in the Louvre (Figure 12) but does not occur in the earlier drawings (Figures 4–9). Ultimately, it is difficult to reach a conclusion about the drawing (Figure 15) since the wash is very faded (in photographs it appears darker than in reality). If it is a late work and is related to the other lunettes, it must have been made before Cortona decided upon scenes with larger figures. However, it could also be related to another lunette for which there is a sketch, in a private collection (Figure 16), of the right half, showing a waterfall flanked by two hermitages.57 It is drawn very loosely, like the study in the Uffizi (Figure 11), and with only a few preliminary indications in black chalk.

Such scenes might have been conceived for a large decorative program, as was actually the case in 1656, when Cortona was commissioned by Pope Alexander VII to decorate the walls of the long gallery—the “gran Galleria”—in the Palazzo del Quirinale.58 He proposed an architectural framework into which large historical scenes would be inserted, alternating with small landscapes in the overdoors. In an early detail study, now in Oxford, of one and a half bays of this
gallery, he suggested a landscape tondo with small figures, foreshadowing the landscapes with religious scenes executed by his pupils and other artists.\textsuperscript{59} This scheme was modified in a more elaborate drawing in Berlin for seven bays with three oval vertical overdoors, one of them depicting a landscape without figures.\textsuperscript{60} Apparently, this idea was pursued further in the \textit{Oval Landscape with Trees along a Gully} (Figure 17), which was recently sold at auction in London with an attribution to Ferri, although the brushwork and gray wash correspond perfectly to Cortona's style, and the form and content fit the scheme for the Quirinale gallery.\textsuperscript{61}

\textbf{The Pendants for Leopoldo de' Medici}

The latest documentary evidence of Cortona as a landscapist may be found in his correspondence with Prince Leopoldo de' Medici (created cardinal in 1667) in Florence. In a letter dated July 17, 1666, he thanks Leopoldo for the medicine he has sent him through his Roman agent, and mentions that, despite being stricken by gout almost half the time, he will be very pleased to accommodate Leopoldo's taste by embarking on some landscapes in watercolor, even if they might not match his expectations.\textsuperscript{62} Later that year, on November 6, he commented that he had sent two landscapes, one of them rather "domestic," the other "wilder," which, Leopoldo should realize, were made
Figure 18. Pietro da Cortona. *River Landscape with Washermen*, 1666. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 27.6 x 43.2 cm. British Museum, London, 1997-6-7-11 (photo: Christie’s, London)

Figure 19. Pietro da Cortona. *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen*, 1666. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 28.3 x 42.5 cm. Jointly owned by the Trustees of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, and the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery (photo: Christie’s, London)
by someone suffering from gout and in particular, from pain in the finger joints. Finally, on November 29, Cortona thanked Leopoldo for his appreciation of the drawings.

These drawings are probably the “due paesi di Pietro da Cortona” mentioned in a Nota del 1687 regarding Leopoldo’s collection; they were not bound in an album, but kept separately, and were listed in an appendix to the volumes along with a number of single drawings and prints. Thus, they cannot be identified with the drawings attributed to Cortona in two of these albums, which were described in the inventory of 1784 and included three watercolors and a landscape. Since they did not surface elsewhere in the Uffizi, where most of Leopoldo’s drawings ended up, it is likely that they left the Medici collection sometime between 1687 and 1784. I propose that the drawings might be the River Landscape with Washerwomen (Figure 18) and the Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen (Figure 19) acquired by Thomas Coke, 1st earl of Leicester, undoubtedly during his grand tour of Italy between 1714 and 1718, and that they remained at Holkham Hall until they were sold at auction in London in 1991.

The principal reason behind this suggestion is that Cortona’s characterization of the two drawings made for Leopoldo as contrasting domestico and selvatico (or salvatico) landscapes aptly describes the ex–Holkham Hall studies. They are obviously pendants, identical in size and executed with the same degree of perfection, even if brown wash was used for the Landscape with Washerwomen (Figure 18) and gray wash for the Landscape with Fishermen (Figure 19). The former work, which besides the washerwomen and fishermen in a boat includes a town above a river, could easily be labeled “domestic,” while the river flanked by tall trees in the latter study perfectly fits the adjectives “wild” and “woody.”

The tone of two of Cortona’s letters to Leopoldo convey the impression that the landscape drawings were only minor efforts by a decrepit artist. However, this appears to have been merely a show of modesty, or even humility, on Cortona’s part toward his distinguished patron, for, of course, in order to please the Medici prince he had to present him with something substantial.

From a technical and compositional point of view, the two ex–Holkham Hall drawings (Figures 18, 19) are comparable to those at Windsor and in New York (Figures 8, 9) and certainly more advanced than the Edinburgh landscapes (Figures 4, 5). Cortona is still eager to display his virtuosity with the brush, employing basically the same repertoire of motifs and his characteristic way of rendering foliage, but on the whole his approach is retrospective rather than innovative. In the River Landscape with Washerwomen (Figure 18), which has sustained damage by dampness, he summed up his experiences with the drawings of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestina, mentioned above, in the mountain overgrown with trees and foliage, and he depicted a town very similar to that in the fresco of Christ and the Woman of Samaria at Castel Fusano. The Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen (Figure 19) represents a synthesis of all of his treatments of vegetation and water in a very complex composition.

Copies

Cortona’s landscapes appear to have been well known and appreciated among artists, since almost all the drawings, and a number of the frescoes, were copied by others, sometimes even twice. Three drawings in

Figure 20. Crescenzio Onofri(?), Italian, after 1632–after 1712, after Pietro da Cortona, Landscape with Noli me tangere, ca. 1650. Pen and brown ink, and black chalk, 37.9 x 26.2 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VIII.36
Haarlem, studies after the frescoes in the chapel at Castel Fusano, *Landscape with Noli me tangere* (Figure 20), *Landscape with The Baptism of Christ* (Figure 21), and *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*,⁶⁹ are all executed in pen and brown ink, but the figures were indicated faintly in black chalk, possibly in a different hand. The mount bears a recent attribution to Crescenzio Onofri by Marco Chiarini, a specialist in landscape drawings, which is intriguing since it would provide a link to Onofri’s collaboration with Cortona on the Sacchetti paintings mentioned above. In fact, in style, the studies basically conform to drawings traditionally attributed to Onofri,⁷⁰ but it is notoriously difficult to distinguish his hand from that of other landscapists in the Bolognese tradition such as Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi. The three studies differ in various details from the frescoes and hence probably were not actually drawn in the chapel at Castel Fusano but rather were based on preparatory material kept in the artist’s studio.

Another group of copies includes the *Coastal Landscape with Mountain* (Figure 22) in Haarlem, after an original drawing at Windsor (Figure 9); a sheet in the Farnesina (Figure 23), after the ex-Holkham Hall *River Landscape with Washerwomen* (Figure 18); and the *Landscape with Mountains* (Figure 24) in the Metropolitan Museum, related to a print after a lost drawing by Cortona (Figure 25).⁷¹ The copies are roughly the same size as the original drawings and were sketched in black chalk over which brush and gray wash were rather schematically applied. Clearly by the same hand, these copies have been attributed to Cortona’s pupil Giro Ferri (1633–1689), since the copy in Haarlem
(Figure 22) is so inscribed by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714), who added the drawing to a volume entitled *Anfiteatro pittorico* that he unsuccessfully offered to sell to the king of Spain in 1707. Resta’s inscription is, however, far from conclusive, since it states that the drawing was made by Ferri in a vineyard belonging to his wife, which would hardly have been the site chosen by Cortona to make the original drawing (Figure 9).72 Furthermore, Resta’s attributions to Cortona and his school have notoriously been unreliable,73 and there is no stylistic connection to the few landscapes by Ferri discussed below. Furthermore, if the ex-Holkham Hall drawings (Figures 18, 19) are as late in date as 1666—as suggested above—it is unlikely that Ferri, who by then had his own studio, would have slavishly copied one of them (Figure 23). Therefore, this group of drawings (Figures 22–24) is better left attributed to a later-seventeenth-century artist yet to be identified.

While the copy in Haarlem (Figure 22) faithfully reproduces the landscape at Windsor (Figure 9), including the figures, the Farnesina copy (Figure 23) is slightly cut at the lower margin so that the washerwomen are omitted and the fishermen in the boat are rendered only sketchily (see Figure 18). The copy in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 24) is also without figures, whereas in the engraving (Figure 25) of almost identical size by Francesco Bartolozzi (published by

Figure 25. Francesco Bartolozzi (Italian, 1727–1815), after Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Mountains*, 1763. Engraving, 22 x 35.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB XV/1, no. 179 (photo: Jörg Martin Merz)

Figure 26. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with Mountains*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 21 x 30.4 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 1.1990 (photo: Sotheby’s, London)

(Figure 27) is so inscribed by Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714), who added the drawing to a volume entitled *Anfiteatro pittorico* that he unsuccessfully offered to sell to the king of Spain in 1707. Resta’s inscription is, however, far from conclusive, since it states that the drawing was made by Ferri in a vineyard belonging to his wife, which would hardly have been the site chosen by Cortona to make the original drawing (Figure 9).72 Furthermore, Resta’s attributions to Cortona and his school have notoriously been unreliable,73 and there is no stylistic connection to the few landscapes by Ferri discussed below. Furthermore, if the ex-Holkham Hall drawings (Figures 18, 19) are as late in date as 1666—as suggested above—it is unlikely that Ferri, who by then had his own studio, would have slavishly copied one of them (Figure 23). Therefore, this group of drawings (Figures 22–24) is better left attributed to a later-seventeenth-century artist yet to be identified.

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Figure 27. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, 23.6 x 34.5 cm. British Museum, London, 1952-1-21-39

Figure 28. After Pietro da Cortona. *Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast*, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, 21.2 x 32.4 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, K.VIII.13
J. Boydell on March 21, 1763, and entitled From an Original Drawing, By Pietro da Cortona, three dogs hunting a stag were added at the lower left and a pair of peasants at the lower right. It is possible that these figural elements were introduced by Bartolozzi, who seems to have made further changes as well. This is evident if one compares the print with the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 24) and with another, slightly smaller, copy in Berlin (Figure 26) in which the central mountain and parts of the landscape to the left and right are executed in brush and wash, while large areas of the foreground are left only outlined in black chalk, and the sky is blank except for the contours of some clouds. For example, at the far right is a village with two pyramidal structures that also appears in the Metropolitan Museum’s copy (Figure 24) but is reduced to a tiny cottage with a pyramidal roof in the print (Figure 25). Just below this village, in both drawings, is a pair of trees, whereas in the print there is only one tree behind the two peasants. The rocky mountains in the print and in the Berlin copy are quite similar and solid, as opposed to their rather soft rendering in the New York copy. The introduction of a dark cloud hovering like a fantastic bird over the landscape in the print differs totally from the copy in the Metropolitan Museum and from any other landscape by Cortona. Taken together, these observations lead to the conclusion that the two copies and the print (Figures 24–26) were all conceived independently of each other and are based on a lost original drawing.

This also seems to be the case with two drawings in brush and gray wash, in London (Figure 27) and in Haarlem (Figure 28), each entitled Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast. The former sheet is slightly larger than the latter, but the drawing itself is confined by ruled borders at the upper, lower, and right margins, so that the images are almost identical in size. These borders and the clumsy rendering of the clouds are obvious indications that the London drawing is a copy. In the version in Haarlem (Figure 28), the brushwork is slightly more refined than in the London copy (Figure 27), which led Bert Meijer to consider it Cortona’s original. However, compared to almost all the other drawings accepted here as by Cortona (Figures 4–9, 11–13, 15–19), it is rather coarsely executed, particularly the clouds, and therefore is more likely yet another copy. A copy in red chalk by Giuseppe Passeri (Figure 29), which shows some variations in the mountain at the far left and in the clouds above the large trees in the foreground, derives from Cortona’s original, as referred to in the inscription on the mount of the copy, rather than from either the London or the Haarlem versions.

The copies in London and in Haarlem (Figures 27, 28) do not seem to be by the same hand as the group discussed above (Figures 22–24), although the copy in the Farnesina (Figure 23) appears close to them. Yet another drawing formerly attributed to Cortona (Figure 30), the Stormy Landscape with Fishermen on a Lake and Boats on the Horizon (formerly collection of C. R. Rudolf), was associated with this group, and attributed to Ferri. Judging from its overall composition and from the trees and other details, it might well be based on a lost original by Cortona, too, but the possibility should not be ruled out that the draftsman responsible for some of the other copies became an expert at inventing such a landscape à la Cortona.

Figure 29. Giuseppe Passeri (Italian, 1654–1714), after Pietro da Cortona. Landscape with a Circular Temple and a Town by the Coast, ca. 1670–90. Red chalk, 25.3 x 37 cm. Formerly private collection, Paris (photo: Jacques Fryzman, Boulogne Billancourt, France)

Figure 30. After Pietro da Cortona (?). Stormy Landscape with Fishermen on a Lake and Boats on the Horizon, ca. 1670–90. Brush and gray wash, 27 x 41.8 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Sotheby’s, London)
LANDSCAPE DRAWINGS BY CIRO FERRI

If all of the copies hitherto believed to be by Ferri (Figures 22-24, 27, 28, 30) have to be attributed—as suggested above—to several artists yet to be identified, which works are left, then, for Cortona’s most faithful pupil? A point of departure in reconstructing his oeuvre as a landscapist is provided by a drawing (formerly in the collection of C. R. Rudolf) representing the Flight into Egypt in a landscape setting (Figure 31).80 This drawing has been attributed to Ferri at least since the late eighteenth century, when Conrad Metz published an aquatint of it (in reverse), and the figures conform perfectly to Ferri’s style.81 The Holy Family, drawn in pen and ink and wash over black chalk, is shown disembarking from a boat, against a wooded hill in the background covered with conifers and foliage rendered in brush and wash, similar to, but less detailed than, comparable foliage in Cortona’s landscapes (see Figure 12).

The same arrangement of figures, although much smaller, appears in the Landscape with The Flight into Egypt (Figure 32) in Edinburgh, which was considered to be by the same hand as the two other Edinburgh landscapes (Figures 4, 5) now attributed to Cortona.82 It seems plausible to ascribe this Flight into Egypt to Ferri as well, and to conclude that the pupil followed his master’s footsteps by adapting and softening the patterns of his brushwork, as seen here. Yet, for several reasons, this attribution is not very likely. First, there are no other comparable drawings that can be convincingly attributed to Ferri, and, although

Figure 31. Ciro Ferri (Italian, 1633-1689). The Flight into Egypt, ca. 1670. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over black chalk, ca. 36.9 x 25.4 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

Figure 32. Pietro Lucatelli (?) (Italian, ca. 1634-1710). Landscape with The Flight into Egypt, ca. 1670. Brush and gray wash, over black chalk, 32.8 x 46.1 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 1836 (photo: National Galleries of Scotland)
Figure 33. Ciro Ferri. *Saint John the Baptist Revealing Christ to Saints Peter and Andrew*, ca. 1680. Red chalk, 33.5 x 46 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of the Lorser Feitelson and Helen Lundeberg Arts Foundation, M.86.66a

Figure 34. Pietro da Cortona and Ciro Ferri. *Landscape with Stag Hunt*, ca. 1660. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 25.6 x 53.8 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 898 (photo: Lichtbildwerkstätte “Alpenland,” Vienna)

Figure 35. Pietro da Cortona and Ciro Ferri. *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, ca. 1660. Brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 23 x 52.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown (photo: Christie’s, New York)
the brushwork in a group of four oval landscapes in the Uffizi, traditionally given to Ferri, is reminiscent of that in the Edinburgh Landscape with The Flight into Egypt (Figure 32), the figures do not conform to his style. Second, his oeuvre reveals that he was not particularly interested in independent landscape drawings. In fact, the only such sheet known is the landscape Saint John the Baptist Revealing Christ to Saints Peter and Andrew (Figure 33) in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which is drawn rather summarily in red chalk with few details and presumably dates from Ferri’s late period. In another, probably earlier landscape, this one with Hercules and Cacus, only the figures, drawn in black chalk, are by Ferri; the landscape motifs, in pen and ink, are by an artist trained in the Bolognese tradition, possibly Grimaldi, who worked with Ferri at the Villa Falconieri in Frascati during the early 1670s. Third, in his compositional drawings, Ferri usually indicated landscape elements in his favorite black chalk, to which wash was sometimes added almost as an afterthought rather than serving as the basic medium for introducing texture and detail.

Keeping this in mind, a pair of landscape drawings with hunting scenes should be considered as a collaboration between Cortona and Ferri. In fact, the Landscape with Stag Hunt (Figure 34) in the Albertina was traditionally attributed to Cortona but was later given to Ferri. As in the Landscape with Boar Hunt (Figure 35), which was sold twice at auction in the 1990s, the landscape motifs, freely drawn in brush and wash, conform stylistically to the work of the master, whereas the figures, in brush and wash over black chalk, are closer to that of the pupil. This would indicate—at least on the basis of these drawings—that Ferri’s training only involved mastery of the figural elements, and that he did not borrow landscape motifs from Cortona, although the two artists collaborated closely in the 1650s and early 1660s.

It must be stressed that these are merely preliminary conclusions, intended to reopen the question of attributions to Ferri and to suggest that the body of landscape drawings by Cortona and his circle be examined from a more nuanced perspective. No doubt, further names will eventually be proposed, among them certainly that of Pietro Lucatelli, who was Cortona’s pupil before collaborating with Ferri. The group of figures, after Ferri, in the Edinburgh Landscape with The Flight into Egypt (Figure 32) possibly might turn out to be by him, thus proving that the old attribution to “Locatelli”—mistakenly identifying him with Andrea Locatelli—under which this drawing entered the National Gallery of Scotland, was not entirely farfetched after all.

**AUTHOR’S NOTE**

This article was written during my tenure as J. Clawson Mills Scholar in the Department of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 2002/3, and was occasioned by the acquisition of the landscape drawing by Cortona published here (Figure 8, Colorplate 5); it greatly benefited from discussions with George Goldner and the staff of the department, for which I would like to express my sincere gratitude. I wish to thank the Metropolitan Museum for the fellowship, and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, Düsseldorf, for additional support.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

Andrews 1968

Briganti 1982

Chiarini 1972

Chiarini 1973

Davis 1986

Edinburgh 1999
Fileti MaZZa 1987–98

Giannatiempo 1977

Meijer 1984

Mertz 1991

New York 1967

Rome 1997

Turner 1999

Vitzthum 1971

NOTES

The epigraph to this article is quoted from Ridolfino Venuti, Risposta alle reflexioni critiche sopra le differenti scuole di pittura del Sig. Marchese d’Argens (Lucca, 1793), p. 64.


3. For these frescoes, see most recently Maria Teresa Pugliatti, Agostino Tassi. Tra conformismo e libertà (Rome, 1998), pls. 75–81, figs. 129–36.


6. The published version (117.5 x 107.5 cm) in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth (now in the City Art Gallery, Manchester) is modeled rather smoothly (Briganti 1982, p. 181, no. 25, fig. 98). Before 1755 it was in the Pallavicini collection; see Ridolfino Venuti, Risposta alle reflexioni critiche sopra le differenti scuole di pittura del Sig. Marchese d’Argens (Lucca, 1755), p. 64, as pointed out by Walter Vitzthum, “Pietro da Cortona” [review of Briganti (1992) 1982], Burlington Magazine 105 (1963), pp. 213–17, esp. p. 214. Two further versions were on the art market and are known to me only from photographs: one (120 x 170 cm) was sold at Finarte, Milan, sale 257, May 17, 1977, lot 71, pl. LXI, attributed to the school of Cortona; the other (87 x 110.5 cm) was sold at Finarte, Rome, sale 181, May 16, 1977, lot 128, pl. XCII, as after Cortona, but the very lively brushwork and some minor compositional changes suggest that it might be an original. Briganti (1982, p. 181) mentions three copies after the painting at Chatsworth without, however, indicating their size; therefore, it is not clear whether any one of them corresponds to the versions cited above.

7. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City, 1128 (8 x 110 cm); Louise Rice, “A Newly Discovered Landscape by Pietro da Cortona,” Burlington Magazine 129 (1987), pp. 73–77, colorpl. 10; see pp. 74–75 nos. 4, 6, for references to the inventories of 1688 and 1748. The painting probably can even be traced back to the Sacchetti inventory of 1699, see Mertz 1991, p. 304, no. 13.

8. Provencence: private collection, Lugano. Watermark: koceling saint in a shield holding a cross (the beta-radiograph seen here, in Figure 36, was kindly made by Yao Van Dyke, Department of Paper Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art). Similar figures were published by C. M. Briquet, Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600, 4 vols. (reprint, New York, 1966), vol. 2, nos. 7628 (a seventeenth-century Fabriano paper), and appear variously on sheets by Cortona and his circle, as, for instance, on a life drawing in the Academy in the Bildenden Künste, Vienna, 3609; see Fréwok Pokorny, Meisterzeichnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, exh. cat., Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (Vienna, 1997), p. 92, no. 36, ill. See also the copy after a landscape drawing by Cortona in Rome in Figure 23 here, see note 70 below and Giannatiempo 1977, p. 63, no. 123, watermark no. 36.

9. See The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 61, no. 2 (Fall 2003), issue entitled Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 2002–2003, pp. 20–21, color ill. p. 20. Another landscape with a wine harvest by Cortona is cited in the sale catalogue of the Dutch collector De Vos in 1835 (portf. MM 20; kindly pointed out to me by Michiel Plomp). A possible connection with the present sheet is, however, mere guesswork.

10. The copy measures 32 x 44.9 centimeters and is slightly cut at the left and lower margins (contours outlined in black chalk, and brush and brown and gray wash, on brownish paper).

11. See the report by Marjorie Shelley, Department of Paper Conservation, the Metropolitan Museum, in the drawing’s curatorial file.

13. I would like to thank Marjorie Shelley for pointing this out to me.


15. Marcello Sacchetti’s hobby, landscape painting, is reported in Janus Niciej Erithraeus, alias Gian Vittorio de’ Rossi, Pincia
teca Teria imaginarum vitorum aliquae ingeni & eruditionis fama illustrium (Cologne, 1649), pp. 31-32; see Ricc, “Newly Discov-
cred Landscape by Pietro da Cortona,” p. 73.


17. An album with twenty drawings by Cortona is in the Hunterian Collection, University Library, Glasgow, shelf mark D 1.1.29; see Merz 1991, pp. 25-39, figs. 14-47; Merz 1991, fig. 50, is a comparable landscape drawing by Bonzini.

18. In the first version of his biography of Cortona, Mancini empha-
sized the artist’s masterly skill: “disegnando da per sé e rifinendo particolarmente di penna le cose naturali et artificiali di giorno et di notte, è venuto ad un termine che in questo genere di disegno cielo che si sien pochi che l’abbiano arrivato”; in the second version, the view of the Riva Grande is mentioned: “Disegnò molto bene di penna […] Et vidi di dis-

19. “Marcello Sacchetti […] avendo veduto il talento incompara-


22. The reference in Ferri’s letter of January 27, 1666, reads as follows: “Vi è un paesino con dentro il tempio della Fortuna, che vi è in Palaestina fatto dal signor Pietro, quel gli mando per una certa curiosità.” Archivio di Stato, Florence, Carte-
ggio d’artisti, XV, 1, fol. 561; see Fileti Mazza 1987-98, vol. 3, p. 370, fig. 23.


26. See Briganti 1982, p. 287; for the painting, see most recently Rome 1997, pp. 332-33, no. 34, color ill.

27. In fact, Anna Maria Petroioli Tofani suggested an attribution to Cortona’s teacher Andrea Commedio (note on the mount). The drawing, Uffizi 939 P, is a copy of 841 P, attributed by Chiarini 1972, p. 46, under no. 54, to Anton Domenico Gabrielli.


30. Louise Rice, “Pietro da Cortona and the Roman Baroque The-


35. The drawing of Christ and the Woman of Samaria in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (885), traditionally attributed to Cortona and related by Briganti 1982, p. 311, fig. 88, to the homonymous fresco in the chapel, was attributed to Baldini by Ursula Fischer Pace, “Drawings by Pietro Paolo Baldini.” Master Drawings 93 (1991), pp. 3-99, esp. p. 18.

36. Like two other landscape drawings mentioned below in notes 37 and 82, it entered the museum as by Locatelli and was attributed to the studio of Cortona by Andrews (1968, vol. 1, p. 93, vol. 2, fig. 644). Subsequently, Andrews became convinced that all three were by Cortona himself; see Old Master Drawings from the David Laing Bequest, exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 31, no. 58. See also Hugh Briggstocke, “A Pietro da Cortona Landscape for Edinburgh,” Burlington Magazine 122 (1980), pp. 342-45, figs. 78, 79. I accepted only two of the three as early drawings by Cortona and suggested that the third (D 1875; see note 82 below) is either a late autograph work or is by Cortona’s school (Mez 1991, pp. 180-99 n. 97).


38. For the life drawing in the Uffizi, 11750 F, the compositional study in the Metropolitan Museum, 61.2.1, and the engraving by Gheuer, see Merz 1991, figs. 314, 315, 317.

40. I would like to thank Nicholas Turner, who brought this drawing to my attention and related that, on the basis of a photograph from the Gerusheim Corpus Photographicum of Drawings, John Gere was the first to suggest the attribution to Cortona. Patrick Michel kindly helped me obtain a photograph of the drawing.


43. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1973-76, from the Schoel collection. See New York 1967, p. 42, no. 50, ill. Julien Stock kindly provided me with snapshots of these paintings, whose present whereabouts are unknown.

44. Unpublished.

45. For this aspect of the frescoes at Castel Fusano, see Merz 1991, p. 186, figs. 206 and 269, and 268 and 270, respectively.


52. Davis 1989, p. 251, pl. 86 (as Ferri). The attribution to Cortona was first suggested by Turner (1999, vol. 1, p. 47, under no. 68).

53. Mentioned by Andrews 1968, vol. 1, p. 92, under D 1837, as Cortonesque, and brought to his attention by Walter Vizzioli. On the mount of the sheet, housed with the anonymous eighteenth-century Italian drawings, is Philip Pouncey's note: "Cortonescno, fa pensare a Ciro Ferri."

54. For the drawing of Saint Martina, see note 33 above: the drawing for Santa Maria della Pace (RL.4451) was most recently published in Rome 1997, p. 469, no. 116, ill.


and with this attribution it was sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1992, lot 18, color ill.


64. The River Landscape with Washwomen (Figure 18) was briefly in the collection of Peter Sharp, New York, before it was purchased by the British Museum; see *European Master Drawings from the Collection of Peter Jay Sharp*, exh. cat., National Academy of Design, New York (New York, 1994), pp. 58-59, no. 22, color ill.; and Turner 1999, vol. 1, p. 54, no. 82, vol. 2, pl. 82. The *Wooded River Landscape with Fishermen* (Figure 19) is owned jointly by the Trustees of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, and the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery; see most recently *Art Treasures of England: The Regional Collections*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London (London, 1998), p. 169, no. 94, color ill.

65. Briganti 1982, fig. 67; Merz 1991, fig. 269.


67. For instance, three drawings in the British Museum: see Turner 1999, vol. 1, pp. 163-64, nos. 927-30, vol. 9, pls. 297-300; and two drawings in Ottawa: see David Franklin, *Italian
Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 2003), pp. 70–77, ill.

71. For the Haarlem drawing (Figure 22), see Walter Vitzthum, review of Les dessins italiens de la reine Christine de Suède, by J. Q. van Regteren Altena, Master Drawings 4 (1966), pp. 301–4, esp. pp. 302–3, fig. 2. For the Farnesina drawing (Figure 23), see Giannatiempo 1977, p. fig. no. 123, ill. For the one in the Metropolitan (Figure 24), see Jacob Bean. 17th Century Italian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1979), p. 139, no. 177, ill. For the whole group, see Davis 1986, pp. 57–94, figs. 80, 82, 83 (as Ferri).

72. The inscription reads: "qui già si trovarono usciti dall’antitheatro ad una veduta di Paese disegnata per passatempo da Ciro Ferri alla Vigna di sua Moglie detta al Truglio." The inconsistency was pointed out by Meijer 1984, p. 78, who was the first to doubt the attribution of this group to Ferri.

73. For example, the attribution of Resta’s Piccolo preliminare to Cortona and his pupils is more than doubtful, and the attribution of architectural drawings in a volume in Palermo is incorrect; see Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, “I disegni di Pietro da Cortona nella raccolta di padre Sebastiano Resta,” in Pietro da Cortona, ed. Frommel and Schütze, pp. 170–88. The issue of Resta’s frequent misattributions—in spite of his familiarity with these artists—is unfortunately not raised in the basic publication by Genevieve Warwick, The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 2000).

74. Alessandro de Vesme and Augusto Calabi, Francesco Bartolozzi: Catalogue des estampes et natures-biographique (Milan, 1998), p. 668, no. 249/8 (12 x 33.5 cm); an impression is in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, HB XV/1, no. 179.


76. Turner 1999, vol. 1, pp. 57–58, no. 87, vol. 9, pl. 87 (the London drawing; Figure 27); Meijer 1984, p. 72, fig. 58 (the Haarlem drawing; Figure 28).

77. Meijer 1984, p. 81, n. 111.

78. Passeri’s copy is mentioned by Tuuré (1993, vol. 1, p. 58, under no. 87). The photograph illustrated in Figure 29 was kindly provided by Hugo Chapman.

79. Briganti 1982, p. 293, fig. 94 (as Cortona). Sold at Sotheby’s, London, May 19, 1977, lot 137, ill. (as Ferri); and Sotheby’s, New York, January 26, 2000, lot 20, ill. (as Ferri).

80. This unpublished drawing is known to me only from Courtauld Institute photograph 154/17 (41A); it was not included in the Rudolf sale at Sotheby’s, London, May 19 and July 4, 1977. A copy was in the collection of Robert Manning, New York (36.9 x 24.5 cm; photocopy in the Ferri file, Department of Drawings and Prints, the Metropolitan Museum).

81. Conrad Martin, Meta, Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings (London, 1798), not numbered, 36.2 x 23.4 cm, inscribed, “In the collection of the Right Hon.ble Lord St. Helens.”


83. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 842–45 P; two are published by Chiarini 1972, pp. 40–41, pls. 71, 72 (as Ferri), and a third is illustrated by Davis 1986, pp. 95, 213–14, fig. 87 (as Ferri).

84. On the verso is a scene of pagan sacrifice; see Bruce Davis, Master Drawings in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 68–69, no. 27, color ill.


86. See, for instance, the drawing of a falcon hunt, in a private collection, and of Erminia and the Shepherds, in the Museum kunstpalast, düsseldorf (formerly, kunstmuseum düsseldorf), KA (FP) 453; Davis 1986, pp. 206, 224, figs. 123, 132.

87. See Vitzthum, review of Briganti (1992) 1982 in Master Drawings, p. 51 (see note 16, above); Davis 1986, pp. 305–6, fig. 11 (as Ferri), and more recently Vezzoni, Bärle and Janine Revié, Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalführungen, vol. 1, Veröffentlichungen der Albertina 93 (Vienna, 1999), p. 466 (as Ferri).

88. Hôtel Drumont, Paris, June 2, 1993, lot 24, ill. (attributed to Cortona); Christie’s, New York, January 30, 1998, lot 98, color ill. (as Cortona, with figures by Ferri).

89. For Cortona’s collaboration with Ferri, see my forthcoming catalogue Pietro da Cortona und sein Kreis.