



*Raphael at the Metropolitan: The Colonna Altarpiece'*

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Linda Wolk-Simon

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK  
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## DIRECTOR'S NOTE

Has anyone left a richer, more consequential pictorial legacy than Raphael of Urbino (1483–1520)? This prince of painters has been the indispensable reference point for countless artists, great and small, Italian and non-Italian. His frescoes in the Vatican quickly asserted themselves as paradigms of the Grand Manner, while his serenely beautiful Madonnas and calmly dignified portraits redefined their respective genres. Engravings disseminated his ideas throughout Europe. Not only Parmigianino, Annibale Carracci, Poussin, Ingres, and Degas but Caravaggio, Rembrandt, Manet, and Picasso mined his work for inspiration. The combination of clarity and complexity in his compositions, that ineffable quality of innate grace, and the sheer fecundity of his imagination cannot help but recall Mozart, who, like Raphael, died at the age of thirty-seven—at the very height of his career. However, unlike Mozart, Raphael was spared the indignity of burial in a mass grave. Rather, following his death on Good Friday 1520, his funeral and burial in the Pantheon were something of an apotheosis. “Nature created him as a gift to the world,” wrote Giorgio Vasari in the opening paragraphs of his *Life of Raphael*. At the conclusion he added, “When this noble artisan died, painting too might as well have died, for when he closed his eyes, painting was left almost blind.”

It was a foregone conclusion that following Raphael's premature death collectors should have scrambled for his paintings and drawings, competing with each other for a relic of the divine artist that might confer on their collection the stamp of true greatness. Even large-scale works on the altars of churches were fair game for their greed. Scipione Borghese, the cardinal—and nephew—of Pope Urban VIII, arranged for Raphael's famed *Entombment* to be stolen during the night from the Baglioni family chapel in Perugia and transported to the Villa Borghese in Rome. Later in the seventeenth century Ferdinando de' Medici took the more prosaic approach of purchasing the *Madonna del Baldacchino*—now in the Galleria Palatina in the Palazzo Pitti—from the Florentine

church in which it stood (needless to say, no one was about to refuse the grand duke of Tuscany). Friars and nuns found themselves in possession of something far more valuable than a bank account. In 1753–54 Augustus the Strong of Saxony negotiated with the convent of San Sisto in Piacenza for the purchase of the *Sistine Madonna*, now one of the treasures of the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, and a decade later we find the Servite monks of San Fiorenzo in Perugia selling their altarpiece to the painter-dealer Gavin Hamilton to finance a renovation of their church (a copy was substituted for the original, which is now in the National Gallery, London). The suppression of convents and monasteries that took place during the reign of Napoleon loosened up further works for the insatiable market, including the *Marriage of the Virgin* now in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan and the so-called *Mond Crucifixion* in the National Gallery, London. These are both early works by the master, done in the style of his teacher Perugino; following changes in taste, they enjoyed a new prestige and were to have an incalculable influence on the German Nazarenes in the early nineteenth century. It was in this way that even places such as Città di Castello and Perugia—well off the itinerary of the Grand Tour—were deprived of their masterpieces.

One might have thought it impossible that an institution founded only in 1870 could ever have aspired to own any work by this most esteemed painter of Western art. Hadn't his major works all found permanent homes in the most illustrious European museums and collections? So, how did the Metropolitan Museum manage to secure an altarpiece—an early work painted for a convent of nuns in Perugia on the eve of Raphael's move to Florence? Fortunately, when events conspired to make this celebrated altarpiece available, the president of the Museum was J. Pierpont Morgan. Not one to hold back when he wanted something, he made international headlines when he plunked down two million francs for the two main panels. Morgan left the altarpiece to the Metropolitan in 1916 and it is thus to him that we owe the presence

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Cover: detail of the Colonna altarpiece (see fig. 1)

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of the only altarpiece by Raphael in America, miraculously joined in 1932 by one of the scenes from its predella showing the Agony in the Garden.

This *Bulletin*, written by Linda Wolk-Simon, Associate Curator, Department of Drawings and Prints, tells the fascinating story of the dismantling and sale of the altarpiece, panel by panel, by the nuns for whose convent it was painted when Raphael was still in his early twenties. At times it reads like a who's who among the collecting elite of Europe—Queen Christina of Sweden, the Odescalchi and Colonna princes in Rome, the king of Naples, and the ducs d'Orléans—but leading parts were also played by dealers and collectors on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as by the Musée du Louvre in Paris and the National Gallery in London.

The occasion for this *Bulletin* is an exhibition that reunites all seven parts of the altarpiece for the first time since the seventeenth century: the two main panels in the Metropolitan together with the five components of its predella, divided among the Metropolitan, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, and the National Gallery and the Dulwich Picture Gallery, both in London. Also displayed are a fine selection of paintings and drawings by Raphael executed during the crucial period of 1502–5. These include a prelimi-

nary study, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, for the landscape in the Metropolitan's altarpiece and the beautiful *Madonna and Child with a Book* that the Norton Simon Art Foundation in Pasadena so graciously agreed to contribute to the exhibition. Taken together, these works document one of the pivotal moments in Raphael's career, when the young artist abandoned Perugia, in Umbria, and set his sights on Florence, where he encountered the work of Fra Bartolommeo, and Leonardo da Vinci. To contextualize the transformative effect of this move—evident in the altarpiece—paintings by his master, Perugino, as well as by Pinturicchio and Fra Bartolommeo, are also exhibited. We are deeply indebted to all the institutions and collectors whose loans helped to create a unique opportunity to reevaluate the place of our altarpiece in the career of this sublime master.

For the exhibition, we are grateful to have the critical support of the Homeland Foundation, Inc., whose dedicated commitment to many culturally and religiously significant projects is truly exemplary. We are also grateful to the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund for its important support of this exhibition.

Philippe de Montebello  
*Director*





Figure 1. Raphael. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints, with God the Father, Angels, and Cherubim* (Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, also known as the Colonna altarpiece). About 1504–5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916 (16.30ab)

## Raphael at the Metropolitan: The Colonna Altarpiece

In 1478, a certain Sister Anna, who had taken the veil after the death of her husband, Ludovico di Cristoforo, bequeathed two houses to the Franciscan convent of Sant'Antonio di Padova in Perugia. Her testament stipulated that these dwellings should be sold and part of the proceeds used to pay for a painting and its frame to stand above the altar of the "*chiesa interna*"—the convent's inner church—where the cloistered nuns observed their religious devotions secluded from the lay community.<sup>1</sup> It took nearly a quarter of a century for the terms of this bequest to be fulfilled, but by 1505 the nuns of Sant'Antonio had their altarpiece.

Four hundred years later, in 1901, an American financier traveling abroad encountered that very altarpiece in an art gallery in Paris. He purchased it on the spot for the vast and then stunning sum of two million French francs (roughly four hundred thousand dollars, the equivalent of about nine million dollars today). That painting was Raphael's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, known as the Colonna altarpiece (fig. 1, cat. 1), and its triumphant, if taciturn, new owner was the powerful, influential, and fabulously wealthy New York banker J. Pierpont Morgan (fig. 2). So it was that the Baron of Wall Street, with great fanfare, came to own the last altarpiece by the "Prince of Painters" (the alliterative epithet by which Raphael has long been known) ever to appear on the art market.

Presented to the Metropolitan by Morgan's son in 1916, the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* is today the only altarpiece by Raphael in America, and one of the highlights of the Museum's collection. In the centuries-long odyssey that took it from the quiet medieval hill town of Perugia in the Central Italian region of Umbria, to the glittering urban metropolis of New York City, the

painting traversed the European continent. Alighting for a time in Rome after leaving Perugia, it subsequently traveled to Naples, Madrid, Paris, London, and then back to Paris and once again to London, before ultimately crossing the Atlantic. Over the course of its journey, sections of the altarpiece (which, as we shall see, had been dismembered) passed through a series of princely collections—those of Queen Christina of Sweden, the Colonna family in Rome, the duc d'Orléans in Paris, and the kings of Naples and the Two Sicilies—acquiring with each stop an ever more illustrious pedigree. That pedigree received its ultimate burnishing with the much-trumpeted acquisition by Morgan—Gilded Age America's equivalent of royalty and, as such, the fitting successor to the king, queen, prince, duke, count, and baroness who had earlier owned parts of Raphael's celebrated creation. The epic story of this altarpiece—how it came to be painted

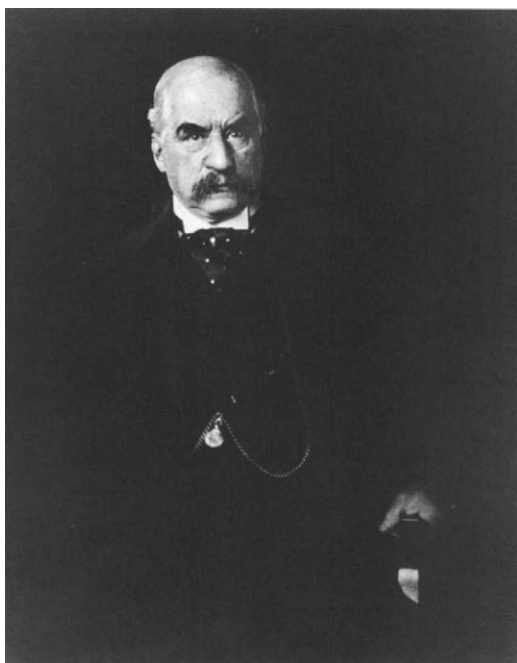


Figure 2. Edward Steichen. J. Pierpont Morgan. 1903. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.55.167)

for the nuns in Perugia, left its perch a century and a half later, and embarked on the lengthy pilgrimage that eventually brought it to the Metropolitan—and of the singular cast of characters behind its peregrinations, will be told in the following pages.

### *The Painter: Raphael*

It is a truism scarcely in need of reiteration that Raphael (1483–1520) was the most famous and influential painter in the pantheon of European art, from his own lifetime until the decline of the academic tradition in the later nineteenth century (fig. 3). Painter, architect, draftsman, teacher; designer of tapestries, prints, and sculpture; artistic impresario; antiquarian and archaeologist *avant la lettre*; would-be poet; friend of prelates and learned humanists; and, possibly—as contemporaries of the artist speculated at the time—an aspirant to the purple (the rank of cardinal in the Catholic Church), Raphael created works that were avidly sought by the most powerful and discriminating secular and ecclesiastical princes of the day. Some patrons, like the Sienese banker Agostino Chigi and popes Julius II and Leo X, he readily obliged; others, like the demanding Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, the overtaxed artist strung along with polite but idle promises. When Raphael died suddenly in 1520, on Good Friday, all Rome mourned, according to the report of a Mantuan emissary to the Holy See. Such was the magnitude of divine grief, contemporary accounts record, that the earth trembled at his passing, causing the walls of the Vatican palace to rupture.<sup>2</sup>

Raphael was buried in the Pantheon, one of ancient Rome's most celebrated monuments (which had been converted into a church). His epitaph, probably composed by the poet Pietro Bembo, expresses in haunting rhetorical language redolent with classical allusions the essence of his genius and the profound sense of loss his death engendered: ILLE·HIC·EST·RAPHAEL·TIMVIT·QVO·SOSPITE·VINCE/RERV·MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MORI (Here lies Raphael. Living, great Nature

fear'd he might outvie/Her works; and dying, fears herself might die).<sup>3</sup> After a brief life of only thirty-seven years, and a meteoric career spanning barely two decades, Raphael of Urbino had been transformed into the Prince of Painters, elevated from the mundane annals of history to the rarefied and poetic realm of myth and legend. It is no wonder that the fevered pursuit of works from the hand of the “divine Raphael,” as he soon came to be known, gained momentum over the centuries, becoming a consuming passion—even mania—for collectors of means, paralleled in the late twentieth century by the collecting frenzy for paintings by van Gogh.

The Raphael of myth had real-life beginnings. He was born in 1483 in Urbino, in the Central Italian region of the Marches, bordering Tuscany and Umbria to the west, Emilia Romagna to the north, and the Adriatic to the east. His father, Giovanni Santi (1435/40–1494), was an artist-courtier—a poet and painter at the cultivated humanist court of the Montefeltro dukes. (It was this refined milieu, presided over by the della Rovere, successors to the Montefeltro, that was famously elegized by Raphael's friend the poet and diplomat Baldassare Castiglione in his treatise *Il Cortigiano* [*The Courtier*]; written between



Figure 3. Raphael. *Self-Portrait*. 1505. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence



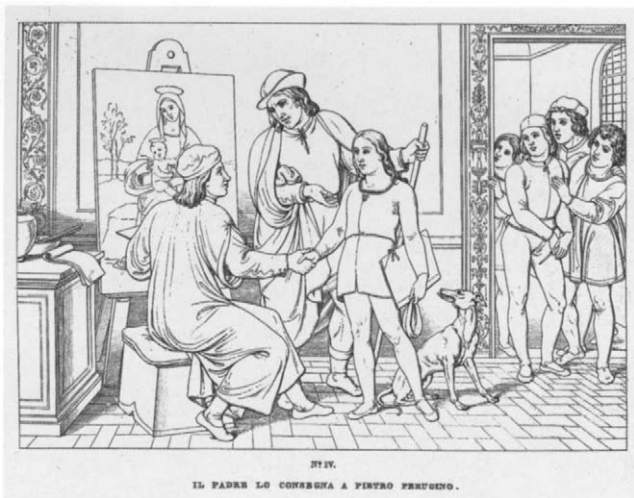


Figure 4. Johannes Riepenhausen. *Raphael Brought to the Studio of Pietro Perugino*, from *Vita di Raffaello da Urbino*. 1833. Private collection

1508 and 1518, the imagined dialogues take place in the ducal palace in Urbino and are set retrospectively in the year 1506—roughly, the time when the Metropolitan’s altarpiece was painted.) Whether or not Santi, who died when Raphael was eleven years old, was also his son’s first teacher is a matter of some debate, but there is no doubt that his role as court artist provided a compelling and instructive model. In addition, Giovanni Santi’s broad appreciation of diverse artistic schools and traditions—including Florentine, Venetian, and Netherlandish painting—articulated in his literary opus *La vita e le gesta di Federico di Montefeltro* (1482–87), was shared by Raphael, whose receptivity to a wide range of artistic currents remained one of the defining hallmarks of his artistic practice.<sup>4</sup>

Raphael’s career spanned twenty years, from 1500 to 1520. He worked principally in Umbria (in Città di Castello and Perugia), Florence, and Rome. Two signal moments of artistic transformation punctuated the two decades of his artistic activity, each coinciding with his physical transfer to a different city and shaped by new influences he rapidly absorbed. The first occurred about 1504, when the ambitious young artist, possibly bearing a letter of introduction from the court of Urbino, left Perugia, the Umbrian capital, and settled in Florence.<sup>5</sup> There, he cast off the trappings of his early style and set about emulat-

ing the new paradigm defined by Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Fra Bartolommeo, the city’s leading artists. Finding a niche in the crowded Florentine art world, Raphael specialized in private devotional images of the Madonna and Child and the Holy Family (see fig. 25), but commissions for monumental narrative frescoes eluded him; thus, in 1508 he relocated permanently to Rome, precipitating the second profound transformation of his style. In response to Michelangelo’s still-unfinished frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and the awe-inspiring marvels of ancient Rome, Raphael’s art took on a heightened grandeur and gravity, monumentality, and formal and

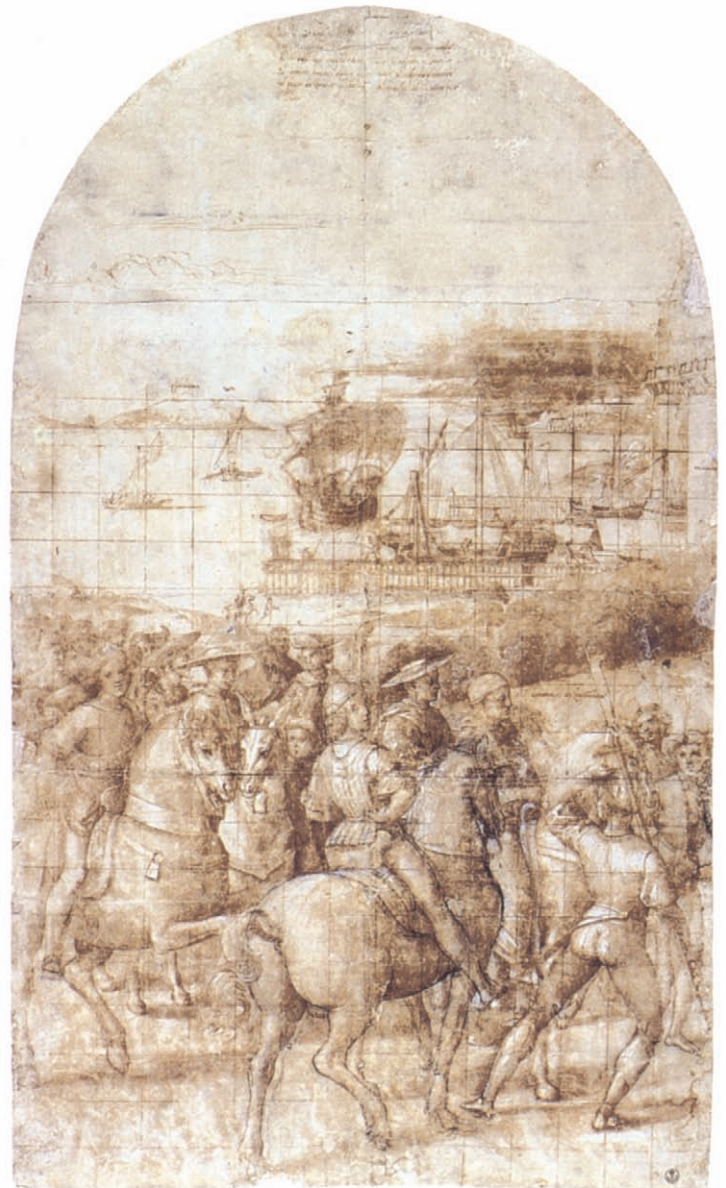


Figure 5. Raphael. *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini Accompanies Domenico Capranica to the Council of Basel* (study for a fresco in the Piccolomini Library, Siena). 1502–3. Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence





Figure 6. Pietro Perugino. *The Marriage of the Virgin*. 1499–1504. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen



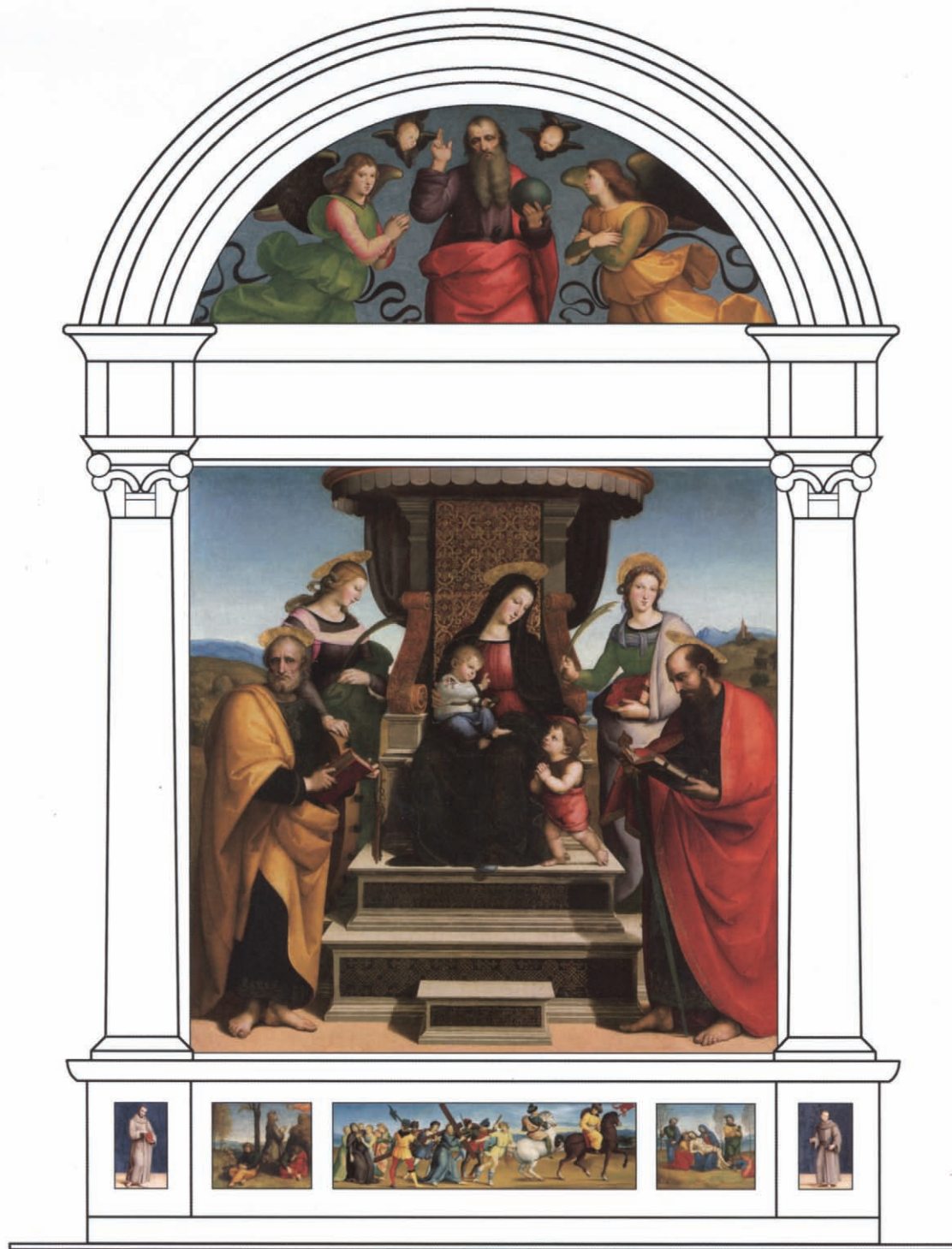
Figure 7. Raphael. *The Marriage of the Virgin*. 1504. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

narrative complexity, evidenced in his frescoes in the Vatican Stanze, the tapestries he designed for the Sistine Chapel, and the architectural projects of his last years. In these late works a new style—one championed by contemporary writers on art as the *maniera moderna* (modern manner)—was born. Our story, however, concerns the earlier phase of Raphael's career—the transitional moment between Umbria and Florence, when he painted the Metropolitan's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*.

A principal character in that story is the Umbrian painter Pietro Perugino (about 1450–1523)—an artist much admired by Giovanni Santi and one of the most celebrated and sought-after painters of the day. Reluctant to turn down work, the prolific Perugino maintained workshops in both his native Perugia and in the more artistically avant-garde

Florence. (For a time he also had a studio in Rome.) A large corps of assistants helped him fulfill the many commissions he received for frescoes and devotional images, and for altarpieces destined for churches in Tuscany and across Umbria, as well as for more distant cities such as Venice, Naples, Pavia, and Cremona. So great was Perugino's reputation that in 1500 Agostino Chigi (the Maecenas who would later become one of Raphael's most important patrons in Rome) lauded him with no exaggeration as the most famous painter in Italy.<sup>6</sup> With that fame came considerable wealth and prestige, if not enduring glory: some years after Chigi's pronouncement, the artist's reputation having suffered a decline, Perugino was derided by the acerbic Michelangelo as “*goffo nell'arte*” (an artistic bumpkin).<sup>7</sup>

The sixteenth-century Tuscan biographer Giorgio Vasari, who devoted a lengthy and



well-informed narrative to Raphael, reports that Giovanni Santi consigned his son to Perugino's tutelage. (This pleasant story is one of the domestic details of the artist's biography that particularly captivated the nineteenth-century imagination; fig. 4.) Not all scholars accept this testimony, however, and disagreement persists over the exact

nature of their affiliation. Was Raphael apprenticed to Perugino, perhaps as early as 1491, or did he enter the latter's orbit some years later as a young journeyman, or even as a collaborator, already having completed his artistic education and in command of some autonomy? Did he even work with Perugino at all, or merely absorb elements of the most

Figure 8. Reconstruction of Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece





Figure 9. Raphael. *The Agony in the Garden*. About 1504–5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Funds from various donors, 1932 (32.130.1)



Figure 10. Raphael. *The Procession to Calvary*. About 1504–5. National Gallery, London

renowned local painter's style? While the debate continues, one thing is certain: by 1500, the date of his earliest independent commission, Raphael had attained the status of master ("magister," in the language of artists' contracts—a designation indicating that he had matriculated in the painters' guild). That the much older and well-established Umbrian painter Pinturicchio (about 1454–1513) enlisted the nineteen-year-old artist to provide drawings for an important series of frescoes in the Piccolomini Library in Siena, commissioned in 1502 (fig. 5), affirms that Raphael's considerable talents were already recognized and in demand by that date.

If argument persists over the pupil-versus-collaborator question, there is no disagreement that Raphael's early style is thoroughly indebted to Perugino, whose manner he brilliantly emulated (fig. 6, 7) and quickly surpassed. This trajectory of his artistic development was articulated by Vasari, writing some thirty years after the artist's death. As this sixteenth-century account attests, Raphael's contemporaries recognized that a remarkable facility for assimilation—a penchant for absorbing one style, then shedding it in order to effortlessly adopt another, transforming his own manner in the process—lay at the very heart of his artistic practice. Indeed, no

less an observer than Pope Leo X, one of his venerable patrons in Rome, is reputed to have remarked that Raphael "abandoned the manner of Perugino and took on that of Michelangelo"<sup>8</sup> upon seeing that artist's work.

This conversation was reported by the Roman-based Venetian painter Sebastiano del Piombo (1485/86–1547), a fiercely partisan ally of Michelangelo and antagonist of Raphael who undoubtedly approved of this presentation of his rival as an artistic cipher. Yet, this view of Raphael as a magpie who learned much from other artists, and incorporated the best of what he observed into his own ever-evolving style, was not only a sixteenth-century trope; rather, it is one that all modern critics have also endorsed, beginning with J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, writing over a century ago in one of the first modern monographs on the artist: "Between Urbino and Rome, the poles of his existence, [Raphael] wandered with but one apparent purpose— . . . of studying everything that had been done by others before him, of assimilating the good and eliminating the bad. . . . He studied one after another, nature, the antique, and the Tuscan, and when he finally broke the fetters of Umbrian tradition, not a single one of the craftsmen then living would have said that he copied any of them."<sup>9</sup>



Figure 11. Raphael. *Pietà*. About 1504–5. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

If one were to choose a single work by Raphael to serve as a case study of his twin pendants for sequential emulation and stylistic transformation, the Metropolitan's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*—a product of the first of those two “transitional” moments in his art-historical biography—would be an exemplary candidate.

*The Sant'Antonio di Padova Altarpiece: The Madonna and Child and Saint John the Baptist Enthroned with Saints Peter, Paul, Catherine of Alexandria, and Cecilia (or Margaret, or Dorothy, or Barbara ?)*

Raphael's altarpiece represents the Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Catherine of Alexandria, and another, unidentified female saint, with God the Father, angels, and cherubim above. It originally included a predella comprising three scenes from the Passion of Christ and two Franciscan saints (fig. 8): *The Agony in the Garden* (fig. 9, cat. 1C), *The Procession to Calvary* (fig. 10, cat. 1D), the *Pietà* (fig. 11, cat. 1E), *Saint Francis of Assisi* (fig. 12, cat. 1F), and *Saint Anthony of Padua* (fig. 13, cat. 1G). Precisely when the painting was executed is a matter of some conjecture since it is not inscribed with



12



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a date and no documents relating to the commission survive. Yet, the stylistic similarities to smaller devotional works by Raphael from about 1503/5, such as the *Madonna and Child with a Book* (“*Madonna at Nones*,” about 1503; fig. 14, cat. 3), and the so-called *Conestabile Madonna* (about 1504; fig. 15, cat. 4), locate it in these years—the chronological juncture between his Umbrian and Florentine periods.

Further evidence favoring this date is the testimony of the nineteenth-century German art historian G. F. Waagen, who had seen the

Figure 12. Raphael, or assistant. *Saint Francis of Assisi*. About 1504–5. Dulwich Picture Gallery, London

Figure 13. Raphael, or assistant. *Saint Anthony of Padua*. About 1504–5. Dulwich Picture Gallery, London





Figure 14. Raphael. *Madonna and Child with a Book* ("Madonna at Nones"). About 1503. Norton Simon Art Foundation, Pasadena



Figure 15. Raphael. *Conestabile Madonna*. About 1504. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

then-inaccessible painting firsthand in Naples and claimed that it was inscribed with the date 1505.<sup>10</sup> No such inscription is visible today, but it may well once have existed, perhaps along the neckline of the Virgin's gown or the edge of her robe, where Raphael on occasion painted his signature and a date, or on the base of the throne, where the obscure and innocuous Umbrian painter Sinibaldo Ibi (about 1475–about 1550) signed and dated his unabashedly derivative variation of Raphael's composition (fig. 16).

Raphael's painting has long been recognized as a demonstration of "the union in one picture of the best of his Peruginesque time with the earliest of the Florentine period."<sup>11</sup> The stepped throne; the symmetrical arrangement of the flanking figures; the placid,

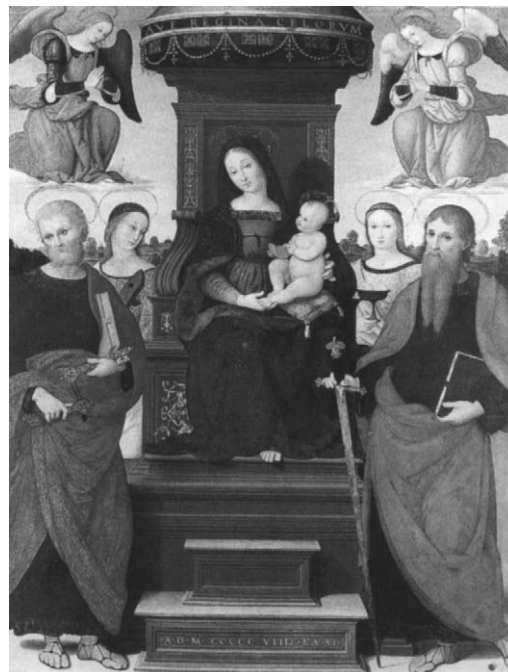


Figure 16. Sinibaldo Ibi. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*. 1509. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia





Figure 17. Pietro Perugino. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* ("Pala dei Decemviri"). 1483–95. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City



Figure 18. Pietro Perugino. *The Ascension of Christ* (detail). 1495–1500. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon



Figure 19. Raphael. *The Mond Crucifixion* (Gavari altarpiece). 1502–3. National Gallery, London





Figure 20. Raphael. *Saint Peter* (detail of Figure 1)



Figure 21. Raphael. *Saint Paul* (detail of Figure 1)

slightly pinched features of the female saints; and the lucid, gently receding landscape background all recall works by Perugino painted in the 1490s (fig. 17), while the decoratively fluttering ribbons of the angels in the lunette—also adopted by Raphael in his early altarpiece of the *Crucifixion*—was a favorite motif of the older artist (fig. 18, 19). However, the two standing male saints signal a marked departure from Perugino's characteristic staid refinement, exhibiting a weight and volume, achieved through the tonal modeling of their forms and draperies with light and shadow, which is unprecedented in Raphael's work. Commensurate with their imposing physical presence is the intensified *gravitas* of their expressions (fig. 20, 21), and also in that of God the Father in the lunette (fig. 22). The painter's admiration for works by Fra Bartolommeo (fig. 23) and Leonardo (fig. 24), which he would have seen upon arriving in Florence, underlies these innovations.

Also noteworthy is the arrangement of the three enthroned figures—the Madonna, the

Christ Child, and the young Saint John the Baptist (see fig. 1). Integrated into a tight pyramidal grouping, they anticipate the Madonna and Child compositions that would earn Raphael fame in Florence (fig. 25): the seeds of those later inventions are thus already present, set within the format of the “*sacra conversazione*” altarpiece type. Here, too, the influence of Leonardo, who reiterated the theme of the Madonna and Child in his drawings and paintings of the period, experimenting with a range of complex and expressive poses (fig. 26), left its mark on Raphael.

#### *The Patron and the Commission: The Nuns of Sant'Antonio di Padova*

Its nod to recent developments in Florentine art aside, Raphael's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* remains an essentially conservative invention rooted in the Umbrian tradition. This is due in large measure to the circumstances of the commission: the altarpiece was painted for Sant'Antonio di Padova



in Perugia, a convent of cloistered Franciscan nuns, whose far-from-progressive artistic tastes inclined to the conventional and *retardataire*. (Forty years earlier they had imposed on Piero della Francesca the stipulation that his altarpiece for the “*chiesa esterna*” of Sant’Antonio di Padova be an old-fashioned Gothic polyptych with a gold tooled background [fig. 27], by then an anachronistic format; distant echoes of that archaizing work linger in Raphael’s altarpiece in the architecture of the Virgin’s throne as well as in the general arrangement of the figures.) Such taste was, indeed, the norm for female monastic patrons, particularly in Perugia: in 1505, Raphael and an Umbrian collaborator, Berto di Giovanni, entered into a contract with the nuns of Santa Maria di Monteluca outside Perugia in which they agreed to paint a *Coronation of the Virgin* modeled on an altarpiece of this subject that Domenico Ghirlandaio had executed in 1486—hardly a cutting-edge work by the date of this commission.<sup>12</sup> (Despite having signed the contract, Raphael never did complete that



Figure 22. *God the Father* (detail of Figure 1)

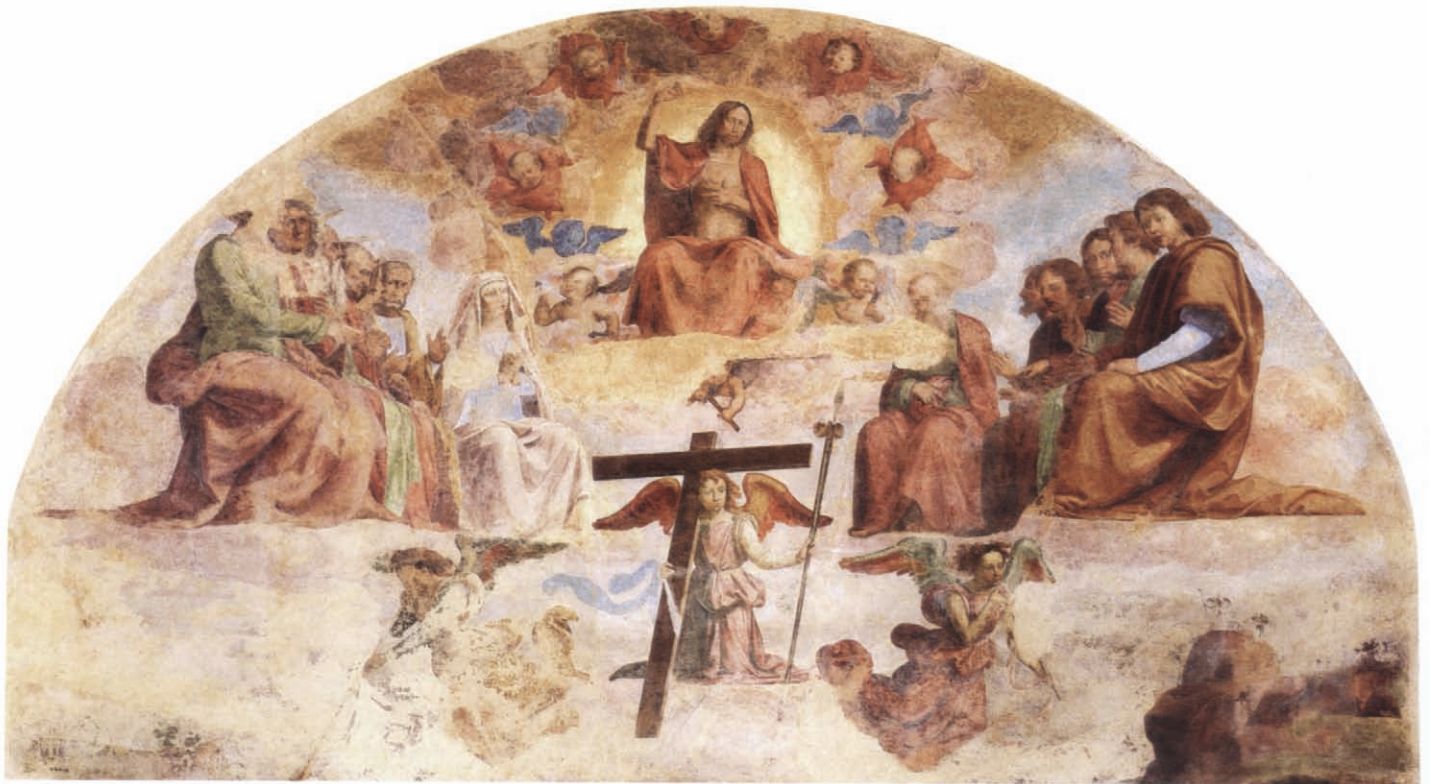


Figure 23. Fra Bartolommeo (completed by Mariotto Albertinelli). *The Last Judgment* (detail). 1500. Museo di San Marco, Florence





Figure 24. Leonardo da Vinci. *Virgin and Child with Saints Anne and John the Baptist (The Burlington House Cartoon)*. 1499–1501 or 1506–8. National Gallery, London

Leonardo exhibited—to great public acclaim—a similar cartoon in Florence in 1501. That work, which Raphael undoubtedly knew and admired, is now lost; this cartoon of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Anne and John the Baptist* conveys the salient aspects of Leonardo's innovative technique and composition.



Figure 25. Raphael. *Madonna of the Meadow*. 1505–6. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Figure 26. Leonardo da Vinci. *Virgin and Child with a Cat*. About 1481. British Museum, London



painting, perhaps because he found the dictates too restrictive and Perugia an artistic backwater compared with Florence, where he had by then relocated.) Commissioned within a year or so of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, the Montelupe *Coronation*—had it been realized as planned, and on schedule—would have been an analogous, deliberately retrograde image, conceived for the altar of a cloistered nuns' conventual church.

Unfortunately, no contract survives for the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, but we know from Vasari that the painter faced similar constraints on his artistic freedom in this work: the unusual clothing of the Christ Child (fig. 28, cat. 27), who typically is represented as a naked infant, was reportedly included at the request of the chaste nuns, nudity being considered by them indecorous. (For this sartorial detail Raphael turned to the Umbrian painter Pinturicchio, with whom he had recently collaborated on the Piccolomini Library commission [see fig. 5]: the type of robe worn by the Christ Child [see fig. 28], and the by-then old-fashioned gold-flecked mantle of the Madonna are frequently seen in Pinturicchio's devotional works.) Contemporaries may also have regarded the Netherlandish-inspired landscape at the right (about which more will be said in the following pages) as a further reflection of the orthodox taste of Raphael's female monastic patrons: the sixteenth-century Portuguese draftsman and theorist Francisco de Hollanda (1517–1584), in his *Dialogue on Painting* (which takes place a decade earlier than its publication date of 1548), quotes the observation of his friend Michelangelo that Netherlandish painting “please[s] the devout. . . . It will appeal to women, especially to the very old and very young, and also to monks and nuns and to certain noblemen who have no sense of true harmony.”

The conservative character of Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece is not exclusively a formal or artistic attribute, however. Rather, this aspect of the painting is directly aligned with its function as an object of spiritual veneration intended to inspire devotion on the part of the worshiper—in this case,



the nuns of the convent who were its privileged audience. The clear, straightforward presentation and concomitant lack of stylistic excess, artifice, or ornament place the altarpiece within a particular category of religious image described in Renaissance discourse on the arts as “*devoto*” (devout). Derived from Saint Thomas Aquinas’s characterization of an unembellished style of preaching, this concept of the *maniera devoto*, or “devout style,” was formulated by the fifteenth-century Florentine writer and linguist Cristoforo Landino to describe a type of religious art that was “easily understood and good for edifying and instructing people.”<sup>13</sup> (A related rhetorical term, “*puro*” [pure]—discussed by the ancient writer Cicero and also appropriated by Landino—communicated a

Figure 27. Piero della Francesca. Sant'Antonio Polyptych. 1455–68. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia





Figure 28. Pinturicchio. *Madonna and Child*. 1490–95. Philadelphia Museum of Art. John G. Johnson Collection

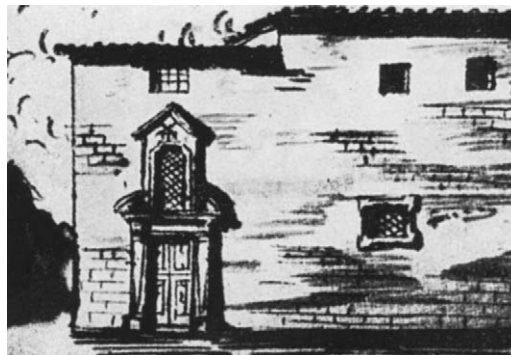
not dissimilar idea.) Landino and his audience had in mind the lucid, austere refined paintings of Fra Angelico, although many devotional images (and not just those by Florentine artists) amply fit this conception.<sup>14</sup> Painted, as was much of Angelico's art, for a cloistered monastic community, Raphael's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* (which intentionally harks back to earlier pictorial conventions) is without doubt one such work. Locating it within the framework of this formulation will perhaps allow the altarpiece—often derided for its archaic and somewhat disjunctive style—to be seen in a more sympathetic and historically informed light.

Practical considerations also engaged Raphael's attention during the process of designing the Sant'Antonio altarpiece—most importantly, how to relate the painting to its physical setting. Unfortunately, little can be said on this subject. Although remnants survive, the fifteenth-century conventual church was long ago deconsecrated (in the 1800s it was converted into a match factory), and its interior radically altered (fig. 29). That Sant'Antonio was a modest establishment is suggested by its simple entrance façade, the



Figure 29. The former "chiesa interna" (nuns' choir) of Sant'Antonio di Padova, Perugia

Figure 30. Artist unknown. Façade of Sant'Antonio di Padova, Perugia. 18th century





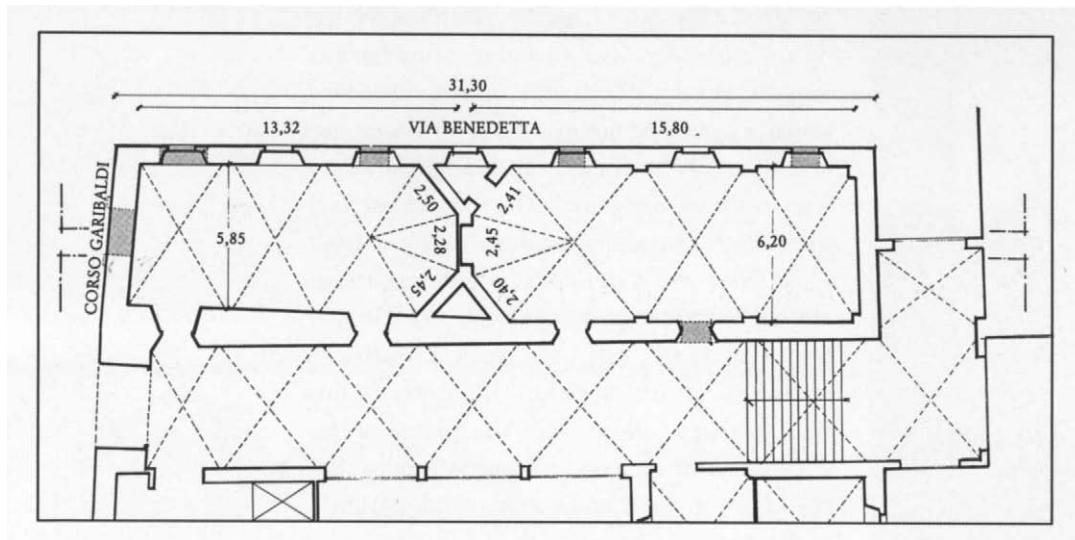


Figure 31. Reconstruction of the floor plan of Sant'Antonio di Padova, Perugia



Figure 32. Reconstruction and elevation of the altar wall of the "chiesa interna" of Sant'Antonio di Padova, Perugia, showing Raphael's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* in place

appearance of which was recorded in an anonymous eighteenth-century drawing (fig. 30). A reconstruction of the original floor plan shows that the inner church (which was slightly larger than the outer church) had a series of windows along the right, or southeast, wall, overlooking the via Benedetta (fig. 31, 32). In the altarpiece the implied light source is from the right (hence, the shadows fall to the left; see fig. 1); seen in its original setting, it would have appeared as though the real light coming through the windows of the church was also the source of the pictorial light. The same is true of the Piero della Francesca altarpiece that originally stood on the other side of the wall, which is lit from the left—the direction from which light entered through the windows of the “*chiesa esterna*” (see fig. 27). Raphael gave careful attention to the painted shadows in the altarpiece, which consistently fall from right to left, in order to unite the painting with its physical setting, thereby heightening the sense of the sacred figures’ palpable presence within the actual space of the church.

The scant available information about the original structure includes one other relevant fact: the altar wall of the inner church was 2.45 meters wide (about 96½ inches or roughly 8 feet). Unframed, Raphael’s altarpiece is 1.72 meters (67¾ inches or approximately 5 feet 7¾ inches). Allowing for the additional width imparted by the original frame, at minimum 30.4 centimeters or about 12 inches (the combined width of the two saints from the bases of the pilasters; see fig. 8), we may conclude that it filled virtually the entire center wall of the polygonal choir, allowing only a small amount of empty space (no more than 20 centimeters, or 8 inches) on each side (see fig. 32). Piero’s Sant’Antonio polyptych (see fig. 27) in the “*chiesa esterna*,” which stood directly on the other side of the altar wall (and through which the cloistered nuns of the convent, before they had a consecrated altar with an altarpiece in the “*chiesa interna*,” received Communion by means of a trapdoor in the predella), measured approximately 2.3 meters (roughly 7½ feet or 90½ inches) and there-



fore was only slightly wider than Raphael’s altarpiece.<sup>15</sup>

Raphael was a prolific draftsman who worked out his increasingly complex compositions through elaborate series of preparatory studies exploring the play of light and shadow, the arrangement of figures, and details of their poses, draperies, and expressions. For some of his commissions, numerous drawings are preserved; however, for the Sant’Antonio di Padova altarpiece only two are known: a damaged cartoon (full-scale drawing) for the *Agony in the Garden* from the predella (fig. 33, cat. 17) and a study for the landscape background at the right (fig. 34, cat. 18). Other preparatory studies presumably existed but are now lost.

Raphael’s preparatory process typically began with compositional studies—quick sketches in which he rapidly set down his initial ideas, followed by more carefully worked-up drawings establishing in greater detail the principal elements of the overall design. A pen-and-ink study for an altarpiece of the Madonna and Child enthroned with a standing saint (fig. 35), executed about 1503–4, although probably not directly connected

Figure 33. Raphael. *The Agony in the Garden* (preparatory study for Figure 9). About 1504. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1909





34: recto



34: verso

with the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, shares numerous features with that work and is therefore instructive in elucidating precisely how Raphael would have conceived this type of composition.<sup>16</sup> Similarities between the drawing and the painting include the stepped throne with ornamented risers; the large volutes framing the Virgin's bench; the scalloped canopy; the hilly landscape background; and the poses of the Virgin and the blessing Child on her right knee.

Surveying Raphael's extant drawings, one may also speculate that he made studies of the heads of the principal figures, such as the three illustrated here, which, while once again not directly connected with the Sant'Antonio altarpiece, are of roughly the same date (fig. 36–38, cat. 11, 13, 20). Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that the grave, nuanced expressions of the male saints—a departure from the placid, rather blank, Perugino-inspired physiognomies of his early Umbrian works—could have been achieved without this kind of preliminary investigation. Raphael is also likely to have made figure drawings for this

type of monumental composition—an example of which is a pen-and-ink sketch of a standing male figure, executed about 1504/5 (fig. 39, cat. 14). The pose is similar to that of Saint Peter in the altarpiece, and if—as one scholar has suggested—the object he holds is a key, the saint's traditional attribute, this may well be a preparatory study for that work.<sup>17</sup> Another figure drawing from about the same period conceivably provided the initial idea for Saint Paul (fig. 40, cat. 15).<sup>18</sup> Finally, given the prominence and attention Raphael bestowed on the voluminous robes of the two male saints—details that bespeak his first attempts to absorb what he had seen in Florence, as discussed above—it is fair to posit that he may also have made drapery studies in connection with this commission, as he did periodically throughout his career (fig. 41, cat. 16).

In 2005, the Sant'Antonio altarpiece was subjected to a detailed technical examination using infrared reflectography, revealing for the first time extensive and widely varied underdrawing. Some of the most significant findings concern the Christ Child (fig. 42),

Figure 34. Raphael. *Saint Jerome, with a View of Perugia* (recto) and *Landscape Study with the Madonna and Child* (verso). About 1504. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford





Figure 35. Raphael. *Madonna and Child Enthroned, with Saint Nicholas of Tolentino*. 1503–4. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt



Figure 36. Raphael. *Head and Shoulders of a Young Woman*. About 1503. British Museum, London



Figure 37. Raphael. *Head of a Man*. About 1504. British Museum, London



Figure 38. Raphael. *Head of a Child*. About 1505. Private collection, Dallas





Figure 39. Raphael. *Standing Male Nude Figure* (Study for *Saint Peter*?). About 1504–5. British Museum, London

whose role as both the symbolic and compositional focal point is indicated by the convergence of diagonal ruled lines at a point at the top of his left wrist that marks the exact center of the main panel. This figure, which may be based on a cartoon, contains the most elaborate and refined underdrawing, its searching contours set down by Raphael with great freedom and assurance. (Analogous underdrawing, in metalpoint—the medium probably

employed in this passage of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece—is found in Raphael's *Small Cowper Madonna* of about 1504 and in the *Madonna of the Pinks* of 1506/7; fig. 43.)<sup>19</sup> Given that the underdrawing shows the Christ Child clothed, his robe adorned with the enigmatic emblem on the shoulder,<sup>20</sup> it is certain that these are not later revisions or additions. Rather, the artist planned these unusual pictorial details from the outset—a circumstance



Figure 40. Raphael. *Standing Bearded Saint* (Paul or Jerome?). About 1504–5. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

Figure 41 (opposite, top left): Raphael. *Drapery Study*. About 1503–4. British Museum, London

Figure 42 (opposite, top right): Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing of the Christ Child in Figure 1

Figure 43 (opposite, bottom): Infrared reflectogram mosaic of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks*. National Gallery, London





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raising the possibility that they may have been stipulated in the contract.

The underdrawing of the Madonna's mantle, executed in brush rather than metalpoint, is also of considerable interest for it shows the care with which the artist described the folds and contours using hatching, thereby creating volume and suggesting the interplay of light and shadow—nuances that the corresponding section of the painting has entirely lost as a result of the darkening of the blue paint over time to a murky, uniform near-black. Painterly underdrawing beneath the heads of the male saints reflects a similar concern for describing volume and shadow (see fig. 44), while the underdrawing of their feet reveals that Raphael originally had them wearing sandals (fig. 45)—a detail he abandoned in the final conception (but that his imitator Sinibaldo Ibi curiously retained; see fig. 16).

The markedly different underdrawing of the two female saints came as a striking revelation (see fig. 46). Their hard and schematic



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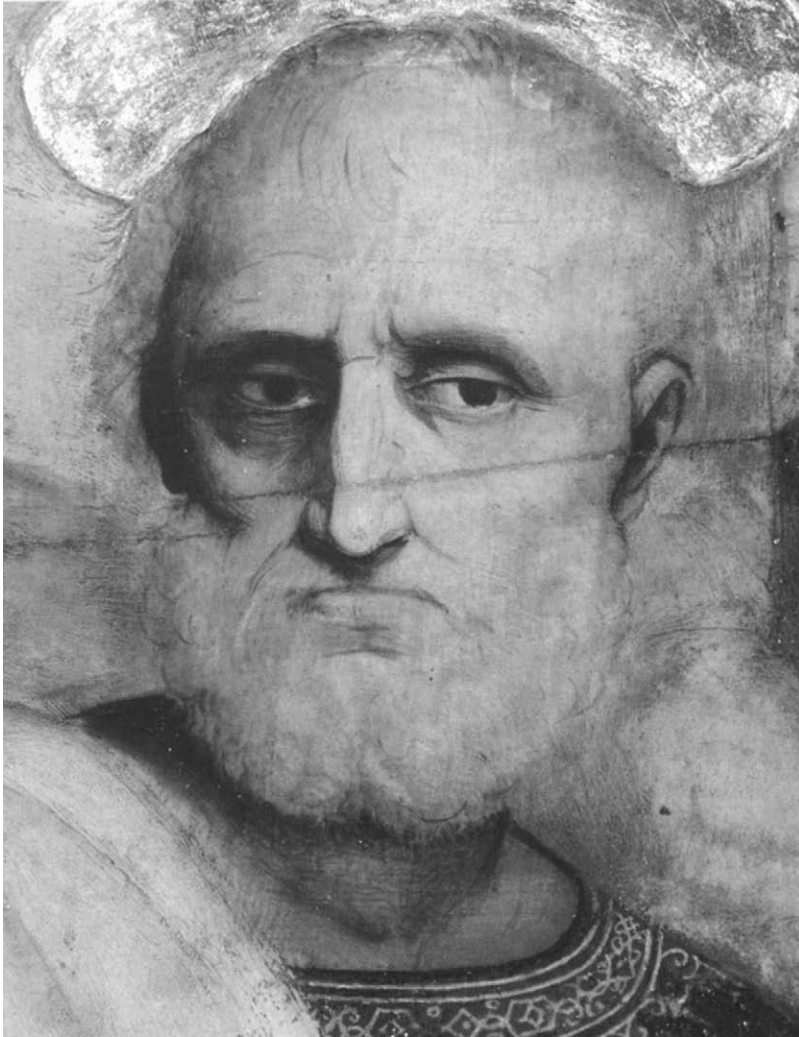


Figure 44. Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing of the head of Saint Peter in Figure 1

outlines were traced or incised from cartoons—a mechanical process that, in typical workshop practice, was often delegated to an assistant. Here, exclusive attention is paid to contour, without the subtle, descriptive interior modeling of the faces of the male saints. A comparable disparity occurs in the painting, where the delicacy and refinement of the female saints contrast with the forceful shading and plasticity of the male figures. The different types of underdrawing thus parallel the different conception and execution of the respective painted figures.

Raphael scholars have long observed that the artist had an innate architectural sensibility, evident in the assured portrayal of the buildings that appear in his earliest paintings and drawings (see fig. 7) and fully realized in his later activity as an architect in Rome.



Figure 45. Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing of the foot of Saint Paul in Figure 1



Figure 46. Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing of the head of the unidentified female saint in Figure 1

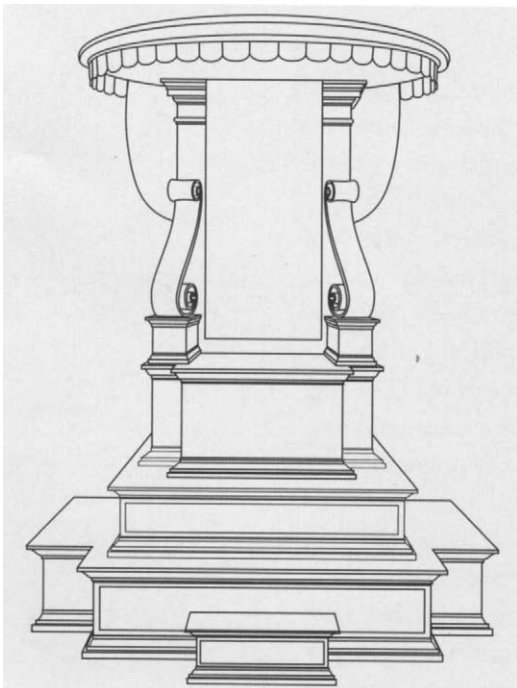


Figure 47. Schematic rendering of the Virgin's throne from Figure 1 (drawing by Aaron Maestri)

Figure 48. Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing of the outline of Saint Paul's shadow in Figure 1







Figure 49. Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing of the landscape in Figure 1



Figure 50. Master FVB. *Saint Barbara*. 15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955 (55.530)

Although compromised by the oddly decapitated circular baldachin, in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece this affinity is manifest in the elaborate stepped, spatially complex throne. The technical examination revealed that this ambitious structure was laid in before the figures—an indicator of the importance Raphael attached to it as a vehicle for creating a convincing sense of space (fig. 47). No underdrawing of note was discovered beneath God the Father in the lunette but his beautifully foreshortened hand extending the round orb attests to the same space-defining impulse (see fig. 22). In the main panel, the sense of “real,” inhabitable space is enhanced by the figures’ painstakingly rendered cast shadows—another detail that engaged Raphael’s attention from

the outset, as the remarkable discovery of the outline of Saint Paul’s shadow confirms (fig. 48).

In the background of the altarpiece above Saint Paul there is a beautiful rustic landscape (fig. 49); such landscapes, which may well have been inspired by Netherlandish models that Raphael would have known, frequently occur in his paintings of this period (see fig. 14). The artist made a preparatory drawing of the two buildings (see fig. 34), then translated this architectural vignette virtually unchanged—save for the loss of the left steeple—to the panel, as seen in the freehand underdrawing (see fig. 49). The obvious care Raphael lavished on these details suggests that they had some significance, prompting the question of whether the buildings in the painting are an

idealized depiction of the convent, church, and outlying property of Sant'Antonio di Padova, or, alternatively, if the ecclesiastical structure is a symbolic rather than a literal topographical rendering. Given that the identity of the generic female saint standing beside the building remains a mystery, it is worth considering that this detail might relate to her in some way. If so, she would be Saint Barbara (fig. 50), a female martyr typically represented with a book, a palm frond, and her main attribute—a tower. (Other contenders have included Saints Lucy, Cecilia, Dorothy, Rosalia, and Margaret of Cortona—none entirely convincing in light of the curious absence of specific identifying attributes; in the Sinibaldo Ibi variant she is Saint Agatha; see fig. 16.) Whatever the case, it is clear that the choice of saints for the main panel did not reflect either the particular dedication of the church to Saint Anthony of Padua or its Franciscan affiliation; both were alluded to only by the diminutive Franciscan saints, Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua, in the predella.

The three narrative scenes that once comprised the predella have also been recently subjected to technical investigations. Extensive underdrawing is present beneath both the *Pietà* and the *Procession to Calvary* (the latter now partly visible to the naked eye), however, none was found in the third scene, the Metropolitan's *Agony in the Garden*, perhaps because the paint layers are too dense for the infrared to penetrate. (The pricked outlines of the preparatory cartoon [see fig. 33] would seem to indicate that the design was transferred to the surface to be painted by forcing charcoal dust through the tiny holes—a method known as



Figure 51. Detail of an infrared reflectogram mosaic showing the underdrawing (enhanced) of a standing figure beneath the *Pietà* in Figure 11

pouncing—however, neither the telltale dots, or *spolveri*, nor any drawn contours have been detected.) Those technical findings have been extensively discussed elsewhere and are beyond the scope of the present essay,<sup>21</sup> but one recent discovery should be mentioned here: beneath the painted scene of the *Pietà* there is a standing figure, drawn when the panel was rotated ninety degrees from its current orientation. Although its outlines are a bit difficult to discern, the figure's pose (fig. 51) resembles that of Saint Francis from the predella (see fig. 12). This finding strongly suggests that the predella's narrative scenes from the outset were painted on three individual panels, not on a single long, horizontal plank, as was common practice, since the newly revealed figure when oriented upright would have made such a configuration impossible. What is certain—although this is difficult to appreciate today, as the panels are dispersed in separate collections—is that, even though the figure scale of



Figure 52. Claudio Inglesi, after Raphael. Copy of the predella of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece. 1663. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia



the Agony in the Garden varies somewhat from the other two scenes (a pardonable inconsistency if, indeed, they never formed a single panel and could therefore have been painted at different moments during the genesis of the altarpiece), Raphael took pains to suggest a continuous landscape background extending through the three individual compositions, as the seventeenth-century copy of the predella faithfully records (see fig. 52).<sup>22</sup>

With the exception of the Sant'Antonio di Padova *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, Raphael's altarpieces of this period all conform to a common format: a single, arch-topped panel. This circumstance highlights the anomalous structure of the work, which, in its present state, consists of a square main panel and a separate lunette. Precedents for the latter exist in some of Perugino's altarpieces—models that Raphael may have been required to follow in this commission. It is possible, however, that the two pieces originally formed a single unified panel (thereby bringing this altarpiece in line with the rest of Raphael's paintings of this type), the two registers perhaps divided by an engaged (attached) horizontal framing element. A uniquely relevant, Umbrian example of such a construction is an *Annunciation, with the Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* (fig. 53), by the mediocre Francesco Tifernate (active about 1505) that patently derives from Raphael's Sant'Antonio altarpiece and conceivably mirrors its original format.<sup>23</sup>

Although this suggestion is speculative, it is not without some support. The horizontal grain of the main panel is consistent with that of the lunette. Moreover, allowing for a now-missing, unpainted horizontal section, covered by an engaged frame, and for some extra width on each side where the altarpiece has been slightly cut down—again, presumably, to remove the original, engaged frame and/or some kind of damage to the edges—the original dimensions of the main panel would coalesce with the wider lunette, forming a contiguous whole. A few external strands of documentary evidence, discussed at greater length in the following pages, also

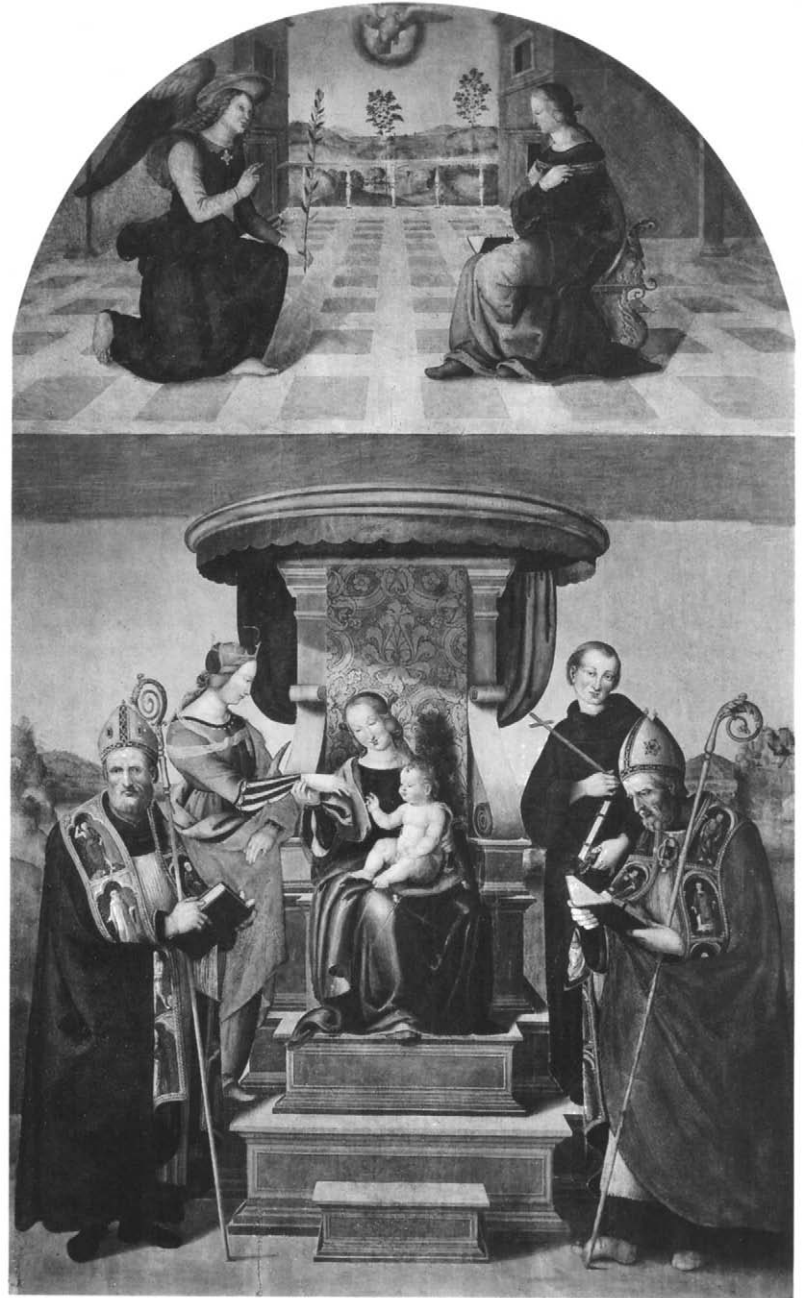


Figure 53. Francesco Tifernate. *The Annunciation, with the Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* (Ognissanti altarpiece). About 1505. Pinacoteca Comunale, Città di Castello

The altarpiece, the key work by this obscure artist, is neither dated nor documented, but the date has been inferred on the basis of its strict derivation from Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece.

bolster the single-panel hypothesis. The first is a seventeenth-century account of the altarpiece in which the predella is described as comprising distinct and separate panels (a construction supported, as noted, by the recently uncovered technical findings), but the image of God the Father is ambiguously referred to in such a

way that it is unclear whether it constituted the upper part of the main panel or a separate piece. Written in 1661, that narrative is followed a decade later by another documentary record that unequivocally describes the altarpiece, by then deprived of its predella, as being painted on a single panel. Finally, two different eighteenth-century written sources, which both state that Raphael's altarpiece—by that time divided in two—originally consisted of a single, unified panel, would appear to corroborate the earlier testimony. While, admittedly, this is all inconclusive, it is at least worth considering the possibility that the Sant'Antonio di Padova *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, like all Raphael's altarpieces for Perugia (and earlier, for Città di Castello, where he first worked), was constructed originally as one arch-topped panel, and later severed in two when the original frame was removed in the seventeenth century.

Its jarring inconsistencies—partly accounted for, as we have seen, by the artist's response to the contradictory demands of his conservative patrons and his own progressive artistic ambitions—have dogged Raphael's altarpiece throughout its critical history. Although the purity and simplicity of the composition earned it praise in many quarters in the nineteenth century, when the taste for early Raphael (a taste that gave birth to the Nazarenes in Vienna and Rome and the Pre-Raphaelites in Britain) was at its apogee, it has been consistently dismissed in more recent times as one of his most puzzling, if not unappealing, works, largely because of its unresolved and internally incoherent style. In an attempt to account for the painting's shortcomings, some scholars have posited the intervention of an assistant or collaborator—an idea raised independently by the newly revealed underdrawing of the female saints, which is conceivably by such an assistant working from Raphael's drawings or cartoons.

While future studies of the altarpiece may shed further light on this question, there is no argument that collaboration is a leitmotif of Raphael's career, from his earliest works—for example, the (destroyed) Saint Nicholas



Figure 54. Raphael. *Study of the Risen Christ*. About 1501–2. Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro

of Tolentino altarpiece of 1501, which he painted with his father's colleague Evangelista di Pian di Meleto, and the frescoes commissioned the following year for the Piccolomini Library in Siena (see fig. 5), for which he provided Pinturicchio with designs—to the frescoes and altarpieces he executed much later in Rome, when he relied on the considerable contributions of his gifted pupils and collaborators. In those years, Raphael even enlisted on occasion such established “outsiders” as the North Italian painters Lorenzo Lotto and Dosso or Battista Dossi, and his friend Timoteo Viti from Urbino. The ill-fated Monteluca *Coronation*, commissioned in 1505, was a collaborative undertaking (see p. 16); the same is true of an unrealized painting of the *Annunciation* for which Raphael furnished the Perugian painter Domenico Alfani with a beautiful compositional drawing in 1507, and a somewhat puzzling *Resurrection*,



which he seems to have had a hand in designing (see fig. 54 and cat. 5).<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, the Sant'Antonio altarpiece itself has long been presumed to be, in some manner, a collaborative enterprise: many scholars have proposed that the two saints from the predella are the work of assistants (see fig. 12, 13), and the clumsy interloping angel in the *Agony in the Garden* (see fig. 9)—not part of the original design, as Raphael's cartoon confirms (see fig. 33)—is undoubtedly by another hand. The same exigencies that led him to delegate parts of the predella, the least important component of the altarpiece, might also have prompted Raphael—who had permanently left Perugia by 1505, conceivably before finishing this work—to entrust some section of the underdrawing and perhaps secondary passages of the main panel to an assistant or assistants. Whatever the case, by 1505 Raphael's altarpiece was in place in Sant'Antonio di Padova.

*The Pastoral Visit of the Bishop of Perugia to Sant'Antonio di Padova in 1661 and the Last Eyewitness Account of Raphael's Altarpiece in the "Chiesa Interna"*

A detailed and appreciative account of Raphael's altarpiece occurs in the written record of a pastoral visit to Sant'Antonio di Padova by Marcantonio Oddi, the bishop of Perugia, in 1661<sup>25</sup>—the lengthiest description found in any early written source and, indeed, the last record of the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* when it was fully intact and *in situ* (that is, in the original location for which it was painted); within two years, the predella would be removed and sold, followed a decade later by the main panel. As this document has not previously been fully transcribed or translated into English, and has never been cited in the Raphael literature, it is included as an appendix at the end of this essay. A few of its salient points should be noted here:

- The generic female martyr on the right was identified by the author of this account

as Saint Cecilia (which may or may not have been the prevailing view at the time).

- The original frame, long missing and about which nothing was hitherto known, was gilded, and included columns as part of the outermost framing elements.
- The two standing male saints from the predella, Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua (see fig. 8, 12, 13), originally ornamented the bases of the columns that formed part of the original frame: they were not interspersed between the three narrative scenes as such figures often are, *inter alia*, in predelle by Perugino.
- The altarpiece in its original form did not include any additional standing figures of this type, as has sometimes been speculated, for none is mentioned in this description (nor in another document of 1663, discussed below).
- The present dimensions of both the small standing saints and the narrative scenes essentially correspond to those given in this seventeenth-century document, indicating that none of these panels has been cut down.
- The fact that individual dimensions are provided for each of the narrative scenes—which, later in the same document, are referred to in the plural as panels—may perhaps be construed as evidence supporting the contention that the predella was not a single, long plank but consisted instead of separate pieces (as the technical evidence discussed above more unambiguously demonstrates).
- The chalice-bearing angel in the *Agony in the Garden*, not part of Raphael's original design (see fig. 9) and undoubtedly by another hand, as noted above, was added sometime before 1661, as it is mentioned in this document.

Compiled by ecclesiastical secretaries, accounts of pastoral visits enumerate and describe the liturgical objects and church furnishings seen

by a bishop in a given church during a diocesan journey. As is the case with this record of Marcantonio Oddi's 1661 visit to Sant'Antonio di Padova, they often provide invaluable and even unique testimony about works of art. Given that such documents were strictly "utilitarian," it is amusing to note that Raphael's altarpiece inspired in our amanuensis a bit of rhetorical flourish, witnessed in his appropriation of the "art rivaling nature" topos—his comment that in Raphael's painting "art and nature almost compete to undo one another." Ubiquitous in theoretical texts (and familiar from Raphael's epitaph), such diverting language is unexpected in more mundane written sources.

*The First Sale: The Nuns of Sant'Antonio di Padova Sell the Predella to Queen Christina of Sweden in 1663*

Two years after this account, in 1663, the peregrinations of the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* began. In that year, the indigent abbess and nuns of the convent of Sant'Antonio di Padova, dispassionately eyeing Raphael's altarpiece not as an object of spiritual veneration but as a financial asset, requested permission from the College of Cardinals in Rome to sell "five small devotional panels" (*"cinque quadretti di Devotione"*) that were to be found in the *"Coro interiore"*—that is, the predella of the altarpiece from the inner church. Purely practical considerations motivated this campaign: the convent owed three hundred scudi to the local butcher for meat already consumed, and had accrued an additional debt of two hundred scudi for grain, wine, and oil.<sup>26</sup> Proceeds from the sale of the predella would be used to satisfy these accounts, which the nuns pleaded they had no other means of settling. Neglecting to mention that the panels in question were by the most celebrated of painters—a consideration that may well have given the cardinals pause when considering the petition—and contending that the predella in any case was not a necessary part of the altarpiece, the nuns had their request formally granted on April 6.



The bishop of Perugia (the same Marcantonio Oddi who had visited the church of Sant'Antonio di Padova two years earlier) authorized the sale, although perhaps with some misgivings, since he added the stipulation that a copy of the predella (see fig. 52) be substituted for the original. That the latter was painted by Raphael also appears to have been suppressed, or at least overlooked: the artist's name is not mentioned in the pertinent document, which refers to the panels only as being *"di buona mano"* (by a good hand). Two months later, on June 7, 1663, an instrument of sale was drawn up whereby the nuns agreed to sell the predella, now expressly described as the work of Raphael, to Queen Christina of Sweden for 601 Roman scudi—101 scudi more than their outstanding debts for meat and other provisions.<sup>27</sup>

Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), the maverick queen who renounced her throne in 1654, converted to Catholicism, and permanently

Figure 55. Sébastien Bourdon. *Queen Christina of Sweden*. About 1653. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



adjourned to Rome, where she lived for more than three decades, was one of the most colorful and iconoclastic personalities of seventeenth-century Europe (fig. 55). Her father, King Gustavus Adolphus, having no male heir, decreed that his daughter should be educated as a boy and receive instruction in all pursuits befitting a prince. Riding, hunting, and athletics, as well as languages, philology, philosophy, theology, mathematics, and astronomy, comprised her curriculum.<sup>28</sup> Her insatiable intellectual curiosity spurred the young queen to seek out the most brilliant luminaries of the age, among them the French philosopher René Descartes, who in 1649 accepted Christina's invitation to reside at her court in Stockholm (in hindsight, an unfortunate decision since he perished there during an epidemic the following year). For her energetic pursuit of knowledge on an encyclopedic scale, as well as her dazzling intellectual powers, Christina earned the epithet "Minerva of the North."

Christina's intellectual mettle and the thoroughly masculine character that was regarded as its corollary were frequently commented upon by contemporaries: the formidable Swedish statesman Axel Oxenstierna approvingly remarked of the young queen: "Her Majesty is a credit to her sex and age; God knows, how it rejoices me to see that she is not womanly, but of good heart and deep understanding,"<sup>29</sup> while a Roman observer opined that she was "on the whole intended by nature as a man" and was in possession of a "manly disposition."<sup>30</sup> (This manly aspect extended to her preferred attire: an account written by the French ambassador to Sweden Pierre Chanut in 1648 records that Christina's shorter-than-average stature was reinforced by her eschewal of shoes "as are generally worn by ladies" in favor of footwear "with plain soles of black morocco resembling [that] worn by men.")<sup>31</sup> A further record of the queen's remarkable, and decidedly unfeminine, aspect was provided by a Jesuit emissary in Stockholm, who exclaimed of Christina: "A wonder, such a woman the like of whom is scarcely to be

seen in this century. . . . Despite her sex there is nothing feminine about her. Her voice is that of a man and likewise her manner of speech, her movements and gestures. . . . Unless one sees her from close quarters, it is easy to take her for a man."<sup>32</sup> The subject of these assessments would not have found in any of them the slightest cause for offense, as she herself reportedly announced to the queen mother of France, "Faith, Madam, it vexes me to be a woman."<sup>33</sup>

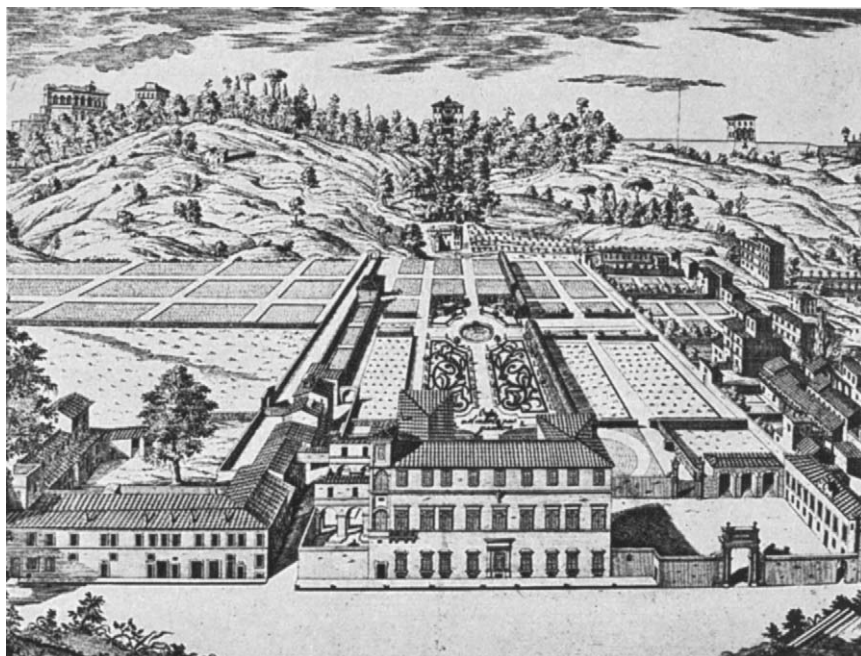
The queen's ribald and earthy sense of humor scandalized her contemporaries, as did her unkempt appearance—the subject of ongoing commentary, especially concerning her coiffure and toilette: "Her hair she combs only once a week, at times no more than once a fortnight. On Sundays it takes her half an hour to dress, on weekdays a quarter of an hour only. Sometimes, in the course of a conversation, I have noticed that her clothes have been flecked with ink, because she writes so much. I have even noticed them to be ragged."<sup>34</sup> A more laconic appraisal was offered by an anonymous writer in 1668 who remarked of Christina's appearance, "she occasions no displeasure but pleases few."<sup>35</sup>

Fatigued by the strain of overseeing the affairs of state, fearful of imposed and unwanted matrimony, and desiring to convert to Catholicism—a religion expressly proscribed in staunchly Protestant Sweden—the twenty-seven-year-old queen in a stunning move abdicated on June 6, 1654, and determined to settle in Rome. She arrived there, accompanied by an impressive retinue, on December 23, 1655, having been officially received into the Catholic Church late the previous year. In Rome, where she remained until her death in 1689, Christina amassed one of the most distinguished art and antiquities collections of the day—a considerable feat in a city brimming with vast stores of artistic riches, and populated by like-minded acquisitive patrons possessed of equally voracious appetites but in command of far greater means than the self-exiled and perennially cash-strapped queen. Paintings, drawings, manuscripts, coins, medals, gems, and antique

sculpture—often acquired by Christina on the advice of the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini, her favorite living artist, or the antiquarian Giovanni Pietro Bellori—were magnificently displayed in her Roman residence in the via della Lungara, the Palazzo Riario (known in her lifetime as the Palazzo della Regina, the Palace of the Queen; fig. 56), which also housed an extensive library that drew a constant stream of scholars and cognoscenti.

Christina's paintings collection, which boasted more than twenty works attributed to Titian and fourteen by Veronese, as well as canvases by Correggio, the Carracci, Albani, Lanfranco, and Guido Reni, reflected her predilection for Italian—particularly Venetian and Bolognese—art, although her undisputed favorite painter was Raphael.<sup>36</sup> (Bellori's pronouncement that the two greatest painters of all time were the near-mythical Apelles and the very real Raphael was one that Christina enthusiastically endorsed.) In a letter of 1653, she voiced her indifference to her entire collection of paintings by Northern European artists—a collection largely inherited from the famous picture gallery of Emperor Rudolph II in Prague as spoils of war, and that included works by no less an artist than Albrecht Dürer—declaring: "I would exchange them all for two Raphaels."<sup>37</sup> Her passionate wish was triumphantly fulfilled when, a decade later, Queen Christina acquired the predella of Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece. (Her hope that these panels would be but a few of many works by that most revered artist to come into her possession—an ambition reflected in her unrealized plan to build a Raphael museum in the renovated Palazzo Riario—proved overly optimistic, however.)<sup>38</sup>

During her decades in Rome, Christina forged an intimate friendship with Cardinal Decio Azzolino the Younger (1623–1689), with whom she corresponded several times each day. Azzolino was the independent-minded leader of a faction within the College of Cardinals known as the "Flying Squadron," which was dedicated to protecting the papacy from the rival imperialist ambitions of France and Spain, resisting the nepotistic influence of



papal relatives in the Curia, and reasserting the secular authority of the Church. (Christina, who was sympathetic to their cause, acted as the group's "Ambadress" during her decades in Rome, to the occasional distress of the reigning pope.)<sup>39</sup> Named as her sole heir, Cardinal Azzolino died within weeks of the queen, whereupon her collections passed to his cousin and heir Marchese Pompeo Azzolino.

In order to settle the crippling legacies and debts left by the overly generous Christina—the more dubious aspect of his inheritance—the younger Azzolino soon found it necessary to sell the queen's paintings and other art objects. Most of the collection was purchased *en bloc* in 1692 by Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713), nephew of Pope Innocent XI and a famed, if at times financially challenged, collector of antiquities. According to the itemized list contained in the contract of sale, he acquired 275 paintings, hundreds of Old Master drawings (among them, four hundred sheets by Salvator Rosa, two of which are now in the Metropolitan Museum's collection),<sup>40</sup> statues, columns, tapestries, coins and medals, gems, furniture, and armor—some seven thousand works in all that had belonged to Christina in Rome, including the prized predella of Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece. The price for the lot was 123,000 Roman scudi.<sup>41</sup>

Figure 56. Artist unknown (formerly attributed to Giovanni Battista Falda). *Palazzo Riario, Rome. 1600*





Figure 57. French School. *Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans*. 18th century. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans

*The Wandering Predella: The Agony in the Garden from Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova Altarpiece Leaves Rome, Eventually Reaches Roslyn, New York, by Way of Paris and London, and Enters the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Livio Odescalchi diligently maintained Queen Christina's vast collection intact, but his death in 1713 led to its eventual dispersal. In 1721 his adopted nephew, Baldassare Odescalchi-Erba, sold Raphael's predella, together with many other works that had belonged to Christina, to Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans (1674–1723)—head of the cadet, Orléans branch of the royal family, nephew of Louis XIV of France, and regent during the minority of Louis XV (fig. 57). Cynical and dissolute, even by the notoriously loose standards of a notoriously licentious age, the duc d'Orléans devoted considerable energy as regent to subverting the course charted by the autocratic Sun King during his long reign, annulling his will and allowing the nobility to reassert some degree of its traditional power. He also



Figure 58. Jacques Couché. Title page, *Galerie du Palais Royal*, gravée d'après les *Tableaux des différentes Ecoles qui la Composent: Avec un abrégé de la Vie des Peintres & une description historique de chaque tableau* par M. l'Abbé de Fontenai (Paris, 1786), vol. 1, and illustrations of the predella panels from Raphael's *Sant'Antonio di Padova* altarpiece when in the Orléans Collection. 1786

amassed a glorious art collection—one eminently worthy of royalty—aided by the French dealer-collector Pierre Crozat, who acted as his agent in the acquisition of the Odescalchi collection. Transported from Rome to Paris, the predella of the Sant’Antonio di Padova altarpiece was installed in the splendid Palais-Royal, the Orléans residence in the French capital. (The three panels were illustrated in a lavish catalogue of the Orléans paintings published in 1786; fig. 58.) There it remained until 1791 (by which time the Orléans boasted the finest private collection anywhere in Europe), when the regent’s great-grandson put it up for sale.

Louis-Philippe-Joseph (1747–1793) had inherited the title of duc d’Orléans in 1785, only to renounce it during the French Revolution when he assumed the *nom de guerre* “Citizen Égalité.” (His ardent support for the cause of the Revolution, which led him to vote in favor of the execution of Louis XVI in 1792, offered no salvation, as Philippe Égalité was himself guillotined the following year during the Reign of Terror.) A liberal and a libertine who squandered his vast fortune, Louis-Philippe-Joseph harbored ambitions to the French throne—ambitions he intended to fund with the proceeds from the sale of the Orléans pictures. The French and Italian paintings were acquired by Vicomte Édouard de Walckiers of Brussels, who, in turn, sold them to his cousin; the latter moved, along with the collection, to England. There, it was purchased (in a rather novel arrangement for the time) by a consortium of aristocratic collectors who retained a few choice works but consigned the bulk of the paintings for sale in London, where they were put on display for seven months beginning in late 1798. The Orléans exhibition was so large (the catalogue lists 296 paintings) that two venues were required to accommodate it.

This presentation to the English public was quite a revelation, for Italian paintings of such extraordinary quality—hitherto known only to Grand Tour visitors to the Continent—had never been encountered in London before. After seeing them, one initiate exclaimed:

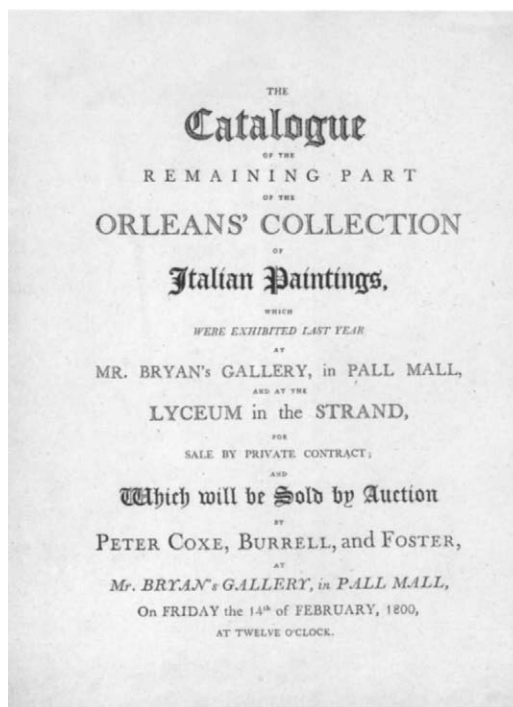


Figure 59. Title page, *The Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Orleans' Collection of Italian Paintings*. . . . 1800

“They are by far the finest—indeed, the only real display of the excellency of the Italian schools of painting that I ever remember in this country.” (Moving on to more practical matters, the same interlocutor added that one of the venues was rather inconvenient given that it was nowhere near any of the fashionable haberdashers).<sup>42</sup> Another dazzled witness, the essayist William Hazlitt (1778–1830), described his reaction in ecstatic terms evocative of religious conversion: “My first initiation into the mysteries of the art was at the Orleans Gallery: it was there that I formed my taste, such as it is. . . . I was staggered when I saw the works there collected and looked at them with wondering and with longing eyes. A mist passed away from my sight: the scales fell off. A new sense came upon me, a new heaven and a new earth stood before me. . . . We had all heard of the names of Titian, Raphael, Guido, Domenichino, the Carracci—but to see them face to face, to be in the same room with their deathless productions, was like breaking some mighty spell—was almost an effect of necromancy.”<sup>43</sup> The Raphael predella, now divided into three separate lots, was among the works included in this famous sale. Number





Figure 60. William Charles Ross. *Angela Georgina, Baroness Burdett-Coutts*. 1847. National Portrait Gallery, London

114 was the *Agony in the Garden* (entitled *Christ Praying on the Mount*); an annotation in the margin of the Metropolitan Museum's copy of the sale catalogue records that its asking price was one hundred guineas.

Not all the Orléans pictures found buyers at the 1798/99 sale, so a second sale, accompanied by a catalogue with the very literal title *The Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Orleans' Collection of Italian Paintings, which were exhibited last year at Mr. Bryan's Gallery, in Pall Mall, and at the Lyceum in the Strand, for sale by private contract*, was held in 1800 (fig. 59). The Raphael *Agony in the Garden* again appeared, here as number 46; the Metropolitan's annotated copy of this second catalogue records that it sold for forty-six guineas (well below the initial asking price). Dispersed at the two Orléans sales, the individual predella panels from the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece all found their way into English private collections. Their migration pattern reflects the growing taste in nineteenth-century Britain

for Italian Renaissance painting, and the particular preference, bordering on obsession, of English collectors for the work of Raphael—"the very meridian of art," according to Lady Elizabeth Eastlake (1809–1893), wife of Sir Charles Eastlake (1793–1865), the esteemed first director of the National Gallery.<sup>44</sup>

The buyer of the newly independent *Agony in the Garden* at the second Orléans sale was John Clerk, Lord Eldin (1757–1832), a Scottish lawyer and judge who in his heyday was believed to have handled half the cases that came before the bench in his native Edinburgh. Eldin was a voracious collector of art and everything else—in addition to paintings and works on paper, his rooms were brimming with books and animals—"all manner of trash, dead and living, and all in confusion," as a contemporary visitor sniffed.<sup>45</sup> The sheer weight of this prodigious assortment of miscellanea seems to have caused the floor in his house to collapse during the sale of his collection, which was held there in 1833. From Lord Eldin, the *Agony in the Garden* soon passed to the next owner of record, Samuel Rogers (1763–1855). A banker, essayist on naval tactics, and now-forgotten poet, who was a friend and contemporary of Byron, Shelley, and Tennyson, he had acquired the painting by 1838. If his poetry did not bring him enduring fame, Rogers does merit a place in the annals of the history of collecting: his art collection was one of the most famous in Britain, earning mention—with those of the Queen, the duke of Bridgewater, and the duke of Sutherland, among others—in Mrs. Jameson's *Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London*;<sup>46</sup> its sale, together with his library, at a celebrated auction at Christie's in London in 1856, took twenty-two days and realized fifty thousand pounds.

The successful bidder on many lots at the Rogers sale, including Raphael's *Agony in the Garden* (which fetched 450 guineas), was the extraordinary Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906)—"the richest heiress in all England" (fig. 60), as she was famously described by a contemporary, the diarist and dandy Thomas Raikes.<sup>47</sup> A munificent philanthropist (she dis-

bursed somewhere between three and four million pounds to charity during her lifetime), Baroness Burdett-Coutts supported a myriad of causes at home and abroad, ranging from improved housing for poor workers (alleviating the squalid conditions of destitute children and orphans) and vocational training for unskilled girls and “fallen” women, to agricultural advancements in Borneo, relief work in Turkey, and fighting potato disease in Ireland. She was also a passionate advocate of animal rights and president of the British Goat Society. If the targets of her social crusade call to mind the pages of *Oliver Twist*, this is because the baroness in her charitable work was advised by Charles Dickens. She also numbered among her intimates and admirers Franz Liszt, Hans Christian Andersen, King Louis-Philippe (scion of the Orléans family that had once owned her Raphael) and Emperor Napoléon III of France, and the elderly duke of Wellington, as well as Queen Victoria and other members of the royal family, the more impecunious of whom she was known to have assisted with the occasional financial loan. It is no wonder that Edward VII anointed her, “after my mother, the most remarkable woman in the country.”<sup>48</sup>

Baroness Burdett-Coutts’s large collection of paintings, manuscripts, and antiquarian books was inherited by her husband, American-born William Lehman Ashmead Bartlett, the next owner of the Raphael *Agony in the Garden*. (Thirty-seven years her junior, he was twenty-nine at the time of their marriage in 1881, while she was sixty-six—an age disparity that led Queen Victoria to deride the union as “positively distressing and ridiculous.”)<sup>49</sup> After Bartlett’s death, the picture was sold at an auction of his wife’s estate held at Christie’s, London, in 1922. By this date, the other panels from the Sant’Antonio di Padova predella had all changed hands for the final time: the *Saint Francis of Assisi* and *Saint Anthony of Padua* (see fig. 12, 13) were bequeathed to the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London in 1811; the Boston collector Isabella Stewart Gardner, whose private collection would become a museum, purchased the

*Pietà* (see fig. 11) in 1900; and in 1913 the National Gallery in London acquired the largest of the narrative scenes, *The Procession to Calvary* (see fig. 10).

The *Agony in the Garden*, however, still had a few more stops to make on its long journey: at the 1922 London auction, the buyer was the legendary dealer Joseph Duveen, purveyor of fine art to America’s wealthiest collectors—such magnates as Benjamin Altman, Jules Bache, Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Mellon, and Samuel Kress (as well as, on occasion, J. P. Morgan, who will reappear at the end of our story)—who had made vast fortunes in banking, business, and industry. Wishing to fashion themselves, and their dwellings, after European nobility, these socially ambitious American millionaires eagerly snapped up the paintings, sculptures, tapestries, furniture, and decorative arts that the savvy Duveen acquired in sale rooms in



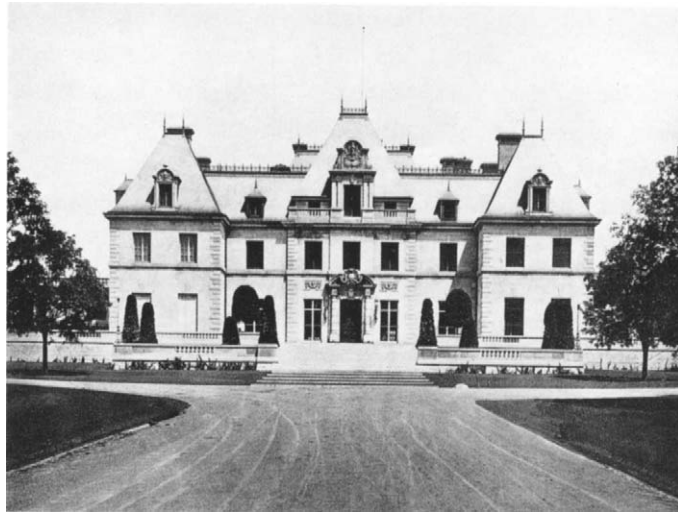
Figure 61. Clarence Mackay.  
About 1930



London and on the Continent, where the financially pressed heirs to distinguished, aristocratic collections, having fallen on hard times, parted with their treasures.

In 1923 Duveen sold the *Agony in the Garden* for thirty-five thousand dollars to his client Clarence Hungerford Mackay (1874–1938), a generous patron of music and the arts (and father-in-law of the American composer Irving Berlin), whose family had amassed stupendous wealth in mining in the western United States before settling in New York. Born in San Francisco in 1874, Mackay (fig. 61) was a cable and telegraph mogul; it was his company that engineered the first trans-Pacific cable between the United States and the Far East in 1904. His obituary in *The New York Times* described Mackay's life as "one of the great American romances," its author breathlessly exclaiming, "probably no one in New York financial and social circles possessed a more romantic and picturesque family background than Mr. Mackay, a link between the gold-rush in the Far West and modern high finance."<sup>50</sup>

Designed by fashionable architect Stanford White, Harbor Hill (fig. 62), Mackay's grand, 648-acre country estate (a wedding gift from his father) in Roslyn, was for a time the largest on the exclusive North Shore of Long Island. (The purchase by Marshall Field, heir to the Chicago-based retailing fortune, of 1,630 acres near Huntington in 1921 meant that the Mackay compound was soon to be dwarfed—an event newsworthy enough to merit a headline article in *The New York Times* announcing: "Marshall Field Buys Big Estate. Bigger than Mackay's.") In the 1920s, Harbor Hill served as the glittering venue for numerous high-society events. A celebratory dinner for the aviator-hero Charles Lindbergh following his historic trans-Atlantic flight was held there in 1927, and three years earlier, in 1924, Mackay hosted a lavish reception in honor of the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his visit to the United States. On hearing of that impending event, the dealer Duveen cabled Mackay to announce: "[I am] delighted [that the] Prince's principal social affair will be at your splendid mansion," adding with a



note of flattering hyperbole, "It is [a] most fitting place just as you are [a] most fitting host to receive [the] representative [of] Great Britain. I am sure that your princely hospitality will greatly contribute towards increasing ties of mutual affection and understanding."<sup>51</sup>

Clarence Mackay's collection conformed to the prevailing tastes of the day among wealthy, upper-class collectors, who invariably acted on the advice of Duveen and his alter ego and retainer, the famed connoisseur Bernard Berenson (who christened Duveen's American clients "squillionaires"), in their pursuit of Renaissance art. At Harbor Hill, visitors would have had occasion to admire outstanding riches, many purchased through Duveen (according to the firm's records, Mackay acquired some twenty-seven paintings and sculptures, although his preferred dealer was, in fact, Jacques Seligmann)—their host's celebrated collection of armor (then among the finest in the world), his Early Italian paintings, and his Italian sculpture and decorative arts (majolica and bronzes being *de rigueur* accessories to any serious paintings collection).<sup>52</sup> Indeed, guests at the 1924 soirée for the Prince of Wales were virtually required to engage in such viewing: one attendee reported that Mackay was so delighted with two recent acquisitions from Duveen that "at the reception of [the] Prince he showed them to everybody."<sup>53</sup>

How some of the most important objects were arranged is recorded in a cable of

Figure 62. Stanford White.  
Harbor Hill, Roslyn, New York.  
Completed, 1902 (destroyed)

October 2, 1924, to the London office of Duveen describing the contents of the Music Room, also known as the "Renaissance Room": "Left of mantel is Matteo, right of mantel Pisanello. End of room facing entrance left is Mantegna on easel, and on right on easel is Botticelli. On piano is Raphael. Opposite mantel are Verrocchio and Baldovinetti. To the right of entrance . . . is table from French [and Co.]. On this table is Mino. Over table is Francia. Left of entrance is another table from French and on this table is bust from Wildenstein. Over table is Perugino from Fearon. . . . Mackay is delighted with Perugino. . . ." <sup>54</sup> Mackay evidently found this installation most satisfactory, as a photograph of the room taken some years later, in 1930 (fig. 63), and a checklist of his collection printed on the occasion of the Garden Club of America's visit to Harbor Hill in 1931 <sup>55</sup> both document essentially the same arrangement. In the photograph (see fig. 63), Raphael's *Agony in the Garden* is seen on an easel on the piano at the far right, together with—among other works referred to in the 1924 cable—

*The Adoration of the Shepherds* by Mantegna, the Botticelli portrait of a young man, and the marble bust of Saint Catherine of Siena by Mino da Fiesole.

Like many wealthy investors Clarence Mackay, who was a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum, suffered severe financial reversals during the Great Depression. To offset his losses he decided to sell some of the jewels from his collection, all the while endeavoring to hide even the slightest hint that he had fallen on hard times. The need for secrecy and discretion contributed to the protracted and delicate negotiations that eventually concluded with the Metropolitan's purchase from Mackay (who had resigned as a trustee to avoid any accusation of impropriety), in 1932, of the Mantegna *Adoration of the Shepherds*—now a highlight of the Museum's Italian paintings collection—three famous suits of armor, a tapestry depicting King Arthur, and the Raphael predella panel. (To the surprise of one of the trustees, Edward Harkness, Mackay had already sold a few of his prize paintings to other institutions before making



Figure 63. Edward Milla. Music Room, Harbor Hill, with Raphael's *Agony in the Garden* on the piano. About 1930



overtures to the Metropolitan, including works by Duccio and by Sassetta, which once had graced the walls at Harbor Hill.)

While Mackay justifiably contrived to realize the highest possible return when necessity compelled him to part with some of his most treasured objects, the Museum's Board adopted a hard stance, reasoning that the gloomy economy strengthened its bargaining position and justified the deflated prices it was prepared to offer. This position is outlined in a letter from William Sloane Coffin, the Museum's president, written in July 1932 to Frank Polk, a trustee who was involved in the negotiations:

It seems to me extremely wise that I should give you confidentially the impressions which I have obtained from members of the Board regarding the possible purchase of objects from the Mackay Collection. While the Board is most sympathetic, nevertheless, it is necessary for them to look at the matter in a cold-blooded manner. . . . In the second place, in regards to price, there is an exceedingly difficult problem in arriving at 1932 values. Unquestionably a dealer in selling a unique work of art to a wealthy client like Mr. Mackay would add one hundred per cent. to his original cost, and in the case of Sir Joseph Duveen and others the profit is often at an even higher percentage . . . , so that if today Mr. Mackay should offer to the Museum the same painting at half what it cost him, it would be merely putting the Metropolitan Museum on the same basis as the dealer in 1928. Unquestionably the Museum at the present time, with little or no competition from dealers, collectors, and most of the museums, can obtain more advantageous prices than a dealer could obtain in 1928.<sup>56</sup>

Mutually satisfactory terms were eventually reached: in a letter of August 29, 1932, to Herbert Winlock, the Museum's director, signed in his large, florid hand, Mackay pronounced with cliché-like satisfaction, "all is well that ends well." As for the Metropolitan, its purchase of works from the Mackay collection adhered to the guiding principle articulated by the trustees during the course of the negotiations: "Our object is always the same—the glory of the Metropolitan Museum of Art as it serves New York City."<sup>57</sup> Thus it

was that Raphael's *Agony in the Garden* ended its long journey and found itself reunited on another continent, and in a vastly different setting, with the altarpiece from which it had been estranged for more than two-and-a-half centuries. How that altarpiece had come to the Metropolitan some years earlier is the story we now resume.

*The Second Buyer: Raphael's Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Is Sold by the Nuns of Sant'Antonio di Padova and Enters the Collection of the Colonna Family in Rome, Becoming Known as the Colonna Altarpiece*

Meanwhile, back in the Italian hill town of Perugia in the seventeenth century, the ever impecunious nuns of Sant'Antonio, a little over a decade after having sold the Raphael predella, once again found themselves in financial straits—and, as before, undertook to alleviate their hardship through the tried-and-true means of selling their most valuable asset (or what remained of it): the Raphael altarpiece. Their petition to the College of Cardinals laments their paltry income, deemed insufficient to cover their debts, and cites this sorry state of affairs as the justification for their request to sell "an ancient painting"—here unambiguously described as being a single panel ("*un Quadro antico dipinto in una tavola*")—found in the Choir or '*Chiesa interna*' of the convent." (As was the case with the earlier sale of the predella, the name of the painter was omitted, perhaps strategically, from the petition.) The nuns further announce their intention to reinvest the proceeds from this sale, which they anticipate would be considerable—more than one thousand scudi—in real estate ("*beni stabili*"). Finally, the petition communicates a sense of urgency by mentioning that the painting, owing to its antiquity, is peeling in parts, and suggests that the auspicious opportunity to realize a profit, which then presented itself, might disappear should the work's perilous condition worsen.<sup>58</sup>

The bishop of Perugia, who had granted permission for the sale, undertook to have

the altarpiece appraised by two minor, local painters, the now-forgotten Girolamo Ferri and Girolamo Fracassi, who valued it at eighteen hundred scudi (still with no mention of Raphael's name) and stated that such a price should include the provision of a copy to replace the original painting. A communication dispatched from Rome on May 14, 1677, informed the bishop that the sale had been officially approved, and early the following year, on January 8, 1678, Count Antonio Bigazzini (who is referred to in contemporary documents as a native of Perugia, but was then a resident of Rome where he had recently built a palace)<sup>59</sup> entered into a contract with the nuns of Sant'Antonio di Padova, agreeing to purchase the altarpiece for two thousand scudi and to furnish them with a copy within three months.<sup>60</sup> The name of the painter finally occurs for the first time in the instrument of sale, which states that the altarpiece being sold is the work of "the most celebrated painter Raphael of Urbino."<sup>61</sup> On June 18, 1678, some five months after the sale, the promised copy was delivered, and the nuns of Sant'Antonio, two thousand scudi richer, make their final exit from the stage.

The exodus of the altarpiece did not go unremarked. In his *Brief Notice of the paintings and sculptures that adorn the august city of Perugia* of 1683, the Perugian chronicler Giovanni Francesco Morelli records that the convent of Sant'Antonio di Padova formerly housed "a most beautiful painting by Raphael of Urbino, which one no longer sees today, however, the nuns having sold it."<sup>62</sup> The work's erstwhile presence in Perugia was also recalled a century later (1788) in an epistolary account of Perugian painting by Annibale Mariotti, who describes it at some length.<sup>63</sup> Shortly after this published reminiscence, the copy that the nuns procured as part of the terms of the sale seems to have vanished, evidently displaced during the suppression of monastic establishments throughout the Italian peninsula in the Napoleonic era: a nineteenth-century source records that it was stolen shortly after the convent of Sant'Antonio di Padova was closed in 1810.<sup>64</sup> By

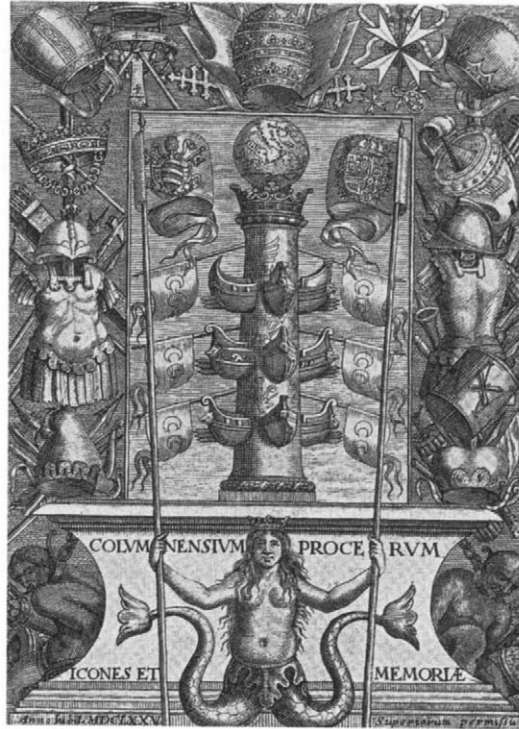


Figure 64. D. De Sanctis. Title page, *Colvmnensivm procervm imagines* (from a 17th-century compendium of portraits of members of the House of Colonna). 1675

then almost nothing by Raphael remained in the city (which once claimed no fewer than four altarpieces by the master) save an unfinished and damaged fresco still preserved in the church of San Severo, and a dubiously attributed painting in the local museum. Hence, the wistful lament that appears in a history of Perugia published at the end of the nineteenth century: "Raphael Sanzio passes like a dream through Perugia, leaving no certain relic of his mighty fame save one faint faded fresco on the church wall of S. Severo, and these poor relics in the gallery."<sup>65</sup>

Our story now takes us, once again, to Rome, where the number of paintings by Raphael in private collections in the seventeenth century swells in inverse proportion to the diminishing quantity of works by him in Perugia, because all the components of the dismantled Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece entered Roman collections after having been sold by the nuns. The part played in this saga by Christina of Sweden, who purchased the predella in 1663, has already been recounted. A little over a decade later, shortly after the 1678 sale to Count Bigazzini (who may have been acting in the capacity of agent for the next owners, his Roman neighbors), the main



panel was acquired by the Colonna—one of the most ancient, powerful, and, in centuries past, bellicose—noble families of Rome (fig. 64). Students of Raphael know the Metropolitan's painting as the Colonna altarpiece—the name it acquired during this chapter in the long and colorful history of its ownership.

Established in the city since at least the tenth century, the venerable and quarrelsome Colonna were traditional antagonists of the papacy, whose efforts to consolidate and assert power in Rome they fiercely resisted, and archenemies of the rival Orsini clan. (Their ages-old Hatfield-and-McCoy-like feud led to countless bloody altercations in the streets of Rome and prompted the pope to periodically censure the Colonna—an event so routine and unremarkable that Romans believed it to be an annual occurrence officially sanctioned by a papal bull.) Taking sides in the Guelph-Ghibelline conflict that divided the Italian peninsula into pro-papal or pro-imperial camps throughout much of the Middle Ages, the Colonna invariably cast their lot with the emperor, thereby fueling the strife: one powerful Colonna cardinal was unflatteringly described by a thirteenth-century chronicler as “a vessel filled with pride and insolence . . . [and] the most efficacious author and fosterer of discord between the emperor and the pope.”<sup>66</sup>

The crowded Colonna family tree was populated by the legions of bishops and cardinals it steadily produced—predictably, in greater number during those times when it deigned to throw its support behind the reigning pontiff. In 1417, with the elevation of Cardinal Odo Colonna to the Throne of Saint Peter, the family attained its greatest glory. Assuming the name Martin V (r. 1417–31), he ended the Great Schism that had resulted in two rival popes, and restored the papacy to Rome, from which it had been exiled for over 150 years, in 1420. An ambitious renovation of the derelict city, whose bridges, walls, gates, and churches had fallen into disrepair after more than a century of neglect, ensued. Infamy rather than acclaim attached to the Colonna a century later in the person of the

combative cardinal Pompeo (1479–1532), a duplicitous opponent of the pope in the ongoing struggle for control of the Italian peninsula then being waged by the opposing powers of France, the papacy, and the Holy Roman Empire. When his unruly partisans boldly looted the Vatican in 1526, humiliating Pope Clement VII, carting off priceless treasures, and causing unease and havoc in Rome, the stage was set for the horrific sack of the city by imperial troops the following year—a catastrophe that contemporaries viewed in apocalyptic terms, and with which the Colonna name is inexorably linked, even though the contrite cardinal Pompeo soon repented. History has looked more kindly on Pompeo's cousin, the pious Vittoria Colonna (1490?–1547), a gifted poet, who was the friend and spiritual muse of Michelangelo, and an adherent of the nascent Reform movement that began to stir in Rome in the 1530s and 1540s.

Their unrelenting, internecine ways led to a precipitous reversal of the Colonna's fortunes and a permanent decline of their influence and political power in the late sixteenth century, heralded by their excommunication by Pope Paul IV (r. 1555–59). It fell to the great naval hero Prince Marcantonio II (1535–1584) to reconcile the disgraced family with the papacy and in so doing to recover the titles, benefices, and properties of which it had been stripped. Although he was successful in that diplomatic mission, the long years of opposition to virtually every occupant of the Throne of Saint Peter had taken its toll on the family's fortune. Compelled to sell many of its hereditary lands, the Colonna found a ready supply of eager buyers among the sea of parvenu papal nephews who flooded Rome in the seventeenth century, among them Ludovico Ludovisi and Carlo Barberini. Thus humbled, the Colonna's centuries-long (if fitful) conflict with the papacy finally came to an end. Later chapters in the history of this illustrious house are distinguished by less martial, more civilized, pursuits, among them art collecting.

The Colonna traditionally resided near the church of the Santi Apostoli in the center of



Figure 65. Circle of Ferdinand Voet. *Filippo II Colonna*. 17th century. Colonna Collection, Rome

Rome. A campaign to expand the family palace built there by Martin V in the fifteenth century—already at that time a storehouse for a growing collection of antiquities—was undertaken by Filippo I Colonna (1578–1639) and continued by his son Cardinal Girolamo (1604–1666), a discerning patron and collector, who significantly enhanced the Colonna collection with paintings by Guido Reni and Guercino, and began construction of a Grand Gallery in the Palazzo Colonna. Girolamo's philandering nephew Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637–1689), whose long-suffering wife, Maria Mancini, niece of the powerful French cardinal Jules Mazarin, enjoyed a status in Rome comparable to that of her contemporary Christina of Sweden, inherited the Palazzo Colonna and its ongoing renovation. Of this Colonna prince, Lorenzo Onofrio, it was said that he was “more feared and more loved than a king”; certainly, his activity as a patron and collector assumed royal proportions. The extensive decorative cycles he ordered for the interior of the Palazzo Colonna included landscapes and seascapes by the seventeenth-century painters Gaspard Dughet and Pietro Tempesta—subjects consonant with the canvases by Claude Lorrain, Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, Pier Francesco Mola, and Salvator Rosa that he assiduously commissioned or

acquired. (A voracious collector, whose tastes inclined to Baroque classicism, Lorenzo Onofrio amassed more than four hundred paintings between the years 1664 and 1679.)

It has long been known that the Colonna came into possession of Raphael's *Sant'Antonio di Padova* altarpiece shortly after its sale by the nuns to Count Bigazzini in 1678, although precisely which member of the family was the purchaser has remained unresolved. The work is not listed in the extensive inventories of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's collection that were drawn up in 1679 and 1689—an omission indicating that he was not the buyer. Rather, it seems virtually certain that his son and heir Filippo II Colonna (1663–1714; fig. 65), under whom the vast Grand Gallery of the Palazzo Colonna was finally completed, acquired the altarpiece, which is first recorded in the voluminous inventory of his belongings (some 3,183 items in all, listed in 2,078 pages!) drawn up at the time of his death. Item number 653, it is described in a meticulous entry that reads: “a painting that measures seven *palmi* on each side with, above, a half oval in the form of a tabernacle representing the Madonna and Child with St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul and with two other female saints with above God the Father, and two Angels, and two Cherubim, original by Raphael of Urbino with its walnut-colored frame decorated with applied gilt festoons, Hereditary [inheritance] of Don Filippo” (“*un quadro dj misura dj palmi sette per ogni verso con sopra un mezzo ovato in forma di tabernacolo rapp.te la Madonna col Bambino S. Gio: S. Pietro, e S. Paolo con due altre sante con sopra il Padre Eterno, e due Angeli, e due Cherubini originale dj raffaelle d'urbino con sua cornice con fondo color dj noce, e riporti, e festoni intagliati dorati Ereditario dj d.a. Chia: me: D[on]. Filippo*”).<sup>67</sup>

Two further pieces of information conveyed in this inventory should be noted. The first is that altarpiece's original gilt frame, the only evidence of which is its mention in the 1661 record of the pastoral visit of the bishop of Perugia to Sant'Antonio, was replaced by a walnut frame when the painting was in the Colonna collection. (Cited in the inventory, it



is this later frame that is seen in a watercolor of the Grand Gallery discussed below; fig. 66.) We also learn from the inventory that Raphael's altarpiece was not part of the inheritance of Filippo II Colonna's son and heir but instead belonged to the Colonna "*fedecomesso*," or entailment—essentially an inviolable family trust.<sup>68</sup> This status should have protected the work from any future sale and ensured its permanent place in the Colonna collection

(which still exists today), but despite this legal designation such was not to be the case.

Not only does the 1714 Colonna inventory reveal the identity of the buyer; it also records where in the Grand Gallery of the Palazzo Colonna the Raphael altarpiece was installed: "in the middle section of the right-hand wall" ("*in mezzo Prima facciata à mano dritta*"). Complementing this informative written account is a visual record showing how the

Figure 66. Salvatore Colonnelli Sciarra. *Grand Gallery of the Palazzo Colonna* (south wall). 1730. Colonna Collection, Rome. Raphael's *Sant'Antonio di Padova* altarpiece is visible at the right.



Figure 67. Giuseppe Vasi. *Palazzo Colonna, Rome* (from *Raccolta delle più belle vedute antiche, e moderne di Roma . . .*). 1786. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.519.72[1.67])



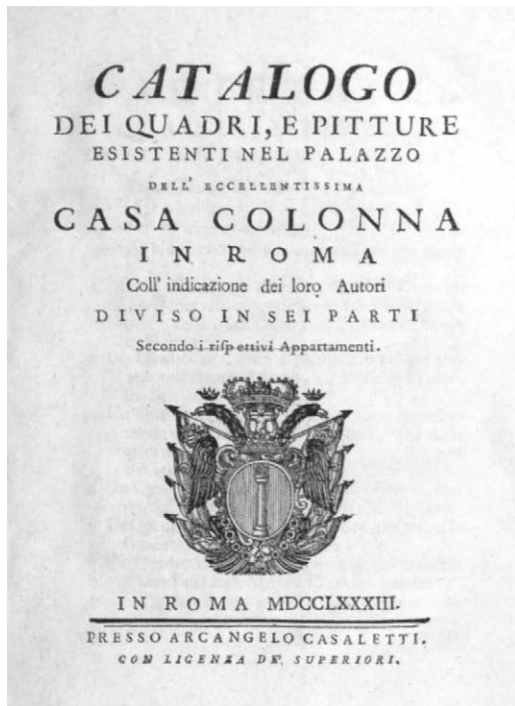


Figure 68. Title page, *Catalogo dei quadri, e pitture esistenti nel palazzo dell'eccellentissima Casa Colonna in Roma, Coll'indicazione dei loro Autori* (Rome: Arcangelo Casaletti). 1783

Colonna altarpiece was framed and displayed in the eighteenth century—a meticulous watercolor of 1730 representing the south wall of the Grand Gallery (fig. 66) in which the painting is seen to the right of the triple windows, flanked by two marble busts.

Two other, slightly later eighteenth-century sources likewise record the location in the Palazzo Colonna of the altarpiece, which seems by then to have been moved out of the Grand Gallery. The first is a guidebook to Rome, first published in 1763 and revised in several subsequent editions, in which the palace and its contents are described. In “the room of paintings contiguous to the gallery,” we read, “one admires, in the first place, two pieces of painting, one above the other, by Raphael, in his first manner, that used to be united, forming a single painting”<sup>69</sup>—the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, with *God the Father and Two Angels*. (The same guidebook judiciously remarks of the large and undistinguished Colonna palace [fig. 67] that, “even though the exterior of this grand edifice does not have beautiful architectural decoration, it is

nonetheless one of the principal palaces of Rome, not only for the vast expanse of the building but much more because it contains a stupendous collection of paintings by the best masters.”)

The second source of information on the painting's whereabouts within the Palazzo Colonna in the eighteenth century is a printed catalogue of the Colonna paintings (one of the first such publications of its kind), which was issued in Rome in 1783 (fig. 68). Entitled *Catalogue of the pictures and paintings existing in the palace of the most excellent House of Colonna in Rome, with indications of their authors, divided into six parts according to their respective apartments*, it lists 2,367 paintings in 1,362 entries. Among them is item 130, the Raphael altarpiece—“a most celebrated painting in two pieces being formerly one single piece representing in the upper part, smaller, God the Father, between angels, in the lower part the Madonna and Child, Saint John, and other Saints—first manner of Raphael of Urbino after leaving the School of Pietro Perugino”—which was installed on the third wall of the Stanza dei Quadri, preceding the Grand Gallery and overlooking the courtyard (*cortile*) of the palace.<sup>70</sup> Both these volumes provide suggestive testimony that the main panel and the lunette may originally have formed a single panel, an idea raised in the preceding pages.

The latter publication is the final record of the altarpiece's presence in the Palazzo Colonna and, indeed, the last testament of the celebrated Colonna collection in its entirety: fifteen years after its publication, in 1798 (the very year that the predella came on the market in London as part of the Orléans sale), Filippo III Colonna sold some 320 of the family's most important paintings. Among them were Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, Correggio's *Ecce Homo*, works by Guercino and Guido Reni, and Raphael's altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, which would be known in perpetuity as the Colonna altarpiece (the *Pala Colonna*), for the luster imparted to it during its temporary sojourn in this most famous and illustrious of collections.

*The Itinerant Altarpiece: The Pala Colonna Leaves Rome, Enters the Collection of the King of Naples and the Two Sicilies*

The French invasion of Rome in 1798 sent tremors throughout the city's princely collections, dislodging masterpieces from the walls of Roman palaces and onto the newly burgeoning art market. Anxious aristocrats reluctantly parted with their treasures in exchange for the hard currency needed to pay the extortionist fines imposed by the foreign occupiers, and art dealing—practiced by swarms of parvenu agents, minor artists, and general opportunists, who took up the trade and obligingly relieved beleaguered owners of their precious family heirlooms—swiftly became the most popular and lucrative game in town. As one scholar has observed, for a time, “it seemed as if the whole of Europe from dukes and generals to monks and common thieves was involved in a single vast campaign of speculative art dealing. King George III noticed what was happening and commented sarcastically that all his noblemen were now picture dealers.”<sup>71</sup>

Taking note of this distressing state of affairs, and of the general contempt in which the French were held, the English painter and diarist Joseph Farington (1747–1821) offered a pithy account of “the particulars of the proceedings of the French at Rome. They plundered and imposed upon the Italians contributions so as to exhaust the Country.—They are detested universally both by the Italians & Germans. The lower order of the people in the neighbourhood [*sic*] of Rome almost to a man abhorred them.” He also commented on the dramatic impact that the political turmoil of the day had on the Roman art market: “Pictures & Medals, & Books &c. are selling and have been sold cheap; indeed . . . Day, the miniature painter, has bought a great part of the Aldobrandini Collection,—which he secretes in walls &c.”<sup>72</sup>

The “Day” to whom Farington referred is the British expatriate miniature painter and art dealer Alexander Day (1745–1841), who



Figure 69. Vincenzo Camuccini. *Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies*. 1819–20. Palazzo Reale, Caserta

had arrived in Rome in 1774 and lived there for some forty years. One of the many local residents who benefited from the havoc unleashed by the French invasion, he made a series of spectacular purchases from the Aldobrandini, Borghese, and Colonna collections in the late 1790s. (That these transactions may have been irregular, or at least subject to undesired scrutiny, is suggested by the rather unconventional storage arrangements described by Farington.) Parts of his trove he exported to London for sale, while other paintings remained in Rome. Such was the case with Raphael's *Sant'Antonio di Padova* altarpiece—one of the works Day had purchased from the Colonna collection—which was acquired in 1802 by Ferdinand I, King of Naples and the Two Sicilies (1751–1825).

A member of the mostly unremarkable Spanish Bourbon dynasty, Ferdinand I (fig. 69) had ruled Naples as King Ferdinand IV and Sicily as King Ferdinand III (titles he repeatedly lost and recovered during the course of his bumpy and unenlightened reign), uniting the two kingdoms in 1816 when he became Ferdinand I. Dominated by his manipulative wife, Marie Caroline of Austria (sister of the

ill-starred Marie-Antoinette of France), he was a repressive ruler and a willing pawn buffeted between rival powers in the games of political intrigue that were played across the European continent during the Napoleonic era. Little is known of how he came to own the Raphael altarpiece other than that the sale was handled by an agent named Venuti—presumably a relation of the deceased Royal Antiquary and Librarian Marquis Marcello Venuti, the first to publish discoveries of the extraordinary excavations at Herculaneum—or of where and how it was displayed in the royal palace.

The king's artistic adviser (and official portraitist) was the Roman Neoclassical painter Vincenzo Camuccini (1771–1844), whom Ferdinand appointed in 1819. A passionate admirer and prolific copyist of Raphael's works (he was present at the exhumation in 1833 of the venerated artist's remains, which he documented in a series of drawings of the proceedings), Camuccini must have encouraged his patron to accord the altarpiece a deservedly prominent place in the royal palace, although no record of this exists. Upon the death of Ferdinand I, his son and heir, Francis I of the Two Sicilies (1777–1830), inherited the painting. As reactionary as his father, he lived in constant fear of assassination, and had as his preferred company mistresses and soldiers. In the more refined matter of art collecting, this indolent ruler turned to the faithful Camuccini, who returned to Naples in 1826 with the charge of reorganizing the Bourbon royal collections. Although the Raphael altarpiece was not among the works sold off as part of this undertaking, it might just as well have been, for soon after it seems to have vanished from view, consigned to some inaccessible quarter of the Bourbon apartments. There is virtually no record of the work during the reign of Francis I's successor, his despotic son Ferdinand II (1810–1859)—a man who was “bigoted, cruel, mean, treacherous, though not without a certain bonhomie”<sup>73</sup>—who assumed ownership of the painting in 1830. (One person who had been fortunate enough to see it during its

Neapolitan captivity was the engraver and postage-stamp designer Tommaso Aloysio Juvara of Messina, nephew of the Italian architect Filippo Juvara, who executed an engraving of the “Madonna di Napoli,” as it was then called, and, in a letter of 1870, recounted his close, firsthand study of the work in preparation for this undertaking;<sup>74</sup> another was G. F. Waagen, witness to the now-vanished inscription recording the painting's date.)

Francis II (1836–1894), the last Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies, was also the last Bourbon owner of the Colonna altarpiece. The painting was much prized by this hapless and inept royal, who hung it in his private bedchamber and took it with him when he was forced to flee after the outbreak of revolution in 1860. The king, with his treasures in tow, retreated to the fortress of Gaeta north of Naples. When Gaeta fell the following year, again forcing the flight of the royal family, the Raphael altarpiece was once more rounded up for safekeeping, this time placed aboard the Spanish frigate *Il Columbo* and transported to Spain.<sup>75</sup>

*From Madrid to Paris to London: Further Travels of the Colonna Altarpiece, also known as the “Madonna Borbonico” or the “Madonna di Napoli”*

The painting arrived in Madrid with the now-exiled king, who, when he later left Spain, consigned it to his aid and confidant, Bermudez de Castro, the duke of Ripalda, later authorizing the duke to sell it on his behalf. Word that it might be for sale began to surface in 1867, and Raphael's altarpiece soon found itself the object of international political intrigue. Sir William Boxall, director of the National Gallery in London (1866–74), was shown the painting in Madrid. According to the minutes of the gallery's board, he “recommended that an effort should be made to secure the picture,” whereupon it was “resolved that, in the opinion of the Trustees the purchase of this picture for the National Gallery if practicable, is eminently desirable; and that the Director be requested to write the Chancellor of the



Exchequer upon the subject.”<sup>76</sup> In June 1868 Boxall met with the First Lord of the Treasury, and the following month it was communicated that “the First Lord was prepared to arrange for [the] purchase.”<sup>77</sup> Although the British prime minister, Benjamin Disraeli, upon hearing of the picture’s availability, is reported to have commanded: “Get it” (demonstrating “the same determination which made Suez English,” *The New York Times* later editorialized),<sup>78</sup> his plan to rein in government spending caused him to withdraw his support by October 1868, and to suggest that the matter be postponed for a more propitious moment. Negotiations for the National Gallery’s acquisition of the Raphael altarpiece thus came to a precipitous end.

The duke of Ripalda, apprised that the empress Eugénie wished to acquire the painting for the Louvre, had in the meantime entered into discussions with the French (whose interest may well have been sparked by the news of Britain’s intentions). The well-traveled Colonna altarpiece, also known at the time as the “Madonna Borbonico” for its then-owner, and as the “Madonna di Napoli” for its former place of residence, was thus dispatched to Paris in 1869. In February 1870, it was installed at the Louvre in the Salle des Batailles (the gallery containing battle scenes by the seventeenth-century French painter Charles Le Brun). The purpose of this exceptional arrangement (the Louvre did not then, as a matter of course, place on temporary exhibition works it did not own) was to gauge public opinion regarding its prospective acquisition.

### “The Raphael of a Million”

The painting received feverish coverage in the French press, which anointed it “The Raphael of a Million”—the popular title it then acquired because of its million-franc price tag.<sup>79</sup> Writing in the *Journal des débats* in February 1870, the journalist Jean Lemoinne declared: “We shall begin by asking a million, not pardons, but francs, and it is little enough. . . . All we have to say is that there is at this moment in Paris, at the Louvre, one of the purest,

most beautiful, and most brilliant Raphaels in the world, and that France would be guilty of little less than a crime if she allowed it to pass out of her territory. Charles the Bold, when Louis XI was in his hands, Charles V, when he had Francis I under lock and key, was not in possession of a greater treasure than is in the Louvre at this moment. We must keep it.” The cause was also championed by the art critic Charles Blanc, who bellowed rhetorically in *Le Temps* in March 1870, “Ought France to acquire this picture, which was brought to light again a year or two ago? Unquestionably she ought to do so,” he hastened to reply. “It would be impossible to find a more interesting example, both artistically, and historically, of this glorious master, whose name has become almost a synonym of painting itself. Let none be uneasy at the precedent. They are by no means numerous, those great artists whose every picture, every fragment, every sketch, every jotting we are bound to piously preserve, without hesitation or distinction. There are, indeed, three I may name. Anything by Leonardo, by Michelangelo, by Raphael, let us buy at any price. It is always possible to remake a million, but there is no remaking of Michelangelos, Leonardos, and Raphaels.”

Indeed, the cause of the Raphael altarpiece became a rallying cry among French cognoscenti, and the pressing question of whether or not to purchase it (if only to keep it out of the hands of the English) a matter of national honor: “This work, precious for so many reasons, is for sale, and all devotees of art are asking whether the Louvre will retain it, or whether it will be allowed to pass out of France into the National Gallery. . . . Everything, alas! seems to point to the conclusion that we shall not acquire this masterpiece,” lamented one journalist.<sup>80</sup> Similar sentiments were invoked by the critic Lemoinne, quoted above, who exhorted those among his countrymen who were “lovers of art and beauty [to] form a cordon around the Louvre, and prevent the removal of this Raphael from within its walls. . . . We ask that France should buy it and should not let it pass to England, who already covets it.”

Figure 70 (opposite): Raphael. *Madonna and Child, with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Nicholas of Bari* (Ansidei altarpiece). 1505. National Gallery, London



The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 brought to an abrupt end the campaign to acquire the “Raphael of a Million” for the Louvre. During the siege of Paris, the altarpiece was packed away in a crate. In June 1871 it was sent to London, where it went on view in the National Gallery some months later. King Francis II of the Two Sicilies (who had lost his crown following the unification of Italy, assuming the title Duke of Castro, but had retained his Raphael altarpiece) is reputed to have offered the picture for sale at that time for forty thousand pounds through his faithful agent, the duke of Ripalda. Boxall, whose earlier interest had cooled considerably, showed little inclination to acquire the painting, however, remaining unmoved by reminders of the Louvre’s recent efforts to procure it.<sup>81</sup> That nothing came of these negotiations may well be because the National Gallery had by then set its sights on a far greater Raphael prize, the superior *Ansdei* altarpiece (fig. 70) of 1505, which it acquired from the duke of Marlborough in 1885 for the record sum of seventy thousand pounds. Equally fruitless was the campaign of the influential critic John Ruskin (at best, a tepid admirer of Raphael) to persuade the city of Liverpool to acquire the painting—which he dutifully declared to be “perhaps the most interesting picture in the world”<sup>82</sup>—for its newly built gallery, even at the reduced sum of twenty-five thousand pounds.

The spurned Colonna altarpiece was eventually banished to a storeroom in Trafalgar Square. In 1886 it was entrusted to the care of the earl of Ashburnham, whom the duke of Castro had designated as his representative in London, and transferred to the South Kensington Museum (as the Victoria and Albert Museum was then known). By now its condition was a cause for some alarm, as Frederick Burton, then director of the National Gallery, apprised Lord Ashburnham in a letter of June 19:

I should tell you in confidence that the work is not quite free from injury. The nuns, when applying for permission to sell it in 1677, pleaded their debts, and the fact that the pic-

ture was “flaking off.” It is likely that the joinings of the panels, which are transverse, were giving way, and that the colour had scaled a little at the openings. It was, I suppose, subsequent to that that the panels were secured by iron clamps. I dare say that the injury was not considerable, for the picture was not in a bad state, considering its age, when it fell in the Duke of Ripalda’s hands, nor when Sir Wm Boxall saw it at Madrid, whither the Duke had taken it. But when it was sent to Paris the experts of the Louvre worried that it should be parquetté [cradled]. This was done. But the extraction of the iron clamps caused the joinings to open afresh, and unfortunately, one of these crossed parts of the heads of the Madonna and the two female saints. Two of the heads were not seriously injured. But the split passed through the eyes of the saint on the spectator’s right and led to necessary repairs. The rest of the principal subject escaped pretty well, and does not seem to have [. . .] to the cleaning. It was in the lunette that most damage was done. That part (*teste* [?] Sir W. Boxall), must have been injudiciously cleaned, so that the drapery of one of the angels, formerly of a bronze green, has to be, or at least was, repainted and is now of a different tint. These things, however, do not impair the sacred effect of the work, nor would they be recognizable by one in a million.<sup>83</sup>

A more grave assessment of its condition was offered when the painting arrived at South Kensington following its transfer from the National Gallery. Then, it was “found, on examination, to be in such an unsatisfactory state as to make it unfit for public exhibition. . . . A portion of the surface of the work is blistered and scaling off.”<sup>84</sup> For this reason the decision was made to exhibit the painting under glass. That it remained available for sale was widely known; the deposed king Francis II had even enlisted an American acquaintance, Mrs. Cuthbert Harrison Slocomb of Groton, Connecticut, to “do him the great favor of suggesting his ‘Madonna’ to some of our wealthy American art lovers.” Although she happily obliged, Mrs. Slocomb recalled that the “three personal friends (millionaires)” she approached on the subject “were not enthused with the idea of sinking \$200,000 (the price then named by the King) in a picture.”<sup>85</sup>



Enter Martin Colnaghi, a London-based dealer and paintings conservator who purchased the Colonna altarpiece in 1896 for seventeen thousand pounds (then approximately 82,600 dollars—less than half its then-asking price of forty thousand pounds) and immediately undertook to restore it. In a letter of July 12 to Lord Ashburnham, he offered a cheery appraisal of “the picture in its present wonderful condition—the picture was covered more or less with restoration that had completely disfigured the faces and draperies. Most fortunately for me after some few Hours attention I was enabled to remove every particle of clumsy restoration without disturbing the original varnish. Very few pictures of the early part of the 16th century are in a purer condition than this brilliant beautiful composition.”<sup>86</sup> (In an apparent about-face, Colnaghi was later reported to have claimed that the picture was so heavily restored that he had for all intents and purposes painted it himself, although the veracity of this hearsay account may be questioned.)<sup>87</sup>

There exists an eyewitness testimony of Colnaghi’s restoration campaign: “One afternoon I found him [Colnaghi] highly excited. He was cleaning the great Raphael eventually acquired by the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan. ‘Napoleon,’ he said, ‘took this picture from Italy [*sic!*] cloaked and smoked with successive repaints. Since then it has been repainted over and over again, and now I must un-repaint it till kingdom come.’ He perched on a ladder as he spoke, his wiry locks tossing, his hand trembling at its work, his whole being eager with enthusiasm. ‘Look,’ he said, ‘at the Madonna’s face. Yesterday it was all mud—and no, see, only three coats are off but we are already on the way to a glimpse of Raphael.’”<sup>88</sup>

The Colonna altarpiece remained with Colnaghi only for a matter of months. In 1896 he sold a half share in the newly restored work to the Viennese-born Paris dealer Charles Sedelmeyer (1837–1925). Sedelmeyer (fig. 71)—who eventually purchased the work in full from Colnaghi—owned a gallery in the elegant rue de la Rochefoucauld from whose luxurious

quarters he oversaw a veritable art industry. Buying and selling Old Master paintings; publishing lavish books, prints, and catalogues; holding auctions; and arranging exhibitions of the work of living artists were all part of this enterprise, whose proprietor acquired a formidable reputation for “exquisite taste, professionalism, and exorbitant prices.”<sup>89</sup> In an account that inspired the fictional art dealer Naudet in Émile Zola’s novel *L’Oeuvre* (1886), the painter Antoine Guillemet described Sedelmeyer’s famous flair for showmanship, and the strategy he successfully employed to market extremely expensive paintings to his wealthy American clients: “In his mansion reigns elegance and chic. . . . Vanderbilt visits him: ‘Haven’t you got anything new?’ ‘No, Monsieur, as you see, only a few pictures, that’s all.’ . . . Then he adds confidentially: ‘Actually, I have something, which no one has seen yet, but it’s too expensive.’ Vanderbilt, offended: ‘What do you mean, too expensive? Let me see it!’ And he is shown a picture by an unknown Italian or Spaniard . . . very accomplished, very pretty, tempting—just the thing—he is delighted. ‘How much?’ ‘250,000 Francs.’ The American makes a face. ‘I told you.’ But that evening Vanderbilt writes to have the picture sent to him. An American takes pride in being able to say that he has bought the most

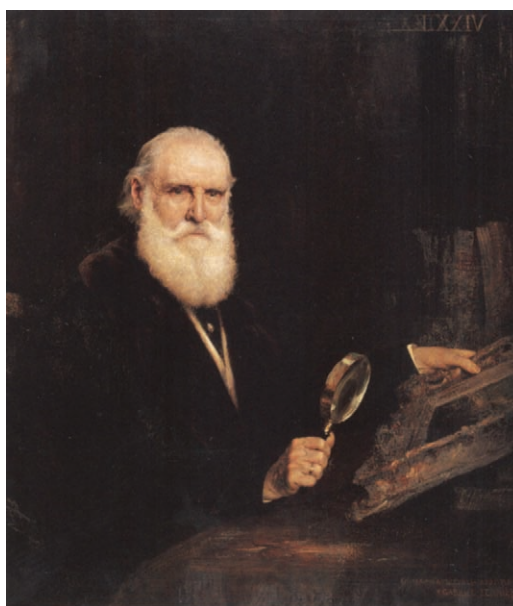


Figure 71. Gabriel Ferrier.  
Charles Sedelmeyer. 1911.  
Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris

expensive picture of the year.” Such sales were known as Sedelmeyer’s “coups des Américains.”<sup>90</sup>

There can be no doubt that Sedelmeyer acquired the Colonna altarpiece with the intention of realizing precisely such a coup. (Indeed, in a letter of 1916 on the subject of Colnaghi’s earlier restoration of the Raphael, the Philadelphia collector John G. Johnson recalled feeling “pretty certain that Sedelmeyer [was] meaning to make, as he did, a big coup in the sale of the painting.”)<sup>91</sup> To launch this campaign, in 1897 he issued an elaborate publication entitled *The Madonna of Saint Anthony of Padua also known as The Great Colonna Madonna painted by Raphael Sanzio* (fig. 72), which extols the painting as “the richest and most important composition of all the various Madonna-pictures of Raphael.”<sup>92</sup> In that year Sedelmeyer offered the work to the Boston collector Isabella Stewart Gardner, who was extremely eager to acquire “a heavenly Raphael Madonna.”<sup>93</sup> She solicited the opinion of her frequent adviser Bernard Berenson, who—although he had declared Raphael to be “the most famous and most beloved name in modern art”—responded with a dismissive appraisal of the work:

I am delighted to hear from you, even though it be a boring picture that is concerned. . . . As an expert, I affirm that while doubtless Raphael superintended the execution of this altar-piece, laid it in himself, and painted some upon it, the altar-piece as a whole when it left his studio could not have been called an auto-graph work by Raphael. . . . So much for the Colonna “Raphael” when it left the master’s studio. . . . But leaving aside the question of the authenticity . . . let us look at it as a work of art, on its own merits. Remember that Raphael was not a great painter in the sense that Titian or Veronese, Velásquez or Rubens were. Even as a poet one would not place him with the very highest, with people so diverse yet equals in poetic feeling, as Giorgione, Michelangelo or Rembrandt. Raphael is great, and greater than anybody else in his composition. Now, I beg you to look at the Colonna Madonna, and then tell me whether you find therein that spacious eurhythmy, that airy buoyancy, which Raphael gives you in the Sposalizio, in the Belle Jardinière, in his Stanze, and in scores of

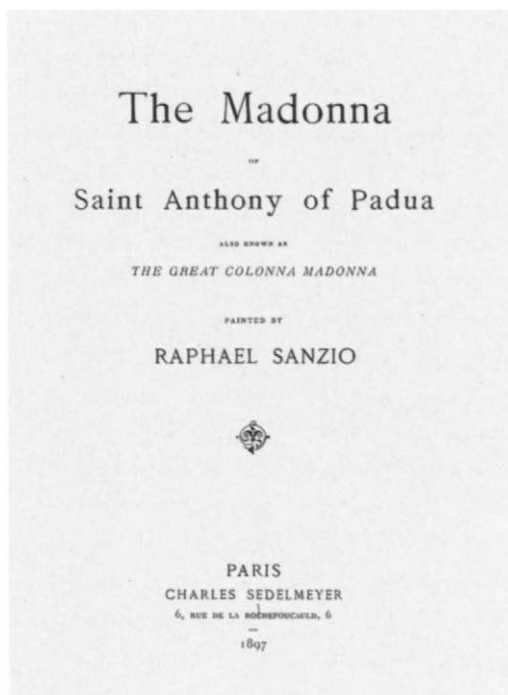


Figure 72. Charles Sedelmeyer. Title page, *The Madonna of Saint Anthony of Padua also known as The Great Colonna Madonna painted by Raphael Sanzio* (Paris). 1897

other works? Instead you have a squat, crowded composition, with a top heavy baldachin, and no escape whatever to the *au delà* [beyond]. There, I have given you my say, a say which was not without influence in London when interested persons tried to bring pressure upon the National Gallery to buy this picture. I trust I may save you all from this purchase—unless indeed you could get it at £10,000—to put the utmost price upon it.

Berenson went on to say that the painting was heavily (although not badly) restored and almost entirely repainted: “I venture to doubt whether a seeing eye can now discern a square quarter of an inch of the original painting.”<sup>94</sup>

If there was ever a possibility of Mrs. Gardner acquiring the Colonna altarpiece, Berenson’s indictment instantly extinguished it. She later purchased, on his advice, two other works by Raphael—a portrait, and one of the predella panels from the rejected altarpiece, the *Pietà* (see fig. 11), rhapsodically described by Berenson as “a Raphael of exquisite quality, of finest Umbrian feeling, of unquestionable authenticity, of perfect preservation, and with an almost matchless pedigree,” and hailed as a bargain at five thousand pounds.<sup>95</sup> A “heavenly” Raphael Madonna, however, forever eluded her.

### "Mr. Morgan Buys a Raphael"

Berenson may not have had much affection for the Colonna altarpiece but his unduly harsh criticism was somewhat disingenuous, colored by the fact that he had played no role in its authentication (a service for which he frequently received a twenty-five percent commission) or sale. His negative opinion, never rescinded, was presumably unknown to the eventual buyer, J. Pierpont Morgan (see fig. 2), who purchased the altarpiece the very day he saw it at Sedelmeyer's Paris gallery in April 1901 for two million francs (four hundred thousand dollars; fig. 73). He did so without the benefit of the proprietor's famous salesmanship, for Sedelmeyer (whom he had never met) had been away when Morgan stopped by the gallery. This we learn from a letter of April 30, 1901, in which Sedelmeyer wrote to Morgan that having "returned from a trip, I learned that you honored my gallery with a visit and acquired five paintings," and expressing his regret that the banker had already departed from the Bristol hotel when he paid a call that morning. He also praised Morgan's buying acumen: "I would like to congratulate you on your acquisition and express my sincere admiration, because you have proven that you are not only the greatest financier in the world, for such is your reputation, but also the most intelligent and the most courageous art collector."<sup>96</sup> Intelligent and courageous though he may have been, Morgan's flash buying spree at the Galerie Sedelmeyer—in addition to the Raphael, he purchased four other paintings on the same day, spending a total of six hundred thousand dollars—evidently proved exhausting, as shortly thereafter, in late April 1901, he retreated to the restorative waters of Aix-les-Bains.

A financial titan who at times virtually controlled, single-handedly, the American economy, John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) was universally regarded during his lifetime as "the most powerful banker in the world."<sup>97</sup> He was also one of the most generous benefactors in the history of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, serving as a trustee and as its

longtime president, and lending various curatorial departments thousands of works of art, most of which, in accordance with his wishes, eventually were given to the institution by his son. (Other parts of the vast and heterogeneous collection amassed by Morgan, including his outstanding concentrations of Old Master drawings and illuminated manuscripts, are today housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.) The expansive scope of his collecting activities, which ranged from antiquities, Chinese ceramics, tapestries and Persian carpets, medieval and Renaissance decorative arts, and English miniatures, to eighteenth-century French paintings and furniture, and nearly everything in between, has been admirably surveyed in an earlier issue of the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* to which the reader is referred.<sup>98</sup>

Like the major general in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pirates of Penzance*, the decisive Morgan was confident in his ability to "tell undoubted Raphaels from Gerard Dows and Zoffanies," and he was prepared to act without the counsel of famous connoisseurs or persuasive dealers (although he certainly did buy paintings from Duveen that came with a Berenson endorsement, such as an altarpiece by Filippo Lippi now in the Metropolitan).<sup>99</sup> And act he did, spending over sixty million dollars (more than one billion dollars in today's currency) acquiring thousands of works of art during a collecting career that spanned decades and became the stuff of legend. Upon his unofficial retirement in 1901, collecting became a full-time, all-consuming occupation, inaugurated with his April buying trip in Paris. Indeed, so voracious had Morgan's acquisitive appetite become, and so immense were the sums he was spending on art (ultimately, more than half his fortune), that a colleague from his London office, Clinton Dawkins, cabled his son Jack Morgan in December 1901 (some months after the Colonna altarpiece purchase): "I hope . . . that Flitch [Morgan's code name] will not buy the National Gallery at the end of the year."<sup>100</sup> Dawkins was not the only one to formulate this amusing scenario: a cartoon in the satirical



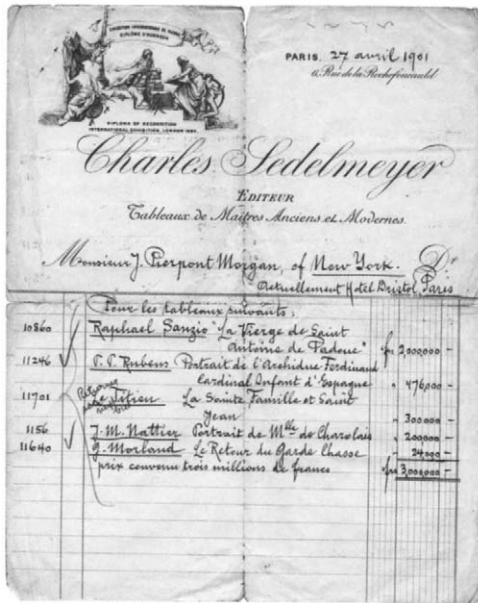


Figure 73. Invoice from Charles Sedelmeyer to J. P. Morgan for the purchase of Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece. 1901. Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

magazine *Puck* in June 1911 showed the bulbous-nosed Morgan vacuuming up all the art treasures of Europe, the spoils being sucked across the Atlantic by a giant magnet in the shape of a dollar sign (fig. 74).

One of the Metropolitan's curators who benefited from Morgan's largesse over a number of years was the renowned German-born art historian William R. Valentiner (1880–1958), who arrived at the Museum in 1908 and was given the title Curator of Decorative Arts—"a title I could not pronounce for a long time due to my bad English," he later recalled.<sup>101</sup> Morgan was then president, and Valentiner, who was hired at his behest, was given as his first assignment the installation of recently acquired medieval and eighteenth-century French works of art from the banker's collection, which were then sealed in hundreds of boxes newly arrived from Paris. When this daunting task was completed and everything was in place, the space still looked somewhat vacant, in Valentiner's assessment, so he proposed bringing in some antique columns as gallery staffage—an inspired idea (or so he believed), which was immediately squelched by Morgan's laconic pronouncement, "I do not like columns."<sup>102</sup> (This utterance

led Valentiner to observe that, indeed, in none of the banker's residences were columns to be found, although he remained uncertain whether a blanket indictment of this architectural element was really what the uncommunicative Morgan intended.)

While this may have seemed like a rather inauspicious beginning to their working relationship, Valentiner found Morgan a supportive, if reticent, benefactor: in his memoirs he recalled that "during Morgan's presidency at the museum I never had any troubles with my purchases. One look of him viewing the object in question was sufficient. He just nodded grumbling assent and the other Trustees followed his example."<sup>103</sup> (The banker was no more loquacious in a social setting, as we learn from Valentiner's description of Morgan's demeanor at a dinner they both attended: "He did not utter a single word, sitting like a big and powerful Buddha at the head of the table, saying at intervals a couple of unfinished sentences. . . . His silence was characteristic of his personality.")<sup>104</sup> Like the column anecdote, this description of the remarkably non-verbal acquisitions process reflects how resolute and confident Morgan was in his own taste and judgment. Broad in its appreciation of a spectrum of periods, cultures, and types of works, that taste, as Valentiner rightly observed, generally inclined toward objects rather than paintings—a circumstance that serves to highlight the rather exceptional

Figure 74. Joseph Keppler. "The Magnet" (from *Puck* 69, no. 1790, June 21, 1911). Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York



nature of the Raphael acquisition.<sup>105</sup> Morgan did find it hard to resist art that was “famous, sacred, exquisitely painted, and rich in historical associations,” however—mitigating factors that undoubtedly drew him to the Raphael.<sup>106</sup>

News of Morgan’s spectacular purchase of the Raphael altarpiece began to appear in the American press within months of his visit to the Galerie Sedelmeyer. *The New York Times* broke the story on October 23, 1901. Citing “private letters from a noted Paris expert” as its “trustworthy source,” it reported that the banker had paid seven hundred thousand dollars to acquire the Colonna altarpiece and five or six other paintings. The article also referred to the political intrigue that had surrounded, and at times shrouded, the picture’s recent movements:

J. Pierpont Morgan has bought the celebrated Holy Family by Raphael, called the Colonna Madonna because it was long in the possession of the noble Roman house of that name. The painting made a great sensation in Paris this year when it appeared among the old masters in M. Sedelmeyer’s gallery, for although its existence was known up to 1870, and there was no evidence that it had been destroyed or incorporated with any public or private collection, yet all trace of it was lost to the general public of art lovers at one of the most critical moments of modern French history. For many reasons the Colonna Madonna should have formed a distinguished example of Raphael’s work at the Louvre, but it was not to be. An American is its owner. Will he bring it to this side of the Atlantic? That is the question connoisseurs in Europe are asking with pardonable anxiety. . . . In 1870 it became known almost at the same time in London and Paris that this famous Raphael might be bought: then diplomacy on an international scale set its wits to work to secure it for one nation or the other. . . . A special envoy was sent from Paris and the picture was brought on, exhibited at the Louvre, and was about to be bought by the state when the German war broke out. Since then no one knew exactly where it was until it suddenly appeared in Sedelmeyer’s hands.

It is surprising to learn from this report that, although the painting’s presence in England

in the 1870s and 1880s, first at the National Gallery and later at the South Kensington Museum, was hardly a secret, its whereabouts after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War evidently were not widely known. The unheralded reappearance of the Colonna altarpiece at the Sedelmeyer gallery at the turn of the twentieth century therefore constituted something of a “rediscovery,” generating the attendant excitement that a more routine change of hands would not. American readers’ interest and sense of national pride cannot but have been ignited by this coverage, particularly given the paper’s pronouncement that Morgan’s new trophy “is finer than anything in the Louvre or the National Gallery by the same painter . . . [and] belongs to his best period”—a glowing critical assessment undoubtedly inflected by Sedelmeyer’s publicity material. The *Times* was to report on the Colonna altarpiece numerous times over the next decade, beginning with the short announcement that appeared in the January 1, 1902, edition, “Mr. Morgan Buys a Raphael,” which erroneously stated (on the authority of the dealer!) that Morgan had paid two-and-a-half million francs—an exaggeration of half a million francs. This newsworthy transaction was reported on the same day by *The New York Herald*, whose headline announced, “Half a Million Paid for Picture. Mr. J. P. Morgan gives record sum for Raphael Madonna of Saint Anthony,” although that record was not quite as high as its readers were led to believe.

Prohibitive tariffs of twenty percent on imported art works over one hundred years old had long made it financially disadvantageous for Morgan to bring his expanding and increasingly famous collection to New York. (In 1902, it was estimated that for him to do so would have cost the banker as much as three million dollars in import duties!)<sup>107</sup> Many of the spectacular treasures he acquired abroad thus remained in London, where he kept two residences; some were exhibited at the Victoria and Albert (as the South Kensington Museum had by then been renamed), while the peripatetic Colonna

altarpiece was placed on long-term loan at the National Gallery (thus returning, ironically, to an institution that had earlier rebuffed it).

Leaving his collection in England indefinitely was not without its own economic peril, however, for were the banker to die while it remained there, his estate would have been assessed seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars in death duty. Thus, in January 1912, the restrictive American tariff having been repealed some years earlier, in 1901, the seventy-four-year-old J. P. Morgan let it be known publicly that “as a patriotic American [he felt] that the place for the collection was the United States.”<sup>108</sup> Shortly thereafter the transfer of the collection began—a painstaking process that required three hundred and fifty-one crates and took nearly a year to complete. Dismantled and consigned to five crates bearing the “PM” numbers 92 through 96 (two for the main panel and lunette, three for the framing elements), the Colonna altarpiece (then valued at five hundred thousand dollars, according to *The New York Times*)<sup>109</sup> was placed aboard the SS *Olympic*, which sailed for New York on June 26, 1912. It arrived in August, and was found, upon being unpacked, to be “in perfect condition,” as Morgan was apprised in a letter from the Museum’s assistant secretary. The American press hailed Raphael’s altarpiece as the most important painting ever to cross the Atlantic.<sup>110</sup>

Morgan had actually been in negotiation with the Metropolitan Museum about the possibility of exhibiting his collection for some time before this official announcement of his intentions was issued, but that plan was contingent upon the Museum finding a suitable space. By late 1912 the city still had not provided the necessary funding to construct the promised new wing—a state of affairs lampooned in two satirical cartoons published that year in the *New York Evening World* (fig. 75) and which gave rise to the alarming headline, “Morgan Art May Go to Hartford: Metropolitan Museum May Lose \$50,000,000 Collection Through Delay in Providing Room.”<sup>111</sup> Until the matter was resolved, Morgan ordered that the crates he had shipped

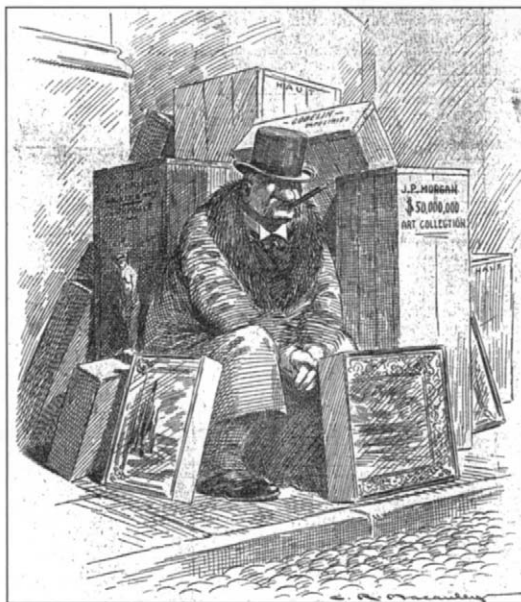


Figure 75. C. R. Macauley. “Homeless” (from the *New York Evening World*, November 26, 1912). Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

from abroad remain unopened, with the exception of those containing the twenty-nine paintings scheduled to go on view at the Museum in January 1913—of which, the *Times* reported, “The Great Raphael Heads List.”<sup>112</sup>

Two months after the opening, in March 1913, J. P. Morgan died in Rome. Fodder for heated speculation, the ultimate fate of his collection hung in the balance. While acclaiming the Morgan paintings then on view at the Metropolitan (the Raphael altarpiece most notable among them) as “some of the world’s masterpieces,” the press was at the same time duly forced to report on their possible loss by the city.<sup>113</sup> All eyes turned to Morgan’s son and beneficiary, Jack.

The younger Morgan had the collection appraised after his father’s death. The firm of M. Knoedler & Co., which specialized in works by Old Masters, had provided valuations of sixty-six paintings for the 1913 exhibition at the Metropolitan, and reiterated the same figures in its 1915 appraisal of Morgan’s estate. At three hundred thousand dollars, the Raphael altarpiece was the single most valuable work.<sup>114</sup> (The famous series of decorative paintings by Fragonard, purchased after Morgan’s death by Henry Clay Frick and now in the Frick Collection in New York, was valued at seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but it consists of fourteen individual panels.) Early in 1916, in a letter to the Board



of Trustees, Jack Morgan gave the Colonna altarpiece—the most celebrated painting his father ever acquired—to The Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>115</sup> where, to this day, it remains a highlight of the collection, and the only altarpiece by the “Prince of Painters” in America. The four-hundred-year odyssey that began in Raphael’s studio in Perugia about 1504, and propelled the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* across Europe and to the shores of a New World that the painter and the nuns of Sant’Antonio di Padova can scarcely have imagined even existed, had finally come to a close.

We end, somewhat improbably, with the already encountered Mrs. Cuthbert Harrison Slocomb, who wrote an impassioned missive to J. P. Morgan in 1902, the year after his purchase of the Raphael altarpiece that she had been promoting to a few “millionaire friends” some years earlier. Learning with delight of the banker’s acquisition, she revealed to him her secret dream to have the main panels reunited with the predella from which they had been separated for nearly two-and-a-half centuries:

My scheme . . . was to urge upon the purchaser (if an American) the search for and purchase of these Predella panels, and their restoration

beneath the picture, that it might go down to posterity as a unified whole. May this not be? You hold the magician’s wand of wealth incalculable!

Presto! comes “the European Expert” from whom it is said nothing on the face of the earth can be hidden. Those five Vignettes as a Base Line to that glorious culmination of the Supreme Power in the Lunette above the Holy Family, would be fine! And most satisfying!, and at the same time the proportions of the great masterpiece would be greatly enhanced. May I live to contemplate Raphael’s Divine Inspiration perfected as it left his hand centuries ago! Ah! the power of wealth! (which you so faithfully use) and the impotency through the lack of it in this age of ours.<sup>116</sup>

Mrs. Slocomb died in 1917, four years after Morgan, and never saw her noble, if wildly ambitious, scheme realized. Little could she—or, for that matter, J. P. Morgan himself—have divined that less than two decades later, one of the panels from the predella she so fervently hoped to see reunited with the Colonna altarpiece, the *Agony in the Garden*, would enter the Museum’s collection at the end of its own prolonged and circuitous journey, thereby making a wishful and seemingly impossible dream at least in part a reality.

1. “. . . in pictura et ornamentis unius tabule pro altari ecclesie [sic] interioris dicti conventus” (Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Protocolli 226, c. 104 v.); transcribed in Serena Balzani, “Il monastero e il politico: Dati archivio e memorie,” in *Piero della Francesca. Il polittico di Sant’Antonio*, exhib. cat. (Perugia, 1993), p. 51 n. 26.
2. Letter from Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola to Isabella d’Este, April 7, 1520; see John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources, 1483–1602*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 575.
3. The most poetic of the many translations, that quoted here, is by Alexander Pope; see Shearman, op. cit., pp. 640–41.
4. In the “Disputa della pittura” (Book XXII, chapter 91, verses 217–454) of this chronicle, written in *terza rima*, or rhymed triplets, Santi expresses admiration for a long roster of artists, primarily Florentine but also Venetian and Netherlandish: Fra Angelico, Filippo Lippi, Pesellino, Domenico Veneziano, Masaccio, Castagno, Uccello, Piero and Antonio Pollaiuolo, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Perugino, Leonardo, Signorelli, Gentile da Fabriano, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Antonello da Messina, Cosimo Tura, Ercole de’ Roberti, Jan van Eyck, and Rogier van der Weyden. He also lavishly praises Mantegna and Piero della Francesca. See Giovanni Santi, *La vita e le gesta di Federico di Montefeltro, Duca d’Urbino: Poema in terza rima* (Codice Vat. Ottob. lat. 1305), ed. Luigi Michelini Tocci (Vatican City, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 668–77.
5. Letter from Giovanna Feltria della Rovere, widowed sister of the duke of Urbino, to Piero Soderini, *gonfaloniere*, or titular

- head, of the Florentine Republic, commending Raphael to him. Modern criticism has tended to dismiss this letter as a forgery but recent scholarship (see Tom Henry and Carol Plazzotta, “Raphael: From Urbino to Rome,” in Hugo Chapman, Tom Henry, and Carol Plazzotta, *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, exhib. cat. [London: National Gallery, 2004], p. 34) has argued that it may be authentic. For a transcription of the letter and a detailed summary of the lengthy arguments on both sides of the authenticity question, see Shearman, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 1457–62.
6. Letter from Agostino Chigi to his father, Mariano, November 7, 1500, in which he refers to Perugino as “il meglio maestro d’Italia” (the best master in Italy); see Pietro Scarpellini, *Perugino*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1991), p. 111.
  7. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1906), vol. 3, p. 585.
  8. Letter from Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo, October 15, 1520; quoted in Shearman, op. cit., pp. 619–20 [loose translation].
  9. J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Raphael: His Life and Works* (London, 1882–85), vol. 1, pp. 4–5; quoted in Henry and Plazzotta, op. cit., p. 61 n. 4. For this period of Raphael’s career, see, most recently, Jeryldene M. Wood, “Young Raphael and the Practice of Painting,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge and New York, 2005), pp. 15–35.

10. Shearman, op. cit., p. 97. The earlier date for the painting of 1502–3, proposed by Konrad Oberhuber in "The Colonna Altarpiece in the Metropolitan Museum and Problems of the Early Style of Raphael," *MMA Journal* 12 (1977), pp. 55–90, has not been generally accepted.
11. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 218. Bryson Burroughs, the Metropolitan's curator of paintings from 1909 to 1934, described the work as having been "done as Raphael was passing from the delicate grace of his youth to the virile grace of his manhood" (quoted in *The New York Times*, March 18, 1933).
12. Shearman, op. cit., pp. 86–92.
13. Landino's exegesis occurs in the commentary of his edition of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, published in Florence in 1481 (*Comento di Christophoro Landino fiorentino sopra la comedia di Danthe Alighieri*); see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972), p. 150.
14. Also apposite in this context, inter alia, are devotional works by Perugino and his Bolognese contemporary, Francesco Francia, and, further afield, Giovanni Bellini in Venice. See, respectively, Charles Dempsey, "The Carracci and the Devout Style in Emilia," in *Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, a Symposium*, ed. Henry Millon and Beverly Brown, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Bologna, 1987), pp. 75–87; and Keith Christiansen, "Giovanni Bellini and the Practice of Devotional Painting," in *Giovanni Bellini and the Art of Devotion* (Indianapolis, 2004), pp. 22–28.
15. Carlo Bertelli, "Al sole di Piero," in *Piero della Francesca*, op. cit., p. 126, suggests that Piero's altarpiece may have doubled as the actual wall dividing the "chiesa esterna" of the lay public from the "chiesa interna" of the cloistered nuns (a suggestion predicated on the assumption that these actually comprised a single, continuous space in the fifteenth century). Such an arrangement would have been an expedient solution for a female religious community requiring seclusion, but having little if any means to support building projects or architectural renovations. If this proposal about the original disposition of the interior space is correct, it may be that the bequest of Sister Anna (whose baptismal name was Armellina), referred to in the opening of this essay, which led to the eventual commissioning of Raphael's altarpiece, also occasioned the fabrication of a true wall between the inner and outer churches, the construction of which, in turn, would have allowed for the erection of a separate altar, surmounted by an altarpiece, for the nuns. Although the original interior space of Sant'Antonio di Padova has been radically altered, the peculiar niche-like indentation in the altar wall of the ex-chiesa interna (see fig. 29) suggests that it may, indeed, have been built expressly to accommodate some type of altar furnishing.
16. It has recently been proposed that this drawing may be an idea for the *Ansidei* altarpiece of 1505. See Carol Plazzotta and Donal Cooper, "Raphael's *Ansidei* Altarpiece in the National Gallery," *The Burlington Magazine* 146 (November 2004), p. 723; and Carol Plazzotta, in Chapman, Henry, and Plazzotta, op. cit., under no. 31, p. 130.
17. Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael* (Oxford, 1983), p. 153, no. 85 r.; J. A. Gere and Nicholas Turner, *Drawings by Raphael from the Royal Library, the Ashmolean, the British Museum, Chatsworth and Other English Collections*, exhib. cat. (London: British Museum, 1983), no. 38, pp. 60–61. On the verso of this sheet is a study of a nude man (cat. 14) that is based on Michelangelo's *David*; like the male saints in the Metropolitan's altarpiece, this drawing reflects Raphael's keen response to Florentine art in the years 1504–5.
18. Joannides, op. cit., no. 86.
19. For which, see, respectively, Ross Merrill, "Examination and Treatment of the *Small Cowper Madonna* by Raphael at The National Gallery of Art," in *Raphael before Rome*, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 17 (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 139–47; and Ashok Roy, Marika Spring, and Carol Plazzotta, "Raphael's Early Work in the National Gallery: Paintings before Rome," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 25 (2004), pp. 26–31.
20. The emblem has been identified as the scapular of Saint Anthony of Padua, but this has not been absorbed in the Raphael literature nor has it been corroborated.
21. See the discussions of the *Procession to Calvary* by Carol Plazzotta in *Art in the Making: Underdrawings in Renaissance Paintings*, ed. David Bomford, exhib. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2002), no. 8, pp. 122–27; and Roy, Spring, and Plazzotta, op. cit., pp. 18–20. Although no cartoon for this composition survives, the presence of *spolveri* (dots made by forcing chalk through the pricked holes in the *modello*, or compositional drawing), revealed in technical examination, indicates that one did exist, and that the contours were pricked for transfer to the panel in the identical manner as in the surviving *Agony in the Garden* cartoon (see fig. 33).
22. The little-known copy by Claudio Inglesi (who is mentioned by name in the seventeenth-century document concerning the sale of the predella and the provision of a copy discussed in this essay) was first published in John Pope-Hennessy, *Raphael* (New York, 1970), p. 134, fig. 121.
23. The Ognissanti altarpiece: see Francesco Federico Mancini, *Pinacoteca Comunale di Città di Castello*, vol. 1, *Paintings* (Perugia, 1987), no. 24; on the original format, see p. 176. See also Sylvia Ferino Pagden, "The Early Raphael and His Umbrian Contemporaries," in *Raphael before Rome*, op. cit., p. 99.
24. See, most recently, Carol Plazzotta, in Chapman, Henry, and Plazzotta, op. cit., no. 21, for a synopsis of the scant earlier critical history. The authors accept the painting as an autograph work by Raphael. Although three figure drawings by the artist are demonstrably connected with this work, the question of authorship as it relates to the execution of the painting is still open to debate. Like the contemporaneous Piccolomini Library frescoes, this may be a case in which Raphael, following a familiar practice, provided drawings to an Umbrian friend or collaborator.
25. Archivio Diocesano, Perugia, *Visitationes Oddi*, 1660 (1661 n.s. [new style], according to which the calendar year begins on January 1 rather than March 25, the date of the Annunciation). I am immensely grateful to Elvio Lunghi for procuring a photocopy of this document for me, and to Frank Dabell for the transcription and translation in the Appendix.
26. For a transcription of the documents, see "Documenti per completare la storia di alcune opere di Raffaello già esistenti nell'Umbria," part 2, *Giornale di erudizione artistica* 3, (1874), pp. 304–5.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–10.
28. Curt Weibull, "Queen Christina," in *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, exhib. cat. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), p. 30.
29. Quoted by Weibull (*ibid.*, p. 31).
30. Unknown author (possibly P. Sforza Pallavicino), account of Christina's journey to Rome and her reception in the Eternal City, 1656; quoted in Stockholm, op. cit., pp. 387–98.
31. Letter to Brienne, February 1648; quoted in Stockholm, op. cit., p. 396.
32. These observations of the Jesuit chaplain Charles Alexander Manderscheidt, recorded in 1652, are quoted in Stockholm, op. cit., pp. 396–97.
33. Georgina Masson, *Queen Christina* (New York, 1968), pp. 187–88.
34. Manderscheidt, quoted in Stockholm, op. cit., p. 397.
35. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 399.
36. On the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden, see, most recently, *Cristina di Svezia: Le collezioni reali*, exhib. cat. (Rome: Palazzo Ruspoli; Milan, 2003), with earlier references.
37. Letter from Queen Christina to the duke of Bracciano, 1653; quoted in Stockholm, op. cit., p. 419. One of the objects that Christina inherited from Emperor Rudolph II, a sixteenth-century Austrian celestial globe with clockwork, is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.190.636), and was, like the Colonna altarpiece, the gift of J. Pierpont Morgan.
38. Bellori's pairing of Raphael and Apelles and Christina's scheme to build a Raphael museum are both discussed by Carl Nordenfalk, "Queen Christina and Art," in Stockholm, op. cit., p. 420.
39. This faction within the College of Cardinals was nicknamed the "Squadron Volante" by the Spanish ambassador; see *Cristina di Svezia a Roma / Christina of Sweden at Rome, 1655–1689*, exhib. cat. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1989), p. 19.
40. *Saint Paul, Hermit* (1976.331.1) and *The Witches' Sabbath* (1976.331.2).

41. The contract of the sale, synopsized in Stockholm, op. cit., p. 434, no. 1,051, is preserved in the Odescalchi Archive in Rome. Curiously, a document drawn up in 1703 that lists the paintings in the Odescalchi collection purchased from Christina of Sweden cites *The Procession to Calvary*, *Saint Francis of Assisi*, and *Saint Anthony of Padua*, but does not mention the *Pietà* or *The Agony in the Garden*. However, there is no doubt that those panels went from Christina, to Azzolino, to Livio Odescalchi, to the duc d'Orléans, and were only separated from the *Procession to Calvary* after the three narratives were exhibited together in London at the end of the nineteenth century. See Cristina di Svezia: *Le collezioni reali*, op. cit., pp. 70–71, nos. 15–17.
42. Letter from Mary Berry, March 1799; quoted in Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France* (Oxford, 1976; rev. ed., 1980), pp. 42–43 (with reference to *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1832*, ed. Lady Theresa Lewis [London, 1865], vol. II, p. 87).
43. William Hazlitt, "On the Pleasures of Painting," in *The Complete Works*, ed. P. P. Howe (London, 1930–34), vol. 8, p. 14; quoted in Haskell, op. cit., p. 43.
44. On the British taste for Early Italian painting and the collecting policies of the National Gallery during the directorship of Charles Eastlake and his successors, see Susanna Avery-Quash, "The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting in Britain with particular reference to the pictures in the National Gallery," in Dillian Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century: Italian Paintings* (London, 2003), pp. xxv–xlv. For the quote, see p. xxix. On the taste for Raphael, in particular, see Nicholas Penny, "Raphael and the Early Victorians," in Chapman, Henry, and Plazzotta, op. cit., pp. 295–303.
45. Henry Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection from His Correspondence* (1852), vol. 1, p. 204; quoted in G. F. R. Barker, s.v. "John Clerk," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), p. 2.
46. Of Raphael's *Agony in the Garden* in Rogers's collection, Mrs. Jameson wrote: "The upper part has been very much rubbed and painted over, and the execution of the rest is rather weak for Raphael; the sleeping figures beautiful" (Mrs. Jameson, *Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London* [London, 1844], no. 29, p. 399).
47. *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes esq. from 1831 to 1847: Comprising Reminiscences of Social and Political Life in London and Paris during That Period*, 4 vols. (London, 1856–58), vol. 4, p. 345; quoted by Edna Healey, s.v. "Coutts, Angela Georgina Burdett," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, op. cit., p. 2.
48. Ibid.
49. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. A. C. Benson, Lord Esher, and G. E. Buckle, 2nd ser. (London, 1926–28), vol. 3, p. 134; quoted in *Dictionary of National Biography*, op. cit., p. 10.
50. Obituary of Clarence Mackay, *The New York Times*, November 13, 1938.
51. Cable from Joseph Duveen to Clarence Mackay, August 14, 1924 (Duveen archives).
52. Equally *de rigueur* for elite collectors of Mackay's caliber was the publication of a massive catalogue of almost unmanageable heft, authored by a preeminent—preferably European—authority and packaged in a handsome, gold-tooled leather binding with marbled endpapers. The Mackay contestant, written by the German scholar Wilhelm (William) R. Valentiner (who is encountered in greater depth later in this essay), appeared in 1926 (Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *The Clarence H. Mackay Collection, Italian Schools* [New York: (100 copies) privately printed, 1926]).
53. Duveen cable, October 2, 1924: "M[ackay] delighted with *Bust* [Mino da Fiesole] and *picture* [Mantegna, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*], and at reception of Prince he showed them to everybody" (Duveen archives).
54. Translation of unsigned Western Union coded cable, October 2, 1924 (Duveen archives).
55. *The Clarence H. Mackay Collection, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, Long Island*, introd. by Royal Cortissoz (New York: privately printed, 1931): the contents of the "Renaissance Room," which included the Raphael, are listed on p. 19.
56. Letter from William Sloane Coffin to Frank L. Polk, July 25, 1932 (Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
- That Mackay's strained financial circumstances may have prompted the sale was discussed in an article announcing the Metropolitan's acquisition of Raphael's *Agony in the Garden* ("Agony in the Garden," *Time Magazine*, March 27, 1933).
57. Letter from William Sloane Coffin to Clarence Mackay, July 21, 1932 (Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
58. "L'Abbadessa e Suore Zoccolanti del Convento . . . con pochissime entrate non sufficienti a potersi mantenere, e con qualche debito, per ricevere qualche sollievo hanno desiderio e pensiero di far esito di un Quadro antico dipinto in una tavola, che si trovano nel Choro o Chiesa interiore del Convento per rinvestire il prezzo in beni stabili, già che potrà darsi il caso, che se ne trovasse una somma considerabile anche oltre ad un migliaio di scudi. Supplicano pertanto humilmente l'EE.VV. a dare ordine a Monsignor Vescovo di Perugia, che faccia considerare il valore di detto Quadro da due Pittori, e permetta la vendita quando si trovi oblatore, havendo l'Oratrici rincontro che vi sia persona di passaggio che lo ricerchi, e l'Oratrici non vorrebbero perdere la congiuntura atteso che il quadro si va in qualche parte scrostando per la sua antichità" (transcribed in "Documenti," op. cit., pp. 310–11).
59. Filippo Titi (*Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma: Opera cominciata dall'abate Filippo Titi da Città di Castello con l'aggiunta di quanto è stato fatto di nuovo fino all'anno presente* [Rome, 1763], pp. 483–84) mentions this palace, which was designed by Carlo Fontana and was located near the church of the Santi Apostoli—the section of Rome that was the traditional Colonna stronghold: "Davanti alla facciata laterale del suddetto palazzo di Venezia è il nobil palazzo del signor conte Bolognetti, famiglia patrizia Bolognese. Avevano qui le loro case i signori Frangipani, una delle più nobili famiglie d'Italia. Ne' tempi a noi più vicini il conte Gio. Antonio Bigazzini vi fabbricò un palazzo col disegno del cavalier Carlo Fontana, che poi dal conte Ferdinando Bolognetti, che n'era divenuto possessore, fu ridotto nello stato, che si vede di presente."
60. The instrument of sale, dated January 8, 1678, contains a detailed description of the altarpiece, which is of documentary interest as an early record of the picture. It relates that represented in the upper semi-arch is "God the Father with two angels and seraphim"; that the lower part measured 8 palmi in width and 8 palmi in length and depicted "the Virgin seated on a throne with her son in her lap and John the Baptist at her side, with Saint Peter Apostle and Saint Catherine to her right proper side, and Saint Paul Apostle and Saint Margaret" (the latter was identified in 1661 as Saint Cecilia); and that the painting comes from the inner church of Sant'Antonio di Padova ("Documenti," op. cit., pp. 313–14).
61. Ibid., p. 313.
62. Giovanni Francesco Morelli, *Brevi notizie delle pitture, e sculture che adornano l'avvsgta città di Pervgia* (Perugia, 1683), p. 23.
63. Annibale Mariotti, *Lettere pittoriche perugine o sia ragguaglio di alcune Memorie Istoriche riguardanti le Arti del Disegno in Perugia al Signor Baldassarre Orsini pittore e architetto Perugino* (Perugia, 1788), pp. 125–26.
64. In "Documenti," op. cit., p. 315 n. 1, it is stated that this copy disappeared after the suppression of the Convent of Sant'Antonio di Padova in 1810.
65. Margaret Symonds and Linda Duff Gordon, *The Story of Perugia* (London, 1898), p. 263.
66. Description by Matthew Paris in 1244, referring to Cardinal Giovanni the Younger Colonna (d. 1245); quoted in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Colonna."
67. Eduard A. Safarik, *The Colonna Collection of Paintings: Inventories, 1611–1795, Italian Inventories*, 2 (Munich, New Providence, London, and Paris, 1996), inv. no. 25, 1714 (Filippo II Colonna), no. 653, p. 290.
68. Ibid., p. 253.
69. Mariano Vasi, *Itinerario Istruttivo di Roma o sia descrizione generale delle opere più insigni di pittura, scultura e architettura e di tutti i monumenti antichi e moderni di quest'alma città, e parte delle sue adiacenze* (Rome, 1794), pp. 349–51. This is a later edition of Giuseppe Vasi's guidebook to Rome compiled earlier in the century.
70. *Catalogo dei quadri, e pitture esistenti nel palazzo dell'eccellentissima Casa Colonna in Roma, Coll'indicazione dei loro Autori* (Rome, 1783), no. 130, p. 22.
71. Haskell, op. cit., p. 44.



72. Joseph Farington, Diary entry, Tuesday, October 9, 1798, in *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, vol. 3, *September 1796–December 1798* (New Haven and London, 1979), p. 1066.
73. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, s.v. "Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies."
74. Letter from Tommaso Aloisio Juvara to Professor Adamo Rossi di Giacomo Treves, April 3, 1870: "Nel lungo studio che ho dovuto fare su quel bellissimo quadro per trarne il disegno per la incisione, ho potuto da presso constatare tutti i pentimenti di disegno. . . ." ("In the lengthy study I made of this beautiful painting in order to make the drawing for the engraving, I could ascertain all the changes in the design. . . .") ("Documenti," op. cit., p. 306 n. 1). On Waagen's account, see note 10 above.
75. Giovanni Battista Rossi Scotti, *Guida illustrata di Perugia*, 3rd ed. (Perugia, 1878), p. 53.
76. *National Gallery Board Minutes*, vol. 4, p. 399; transcription in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 432–33.
78. "Eight Masterpieces for an Easter Gift," *The New York Times*, March 17, 1913, p. 7.
79. Paliard, "Le Raphaël d'un Million," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 16 (1877), pp. 259–64.
80. Émile Galichon, in *La chronique politique des arts et de la curiosité*, February 20, 1870.
81. In a letter dated June 17, 1871, the duke of Ripalda informs Boxall that he had twice been approached by Count Nieuwerkerke on behalf of the Louvre (excerpt transcribed in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art). The *London Times* gave favorable coverage to the altarpiece, whose presence in London it hailed as "an event in the world of art" (December 1, 1871, p. 4). It is interesting that the National Gallery had only agreed to its loan "on condition that it shall not be understood as implying intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to purchase the picture" (*National Gallery Report*, 1871, p. 2).
82. Ruskin charged Raphael with effecting the beginning of a decline in art, but made a distinction between the master's early works, executed in an "ancient and stern mediaeval manner," and his later style, beginning with his first major Roman commission, the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura; of those frescoes Ruskin wrote: "And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation" (*The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. [London and New York, 1903–12], vol. 12 [1904], p. 148). The Colonna altarpiece would have exemplified for Ruskin Raphael's best—that is, early—style. His efforts to encourage the city of Liverpool to acquire it took the form of a letter published in the *Liverpool Daily Post*, January 3, 1874 (*ibid.*, vol. 34 [1908], pp. 512–13; see also the oblique reference to painting in Ruskin's lecture "Of Wisdom and Folly in Science," delivered on February 10, 1872, in *ibid.*, vol. 22 [1906], p. 140).
83. Letter from F. W. Burton to Lord Ashburnham (copy in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
84. Letter from the South Kensington Museum dated March 19, 1866 (excerpt transcribed in notes in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
85. Mrs. Cuthbert Harrison Slocomb, "Memoranda for Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan," April 2, 1902, p. 1; the same writer, in a typescript memo of 1888 entitled *Raphael's Madonna*, p. 2, recorded the then-asking price of two hundred thousand dollars (both, in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
86. Transcription of a letter in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
87. "Many Fakes in Art Sold to Americans," interview with Hubert George de Burgh Canning, Lord Clanricarde, an Irish landowner and art collector, *The New York Times*, February 27, 1910, which mentions Morgan's purchase of "a reputed Colonna of Raphael," and claims that "the picture had been entirely repainted by Martin Colnaghi, who has actually said that he did it himself."
88. Walter Sichel, *The Sands of Time: Recollections and Reflections* (London, 1923), pp. 291ff.
89. Christian Huemer, "Charles Sedelmeyer's Theatricality: Art and Speculation in Late 19th-Century Paris," in *Artwork through the Market: The Past and the Present*, ed. Ján Bakoš (Bratislava, 2004), p. 113.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–16.
91. Letter from John G. Johnson, Philadelphia, to the Metropolitan's curator Bryson Burroughs, December 18, 1916 (Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
92. Charles Sedelmeyer, *The Madonna of Saint Anthony of Padua also known as The Great Colonna Madonna painted by Raphael Sanzio* (Paris, 1897), p. 4.
93. Jean Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York, 1999), p. 413.
94. Letter from Bernard Berenson, Fiesole, November 9, 1897, to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston (copy in the files of the Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art). Berenson reiterated this assessment of the condition of the Colonna altarpiece to Mrs. Gardner a few years later, reminding her that he had advised her not to buy the work: "For the altar-piece was never entirely from Raphael's own hand, and now [is] entirely repainted" (Letter of October 25, 1900; quoted in David Alan Brown, *Raphael and America*, exhib. cat. [Washington, D.C.: The National Gallery of Art, 1983], p. 60).
95. Brown, op. cit., p. 61.
96. Letter from Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, to J. Pierpont Morgan, Aix-les-Bains, April 30, 1901 (Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan Collections, Correspondence, Sedelmeyer, Charles) [author's translation].
97. Strouse, *Morgan*, op. cit., p. ix.
98. Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Financier and Collector," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 57, no. 3 (Winter 2000); see also the full-length biography by Strouse, *Morgan*, op. cit.; and the discussion of Morgan as a collector, by Brown, op. cit., pp. 62–72.
99. Filippo Lippi, *Saint Lawrence Enthroned with Saints and Donors* (35.31.1a-c).
100. Quoted in Strouse, *Morgan*, op. cit., p. 415.
101. Wilhelm [William] R. Valentiner, unpublished memoirs (Archives of American Art, Valentiner Papers, reel D31, English typescript, p. 4).
102. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
106. Strouse, *Morgan*, op. cit., p. 493.
107. According to *The New York Times*, January 27, 1912.
108. *Ibid.*
109. "Morgan Treasures Actually Priceless," *The New York Times*, March 2, 1912.
110. ". . . the most important picture ever brought to this country," *The New York Times*, January 14, 1913. A similar assessment was made in the *New York Sun*, December 11, 1912.
111. *The New York Times*, November 25, 1912.
112. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1912, p. 13.
113. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1914, p. 1.
114. Surrogate's Court, County of New York, in the matter of the Transfer Tax of the Estate of John Pierpont Morgan, Deceased, Appraisal of pictures belonging to the Estate of John Pierpont Morgan sworn by Roland F. Knoedler, July 16, 1915.
115. Letter of January 13, 1916, from J[ack]. P. Morgan to the Board of Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: "Gentlemen: I hereby make gift to the Museum of the picture, known as 'The Colonna Raphael,' now on exhibition as a loan and recently transferred to me by the Executors of the Estate of J. Pierpont Morgan" (Archives of The Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan Collections, Correspondence, Metropolitan Museum file).
116. Mrs. Slocomb, op. cit., pp. 3–4.

*Appendix I: Transcription and Translation of a Passage from the Account of the Pastoral Visit of Bishop Marcantonio Oddi to Sant'Antonio di Padova in Perugia, 1660 (1661 n.s.), describing Raphael's altarpiece in the chiesa interna*

[4/170/159r.] [ . . . ] namely, it represents the figure of the Virgin Mary enthroned, holding the clothed Jesus Christ on her lap, with the standing infant John at her feet, flanked on the right by Saint Peter and Saint Catherine and on the left by Saint Paul and Saint Cecilia. The heads of these Virgins are admirable for their beauty, grace, and the arrangement of their hair. Above this panel, in a semicircle, with two Angels and a pair of Seraphim, God the Father shines forth finely and gloriously.

On the Lower part of the Altar, on the part called the *fregio* or predella, are three scenes painted by the hand of Raphael with tiny figures, skillfully and vividly, each referring to the Mystery or Story of the Lord's Passion, so that indeed art and nature almost compete to outdo one another.

In a part not exceeding 9¾ *oncie* [29.5 cm]\* of a Perugian foot in length, the kneeling Christ is shown praying in the garden, with the angel [5/170/159v.] appearing offering a chalice to Him from the sky, and further His three Apostles lying near Him asleep.

Another, two *piedi*\* and five *oncie* [87.7 cm] long, shows Christ bearing the Cross to Mount Calvary. Gesticulating soldiers with most beautiful movements seize Him and lead Him away, with two horsemen going before them. After all these, there follow the almost lifeless Mother Mary, Saint John, with the three Maries, showing their sorrow.

Thirdly [a panel] 9¾ *oncie* [29.5 cm] long like the first, contains the Pietà of Christ, His dead body lying across Mary's lap, supported by Saint John on bended knee, and—kissing His feet, her hair all loose—the kneeling, groaning Mary Magdalene. On either side [6/171/160r.]

Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus stand upright.

In addition to these panels, which are no more than 8¼ *oncie* [25 cm] high, on the pedestal of the gilded columns that adorn the Altar, there are two other panels, likewise painted by Raphael, each one extending 8¼ *oncie* [25 cm] high and 5 *oncie* [15.12 cm] across, in which one sees on one side Saint Francis and on the other Saint Anthony of Padua, both standing.

After these eminent figures [ ] there was placed in a silver tabernacle, a relic said by the nuns to be from the head of Saint Anthony of Padua but [ ] lacking legitimate approval [ . . . ].

[ . . . ] *figuras nimirum representat Virginis Mariae in Throno/sedentis Christum Jesum amiculis indutum gremio/tenentis, ad eius pedes puer Joannes erectus/inest stantes a lateribus dextero nempe Sanctus/Petrus et Sancta Catherina sinistro vero Divus Paulus/Sanctaque Cecelia quarum Virginum capita sunt/venustate gratia et crinali cultu miranda, super/cuius tabula, illiusque summitate Eternus Pater/in semicirculo duobus cum Angelis, binisque Seraphinis/perbelle et gloriose refulget. Ab Inferiori vero parte in eiusdem Altaris loco, quem fregio seu predella/vocant tres sunt picte tabelle eiusdem Raphaelis/manu ibidem expresse, Dominique Passionis/Misteria seu Historiam singule referentes parvulis/figuris graphice et ad vivum effectis adeo ut ars et/natura quasi certari eamque superare contendant./*

*Quarum altera que uncias novem et quartos tres mensurae/Perusine pedis longitudine non excedit, Christum ostendit/in horto flexis genibus orantem cum Angelo apparitione/*

5 [170/159v.; description of predella, continued] *apparitione* [repeated] *ei calicem de celo porrigentis, tres/insuper comprehendit Apostolos eius prope iacentes/atque dormientes./*

*Altera que in sui longitudine ad pedes usque duos eiusdem/mensure et uncias quinque protenditur Christum/proponit ad Calvarium Montem Crucem gestantem/et milites pulcherrimis motibus gesticulantes eum/educunt et raptant, quorum duo equitantes procedunt/Mariaque Mater fere exanimis Divusque Joannis/tribus cum Mariis mestitiam pre se ferentibus post/omnes insequuntur./*

*Tertia que eandem longitudinem obtinet unciarum novem,/quartorumque trium quot primo dicta continet Christi/Pietatem corpore demortuo super gremio Mariae/sedentis extenso, quod a Divo Joanni flexis/genibus sustinetur, illiusque pedes a Maria/Magdalena in genua procumbente gemebunda/expansisque capellis deosculantur, a lateribus autem/*

6 [171/160r.] *autem* [repeated] *Joseph ab Arimathea, et Nicodemus erecto/corpore visuntur./*

*Preter has trinas tabellas uncias octo et quartum unum/et non amplius singulatim altas, in pedestallo/deauratarum columnarum Altare predictum/exornantium alie due existunt picte tabelle/pariter eiusdem Raphaelis opere confecte/singule ad uncias octo et quartum unum altitudine/et ad uncias quinque [ ] latitudine sese tantum/extendentes, in quarum altera Divus Franciscus,/et in altera Divus Antonius Patavinus ambo/stantes conspiciuntur./*

*Postquasm vero has clarissimas figuras . . . /in argenteo tabernaculo recondita erat quedam [ ]/reliquia, quam moniales dixerunt esse de testa S. Antonii/Patavini legitima tamen approbatione deficiente [ . . . ].*

(\*Perugian piede = 36.3 cm and oncia [ $\frac{1}{12}$  of a piede] = 3.025 cm)

Transcription and translation by Frank Dabell,  
July 2005



# EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

## RAPHAEL (1483–1520)

### PAINTINGS

I. The Sant'Antonio di Padova Altarpiece  
(The Colonna Altarpiece)

A) *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*  
(main panel). About 1504–5.  
Oil and gold on wood: overall, 67 $\frac{7}{8}$  ×  
67 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (172.4 × 172.4 cm); painted  
surface, 66 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 66 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (169.5 × 168.9 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916 (16.30a)  
(fig. 1)

B) *God the Father Blessing, with Angels  
and Cherubim* (lunette). About 1504–5.  
Oil and gold on wood: overall, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  ×  
70 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (74.9 × 180 cm); painted surface,  
25 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 67 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (64.8 × 171.5 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916 (16.30b)  
(fig. 1)

The large panel of the Madonna and Child enthroned with saints and the lunette of God the Father and angels are the principal components of an altarpiece that Raphael painted for the Franciscan nuns of Sant'Antonio di Padova in Perugia about 1504–5. The work, which originally also comprised a predella with scenes from the life of Christ (fig. 9–11), and two Franciscan saints (fig. 12, 13), documents a key moment of transition in Raphael's artistic development: aspects of its style and composition derive from established Umbrian traditions, represented foremost by the paintings of Pietro Perugino, whose impact on Raphael's early manner was profound, while other details signal his receptiveness to the innovations of contemporary Florentine painters, such as Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo.

The Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece was sold piecemeal in the seventeenth century. Its dispersed components have all been reunited for the first time since 1663 on the occasion of this exhibition.

C) *The Agony in the Garden*. 1504–5.  
Oil on wood, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (24.1 × 28.9 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Funds from various donors, 1932 (32.130.1)  
(fig. 9)

D) *The Procession to Calvary*. 1504–5.  
Oil on wood, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 33 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (24.4 × 85.5 cm)  
National Gallery, London (NG 2919)  
(fig. 10)

E) *Pietà*. About 1504–5.  
Oil on wood, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (23.5 × 28.8 cm)  
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston  
(P16e3)  
(fig. 11)

These three narratives originally formed the predella, or base, of Raphael's Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece (see fig. 1). The largest panel, *The Procession to Calvary* (fig. 10) was in the center, with *The Agony in the Garden* (fig. 9) on the left, the *Pietà* (fig. 11) on the right, and *Saint Francis of Assisi* and *Saint Anthony of Padua* (fig. 12, 13) on the bases of the columns of the altarpiece frame. The ungainly angel bearing a chalice in *The Agony in the Garden* was not part of Raphael's original conception, as his preparatory drawing for the composition demonstrates (fig. 33), and was probably added by another hand. Contrary to typical practice, the predella seems not to have comprised a single long plank but, from the outset, was fabricated from three separate panels, as various strands of evidence suggest (see pp. 29–30, 32 above). Disparities in scale and style have been noted. The planar arrangement of doll-like, posturing figures seen in *The Procession to Calvary* gives way in *The Agony in the Garden* to a more spatially complex composition in which the figures are more volumetric and monumental, and their poses—particularly that of the sleeping apostle at the right—

more ambitious. Infrared reflectography revealed underdrawing beneath the *Pietà* and *The Procession to Calvary*, but this technology was unable to penetrate the paint or to image the underdrawing of *The Agony in the Garden*, implying that a different medium or technique was employed there. These discrepancies point to the possibility that the three panels were not all executed at the same moment and reinforce the supposition that they never formed one continuous plank.

Raphael's predella was sold by the nuns of Sant'Antonio di Padova to Queen Christina of Sweden, one of the greatest seventeenth-century collectors, in 1663. The three narrative scenes remained together until shortly before 1800, when they were dispersed at a famous sale in London.

F) *Saint Francis of Assisi*. About 1504–5.  
Oil on wood, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (25.7 × 16.8 cm)  
Dulwich Picture Gallery, London (DPG 241)  
(fig. 12)

G) *Saint Anthony of Padua*. About 1504–5.  
Oil on wood, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (25.7 × 16.4 cm)  
Dulwich Picture Gallery, London (DPG 243)  
(fig. 13)

Possibly executed by a collaborator working from Raphael's designs, these standing Franciscan saints originally flanked the three narrative scenes of the predella of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, forming the bases of the columns of its original, gilt frame (see fig. 8). The nuns who commissioned Raphael's painting belonged to the Franciscan order, and their convent church was dedicated to Saint Anthony of Padua—hence, this particular choice of hagiographic subjects.



2A



2B

2. Predella of the Gavari Altarpiece  
(*The Mond Crucifixion*)

A) *Eusebius of Cremona Resuscitating Three Dead Men*. About 1502–3.  
Oil on wood, 10 1/4 × 17 1/4 in. (25.6 × 43.9 cm)  
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (56)

B) *Saint Jerome Saving Silvanus and Punishing the Heretic Sabianus*. About 1502–3.  
Oil on wood, 9 3/4 × 16 1/2 in. (24.8 × 42 cm)  
North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.  
Purchased with funds from Mrs. Nancy Susan Reynolds, the Sarah Graham Kenan Foundation, Julius H. Weitzner, and the State of North Carolina (G.65.21.1)

A year or two before Raphael began the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* for Sant'Antonio di Padova he executed an altarpiece of the *Crucifixion* for a church in Città di Castello near Perugia (the Gavari altarpiece, now known as *The Mond Crucifixion*, 1502–3, National Gallery, London; fig. 19). It was painted for a chapel dedicated to Saint Jerome, who appears in the *Crucifixion* scene and is also the subject of these two narratives—the only surviving components of the predella. In the first scene, one of his followers employs Jerome's cloak to miraculously resurrect three dead men, and, in the second, the saint intercedes to prevent the execution of Silvanus, Archbishop of Nazareth, who had challenged the heretic Sabianus, seen decapitated in the right foreground. The balletic, pirouetting figures and feathery trees are typical of Raphael's early style, and anticipate elements of *The Procession to Calvary* and the *Pietà* from the predella of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece (cat. 1D, 1E; fig. 10, 11).

3. *Madonna and Child with a Book*  
(*"Madonna at Nones"*). About 1503.  
Oil on wood, 20 3/4 × 15 3/4 in. (52.7 × 40 cm)  
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena. Norton Simon Art Foundation (M.1972.2.P)  
(fig. 14)

In this intimate devotional painting, the Madonna gazes tenderly at the Christ Child and holds a breviary open to the prayer for the liturgical hour of Nones. The arrangement of the figures adumbrates that of the Madonna and Child in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, executed a short time later. Like the diminutive buildings in that work, the beautiful landscape of the *"Madonna at Nones"* was inspired by Netherlandish painting, examples of which Raphael would have seen in his native Urbino and elsewhere.

Raphael worked out his ideas for the painting in a series of preparatory drawings exploring the overall composition (cat. 9A), the landscape background (cat. 9B), the poses of the two main figures (cat. 9A, 10), and the Madonna's delicate features (cat. 11, fig. 36).

\*4. *Conestabile Madonna*. About 1504.  
Oil on wood, transferred to canvas,  
diameter 7 1/16 in. (18 cm)  
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
(GS252)  
(fig. 15)

This private devotional image was executed at virtually the same moment as the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, probably for a patron in Perugia. The pose of the Madonna is analogous to that of the same figure in the Metropolitan's picture but in reverse. Raphael frequently took up the pictorial theme of the Christ Child reading a book—an act through which his future role as Savior was revealed—in paintings and drawings of this period (see, for example, cat. 3, fig. 14; cat. 8; and fig. 70). More unusual for the artist is the wintry landscape background characterized by wispy, barren trees and distant snow-capped peaks.

\*not in exhibition



5: verso

5. *Studies of the Risen Christ* (recto and verso). About 1501–2.

Black chalk,  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$  in. (216 × 104 mm)

Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro (185)

(fig. 54)

The studies of the resurrected Christ on the recto (fig. 54) and verso of this recently discovered, early drawing bear some relation to an enigmatic painting of the *Resurrection* executed about 1501–2 (Museu de Arte, São Paulo) and variously ascribed to Raphael or to an unknown collaborator. A prolific draftsman, Raphael throughout his career furnished drawings to friends and followers: this study, and two other sketches by him for the same composition, may constitute early examples of that practice.

6. *Madonna and Child, with Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch*. About 1501.

Pen and ink,  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$  in. (287 × 223 mm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris. Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 1395)



6

The lost or unrealized votive altarpiece for which this is a study was probably conceived during an outbreak of the plague, as implied by the presence of Saints Sebastian and Roch, whose intercession was invoked against pestilence. Compositional elements such as the stepped throne and scalloped canopy recur in the Metropolitan's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, of about 1504–5 (fig. 1), in the Ansidei altarpiece of 1505 (National Gallery, London; fig. 70), and in a more-or-less contemporaneous drawing of a similar altarpiece (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; cat. 12, fig. 35). These similarities underscore the fluidity of Raphael's design process—his practice of shuffling pictorial inventions among various compositions that he was working on more or less simultaneously.

7. *Seated Madonna and Child*. About 1501–2.

Pen and ink, over black chalk,  $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in.

(214 × 140 mm)

Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (377)

This drawing may have served as the starting point for Raphael's slightly later study for an altarpiece with the Madonna and Child and Saint Nicholas of Tolentino (cat. 12, fig. 35). Indications of a throne are lightly sketched in behind the seated Madonna, whose pose loosely corresponds to that of the same figure in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece.



7



8

8. *Madonna and Child Reading, in a Landscape*. About 1502.

Pen and ink,  $4\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  in. (123 × 122 mm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris. Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 3855)

The figures of the Madonna and Child reading, in this incisively executed pen-and-ink drawing, are an elaboration of the central group in an early study by Raphael for an altarpiece (Musée du Louvre, Paris; cat. 6). Certain affinities with the *Madonna and Child with a Book* ("Madonna at Nones"; cat. 3, fig. 14) may be observed: notably, the pose of the Virgin Mary and the anatomy of the chubby nude child, who balances on his mother's knee in a pose frequently employed by Perugino, as well as the theme of the Madonna teaching her son to read.



9. Studies for *Madonna and Child with a Book* ("Madonna at Nones")

A) *Madonna and Child* (recto) and *The Christ Child* (verso). About 1503.  
Pen and ink, over stylus,  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (114 × 129 mm)  
The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846 (PII 508a)

B) *Landscape Sketches* (recto and verso). About 1503.  
Pen and ink, over stylus,  $4\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. (116 × 132 mm)  
The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846 (PII 508b)

These pen-and-ink sketches for a painting of the Madonna and Child in a landscape are believed to have originally formed a single sheet. Oskar Fischel (1870–1939), the great scholar of Raphael drawings, related the present studies; one, of the head of a young woman (British Museum, London; cat. 11, fig. 36); and another, of a studio assistant (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille; cat. 10), to an otherwise unknown composition by the artist that Fischel named the *Madonna at the Window*. That intuitive hypothesis was confirmed upon the subsequent rediscovery of a lost painting by Raphael, the *Madonna and Child with a Book*, also known as the "*Madonna at Nones*," now in the Norton Simon Art Foundation, Pasadena (cat. 3, fig. 14): all the sketches on both sides of these now-separated sheets are preparatory ideas for that work.



9A: recto

10. Study for *Madonna and Child with a Book* ("Madonna at Nones"). About 1503.  
Silverpoint,  $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$  in. (263 × 189 mm)  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille (442)

The seated figure, a study for the Virgin Mary in Raphael's *Madonna and Child with a Book* ("Madonna at Nones") in the Norton Simon Art Foundation, Pasadena (cat. 3, fig. 14), is drawn from a posed studio assistant, or *garzone*, a practice that Raphael employed throughout his career.

11. *Head and Shoulders of a Young Woman*. About 1503.  
Metalpoint, on a warm-white prepared ground,  $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. (258 × 191 mm)  
British Museum, London (895-5-15-611/P&G 3)  
(fig. 36)

A study for the Virgin Mary in the "*Madonna at Nones*" (cat. 10, fig. 14), this beautiful drawing is an early example of Raphael's lifelong practice of producing studies of heads in order to explore and refine a figure's expression. The female type—with delicate, oval face, small, pursed lips, and downcast eyes—is characteristic of Raphael's early style and derives from Perugino.

12. *Madonna and Child Enthroned, with Saint Nicholas of Tolentino*. About 1503–4.  
Pen and ink, with black chalk,  $9 \times 6\frac{1}{8}$  in. (230 × 155 mm)  
Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (376)  
(fig. 35)



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This drawing has recently been tentatively connected with Raphael's *Madonna and Child, with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Nicholas of Bari* (Ansidei altarpiece), of 1505 (National Gallery, London; fig. 70). Certain compositional motifs—the scalloped canopy, the monumental volutes, and the ornamented, stepped base of the throne—are also seen in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, as are the Madonna's solid halo and the blessing pose of the Christ Child. Raphael may have consulted this drawing when working out the latter composition.

13. *Head of a Man*. About 1504.  
Black chalk,  $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. (255 × 190 mm)  
British Museum, London (1895-9-15-619/P&G 8)  
(fig. 37)

This imposing drawing is not related to any known painting by Raphael but is contemporary with the Metropolitan's altarpiece. As in the male saints in that work, the artist was striving here for forceful, descriptive modeling and a heightened gravity of expression; both qualities were inspired by the art of Fra Bartolommeo and Leonardo da Vinci that he encountered upon arriving in Florence (see cat. 28–32).



14: recto

14. *Nude Man Advancing to the Right* (recto) and *Standing Male Nude Figure* (Study for *Saint Peter*?) (verso). About 1504–5. Pen and ink, 11 × 6½ in. (279 × 169 mm) British Museum, London (Pp1-65/P&G 14) (fig. 39)

Raphael's drawing of a standing male nude holding what appears to be an open book may well have served as the starting point for the similarly posed Saint Peter in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece (fig. 1). (If the lightly sketched object in the figure's right hand is a key—the saint's attribute—as has been suggested, the link to the painting is even more compelling.) Such studies of nude figures, undertaken in order to accurately comprehend and describe anatomical form and structure, were a frequent part of Raphael's preparatory process. On the verso of this sheet is a drawing of a nude man whose pose derives from Michelangelo's *David*—a testament to the younger artist's keen study of the sculptor's work in Florence.

15. *Standing Bearded Saint* (*Paul or Jerome*?). About 1504–5. Pen and ink, 9¾ × 5¾ in. (238 × 147 mm) Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (1936) (fig. 40)

The bearded man seen in left profile and holding a book shares similarities in pose and type with the standing figure of Saint Paul in the Metropolitan's altarpiece, which conceivably is based on this study.

16. *Drapery Study*. About 1503–4. Black chalk, 8¾ × 12¾ in. (222 × 321 mm) British Museum, London (1947-10-11-19/P&G 6) (fig. 41)

Like drawings of nude figures (see cat. 14, 15, fig. 39, 40), drapery studies such as this one, which was executed close in time to the Metropolitan's altarpiece, were a standard part of Raphael's graphic repertoire and preparatory process. Such drawings would have played a particularly important role in the genesis of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, in which Raphael took evident care to depict the heavy, volumetric robes of the male saints.

17. Study for *The Agony in the Garden*. About 1504. Pen and ink, with brush and wash, the contours pricked for transfer, 8½ × 10¾ in. (220 × 265 mm) The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1909 (I, 15) (fig. 33)

This cartoon, or full-scale compositional sketch, for *The Agony in the Garden* (cat. 1C, fig. 9) is one of only two drawings by Raphael that can be connected with certainty to the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece (see also cat. 18, fig. 34), and the sole surviving study for the predella. The outlines were painstakingly pricked with a series of small holes through which charcoal dust was forced onto the wood panel placed below, thereby transferring the design to the surface to be painted. Known as pouncing, this technique was frequently employed by Raphael. The chalice poised on the rocky ledge before Christ was replaced in the painted panel by a chalice-bearing angel in a deviation from Raphael's original, and more satisfying, conception recorded here.

Like the Metropolitan's altarpiece, this drawing by Raphael was owned by J. Pierpont Morgan in the early twentieth century.

18. *Saint Jerome, with a View of Perugia* (recto) and *Landscape Study with the Madonna and Child* (verso). About 1504. Pen and brown ink, with traces of black chalk, on white paper, 9¾ × 8 in. (244 × 203 mm) The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (34) (fig. 34)

Containing sketches for the landscape background of the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece (virtually identical buildings appear in the distance behind Saint Paul; see fig. 21), this sheet is the only known preparatory drawing by Raphael for the main panel. The rapid sketch of the Madonna and Child, executed when the paper was rotated 180 degrees, may bear some relation to the corresponding figures in the painting. On the recto there is an impressive pen-and-ink study of the penitent Saint Jerome set before a detailed and topographically accurate view of the city of Perugia—where Raphael worked intermittently between 1503 and 1505—that has been dated to about 1504; the same approximate date may be assigned to the landscape studies on the verso, which were only discovered some twenty-five years ago when the drawing was lifted from an old backing.

19. Attributed to Raphael. *Five Nude Infants*. About 1501–4. Metalpoint, with traces of black chalk, on pale pinkish-gray prepared paper, 9¾ × 7⅞ in. (238 × 189 mm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.395)

An old inscription on the verso of this drawing, which has received scant attention in the scholarly literature, identifies it as the work of Raphael—an attribution that was only cautiously resurrected in recent years. The putto seated on a tree stump recalls the Christ Child in Raphael's *Solly Madonna* of 1502 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), and the nude infant striding toward him at the right is close to the young Saint John the Baptist in the Metropolitan's altarpiece (fig. 1).

Although a precise subject for this tableau has not been identified, it appears to be a type of sacred allegory. The motif of the Child confronting his destiny in an open book, taken up by Raphael in the





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"*Madonna at Nones*," among other compositions (cat. 3, fig. 14; see also cat. 6, 8), was also frequently depicted by the Umbrian painter Pinturicchio (cat. 27, fig. 28), whose influence shaped Raphael's early style.

20. *Head of a Child*. About 1505.

Red chalk,  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$  in. (114 × 93 mm)  
Private collection, Dallas  
(fig. 38)

Unknown until it appeared at auction in 2004, this study by Raphael of the head of a child is close to both the Christ Child in the Metropolitan's altarpiece and the same figure in the roughly contemporaneous Ansidei altarpiece (fig. 70). It may well be the earliest drawing by the artist executed in red chalk—a medium favored by Leonardo da Vinci and employed by Raphael with increasing frequency in his later career.

21. *Studies of the Madonna and Child, with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*. 1505.

Red chalk,  $8\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. (224 × 159 mm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
Rogers Fund, 1964 (64.47)

Raphael worked in Florence from 1504 to 1508, specializing in private devotional images of the Madonna and Child and the Holy Family. One of his most celebrated compositions of this type is the *Madonna of the Meadow* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1505–6; fig. 25), for which this is a



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preparatory study.

The central group in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece—the Madonna and Child with the young Saint John the Baptist—anticipates Raphael's later redactions of the Madonna and Child theme.

PIETRO VANNUCCI,  
called PIETRO PERUGINO  
(about 1450–1523)

PAINTINGS

22. *Sepulchrum Christi*. About 1495.

Oil, with some tempera (?), on wood,  
transferred to fabric,  $36 \times 27\frac{15}{16}$  in.  
(91.4 × 71 cm)  
The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,  
Williamstown, Massachusetts (1955.947)



22

In the years around 1500 Raphael was associated with the circle of Perugino—then one of the most famous painters in Italy—whose art inflected his early style. This moving depiction of the dead Christ, supported on his tomb by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, is striking for the nuanced shadows; rich, saturated colors; and almost geometric clarity of the composition. An iconic image characterized by a profound stillness and calm, rather than a narrative scene, the painting presumably was intended as an object of private devotion and contemplation.

23. *The Resurrection*. About 1502.

Tempera on wood,  $10\frac{5}{8} \times 18$  in.  
(27 × 45.7 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Frederick C. Hewitt Fund, 1911 (11.65)



23





24A



24B

This pair of saints originally formed part of a large, double-sided altarpiece commissioned from Perugino in 1505, when he was at the height of his fame, for the church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence. Of roughly the same date as the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece (cat. 1, fig. 1), the serene, expressionless figures are paradigmatic of the older artist's style, which Raphael initially emulated (see fig. 7, 19), then quickly surpassed.

## DRAWINGS

### 25. *Landscape Studies* (recto and verso).

About 1489–90.

Brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache, on gray-green prepared paper (recto), and pen and brown ink (verso), 8 × 11 1/16 in. (203 × 280 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1993  
(1993.327)

Landscape drawings this early in date are exceedingly rare. This masterful depiction of a luminous, atmospheric panorama

In 1502 Perugino began an altarpiece of the *Crucifixion* for the church of Sant'Agostino in Siena, which was delivered in 1506. This *Resurrection* is one of five panels from the predella of that altarpiece (the other four are now in The Art Institute of Chicago). Raphael's studies of the *Risen Christ* of about 1501–2 (cat. 5, fig. 54) recall the same figure in Perugino's composition, which the younger artist could have seen in the latter's studio.



25: recto

### 24A. *Saint John the Baptist*. About 1505.

Oil (?) on wood, 63 × 26 3/8 in. (160 × 67 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, 1981 (1981.293.1)

### 24B. *Saint Lucy*. About 1505.

Oil (?) on wood, 63 × 26 3/8 in. (160 × 67 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, 1981 (1981.293.2)



25: verso

defined by delicate, light-dappled trees and rolling hills is a remarkable example by Perugino, whose skill as a landscape painter was unsurpassed in his day. Raphael's landscape backgrounds owe a debt to Perugino, although the younger artist never produced a pure landscape drawing with this sweeping bird's-eye perspective and commanding sense of space.

Similar landscapes occur in the backgrounds of various compositions by Perugino (see cat. 23). Rather than a study for a particular painting, the refined and finished landscape on the recto (an elaboration of the sketchier rendering on the verso, which was conceivably made *en plein air*) was probably executed to serve as a model in Perugino's workshop.

26. Workshop of Perugino. *Head of a Youth Gazing Upward*. 1490s (?).

Black chalk, squared in black chalk, and retouched in pen and brown ink, 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 6 in. (225 × 152 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.394)

Although this drawing (which may have been intended as a cartoon) has not been convincingly connected with a specific composition, similar figures gazing upward frequently are found in paintings by Perugino and his workshop (see cat. 24B) executed over more than two decades. The upturned head and intensely focused gaze

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find parallels in Raphael's early work: notably, in the heads of the apostles in *The Coronation of the Virgin*—an important early altarpiece painted in 1503–4 for the Oddi Chapel in the church of San Francesco in Perugia. Raphael adopted the black chalk medium employed by the author of this sheet for many of the studies of heads that he produced throughout his career (see, for example, cat. 12, 13).

PINTURICCHIO  
(about 1454–1513)

27. *Madonna and Child*. 1490–95.

Oil on wood, 24 × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (61 × 42.5 cm)  
Philadelphia Museum of Art. John G. Johnson Collection (1336)  
(fig. 28)

Numerous images of the Madonna and Child emanated from the workshop of Pinturicchio, who, with Perugino, was a pillar of the Umbrian artistic tradition in which Raphael was trained. Details such as the fully clad Christ Child and the gold-flecked robe of the Virgin that Pinturicchio frequently depicted—archaic conventions by the early sixteenth century but exercising evident appeal for conservative patrons—were adopted by Raphael in the Sant'Antonio di Padova altarpiece, no doubt to satisfy the nuns who commissioned the work.

The motif of the Madonna proffering an open book to the infant Christ frequently occurs in Raphael's early works (see cat. 3, 6, 8; fig. 70), for which Pinturicchio provided an important model. In this example by the older artist, the book is a breviary or missal open to the prayer for the canonical hour of Matins, which was recited at night. Raphael employed the same convention in the *Madonna and Child with a Book* now in the Norton Simon Art Foundation (cat. 3, fig. 14), in which the breviary is open to the office for the hour of Nones, a mid-afternoon prayer.

Pinturicchio's painting was probably executed in Rome, perhaps for a member of the family of Pope Alexander VI Borgia (r. 1492–1513), one of his most important patrons.

BACCIO DELLA PORTA,  
called FRA BARTOLOMMEO  
(1472–1517)

PAINTINGS



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28. *Madonna and Child, with the Young Saint John the Baptist*. About 1497.

Oil and gold on wood, 23 × 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.  
(58.4 × 43.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.171)

An early work executed a few years before he temporarily ceased painting in 1500 to become a Dominican friar, this *Madonna and Child* illustrates some of the salient elements of Fra Bartolommeo's style (see fig. 23) that Raphael sought to absorb upon arriving in Florence—namely, the nuanced modulation of light, the elaborate draperies, the Netherlandish-inspired landscape background (in this case, actually copied from a triptych by Hans Memling now divided between the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, and the National Gallery, London), and the integrated grouping of the sacred figures. Their intimate rapport is described in tenderly human terms, which Raphael appropriated and refined in his numerous depictions of the Madonna and Child with the young Saint John the Baptist—a favorite devotional theme of the affluent private patrons for whom he would work in Florence.

This composition is based on a painting of the Madonna and Child by Leonardo da Vinci (the *Benois Madonna*; State Hermitage



Museum, Saint Petersburg)—an artist much admired by Fra Bartolommeo, as Vasari reports—in which the figures are similarly placed before an open window with a view of a landscape background beyond. That model also influenced Raphael, who upheld Leonardo's art as a paradigm.



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29. *The Holy Family*. About 1498.  
Oil on canvas,  $59\frac{7}{16} \times 35\frac{1}{16}$  in.  
(151 × 91.3 cm)  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art,  
Museum Associates/LACMA. Gift of The  
Ahmanson Foundation (M.73.83)

Striking for its monumental size as well as for the unusual iconographic treatment of its subject—the Madonna appears full length and standing, with the Christ Child on a plinth beside her, rather than in half length or seated with the infant in her lap—this imposing early work by Fra Bartolommeo may have been commissioned by a confraternity or religious order dedicated to the Virgin Mary, a suggestion prompted by the exceptional prominence accorded her in the composition. The vertical format and the lightweight canvas support point to the possibility that the painting may originally have functioned

as a processional standard in addition to serving as a devotional image. Like Fra Bartolommeo's contemporaneous *Madonna and Child* (cat. 28), the landscape background (which includes a diminutive depiction of the meeting of Saints Francis and Dominic at the right) was inspired by Netherlandish painting; important examples were to be found in Florence and were avidly studied by—among others—Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael. The shadowed, contemplative visage of the elderly Joseph at the left reflects the painter's response to the art of Leonardo, recalling some of the witnesses to the Epiphany in the latter's unfinished but vastly influential *Adoration of the Magi* painted for San Donato a Scopeto in Florence (now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)—a work of singularly enduring importance in shaping Raphael's style, beginning in his Florentine period.

#### DRAWINGS

30. *Madonna and Child, with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Two Putti*. Late 1490s.  
Pen and brown ink, with touches of brown wash, heightened with white (partially oxidized), over traces of black chalk,  
 $7\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{16}$  in. (187 × 163 mm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.271)

In this characteristic example of his draftsmanship, Fra Bartolommeo employed a dense network of hatched and cross-hatched lines to describe the deep folds of the Madonna's expansive draperies and the modulated interplay of light and shadow. The evident interest in describing weight and volume seen here also informs his painted figures. Affinities of both style and subject matter among this sheet and some other drawings by the artist, as well as with various paintings by Fra Bartolommeo and his associate Mariotto Albertinelli, have been observed, but the present drawing does not appear to be a preparatory study for a documented commission or for a known work.

Raphael keenly responded to the art of Fra Bartolommeo upon arriving in Florence. The subtly modeled physiognomies and weighty, ponderous draperies of the male saints in the Sant' Antonio di Padova altarpiece are among his earliest attempts to absorb the lessons of that mas-



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ter's art. Fra Bartolommeo's portrayals of the Madonna and Child were particularly important models for Raphael, who strove to achieve an intensified bond of physical and psychological intimacy among the sacred figures in his own treatments of that devotional subject.

31. *The Approach to a Mountain Village, with Horsemen on the Road*. About 1507–8.  
Pen and brown ink, with traces of black chalk,  $11\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$  in. (295 × 206 mm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.270)

An album of forty-one pen-and-ink landscape drawings by Fra Bartolommeo,

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including this example, appeared on the art market in 1957. Some of these topographical views, which were largely executed before 1509, were produced outdoors, while others were worked up in the artist's studio (the landscape drawing by Perugino in the exhibition includes both types of sketches; see cat. 25, recto and verso). Many of the buildings transcribed by Fra Bartolommeo have been identified as Dominican establishments belonging to the monastery of San Marco in Florence, primarily *ospizi*, or hospices, outside the city walls, where travelers en route to or from San Marco were lodged. Although the artist seldom employed these sketches as models for the landscape backgrounds of his paintings, he did reiterate this particular topographical composition in a now-lost work, *The Rape of Pina* (known through a copy by the sixteenth-century Florentine painter Giuliano Bugiardini, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

As in Fra Bartolommeo's landscape drawings, the church and farmhouse depicted in Raphael's Sant' Antonio di Padova altarpiece and in the related preparatory study (fig. 21; cat. 18 verso and fig. 34) may well represent actual edifices that the artist observed in the Umbrian countryside. (This is unquestionably true in the case of his topographical view of Perugia, on the recto of the sheet, in which some of the buildings have been identified; fig. 34 and cat. 18 recto.) There is no doubt that Raphael's forays into the genre of landscape were in some measure inspired by Fra Bartolommeo: the buildings in the background of the *Disputa*, his first major undertaking in Rome (1509), are directly based on a landscape drawing by that much-admired Florentine painter.



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## LEONARDO DA VINCI

(1452–1519)

32. *Designs for a Nativity or Adoration of the Christ Child; Perspectival Projection.* 1480–85.

Metalpoint, partly reworked with pen and dark brown ink, the lines ruled with metalpoint, on pink prepared paper, 7 5/8 × 6 3/8 in. (194 × 162 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.142.1)

Of the legions of admirers of Leonardo's art, none was more assiduous in his devotion than Raphael, who found in the older painter's tonal modeling and chiaroscuro, dynamic and expressive figures, animated draperies, and complex compositions a pictorial ideal to be emulated. As he absorbed the tenets of that new artistic

idiom through sustained study of Leonardo's drawings, cartoons, and paintings, Raphael's style underwent a profound transformation in Florence.

This drawing is probably a study for a lost or unexecuted—as well as undocumented—painting by Leonardo, known through a number of contemporary copies. (The existence of these copies demonstrates just how influential Leonardo's composition was.) His abiding interest in descriptive light and shadow is evident in the use of brown ink to articulate the dark passages of the Virgin's draperies and the rounded rather than linear contours of the figures. As both a draftsman and a painter, Raphael absorbed these and a myriad of other lessons that Leonardo's art offered.

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## PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS

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Alinari / Art Resource, N.Y.: fig. 26, 53, 69

Eugenio Battista, *Piero della Francesca* (Milan: Editoriale Italiano, 1971), vol. 2, fig. 219: fig. 29

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Vittoria Garibaldi, *Piero della Francesca: Il polittico di Sant'Antonio* (Milan: Electa, 1993), pp. 61, 63: fig. 30, 31

Erich Lessing / Art Resource, N.Y.: fig. 6, 25, 57

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Philadelphia Museum of Art / Art Resource, N.Y.: fig. 28

Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, N.Y.: cat. 6, 8, 10

Eduard A. Safarik, *Italian Inventories 2: The Colonna Collection of Paintings, Inventories 1611–1795* (Munich, New Providence, London, and Paris: Provenance Index of the Getty Art History Program, 1996), fig. 1, 34: fig. 64, 65

Scala / Art Resource, N.Y.: fig. 3, 7, 15, 17, 18, 23, 27

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, *Christina, Queen of Sweden: A Personality in European Civilization* (exhib. cat., 1966): fig. 56

Studio Banet, Lyon: fig. 18



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