METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 52

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL 52

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 52

VOLUME 52 / 2017

THE MET

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NEW YORK

This publication is made possible by a gift from Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso, and Romano I. Peluso, in memory of Ignazio Peluso.

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager of Publications
Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager
Michael Sittenfeld, Senior Managing Editor
Edited by Elizabeth L. Block
Production by Lauren Knighton
Designed and typeset by Tina Henderson, based on original design by Lucinda Hitchcock
Image acquisitions by Josephine Rodriguez-Massop

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be sent to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org. Guidelines for contributors are given on p. 6.

Published in association with the University of Chicago Press. Individual and institutional subscriptions are available worldwide. Please direct all subscription inquiries, back issue requests, and address changes to: University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637-0005, USA. Phone: (877) 705-1878 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-3347 (international), fax: (877) 705-1879 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-0811 (international), email: subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu, website: www.journals.uchicago.edu

ISBN 978-0-226-53684-2
(University of Chicago Press)
ISSN 0077-8958 (print)
ISSN 2169-3072 (online)

Library of Congress
Catalog Card Number 68-28799

Typefaces: Calibre, Lyon, and Harriet
Printed on Creator Silk, 150 gsm
Separations by Altaimage New York
Printed and bound by Puritan Capital, Hollis, New Hampshire

Front and back cover illustration: Horace Pippin (American, 1888–1946). Detail of *The Lady of the Lake*, ca. 1936–39. See fig. 2, p. 97.

Illustration on p. 2: Paolo Veronese (Italian, 1528–1588). Detail of *Alessandro Vittoria*, ca. 1575. See fig. 1, p. 116.

Contents

MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM **JOURNAL**

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works of art in the Museum's collection. Authors include members of the Museum staff and other art historians, conservators, scientists, and specialists.

The *Journal* publishes **Articles** and **Research Notes**. **Articles** contribute extensive and thoroughly argued scholarship. **Research Notes** typically present a concise, neatly bounded aspect of ongoing research, such as the presentation of a new acquisition or attribution, or a specific, resonant finding from technical analysis. All texts must take works of art in the collection as the point of departure. Contributions are not limited in length, but authors are encouraged to exercise discretion with the word count and the number of figure illustrations. Submissions should be emailed to: journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments.

To be considered for the following year's volume, an article must be submitted, complete including illustrations, by October 15.

Once an article or research note is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. The honorarium for image costs is $300, and each author receives a copy of the printed *Journal*. The *Journal* appears online at metmuseum.org/art/metpublications; journals.uchicago.edu/toc/met/current; and on JStor.

Manuscripts should be submitted as double-spaced Word files. In addition to the text, the manuscript must include endnotes, captions for illustrations, photograph credits, and a 200-word abstract.

For the style of captions and bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures*, which is available from the Museum's Publications and Editorial Department upon request, and to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Please provide a list of all bibliographic citations that includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in notes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, pp. 7–10, fig. 23).

When submitting manuscripts, authors should include a separate file with all illustrations. Please do not embed images within the main text document. If the manuscript is accepted, the author is expected to provide publication-quality images as well as copyright permissions to reproduce them in both the print and electronic editions of the *Journal*. The *Journal* requires either color digital images of at least 300 dpi at 8 x 10 in. in size, color transparencies (preferably 8 x 10 in. but 4 x 6 in. is also acceptable), or photographic prints (preferably 8 x 10 in. with white borders) of good quality and in good condition. TIFF files are preferable to Jpegs, and RGB color mode is preferable to CMYK.

In a separate Word file, please indicate the figure number, the picture's orientation, and any instructions for cropping. Reproductions of photographs or other illustrations in books should be accompanied by captions that include full bibliographic information.

The author of each article is responsible for obtaining all photographic materials and reproduction rights.

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL 52

FURIO RINALDI

The Roman *Maniera*: Newly Identified Drawings

Notoriously labeled by Federico Zeri as “arte senza tempo” (art without time), the Roman artistic community of the late sixteenth century was later revealed by John A. Gere and Philip Pouncey to be a vital and experimental hub of activity for drawing in particular.[1] Transitional and contradictory, but nonetheless somewhat nostalgic, during the passage from Late Mannerism to Baroque, Rome flourished as an exciting center of development for drawing, mostly due to the varied backgrounds of the artists involved. A higher demand for rapidly executed large frescoes and the progressive failure of traditionally organized Renaissance workshops—based on Raphael’s method in the Vatican *Stanze*—forced personalities with diverse styles to join forces, resulting in a network of shared influences. In contrast to the somewhat superficial stylistic uniformity that the collaborations produced in painting, this dynamic melting pot

fig. 1 Here attributed to Pellegrino Tibaldi (Italian, 1527–1596). *Saint Peter*, ca. 1553. Black chalk, 16½ × 9⅜ in. (41.9 × 23.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 2005 (2005.473)

produced an extraordinary variety of styles and techniques in drawing, especially in comparison to Florence, where the local school of drawing was regulated by the rules of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, founded in 1563. Highlighting the mutual relationships and influences among artists working in Rome from the 1550s to the early decades of the seventeenth century, this article presents seven newly identified and attributed Roman drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Astonishing in their experimentation and diversity, several were created for prestigious commissions.

THE LEGACY OF DANIELE DA VOLTERRA: PELLEGRINO TIBALDI AND GIROLAMO MUZIANO

Two impressive, large sheets in the Metropolitan Museum (figs. 1, 3) provide critical visual evidence for the beginnings of two main protagonists in the Roman art world of the mid-1550s. Trained in the workshop of Daniele da Volterra (1509–1566), Michelangelo's protégé and last pupil in Rome, Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–1596) and Girolamo Muziano (1528–1592) played instrumental roles both in keeping Michelangelo's legacy alive—especially at a time when it was severely challenged following the infamous unveiling of the *Last Judgment* with its outrageously explicit nudes—and in spreading Daniele's stylized artistic language beyond the confines of Rome. The monumental study for a standing Saint Peter (fig. 1) entered the Museum with an attribution to Daniele himself but is instead to be assigned with confidence to the young Pellegrino Tibaldi and dated right after his collaboration with Daniele in the chapel of Lucrezia della Rovere at Trinità dei Monti (1548–49).[2] Tibaldi finely chiseled the figure on paper with highly polished black chalk, using a characteristic technique that he derived directly from Daniele and adopted shortly afterward in his monumental study for the standing Saint Elizabeth, frescoed by the artist in the Poggi Chapel, Bologna, about 1554 (fig. 2).[3] Comparable in size, both figures are rendered with the same tight crosshatching and share similar disproportions between the massive bodily presences and the small, pointy hands. The newly attributed sheet at the Metropolitan Museum can possibly be associated with Tibaldi's lost frescoes of Saints Peter and Paul executed by November 1553 (the date of the payments) in the Roman church of Sant'Andrea in Via Flaminia, and highly praised by Giorgio Vasari in 1568, who claimed to own a drawing for the figure of Saint Peter.[4]

fig. 2 Pellegrino Tibaldi. *Saint Elizabeth*, ca. 1554. Red chalk, 16⅛ × 11⅛ in. (41.1 × 28.2 cm). Watermark: "five stars in a circle"; close to Briquet 6098; annotated at upper right in pen and brown ink: "Pord[eno]ne." Private collection (courtesy Pandolfini Casa d'Aste, Florence)

The flowing pen-and-ink line of Perino del Vaga combined with Michelangelo's greatness and figural monumentality are the two main stylistic qualities of a large sheet depicting the Last Supper, in the Museum since 1880 with a traditional attribution to Girolamo Romanino (fig. 3).[5] The drawing can be identified instead as an important early work by the much younger Girolamo from Brescia, Muziano, who moved from his native Veneto to Rome during the early 1550s and soon became a key personality of late Roman Mannerism. The Metropolitan Museum's sheet is connected to a more typical, highly finished drawing by the artist on the same subject in the Louvre (fig. 4):[6] almost the same size, it was realized in Muziano's distinctive, polished red-chalk technique, derived from his admiration for the work of Daniele da Volterra. The drawing in the Metropolitan Museum clearly constitutes a preparatory step for the Louvre's *Last Supper*, as seen in its sketchier nature, the number of *pentimenti* and tentative outlines visible in its black-chalk underdrawing, and the presence in the center of the composition of the plate with viands, ultimately excluded in the design in red chalk. Possibly executed in preparation for a series of lost canvases depicting the Passion commissioned about 1561 from the artist by his major patron, Ippolito II d'Este, the sheet may also have been related, in view of its size and finish, to an unexecuted (or lost) composition

fig. 3 Here attributed to Girolamo Muziano (Italian, 1528–1592). *The Last Supper*, ca. 1555. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 14⅝ × 16⅛ in. (37.1 × 41 cm). Annotated at lower right in pen and ink: "1480–1560 Romanino da Brescia"; on the verso in graphite: "Romanino." The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.141)

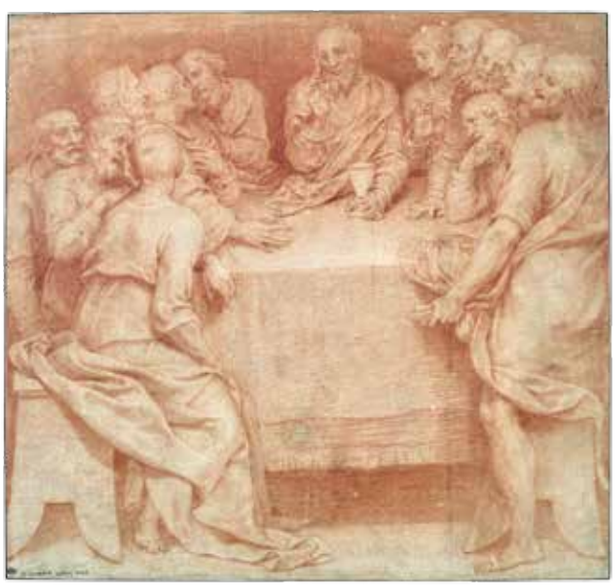


fig. 4 Girolamo Muziano. *The Last Supper*, ca. 1555. Red chalk, 13⅝ × 14⅝ in. (34.5 × 37 cm). Annotated in pen and brown ink at lower left: "Hieronemo Muciano." Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (5097)

meant to be engraved by the artist's longtime partner Cornelis Cort. In 1568, Cort produced a similar print of a Last Supper on the basis of a drawing by Muziano.[7]

The unusual technique adopted in the Metropolitan Museum's sheet suggests an earlier dating, which seems further confirmed by the sketches on its laid-down verso, visible only in transmitted light. The main figure on the verso, a seated figure with right arm raised, closely resembles an early idea for the allegory of Spring, frescoed by the young Muziano on the ceiling of the Salone della Caminata in the palazzo of Girolamo Simoncelli in Torre San Severo, Orvieto. This decoration was taken on by the artist in 1558–59 and ultimately completed by his pupil Cesare Nebbia in 1570–73.[8]

The Metropolitan Museum's sheet opens a new chapter on Muziano's stylistic spectrum and early Roman influences. At his arrival in Rome in the early

1550s, he was attracted to the refined draftsmanship of Daniele da Volterra, and it was within Daniele's Roman workshop that the artist probably found his initial training, as argued by Patrizia Tosini, who detected Muziano's presence in the frescoes of the Stanza di Cleopatra at the Vatican.[9] The sculptural quality of Muziano's numerous highly finished chalk drawings has somewhat hampered a full understanding of the artist's wider graphic abilities. During his career, Muziano would progressively enhance his *michelangiolismo* by reinforcing the plastic quality of his drawing (ultimately becoming a favorite of Tommaso de' Cavalieri, Michelangelo's beloved Roman nobleman), but the Metropolitan Museum's sheet still attests his early Roman influences. It shows Muziano's proximity to the sketchier, more dynamic draftsmanship of his peer Taddeo Zuccaro, a rising star in Rome during the early 1550s and the principal exponent of vibrant, almost "electric," techniques in pen and ink. The friendship and mutual influences between the two artists was recorded as early as 1648 by author, painter, and collector Carlo Ridolfi (1594–1658) and reiterated in modern scholarship with particular emphasis on their graphic work, by John A. Gere and John Marciari, who both suggested a joint collaboration between Zuccaro and Muziano on the frescoes of Santa Caterina della Rota (ca. 1552–53).[10] Muziano's early double-sided sheet in the Rijksmuseum, made for one of the prophets frescoed on the lunette at Santa Caterina, provides the closest stylistic comparison for the Metropolitan Museum's drawing, similarly rendered in bold, flowing pen and brown ink, and brown wash over black chalk.[11]

fig. 5 Here attributed to Marco Pino (Italian, 1521–1583). Study for a Virgin in the *Assumption*, 1570–71. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, squared in black chalk, 8½ × 6¾ in. (21.6 × 17 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.142)

fig. 6 Marco Pino. *Christ in Pietà with the Virgin and Two Angels*, 1568–71. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash over black chalk, 9¼ × 5½ in. (23.4 × 14 cm). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (22)

MARCO PINO

Much like Muziano and Tibaldi, Marco Pino (1521–1583) was reared in the Roman workshop of Daniele da Volterra, but due to his early training with Perino del Vaga, Pino developed in Rome a far more layered and eclectic drawing style that reflects his restless travels between Siena, Rome, and Naples. Daniele's *Assumption of the Virgin*, frescoed with the help of Pino and Pellegrino Tibaldi in the Della Rovere chapel at Trinità dei Monti (1547–51), appears to be the main figural reference point for a hitherto unattributed drawing of a seated Virgin for an *Assumption* (fig. 5). The sheet's style, technique, and figure closely resemble a

fig. 7 Here attributed to Raffaellino Motta da Reggio (Italian, 1550–1578). *Christ and the Magdalen at the Home of Simon the Pharisee*, 1575–77. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 8 × 9¾ in. (20.4 × 24.8 cm). Mark: unidentified collector's mark. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.421)

pen-and-ink study for the *Pietà* in the Louvre (fig. 6), executed by Pino about 1568–71 for a canvas in Santa Maria in Aracoeli.[12] Datable about the same years, 1570–71, the Metropolitan Museum's study for the *Assumption* records Pino's mature drawing style at the time of his involvement in the decoration of the Oratorio del Gonfalone, in harmony with the dynamic and luminous techniques developed there by Federico Zuccaro and Raffaellino da Reggio. Although the design cannot be linked precisely to any of Pino's finished productions, the drawing possibly records an early idea for his *Assumption of the Virgin*, a late work executed in Naples for the church of Santi Severino e Sossio directly after his departure from Rome in 1571.[13]

RAFFAELLINO DA REGGIO

During his almost meteoric presence in the city, limited to less than ten years, Raffaellino Motta da Reggio (1550–1578) occupied a primary position on the Roman scene. He was active with Marco Pino on the frescoes of the Oratorio del Gonfalone (ca. 1570–73), the iridescent temple of late Roman Mannerism, and equally influenced by the draftsmanship of Taddeo Zuccaro, for which Gere has rightly considered him that artist's true heir, even more than Zuccaro's brother Federico. During the papacy of Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–85), who promoted and attracted artists from his native region of Emilia and Romagna, Raffaellino's highly individual, luminous draftsmanship was equally motivated by the quirky manner of his first local master, Lelio Orsi, and the elegance of Taddeo, relying mostly on a strongly pictorial use of brush and washes, over freely executed black- or red-chalk underdrawings.

A sheet in the Metropolitan Museum is an important addition to Raffaellino's limited catalogue of preparatory drawings (fig. 7).[14] The drawing entered the Museum in 1880 as "school of Tintoretto," and was subsequently filed as "anonymous seventeenth century." It is in fact a gleaming brush *modello* for the scene of Christ at the home of Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7:36–50) frescoed by Raffaellino on the vault of the tenth bay in the second-floor Loggia of Gregory XIII between

fig. 8 Raffaellino Motta da Reggio. *Christ and the Magdalen at the Home of Simon the Pharisee*, 1575–77. Fresco. Vatican City, Vatican Palace, Gregorian Logge

October 1575 and September 1577 (fig. 8).[15] The style and function of the sheet match other highly finished drawings produced by Raffaellino for the same endeavor at the Vatican, including studies for *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* and the *Washing of the Apostles' Feet*, frescoed on the same vault of the Loggia.[16] Despite some stiffness in execution and an apparent uniformity with the composition of the final fresco, the drawing exhibits several *pentimenti* in the black chalk outlines and differences in scale and positions from the figures in the background of the scene. Overall, the composition reflects the state of the fresco, but should not be considered a copy. As the frescoes in the Gregorian Loggia were the result of a joint effort of several artists employed in the workshop of Lorenzo Sabatini (ca. 1530–1576), Raffaellino was obliged to define his compositions on paper with a painstaking degree of finish (he often produced several copies of the same scenes), in case the painting was ultimately assigned to another artist in Sabatini's entourage.[17] Raffaellino's distinctive pictorial style, praised by artist-authors Giovanni Baglione (1566–1643) and Karel van Mander (1548–1606), who visited Rome at the height of the artist's activity and fame, is fully expressed in this drawing. He conveys lighting through a masterly *chiaroscuro* brush technique that infuses a liquid quality into the composition.[18]

TWO DRAWINGS BY GIOVANNI GUERRA

Similarly related to an early decorative stage of the Gregorian Logge, a monumental design (fig. 9) for an ornamental architectural ceiling compartment was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum's curator Jacob Bean in 1971 with an attribution to Giovanni Alberti. The reattribution here suggests that the drawing is instead an important missing link to the first Roman activity of the Modenese artist Giovanni Guerra (1544–1618).[19] Finely drawn in pen, ink, and wash on the recto, and quickly sketched on the verso with a crude architectural rendering of a floor plan, this hitherto unpublished sheet relates in style to Guerra's fragmentary designs pasted about 1690 on two leafs of Sebastiano Resta's (1635–1714) book of ornamental drawings, the *Libro d'Arabeschi*. Still preserved in its original seventeenth-century binding at the Biblioteca Comunale of Palermo, these fragments were attributed by Resta to Federico Zuccaro but astutely recognized by Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò as Guerra's proposals for the architectural compartments of the Gregorian Logge.[20] The fragments in Palermo feature ornamental projects with allegories of the Church, Religion, and—most importantly—the Boncompagni papal arms of Gregory XIII (a dragon). Comparable techniques, facial types, and recurring decorative motifs appear on the sheets in Palermo and New York. The putti playfully clutch the volutes under the pendentives, while the female figure with a globe (an allegory of Faith?) in a niche at the bottom left of the Metropolitan Museum's sheet finds her sisters in the female allegories in Palermo.

Although undocumented and unrecorded by early sources, Guerra's involvement in the Logge was very likely promoted once again by Lorenzo Sabatini, his father-in-law and headmaster of the Vatican decorative tasks under Pope Gregory XIII. Guerra's effervescent decorative idea for the Logge was, however, ultimately not translated into paint: when Sabatini died in 1576, Guerra lost his powerful mentor and the commission was ultimately assigned to Marco Marchetti da Faenza, who completed the ornaments in 1577.[21] Nevertheless, the sheet in the Metropolitan Museum clearly records Guerra's ambition as a designer and his strong ability in elaborating trompe l'oeil. He invented quite early a taste for architectural illusionistic complexity that would flourish in the Vatican only decades later, especially in the work of the brothers Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti in the Sala Clementina. Especially innovative—and repeatedly inserted by Guerra on the sheets in Palermo and the Metropolitan Museum—is the motif of foreshortened blustered *oculi* with flying putti that will appear in the artist's later decoration of the dome of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni (1589–90). His architectural insets would soon be copied by

fig. 9 Here attributed to Giovanni Guerra (Italian, 1544–1618). *Design for Ceiling Compartment with Allegory of Faith(?)*, ca. 1575. Pen and brown ink, brush with brown and gray wash, ruling and compass work, over traces of black chalk, 21 × 15¼ in. (53.2 × 38.9 cm). Watermark: "crescent." The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1971 (1971.513.44)

Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, becoming one of their most quoted decorative trademarks, appearing, for example, in the frescoes in the Old Sacristy of San Giovanni in Laterano (about 1600).[22]

Unlike the fragments pasted on Resta's codex in Palermo, the Metropolitan Museum's drawing is fully preserved in its original size (possibly a *mezzano* format). In this respect, it is worth noting that Sebastiano Resta himself specified at the bottom of folio 74 of the Palermo codex that "The best preserved portions of these ornaments are placed in the third volume of the *Pittori per serie*" (*Le portioni più sane di questi ornamenti stanno collocate nel terzo tomo delli Pittori per serie*), a reference to fully preserved designs that he kept in his book of drawings titled *Serie dei pittori*. Sold by Resta to Matteo Marchetti, bishop of Arezzo, the book was eventually dismembered and sold in England with Lord Somers's collection in 1717.[23]

After these bumpy beginnings, Guerra's Roman career flourished under the brief tenure of

fig. 10 Attributed to Giovanni Guerra. *Vestal Virgin*, ca. 1585–90. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, 7 × 4½ in. (17.8 × 11.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.122)

Felice Peretti Montalto, Pope Sixtus V, between 1585 and 1590, when he was charged with countless decorative and architectural renovations in the city. Datable to this period is a far more recognizable sheet easily attributable to Guerra (fig. 10), drawn with his later and typically vibrant pen-and-ink technique, and a highlight in his relationship with his major patron.[24] The sheet reproduces rather faithfully a celebrated Roman sculpture after a Greek prototype of the third century B.C. known as the *Old Drunkard* or *Drunken Crone*, depicting a seated, draped aged woman, possibly making a votive offering of a wine jar to the god Dionysus. Only two copies of this extraordinary sculpture survive: one in the Glyptothek in Munich, and the other in the Capitoline Museums in Rome.[25] Although the Capitoline version was unearthed during the renovation of the Basilica of Sant'Agnese in Via Nomentana in 1620, thus only after Guerra's death in 1618, the version in Munich was preserved in the second floor of Villa Peretti Montalto, the Roman residence of the future pope Sixtus V, where Guerra would have seen it.[26]

It was possibly conceived as an allegorical emblem, or an iconographic idea for a decorative element, but Guerra transformed the original antique source, adding the statue's missing right arm and shaping the wine jar into a flaming urn. Following a recurring practice in his graphic work, Guerra annotated in pen and ink an inscription in capital letters that reads "Amate virg. [ines] vestal inveterate in sacris obsequis . . ." (beloved aged vestal virgins in the sacred service [. . .]), thus clarifying the subject as an aged Vestal Virgin. Unfortunately, the figure does not seem to appear in Guerra's collection of emblems dedicated to Sixtus V (*Varii emblemi hieroglifici*, published in Rome in 1589), nor in other figural inventions that he developed in his frescoes at the Palazzetto Cenci or at Villa Peretti Montalto, Rome, where similarly seated allegorical female figures are also featured.[27]

FAMILY THREADS

An ornamental design (fig. 11) formerly catalogued as a work by Andrea Lilio provides solid groundwork for reestablishing the personality of Elisabetta Catanea Parasole (ca. 1580–1617), the celebrated designer of textile pattern books and needlework manuals, and her connections with artists from the workshop of Giuseppe Cesari, called Cavaliere d'Arpino (ca. 1568–1640), namely her husband, the painter Rosato Parasole (doc. 1592–1622), and her nephew Bernardino Parasole (1594–?before 1642).[28]

Vividly drawn with pen and brown ink, with washes and white gouache over black and red chalks, the sheet is incised for transfer with a stylus over the contours of its right half. It is the preparatory drawing for the engraved frontispiece of Elisabetta Parasole's most accomplished and celebrated work, the textile pattern book *Teatro delle nobili et virtuose donne (Theater of the Noble and Virtuous Women)*, published by Mauritio Bona in Rome in 1616 (fig. 12).[29] Marking a crucial turning point in the affirmation of women in the histories of design and printmaking, Elisabetta Parasole's *Teatro* is the reedition of her overwhelmingly successful textile book of 1610, *Fiore d'ogni virtù per le nobili et honeste matrone* (*Flower of Virtues for Noble and Honest Women*, published in Rome by Antonio Facchetti) and includes twelve additional plates of textile and lace patterns for needlework and a new frontispiece. The *Teatro*'s fame was recorded by the biographer Giovanni Baglione, who mentioned its newly added frontispiece in his *Le vite de'pittori, scultori et architetti* (1642) with an attribution to the engraver Francesco Villamena.[30]

Measuring almost the same size as the engraving, the Metropolitan Museum's sheet is evidently an early idea for the title page, apart from some differences in

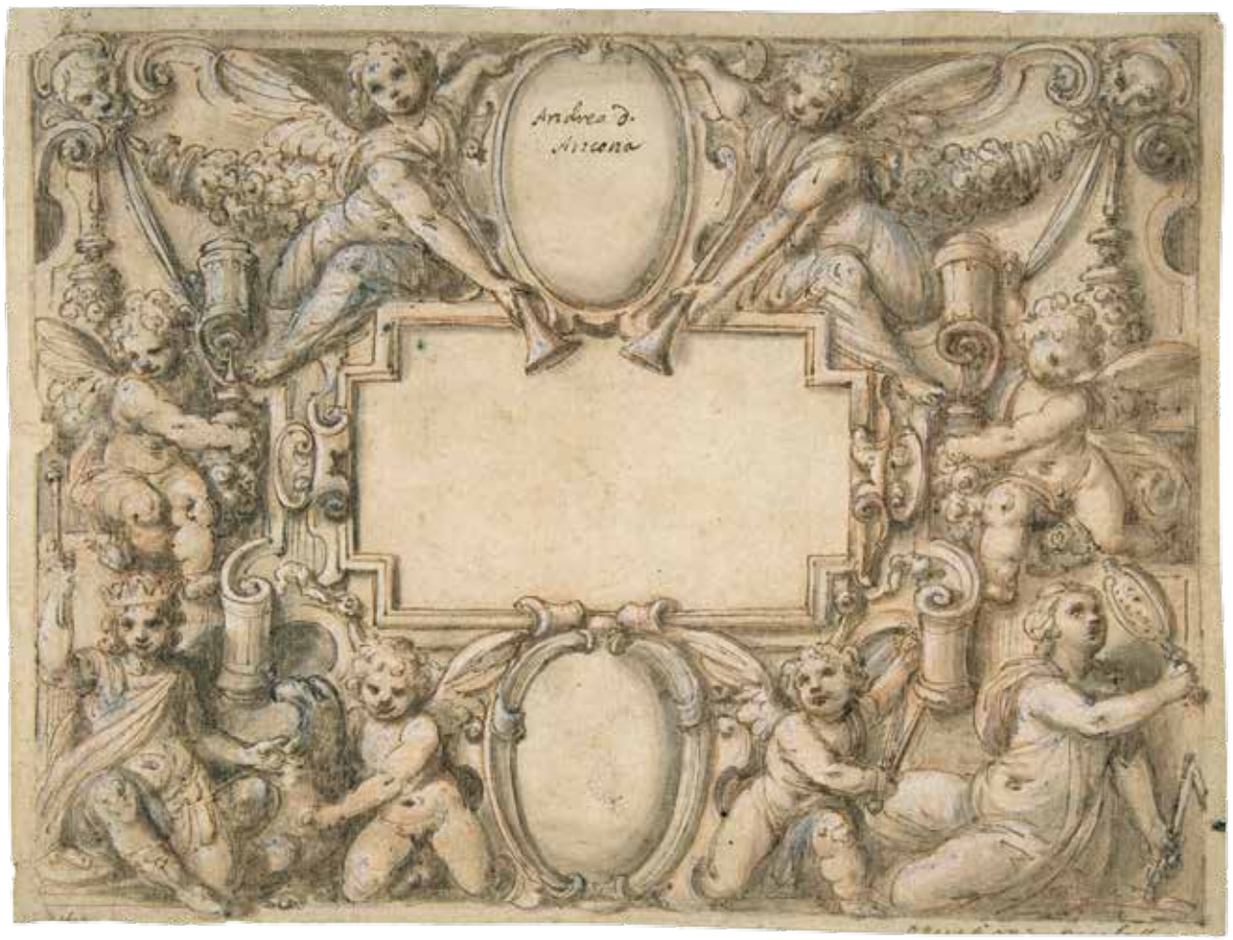


fig. 11 Here attributed to Rosato Parasole (Italian, doc. 1592–1622) or Bernardino Parasole (Italian, 1594–?before 1642). *Design for a Frontispiece with Allegories of Intelletto and Operatione Perfetta*, ca. 1616. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, white gouache over black and red chalk, contours incised with a stylus over the right half of the sheet, sheet 7⅛ × 9¼ in. (18.1 × 23.6 cm), drawing 6⅞ × 9 in. (17.5 × 23 cm). Annotated in pen and brown ink in the upper medallion: "Andrea d'/ Ancona," and illegible note at lower right: [Cherubino Alberti]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1970 (1970.113.4)

fig. 12 Francesco Villamena (Italian, 1564–1624). Engraved title page for Elisabetta Catanea Parasole (Italian, ca. 1580–1617), *Teatro delle nobili et virtuose donne*. Published by Mauritio Bona, Rome, 1616. Engraving, 7½ × 9⅞ in. (19 × 25 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.51[1])

the final print. Following a common practice in frontispiece designs, the drawing leaves the two medallions blank, thus without the portrait of the Princess of France and Spain, Elisabetta of Bourbon (1602–1644) (to whom the book is dedicated), and her coat of arms. Furthermore, the sheet presents two allegorical figures at the lower corners that will be later discarded from the final design and replaced by emblems of two crossed flaming trunks. The allegorical figures find matches in Cesare Ripa's allegories illustrated in his *Iconologia*: at left is the emblem of *Intelletto* (Intellect), a crowned young man holding a scepter and accompanied by an eagle, while *Operatione Perfetta* (Perfect Operation, or Better Realization) is embodied at right by a reclining young woman holding a mirror and a square.[31] Although virtuosity, precision, and patience are required in needlework, the two allegories were ultimately eliminated from the final engraving in order to give due prominence to the portrait of Elisabetta of Bourbon.

With regard to the drawing's attribution, its style and technique embody the qualities of a draftsman belonging to the workshop of Giuseppe Cesari, Cavaliere d'Arpino, as demonstrated by the recognizable and expressive facial features, the compressed anatomies, and the dynamic flow of pen and ink. As the husband of Elisabetta (to whom he was engaged in 1593) and a prominent assistant in Arpino's Roman workshop, Rosato Parasole could be the author responsible for it. Virtually unknown as a draftsman, Rosato Parasole is well documented in Saint Peter's between 1601 and 1611 as an artist from Arpino's entourage who was active on the basilica's celebrated mosaics in its dome and drum.[32]

As a possible alternative, the name of Bernardino Parasole (1594–?before 1642) may be offered. The nephew of Elisabetta and Rosato and—most importantly—the son of the Roman printmakers Girolama (Geronima) Cagnaccia and Leonardo Norcino Parasole, Bernardino was also well acquainted with printmaking and design processes, and like his uncle joined the workshop of the Cavaliere d'Arpino at a young age, as later recorded by Baglione.[33] Stylistically devoted to the pictorial manner of his master, Bernardino Parasole's securely attributed works, such as two painted ovals with Angels in Glory now in the Capodimonte, Naples—paid for in May 1623 by the abbot of Montecassino, Don Pietro da Verona—show a series of flying putti that are strikingly close to those drawn on the cartouche of the sheet.[34] As a talented son of two celebrated printmakers, Bernardino Parasole could well have been involved in the design process of the frontispiece of his aunt's *Teatro*.

If indeed the drawing is by either Rosato or Bernardino Parasole, many other drawings may now be attributed to the hands of the recognizable draftsmen. A dynamic bacchanal with a reclining Silenus in Columbus, Ohio,[35] certainly belongs to the same hand, while other drawings by the Parasoles may appear among a corpus recently attributed to another member of Arpino's circle, Cesare Rossetti (ca. 1560–1644).[36]

Throughout his career, the Cavaliere d'Arpino was significantly involved in printmaking and produced designs for title pages, celebratory prints, and reproductive engravings after his paintings and drawings. He used the help of engravers based in Rome such as Raffaele Guidi, Philippe Thomassin, Johann Fredrich Greuter, and Francesco Villamena.[37] Villamena, according to Baglione, was the engraver of the *Teatro* frontispiece. Based on the Metropolitan Museum's newly attributed sheet, this activity can now be extended to other members of the Cavaliere's workshop. The Cavaliere, the last proponent of the stylistic language that derived from Raphael and Michelangelo and was echoed by Perino del Vaga, Daniele da Volterra, and Girolamo Muziano, embodied in his drawings the contradictions of a transitional period that we have outlined here through some of its key personalities. With a career spanning more than six decades, Arpino played a critical role in keeping the legacy of Renaissance drawing alive in Rome. He outlived by many years Annibale Carracci, whose radical naturalism set new standards. His own draftsmanship, stylish and nostalgic, sounded a swan song that could not survive the clarion call with which Caravaggism would challenge traditional design practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Carmen Bambach, James David Draper, Marco Simone Bolzoni, George Goldner, John Marciari, Nadine M. Orenstein, Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Femke Speelberg, Patrizia Tosini, and Mark P. McDonald.

FURIO RINALDI

Associate Specialist, Old Master Drawings, Christie's, New York

NOTES

1 Zeri 1957; Gere 1971; Gere and Pouncey 1983.

2 See the entry by Carmen C. Bambach (2007) on metmuseum.org /collection (as Daniele da Volterra).

3 See Roli 1987, pp. 34–36, ill., and Pandolfini Casa d'Aste 2014, pp. 154–58, lot 26. I thank Antonio Berni for providing me with a photograph of the drawing.

4 Tibaldi was paid for the frescoes at Sant'Andrea on November 25, 1553 ("Reg. Edifici Pubblici 1552–55," year 1553, fol. 25, Archivio di Stato, Rome). See Briganti 1945, pp. 70, 74, 107. Vasari's claim for owning a study by Tibaldi for the Saint Peter is recorded in his 1568 edition of the *Vite*: "fece un San Pietro e un Santo Paolo, che furono due molto lodate figure; il disegno di quel San Pietro è nel nostro libro" ("he painted Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which were two figures much praised; the drawing for the Saint Peter is in our book [Vasari's *Libro de' Disegni*]"); see Vasari [1568] 1966–87, vol. 6, p. 148. Two studies for Saints Peter and Paul—the latter, possibly the same one owned by Vasari—were in possession of Sebastiano Resta in 1684 (Agosti, Grisolia, and Pizzoni 2016, p. 87).

5 An undated attribution to "copy after Taddeo Zuccaro" was annotated by curator Jacob Bean on the mount.

6 See Tosini 2008, pp. 156, 159, fig. 142.

7 On Muziano's commissions for Ippolito II d'Este and his *Last Supper* engraved by Cornelis Cort, see ibid., pp. 156–57, 166, fig. 150.

8 On the Palazzo Simoncelli, see ibid., pp. 340–43, no. A9.

9 On Daniele da Volterra and Muziano, see ibid., pp. 48, 321, 481, and Rinaldi 2016, pp. 71–74.

10 Ridolfi 1648, part 1, p. 265; Gere 1966, pp. 417–18; Marciari 2002, pp. 113–17.

11 Rijksprentenkabinett, Amsterdam, RP-T-1949-445 verso; see Marciari 2002, pp. 117–19, fig. 7, and Tosini 2008, pp. 324–25, fig. 3a. John Marciari pointed out this drawing and verified my attribution to Muziano of the Metropolitan Museum's sheet on a visit to the Museum in March 2016.

12 See Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 102, no. 120, ill., and Zezza 2003, p. 319, no. C.32, ill. On the panel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, see ibid., p. 279, no. A.71, ill.

13 On the painting, see Zezza 2003, p. 272, no. A.52, ill.

14 The artist's catalogue of drawings was recently discussed by Marco Simone Bolzoni (2016).

15 The attribution to Raffaellino of this scene in the Loggia dates back to Giovanni Baglione's *Vita* of the artist (1642, p. 26).

16 For an overview of the artist's drawings for the Logge, see Marciari 2006 and Bolzoni 2016, pp. 156–60, 187–88, 192, 194–95, figs. 14–16, 19–21, nos. A14, A19, A39, A40, A50, and A51 (the latter in my view is not autograph).

17 In conversation (July 2016), George R. Goldner agreed to an attribution to the artist, whereas both Marco Simone Bolzoni and Carmen C. Bambach consider the drawing to be a copy from the workshop of Raffaellino. He may have been assisted by his own collaborators during the decoration of the Logge. Raffaellino's common practice of replicating his own drawn *modelli* is discussed by Bolzoni (2016, pp. 158, 161). At least another sheet connected to the same scene in the loggia is known: Teylers Museum, Haarlem (D 43; Pen and brown ink, brush and gray-brown wash, white gouache, 9⅞ × 11⅞ in. [25 × 30.3 cm]); see Van Tuyll van Serooskeren 2000, p. 291, no. 276, ill., and Bolzoni 2016, p. 158. A second version is said to be in the J. F. Willumsens Museum, Frederikssund, as indicated by Chris Fischer on an undated note in the department's files. Unfortunately, I was not able to locate the drawing (I thank Lisbeth Lund, curator at the J. F. Willumsens Museum, for help with the search).

18 Baglione 1642, p. 26; Van Mander 1604, fol. 193v; and Bolzoni 2016, pp. 147, 201.

19 Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò confirmed the attribution of the sheet to Guerra in 2014.

20 Giovanni Guerra. *Fragmentary Designs with Ornamental Architectural Ceiling Compartment with Allegory Church, Religion and Boncompagni Papal Arms*, ca. 1575, assembled by Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714), ca. 1690. Pen and brown ink, washes, over black chalk, 13¾ × 16⅛ in. (35 × 41 cm). Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo, *Libro d'Arabeschi* (fol. 74). Folio 74 is annotated by Resta: "frammenti dell'Ornato in più modi disegnato / da federigo Zuccaro per la Cappella Paolina sotto GreG[ori]o XI[II] / Il Baglione li attribuisce à federigo Zuccaro, ma à me paiono di Lorenzo Sabbatini da Bologna / In ogni modo bisogna credere più al Baglione per essere / stato quello che fù, e per essere stato quasi di quel tempo / Le portioni più sane di questi ornamenti stanno collocate nel terzo Tomo delli Pittori per serie" ("fragments of Ornaments drawn in different ways / by Federico Zuccaro for the Pauline Chapel under Gregory XI[II] / Baglione attributed them to Federico Zuccaro, but it seems to me that they are by Lorenzo Sabatini from Bologna / In any case we should trust Baglione because / he was who he was, and he was there at the time / The best preserved [most intact] portions of these ornaments are placed [pasted] in the third volume of the *Pittori per serie*"). See Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 2007, pp. 146–49, nos. 74, 76.

21 On Guerra, Sabatini, and the development of the decoration in the Gregorian logge, see Parma Armani 1978, p. 22; Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 2000; Pierguidi 2002, p. 446n52; and Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 2007, pp. 146–47.

22 On Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, see Pierguidi 2002, p. 439, figs. 9, 10.

23 On the fate of Sebastiano Resta's books of drawings, see Warwick 2000. That the Metropolitan Museum's sheet was likely part of this book is further attested by the fact that similar designs ascribed to Federico Zuccaro are described by Resta in the annotated description of *Serie dei pittori* under the numbers 55, 58–63, in Lansdowne MS 802, Book L, British Library, London.

24 A tentative attribution to Giovanni Guerra was suggested by Mary Vaccaro on July 22, 2008, in a note on the mount.

25 On the two versions of the *Old Drunkard* in Rome (Musei Capitolini, 299) and Munich (Glyptothek, 473) see Dimartino 2008.

26 The Munich version is recorded on the second floor of Villa Peretti Montalto in 1655 but may have been acquired by Felice Peretti much earlier, by the late 1580s (the villa was built from 1586). On the sculpture's early provenance, see Rausa 2005, pp. 107–8, and Dimartino 2008, pp. 67, 77nn7–8.

27 On the frescoes in Palazzetto Cenci, Rome (1583), see Bevilacqua 1985; on those at Villa Peretti Montalto, see Tosini 2015, pp. 41–45.

28 The sheet was published by Jacob Bean and Lawrence Turčić (1982, p. 125, no. 116) as by Andrea Lilio, and by Luciano Arcangeli (1985, p. 91) as not by Andrea Lilio.

29 Parasole 1616. See Speelberg 2015, pp. 44–46, figs. 54–56. A full version with forty-five woodcut designs is in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome (Rari 700); see Cavarra 1998, pp. 177–78, no. 14, ill.

30 Baglione 1642, pp. 394–95: "Isabella Parasoli Romana fu moglie di Lionardo, e fece di sua inventione un Libro intagliato con diverse forme di merletti, & altri lavori per le Dame, con il Fronstispitio da Francesco Villamena operato" ("Isabella Parasole from Rome was the wife of Leonardo, and designed from her own invention a Book engraved with various shapes of laces, and other works for Women, with a frontispiece produced by Francesco Villamena"). Most of the literature on Elisabetta Parasole and her work (see note 29 above) is tainted by Baglione's information that she was married to Leonardo Parasole, not Rosato. Baglione's misleading information derives from the identification of Elisabetta with the female engraver Girolama (Geronima) Parasole Cagnacci (ca. 1567–1622), wife of Rosato's brother Leonardo Norcino Parasole (1542 or 1552–1612) and mother of the painter Bernardino Parasole, who like his uncle was active in the Roman workshop of Cristoforo Roncalli and Cavaliere d'Arpino. See Pupillo 2009, pp. 845–49; Vodret 2011, p. 494, no. 1984; Mancino 2015b; and Fara 2016, pp. 71–73.

31 Ripa 1603, p. 238: "Intelletto. Giovanetto ardito, vestito d'oro, in capo terrà una corona medesimamente di oro [. . .] nella destra mano terrà uno scettro, e con la sinistra mostrerà un'aquila, che gli sia vicina"; and p. 369: "Operatione perfetta. DONNA che tiene con la destra mano uno specchio, & con la sinistra uno squdro, & un compasso." ("Intellect. Young bold man, dressed in gold, crowned with golden laurel [. . .] in his right hand holds a scepter, with his left [hand] is showing an eagle, very close to him; Perfect operation: WOMAN holding a mirror with her right hand, and with the left [hand] a square and a compass.")

32 Born in Visso (Marcerata), Rosato Parasole was active in the workshop of Cesari at Saint Peter's where, on the basis of the master's cartoons, he painted the lunette with the Virgin Mary in the Clementine chapel (1601) and the dome of the crossing (1608–11). For documents, see DiFederico 1983, pp. 65–66, 68. Further biographical information on Rosato can be found in Vodret 2011, pp. 38, 116, 130, 137, 149, 155, 494, no. 1984: Elisabetta and Rosato's son Cristoforo was born in 1600 and named after his godfather, the painter Cristoforo Roncalli, known as Pomarancio. After Elisabetta's death on May 12, 1617, Rosato married the widow Clarice Cortellacci in Rome on July 29, 1618.

33 Baglione 1642, p. 395. See Pupillo 2009 and Mancino 2015a.

34 Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (788 and 790). Oil on panel, each 10⅞ × 15⅞ in. (27.5 × 40.3 cm). On the paintings and related documents, see Röttgen 1973, p. 135, no. 55, ill.

35 *Bacchanal* (recto); *Saint John the Baptist* (verso). Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, white gouache, over black chalk, on rose tinted paper (recto); red and black chalk (verso), 7 × 5¾ in. (17.8 × 14.6 cm). Columbus Museum of Art, Gift of Frederick W. Schumacher (34.051). See Olszewski 2008, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 305 (as attributed to Giulio Romano).

36 The group of drawings attributed to Cesare Rossetti recently published in Bolzoni 2013 seems stylistically inconsistent. In my opinion at least two different personalities can be isolated from this group, one being Bernardino or Leonardo Parasole.

37 For prints after designs by Giuseppe Cesari, see Röttgen 2002, pp. 510–21, nos. I–XIV.

REFERENCES

Agosti, Barbara, Francesco Grisolia, and Maria Rosa Pizzoni, eds.
2016 *Le postille di Padre Resta alle vite del Baglione*. Milan: Officina Libraria.

Arcangeli, Luciano, ed.
1985 *Andrea Lilli nella pittura delle Marche tra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Exh. cat., Pinacoteca Civica Francesco Podesti, Ancona. Rome: Multigrafica.

Baglione, Giovanni
1642 *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti; dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572, in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*. Rome: Nella Stamperia d'Andrea Fei.

Bean, Jacob, and Lawrence Turčić
1982 *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: MMA.

Bevilacqua, Mario
1985 "Palazzetto Cenci a Roma: Un'aggiunta per Martino Longhi il Vecchio e un contributo per Giovanni Guerra pittore." *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 6, 70, no. 31–32, pp. 157–87.

Bolzoni, Marco Simone
2013 "Cesare Rossetti, 'amico' del Cavalier d'Arpino: Un nuovo dipinto e alcune note sull'opera grafica." *Storia dell'arte* 136, no. 36, pp. 46–64.
2016 "The Drawings of Raffaellino Motta da Reggio." *Master Drawings* 54, no. 2, pp. 147–204.

Bolzoni, Marco Simone, Furio Rinaldi, and Patrizia Tosini, eds.
2016 *Dopo il 1564: L'eredità di Michelangelo a Roma nel tardo Cinquecento/After 1564: Michelangelo's Legacy in Late Cinquecento Rome*. Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte.

Briganti, Giuliano
1945 *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi*. Rome: Cosmopolita.

Cavarra, Angela Adriana
1998 *Donna è . . . : L'universo femminile nelle raccolte casanatensi*. Exh. cat., Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome. Milan: Aisthesis.

DiFederico, Frank
1983 *The Mosaics of Saint Peter's: Decorating the New Basilica*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Dimartino, Alessia
2008 *"Anus Ebria*: Immagini di una donna tra vecchiaia e ubriachezza." *Prospettiva*, no. 129 (January), pp. 67–80.

Fara, Giovanni Maria, ed. and ann.
2016 *Giovanni Baglione: Intagliatori*. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale (Scuola Normale Superiore).

Gere, John A.
1966 "Girolamo Muziano and Taddeo Zuccaro: A Note on an Early Work by Muziano." *Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 761, pp. 417–18, 419.
1971 *Il manierismo a Roma*. Milan: Fabbri.

Gere, John A., and Philip Pouncey
1983 *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. Vol. 5, *Artists Working in Rome, c. 1550 to c. 1640*. 2 vols. London: British Museum Publications.

Guerra, Giovanni
1589 *Varii emblemi hieroglifici usati nelli abigliamenti delle pitture fatte in diversi luochi nelle fabriche del S.mo S.r Nostro papa Sixto V P.O.M all'ill.ma et eccel.ma s.ra la S.ra D. Camilla Perretti; Giovanni Guerra pittore et invent*. Rome: N.p.

Mancino, Maria Rosa
2015a "Parasole Cagnaccia, Geronima." In *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 81. Rome: Treccani. Available online: www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/geronima-parasole-cagnaccia_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

2015b "Parasole Catanea, Elisabetta." In *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 81. Rome: Treccani. Available online: www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/elisabetta-parasole-catanea_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

van Mander, Karel

1604 *Het Schilder-Boeck*. . . . Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch.

Marciari, John

2002 "Girolamo Muziano and the Dialogue of Drawings in Cinquecento Rome." *Master Drawings* 40, no. 2 (Summer), pp. 113–34.

2006 "Raffaellino da Reggio in the Vatican." *Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1236 (March), pp. 187–91.

Monbeig-Goguel, Catherine

1972 *Vasari et son temps: Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

Olszewski, Edward J.

2008 *A Corpus of Drawings in Midwestern Collections. Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings*. 2 vols. London: Harvey Miller.

Pandolfini Casa d'Aste, Florence

2014 *Capolavori da collezioni italiane*. Sale cat., Palazzo Ramirez-Montalvo, October 28.

Parasole, Elisabetta Catanea

1610 *Fiore d'ogni virtù per le nobili et honeste matrone; dove si vedono bellissimi lavori di ponto in aria, reticella, di maglia & a piombini. Dissegnati da Isabetta Catanea Parasole*. Rome: Antonio Facchetti.

1616 *Teatro delle nobili et virtuose donne dove si rappresentano varij Disegni di Lavori nuovamente. Inventati, et disegnati da Elisabetta Catanea Parasole Romana*. [2nd ed.] Rome: Mauritio Bona.

Parma Armani, Elena

1978 *Libri di immagini, disegni e incisioni di Giovanni Guerra (Modena 1544–Roma 1618)*. Edited by Enrichetta Cecchi Gattolin. Exh. cat., Palazzo dei Musei, Modena. Modena: Tipolito Cooptip.

Pierguidi, Stefano

2002 "Alle radici dell'*Iconologia*: I rapporti di Cesare Ripa con Ignazio Danti, Giovanni Alberti e Giovanni Guerra." *Arte cristiana* 90, no. 813, pp. 433–48.

Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Simonetta

2000 "Disegni giovanili di Giovanni Guerra." In *L'arte nella storia: Contributi di critica e storia dell'arte per Gianni Carlo Sciolla,* edited by Valerio Terraroli, Franca Varallo, and Laura De Fanti, pp. 413–22. Milan: Skira.

2007 *I disegni del Codice Resta di Palermo*. Exh. cat., Civica Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Palermo. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana.

Pupillo, Marco

2009 "Gli incisori di Baronio: Il maestro 'MGP,' Philippe Thomassin, Leonardo e Girolama Parasole (con una nota su Isabella/Isabetta/Elisabetta Parasole)." In *Baronio e le sue fonti: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 2007,* edited by Luigi Gulia, pp. 831–66. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca.

Rausa, Federico

2005 "L'Album Montalto e la collezione di sculture antiche di Villa Peretti Montalto." *Pegasus: Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike* 7, pp. 97–132.

Ridolfi, Carlo

1648 *Le maraviglie dell'arte; ouero, Le vite de gl'illustri pittori veneti, e dello stato*. Venice: Presso Gio. Battista Sgaua.

Rinaldi, Furio

2016 "Michelangelo e il disegno a Roma: Continuità e sopravvivenza di uno stile dopo il 1564." In Bolzoni, Rinaldi, and Tosini 2016, pp. 56–81.

Ripa, Cesare

1603 *Iconologia; overo, Descrittione di diverse Imagini cavate dall'antichità, & di propria inventione*. Rome: Lepido Facij.

Roli, Renato

1987 "Due disegni di Pellegrino Tibaldi." *Paragone*, n.s., 38, no. 443, pp. 34–36.

Röttgen, Herwarth

1973 as ed. *Il Cavalier d'Arpino*. Exh. cat., Palazzo Venezia, Rome. Rome: De Luca.

2002 *Il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari D'Arpino: Un grande pittore nello splendore della fama e nell'incostanza della fortuna*. Rome: Bozzi.

Speelberg, Femke

2015 "Fashion & Virtue: Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution, 1520–1620," *MMAB* 53, no. 2 (Fall).

Tosini, Patrizia

2008 *Girolamo Muziano, 1532–1592: Dalla Maniera alla Natura*. Rome: Ugo Bozzi.

2015 *Immagini ritrovate: Decorazione a Villa Peretti Montalto tra Cinque e Seicento*. Rome: De Luca.

van Tuyll van Serooskeren, Carel

2000 *The Italian Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in the Teyler Museum*. Haarlem: Teylers Museum.

Vasari, Giorgio

1966–87 *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori, nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*. 8 vols. Edited by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi. Florence: Sansoni; Studio per Edizioni Scelte.

Vodret, Rossella, ed.

2011 *Alla ricerca di "Ghiongrat": Studi sui libri parrocchiali romani (1600–1630)*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Warwick, Genevieve

2000 *The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zeri, Federico

1957 *Pittura e Controriforma: L'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta*. Turin: Einaudi.

Zezza, Andrea

2003 *Marco Pino: L'opera completa*. Milan and Naples: Electa Napoli.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

"Assyrian Clay Hands" in the Architecture of the Ancient Near East: figs. 1, 7, 8, 11, 16–18: © The Trustees of the British Museum; fig. 2: from Anton Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia: The Classical Art of the Near East* (London: Phaidon Press, 1969); figs. 5, 6: Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, photograph by Kathy Dahab; fig. 10: from Pedde and Lundström 2008; figs. 12a, 12b: from Muller 2002; fig. 12c: from Muller 2001, p. 338; fig. 13: from Wäfler 2003; fig. 14: bpk Bildagentur / Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen / Olaf M.Teßmer / Art Resource, NY; fig. 15: photograph by Sebastiano Soldi

A Possible Cypriot Origin for an Assyrian Stone Mixing Bowl in the Cesnola Collection: fig. 3: from Miglus 1996; fig. 4: from Hrouda 1962; fig. 5: from Bikai 1981; fig. 6: photograph by Olaf M. Teßmer

Andrea del Sarto's *Borgherini Holy Family* and *Charity*: Two Intertwined Late Works: figs. 2, 3, 26: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington; fig. 4: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY: figs. 5–12, 14, 20, 22: photographs by Michael Gallagher; figs. 13, 19, 24, 25: Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi; fig. 15: © The Cleveland Museum of Art; fig. 16: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, photographs by Michael Gallagher; fig. 18: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY; fig. 21: Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford; fig. 23: photograph © The State Hermitage Museum, photograph by Vladimir Terebenin

Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France: Portraits by Joseph Siffred Duplessis: fig. 1: Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Juan Trujillo; fig. 3: Courtesy of the Diplomatic Reception Rooms, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.; figs. 5, 6, 10, 14: photographs by Evan Read; fig. 12: © Thomas Jefferson Foundation at Monticello

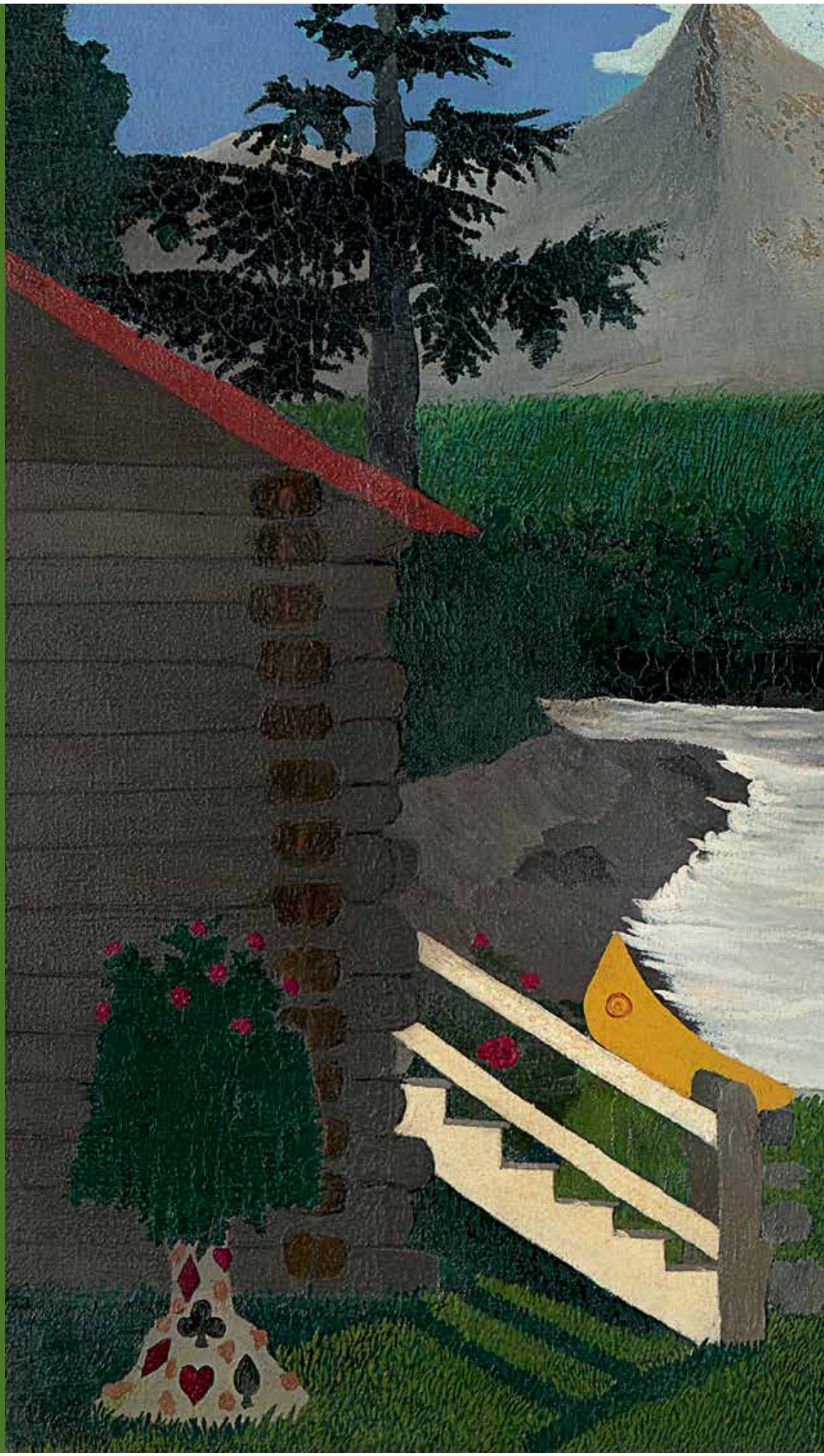
The Sacred and the Modern: The History, Conservation, and Science of the Madina *Sitara*: figs. 1–4: Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, photograph by Anna-Marie Kellen; figs. 5–13: photograph by Yael Rosenfield; fig. 6: Courtesy of Sotheby's London**;** figs. 7, 8: Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust; figs. 14–18: photographs by Federico Carò

"Working My Thought More Perfectly": Horace Pippin's *The Lady of the Lake*: fig. 17: © 1936 and renewed 1964 by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company

An Examination of Paolo Veronese's *Alessandro Vittoria*: figs. 3–9: photographs by Evan Read; fig. 10: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY; fig. 11: digital image courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum Open Content Program

The Roman *Maniera*: Newly Identified Drawings: fig. 2: Pandolfini Casa d'Aste, Florence, photograph courtesy Pandolfini; fig. 4: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY, photograph by Michel Urtado; fig. 6: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY, photograph by Jean-Gilles Berizzi; fig. 8: Photograph © Vatican Museums

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
JOURNAL 52



ISBN-13: 978-0-226-53684-2
ISBN-10: 0-226-53684-X
90000
9 780226 536842
PRINTED IN USA