

# SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN DRAWINGS

*in New York Collections*



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY  
ITALIAN DRAWINGS

*in New York Collections*





SIXTEENTH-CENTURY  
ITALIAN DRAWINGS

*in New York Collections*

WILLIAM M. GRISWOLD & LINDA WOLK-SIMON

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

The catalogue is published in conjunction with the exhibition  
*Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings in New York Collections* held at  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, January 11–March 27, 1994.

The exhibition is made possible by the Robert Lehman Foundation.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief  
Barbara Burn, Executive Editor  
Margaret Aspinwall, Editor  
Abby Goldstein, Designer  
Rachel M. Ruben, Production

Photography of Metropolitan Museum drawings is by the Photograph Studio,  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Type set by The Sarabande Press, New York  
Printed by The Stinehour Press, Lunenburg, Vermont  
Bound by Acme Bookbinding Company, Charlestown, Massachusetts

Cover/jacket: No. 119. Veronese. *Studies of Apostles*. Private collection  
Frontispiece: No. 5. Parmigianino. *A Woman Seated on the Ground Nursing a Child*. Private collection

Copyright © 1994 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in  
any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording,  
or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission  
in writing from the publishers.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Griswold, William.

Sixteenth-century Italian drawings in New York collections / William M. Griswold and  
Linda Wolk-Simon.

p. cm.

An Exhibition catalog.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-87099-688-6. — ISBN 0-87099-689-4 (pbk.).

1. Drawing, Italian—Exhibitions. 2. Drawing—16th century—Italy—Exhibitions. 3. Drawing—New  
York (N.Y.)—Exhibitions. 4. Drawing—Collectors and collecting—New York (N.Y.)—Exhibitions.  
I. Wolk-Simon, Linda.— II. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.) III. Title.

NC255.G75 1993

741.945'09'0310747471—dc20

93-30679

CIP

# Contents

FOREWORD BY <i>Philippe de Montebello</i>	VII
INTRODUCTION	VIII
LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION	XI
REFERENCES CITED IN ABBREVIATED FORM	XII

## CATALOGUE

<i>Emilia</i>	2
<i>Florence</i>	20
<i>Genoa</i>	47
<i>Lombardy and Piedmont</i>	50
<i>Rome, Umbria, and the Marches</i>	60
<i>Siena</i>	101
<i>Venice and the Veneto</i>	117

PLATES	137
--------	-----

INDEX OF ARTISTS	269
------------------	-----





# Foreword

WHEN THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, ARCHITECT, and biographer Giorgio Vasari compiled his celebrated *Libro de' disegni* in the middle of the sixteenth century, he inaugurated a tradition of collecting that has flourished without interruption for over four hundred years. The quest for drawings engaged the resources and energies of such renowned early collectors as Pierre Crozat, Pierre-Jean Mariette, Queen Christina of Sweden, Sir Joshua Reynolds, King George III, and above all Sir Thomas Lawrence. Later, with the widespread establishment of museums in the course of the nineteenth century, the acquisition of drawings ceased to be the exclusive pursuit of the *amateur* and became part of the public domain. In New York City, the collecting and connoisseurship of old master drawings was established with the gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt to the Metropolitan Museum in 1880, followed by those of the Misses Hewitt to the Cooper Union Museum (now the Cooper-Hewitt National Museum of Design), beginning in 1901, and the foundation by J. Pierpont Morgan of the library that would later bear his name. This tradition continues with unabated vitality to the present day, and drawings are now acquired with equal enthusiasm by individuals and museums, often working in concert. The exhibition *Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings in New York Collections* is a tribute to this felicitous state of affairs.

I wish to express my gratitude to all the private collectors who have kindly agreed to part with their drawings for the duration of the exhibition, and to the trustees of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum and the Pierpont Morgan Library, who have similarly been liberal with their loans. The Museum is indebted to the Robert Lehman Foundation for its generous support of this exhibition. Finally, the organization of the exhibition and the authorship of its catalogue are due to the commendable efforts of the curators, William M. Griswold and Linda Wolk-Simon.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO, *Director*  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

# Introduction

IN 1965, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art and the Pierpont Morgan Library presented the first of a series of three exhibitions of Italian drawings from New York collections. That exhibition was devoted to the Italian Renaissance and included 151 sheets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, beginning with Filippo Lippi and ending with Francesco Vanni. Organized by Jacob Bean and Felice Stampfle, it was intended “to point up the range and quality of Italian drawings of the Renaissance in public and private collections in this city.”

Always rare, fifteenth-century Italian drawings have become exceptionally scarce on the art market. Major works by quattrocento draftsmen that were in private hands in 1965—drawings belonging to Robert Lehman, Walter C. Baker, and Janos Scholz—have since entered public collections, and there are now relatively few acquisitions to be made in this field. However, Italian drawings of the sixteenth century continue to be avidly pursued. In the nearly three decades since the first exhibition of Italian drawings from New York collections, many important acquisitions have been made by museums, and a number of new collectors have emerged. The continuing appeal of later Renaissance drawings to collectors as well as to scholars, and the recent heightened interest in Mannerism in particular, has prompted our return to the subject of the earlier exhibition. These factors have at the same time dictated the shift in scope of the present exhibition, which focuses exclusively on the cinquecento.

The drawings in this exhibition are from three New York institutions—the Metropolitan Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Cooper-Hewitt Museum—as well as more than twenty private collections. Most have come to New York since 1965, and many have only recently been studied in depth. Some sheets, long classified as anonymous, have of late been recognized as the work of known artists, among them Giovanni da Udine (no. 57), Perino del Vaga (no. 64), Guglielmo della Porta (no. 69), Sodoma (no. 90), Ventura Salimbeni (nos. 103 and 104), and Marco Basaiti (no. 105), and are therefore published here, in many cases for the first time with their revised attributions. Others, several of which were included in the 1965 exhibition, have since been ascribed to different draftsmen. Among these are drawings by Michelangelo Anselmi (no. 4, formerly Giorgione), Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli (no. 9, formerly Parmigianino), Pellegrino Tibaldi (no. 12, formerly Perino del Vaga), Michelangelo (no. 18, formerly Michelangelo?), Bronzino (no. 24, formerly Alessandro Allori), Giovanni Bandini (no. 33, formerly Bandinelli), Andrea Solario (no. 45, formerly Bernardino Luini?), Boltraffio (no. 46, formerly Solario), Pirro Ligorio (no. 68, formerly Sebastiano del Piombo), and Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone

(no. 106, formerly Correggio). Finally, a few drawings included in this exhibition have been in New York for many years but have not previously received the attention they deserve, such as the superb study for a cradle by Giulio Romano (no. 61) in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, and works by Andrea del Sarto (no. 19) and Battista Franco (no. 114) in the Morgan Library. Thus, in addition to highlighting the wealth of material that falls within the purview of the exhibition, this catalogue provides an opportunity to emend earlier publications.

The exhibition is organized by school, and within each section, chronologically by artist. All the major schools of Italian cinquecento draftsmanship—Emilia, Florence, Genoa, Lombardy, Rome, Siena, and Venice and the Veneto—are represented. Works by artists from Umbria and the Marches, all of whom were active in Rome, are included in the section devoted to the Roman school. A few prominent artists are conspicuously absent, notably Pontormo, and such prolific draftsmen as Girolamo da Carpi and Bartolommeo Passarotti are also, by circumstance rather than choice, omitted. Others, including Raphael and Michelangelo—artists whose drawings for the most part long ago entered public collections and are therefore beyond the reach of museums and collectors today—are represented by rather idiosyncratic works whose authorship has in the past been debated. However, even with these acknowledged lacunae, the exhibition constitutes a near-comprehensive survey of sixteenth-century Italian drawing.

The particular resources of New York collections have allowed for an exceptionally rich presentation of certain artists and schools. If there is but one, early drawing by Raphael, the principal members of his workshop—Giovanni da Udine, Giovanni Francesco Penni, Giulio Romano, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and Perino del Vaga—are all included, with Giulio and Perino especially well represented. Drawings by their contemporaries the Lombard disciples of Leonardo da Vinci form an equally significant, rich, and varied concentration. Within the Emilian school, Parma is widely accounted for, with important sheets by Correggio and Parmigianino, and their followers Anselmi, Bedoli, and Bertoia. The notable artistic personalities of mid-century Florence—Bandinelli, Bronzino, Salviati, and Vasari—and those who signal the end of the Renaissance tradition, Santi di Tito and especially Cigoli, are all present. Equally strong, and indeed virtually comprehensive, is the selection of works by the major sixteenth-century Sienese artists, Sodoma, Peruzzi, Beccafumi, Casolani, Vanni, and Salimbeni. Venetian artists as a rule did not place the same emphasis on draftsmanship as their central Italian counterparts, and their drawings are consequently less numerous. That school is nonetheless also well represented, with drawings by Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and many others from Venice and the mainland. Finally, the later Roman Mannerists from the Zuccari and their followers to the Cavaliere



d'Arpino figure prominently in this survey, as does Federico Barocci, an artist whose influence extended across much of Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century.

This exhibition was originally conceived as a tribute to Jacob Bean, founding curator of the Department of Drawings at the Metropolitan Museum, on his seventieth birthday. Sadly, Jacob Bean died in September 1992; the exhibition and catalogue, which include so many drawings acquired for the Museum during his long tenure, are therefore dedicated to his memory.

The authors wish to express their gratitude to the following colleagues and friends who have kindly offered their counsel and assistance: Diane De Grazia, Richard Harprath, David Lachenmann, James Mundy, Charles Ryskamp, Nicholas Turner, Carel van Tuyll, Mary Vaccaro, and Roger Ward. Thanks are also due to Peter Dreyer, Cara Denison, and Stephanie Wiles of the Pierpont Morgan Library, and Marilyn Symmes, Gail Davidson, and Elizabeth Horwitz of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum. At the Metropolitan Museum, we are grateful to our colleagues Andrea Bayer, Keith Christiansen, and James David Draper, as well as to George Goldner, Helen B. Mules, Suzanne Boorsch, Calvin Brown, and Henrietta Susser of the Department of Drawings and Prints; Monique van Dorp, Evelyn Donatelli, and Veda Crewe of the Robert Lehman Collection; and Helen K. Otis of the Department of Paper Conservation. Special thanks are due to Laurence B. Kanter, curator of the Robert Lehman Collection, and to Margaret Aspinwall, editor of the catalogue. Samantha Finch, Jennifer McConnell, and Giorgio Pace, special assistants in the Department of Drawings and Prints and the Robert Lehman Collection, have been enormously helpful in obtaining photographs, checking bibliography, proofreading galleys, and other organizational tasks. Finally, we are deeply grateful to the collectors and institutions whose generosity has made this exhibition and catalogue possible.

WILLIAM M. GRISWOLD

*Associate Curator, Department of Drawings and Prints*

LINDA WOLK-SIMON

*Assistant Curator, Robert Lehman Collection*

# *Lenders to the Exhibition*

COOPER-HEWITT, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DESIGN, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
(nos. 29, 34, 61, 74)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (nos. 1, 4, 7, 12–14, 16, 18, 27, 28, 33, 35, 37, 38,  
42, 43, 45, 47, 51–53, 57, 59, 66–69, 73, 77–80, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92–94, 99, 100, 102–9,  
111, 113, 117, 118)

THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY (nos. 19, 24, 39, 48, 50, 56, 64, 72, 85, 97, 114, 120)

W. M. BRADY AND CO., INC. (no. 2)

B. H. BRESLAUER (nos. 46a, 46b, 110)

GILBERT BUTLER (no. 93)

MR. AND MRS. NEREO FIORATTI (no. 21)

MICHAEL HALL, ESQ. (nos. 25, 95)

MR. AND MRS. MORTON B. HARRIS (no. 3)

JAK KATALAN (nos. 20, 22, 32, 40, 62, 75, 101)

ROBERT L. MANNING (no. 41)

J. F. MCCRINDLE (nos. 63, 81)

MR. AND MRS. FREDERICK MONT (nos. 11a, 11b)

MRS. A. ALFRED TAUBMAN (nos. 26, 91, 96)

DAVID TUNICK, INC. (no. 76)

CHARLES M. AND AMY G. WILSON (nos. 82a, 82b)

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS (nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 23, 30, 31, 36, 44, 49, 54, 55, 58, 60, 65,  
70, 71, 84, 88, 98, 112, 115, 116, 119)

# References Cited in Abbreviated Form

BEAN, JACOB, and FELICE STAMPFLE. *Drawings from New York Collections I: The Italian Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1965.

BEAN, JACOB, with the assistance of LAWRENCE TURČIĆ. *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1982.

DE GRAZIA, DIANE. *Correggio and His Legacy: Sixteenth-Century Emilian Drawings*. Exh. cat., National Gallery of Art. Washington, 1984.

FORLANI TEMPESTI, ANNA. *The Robert Lehman Collection: V. Italian Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Drawings*. New York, 1991.

GERE, J. A. *Drawings by Raphael and His Circle from British and North American Collections*. Exh. cat., Pierpont Morgan Library. New York, 1987.

GERE, J. A., and PHILIP POUNCEY, with the assistance of Rosalind Wood. *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Artists Working in Rome, c. 1550 to c. 1640*. 2 vols. London, 1983.

LUGT, FRITS. *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes*. . . . Amsterdam, 1921.

———. *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes*. . . . Supplément. The Hague, 1956.

POUNCEY, PHILIP, and J. A. GERE. *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Raphael and His Circle*. 2 vols. London, 1962.

VASARI, GIORGIO. *Le opere*. . . . con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence, 1906.

NOTE TO THE READER: under Provenance in the catalogue entries, dealers' names are indicated with brackets.

# CATALOGUE



# Emilia

## AMICO ASPERTINI

Bologna 1474/75–Bologna 1552

### I *Nude Male Figure Seated on the Ground*

Black chalk, brown wash, heightened with white, on brown-washed paper. 247 × 363 mm (9¾ × 14⅝ in.); all four corners cut away.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower margin of old mount in Richardson's hand, *Amico Aspertini*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter C. Baker Gift, 1967 (68.78)

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (Lugt 2184 and 2995); earl of Gainsborough (according to Sotheby's); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 22, 1953, no. 2; Philip Pouncey, London; [H. Shickman].

LITERATURE: *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings at the H. Shickman Gallery* (New York, 1968), no. 6, repr.; *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1968–1969*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27 (October 1969), p. 66, repr.; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 12, repr.

Vasari described Amico Aspertini as a “uomo capriccioso e di bizzarro cervello,” an assessment with which subsequent writers have concurred.<sup>1</sup> His early training remains something of a mystery—some sources record him as a pupil of Francia, while others posit that he studied with Lorenzo Costa—but his artistic beginnings lie in the classical tradition that prevailed in Bologna in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> It was this placid, idealized classicism that Aspertini was to rebel against, his imagination stimulated by the antiquities that he assiduously studied during extended visits to Rome. His antiquarian interests are amply documented in three surviving sketchbooks of drawings after the antique produced over a more than thirty-year period.

These drawings document the artist's response to the emotive and expressive aspects of ancient art which in turn reinforced his own innate taste for the bizarre and eccentric.<sup>3</sup>

Aspertini's penchant for distortion and exaggeration is apparent in the ponderous, bulging form of the seated male nude depicted in this drawing. The identity of the figure is uncertain; his reclining pose and the grassy background have led to the suggestion that he may be a river god,<sup>4</sup> but it seems unlikely that an artist with Aspertini's antiquarian sensibilities would have omitted the beard, long hair, and identifying attributes that occur without exception in ancient representations of this subject.<sup>5</sup> A nearly identical semi-reclining nude male occurs in a page from one of Aspertini's sketchbooks; that figure likewise assumes the pose of a river god without actually being represented as such.<sup>6</sup>

Bean and Turčić have called attention to a similar study of a reclining male nude by Aspertini in the same technique as the Metropolitan Museum drawing, in the Uffizi (fig. 1.1).<sup>7</sup> This figure, too, finds a close precedent in a study at the lower right of the same sketchbook page mentioned above. These sketchbook drawings or earlier versions<sup>8</sup> conceivably served as Aspertini's point of departure for the more worked-up Metropolitan Museum and Uffizi sheets, which may be designs for one of the lost facades that the artist painted in his native Bologna.<sup>9</sup> The sculptural presence of the figures raises the alternative possibility that both drawings are studies for relief sculpture (Aspertini worked as a sculptor, executing a series of reliefs for the church of San Petronio), possibly an ephemeral work produced for the entry of Charles V into Bologna in 1530, for which Aspertini collaborated on a triumphal arch.

LWS

1. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5, p. 179. Philip Pouncey ("Drawings by Innocenzo da Imola," *Master Drawings* 7, no. 3 [1969], p. 287) described Aspertini as possessing a "riotous imagination with a strong leaning to the grotesque." But see also Phyllis Pray Bober, *Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini: Sketchbooks in the British Museum* (London, 1957), pp. 3–4, who argues for a tempering of Vasari's view.
2. On Bolognese artistic culture of this period, see Marzia Faietti and Konrad Oberhuber, eds., *Bologna e l'Umanesimo, 1490–1510*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale (Bologna, 1988).
3. On Aspertini's response to the antique, see Bober, *Drawings after the Antique*.
4. Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 12.
5. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London, 1986), pp. 99–104.
6. Bober, *Drawings after the Antique*, p. 83, fol. 20v, fig. 121, described as a "semi-reclining nude male figure approximating a river god."
7. Inv. no. 1269 F; black chalk, brown wash, heightened with white; 220 × 260 mm. Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 12.
8. Bober, *Drawing after the Antique*, p. 15, suggests that the drawings of antique subjects in this sketchbook ("London II"), which she dates to the late 1530s, are largely reminiscences of earlier studies by Aspertini. Thus, the Metropolitan Museum and Uffizi *Reclining Male Nudes* conceivably derive from the antique models recorded in this sketchbook page, but as they were first copied in earlier drawings by the artist.
9. Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 12.

## ANTONIO ALLEGRI, called CORREGGIO

Correggio 1489/94–Correggio 1534

### 2 Study of Two Apostles with Putti

Verso: *Two Studies of Putti and Two Studies of Legs*

Red chalk (recto); red and black chalk, partly squared for transfer in red chalk (verso). 177 × 175 mm (7 × 6⅞ in.).

Inscribed on verso in pen and ink, *Raffaello*.

W. M. Brady and Co., Inc.

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1992, no. 51.

The dome of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma ranks among the preeminent achievements of Correggio's career and of sixteenth-century Italian painting. Executed between 1520 and 1524, the frescoes represent the Risen Christ floating in a light-filled heaven surrounded by a cherubic choir and ringed below by the twelve apostles seated on clouds. Saint John the Evangelist, onomastic saint of the church, kneels at the base of the dome, witnessing the heavenly apparition as the vision on Patmos.<sup>1</sup> Revolutionary in its dramatic illusionism and the dissolution of architectural space, this work exercised a profound influence on Correggio's contemporaries—above all on Parmigianino, who is now believed to have executed part of one of the pendentives<sup>2</sup>—and anticipated his more advanced "proto-Baroque" frescoes in the dome of Parma cathedral.

Linked by their animated gestures and twisting postures, the apostles form a complex and tightly interwoven frieze around the base of the dome. Correggio established the dynamic poses of these figures in a series of red-chalk studies, some representing single saints, and others depicting two or more figures with their attendant putti. A. E. Pop-ham listed five preparatory studies for the San Giovanni Evangelista cupola in his 1957 catalogue raisonné of Correggio's drawings,<sup>3</sup> and three additional sheets, one of which is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 2.1), had come to light by 1988.<sup>4</sup> This drawing of the saints traditionally identified as Simon, on the right, and James Major, is a recent discovery, unknown before it appeared at auction in 1992. As is the case with Correggio's other preparatory studies for the apostles, a number

of minor changes have been introduced to the poses of the corresponding figures in the fresco, but the sheet records what is essentially the final scheme for this part of the dome. The quick sketch on the verso of one of the putti is traced through from the recto.<sup>5</sup> Squared for transfer, it was employed for the putto immediately to the right of Saint Simon.

The only known drawing for this part of the cupola decoration, the *Study of Two Apostles with Putti* is a major new addition to Correggio's graphic corpus.

LWS

1. On the frescoes in the dome of San Giovanni Evangelista, see Eugenio Riccòmini et al., *Un miracol d'arte senza esempio: La cupola del Correggio in S. Giovanni Evangelista a Parma* (Parma, 1990). See also A. E. Popham, *Correggio's Drawings* (London, 1957), pp. 28–36; and Cecil Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976), pp. 67–72, 250.

2. Parmigianino's intervention, discerned during the recent restoration of the cupola frescoes, is discussed by Lucia Fornari Schianchi, "Parmigianino: Un inedito esordio sulla cupola di Correggio," in Riccòmini et al., *Cupola del Correggio*, pp. 59–81. A number of Correggio's drawings for this work were copied by Parmigianino.

3. Popham, *Correggio's Drawings*, nos. 11–15, pls. x1b, x1b, x1v, xvi, xviii.

4. Mario di Giampaolo and Andrea Muzzi, *Correggio: I disegni* (Turin, 1988), nos. 14, 19 (Pierpont Morgan Library; inv. no. 1980.55), 20.

5. This was first observed by William Griswold.

## BIAGIO DELLE LAME, called BIAGIO PUPINI

Documented in Bologna 1511–75

### 3 *Figures in a Deposition*

Pen and brown ink, heightened with white. 197 × 273 mm (7¾ × 10¾ in.).

Mr. and Mrs. Morton B. Harris

PROVENANCE: [Giorgio and Armando Neerman].

LITERATURE: Barbara Wollesen-Wisch, *Italian Renaissance Art: Selections from the Piero Corsini Gallery*, exh. cat., Museum of Art, Pennsylvania State University (University Park, 1986), no. 8, repr.

A painter of modest talents who was dismissed by Vasari as "più pratica nell'arte che eccellente," Biagio Pupini was one of the most prolific draftsmen of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> His drawings are for the most part independent exercises rather than preparatory studies, and the artist devoted considerable energy to making copies after other works, especially the monochrome facade paintings of Polidoro da Caravaggio which he studied during a presumed Roman sojourn. Pupini's graphic style, characterized by a liberal use of white heightening, wiry pen work, and nervous, animated draperies, reflects the influence of Polidoro, to whom many of his drawings were at one time ascribed.

Pupini's copy drawings frequently do not record the entire composition of the prototype; rather, individual figures or passages are isolated and transcribed on the sheet in a random and even disjunctive fashion. The original narrative content is thereby drained, and his drawings often lack an obvious or identifiable subject matter. His practice as a copyist is exemplified in this sheet, a paradigmatic example of his draftsmanship, in which Pupini recorded elements from a drawing of the Deposition by the Spanish painter Pedro Machuca (ca. 1495–1550) (fig. 3.1).<sup>2</sup> The formal and iconographic focus of Machuca's design—the dead Christ being lowered from the Cross—is omitted by Pupini, who was interested not in the entire composition or in the dramatic narrative, but in the groups of standing and grieving figures at either side of the Cross.

Machuca was in Rome from 1515 to 1520, during which time he worked as one of Raphael's assistants in the Vatican Logge.<sup>3</sup> His Deposition drawing, which reflects the influence of Polidoro da Caravaggio (see nos. 62, 63), was executed during his Roman sojourn. Pupini's copy likewise dates from this period when he, too, is believed to have been in Rome; a terminus ante quem is provided by Machuca's departure from the city in 1520.

An altarpiece by Machuca representing the Deposition, probably executed during the artist's Roman period, is closely based on the Louvre sheet, although significant changes were introduced to the group of soldiers and bystanders at the right.<sup>4</sup> While Pupini may have known this work, his copy repeats exactly the composition of the Louvre study; his source was thus Machuca's drawing rather than the painting.

LWS

1. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5, p. 177. On Pupini, see De Grazia 1984, p. 308.

2. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris; inv. no. 6303. See Roseline Bacou, *Autour de Raphael*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1983), no. 132, repr.; Nicole Dacos, "Pedro Machuca en Italie," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (Milan, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 344, 360 n. 27. The source of Pupini's design was identified by Barbara Wollesen-Wisch, *Italian Renaissance Art: Selections from the Piero Corsini Gallery*, exh. cat., Museum of Art, Pennsylvania State University (University Park, 1986), no. 8.

3. Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1986), pp. 112–14.

4. Documented in Palermo in the early twentieth century, the painting is now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (inv. no. 3017). See Dacos, "Pedro Machuca en Italie," pp. 344, 347, fig. 338; and Paola Giusti and Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento a Napoli, 1510–1540: Forastieri e regnicoli*, 2d ed. (Naples, 1988), pp. 41 fig. 36, 42, 54 n. 19. Following the earlier suggestion of Roberto Longhi, Giusti and Leone de Castris assign the painting to Machuca's Roman period. Dacos instead believes that it was executed after Machuca's return to Spain.

## MICHELANGELO ANSELMINI

Lucca or Siena 1491/92–Parma 1554/56

### 4 Putto Bending a Bow

Red chalk. Original sheet 157 × 66 mm (6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); made up (probably by Mariette) to a sheet 237 × 152 mm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6 in.), on which a base and surrounding niche for the putto have been indicated in pen and brown ink, red chalk, and red wash.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right of what remains of the Mariette mount, 1476–1512.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (II.66.5)

PROVENANCE: Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 2097); Mariette sale (*Catalogue raisonné des différens objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composoient le cabinet de feu M<sup>r</sup> Mariette . . .*), chez [F. Basan], Hôtel Serpente, Paris, November 15, 1775–January 30, 1776, part of no. 445 ("Giorgione, Un Amour ployant son arc"); Graf Moriz von Fries (Lugt 2903); Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower; sale, Christie's, London, January 28, 1911, part of no. 17.

LITERATURE: *Exhibition of Venetian Art*, The New Gallery, Regent Street (London, 1894), no. 342 (as Giorgione); E. Tietze-Conrat, "Decorative Paintings of the Venetian Renaissance Reconstructed from Drawings," *Art Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1940), p. 32, fig. 14 (as Giorgione); *European Drawings from the Collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: I. Italian Drawings* (New York, 1942), no. 18, repr. (as Giorgione); Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), no. 712, pl. XLVII, 1 (as Giorgione); *European Drawings from the Collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, new series [vol. 3] (New York, 1944), no. N.S. 7, repr. (as Giorgione); Terisio Pignatti, *Giorgione* (Milan, 1955), p. 132 (as Venetian painter of the early sixteenth century); Terisio Pignatti, *Giorgione* (Venice, 1969), p. 127, no. A36, pl. 188 (as Titian); Terisio Pignatti, *Giorgione*, translation of 1969 ed. (London, 1971), p. 130, no. A36, pl. 188 (as Titian); H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: III. The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (London, 1975), p. 6, fig. 7 (as Giorgione); David Alan Brown, *Berenion and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1979), p. 32 fig. 69, p. 57 n. 84, p. 65 no. 69 (as Giorgione); Denys Sutton, "Robert Langton Douglas, pt. 3," *Apollo* 109 (June 1979), pp. 423, 424, fig. 28 (as Giorgione); Bert W. Meijer, "Titian Sketches on Canvas and Panel," *Master Drawings* 19, no. 3 (1981), p. 287, n. 5 (as Emilian); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 98 (as Giorgione?); Harold E.



Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings: With Reference to Giorgione and Some Close Contemporaries* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 72–73, 169, no. 55, fig. 144 (as Giorgione); *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Yvonne Tan Bunzl (London, 1987), under no. 4 (as Anselmi).

This drawing has long been published as Giorgione, an attribution that dates back at least to the time of Mariette.<sup>1</sup> However, it is now recognized as the work of Michelangelo Anselmi, a Sienese-trained artist who spent virtually his entire career in Parma. The sheet is thoroughly consistent with Anselmi's graphic oeuvre, which consists almost exclusively of red-chalk composition and figure studies. These exhibit the same searching, repeated contour lines, softly modeled forms, and delicate chiaroscuro observed in the Metropolitan Museum drawing. Moreover, the morphology of the putto, with its ovoid head, sharply pointed nose, and squinting eyes, is a trademark of Anselmi's graphic style, as are the swelling limbs of the figure.<sup>2</sup> For comparison, attention may be drawn to a study at Christ Church, Oxford, representing a mythological frieze.<sup>3</sup> The winged putto in the center of that composition is particularly close to the figure in the present sheet, and the technique and handling are analogous. A nearly identical study by Anselmi of a putto bending a bow, likewise executed in red chalk, was recently on the art market.<sup>4</sup>

With Anselmi's authorship established, this drawing may now be permanently removed from Giorgione's oeuvre and the artistic milieu of Venice.

LWS

1. Citing Vasari's reference to a lost fresco by Giorgione from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi representing "un angelo a guisa d'un Cupido," Erica Tietze-Conrat proposed that it might be a study for a facade painting ("Decorative Paintings of the Venetian Renaissance Reconstructed from Drawings," *Art Quarterly* 3, no. 1 [1940], p. 32). This suggestion was widely accepted in subsequent literature.

2. On Anselmi as a draftsman, see A. E. Popham, *Correggio's Drawings* (London, 1957), pp. 107–13; Popham, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Artists Working in Parma in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1967), p. 15; De Grazia 1984, pp. 194–95.

3. James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), no. 1079, pl. 653; De Grazia 1984, no. 60, repr.

4. *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Yvonne Tan Bunzl (London, 1987), no. 4, repr., first attributed to Anselmi by Philip Pouncey. Reminiscent of the earliest-known paintings by Beccafumi, this drawing reveals Anselmi's Sienese roots. The function of these studies is unknown, but the subject recalls Parmigianino's painting *Cupid Hewing His Bow* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; see Mario di Giampaolo, *Parmigianino: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), no. 42, repr.

## FRANCESCO MAZZOLA, called PARMIGIANINO

Parma 1503–Casalmaggiore 1540

### 5 *A Woman Seated on the Ground Nursing a Child*

Red chalk heightened with white. 244 × 175 mm  
(9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Chatsworth inventory no. 337; the dukes of Devonshire, by descent; sold by order of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, no. 31, repr.; John R. Gaines; Gaines sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, no. 9, repr.

LITERATURE: S. Arthur Strong, *Reproductions of Drawings by Old Masters in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth* (London, 1902), pl. 65; A. E. Popham, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, exh. cat., Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1962), no. 41; A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 7, 61, under no. 60, p. 205, no. 691, vol. 2, pl. 43.

A. E. Popham dated this drawing to the period of Parmigianino's activity at Fontanellato, where the artist worked in 1524 in the service

of Count Galeazzo Sanvitale immediately prior to his departure for Rome. Popham related it to six other sheets, executed at the same time, with which he observed affinities of technique and subject matter.<sup>1</sup> The immediacy and genre-like naturalism of the present drawing are characteristic of the group, which includes a study of a seated lady and gentleman in the Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris,<sup>2</sup> and a double-sided sheet in the Seilern collection, London, depicting a sleeping woman (recto) and a woman with a distaff (verso).<sup>3</sup> All these drawings are evidently studies from life and lack the stylized artifice that would come to dominate Parmigianino's mature manner.

The Savonarola chair that appears in the *Woman Seated on the Ground* recurs in two other studies from this group, as well as in Parmigianino's beautiful painted portrait of Galeazzo Sanvitale in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples, which is contemporary in date with the drawings.<sup>4</sup>

LWS

1. A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 1, p. 61, under no. 60.

2. Popham, *Drawings of Parmigianino*, vol. 1, no. 792, vol. 2, pl. 39; James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* (Paris, 1983), vol. 1, no. 392, vol. 3, pl. 445.

3. Popham, *Drawings of Parmigianino*, vol. 1, no. 764, vol. 2, pls. 40, 41.

4. Sydney J. Freedberg, *Parmigianino: His Works in Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), pp. 107, 202–3, fig. 123; Mario di Giampaolo, *Parmigianino: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), no. 16, repr.

PROVENANCE: H. Calmann, 1968; Lerux, Paris.

LITERATURE: De Grazia 1984, no. 42, repr.; Mario di Giampaolo, *Parmigianino: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), p. 8, repr.

Recognized in the mid-1970s as the work of Parmigianino, this study of Mercury has been dated about 1523–24, roughly the time of the artist's transfer from his native Parma for Rome in pursuit of the patronage of the newly elected Pope Clement VII. Like his other chalk drawings of this date, it reveals the influence of Correggio in the softly modeled forms.<sup>1</sup> That the subject is the god Mercury is established by the winged hat that he holds; the staff in his left hand is presumably the god's caduceus. The complicated, twisting posture of the figure is reminiscent of the Jonah and some of the *ignudi* of the Sistine Chapel ceiling; if Michelangelo's frescoes were indeed Parmigianino's source, as the sculptural plasticity of the Mercury might further indicate, the drawing was executed only after the latter's arrival in Rome in mid-1524.

The purpose for which this impressive sheet, notable for its large scale, was made is unknown, but it may be connected with a lost monochrome painting of Mercury by Parmigianino that was listed in a 1561 inventory of the collection of his patron, Cavaliere Francesco Baiardo.<sup>2</sup> A closely related study of Mercury by the artist, likewise executed in black chalk and almost certainly carried out in connection with the same otherwise undocumented project, is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.<sup>3</sup>

LWS

## 6 Mercury

Black chalk. 305 × 206 mm (12 × 8 1/8 in.).

Inscribed at lower left, *F. Boucher* (?).

Private collection

1. De Grazia 1984, no. 42.

2. De Grazia 1984, pp. 154–55.

3. Inv. no. 1987.79.1. The drawing was formerly in a French private collection. See De Grazia 1984, under no. 42, repr. as fig. 42a.

## 7 Design for a Sepulchral Monument

Pen and brown ink, brown and yellow wash, over black chalk. 269 × 208 mm (10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in a later hand at lower right, *Permieg.* . . .

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1970 (1970.238)

PROVENANCE: earl of Arundel?; A. M. Zanetti?; G. A. Armano?; Rev. Dr. Henry Wellesley; Wellesley sale, Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1866, no. 1414; Prof. Einar Perman, Stockholm.

LITERATURE: A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 1, no. 794, vol. 2, pl. 215; Jacob Bean, *Drawings Recently Acquired, 1969–1971*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1972), no. 36; Gianvittorio Dillon, in *Palladio e Verona*, exh. cat., Palazzo della Gran Guardia (Verona, 1980), pp. 274–75, under no. XI, 34; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 161.

Parmigianino executed a small number of drawings of funerary monuments during his Roman period (1524–27), although none is demonstrably related to a known commission for a tomb design.<sup>1</sup> An impressive representative of this group is the present study, which shows the deceased reclining on a bier below an image of the Virgin and Child. An allusion to death is present in the putto extinguishing a flaming torch at the left.<sup>2</sup> As an etching produced after the drawing records, the design originally included a pagan sacrifice in a plinth below the epitaph, this detail providing a further, classical reference to the theme of death and salvation (fig. 7.1).<sup>3</sup>

The composition of the Metropolitan Museum tomb design is closely related to a study for a tomb by Parmigianino in the Musée du Louvre, which similarly includes an image of the Madonna and Child above the effigy, mourning putti attending the deceased, and two cherubs flanking an epitaph on the slab below the bier. Since the subject in the Louvre drawing wears a miter and is therefore a cleric, presumably a bishop, the design cannot

be for the same tomb represented in the Metropolitan Museum sheet. Lacking heraldic or armorial elements, the latter drawing provides no comparable clues as to the identity of the deceased. However, his erudition and possible humanist inclinations are communicated through the two carefully delineated books, one held in the recumbent figure's hand and the other propped up at the right.

Parmigianino was commissioned to decorate a funerary chapel in the church of San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome for which he painted his celebrated *Vision of Saint Jerome*, now in the National Gallery, London;<sup>4</sup> it is possible that the Metropolitan Museum drawing represents an idea for the tomb of the patron's deceased husband, Antonio Caccialupi, a consistorial lawyer, who was buried in this chapel. This suggestion is speculative, but it is worth noting that the books that surround the effigy in Parmigianino's design would not be inappropriate emblems for an *avvocato concistoriale*.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. See A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 2, under no. 274, for this group of four drawings.

2. The same funerary topos is adopted by Peruzzi in the design for the tomb of Cardinal Armellini (see no. 93).

3. *The Illustrated Bartsch, 44: Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1983), p. 301 [B. XX, 13]. The design recorded in the print proves that the Metropolitan Museum drawing was trimmed at the bottom and lacks approximately one quarter of its original size, as noted by Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 161. A facsimile engraving of the drawing made by Francesco Rosaspina (1762–1841) does not include the sacrifice frieze; the drawing had thus presumably been trimmed by the late eighteenth century.

4. On this commission and the patronage of the altarpiece, see Mary Vaccaro, "Documents for Parmigianino's 'Vision of St. Jerome,'" *Burlington Magazine* 135 (January 1993), pp. 22–27; on the documents, see Sandro Corradini, "Parmigianino's Contract for the Caccialupi

Chapel in S. Salvatore in Lauro," *Burlington Magazine* 135 (January 1993), pp. 27–29.

5. The connection between books and the law is explicitly made in the scenes illustrating the theme of Jurisprudence in the Stanza della Segnatura, executed by Raphael in 1511.

## 8 *Landscape with Trees*

Black chalk. 279 × 215 mm (11 × 8½ in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, London, November 18, 1982, no. 7.

An exhibition of drawings by Parmigianino from the celebrated collection formed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, held in London in 1836, included a pen and ink study of trees. The rarity of the subject matter in his graphic oeuvre was remarked in the accompanying catalogue, which described the drawing as "very interesting, and probably the only specimen existing of the sort of subject."<sup>1</sup> Although not as exceptional as the author of the catalogue presumed, that sheet—formerly in the Mariette collection and now lost—was one of only seven landscape studies by Parmigianino recorded by A. E. Popham in his monumental catalogue raisonné of the artist's drawings.<sup>2</sup> Since the publication of Popham's corpus in 1971, there has come to light a single additional landscape drawing by the artist, this recently discovered study of trees. Formerly classified as anonymous seventeenth century, the sheet was ascribed to Parmigianino at the time it appeared at auction in 1982. The shaggy style is characteristic of his early drawings; like other landscape studies by the artist, it may be dated to the 1520s, and probably to the first half of the decade.

Despite Vasari's reference to "certi paesi

che sono bellissimi" painted by Parmigianino in Bologna,<sup>3</sup> no pure landscapes by the artist are known. But effulgent trees and lush foliage occur in the backgrounds of many of his portraits and devotional images of the 1520s.<sup>4</sup> Parmigianino's landscape studies closely resemble these painted landscape vignettes, and it seems likely, as first suggested by Popham, that the drawings constitute ideas for the backgrounds of his paintings.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. *The Lawrence Gallery* (London, 1836), no. 3; A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 1, p. 270. This was one of the ten exhibitions organized by the London art dealer Samuel Woodburn in order to dispose of the Lawrence collection of old master drawings.

2. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino*, 3 vols. (New Haven and London, 1971).

3. Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 5, p. 227.

4. Relevant examples include the portrait of an unidentified collector (National Gallery, London); the portrait of Galeazzo Sanvitale (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples); the *Vision of Saint Jerome* (National Gallery, London); *Saint Roch and Donor* (San Petronio, Bologna); and the *Madonna of Saint Margaret* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna). See Mario di Giampaolo, *Parmigianino: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), nos. 11, 16, 27, 28, 43, repr.

5. A. E. Popham, "Parmigianino as a Landscape Draughtsman," *Art Quarterly* 20 (1957), p. 275. Only one landscape drawing by Parmigianino appears to be directly connected with an extant painting. This is the study of tree trunks and foliage in the Uffizi (inv. no. 753 P; Popham, *Drawings of Parmigianino*, no. 18) which was identified as a study for the background of the *Madonna and Child with Saint Joseph* in the Prado, Madrid, by Roberto Tassi, in *La Repubblica*, June 6, 1984; cited by Diane De Grazia, "'Correggio and His Legacy': Further Observations," *Master Drawings* 23–24, no. 2 (1985–86), p. 202, under no. 43. Popham, "Parmigianino as a Landscape Draughtsman," p. 276, connected another of these drawings with a chiaroscuro woodcut by Antonio da Trento which, according to Vasari, was made as a demonstration of Parmigianino's gift for rendering landscape.

Attributed to GIROLAMO  
MAZZOLA BEDOLI

Viadana ca. 1510–Parma ca. 1569

9a *Adam*

Pen and ink, brown wash, heightened with white.

323 × 112 mm (12¾ × 4⅜ in.).

Inscribed in ink at lower right, *Franc o Parmigiano / 1536*.

9b *Aaron*

Pen and ink, brown wash, heightened with white;  
squared in black chalk. 331 × 113 mm (13⅛ × 4⅞ in.).

Inscribed in ink at lower right, *Franc o Parmig o*; at  
lower left, 1536.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Munro of Novar; G. A. Watson; H. E.  
Neville Clark; W. R. Jeurwine, London; Peter Josten,  
New York.<sup>1</sup>

LITERATURE: Lili Fröhlich-Bum, "Five Unpublished  
Drawings by Parmigianino," *Pantheon* 18, no. 5  
(September–October 1960), pp. 239–40, repr. pp. 240  
(*Aaron*), 241 (*Adam*) (as Parmigianino); Eric Van Schaack,  
*Master Drawings in Private Collections* (New York, 1962),  
nos. 15 (*Adam*), 16 (*Aaron*), repr. (as Parmigianino).

The figures recorded in these drawings—  
Adam, holding an apple, and Aaron with  
his priest's staff entwined with the brazen  
serpent—appear as grisaille feigned marble re-  
liefs in the frescoed *sott'archi* of the east vault  
of Santa Maria della Steccata, Parma (figs. 9.1,  
9.2). The commission to decorate the *cappella  
maggiore* was awarded to Parmigianino in 1531  
and renewed in 1535, but the large fresco pro-  
jected for the apse remained unfinished in  
1539, when the *fabbricieri* of the church, an-  
gered by the artist's protracted delays, had  
him briefly imprisoned. Upon his release,  
Parmigianino fled to Casalmaggiore, and in  
December 1539 he was officially dismissed  
from the Steccata project.<sup>2</sup> The commission  
was awarded in 1540 to Giulio Romano (see  
nos. 59–61), who sent drawings from Mantua  
but never traveled to Parma to undertake the

work. The apse fresco representing the Coro-  
nation of the Virgin, roundly criticized upon  
its completion in 1542, was executed by  
Michelangelo Anselmi (see no. 4) after  
Giulio's design.

A. E. Popham's 1971 catalogue raisonné  
of Parmigianino's drawings lists over eighty  
autograph sheets relating to the Steccata cam-  
paign, including seven studies for *Adam* and  
two for *Aaron*.<sup>3</sup> Although the present drawings  
were first published in 1960, they are nowhere  
mentioned in Popham's corpus (which in-  
cludes a list of lost original drawings and re-  
jected attributions), nor have they been cited  
by subsequent scholars. The status of these  
works in Parmigianino's graphic oeuvre thus  
remains an open question.

The two sheets have been identified as  
preparatory studies for the Steccata frescoes,<sup>4</sup>  
but they differ from other drawings by Parmigianino for the monochrome Old Testament  
figures both in their large scale and in their  
high degree of finish. The careful delineation  
of the decorative framing elements of the oval  
fields, which correspond precisely with the  
same details in the frescoes, also finds no par-  
allel in Parmigianino's preliminary designs.  
Despite the assertion of Fröhlich-Bum to the  
contrary, neither figure differs in any respect  
from the painted version. These circumstances  
all point to the likelihood that the drawings  
are copies after Parmigianino's frescoes, a  
suggestion reinforced by the careful, labored  
technique.

The *Adam* and *Aaron* are, nonetheless,  
of appreciably high quality, exhibiting a lithe  
grace and a sense of volume and movement  
that distinguish them from the ranks of pedan-  
tic copies by anonymous draftsmen. A case  
may be made for ascribing these sheets to  
Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, a close follower and  
the artistic heir of Parmigianino, who, accord-

ing to Vasari, “imitò sempre la maniera di lui con suo molto onoro.”<sup>5</sup> The elongated, tapering fingers and finicky curls of the figures are typical of Bedoli’s draftsmanship, and the combination of insistent, continuous, thin contour lines and white heightening applied in delicate hatched strokes may be seen in a number of his drawings, such as the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* in the Art Institute of Chicago<sup>6</sup> and the study of two walking figures at Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>7</sup> These belong to a stylistically cohesive group of drawings by Bedoli in which the influence of Parmigianino is pronounced.<sup>8</sup>

Bedoli decorated the northern apse of the Steccata between 1547 and 1553, repeating the scheme that Parmigianino established in the eastern apse including the representation of grisaille Old Testament patriarchs in oval fields in the *sott’archi*.<sup>9</sup> It is conceivable that he executed copies after Parmigianino’s prototypes during this campaign, a suggestion consistent with a probable date in the late 1540s or early 1550s, inferred on stylistic grounds, for the *Adam* and *Aaron*. The latter drawing may have served as the model for a print by Antonio Salaino, in which the figure is reproduced in reverse.<sup>10</sup>

LWS

1. This information on the provenance of the drawings is taken from Lili Fröhlich-Bum, “Five Unpublished Drawings by Parmigianino,” *Pantheon* 18, no. 5 (September–October 1960), p. 240, and is unconfirmed.

2. On Parmigianino’s difficulties with the *fabbri* of the Steccata, see S. J. Freedberg, *Parmigianino: His Works in Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), pp. 189–92; summarized in A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London, 1971), vol. 1, p. xii.

3. Popham, *Drawings of Parmigianino*, nos. 17, 92, 286, 301, 444, 446, 619 (*Adam*); nos. 524, 579 (*Aaron*).

4. Fröhlich-Bum, “Five Unpublished Drawings,” p. 239.

5. Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 5, p. 235.

6. Inv. no. 1922.2987. See A. E. Popham and Mario di Giampaolo, *Disegni di Girolamo Bedoli*, exh. cat. (Viadana, 1971), no. 64, repr.; Harold Joachim and Suzanne Folds

McCullagh, *Italian Drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago and London, 1979), no. 9, pl. 12; De Grazia 1984, no. 67.

7. Inv. no. 0419. See Popham and di Giampaolo, *Disegni di Girolamo Bedoli*, no. 73, repr.; James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, no. 1104, vol. 2, pl. 651.

8. Discussed by De Grazia 1984, under no. 67, who dates them to the early 1550s. The authorship of some of the stylistically related drawings, notably the *Lucretia* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the *Lucretia* in the Musée National du Château de Malmaison, Rueil-Malmaison, is still open to discussion, with opinion divided between Parmigianino and Bedoli. On the two *Lucretia* drawings, see most recently De Grazia 1984, nos. 55, 56, repr., with earlier bibliography and attribution history, and p. 208, who assigns them to Parmigianino. The authors of the present catalogue believe that the Washington drawing is by Bedoli.

9. On Bedoli’s work in the Steccata, see Ann Rebecca Milstein, *The Paintings of Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli* (New York and London, 1978), pp. 99–101, 188–92. His first contract, transcribed by Milstein (pp. 189–90), stipulated that the artist was to imitate Parmigianino’s scheme in the eastern apse, painting “sei figure colorite, e quattro non colorite,” the latter referring to the Old Testament patriarchs. In 1553, Bedoli was commissioned to decorate the southern apse of the church, again conforming to the scheme established by Parmigianino (Milstein, pp. 105–6). The later frescoes were largely executed by Bedoli’s son, Alessandro.

10. Giovanni Copertini, *Il Parmigianino* (Parma, 1932), vol. 1, p. 186, pl. Lxx. In both drawings, the contours appear to have been reinforced in parts, possibly by a printmaker.

## LELIO ORSI

Novellara 1511–Novellara 1587

### IO *Peasants and Animals in a Storm*

Pen and brown ink, on two joined sheets of paper.  
230 × 395 mm (9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 15<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Indistinctly inscribed in brown ink on the verso.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *An Exhibition of Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Colnaghi (New York and London, 1991), no. 8, repr.

One of the most engaging and eccentric artists of the sixteenth century, Lelio Orsi was, as his epitaph stated, a painter and an architect as well as a prolific draftsman of considerable talent.<sup>1</sup> He executed a number of painted facades in his native Novellara, virtually all of which are lost, and he also produced private devotional images characterized by a luminous, jewellike palette and shimmering light effects.<sup>2</sup> The two most decisive influences on his style were the art of Correggio and of Michelangelo: as Mariette noted, his drawings “joint au goût terrible de Michel-Ange les graces aimables du Corrège.”<sup>3</sup>

Typical of Orsi's draftsmanship is the nervous, agitated pen work and dense cross-hatching of the present sheet, in which the torrid effects of wind and storm are suggestively conveyed. The precise subject matter is ambiguous: the artist may have depicted a fanciful scene of peasant life, a genre to which he turned in other drawings,<sup>4</sup> or he may have cloaked a religious narrative in secular guise. In this connection, a drawing by Orsi in the Uffizi representing a group of male and female figures and infants at rest in a landscape, executed in the same technique as the New York sheet, should be cited.<sup>5</sup> Its subject has traditionally been identified as the Repose of the Holy Family during the Return from Egypt, an apocryphal theme, and more recently as a Counter-Reformation allegory of the destiny of the Holy Infants.<sup>6</sup> Given the similar cast of characters in the two drawings, the possibility should be weighed that the study of peasants and animals in a storm likewise deals in some fashion, literal or allegorical, with the subject of the extended Holy Family, possibly on the return from Egypt. In this case, the New York drawing would relate thematically to a group of studies of the Madonna and Child and of the Holy Family by Orsi in

which the protagonists assume a humble humanity.<sup>7</sup>

LWS

1. “Lelio Ursio in Architectura magno, in Pictura majori, et in Delineamentis optimo.” Quoted in G. Tiraboschi, *Notizie de'pittori, scultori, incisori, e architetti natii degli Stati del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Modena* (Modena, 1786), p. 290.

2. On Lelio Orsi, see *Lelio Orsi*, exh. cat. by Elio Monducci et al., Teatro Valli, Reggio Emilia (Milan, 1987). See also the sections devoted to the artist in De Grazia 1984, pp. 249–64; and *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; National Gallery of Art, Washington; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Washington, 1986), pp. 150–58 (biographical sketch and entries by Vittoria Romani).

3. Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario . . . et autres notes inédites . . . sur les arts et les artistes*, ed. Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaignon (Paris, 1851–60), vol. 4, p. 63.

4. See, e.g., the group of drawings of peasants dancing, and a drawing of a peasant family; *Lelio Orsi*, nos. 187–90, 173, repr.

5. Inv. no. 9075 S. See *Lelio Orsi*, no. 166, repr.

6. *Lelio Orsi*, under no. 166.

7. In addition to the drawing of a peasant family cited in note 4 above, a study of the Madonna and Child in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. no. 3073); a study of the Holy Family in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (inv. no. 422C); and a study in the Albertina, Vienna, of the Virgin sewing belong to this group. See *Lelio Orsi*, nos. 167a, 168, 172, repr.

## IIa Battle Scene

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white; squared in black chalk. 130 × 304 mm (5¼ × 12 in.).

Inscribed at lower right center, *Polidor* [e?].

## IIb Triumphal Procession

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white; squared in black chalk. 134 × 302 mm (5¼ × 11⅞ in.).

Inscribed in brown ink at lower left, *Polidore*.

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Mont

LITERATURE: “Aspects of Antiquity in Renaissance and Baroque Italy,” exh. checklist, Mia N. Weiner, New York, 1992, p. 15.

During his long career, Lelio Orsi enjoyed the patronage and protection of the Gonzaga rulers of Novellara, distant relations of the dukes of Mantua. In 1563 Alfonso Gonzaga ordered the restoration of the plasterwork facades of the city, a decree which may have led to commissions for some of the many painted facade decorations executed by Orsi in his native city. This lost chapter of his artistic activity is documented by a large corpus of drawings by the artist, most of them frieze designs, for palace facades.<sup>1</sup>

Orsi's frieze studies typically combine narrative subjects drawn from ancient Roman history or mythology with florid acanthus tendrils and other classicizing decorative elements. The dense compositions and tight compression of figures against the surface are deliberately evocative of ancient relief sculpture. Reminiscent in their *all'antica* character of the painted monochrome facades of Polidoro da Caravaggio, whose work Orsi knew as the result of at least one, and probably two, trips to Rome, his frieze designs frequently contain a note of bizarre fantasy that departs from the strictly archaeologizing Roman manner.

Once ascribed to Polidoro as the inscriptions on each sheet record, the *Battle Scene* and *Triumphal Procession* were recently attributed to Orsi by Mia Weiner.<sup>2</sup> Although they do not form a continuous composition, the two designs were presumably made in connection with a single decoration, a frieze illustrating a battle and the triumphal procession of the victors carrying away the spoils of war. These sheets, like most of the artist's drawings for facade decorations, cannot be connected with a specific commission.

LWS

1. See *Lelio Orsi*, exh. cat. by Elio Monducci et al., Teatro Valli, Reggio Emilia (Milan, 1987), nos. 2–31, repr. A few fragments of painted friezes survive, preserved in

the Galleria Estense, Modena (inv. nos. 8098, 2881, 2882, 2890). See *Lelio Orsi*, nos. 32–35.

2. "Aspects of Antiquity in Renaissance and Baroque Italy," exh. checklist, Mia N. Weiner, New York, 1992, p. 15.

## Attributed to PELLEGRINO TIBALDI

Puria di Valsolda (Lombardy) 1527–Milan 1596

### 12 *Studies of Animal Heads and of a Cartouche*

Pen and brown ink, red chalk (animal head at upper left). 203 × 133 mm (8 × 5¼ in.).

Inscribed in pencil on reverse of old mount, *Pierino del Vaga / from the Coll. of Sir T. Lawrence / Design for decoration of armour*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.247)

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Sir John Charles Robinson (Lugt 1433); Sir Robert Mond (Lugt Suppl. 2813a); [Swetzkoff].

LITERATURE: Tancred Borenius, assisted by Rudolf Wittkower, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings of Old Masters Formed by Sir Robert Mond* (London, [1937]), no. 260, pl. xxvii(B) (as attributed to Perino); Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1966), under no. 70 (as Perino); Maria Calì, "Sul periodo romano di Pellegrino Tibaldi," *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 6, 73 (March–April 1988), pp. 46, 47, fig. 6 (as Tibaldi), repr. in reverse.

A peripatetic artist, Pellegrino Tibaldi worked in Rome, Bologna, Loreto, Ancona, Ferrara, Milan, and Spain. His early years in Rome had a decisive influence on his style, in which the *terribilità* of Michelangelo is tempered by the grace of Perino del Vaga. His later works, executed after a long hiatus during which he devoted himself to architecture, assumed a more somber and austere character—a response to the decrees of the Council of Trent that censored artistic excess, and to Tibaldi's



personal acquaintance with the reform-minded Cardinal Carlo Borromeo.<sup>1</sup>

The precise date of Tibaldi's arrival in Rome is disputed. Although he is not documented there until 1549, he may have been working as an assistant to Daniele da Volterra in the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello al Corso as early as 1543,<sup>2</sup> and he was certainly a member of Perino's entourage in Castel Sant'Angelo by 1547. In October of that year, Perino died, leaving the frescoes in the Sala Paolina unfinished (see no. 66). These were completed by Tibaldi, a relative newcomer to Rome at the time who can have been entrusted with this major papal commission—the most important decoration to have been carried out in Rome since the Sack of 1527—only because he already belonged to the workshop at the time of Perino's death.<sup>3</sup>

The fluid, scribbly technique of Tibaldi's pen drawings of the 1540s and early 1550s derives from Perino's late graphic style. His command of a Perinesque manner—no doubt a condition on which his succession to the Sala Paolina campaign was predicated—is apparent in such drawings as *Neptune on a Throne*, a design for a fresco in the Palazzo Poggi, Bologna;<sup>4</sup> and a study for a mural decoration.<sup>5</sup> However, Tibaldi's highly individual artistic personality, which inclined toward bizarre and eccentric exaggerations that were foreign to Perino's more refined sensibility, is never completely submerged, even in his earliest drawings.

Certain drawings of the 1540s, when Tibaldi most closely emulated Perino, have nonetheless presented problems of attribution, a case in point being this sheet of studies of animal heads. Traditionally ascribed to Perino, it demonstrates striking affinities with a similar study of animals' heads in the Uffizi (fig. 12.1) that Bernice Davidson assigned to Tibaldi

while noting the close parallels that signal an obvious and direct connection with the present sheet.<sup>6</sup> But the two drawings are so close in style and technique as well as subject matter and *mise en page*, with some heads occurring in both in nearly identical form, that it is probable that they are by the same hand. Tibaldi is the more likely candidate, as Maria Cali recently proposed:<sup>7</sup> the two drawings are compatible with his early graphic style, and the Uffizi sheet cannot be by Perino. Tangential support favoring Tibaldi's authorship of the present work exists in the awkward and tentatively drawn cartouche at the lower edge—reminiscent of the decorative fields that occur throughout the Vatican Logge pilaster decorations—which is too feeble to be from the hand of the consummate decorator that Perino had become by the 1540s.<sup>8</sup>

Lacking the character of a preparatory drawing, the Metropolitan Museum sheet appears instead to be a series of random sketches, possibly after antique reliefs, vases, metalwork, or *grotteschi*, where such fanciful, hybrid beasts frequently occur, or after the Renaissance *all'antica* grotesque decoration these ancient prototypes inspired.<sup>9</sup> If the attribution to Tibaldi is accepted, the Uffizi drawing should be regarded as the artist's own reinterpretation of studies made after the antique, in which forms are recast in the direction of exaggeration and caricature.

LWS

1. For a concise summary of Tibaldi's long career, see Gere and Pouncey 1983, pp. 164–66; and De Grazia 1984, pp. 310–11. The monograph by Giuliano Briganti, *Il manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi* (Rome, 1945), is outdated and generally unreliable.

2. Proposed by Bernice Davidson, "The Decoration of the Sala Regia under Pope Paul III," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), p. 410, who notes that Celio names Tibaldi as Daniele's collaborator in the chapel.

3. Davidson, "The Decoration of the Sala Regia," p. 409. Tibaldi's activity in Perino's circle in the mid-1540s has been most recently discussed by Vittoria Romani, *Tibaldi "d'intorno" a Perino* (Padua, 1990).
4. Uffizi, Florence; inv. no. 12170 F. See Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1966), no. 69, fig. 59.
5. Musée du Louvre, Paris; inv. no. 9051. See J. A. Gere, "Two Late Fresco Cycles by Perino del Vaga," *Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960), p. 15, n. 25, fig. 21, who observes that the drawing "shows how greatly Tibaldi was influenced by Perino."
6. Inv. no. 515 Orn. See Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino*, no. 70, fig. 61.
7. Maria Cali, "Sul periodo romano di Pellegrino Tibaldi," *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 6, 73 (March–April 1988), p. 46. Although we agree with this proposal, many of the author's other attributions to Tibaldi are unconvincing.
8. An example of Perino's facility for drawing this type of decorative element is the double-sided sheet, possibly a study for the stucco vault of the Sala Regia, recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (inv. no. 88.GG.39).
9. This type of antique and *all'antica* ornament was frequently copied in engravings of the period which might also have served as Tibaldi's source. See, e.g., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 27: *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School* (New York, 1978), p. 224 [B. XIV, 541–I].

## ORAZIO SAMACCHINI

Bologna 1532–Bologna 1577

### 13 *The Prophet Jeremiah and the Samian Sibyl*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on blue-green paper. 391 × 255 mm (15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower left, *Cherubino Alberti*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1971 (1971.66.6)

PROVENANCE: Thomas Hudson (Lugt 2432); Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); sale, Sotheby's, London, March 23, 1971, no. 56.

LITERATURE: Jacob Bean, *Drawings Recently Acquired 1969–1971*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1972), no. 50; Sylvie Béguin and Mario di Giampaolo, *Maestri emiliani del secondo cinquecento* (Florence, 1979), no. 40, repr.; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 235, repr.; Catherine Johnston, in Mimi Cazort and Catherine Johnston, *Bolognese Drawings in North American Collections 1500–1800*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 1982), no. 14, repr.; Dwight Miller, review of *Bolognese Drawings in North American Collections* by Mimi Cazort and Catherine Johnston, *Burlington Magazine* 124 (April 1982), p. 261; Renato Roli, "Disegni bolognesi: Le mostre di Ottawa e di Stoccarda," *Paragone* 33, no. 389 (1982), p. 71; De Grazia 1984, pp. 338, 340 n. 6, under no. 113; Mario di Giampaolo, "Disegni di Orazio Samacchini per il transetto nord del Duomo di Parma," *Antichità viva* 24, nos. 1–3 (1985), p. 51, fig. 2.

Orazio Samacchini was already a painter of established reputation by the time he set up in Rome, where he evidently worked with Raffaellino da Reggio (ca. 1550–1578) and Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta (1521–ca. 1580), among others, in the Sala Regia of the Vatican Palace during the early 1560s. After returning to his native Bologna, he was greatly influenced by Pellegrino Tibaldi (see no. 12), whose robust figure types in turn owe much to the style of Michelangelo (see no. 18). Samacchini's drawings reflect his familiarity with the works of Roman as well as Emilian artists, and with the style of Giorgio Vasari (see nos. 27, 28), whose impact on Bolognese art of the period was considerable.

In 1970, Philip Pouncey observed that this drawing is a study for the decoration of the northwest corner of the vault of the left (north) transept of the cathedral of Parma.<sup>1</sup> The prestigious commission for these frescoes was given first to Parmigianino (see nos. 5–8), then to Francesco Maria Rondani (1490–1550?), and finally to Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli (see no. 9), who began work on the ceiling in 1557. On August 3, 1570, the project was entrusted to Orazio Samacchini, and the frescoes were completed by 1572.

The Metropolitan Museum's drawing differs from the finished work primarily in the poses of the attendant putti. The figures of Jeremiah and the Samian Sibyl are similar to those in the fresco and clearly derive from Michelangelo's *Prophets and Sibyls* in the lunettes of the Sistine Chapel. Other drawings of Jeremiah and the Samian Sibyl in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, appear to be studio copies after Samacchini's studies for the fresco in Parma.<sup>2</sup>

The artist evidently made numerous drawings in connection with this project. A study for the Prophet Isaiah and the Erythraean Sibyl is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan,<sup>3</sup> and a preparatory drawing for the figures of Jonah and the Libyan Sibyl is in a private collection, Parma.<sup>4</sup> Samacchini's study for the four putti in the center of the vault is in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.<sup>5</sup> Other sheets by Samacchini that have been associated with his frescoes in Parma include a preparatory drawing for the standing figure of Saint Mark in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi<sup>6</sup> and studies for David and Abraham, formerly on the art market.<sup>7</sup> Two further drawings, related to the personifications of fire and water that appear on the vault in between the paired *Prophets and Sibyls*, are attributed by Mario di Giampaolo to one of Samacchini's anonymous assistants.<sup>8</sup>

WMG

1. See Giuseppe Cirillo and Giovanni Godi, "Di Orazio Samacchini e altri bolognesi a Parma," *Parma nell'arte* 14, no. 2 (1982), pp. 36–37; Vera Fortunati Pietrantonio, *Pittura bolognese del '500* (Casalecchio di Reno [Bologna], 1986), vol. 2, pp. 647, 669, repr.

2. Inv. nos. 5077 (*The Prophet Jeremiah*), 5078 (*The Samian Sibyl*). See A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London, 1949), nos. 907, 908, respectively.

3. Inv. no. F. 269 INF. N. 4. See De Grazia 1984, no. 113, repr.

4. Reproduced in Cirillo and Godi, "Di Orazio Samacchini e altri bolognesi."

5. Inv. no. LV 158. See De Grazia 1984, pp. 338, 340 n. 6, under no. 113, fig. 113b. An old copy of the drawing at Chantilly is in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (inv. no. 1955:99). See L. C. J. Frerichs, *Italiaanse Tekeningen II 15<sup>de</sup> en 16<sup>de</sup> Eeuw*, exh. cat., Rijksprentenkabinet (Amsterdam, 1981), no. 141, fig. 166 (as Samacchini).

Related studies of putti, from the collection of Giorgio Vasari, are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 9024e). See De Grazia 1984, p. 336, fig. 112a, p. 340 n. 3; Mario di Giampaolo, "Disegni di Orazio Samacchini per il transetto nord del Duomo di Parma," *Antichità viva* 24, nos. 1–3 (1985), p. 52 n. 12 (after Samacchini).

6. Inv. no. 14536 F. See di Giampaolo, "Disegni di Orazio Samacchini," pp. 51, 52 n. 11, fig. 5.

7. See De Grazia 1984, pp. 338, 340 n. 6; di Giampaolo, "Disegni di Orazio Samacchini," pp. 51, 52 nn. 9, 10, figs. 3, 4.

8. See di Giampaolo, "Disegni di Orazio Samacchini," pp. 51–52, 52 nn. 14, 15, figs. 6, 7.

## JACOPO ZANGUIDI, called BERTOIA

Parma 1544–Rome or Caprarola (?) 1573

### I4 *God the Father with Four Angels*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of black chalk. 154 × 217 mm (6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1991 (1991.52)

PROVENANCE: [Thomas Williams Fine Arts, Ltd.].

LITERATURE: *European Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Thomas Williams and Lutz Riester at Paul Drey Gallery (New York, 1991), p. 20; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1990–1991* (New York, 1991), p. 25; William M. Griswold, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1990–1991*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 49, no. 2 (Fall 1991), p. 42, repr.

Jacopo Bertoia spent most of his brief career in the service of the Farnese family, working for Cardinal Alessandro in Rome and for his nephew Ottavio Farnese in Parma. Farnese

patronage produced Bertoia's most important works—the decorations of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, where he replaced Federico Zuccaro as *capomaestro*, and the frescoes in the Oratorio del Gonfalone in Rome and the Palazzo Ducale in Parma. Bertoia was a talented and fluent draftsman, and his graphic style owes much to the example of his compatriot Parmigianino, with whose drawings his own were frequently in the past confused. So closely did he emulate Parmigianino's graceful manner that Bertoia has often been considered a posthumous disciple of the older artist, who died four years before he was born.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1569 and his premature death in 1573, Bertoia decorated five rooms at Caprarola. The fourth room chronologically, executed between 1570 and 1571, is the Stanza dei Sogni.<sup>2</sup> Divided into a series of geometric narrative fields framed by elaborate *grotteschi*, the vault contains nine dream scenes drawn from the Old Testament which together communicate the promise of God's redemption.<sup>3</sup> Dominating the pictorial program is a large oval field in the center of the vault in which Bertoia represented the dream of Jacob (Genesis 28:12–15) (fig. 14.1). The *God the Father with Four Angels* recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum has been recognized since its discovery as a preparatory study by the artist for the upper part of this composition.<sup>4</sup> Minor differences may be observed between the drawing and the fresco in the disposition of the angels and the gestures of God the Father, but the presence of the ladder, described with delicate bands of wash, and the delineation of the rounded contours of the upper field confirm the connection.

Other drawings by Bertoia for the *Dream of Jacob* are preserved in the British Museum, the Princeton University Art Museum, the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples, the Tey-

lers Museum, Haarlem, and a British private collection.<sup>5</sup> None of these studies corresponds closely with the painted version, all evidently recording ideas which were in the end discarded by the artist. Despite the differences noted above, the Metropolitan Museum sheet demonstrates the closest parallels with the fresco of all the extant preparatory drawings.

LWS

1. On Bertoia as a draftsman, see A. E. Popham, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Artists Working in Parma in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1967), pp. 111–19; and De Grazia 1984, p. 218. On the artist in general, in which his activity as a draftsman is considered at length, see Diane De Grazia, *Bertoia, Mirola and the Farnese Court* (Bologna, 1991).

2. On Bertoia's work at Caprarola, see De Grazia, *Bertoia*, pp. 69–86, nos. P2–P6; on the Stanza dei Sogni, De Grazia, *Bertoia*, pp. 78–80, no. P4. For Caprarola and Alessandro Farnese, see Clare Robertson, "Il Gran Cardinale": *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 74–130.

3. Loren Partridge, *The Frescoes of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1969, p. 175.

4. *European Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Thomas Williams and Lutz Riestler at Paul Drey Gallery (New York, 1991), p. 20.

5. Bertoia's other drawings are listed by De Grazia, *Bertoia*, under no. P4, p. 78.

## 15 *Soldiers on Horseback and on Foot*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, on gray paper. 188 × 276 mm (7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed at lower left edge, *Miruollo*; unidentified collector's monogram, HP.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Christie's, London, April 9, 1990, no. 3.

LITERATURE: Diane De Grazia, *Bertoia, Mirola and the Farnese Court* (Bologna, 1991), p. 119, no. D29 ter, fig. 162 bis.

This recently discovered drawing bears an inscription in an old hand ascribing it to the sixteenth-century Parmesan painter Girolamo Mirola (ca. 1530/35–1570). Court artist of Ottavio Farnese, Mirola was the collaborator of Jacopo Bertoia, with whom he worked in the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma and the Rocca of San Secondo. Although Vasari spoke of him in admiring terms, Mirola vanished into artistic obscurity within a century of his death, and has only recently been resurrected as an independent personality through the studies of Diane De Grazia, who has endeavored to distinguish his efforts as a painter and draftsman from those of the better-known Bertoia.<sup>1</sup>

The drawings which De Grazia assigns to Mirola exhibit a hard, labored technique. They are executed with a continuous contour line, and little if any wash is employed. The loose, confident handling that distinguishes this study of soldiers on horseback is antithetical to his draftsmanship as it is now understood,<sup>2</sup> but is typical of Bertoia, whose responsiveness to the graphic style of Taddeo Zuccaro (see nos. 72–75) is here evident. The testimony of the early inscription notwithstanding, Bertoia's authorship seems certain.

Attributing the study of soldiers on horseback to Bertoia, De Grazia adduced stylistic parallels with drawings by the artist at Windsor and in the Uffizi. She also observed close parallels with a frescoed battle scene by Bertoia in the Sala delle Gesta Rossiane in the Rocca of San Secondo, suggesting that this sketch might represent an early idea for that composition, in which running soldiers, rearing horses, and a twisting rider seen from behind all appear.<sup>3</sup>

LWS

1. Diane De Grazia, *Bertoia, Mirola and the Farnese Court* (Bologna, 1991). See also Diane De Grazia and Bert Meijer, "Mirola and Bertoia in the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), pp. 395–406.

2. Compare, for example, a study of three women seen from behind and a bearded man's head (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. NMH 1613/1875; De Grazia, *Bertoia*, p. 164, no. D9, fig. 8) and a reclining female nude in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (inv. no. 12166 F; De Grazia, *Bertoia*, pp. 162–63, no. D3, fig. 9). The Stockholm drawing bears the identical inscription, probably in the same hand, as the New York drawing.

3. De Grazia, *Bertoia*, p. 119, no. D29 ter.

## FERRAÙ FENZONI

Faenza 1561 / 62–Faenza 1645

### 16 *Lamentation over the Dead Christ at the Foot of the Cross*

Pen and brown ink, on blue paper. Studies for the Burial of Christ in pen and brown ink on verso. 223 × 280 mm (8<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at left margin, *di ferrau fenzone*; on verso, N° 13; in pencil on verso, 48; *Ferrau Fenzoni*; and *Ferrau Fenzone 1562–1648*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1980 (1980.20.3)

PROVENANCE: Henry Scipio Reitlinger (Lugt Suppl. 2274a); sale, Sotheby's, London, December 10, 1979, no. 236, repr. (recto); [Yvonne Tan Bunzl].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1979–1980* (New York, 1980), p. 27; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 76, repr. (recto and verso).

A native of Faenza, Ferraù Fenzoni began his long career in Rome, where he may have been a pupil of Francesco Vanni (see nos. 99–102). During the late 1580s, he collaborated in the frescoed decoration of the Biblioteca Sistina, the Scala Santa, and the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. In these enterprises, he often worked side by side with Andrea Lilli from Ancona (ca. 1555–1610) and the Siennese painter Ventura Salimbeni (see nos. 103, 104); the paintings and drawings of both artists have on occasion been confused with those of Fenzoni. By 1599, he was back in Faenza, and there he

remained until his death in 1645. Fenzoni's late works, which reflect the influence of his sophisticated Emilian contemporaries Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) and Alessandro Tiarini (1577–1668), are highly expressive but rather crude and provincial in style.

As Jacob Bean and Lawrence Turčić observed, Fenzoni treated the subject of the present drawing in several paintings and numerous compositional studies.<sup>1</sup> The earliest painted version of the Burial of Christ was identified by Philip Pouncey in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Poitiers,<sup>2</sup> and two drawings in the Kunstsammlung der Universität, Göttingen,<sup>3</sup> and the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence,<sup>4</sup> are clearly studies for that picture. Another drawing of the Entombment, also in the Uffizi, is not directly related to a known painting, but seems on the basis of style to have been executed early in Fenzoni's career.<sup>5</sup>

The Pinacoteca in Faenza possesses two paintings by Fenzoni of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, the larger of which (fig. 16.1) was executed about 1623 for the artist's burial chapel in the local church of Santa Cecilia (now destroyed).<sup>6</sup> A series of preparatory drawings may be associated with one or the other of these fairly late works. Two drawings of the Deposition in the Uffizi are related in composition to the smaller painting (fig. 16.2),<sup>7</sup> which represents Christ at the foot of the Cross, while the present sheet incorporates elements of both pictures. The poses of the figures in the drawing on the recto are comparable to those in the aforementioned studies for the Faenza *Deposition*, but in the sketch in the Metropolitan Museum, the body of Christ rests on the edge of the sarcophagus, as it does in the painting executed for Fenzoni's chapel in Santa Cecilia. The Museum's sketch may precede another, more elaborate study in

the Uffizi, in which the position of Christ is almost identical to that at the upper left on the verso of the sheet.<sup>8</sup> Two further pen sketches in the Uffizi<sup>9</sup> and a relatively finished drawing that was recently on the art market in London<sup>10</sup> anticipate the larger painting, in which the Cross is less prominent, and the emphasis is on the Entombment rather than the Deposition.

A weak but fairly exact copy of the Museum's drawing in the Uffizi was formerly attributed to F. Fontana, but transferred by Anna Forlani Tempesti to Fenzoni; its correspondence to the present sheet was recognized by Bean and Turčić.<sup>11</sup>

WMG

1. Bean and Turčić 1982, p. 85, under no. 76.

2. Inv. no. RF 1946-4. See Philip Pouncey, "Mise au tombeau de Ferrau Fenzoni," *Dibutade III: Fascicule spécial du Bulletin des amis des musées de Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1956), pp. 4–6, fig. 1.

3. See Giuseppe Scavizzi, "Ferrau Fenzoni as a Draughtsman," *Master Drawings* 4, no. 1 (1966), p. 6, pl. 5.

4. Inv. no. 12200 F. See Pouncey, "Mise au tombeau de Ferrau Fenzoni," p. 6, fig. 2.

5. Inv. no. 12688 F. See Scavizzi, "Ferrau Fenzoni as a Draughtsman," p. 9, pl. 6.

6. The paintings measure 49 × 40 cm and 280 × 190 cm. The smaller painting is on copper. See Scavizzi, "Ferrau Fenzoni as a Draughtsman," pp. 14–15, figs. 6 (the smaller painting, repr. in reverse), 8 (the larger painting, repr. in reverse).

7. Inv. nos. 12685 F, 12686 F. See Scavizzi, "Ferrau Fenzoni as a Draughtsman," p. 15, pl. 14a (inv. no. 12686 F).

8. Inv. no. 12680 F.

9. Inv. nos. 12651 F, 12671 F. See Scavizzi, "Ferrau Fenzoni as a Draughtsman," p. 15, pl. 14b (inv. no. 12651 F).

10. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1992, no. 17, repr. See Ugo Ruggieri, "Novità per Ferrau Fenzoni," *Critica d'arte* 9 (1972), pp. 69–71, fig. 12.

11. Inv. no. 4324 Santarelli; pen and brown ink, on blue paper; 238 × 295 mm. See Bean and Turčić 1982, p. 85, under no. 76.

# Florence

## BACCIO DELLA PORTA, called FRA BARTOLOMMEO

Florence 1472–Florence 1517

### 17 *A Leafless, Gnarled Tree*

Verso: *A Village on the Crest of a Hill, Approached by a Road with a Horseman and Other Figures*

Pen and brown ink (recto and verso). 289 × 215 mm  
(11½ × 8½ in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Fra Paolino da Pistoia; Suor Plautilla Nelli; convent of Santa Caterina da Siena, Florence; Cavaliere Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri; William Kent (?); private collection, Ireland; sale, Sotheby's, London, November 20, 1957, no. 29, repr.; Stephen Spector.

LITERATURE: Eric Van Shaack, *Master Drawings in Private Collections* (New York, 1962), nos. 2 (recto), 3 (verso), repr.; *Collectors Anonymous: Four Private New York Collections*, exh. cat., New York Cultural Center (New York, 1972), p. 17.

This superb sheet comes from an album of landscape and tree studies that was dispersed at auction in November 1957. The frontispiece of the album bore the arms of the Florentine scholar and collector Cavaliere Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri (1676–1742), and the title page, decorated by Rinaldo Botti (1650/60–1740), was dated 1730. Entitled *Raccolta di Paesi e Vedute dal Vero di Mano d'Andrea del Sarto*, the volume contained forty-one sheets by Fra Bartolommeo (despite the title, none by Sarto) as well as a rare landscape by Baccio Bandinelli and a view of Tivoli, possibly by a northern artist working in Italy. The contents of the album account for more than two-thirds of Fra Bartolommeo's known landscape drawings.

Gabburri seems to have purchased these and other sheets by Fra Bartolommeo directly from the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina in Piazza San Marco, Florence, to which they had been presented by the painter Suor Plautilla Nelli (1523–1588).<sup>1</sup> Suor Plautilla had been a pupil and follower of Fra Paolino da Pistoia (ca. 1490–1547), who had in turn inherited the drawings from his teacher, Fra Bartolommeo. During the 1740s, the album may have been acquired with much of the rest of Gabburri's collection by the architect and picture dealer William Kent,<sup>2</sup> after which it disappeared from view until it turned up at Sotheby's in 1957.

The drawings are fairly uniform in style. Comparably swift, delicate pen strokes and stippling occur in other sketches executed by Fra Bartolommeo toward the end of the fifteenth and during the first years of the sixteenth centuries, and Chris Fischer has proposed that the landscape drawings may date from about 1495–1508.<sup>3</sup> The majority of these appear to have been executed outdoors rather than in the studio, but only a few depict recognizable sites. The album contained views of Fiesole<sup>4</sup> and of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Maddalena at Pian di Mugnone, near Caldine.<sup>5</sup> Another drawing by Fra Bartolommeo, in the collection of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, represents the church of the Santissima Annunziata and the loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Florence.<sup>6</sup>

The artist seems to have made drawings of this type for pleasure rather than as studies for the landscapes in his paintings. Nevertheless, the farmhouse in a drawing in Cleveland reappears, from a slightly different point of view and with some modifications, in the background of the artist's *God the Father with Saints Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Siena*

(Pinacoteca Nazionale, Lucca), signed and dated 1509.<sup>7</sup> A second drawing, now the property of the Courtauld Institute, London, was utilized for the landscape in Giuliano Bugiardini's *Rape of Dinah* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna—a painting in which the figures, too, are based on studies by Fra Bartolommeo.<sup>8</sup>

Gabburri's attribution of the drawings in the album to Andrea del Sarto (see no. 19) was erroneous but insightful; in composition, many sheets from the album resemble the landscapes in a series of frescoes of scenes from the life of Saint Philip Benizzi, executed by Sarto in the cloister of the Santissima Annunziata. The similarity between the drawings by Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto's frescoes may reflect a common source in the work of Piero di Cosimo, who was a fellow pupil of the former and (according to Vasari) the teacher of the latter.<sup>9</sup>

WMG

1. For Gabburri's collection of landscape drawings by Fra Bartolommeo, see Carmen Gronau, introduction to sale cat., Sotheby's, London, November 20, 1957; Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance*, exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Rotterdam, 1990).

2. See Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario . . . et autres notes inédites . . . sur les arts et les artistes*, ed. Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon (Paris, 1851–60), vol. 2, p. 275 (according to which Gabburri's collection was acquired by “un Anglois nommé Kent”); John Fleming, “Mr. Kent, Art Dealer, and the Fra Bartolommeo Drawings,” *Connoisseur* 141 (1958), p. 227.

3. See Chris Fischer, *Disegni di Fra Bartolommeo e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1986), p. 54, under no. 17; Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman*, p. 375.

4. See Eric M. Zafran, *Master Drawings from Titian to Picasso: The Curtis O. Baer Collection*, exh. cat., High Museum of Art, Atlanta, and elsewhere (Atlanta, 1985), no. 2, repr.

5. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass., inv. no. 1957.59. See Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, “A

Landscape Drawing by Fra Bartolommeo,” *Smith College Museum of Art Bulletin* 39 (1959), pp. 1–12, fig. 1.

6. Inv. no. 45 P. See Fischer, *Disegni di Fra Bartolommeo*, no. 17, fig. 24.

7. Inv. no. 57.498. See Louise E. Richards, “Three Early Italian Drawings,” *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 49, no. 7 (1962), pp. 172–73, figs. 5 (the drawing), 6 (detail of the painting).

8. See Isolde Härth, “Zu Landschaftszeichnungen Fra Bartolommeos und seines Kreises,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz* 9 (February 1960), pp. 125–30, figs. 1 (the painting), 2 (the drawing), 3 (detail of the painting).

9. A number of landscape drawings have been attributed to this eccentric late quattrocento painter. These include two studies of Saint Jerome in a rocky wilderness, now in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. nos. 7 P recto, 403 P). Both may date from the 1490s. Another sheet, previously attributed to Mariotto Albertinelli, but surely a late work by Piero di Cosimo, is in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome (inv. no. 130507 verso). See William M. Griswold, *The Drawings of Piero di Cosimo*, 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 80–83, 228–36, 272–74, vol. 2, figs. 27, 29, 84.

## MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI

Caprese 1475–Rome 1564

### I8 *Project for a Wall Tomb*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk.  
510 × 319 mm (20 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 12 $\frac{3}{16}$  in.). Partially silhouetted.  
Lined.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.93.1)

PROVENANCE: [Hans Calmann].

LITERATURE: *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1962–1963*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22, no. 2 (October 1963), p. 63 (as School of Michelangelo); Charles de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo: I* (Novara, 1975), p. 63, repr.; Michael Hirst, “A Project of Michelangelo's for the Tomb of Julius II,” *Master Drawings* 14, no. 4 (1976), pp. 375–82, pls. 1–4; Charles de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo: IV* (Novara, 1980), no. 489 recto, repr. (as Michelangelo?); Paul Joannides, review of Charles de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo* (4 vols.), *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), p. 680;



Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 132, repr. (as Michelangelo?); Frederick Hartt, "The Evidence for the Scaffolding of the Sistine Ceiling," *Art History* 5, no. 3 (1982), p. 282; William E. Wallace, "Two Presentation Drawings for Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Master Drawings* 25, no. 3 (1987), pp. 252–53, fig. 10 (as Michelangelo?); Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 3, 82, 91–92, 94, pls. 173 (the entire drawing), 174 (detail of the drawing); Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo Draftsman*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington (Milan, 1988), and translated as *Michel-Ange Dessinateur*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1989), no. 9, repr.; Jane Roberts, *A Dictionary of Michelangelo's Watermarks* (Milan, 1988), p. 17; "Dessins nouvellement révélés de Michel-Ange au Département des Arts Graphiques du Louvre," *La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 41, no. 2 (1991); Paul Joannides, "La chronologie du tombeau de Jules II à propos d'un dessin de Michel-Ange découvert," pp. 33–42, fig. 3 (the entire drawing), figs. 4, 8 (details of the drawing), and Dominique Cordellier, "Fragments de jeunesse: Deux feuilles inédites de Michel-Ange au Louvre," pp. 44, 47, fig. 6 (detail of the drawing).

In 1505, Michelangelo was summoned from Florence to Rome in order to design and execute a suitably magnificent tomb for the then-reigning pope, Julius II della Rovere.<sup>1</sup> The project would occupy him, off and on, for a period of forty years and, after many setbacks, prove to be one of his greatest disappointments. According to Vasari as well as Condivi, Michelangelo began by making numerous alternative designs for the tomb. Of these, the pope eventually selected the most ambitious: a freestanding monument incorporating some forty lifesize figures. By 1506, however, after much of the necessary marble had been quarried, Julius abruptly lost interest in the project, and Michelangelo left Rome for Florence and Bologna.

He did not return to Rome until 1508, and from 1508 until 1512 he frescoed the vault of the Sistine Chapel. The Sistine ceiling was unveiled in the summer of 1512, and little more than six months later, Julius II died on February 21, 1513. His will provided 10,000 ducats for

the construction of his tomb, which—it is clear from contracts dated May and June 1513—was now to be attached to a wall, rather than be freestanding. Another contract was drawn up in June 1516, but soon afterward Michelangelo's presence was required in Florence to carry out commissions for the new pope, Leo X de' Medici. Further contracts for the tomb are dated 1532 and 1542, and the monument was completed (on a much-reduced scale) in 1545. The finished work—located not in Saint Peter's, as Julius had no doubt intended, but in the Roman church of San Pietro in Vincoli—incorporates the *Moses* that Michelangelo had carved in 1513–16, as well as statues of Rachel and Leah, datable to the 1540s. The *Dying* and *Rebellious Slaves* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, also were executed in connection with the 1513 project, while four unfinished *Captives*, begun about 1530, are now in the Accademia, Florence.

The present drawing was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1962 as the work of an unnamed assistant in Michelangelo's atelier. Already at that time, some connection with the tomb of Julius II seemed likely on account of the della Rovere acorns that both fall like manna from the oak tree in the relief in the lower part of the design and adorn the arms of the chairs of the seated sibyl and prophet in the second story. Some fourteen years later, Michael Hirst observed that the sheet is closely related to a design by Michelangelo in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, which has been associated with the 1513 project for the tomb (although it may have been executed somewhat earlier).<sup>2</sup> The Berlin drawing is badly damaged, but its original appearance can be ascertained by comparing the ruined original with a faithful copy, also in Berlin, which is signed by Jacomo Rocchetti (fig. 18.1).<sup>3</sup>

The monument in the Berlin drawing is

similar in design to that in the present study, although it is more vertical in composition. In this respect, it corresponds more closely than the design in the Metropolitan Museum to the tomb described in the contract of July 1513.<sup>4</sup> While the upper story is iconographically similar in both sheets—with figures of the Virgin and Child standing in a tall niche above an effigy of the dead pope—the lower story differs. In the design in Berlin, winged victories occupy niches flanked by slaves, whereas in the New York drawing, personifications of charity and faith stand on either side of an almost-square relief celebrating the Golden Age of the della Rovere papacy.

Hirst proposed that the Museum's drawing is by Michelangelo rather than by an assistant.<sup>5</sup> His arguments in favor of the master's authorship of the drawing are persuasive, and are now generally accepted. Hirst pointed out that the pen work is not mechanical, but lively and varied, and that there are significant pentimenti in the black-chalk underdrawing of the architecture of the tomb. He furthermore associated the sheet with such other *modelli* by Michelangelo as a study in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi for the lower story of the tomb depicted in the drawing in Berlin,<sup>6</sup> and suggested that scholars have in the past been reluctant to accept these works as autograph because of their somewhat unfamiliar appearance. In fact, all three drawings are stylistically compatible with other sheets by Michelangelo, and represent a category of sketches that the artist made as demonstrations for his patrons.<sup>7</sup>

In 1979, Frederick Hartt argued that, despite the many similarities between the present sheet and the Berlin drawing, the study in the Metropolitan Museum should be dated to 1505, not 1513.<sup>8</sup> This hypothesis is endorsed by Hirst, who has remarked that the drawing is less ad-

vanced in style than those in Berlin and Florence.<sup>9</sup> The use of orthogonal projection, in particular, is inconsistent in the Metropolitan Museum drawing (for example, the moldings inside the niche containing the Virgin and Child are drawn as if seen from below). Architecturally, the design owes much to the style of Michelangelo's mentor Giuliano da Sangallo, who may have recommended the young sculptor to Julius II in the first place.

In 1991, Paul Joannides published a sheet in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 18.2) as preparatory for the prophet seated to the right of the papal effigy in the present drawing.<sup>10</sup> Formerly associated with Michelangelo's unfinished *Entombment* in the National Gallery, London, the study in the Musée du Louvre is undoubtedly early in style, and represents the same mustachioed model as in the design in the Metropolitan Museum as well as in various other sheets that were executed by Michelangelo during the first decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> On the reverse of the Louvre sketch is a faint architectural study for the second story of the tomb of Julius II, in which the effigy of the pope rests on a bier similar to that in the Museum's drawing.

Dominique Cordellier has discovered another sketch in the Musée du Louvre which seems to have been cut from the same sheet as the study identified by Joannides.<sup>12</sup> On the recto of that fragment is a study of a male nude seen from behind. Although the sheet is similar in style to Michelangelo's studies for the *Battle of Cascina*, which he abandoned when he was called to Rome in 1505, Cordellier has tentatively associated the figure with the relief in the center of the lower story in the present drawing.

There can thus be little doubt but that the design in the Metropolitan Museum was among the drawings that Michelangelo sub-

mitted for the approval of Julius II in 1505. It was evidently rejected at that time in favor of a more ostentatious project, but resurrected eight years later, after Julius's heirs had abandoned the idea of building a freestanding monument.

WMG

1. For the complex history of this project, see Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: IV. The Tomb of Julius II*, 2d rev. ed. (Princeton, 1970).

2. Inv. no. 15305 recto. See Tolnay, *Michelangelo: IV. The Tomb of Julius II*, 1970, p. 137, pl. 95; Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo: I* (Novara, 1975), no. 55 recto, repr.; Michael Hirst, "A Project of Michelangelo's for the Tomb of Julius II," *Master Drawings* 14, no. 4 (1976), p. 375; Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 81–82, 94; Paul Joannides, "La chronologie du tombeau de Jules II à propos d'un dessin de Michel-Ange découvert," *La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 41, no. 2 (1991), pp. 35, 39–41.

3. See Tolnay, *Michelangelo: IV. The Tomb of Julius II*, 1970, p. 138, pl. 96; Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo: I*, 1975, p. 63, repr.; Hirst, "A Project of Michelangelo's," 1976, pp. 375–78, fig. 1; Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 1988, pp. 82, 94, fig. 171; Joannides, "La chronologie du tombeau," 1991, pp. 34–35, fig. 2.

4. See Joannides, "La chronologie du tombeau," 1991, p. 35.

5. Hirst, "A Project of Michelangelo's," 1976, pp. 375–82.

6. Inv. no. 608 E recto. See Tolnay, *Michelangelo: IV. The Tomb of Julius II*, 1970, p. 138, pl. 97; Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo: I*, 1975, no. 56 recto, repr.; Hirst, "A Project of Michelangelo's," 1976, pp. 380–81, fig. 6 (detail); Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 1988, pp. 82–83, figs. 172, 175 (detail); Hirst, *Michelangelo Draftsman*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington (Milan, 1988), no. 20, repr.

7. Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 1988, pp. 79–83.

8. In a paper read before the College Art Association in Washington, D.C., in February 1979; this view was reiterated in Frederick Hartt, "The Evidence for the Scaffolding of the Sistine Ceiling," *Art History* 5, no. 3 (1982), p. 282.

9. Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 1988, pp. 91–92; Hirst, *Michelangelo Draftsman*, 1988, pp. 26–28, under no. 9.

10. Inv. no. 722. See Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo: I*, 1975, no. 30 recto, repr.; Joannides, "La

chronologie du tombeau," 1991, pp. 35, 38–39, 42, figs. 7 (recto), 9 (infrared photograph of verso), 10 (verso).

11. See Paul Joannides, review of Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo* (4 vols.), *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), p. 681.

12. Inv. no. 8026. See Dominique Cordellier, "Fragments de jeunesse: Deux feuilles inédites de Michel-Ange au Louvre," *La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 41, no. 2 (1991), pp. 44–49, fig. 3 (recto), fig. 4 (photomontage of inv. no. 8026 verso and inv. no. 722 verso), fig. 7 (photomontage of inv. no. 8026 recto and inv. no. 722 recto).

## ANDREA DEL SARTO

Florence 1486–Florence 1530

### I9 Standing Man Turned to the Right

Red chalk, on salmon-tinted paper. 277 × 174 mm  
(10<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library (I, 31)

PROVENANCE: F. Renaud; earl of Aylesford; Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *A Selection from the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1905), no. 31, repr.; F. di Pietro, *I disegni di Andrea del Sarto negli Uffizi* (Siena, 1911), p. 83 n. 1; I. Fraenckel, *Andrea del Sarto: Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Strasbourg, 1935), p. 187; Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago, 1938), vol. 1, p. 293, vol. 2, no. 141 F; *Italian Drawings, 1330–1780*, exh. cat., Smith College Museum of Art (Northampton, Mass., 1941), no. 18; Agnes Mongan, "Italian Drawings, 1330–1780: An Exhibition at the Smith College Museum of Art," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), p. 93; *Bacchiacca and His Friends*, exh. cat., Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore, 1961), no. 34; Bernard Berenson, *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini* (Milan, 1961), vol. 1, p. 429, vol. 2, no. 141 F\*; Sydney J. Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), vol. 2, p. 170, fig. 130; John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, pl. 156.b, vol. 2, pp. 273, 366–67; Cara D. Denison and Helen B. Mules, *European Drawings, 1375–1825* (New York, 1981), p. 44, under no. 16; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Andrea del Sarto: Disegni* (Florence, 1985), under no. 38; *Andrea del Sarto, 1486–1530: Dipinti e disegni a Firenze*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti (Florence, 1986), p. 303, under no. 83, pp. 347–48; Dominique Cordellier, *Hommage à Andrea del Sarto*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1986), p. 84, under no. 57; Larry J. Fein-

berg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, exh. cat., Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College; Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College (Oberlin, 1991), no. 45, repr.

This sheet is a study for the drapery cascading over the right shoulder of the figure of Saint Michael in an elaborate altarpiece, the *Quattro Santi*, which was executed by Andrea del Sarto in 1528 for the church of the Romitorio delle Celle (the Paradisino) at Vallombrosa.<sup>1</sup> The painting was removed from the church in 1810, following the suppression of the monasteries, and is now in the Galleria degli Uffizi.<sup>2</sup> Although it was dismembered during the early nineteenth century, and then put back together somewhat arbitrarily, the original appearance of Sarto's altarpiece can be reconstructed on the basis of a drawn copy by Federico Zuccaro (see nos. 84–86) in the Albertina, Vienna, and Antonio Donati's 1782 engraved view of the interior of the church. Saints Michael and John Gualbert stood on the left and Saints John the Baptist and Bernard of Parma on the right of a much earlier image of the Virgin and Child, probably datable to the twelfth or thirteenth century (now lost). Beneath the *Virgin and Child* were two putti with scrolls, while the predella comprised scenes from the lives of each of the four saints depicted above, as well as an *Annunciation* (now lost). Of the extant parts of the predella, only the scene from the life of Saint Michael is by Sarto; the others were executed in his workshop and appear to postdate the rest of the altarpiece.

A number of preparatory drawings have been associated with the *Quattro Santi*. The earliest of these is a rapid compositional study in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, which represents four saints flanking two putti, with a space at the center left blank for

the painting of the Virgin and Child.<sup>3</sup> That drawing is similar to the finished work in the arrangement of the figures, although in the sketch, a male religious—possibly Saint Benedict—takes the place of Saint John the Baptist.

A sketch of a standing youth wearing sixteenth-century costume, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, is very likely a study from life for the pose of Saint Michael,<sup>4</sup> and the Uffizi possesses a magnificent drawing in red chalk for the drapery of the figure.<sup>5</sup> In the present sheet, the drapery is cast over the right shoulder, instead of the left, as it is in the study in Florence. The Morgan Library drawing is therefore quite close to the painting, although in the altarpiece Saint Michael holds a sword and scales in his right hand.<sup>6</sup>

WMG

1. See Sydney J. Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), vol. 1, figs. 16–18, vol. 2, pp. 168–71, no. 75; John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, pl. 135, vol. 2, pp. 273–74, no. 86; *Andrea del Sarto, 1486–1530: Dipinti e disegni a Firenze*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti (Florence, 1986), no. xxii, repr.

2. Inv. nos. 8394, 8395, 8396.

3. Inv. nos. 10971 F, 10972 F: the drawing has been cut in half down the middle. See Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 2, p. 171, under no. 75 (as a copy); Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 1, pl. 154.c, vol. 2, p. 357; *Andrea del Sarto . . . a Firenze*, no. 81, repr.

4. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 232 recto. See Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 2, p. 170–71, under no. 75, fig. 131; Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 1, pl. 63.a, vol. 2, pp. 369–70; Dominique Cordellier, *Homage to Andrea del Sarto*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1986), no. 57, repr.

5. Inv. no. 288 F. See Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 2, p. 170, under no. 75, fig. 128; Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 1, pl. 156.a, vol. 2, pp. 328–29; *Andrea del Sarto . . . a Firenze*, no. 83, repr.

6. Various other studies for the picture are preserved in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. nos. 640 E recto; 293 F recto; 297 F recto; 6425 F verso). See Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 1, pl. 153.a (inv. no. 6425 F), pl. 154.c (inv. no. 297 F), pl. 157.b (inv. no. 640 E), pl. 174.b (inv. no. 293 F); vol. 2, pp. 273, 330

(inv. no. 293 F), p. 331 (inv. no. 297 F), p. 353 (inv. no. 6425 F), p. 347 (inv. no. 640 E); *Andrea del Sarto . . . a Firenze*, no. 82, repr. (inv. no. 297 F), no. 84, repr. (inv. no. 640 E).

Drawings in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (inv. no. 306 F) and the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre (inv. no. 1681), seem to have been executed in connection with earlier paintings by Sarto but reused as studies for the predella of the *Quattro Santi*. See Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, vol. 2, pp. 170–71, under no. 75.

## GIOVANNI ANTONIO SOGLIANI

Florence 1492–Florence 1544

### 20 Two Studies of a Male Nude

Verso: *Four Studies of an Infant*

Black chalk, heightened with white, on beige paper (recto); black chalk (verso). 338 × 198 mm (13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed on recto in pen and brown ink at lower margin, *dice Ciro Ferri una volta / del Frate di S. Marco / ma a'me non pare*, and, *l'hebbi da Gasparo Mola / che in parere di Ciro Ferri / me li diede e del frate / ma Ciro un'altra volta*. . . .

Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: Padre Sebastiano Resta (Lugt Suppl. 2992a); Edward Clive, first earl of Powis; by descent; sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1986, no. 109, repr. (recto).

Giovanni Antonio Sogliani began his career as a pupil and assistant of Lorenzo di Credi (1459?–1537), whose conservative style was in turn loosely based upon that of the earliest works of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). The impact of Leonardo's work is also apparent in early pictures by Sogliani, such as three closely related paintings of the Virgin and Child with the infant Saint John the Baptist that may date

from between about 1512 and 1515.<sup>1</sup> By 1521, however, when Sogliani painted the *Martyrdom of Saint Acacius*, now in a side chapel in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence, the predominant influences upon his work were those of Fra Bartolommeo (see no. 17) and—to a considerably lesser degree—Andrea del Sarto (see no. 19).

Sogliani's debt to Fra Bartolommeo is equally evident in his drawings, most of which are densely shaded studies of single draped figures, executed in black chalk, heightened with white, on beige paper. The present drawing appears not to be connected with a known painting, but the attribution to Sogliani is confirmed by comparison with other, better-documented figure studies.<sup>2</sup> Its comparatively linear, abstract style suggests a date no earlier than the first half of the 1520s.<sup>3</sup>

The handwriting at the lower margin of the sheet is that of Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714), who was among the most enthusiastic—albeit perhaps not the most discriminating—of seventeenth-century drawings collectors. According to the inscription, the artist Ciro Ferri (1634–1689) was inclined to attribute the drawing to Fra Bartolommeo (*il Frate di S. Marco*); in this case, Resta, who disagreed with him (*ma a'me non pare*), turns out to have been the more astute connoisseur.

WMG

1. At the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; the Musée d'Art Ancien, Brussels; and the Galleria Sabauda, Turin. See S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), vol. 1, pp. 495–96, 609, vol. 2, ills. 612–14.

2. Compare, for example, a study in the Musée du Louvre for the arms and torso of the kneeling youth on the left in the *Martyrdom of Saint Acacius* (inv. no. 2722). See Roseline Bacou, "A Group of Drawings by Sogliani," *Master Drawings* 1, no. 1 (1963), pp. 42, 43 n. 17, pl. 37.

3. On the development of Sogliani's style as a draftsman, see Bacou, "A Group of Drawings," p. 42.

## BACCIO BANDINELLI

Pizzidimonte 1493–Florence 1560

### 2I *Study of the Head of a Horse Turned in Profile to the Right*

Pen and brown ink; irregularly torn at top and right from the original sheet, laid down on new backing. 197 × 197 mm (7¾ × 7¾ in.), including made-up section at upper right.

Inscribed in dark brown ink at lower left, *Baccio*; in light brown ink in sixteenth-century (?) hand, *Bandinelli* 6.

Mr. and Mrs. Nereo Fioratti

PROVENANCE: Toscin Bennet, New York; Bernard Jasiowitz, New York.

LITERATURE: Miklos Boskovits, ed., *The Martello Collection: Further Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures, 13th–18th Century* (Florence, 1992), no. 2, repr. (entry by Roger Ward).

The self-proclaimed rival of Michelangelo, Bandinelli worked for most of his career in Florence. Much to the vocal dismay of his many adversaries he enjoyed the patronage and protection of the Medici, at whose behest his major works—the Giovanni delle Bande Nere monument in the Piazza San Lorenzo, the *Hercules and Cacus* in the Piazza della Signoria, and the choir screen of the Duomo in Florence, as well as the tombs of Popes Leo X and Clement VII in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome—were produced. Although Bandinelli's sculpture has been disparaged by his contemporaries and modern critics alike, his gifts as a draftsman have long been admired.

The pen technique and spirited handling of the Fioratti sheet distinguish it from other animal studies by Bandinelli, which are executed in chalk with a careful, even labored attention to detail.<sup>1</sup> While those were evidently drawn from life, the idealized, classicizing aspect of the horse's head suggests that Bandinelli's source here was an antique relief.<sup>2</sup>

A similar drawing of a horse's head by Bandinelli was formerly in the Witt Collection, London (fig. 21.2). Executed in the same

technique as the Fioratti study, it is identically inscribed in a sixteenth-century hand with Bandinelli's name and a collector's inventory number.<sup>3</sup> Roger Ward has suggested that both drawings may originally have comprised part of a single sheet measuring 45 by 31.5 centimeters, the paper size favored by Bandinelli throughout his career.<sup>4</sup>

The similarities between these two studies indicate that they are likely to have derived from the same model. A possible candidate is a Roman sarcophagus with the battle of the Greeks and the Amazons, a frequently depicted subject of which an example in the Vatican is a characteristic representative (fig. 21.1).<sup>5</sup> The rearing horse in right profile at the center and the horse seen full face at the far right exhibit striking parallels with Bandinelli's studies. Although the neck is drawn in the opposite direction, the head in the ex-Witt study is particularly close to the horse at the far right in the relief, exhibiting the same long, narrow muzzle and unusual frontal aspect.

The function of these studies—be they estranged fragments of a single drawing or two closely related and contemporaneous sketches—remains an open question. They may have been executed in connection with a battle scene intended for the base of the Giovanni delle Bande Nere monument mentioned by Bandinelli in 1554 but never installed,<sup>6</sup> but they are more likely to be studies after the antique made with no specific end in mind.

LWS

1. On this point, see Roger Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli, 1493–1560: Drawings from British Collections*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1988), under no. 4; Ward, in Miklos Boskovits, ed., *The Martello Collection: Further Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures, 13th–18th Century* (Florence, 1992), no. 2, p. 14.

2. Ward, in *Martello Collection*, under no. 2, p. 16, without referring to a specific model. Ward also raises the possibility that a Renaissance battle scene such as Bertoldo's celebrated relief (Bargello, Florence), itself an

evocation of classical relief sculpture, or possibly a wax or terracotta model may have served as Bandinelli's source.

3. Ward, in *Martello Collection*, under no. 2.

4. Ward, in *Martello Collection*, under no. 2.

5. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London and New York, 1986), no. 139. This work was known since at least the fifteenth century, and was widely copied in the sixteenth century.

6. This possibility was raised by Ward, in *Martello Collection*, under no. 2.

## JACOPO DI GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO, called JACONE

Florence 1495–Florence 1553

### 22 A Group of Three Figures

Pen and brown ink. 268 × 215 mm (10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: sale, Christie's, London, November 23, 1971, no. 204 (as Niccolò Tribolo); [Aldega and Gordon].

LITERATURE: Marcello Aldega and Margot Gordon, *Italian Drawings of XVI Century*, exh. cat., New York, 1987 (Rome, 1986), no. 3, repr.

This sketch is by the same hand as a number of other, similarly eccentric drawings in the British Museum, London, at Christ Church, Oxford, and elsewhere, which were attributed by Christopher Lloyd to Niccolò Tribolo (1500–1550).<sup>1</sup> However, James Byam Shaw, in his catalogue of drawings at Christ Church, expressed the unpublished opinion of Ulrich Middeldorf that they are instead by Jacopo di Giovanni di Francesco, called Jacone.<sup>2</sup> This attribution, now generally accepted, is based partly on the fact that two sheets in the Uffizi are inscribed with his name<sup>3</sup> and partly on the stylistic compatibility of the drawings with Jacone's few extant paintings, notably the *Virgin and Child with Four Saints* in the church of the Madonna del Calcinaio, Cortona.<sup>4</sup>

According to Vasari, Jacone was a pupil of Andrea del Sarto (see no. 19).<sup>5</sup> He seems to have made at least one trip to Rome, and about 1535–36 he assisted Pontormo in his work in the Medici villa of Careggi. Although the *Vite* is an indispensable source for reconstructing Jacone's oeuvre, Vasari devotes more space to his condemnation of the artist's bohemian lifestyle than he does to his career as a painter.

In style, Jacone's paintings are reminiscent of those by Andrea del Sarto, but his drawings also reflect the influence of Michelangelo (see no. 18), Pontormo (1494–1557), and Rosso Fiorentino (1495–1540). Most sheets by Jacone are in pen and ink, and many somewhat resemble drawings by Baccio Bandinelli (see no. 21), which helps to account for Lloyd's attribution of the entire group to the Florentine sculptor Tribolo.

The present sketch was described by Christie's in 1971 as "Christ Blessing Two Women," but—as is true of so many other drawings by the artist—its real subject remains obscure.

WMG

1. Christopher Lloyd, "Drawings Attributable to Niccolò Tribolo," *Master Drawings* 6, no. 3 (1968), pp. 243–45, pls. 2–9.

2. James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 61–62, under no. 102.

3. Inv. nos. 344 F (inscribed, *Giacone*), 882 F (inscribed, *Giacone fiorentino*). See Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi: Inventario. Disegni di figura*. 1 (Florence, 1991), nos. 344 F, 882 F, repr.

4. Reproduced in Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters*, vol. 1, fig. 17.

5. The principal account of Jacone's life is in the chapter on Aristotile da Sangallo; other references to his work are found in the *Vite* of Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo. See Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5, p. 58, vol. 6, pp. 281, 450–54.

AGNOLO DI COSIMO TORI,  
called BRONZINO

Monticelli (Florence) 1503–Florence 1572

23 *Reclining Male Nude*

Black chalk. 329 × 446 mm (12<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 17<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in graphite at lower right, *Angelo Bronzino*.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1975, no. 16, pl. 8.

LITERATURE: Charles R. Saumarez-Smith, in Konrad Oberhuber, ed., *Renaissance and Baroque Drawings from the Collections of John and Alice Steiner*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown; J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), no. 3, repr.; Edward J. Olszewski, with the assistance of Jane Glauinger, *The Draftsman's Eye: Late Italian Renaissance Schools and Styles*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979 (Cleveland, 1981), no. 10, repr.; Robin Thorne Ptacek and Alfred Moir, in Alfred Moir, ed., *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of John and Alice Steiner*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery; Santa Barbara Museum of Art; Springfield Museum of Fine Arts; Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary (Santa Barbara, 1986), no. 8, repr.; Larry J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, exh. cat., Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College; Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College (Oberlin, 1991), no. 12, repr.

Among Bronzino's last major works is a large fresco of the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence (fig. 23.1).<sup>1</sup> Commissioned by Cosimo I de' Medici in 1565 and unveiled in 1569, the painting has on occasion been criticized for the excessive intricacy of its composition as well as for a certain lack of feeling. However, Sidney Freedberg's often-quoted description of the overall effect as that of "a beautifully artificial fusion of gymnasium and ballet, played upon an antique stage" is perhaps more to the point.<sup>2</sup>

This superb drawing corresponds quite closely to the male nude, sometimes identified

as a river god, in the lower right-hand corner of the finished work. In the fresco, the sphere at the right in the present study has been suppressed, the figure holds an urn, and much of his left arm is cut off by the edge of the composition. Robin Thorne Ptacek and Alfred Moir have pointed out that the pose may have been inspired by the Belvedere torso, although the figure in the drawing also reflects Bronzino's familiarity with and admiration for works by Michelangelo. Other studies for individual figures in the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* are in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (for the executioner operating the bellows; rejected by Craig Hugh Smyth)<sup>3</sup> and the Musée du Louvre, Paris (for the figure at the lower left corner in the fresco).<sup>4</sup>

WMG

1. See Charles McCorquodale, *Bronzino* (New York, 1981), pp. 149, 154, pl. 106; S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500–1600*, 2d ed. (1983; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1986), p. 459, fig. 196.

2. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy*, p. 459.

3. Inv. no. 10220 F. See Craig Hugh Smyth, *Bronzino as Draughtsman: An Introduction, with Notes on His Portraiture and Tapestries* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1971), pp. 45, 78 n. 211.

4. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 10900. See Smyth, *Bronzino as Draughtsman*, pp. 44–45, 78 n. 210, fig. 40; Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens I. Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600. Vasari et son temps* (Paris, 1972), no. 13, repr.

AGNOLO DI COSIMO TORI,  
called BRONZINO

Monticelli (Florence) 1503–Florence 1572

OR

ALESSANDRO ALLORI

Florence 1535–Florence 1607

24 *Design for a Ceiling with the Ascension*

Black chalk. 251 × 295 mm (9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library (I, 36)



PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *A Selection from the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1905), no. 36, repr. (as Daniele da Volterra); Philip Pouncey, "Drawings by Alessandro Allori for the Montauto Chapel in the SS. Annunziata," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan, 1977), pp. 446–47, fig. 410 (as attributed to Alessandro Allori); Gabrielle Langdon, "A Reattribution: Alessandro Allori's Lady with a Cameo," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989), pp. 34–35, fig. 9 (as Alessandro Allori).

In 1958, Philip Pouncey proposed that this beautiful drawing might be by Bronzino<sup>1</sup>—a suggestion endorsed by Craig Hugh Smyth in a note on the mount. Later, however, Pouncey appears to have changed his mind, and in 1977, he published the sheet as the work of Bronzino's most talented pupil and closest follower, Alessandro Allori. Clearly a study for the decoration of the ceiling of a small room, such as a private chapel, the drawing represents the Ascension flanked by the Noli Me Tangere and Incredulity of Saint Thomas; four muscular putti holding garlands occupy the irregularly shaped fields surrounding the central oval.

Pouncey observed that the design is "similar in general taste" to the frescoed vault of the Montauto Chapel in the church of the Santissima Annunziata, Florence, which was executed by Allori in 1559 or 1560.<sup>2</sup> However, the sheet is also close in style to works by Bronzino. It is, for example, comparable in handling to Bronzino's highly finished study of Joseph recounting his dream of the sun, moon, and stars—preparatory for a tapestry woven during the late 1540s<sup>3</sup>—and has features in common with the artist's somewhat damaged and reworked *modello* for the altarpiece of the Resurrection that he painted for the Santissima Annunziata in 1549–52.<sup>4</sup> The precision, delicacy, and refinement of the present sheet are more often associated with drawings

by the teacher than with those by the pupil, and therefore suggest that it might be a late work by Bronzino, instead of an early one by Allori.

WMG

1. According to the files of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
2. Philip Pouncey, "Drawings by Alessandro Allori for the Montauto Chapel in the SS. Annunziata," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan, 1977), p. 447. For Allori's frescoes in the Montauto Chapel, see Pouncey, "Drawings by Alessandro Allori," pp. 442–47, fig. 407; Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* (Turin, 1991), pp. 221–22, no. 19, figs. 25–45.
3. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See Craig Hugh Smyth, *Bronzino as Draughtsman: An Introduction, with Notes on His Portraiture and Tapestries* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1971), pp. 35–39, fig. 33.
4. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 13843 F. See Smyth, *Bronzino as Draughtsman*, pp. 41–43, fig. 38.

## FRANCESCO DE' ROSSI, called FRANCESCO SALVIATI

Florence 1510–Florence 1563

### 25 Young Male Figure Seated on Drapery

Verso: *Bearded Male Figure Holding Drapery*

Pen and brown ink. 417 × 260 mm (16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.).

Inscribed at lower left of recto in light brown ink, 12; in darker brown ink, *Salviati*; in brown ink at lower right of verso, *Baccio Bandinello fec[ ]*.

Michael Hall, Esq.

PROVENANCE: earl of Warwick (Lugt 2600); two unidentified collectors' stamps on verso; [Paul McCaron].

LITERATURE: *The Male Nude*, exh. cat., Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra University (Hempstead, N.Y., 1973), no. 1, repr. on cover (as Ammanati); Ebria Feinblatt, *Old Master Drawings from American Collections*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1976), no. 27, repr. (as Ammanati).

The hard, incisive line of this double-sided sheet and the dense cross-hatching analogous to chisel strokes are typical of a sculptor's draftsmanship, and it is perhaps for this reason that the drawing was until recently, but with little foundation, ascribed to the Florentine sculptor and architect Bartolommeo Ammanati (1511–1592).<sup>1</sup> Baccio Bandinelli (see no. 21), whose drawings are quintessential exemplars of this "sculptural" graphic style, was once credited with the study on the verso, as an inscription attests, while another inscription on the recto records an old attribution to Francesco Salviati. Despite this early testimony, it was only recently that Alessandro Nova recognized the drawing as the work of Salviati.

The evident similarities with Bandinelli's graphic style indicate that the sheet in all likelihood dates from the brief period of Salviati's apprenticeship in the sculptor's workshop (1526–27). The handling and technique—a reminder of Salviati's early training as a goldsmith—as well as the sculptural treatment of forms are consistent with a small group of drawings traditionally ascribed to Bandinelli which Catherine Monbeig Goguel has recently assigned to Salviati and dated to the period of his tenure in Bandinelli's workshop.<sup>2</sup> Some of these are executed in red chalk and closely emulate Bandinelli's highly finished drawings in this medium, and others, including the present studies, are pen drawings of single figures which testify to the artist's concern with anatomy and complicated posturings.

The pose of the figure on the recto is reminiscent of the Belvedere torso, a celebrated fragment of Hellenistic sculpture which was repeatedly quoted by artists in the sixteenth century, while that on the verso was evidently inspired by the central figure in the sculptural group of the *Laocoön*, discovered in Rome in 1506.<sup>3</sup> This circumstance further links

the Hall drawing with the above-mentioned studies recently given to Salviati, most of which have been identified as copies after sculpture, both antique fragments and a *Hercules* by Michelangelo.<sup>4</sup>

LWS

1. *The Male Nude*, exh. cat., Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra University (Hempstead, N.Y., 1973), no. 1; Ebria Feinblatt, *Old Master Drawings from American Collections*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1976), no. 27. Both these sources cite John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London, 1963), as a reference for the present drawing. Pope-Hennessy discusses Ammanati's Neptune fountain in Florence, a work to which the figures on the recto and verso were thought to relate when the drawing was ascribed to the sculptor, but the drawing—which bears no relation to any of the fountain figures—is not mentioned. Ulrich Middeldorf appears to have been the first to ascribe this sheet to Ammanati.

2. Catherine Monbeig Goguel, review of Baccio Bandinelli, 1493–1560: *Drawings from British Collections* by Roger Ward, *Burlington Magazine* 131 (October 1989), p. 713; see also the same author's discussion in *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt: Disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, exh. cat., Palazzo Reale (Turin, 1989), under no. 49a.

3. The quotation of the *Laocoön* was noted in *The Male Nude*, under no. 1. Salviati may also have been inspired by the straining, muscular *ignudi* of the Sistine ceiling—their themselves descendants of the Belvedere torso—whose idealized facial types and long curling locks are echoed in the youth on the recto, and whose poses are recalled in the posturing figures on both recto and verso.

4. Monbeig Goguel, in *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt*, under no. 49a. A pen drawing there attributed to Salviati was earlier connected with Michelangelo's lost Fontainebleau *Hercules* by the same author (review of Ward, Bandinelli, p. 713), who cited two additional drawings by the artist in the Louvre which are likewise based on this source. For the latter, see Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens I. Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600. Vasari et son temps* (Paris, 1972), nos. 158, 159, repr.

The sheet published by Monbeig Goguel in *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt*, under no. 49a, was recently with Katrin Bellinger (*Drawings Related to Sculpture, 1520–1620* [London, 1992], no. 8, repr.), who observed that Salviati's study may be based on Michelangelo's *modello* for this marble sculpture.

## 26 *Female Nude Turned toward the Right*

Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper; repaired at right. 343 × 283 mm (13½ × 11¼ in.).

Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman

PROVENANCE: Michel Gaud; sale, Sotheby's Monaco, June 20, 1987, no. 13, repr.

This drawing by Salviati is a copy after one of the figures from Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel, executed between 1534 and 1541. The figure, one of the saved souls, occurs at the upper left in the finished work. Given its great height, this detail would have been difficult to see from the floor of the chapel, particularly without the benefit of modern lighting, making it improbable that Salviati based his very precise drawing on the actual fresco. It is more likely that the artist had access to an original drawing by Michelangelo for this part of the composition, or that he employed one of the early reproductive prints by Giulio Bonasone, Niccolò della Casa, Nicolas Béatrizet, or Giorgio Ghisi (fig. 26.1).<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that Salviati's source was a painted copy of the *Last Judgment* made in 1549 by Marcello Venusti (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples).<sup>2</sup> Venusti's copy resulted from a Farnese commission and was possibly executed for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who was also Salviati's patron in the 1540s and 1550s. These copies, like Salviati's drawing, were executed before Daniele da Volterra painted draperies over the nude figures following a 1563 decree of the Council of Trent.

A similar, highly finished black-chalk study of a female nude by Salviati in the British Museum (fig. 26.2), characterized by the same softly modeled contours, has been dated to the 1550s, the period to which the present sheet may also be assigned.<sup>3</sup> Like the Taubman drawing, the *Seated Female Figure* in London appears to be based on a prototype

by Michelangelo, the figure of Dawn from the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici in the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo, Florence.<sup>4</sup>

LWS

1. On Ghisi's engravings after the *Last Judgment*, executed as a series of ten joined prints and datable to the mid-1540s, see Suzanne Boorsch, and Michal and R. E. Lewis, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1985), no. 9.

2. On Venusti's copy of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, see Clare Robertson, "Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 33, 158, pl. x.

3. Inv. no. 1946-7-13-518. See Nicholas Turner, *Florentine Drawings of the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1986), no. 130, repr.

4. Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo* (Princeton, 1975), fig. 110. The connection with Michelangelo was previously unnoticed.

## GIORGIO VASARI

Arezzo 1511–Florence 1574

## 27 *The Fruits of the Earth Offered to Saturn*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of red chalk. 171 × 392 mm (6¾ × 15½ in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1971 (1971.273)

PROVENANCE: E. Calando (Lugt 837); J. A. Gere.

LITERATURE: Walter Vitzthum, review of *Vasari pittore* by Paola Barocchi, *Complementi al Vasari pittore* by Paola Barocchi, and *Mostra di disegni del Vasari e della sua cerchia* by Paola Barocchi, in *Master Drawings* 3, no. 1 (1965), p. 56, fig. 2; *Italian 16th-Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat., Merchant's Hall (Edinburgh, 1969), no. 89, pl. 51; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1971–1972* (New York, 1972) p. 40; Jacob Bean, *European Drawings Recently Acquired, 1972–1975*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1975), no. 31; Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida Storica* (Florence, 1980), p. 71, fig. 17(11) (erroneously said to be in "Londra, City Art Gallery"); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 262, repr.; Larry J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, exh. cat., Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College; Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College (Oberlin, 1991), no. 52, repr.

Under Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Giorgio Vasari was entrusted with refurbishing the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, as a residence. Vasari was assisted in this prestigious commission by a team of artists as well as by scholars, who devised the allegorical program that was to determine the subjects of the paintings and frescoes in the principal apartments. The first two suites of rooms to be decorated were the Quartiere degli Elementi and the Quartiere di Leone X, which were begun in 1555 and 1556, respectively.

The present drawing is a study for a fresco in the Sala degli Elementi—the main room in the Quartiere degli Elementi—which is situated on the top floor of the southeastern part of the building.<sup>1</sup> The fresco was painted between 1555 and 1556 by Vasari with the help of his friend Cristofano Gherardi, called il Doceno (1508–1556), who was a native of Borgo Sansepolcro and a pupil of Raffaellino del Colle. Although Gherardi played a significant part in the execution of the frescoes in the Sala degli Elementi, the Metropolitan Museum's study is unquestionably by Vasari, who supplied this and other designs for his assistant to translate into paint.<sup>2</sup> In composition, the sheet differs from the fresco only in certain details, such as the copse of trees that appears behind the central group of figures in the finished work.

Vasari provides an elaborate explanation of the iconography of the fresco.<sup>3</sup> Saturn (Cronus) is seated on the right, while a group of men and women present him with the various fruits of the earth, including flowers, fruit, oil, honey, and milk, offering him as well the agricultural implements that have enabled them to reap such bounty. The snake biting its tail which Saturn holds in his right hand is emblematic of both the rotundity of the heavens and the seamless passage of time, and the

goat seated by his side is taken from the *impresa* of the duke. WMG

1. See Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida Storica* (Florence, 1980), pp. 66–67, fig. 17.II.
2. On the nature of the two artists' collaboration, see Walter Vitzthum, review of *Vasari pittore* by Paola Barocchi, *Complementi al Vasari pittore* by Paola Barocchi, and *Mostra di disegni del Vasari e della sua cerchia* by Paola Barocchi, in *Master Drawings* 3, no. 1 (1965), p. 56.
3. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 8, pp. 30–32.

## 28 *The Abduction of Ganymede*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on blue paper. 231 × 180 mm (9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *Vasari*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1983 (1983.31)

PROVENANCE: mark mistakenly associated with Pierre Crozat (Lugt 474); Jan Pietersz. Zoomer (Lugt 1511); William Mayor (Lugt 2799); A. E. Popham; sale, Sotheby's, London, November 18, 1982, no. 22, repr.

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1982–1983* (New York, 1983), p. 24; Jacob Bean, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notable Acquisitions 1982–1983* (New York, 1983), p. 47, repr.; Alessandro Cecchi, "Disegni inediti o poco noti di Giorgio Vasari," in *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana* (Munich, 1992), pp. 244, 246, fig. 7.

Ganymede is carried heavenward by Jupiter in the form of an eagle, while a group of shepherds, some wearing Phrygian caps, look on in astonishment. This sheet may have been inspired by Michelangelo's celebrated drawing of the same mythological subject, executed about 1532 for Tommaso de' Cavalieri and known through innumerable copies.<sup>1</sup> In the drawing by Michelangelo, however, the figure of Ganymede is more idealized than in the present work, which depicts the scene in a comparatively lighthearted vein.

In 1992, Alessandro Cecchi related the Metropolitan Museum's sketch to one of six lost tapestries that originally decorated the Sala di Giove of the Quartiere degli Elementi in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.<sup>2</sup> The tapestries were completed in 1558,<sup>3</sup> and are fully described in Vasari's *Ragionamenti*.<sup>4</sup> In the *Vite*, the artist credits Stradanus (1523–1605) with having made the cartoons for the tapestries in the Sala di Giove.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the delicate calligraphy, precision, and economy of line that distinguish the present sheet are typical of drawings by Vasari, who presumably created this sketch specifically for use by his assistant.

WMG

1. The original may be a drawing in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (inv. no. 1955-75). See Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings* (New Haven and London, 1988), p. 112, pl. 223.
2. See Alessandro Cecchi, "Disegni inediti o poco noti di Giorgio Vasari," in *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana* (Munich, 1992), p. 244.
3. Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida storica* (Florence, 1980), p. 96.
4. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 8, pp. 68, 70–71.
5. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 7, p. 617.

## Attributed to TOMMASO MANZUOLI, called MASO DA SAN FRIANO

San Friano ca. 1532–Florence 1571

### 29 Sheet of Studies

Red chalk. 252 × 176 mm (9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Eleanor and Sarah Hewitt (1931-64-78)

PROVENANCE: John J. Peoli.

LITERATURE: *Pontormo to Greco: The Age of Mannerism*, exh. cat., John Herron Art Museum (Indianapolis, 1954), no. 68, repr. (as the work of a Florentine artist); *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., John Herron Art Museum (Indianapolis, 1962), no. 21.

Tommaso Manzuoli, better known as Maso da San Friano, is said by Giorgio Vasari to have studied with Pier Francesco Foschi (1502–1567), and by Raffaello Borghini to have been a pupil of Carlo Portelli (before 1510–1574). A double portrait of 1556 in the Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome, is Maso's earliest dated painting. In style, it anticipates later works by the artist, which are much simpler in composition and more restrained in expression than those by the majority of his contemporaries. Like other Florentine painters of his generation, Maso seems to have been keenly aware of the work of such earlier sixteenth-century artists as Fra Bartolommeo (see no. 17) and especially Andrea del Sarto (see no. 19), with the consequence that pictures by Maso bear a curious resemblance to those by, for example, Giovanni Antonio Sogliani (see no. 20), who was some four decades his senior. In 1571, Maso contributed two paintings to the decoration of the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. In these and other panels that he executed toward the end of his brief career, Maso exhibits a close stylistic affinity to Pontormo (1494–1557) and (albeit to a lesser degree) Rosso Fiorentino (1495–1540).<sup>1</sup>

In all, only about twenty paintings are generally accepted as the work of Maso da San Friano, but a considerable number of drawings survives, including some sheets that are related to paintings, at least one that is signed, and several others that bear old inscriptions identifying him as the artist.<sup>2</sup> The present sheet represents—clockwise from the lower right-hand corner—a hatted man standing at the foot of a flight of stairs and giving alms to a tonsured religious; a dandified youth holding a sword; a male penitent (?; Saint Benedict on the thorns?); and a female religious. The angularity of the contours and tiny facial features that distinguish the sheet in the

Cooper-Hewitt Museum are typical of Maso's work as a draftsman, as is the use of parallel hatching to set off the figures.<sup>3</sup> More unusual is the use of red instead of black chalk.<sup>4</sup> Since the sheet is not related to a known painting,<sup>5</sup> the attribution of this sketch to Maso—rather than to his contemporaries Francesco Brina (ca. 1540–1586), Mirabello Cavalori (ca. 1510/20–ca. 1572), or Girolamo Macchietti (1535–1592)—must remain somewhat hypothetical.

WMG

1. See Valentino Pace, "Maso da San Friano," *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 5, 61 (1976), pp. 74–99, figs. 1–48 (with a catalogue raisonné).
2. See Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens I. Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600. Vasari et son temps* (Paris, 1972), nos. 45–56, all but no. 55 repr.; Pace, "Maso da San Friano"; Larry J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, exh. cat., Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College; Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College (Oberlin, 1991), pp. 121–27, nos. 26–28, repr.
3. Compare, for example, Maso's *Coronation of the Virgin with Six Saints* in the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. 10212). See Monbeig Goguel, *Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600*, no. 48, repr.
4. Only one of the forty-one drawings attributed to Maso in Pace, "Maso da San Friano," pp. 86–90, is in red chalk (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 286 F).
5. It is not inconceivable that the figures in the drawing are copied from the work of another artist.

## Attributed to ALESSANDRO ALLORI

Florence 1535–Florence 1607

### 30 Head of a Woman

Black chalk. 336 × 235 mm (13¼ × 9¼ in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *Old Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni. Colnaghi Drawings*, exh. cat. (New York, 1987), no. 20, repr. (attributed to Alessandro Allori).

This highly refined portrait of a young woman was attributed to Alessandro Allori by Jean-Luc Baroni.<sup>1</sup> Like his teacher and adoptive father, Bronzino (see nos. 23, 24), Allori was a distinguished portraitist, and the present study is not dissimilar in style to paintings and drawings by the younger artist.<sup>2</sup> The sheet is not, however, directly related to a known picture, nor is there any strictly comparable work in Allori's oeuvre—or that of his contemporaries.

Other portrait drawings by Allori include a three-quarter-length study of a man in the British Museum, which is close in style to sheets by Bronzino, but on balance seems more likely the work of the pupil,<sup>3</sup> and two studies in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi<sup>4</sup> and the Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris,<sup>5</sup> which are concerned primarily with details of costume. All three differ from the present example in scale as well as degree of finish, and none represents only the head of the sitter. The handling of this sheet suggests that, unlike Allori's previously identified portrait drawings, it was made as an independent work of art, just as Michelangelo's famous likenesses of Tommaso de' Cavalieri (now lost) and Andrea Quaratesi (British Museum, London).<sup>6</sup>

The hairstyle of the sitter indicates a date about 1600, or perhaps a little later. If by Allori, the drawing must therefore have been executed toward the end of his career.

WMG

1. *Old Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni. Colnaghi Drawings*, exh. cat. (New York, 1987), no. 20, repr.
2. See Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* (Turin, 1991), nos. 175–218, figs. 408–31.
3. Inv. no. 1958-12-13-1. See Nicholas Turner, *Florentine Drawings of the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat., British

Museum (London, 1986), no. 119, repr.; Lecchini Giovannoni, *Allori*, no. 177, fig. 411.

4. Inv. no. 18542 F. See Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, "Di uno 'scartafaccio' ed altri disegni inediti di Alessandro Allori," *Paragone* 31, no. 365 (1980), pp. 68, 70, pl. 61.

5. Inv. no. 5063. See James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* (Paris, 1983), vol. 1, no. 33, vol. 3, pl. 42. The drawing was attributed to Allori by Catherine Monbeig Goguel.

6. Inv. no. 1895-9-15-519. See Johannes Wilde, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Michelangelo and His Studio* (London, 1953), no. 59, pls. LXXXVI, LXXXVIII; Turner, *Florentine Drawings*, no. 85, repr.

## SANTI DI TITO

Borgo Sansepolcro 1536–Florence 1633

### 3I *The Agony in the Garden*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over traces of black chalk, on blue paper; squared in black chalk. 202 × 151 mm (7<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Paul Sandby (Lugt 2112); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1984, no. 46, repr.

LITERATURE: Marco Collareta, in Simona Lecchini Giovannoni and Marco Collareta, *Disegni di Santi di Tito (1536–1603)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1985), p. 39, under no. 18.

Santi di Tito's first teacher appears to have been Sebastiano da Montecarlo, a very obscure follower of Raffaellino del Garbo. He later joined the *bottega* of Agnolo Bronzino (see nos. 23, 24), and finally that of Baccio Bandinelli (see no. 21). From 1558 to 1564, Santi was in Rome, where he executed frescoes in the Palazzo Salviati, the Casino Pio, and the Vatican Belvedere. After his return to Florence, he contributed three pictures to the decoration of the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici, and thereafter remained an extremely successful painter of altarpieces and other de-

votional images. The clarity and naturalism which distinguish the pictures that Santi executed in the last quarter of the sixteenth century are also evident in his drawings, of which the largest extant group is in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.<sup>1</sup>

Santi di Tito treated the subject of this drawing in an altarpiece, formerly in the church of Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence.<sup>2</sup> In the painting, which is signed and dated 1591, the figure of Christ is reversed and the three apostles are posed quite differently from those in the present sketch. According to Gunter Arnolds, Santi's altarpiece was inspired by a woodcut by Albrecht Dürer,<sup>3</sup> whereas Jack Spalding proposes that the source was Andrea del Minga's *Agony in the Garden* in the Florentine church of Santa Croce.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted, however, that the present drawing is less close than the finished work to either of these sources, so it is unlikely to have been a study for that altarpiece (which would presumably reflect the artist's familiarity with one or both of those models).

A copy of this sheet, conceivably by an artist in Santi's workshop, is in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.<sup>5</sup> WMG

1. On Santi di Tito as a draftsman, see Jack Spalding, *Santi di Tito*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976 (New York and London, 1982), pp. 87–133; Simona Lecchini Giovannoni and Marco Collareta, *Disegni di Santi di Tito (1536–1603)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1985), pp. 5–17.

2. See Spalding, *Santi di Tito*, pp. 410–12, no. 52, fig. 83. According to Spalding, the painting was badly damaged in the 1966 flood, and in 1975 it was in storage at the Fortezza del Basso.

3. Gunter Arnolds, *Santi di Tito, Pittore di Sansepolcro* (Arezzo, 1934), p. 54.

4. Spalding, *Santi di Tito*, pp. 410–11, under no. 52.

5. Inv. no. 5129 S; pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over traces of black chalk; 227 × 161 mm. See Marco Collareta, in Lecchini Giovannoni and Collareta, *Disegni di Santi di Tito*, no. 18, fig. 19.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA  
NALDINI

Florence 1537–Florence 1591

32 *Hercules and the Nemean Lion; Hercules  
and the Cretan Bull*

Verso: *Hercules and the Cretan Bull*

Pen and brown ink, over black chalk. 195 × 319 mm  
(7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: [John Morton Morris].

A pupil of Pontormo (1494–1557) and later an assistant of Giorgio Vasari (see nos. 27, 28), Giovanni Battista Naldini supplied two small paintings—the *Allegory of Dreams* and *Gathering of Amberggris*—for the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. During the 1570s, he produced a number of altarpieces for Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, Florence, and in Rome, he executed paintings and frescoes for the churches of San Giovanni Decollato and the Santissima Trinità dei Monti. His numerous drawings reflect the influence of Pontormo on the one hand and that of Andrea del Sarto (see no. 19) on the other.

The exceptionally vigorous sketches on both sides of the present sheet depict two of the labors that Hercules was required to perform during the twelve years he spent in the service of the king of Tiryns. On the recto, Hercules strangles the Nemean lion and subdues the Cretan bull; an alternative study for Hercules struggling with the Cretan bull appears on the verso of the sheet. The faint sketch at the left on the verso seems to be a design for the decoration of a ceiling, a project with which the various studies of Hercules might also be connected.

WMG

GIOVANNI BANDINI

Castello (Florence) 1540–Florence 1599

33 *Standing Apostle*

Pen and brown ink. 381 × 156 mm (15 × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pencil on the mount in an eighteenth-century hand, *Donatello* (partly trimmed).

The Metropolitan Museum, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.268)

PROVENANCE: John Skippe, the Upper Hall, Ledbury, England (see Lugt 1529a-b); his sister, Penelope Skippe, married in 1774 to James Martin, Overbury Court, Worcestershire; James Martin's son, Old Colwall, Malvern; by descent through his mother to Edward Holland; his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood; his nephew, Edward Holland-Martin; Skippe sale, Christie's, London, November 20–21, 1958, no. 10A (as Bandinelli); Robert Lehman.

LITERATURE: George Szabo, *XVI Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1979), no. 17, repr. (as Bandinelli); George Szabo, *Masterpieces of Italian Drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection* (New York, 1983), no. 35, repr. (as Bandinelli); Roger Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli, 1493–1560: Drawings from British Collections*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1988), under no. 45 (as Bandini); Anna Forlani Tempesti, "Disegni di 'Apostoli' di Giovanni Bandini," *Prospettiva*, nos. 57–60 (April 1989–October 1990), pp. 66, 69, fig. 8; Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 93, repr.

Like many drawings by Bandini, this sheet was until recently retained under the name of his teacher Bandinelli (see no. 21), who was credited with the invention in a seventeenth-century print by Jan de Bisschop in which the figure is reproduced in reverse.<sup>1</sup> The correct attribution was first proposed in 1988 by Roger Ward, who related the Lehman study to a stylistically homogeneous group of drawings, each of which depicts a single, standing male figure cloaked in flowing drapery and holding a book.<sup>2</sup> Representing prophets and apostles, these studies by Bandini are the graphic counterparts of his relief sculpture,



as Ward has noted, exhibiting the same schematic rendering of facial features, reductive treatment of anatomy, and simplified drapery patterns which serve to flatten rather than articulate the forms beneath.

Bandini's apostle drawings have been connected with two commissions he received from the *Opera* of the Florence cathedral: the choir-screen reliefs of standing saints and prophets—a project begun by Bandinelli and completed after his death in 1560 by Bandini—and two monumental sculptures in niches of standing apostles, Saint James the Less and Saint Philip.<sup>3</sup> Two of Bandini's drawings show the figure standing in a niche and have accordingly been recognized as studies for the apostle sculptures.<sup>4</sup> The Lehman sheet, in which no niche is delineated, is probably a design for the choir-screen reliefs, as Ward has suggested, although, as is the case with all the related studies, the saint does not correspond precisely to any of the carved figures and his identity cannot be determined owing to a lack of attributes.<sup>5</sup> Donatello's authorship of this study, proposed in an inscription on the eighteenth-century mount, can be completely dismissed, but the pose of the figure recalls in a general fashion one of the prophets from the Campanile of the Florence cathedral.<sup>6</sup>

LWS

1. Observed by A. E. Popham in the catalogue of the Skippe sale, Christie's, London, November 20–21, 1958, no. 10A; see Forlani Tempesti 1991, under no. 93. The print is reproduced as fig. 93.1.

2. Roger Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli, 1493–1560: Drawings from British Collections*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1988), under no. 45. See also Anna Forlani Tempesti, "Disegni di 'Apostoli' di Giovanni Bandini," *Prospettiva*, nos. 57–60 (April 1989–October 1990), pp. 66–73; and Forlani Tempesti 1991, under no. 93, for a discussion of Bandini's apostle drawings, which are preserved in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, the Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and elsewhere. Bandini's style as a

draftsman was defined by Ulrich Middeldorf, "Drawings by Giovanni dell'Opera," *Art Quarterly* 2 (1939), pp. 386–93, who first assembled some of the prophet and apostle drawings under Bandini's name. This core group was expanded by Popham in 1958 in the catalogue of the Skippe sale.

Like the Lehman *Standing Apostle*, most of the drawings now ascribed to this artist were at one time attributed to Bandinelli.

3. On the choir-screen reliefs, which Bandini completed in 1572, see John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 3d ed. (New York, 1985), pp. 365–66.

4. These are the drawings in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (inv. no. 1932.156), long ago recognized by Middeldorf as a study for the sculpture of Saint James the Less, and the Horne Foundation, Florence (inv. no. 5744; on deposit in the Uffizi), also first published by Middeldorf, "Giovanni dell'Opera." See also Forlani Tempesti, "Disegni di 'Apostoli,'" p. 66.

5. Ward, *Bandinelli*, under no. 45. The precise identities of the choir-screen figures are equally obscure, and so the lack of correspondence between the drawings and the reliefs does not rule out a connection. Forlani Tempesti, "Disegni di 'Apostoli,'" p. 70, proposes the alternative hypothesis that all these drawings by Bandini were executed in connection with the series of standing apostles in niches projected for the nave and tribune of the Florence cathedral, even though Bandini was only commissioned to execute two of the figures.

6. H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1963), pp. 33–41 and fig. 16b. This prophet is sometimes identified as Jeremiah. Middeldorf, "Giovanni dell'Opera," p. 392, noted that Bandini's apostle drawing in the Horne Foundation, Florence, is based on Donatello's *Zuccone*, another of the Campanile prophets.

## JACOPO ZUCCHI

Florence 1541/42–Rome ca. 1590

### 34 Design for a Fountain with the Figure of Oceanus and the River Gods Arno and Tiber

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk; sketch of a female figure in a chariot drawn by lions in black chalk on verso. 302 × 263 mm (11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Lined.

Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Institution Collections Acquisitions Fund (1992–93-1)

PROVENANCE: Anthony Blunt; John Gaskin; sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1989, no. 66, repr.; [Yves Mikaeloff].

LITERATURE: *Architectural and Decorative Drawings*, exh. cat., Courtauld Institute (London, 1940), no. 43 (as School of Giovanni Bologna); *Decorative Arts of the Italian Renaissance 1400–1600*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, 1958), no. 23, repr.; Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens I. Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600. Vasari et son temps* (Paris, 1972), p. 224, under no. 368; Edmund Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," *Master Drawings* 12, no. 1 (1974), pp. 21, 32 nn. 80–81, pl. 23; Nicolas Joly, *Dessins et tableaux de maîtres, avec la participation du Musée Pouchkine*, exh. cat., Yves Mikaeloff (Paris, 1990), no. 2, repr.

This elegant design was attributed to Jacopo Zucchi by Catherine Monbeig Goguel,<sup>1</sup> who noted its stylistic affinity to another project for a fountain in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.<sup>2</sup> The Louvre drawing, which was recognized as the work of Zucchi by A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey,<sup>3</sup> depicts a complex structure inhabited by sea nymphs and tritons, with Pegasus springing from the decapitated body of Medusa, and Perseus holding aloft the head of the Gorgon; her blood spills into a basin below, where it solidifies, becoming coral. The fountain in the present drawing is somewhat simpler in design. Water spurts from the mouth of Oceanus, god of the sea and father of the world's rivers, into an octagonal basin inhabited by two river gods: Tiber, accompanied by Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf that reared them, and Arno, with a lion, the emblem of Florence. Whereas the more elaborate fountain in the Louvre drawing was probably meant to be attached to a wall, that in the study recently acquired by the Cooper-Hewitt Museum is clearly freestanding.

Edmund Pillsbury has tentatively suggested that both designs may have been commissioned by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, who later became grand duke of Tuscany.<sup>4</sup>

Ferdinando was among Zucchi's principal patrons during the more than fifteen years that the artist spent in Rome, at first as an assistant to his teacher Giorgio Vasari (see nos. 27, 28), and later as an independent painter. Seven sheets by Zucchi have been associated with the decoration of the long gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome,<sup>5</sup> and a study by the artist for a ceiling, in the British Museum, bears Ferdinando's arms surmounted by a cardinal's hat, which suggests that the drawing was executed before he became grand duke in 1587.<sup>6</sup> The iconography of the present sheet, which alludes to both Florence and Rome, is appropriate to the Roman residence of a Florentine cardinal, although Pillsbury remarks that the patron could likewise have been Orazio Rucellai, in the courtyard of whose palace in Rome there are known to have been fountains.<sup>7</sup>

Another design by Jacopo Zucchi for a fountain is in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence,<sup>8</sup> and a copy of the present sheet is in the Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts.<sup>9</sup>

WMG

1. See Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens I. Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600. Vasari et son temps* (Paris, 1972), p. 224, under no. 368.

2. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 4553. See Roseline Bacou, in *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle européen: Dessins du Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1965), no. 254, pl. LXIX (attributed to Jacopo Zucchi); Monbeig Goguel, *Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600*, no. 368, repr.

3. Bacou, in *Le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle européen*, p. 105, under no. 254.

4. Edmund Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," *Master Drawings* 12, no. 1 (1974), p. 21.

5. Five are in the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, and two are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. nos. 2258, 2259). See Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," pp. 20–21, 31 n. 74, pls. 21a, 21b.

6. Inv. no. 1874-8-8-3. See Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," pp. 18–19, 30–31 n. 72, pl. 20.

7. Inv. no. 970 Orn. See Annamaria Petrioli Toffani, "Postille al 'Primato del Disegno,'" *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 6, 67, no. 13 (1982), p. 87, fig. 51, p. 88.

8. Inv. no. 64.36. See Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," p. 32 n. 80.

9. Inv. no. 64.36. See Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," p. 32 n. 80.

## JACOPO LIGOZZI

Verona 1547 (?)–Florence 1627

### 35 *The Beech Tree of the Madonna at La Verna*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk. The left hand of the Virgin is a pentimento that has been pasted onto the sheet. The contours are incised. 402 × 257 mm (15<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in graphite at upper right, P; in pen and brown ink on verso, no. 46; and, *Kaye Dowland 1869 / 185 53. / I.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1983 (1983.131.1)

PROVENANCE: Kaye Dowland (Lugt 691); [Lucien Goldschmidt].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1982–1983* (New York, 1983), p. 24; Jacob Bean, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notable Acquisitions 1983–1984* (New York, 1984), pp. 68–69, repr.; *Dessins florentins et romains de la Collection Frits Lugt*, exh. cat., Institut Néerlandais (Paris, 1984), p. 21, under no. 37; Jacob Bean, "Two Drawings by Jacopo Ligozzi," in *Festschrift to Erik Fischer: European Drawings from Six Centuries* (Copenhagen, 1990), pp. 211–16, fig. 1; Lucilla Conigliello, *Jacopo Ligozzi, Le vedute del Sacro Monte della Verna: I dipinti di Poppi e Bibbiena*, exh. cat., Castello dei Conti Guidi (Poppi, 1992), pp. 51, 78, under no. 25, fig. 45.

Born in Verona of a family of artists, Jacopo (or Giacomo) Ligozzi spent most of his life in Florence, where he worked for fifty years as court painter to the Medici. In this capacity, he executed designs for tapestries, glass, and

*pietre dure*, as well as large-scale paintings and many highly finished, colored drawings of plants and animals. Ligozzi's activity was not limited to secular commissions; he also painted a number of altarpieces, in addition to several frescoed lunettes in the cloister of the church of Ognissanti, Florence. As a draftsman, Ligozzi was greatly influenced by German prints, and his drawings tend to be extremely detailed and are often heightened with gold.

In 1607, he accompanied Fra Lino Moroni (d. 1633), Tuscan provincial of the Observant Franciscan order, to the remote sanctuary of La Verna in the Apennine Mountains where, in September 1224, Saint Francis had received the stigmata. At La Verna, Ligozzi executed the drawings for a series of illustrations for a lavish guidebook by Fra Lino, *Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Verna*, which was published in 1612 with a dedication to Cardinal Arcangelo da Messina.<sup>1</sup> Ligozzi's designs, etched and engraved by Domenico Falcini and Raffaello Schiaminossi, record the rugged topography of the site as well as the appearance of the church, chapels, and monastic buildings that were erected there between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Several of the prints incorporate scenes from the life of Saint Francis, while others depict miracles associated with the later history of La Verna. Ligozzi also contributed the design for the frontispiece, which represents Saint Francis displaying the stigmata, alongside the arms of the Observant Franciscans and those of the dedicatee of the book.

The Metropolitan Museum's drawing is a study for plate P, which was etched in reverse by Schiaminossi.<sup>2</sup> According to legend, the Virgin and Child appeared "many times" above an enormous beech tree at La Verna, and blessed the friars passing by on their way

to the church of the Stimate. The beech tree of the Madonna died in the sixteenth century, but the text that accompanies Schiaminossi's etching describes it as having been thirty braccia high and eighteen braccia wide, with a cavity in its trunk large enough to hold five men. In Ligozzi's drawing, as in the related print, a Franciscan is shown standing beneath the tree, explaining the miraculous apparition to two pilgrims.

Two other drawings by Ligozzi for illustrations to Fra Lino's guidebook were identified at about the same time as the present sheet. A study for plate X, which depicts a chapel beneath a beech tree with a bell suspended from its branches, is in the Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris,<sup>3</sup> and Ligozzi's preparatory drawing for plate L, the interior of the Chapel of the Holy Cross, is in the Département des Arts Graphiques of the Musée du Louvre.<sup>4</sup>

WMG

1. See Lucilla Conigliello, *Jacopo Ligozzi, Le vedute del Sacro Monte della Verna: I dipinti di Poppi e Bibbiena*, exh. cat., Castello dei Conti Guidi (Poppi, 1992), pp. 47–52, nos. 10–32, pls. x–xxxii.

2. *Faggio molto venerato da i Frati abitatori del Monte della Vernia, mentre ancora vegetava, o si conservava, perchè sopra di lui fu vista più volta MARIA Vergine in modo di benedirli mentre andavano in pricissione alle sacrate Stimate, o vero nel modo che è qui tenente GIESU bambino in grembo*. See Jacob Bean, "Two Drawings by Jacopo Ligozzi," in *Festschrift to Erik Fischer: European Drawings from Six Centuries* (Copenhagen, 1990), pp. 211, 213, fig. 2; Conigliello, *Jacopo Ligozzi*, no. 25, pl. xxv. The print measures 403 × 262 mm.

3. Inv. no. 5468. See James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* (Paris, 1983), vol. 1, no. 37, fig. 7 (the print), vol. 3, pl. 44 (the drawing).

4. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. RF 77. See Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), no. 251, repr.; Bean, "Two Drawings by Jacopo Ligozzi," pp. 211, 214, fig. 3 (the drawing), p. 215, fig. 4 (the print). The drawing was identified by Lawrence Turčić in 1983.

## LUDOVICO CARDI, called IL CIGOLI

Castelvecchio di Cigoli 1559–Rome 1613

### 36 *A Pope Receiving Divine Inspiration for His Writings*

Verso: *Studies of the Virgin and Child and Saints*

Pen and brown ink, gray-blue and brown wash, over black chalk (recto); pen and brown ink, gray-blue and brown wash (verso). 158 × 235 mm (6¼ × 9¼ in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: [Yvonne Tan Bunzl]; Dr. and Mrs. Malcolm W. Bick; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1984, no. 73, repr. p. 94 (recto).

LITERATURE: *Old Master Drawings Presented by Yvonne Tan Bunzl*, exh. cat. (London, 1971), no. 15; Edmund Pillsbury and John Caldwell, *Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings: Form and Function*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven, 1974), no. 43, repr. (recto and verso); Miles L. Chappell, in *Disegni dei toscani a Roma (1580–1620)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1979), p. 117, under no. 74; Françoise Viatte, in Françoise Viatte and Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Dessins baroques florentins du musée du Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1981), pp. 40–41, under no. 20; Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), p. 78, under no. 131; Miles L. Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1992), p. 38, under no. 23.

Ludovico Cardi, better known as il Cigoli after the name of his birthplace near San Miniato al Tedesco, west of Florence, began his training as a pupil of Alessandro Allori (see no. 30). He later studied with the Florentine architect Bernardo Buontalenti (1536–1608) and with Santi di Tito (see no. 31), whose emphasis on clarity of form had considerable impact on the subsequent development of the artist's style. Cigoli was also influenced by the work of Federico Barocci (see nos. 76–78) and the Venetian painters Titian (see no. 108) and Paolo Veronese (see no. 119).

The sketch on the recto of the sheet is closely associated with a number of other drawings by Cigoli. The earliest of these is a pen study in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence,<sup>1</sup> which—like a comparable sketch in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome<sup>2</sup>—represents a seated prelate, writing with the assistance of angels. Both appear to have been executed prior to the present, comparatively elaborate study, in which the setting is indicated, and the tiara worn by the seated prelate identifies him as a pope. The Musée du Louvre, Paris, possesses an even more highly finished study with a decorative border that incorporates putti and allegorical figures.<sup>3</sup> Still another design, with alternative solutions for the ornamental border, is in the Uffizi.<sup>4</sup> A study for the pope assisted by angels and a sketch of a lion held by a putto—presumably preparatory for the lower right-hand corner of the border—were recently on the art market in London.<sup>5</sup> Executed in pen and brown ink as well as red, yellow, and blue watercolor, these appear to be fragments of a considerably larger sheet. In both drawings, the composition is in reverse from the other known studies for the project.

Miles Chappell has identified the subject of this series of drawings as Pope Sixtus V receiving divine inspiration for the revised version of the Vulgate, known as the *Editio Sixtina*, which he published in 1589.<sup>6</sup> The sheet in the Louvre is inscribed, *Cigoli de Cartoni p[er] arazzi fatti al Card<sup>le</sup> montalto*. According to Cigoli's nephew and biographer Giovanni Battista Cardi, the artist made a number of tapestry designs for Alessandro Peretti, Cardinal Montalto—a great-nephew of Sixtus V and close friend of Ferdinando I de' Medici.<sup>7</sup> The tapestries were never woven, and this remarkable group of drawings provides the only visual record of Cigoli's composition.

On the verso of the present sheet are various studies of the Virgin and Child with the Archangel Saint Michael. These sketches are preparatory for the *Virgin and Child with Saints Michael and Peter*, a signed and dated work of 1593 in the church of San Michele Arcangelo, Pianezzole.<sup>8</sup> For stylistic as well as historical reasons, it seems likely that Cigoli's work for Cardinal Montalto was executed about the same time as that altarpiece.

WMG

1. Inv. no. 14022 F. See Miles L. Chappell, in *Disegni dei toscani a Roma (1580–1620)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1979), no. 74, fig. 91; Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1992), no. 23, fig. 23.

2. Inv. no. F.C. 130678. The drawing was identified by Anna Forlani Tempesti. See Chappell, *Disegni dei toscani a Roma*, p. 117, under no. 74 (school of Cigoli); Françoise Viatte, in Françoise Viatte and Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Dessins baroques florentins du musée du Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1981), p. 41, under no. 20 (after Cigoli); Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli*, p. 38, under no. 23.

3. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 889. See Viatte, in Viatte and Monbeig Goguel, *Dessins baroques florentins*, no. 20, repr.; Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), no. 131, repr.

4. Inv. no. 124 Orn. See Chappell, *Disegni dei toscani a Roma*, no. 73, fig. 92; Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli*, no. 22, figs. 22a (recto), 22b (verso).

5. Katrin Bellingier Kunsthandel, *Drawing in Florence 1500–1650*, exh. cat., Harari and Johns, London (Munich, 1991), no. 18a, repr., no. 18b, repr., respectively.

6. Chappell, *Disegni dei toscani a Roma*, p. 117, under no. 74. For an alternative interpretation of the subject, see A. Matteoli, *Lodovico Cardi Cigoli pittore e architetto* (Pisa, 1980), p. 320.

7. Giovanni Battista Cardi, *Vita di Ludovico Cardi Cigoli (1628)*, eds. G. Battelli and K. H. Busse (Florence, 1913), pp. 36f. See also Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, 7 vols. (Florence, 1846–47; reprint ed., Florence, 1974–75), vol. 7, p. 55.

8. See Franco Faranda, *Ludovico Cardi detto il Cigoli* (Rome, 1986), p. 123, no. 14, repr.

Oil paint on a sheet of paper bearing a long, illegible inscription in pen and brown ink. Varnished. 430 × 290 mm (16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Lined with canvas.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Carl L. Selden Gift, in memory of Carl L. Selden, 1987 (1987.198)

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: Miles L. Chappell, in *Il seicento fiorentino: Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Disegno / Incisione / Scultura / Arte minori*, exh. cat., Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1986), p. 122, under no. 2.68; *Old Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni. Colnaghi Drawings*, exh. cat. (New York, 1987), no. 19, repr. (before restoration); Lawrence Turčić, "New York: Four Exhibitions of Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 129 (September 1987), p. 622; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1987–1988* (New York, 1988), pp. 23–24; Miles Chappell, "On Some Drawings by Cigoli," *Master Drawings* 27, no. 3 (1989), pp. 200, 212 n. 34, pl. 9; Miles Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1992), pp. xiii, 83, under no. 49, p. 85, under no. 50.

This impressive oil sketch on paper corresponds in reverse to the head of Christ in a tapestry that was designed by Cigoli in 1600 and woven by Guasparri di Bartolomeo Papini in 1601 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence).<sup>1</sup> The tapestry, showing Christ brought before Herod, is one of a series of seven scenes from the Passion that were commissioned to decorate the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence on the feast of Corpus Domini. The remaining six tapestries were woven by Papini after cartoons by Alessandro Allori and other artists.<sup>2</sup>

Cigoli's cartoon is now lost, but a number of preparatory drawings have been identified. A pen-and-wash compositional study in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, corresponds quite closely to the tapestry, although in reverse.<sup>3</sup> Miles Chappell has recently connected two further drawings on the recto and verso of a sheet in the Gabinetto Disegni e

Stampe degli Uffizi with the figures of Herod and one of his soldiers.<sup>4</sup> The Uffizi also possesses a study for the head of Christ, which is, however, in the same direction as the tapestry.<sup>5</sup>

The head of Christ in the present drawing is similar to that in Cigoli's painting of the calling of Saint Peter, formerly in the Accademia di Belle Arti, Carrara,<sup>6</sup> and (in reverse) to that in the *Resurrection of Lazarus* in the church of the Conservatorio di Santa Maria, Montopoli.<sup>7</sup> Both pictures are datable to the late 1590s, not long before Cigoli began work on the cartoon for the tapestry. According to Chappell, it is not inconceivable that Cigoli utilized the Metropolitan Museum's oil sketch in connection with all three major works.<sup>8</sup>

WMG

1. Inv. no. 1925.517. See Mario Bucci et al., *Mostra del Cigoli e del suo ambiente*, exh. cat., Accademia degli Euteleti (San Miniato, 1959), no. 28, pl. xxviii; Franco Faranda, *Ludovico Cardi detto il Cigoli* (Rome, 1986), no. 51, repr.; *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo generale* (Florence, 1979), no. Ar34, repr.

2. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nos. 1925.514–1925.516, 1925.518–1925.520. Repr. *Gli Uffizi*, nos. Ar32, Ar36, Ar35, Ar30, Ar31, Ar33, respectively.

3. Inv. no. AE 1633. See Gisela Bergsträsser, *Dessins du Musée de Darmstadt*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1971), no. 14, pl. vii; Miles L. Chappell, in *Il seicento fiorentino: Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Disegno / Incisione / Scultura / Arte minori*, exh. cat., Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1986), no. 2.68, repr.

4. Inv. no. 8840 F. Miles Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1992), no. 49, figs. 49a (recto), 49b (verso).

5. Inv. no. 8835 F. See Chappell, in *Il seicento fiorentino*, p. 122, under no. 2.68; Chappell, "On Some Drawings by Cigoli," *Master Drawings* 27, no. 3 (1989), p. 200; Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli*, p. 85, under no. 50.

6. See Faranda, *Ludovico Cardi detto il Cigoli*, no. 40, repr.

7. See Faranda, *Ludovico Cardi detto il Cigoli*, no. 36, repr.

8. See Chappell, in *Il seicento fiorentino*, p. 122, under no. 2.68; Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli*, p. 85, under no. 50.

### 38 Study for a Male Figure Being Lowered into a Grave

Verso: *Kneeling Female Figure in Profile Facing Left*

Point of brush, blue wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on blue paper (recto and verso). 249 × 391 mm (9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at upper margin, *vignali*; at lower margin of old mount, *Jacopo Vignali Pittore*; and on verso of old mount, *Jacopo Vignali*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1981 (1981.128)

PROVENANCE: William Young Ottley (his mount, Lugt Suppl. 2662); Ottley sale, T. Philipe, London, June 6–23, 1814, no. 1409 (as Jacopo Vignali); Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Calmann; sale, Christie's, London, April 7, 1981, no. 49, repr. (recto).

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1980–1981* (New York, 1981), p. 27; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1981–1982* (New York, 1982), p. 21, repr. p. 22 (recto); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 50, repr. (recto and verso); Giulia Brunetti et al., *Disegni e incisioni della raccolta Marucelli* (Sec. XV–XVIII), exh. cat., Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence, 1983), p. 36, under no. 33; Miles Chappell, "Ludovico Cigoli's Lost *Burial of St. Paul*: Newly Discovered Drawings," *Master Drawings* 22, no. 3 (1984), pp. 291, 294 n. 16, pls. 7 (recto), 8 (verso); Miles L. Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1992), p. 170, under no. 100.

Although erroneously attributed to Jacopo Vignali in old inscriptions on both the drawing and its nineteenth-century mount, this magnificent sheet was recognized as the work of Cigoli when it was sold in London in 1981. On both sides are figure studies for one of Cigoli's most important late works, *The Burial of Saint Paul*, which was commissioned in 1606–7 for the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.<sup>1</sup> The painting was begun in 1609, but it was not yet finished when the artist died some four years later. Nevertheless, the altarpiece was set up in the apse of the basilica, where it remained until 1823, when a disastrous fire wrecked San Paolo fuori le Mura and virtually destroyed Cigoli's painting. No

trace of the picture remains today, but Miles Chappell has demonstrated that its appearance may be reconstructed from Cigoli's numerous surviving preparatory drawings and from engraved views of the basilica, made before as well as immediately after the fire.<sup>2</sup>

In composition, a fairly large, squared drawing in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi corresponds rather closely to the lost painting, although (according to Chappell) it must have been executed prior to the sketch in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>3</sup> On the recto of the present sheet is a study for the body of Saint Paul being lowered into his grave, very likely drawn from a live model in Cigoli's studio. The drawing differs from other preparatory studies for the *Burial of Saint Paul* in that it incorporates on the left the hands of the figure who, in the painting, was shown reuniting the saint's head with his body. On the verso is a study for the female figure (Saint Licina?) who kneels in the left foreground in the squared drawing in the Uffizi. Like the sketch on the recto of the sheet, the study of a woman comes closer to the painting (in which the figure's left hand was similarly extended toward the body of Saint Paul) than Cigoli's other known preparatory drawings.

The Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, possesses a study in red and black chalk for the figure of Saint Silvester, who stood behind the female mourner depicted in the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>4</sup> On the verso of the sheet in the Marucelliana is a sketch for the upper part of the body of the bearer whose hands are visible just below the knees of Saint Paul in the present study. Another, more elaborate drawing for the figure carrying the lower part of the body of Saint Paul, formerly attributed to Cristofano Allori, is in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome.<sup>5</sup>

WMG

1. See Miles L. Chappell, in Miles L. Chappell et al., *Disegni dei toscani a Roma (1580–1620)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1979), pp. 148–155; Anna Matteoli, *Lodovico Cardì-Cigoli: Pittore e architetto* (Pisa, 1980), pp. 211–13; Charles Henry Carman, *Cigoli Studies*, Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1972 (Ann Arbor, 1981), pp. 171–77; Miles Chappell, “Ludovico Cigoli’s Lost Burial of St. Paul: Newly Discovered Drawings,” *Master Drawings* 22, no. 3 (1984), pp. 287–89; Miles L. Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1992), pp. 168–70, under no. 100.
2. See Chappell, in *Disegni dei toscani a Roma*, nos. 98–103, figs. 124–30 (the related drawings in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi); Chappell, “Ludovico Cigoli’s Lost Burial of St. Paul,” pp. 290–92 (the drawings and engravings discussed), figs. 1–5 (the engravings).
3. Inv. no. 1698 E. See Chappell, *Disegni dei toscani a Roma*, no. 103, fig. 130; Chappell, “Ludovico Cigoli’s Lost Burial of St. Paul,” pp. 289–91, pl. 3; Chappell, *Disegni di Lodovico Cigoli*, no. 100, repr.
4. Volume B 3. See Chappell, “Ludovico Cigoli’s Lost Burial of St. Paul,” p. 291, pls. 9 (recto), 10 (verso); Giulia Brunetti et al., *Disegni e incisioni della raccolta Marucelli (Sec. XV–XVIII)*, exh. cat., Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence, 1983), no. 33; Giulia Brunetti, *I disegni dei secoli XV e XVI della Biblioteca Marucelliana di Firenze* (Rome, 1990), no. 195, repr. (recto and verso).
5. Inv. no. F.C. 124197. See Chappell, “Ludovico Cigoli’s Lost Burial of St. Paul,” pp. 291–92, pl. 11.

## GIOVANNI BALDUCCI, called IL COSCI

Florence ca. 1560–Naples after 1631

### 39 The Wedding at Cana (John 2:1–12)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white. 325 × 255 mm (12<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library (IV, 170)

PROVENANCE: William Mayor (Lugt 2799); Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, vol. 4 (London, 1912), no. 170, repr. (as Giorgio Vasari).

A pupil of Giovanni Battista Naldini (see no. 32), Giovanni Balducci, called il Cosci, was active first in Florence, then in Rome, and finally in Naples, where he spent the last three decades of his life. His principal works in Florence are three altarpieces and a series of frescoes in the Oratorio dei Pretori in via San Gallo, which were finished in 1590. Although he was a prolific artist, profoundly influenced by Naldini, Balducci was a timid draftsman, and his pen drawings—characterized by thin, nervous contours and pale washes—are seldom to be confused with those of his master.

This drawing is an exceptionally fine example of Balducci’s style. The artist treated the same subject in a fresco in the southwest corner of the Chiostro Grande of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, which was decorated between 1570 and 1584 by a team of artists that included, among others, Bernardino Poccetti (1548–1612) and Santi di Tito (see no. 31). Annamaria Petrioli Tofani tentatively associates two other drawings by Balducci, both rather different in composition and style from the sheet in the Morgan Library, with the *Wedding at Cana* in the Chiostro Grande.<sup>1</sup>

Another version of the present drawing, somewhat more labored in execution, is in an American private collection.<sup>2</sup>

WMG

1. See Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, “Postille al ‘Primato del Disegno,’” *Bollettino d’arte*, ser. 6, 67, no. 13 (1982), pp. 66–69, figs. 10 (Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett, Kassel, inv. no. 1118), 11 (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 434 S).

2. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk; 350 × 273 mm. See Larry J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, exh. cat., Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College; Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College (Oberlin, 1991), no. 4, repr. (as Balducci).



## ANDREA BOSCOLI

Florence ca. 1560–Rome 1608

### 40 *A Horse, Seen from Behind*

Red and black chalk. 226 × 136 mm (8⅞ × 5⅜ in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at upper right, *M.4.*

Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: Edward Bouverie (Lugt 325); [Katrin Bellinger].

LITERATURE: Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, *Drawing in Florence 1500–1650*, exh. cat., Harari and Johns, London (Munich, 1991), no. 20, repr.

This attractive sheet is identical in style and technique to many other works by Andrea Boscoli, in which red chalk is used to describe form and indicate cast shadows, while black chalk is used for the background. Although drawings of animals are rare in Boscoli's oeuvre, the Uffizi possesses a study of a camel, executed in the same combination of media.<sup>1</sup> The majority of Boscoli's drawings in red and black chalk, however, are studies of heads and hands and academic studies of nude youths. The latter are especially numerous, with examples in the Uffizi,<sup>2</sup> the Louvre,<sup>3</sup> and other collections.<sup>4</sup>

These drawings may date from rather early in Boscoli's career, since one of the few comparable sheets that is directly related to a known painting is a study for the figure of Temperance in a fresco of 1587 in the cloister of San Pier Maggiore, Florence.<sup>5</sup> When he undertook that project, Boscoli had recently left the workshop of his teacher, Santi di Tito (see no. 31), one of the artists responsible for the revival of interest in life drawing that took place in Florence during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Yet Boscoli's drawing style—in which surfaces are somewhat schematically rendered in terms of facetlike planes—makes it difficult to determine which of his chalk studies were drawn from life and which are records of sculpture.

The artist's sketches of nude youths and, by implication, stylistically related sheets such as this one do have the appearance of exercises in life drawing. A study of this type in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin, however, bears an old inscription suggesting that it was drawn from a lay figure or wax statuette. Thus, while the subject of the sketch of a camel in the Uffizi is so unusual that it seems likely that the sheet records the appearance of a living animal, the present carefully rendered drawing might—despite its naturalism, but like the study of a horse's head by Baccio Bandinelli also in this exhibition (see no. 21)—be based on a wax model or possibly a small bronze.

WMG

1. Inv. no. 826 Orn. See Anna Forlani, *Mostra di disegni di Andrea Boscoli*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1959), no. 30; Anna Forlani, "Andrea Boscoli," *Proporzioni* 4 (1963), p. 143, no. 50. An early copy of this drawing is also in the Uffizi (inv. no. 825 Orn.). See Forlani, "Andrea Boscoli," no. 49.

2. See Forlani, *Mostra di disegni di Andrea Boscoli*, no. 7; Anna Forlani Tempesti, in *Il primato del disegno*, exh. cat., Palazzo Strozzi (Florence, 1980), no. 106, repr.

3. See Françoise Viatte, in Françoise Viatte and Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Dessins baroques florentins du musée du Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1981), no. 31, repr.; Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), nos. 46–50, repr.

4. See Anna Forlani Tempesti, in Gianni Carlo Sciolla, ed., *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt: Disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, exh. cat., Palazzo Reale (Turin, 1990), no. 89, repr.; Catherine Monbeig Goguel, in *Disegno: Les dessins italiens du Musée de Rennes*, exh. cat., Galleria Estense, Modena, and Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes (Rennes, 1990), pp. 136–37, no. 62, repr. Others were sold at Sotheby's, London, December 4, 1969, no. 83, repr., and at Christie's, New York, January 10, 1990, no. 26, repr. (later with W. M. Brady, *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat. [New York, 1990], no. 4, repr.).

5. Inv. no. 788 F. See Forlani, *Mostra di disegni di Andrea Boscoli*, no. 33; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi: Inventario. Disegni di figura. 1* (Florence, 1991), no. 788 F, fig. 11.

# Genoa

## LUCA CAMBIASO

Moneglia 1527–El Escorial 1585

### 41 *The Visitation* (Luke 1:40)

Pen and brown ink. 495 × 343 mm (19½ × 13½ in.).

Robert L. Manning

PROVENANCE: Bryson Burroughs; H. S. Schaeffer.

LITERATURE: Bertina Suida Manning and William Suida, *Luca Cambiaso: La vita e le opere* (Milan, 1958), p. 190, pl. cx, fig. 176; Robert and Bertina Suida Manning, *Genoese Masters: Cambiaso to Magnasco 1550–1750*, exh. cat., Dayton Art Institute, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, and Wadsworth Atheneum (Dayton, 1962), no. 70, repr.; Robert L. Manning, *Genoese Painters: Cambiaso to Magnasco 1550–1750*, exh. cat., Finch College Museum of Art (New York, 1964), no. 15, repr.; Piero Torriti, *Luca Cambiaso: Disegni* (Geneva, 1967), pl. xiv; Robert L. Manning, *Luca Cambiaso Drawings*, exh. cat., Finch College Museum of Art (New York, 1967), no. 28, repr.; Bertina Suida Manning and Robert L. Manning, *The Genoese Renaissance, Grace and Geometry: Paintings and Drawings by Luca Cambiaso from the Suida Manning Collection*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Houston, 1974), no. 25, repr.

Luca Cambiaso was the leading painter in Genoa during the third quarter of the sixteenth century, and his style had a profound impact upon the later development of Genoese art. As a young man he worked with his father, Giovanni, whose paintings reflect the influence of Perino del Vaga and Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone, both of whom had been active in Genoa earlier in the century. Galeazzo Alessi, who seems to have nurtured Luca's interest in architecture, and the architect, painter, and sculptor Giovanni Battista Castello, called *il Bergamasco*, with whom he occasionally collaborated, also played a fundamental part in his artistic training, as did his familiarity with

works by Emilian and Venetian painters, such as Correggio and Paolo Veronese. By 1583, Luca's fame was such that he was summoned to Spain by King Philip II to execute decorations at El Escorial, where he died two years later.

Luca's drawings, characterized by the rendering of human anatomy in terms of simple geometric shapes, are among his most original achievements. In this magnificent sketch, datable to the 1560s, the Visitation takes place on the stairway of a contemporary Genoese palace, similar in style to buildings designed by Luca's friend Alessi. It cannot be connected with a known painting; however, other drawings of the same subject are in the Art Institute of Chicago<sup>1</sup> and the Musée du Louvre,<sup>2</sup> while an almost line-for-line copy of the present sheet was recently on the art market in New York.<sup>3</sup>

WMG

1. Leonora Hall Gurley Collection, inv. no. 1922.566; pen and brown ink, brown wash; 242 × 174 mm. See Bertina Suida Manning and William Suida, *Luca Cambiaso: La vita e le opere* (Milan, 1958), p. 189, pl. xv, fig. 21; Harold Joachim and Suzanne Folds McCullagh, *Italian Drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago and London, 1979), no. 24, pl. 33.

2. According to Robert L. Manning, *Luca Cambiaso Drawings*, exh. cat., Finch College Museum of Art (New York, 1967), under no. 28.

3. Pen and brown ink, 466 × 313 mm. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1985, no. 127, repr. (as Luca Cambiaso).

## GIOVANNI BATTISTA PAGGI

Genoa 1554–Genoa 1627

### 42 *Christ Receiving the Virgin into Paradise*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on blue-green paper. 313 × 230 mm (12½ × 9 in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at upper margin, N° 50.; at lower center, *mariano vossi / facit*; and at lower left corner, 4.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1987 (1987.305)

PROVENANCE: [Mia N. Weiner].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1987–1988* (New York, 1988), p. 24, repr. p. 23.

Despite the old and disconcertingly prominent inscription *mariano vossi / facit* [*sic*],<sup>1</sup> the drawing may be attributed to one of the foremost Genoese artists of the turn of the seventeenth century, Giovanni Battista Paggi. Like Bernardo Castello and Lazzaro Tavarone, Paggi was at first greatly influenced by Luca Cambiaso. Later, however, he spent almost two decades in Tuscany, where he worked for the Medici and developed a style that owes much to the Florentine artists Cigoli (see nos. 36–38) and Domenico Cresti, il Passignano (1558/60–1638). Paggi returned to Genoa in 1698, and thereafter assumed Cambiaso's role as local *caposcuola*; among his pupils were Domenico Fiasella (1589–1669), Sinibaldo Scorza (1589–1631), and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1665).

The Metropolitan Museum's drawing represents Christ receiving his mother into Paradise to the musical accompaniment of angels. The subject—a dynamic variation upon the theme of the Coronation of the Virgin—evidently enjoyed some degree of popularity in post-Tridentine painting. Other Genoese examples include a fresco painted in 1612 by Tavarone in the church of Santa Maria delle Vigne<sup>2</sup> and Fiasella's altarpiece (signed and dated 1632) in the Santuario di Nostra Signora del Monte.<sup>3</sup> In these works, however, the apostles are represented in the lower part of the composition, gathered around the empty tomb of the Virgin, whose reception into

Heaven is thus seen as the culmination of her Assumption.

WMG

1. Nothing seems to be known about the work of this extremely obscure artist, who does not figure in Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker's exhaustive thirty-seven-volume *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1907–50).

2. See Giuliana Algeri, *Guide di Genova 8: Chiesa di Santa Maria delle Vigne* (Genoa, 1975), pp. 12–13, fig. 8.

3. See Elena Parma Armani, *Guide di Genova 93: Santuario di Nostra Signora del Monte* (Genoa, 1979), p. 15, fig. 21.

## LAZZARO TAVARONE

Genoa 1556–Genoa 1641

### 43 Christ Crucified, Attended by the Virgin, Saint Mary Magdalen, and Saint John the Evangelist

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, on gray-green paper; squared in black chalk. 210 × 159 mm (8¼ × 6¼ in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *Soldij* [?] f.; and, in another hand, *Roma*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, David L. Klein, Jr. Memorial Foundation Gift, 1973 (1973.345)

PROVENANCE: [Yvonne Tan Bunzl].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1973–1974* (New York, 1974), p. 37; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 242, repr.

Lazzaro Tavarone was a pupil and assistant of Luca Cambiaso (see no. 41), whom he accompanied to Spain in 1583. He returned to Genoa in 1594, and there he executed numerous frescoes in churches and public palaces. He was also an avid collector, and according to Rafaele Soprani, Tavarone possessed more than nine thousand drawings, including numerous works by Cambiaso and other Genoese masters.<sup>1</sup> Although it has not been connected with a painting, this sheet is typical of Tavarone's own work as a draftsman, which was much

influenced by the example of his teacher. Similar inscriptions—*Soldij* [?], *Soldij* [?] *f.*, or *Soldij* [?] *f.* followed by the word *Roma* in another hand—appear on many of the artist's drawings.<sup>2</sup>

WMG

1. Raffaele Soprani, *Le vite de pittori, scoltori et architetti genovesi* (Genoa, 1674), p. 154.

2. See Mary Newcome, "Andrea and Ottavio Semino. I. Drawings by the Semino Family," *Antalogia di Belle Arti* 8 (1978), fig. 14 (formerly art market); Mary Newcome, "Drawings by Tavarone," *Paragone* 32, no. 375 (May 1981), p. 51 n. 26, fig. 38a (Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. no. 1058). Other examples include: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, inv. nos. It. mag. 31–35 (attributed to Tavarone by Lawrence Turčić); and sale, Sotheby's, London, November 22, 1973, no. 175.

## BERNARDO CASTELLO

Genoa 1557–Genoa 1629

### 44 *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper; squared for transfer. 199 × 253 mm (7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Lined.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 20, 1982, no. 56, repr. (as Giovanni Battista Castello); [Mia N. Weiner].

LITERATURE: Exhibition brochure, Mia N. Weiner, New York, 1984, repr. (as Bernardo Castello).

When this attractive sheet appeared on the art market in 1982, it was attributed to Giovanni Battista Castello (presumably il Bergamasco, and not the miniaturist of the same name, called il Genovese). It is, however, a characteristic example of the draftsmanship of a somewhat later artist, Bernardo Castello, who was a pupil of Andrea Semino (1525/26–1594) and Luca Cambiaso (see no. 41), as well as the brother of the aforementioned Giovanni Battista Castello, il Genovese.

The subject of the drawing is taken from Book IV of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Andromeda was the beautiful daughter of Cepheus, king of Ethiopia, whose wife, Cassiope, had offended the Nereids with her boastful demeanor, thereby provoking the fury of Neptune. As punishment, the god sent a monster to terrorize the Ethiopians who, in order to restore peace, offered Andromeda as a sacrifice. Chained to a rock, she was spotted by Perseus, who promptly fell in love with her, slew the creature sent by Neptune, and won the girl's hand in marriage. In the drawing, Perseus is shown holding the head of Medusa in his right hand and attacking the monster from astride his winged horse, Pegasus, while Andromeda's parents look on from the shore.

WMG

# Lombardy and Piedmont

ANDREA SOLARIO

Milan ca. 1465–Milan 1524

## 45 *Head of a Bearded Man*

Black, red, and yellow chalk on brownish paper.  
374 × 273 mm (14¾ × 10¾ in.). Repaired losses.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906  
(06.1051.9)

PROVENANCE: Samuel Woodburn; sale, Christie's,  
London, June 16–25, 1854, no. 38 (as [Bernardino] Luini).

LITERATURE: William E. Suida, "Andrea Solario in the  
Light of Newly Discovered Documents and Unpublished  
Works," *Art Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (1945), pp. 18, 23, fig. 5;  
Luisa Cogliati Arano, *Andrea Solario* (Milan, 1965), p. 103;  
Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 122, repr. (as Bernardino Lui-  
ni?); Sylvie Béguin et al., *Andrea Solario en France*, Dos-  
siers du Département des Peintures 31, exh. cat., Musée  
du Louvre (Paris, 1985), p. 91, under no. 53; David Alan  
Brown, *Andrea Solario* (Milan, 1987), pp. 253, 270 n. 98, 288,  
under no. 74, p. 289, no. 77, fig. 219.

This damaged but nonetheless impressive drawing was formerly attributed to Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480–1532), although in 1956, Martin Weinberger proposed that it might instead be by Gaudenzio Ferrari (see no. 47).<sup>1</sup> William E. Suida was the first to recognize it as the work of Luini's Lombard contemporary Andrea Solario.<sup>2</sup> One of a family of artists, Andrea is believed to have studied with his brother Cristoforo, called il Gobbo (d. 1527), whom he probably accompanied to Venice during the early 1490s. Reflections of Andrea's sojourn in Venice are apparent in such works as his *Holy Family with Saint Simeon* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), which is signed and dated 1495, and

betrays his familiarity with paintings by Giovanni Bellini (1425/30–1516) and Antonello da Messina (ca. 1430–1479). Later in his career, however, Andrea came under the influence of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), whose innovative and pictorial use of colored chalks is paralleled in the technique and handling of the present sheet.

David Alan Brown has identified the Metropolitan Museum's drawing as a study for the head of the apostle on the extreme right in the central panel of Andrea's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Sacrestia Nuova of the Certosa at Pavia.<sup>3</sup> According to Vasari, the altarpiece in Pavia was unfinished when Solario died in 1524, and it seems to have remained that way until 1576, when it was completed by the Cremonese artist Bernardino Campi (see no. 50).<sup>4</sup> Two further studies by Solario for the apostles in the lateral panels of the same large triptych are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.<sup>5</sup>

WMG

1. Verbally, to Claus Virch (according to Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department files).

2. William E. Suida, "Andrea Solario in the Light of Newly Discovered Documents and Unpublished Works," *Art Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (1945), p. 18.

3. See David Alan Brown, *Andrea Solario* (Milan, 1987), pp. 287–88, no. 74, figs. 210 (the triptych in situ), 211 (the central panel), 215, 216 (the lateral panels).

4. The painting is mentioned as incomplete by Giorgio Vasari in his extremely brief account of Solario's life. See Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 4, pp. 120–22.

5. Département des Arts Graphiques (inv. nos. 10191, 10191 bis); black chalk, point of brush, brown wash; 152 × 90 mm and 154 × 91 mm, respectively. See Kurt Badt, *Andrea Solario, sein Leben und seine Werke: Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte der Lombardei* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 144, 220; Sylvie Béguin et al., *Andrea Solario en France*, Dossiers du Département des Peintures 31, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1985), no. 53, repr. (both drawings); Brown, *Andrea Solario*, pp. 288–89, nos. 75, 76, figs. 217, 218, respectively.

GIOVANNI ANTONIO  
BOLTRAFFIO

Milan 1467–Milan 1516

46a *The Head of Saint James the Less, after  
Leonardo da Vinci*

Black, brown, and red chalk, watercolor, on light gray prepared paper. 637 × 475 mm (25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 18<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

46b *The Head of Saint John the Evangelist,  
after Leonardo da Vinci*

Black, brown, and red chalk, watercolor, on light gray prepared paper. 640 × 470 mm (25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 18<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

B. H. Breslauer

PROVENANCE: Count Arconati; Marchese Cosnedi; Sagredo; Robert Udny; Sir Thomas Lawrence; King William of Holland; Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; sale, Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1962, no. 74, repr. (*Saint John*), no. 77 (*Saint James the Less*) (as Andrea Solario); David Griffiths; sale, Sotheby's, London, March 28, 1968, no. 5, repr. (*Saint John*), no. 8, repr. (*Saint James the Less*) (as Andrea Solario).

LITERATURE: Edward Wright, *Some observations made in travelling through France and Italy* (London, 1730), pp. 470–71 (as Leonardo da Vinci); Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie* (Paris, 1758), p. 146 (as Leonardo da Vinci); J. Sighart, *The Lord's Supper. Christ and His Twelve Disciples. From the Original Crayon-Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Possession of Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar by John Niessen* (London, [1868]), both repr. (as Leonardo da Vinci); J. Sighart, *Das Abendmahl des Herrn. Christus und die zwölf Apostel. Nach den im Besitze Ihrer Königlichen Hoheit der Frau Grossherzogin von Sachsen Weimar befindlichen Original-Pastellbildern von Leonardo gezeichnet von Johannes Niessen* (Munich, [1874?]), both repr. (as Leonardo da Vinci); Gustavo Frizzoni, "I disegni delle teste degli apostoli nel Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci," *Archivio storico dell'arte* 7, no. 1 (1894), pp. 41–49, fig. 2 (*Saint John*) (as Andrea Solario?); Georg Dehio, "Zu den Kopien nach Lionardos Abendmahl," *Jahrbuch der Königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 17 (1896), pp. 181–85 (as after Leonardo da Vinci); Eugène Müntz, *Leonardo da Vinci: Artist, Thinker and Man of Science* (New York and London, 1898), vol. 1, p. 191 n. 1, pl. x (*Saint John*) (as after Leonardo da Vinci); Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (New York, 1903), vol. 1, p. 156 n. (as Andrea Solario); Otto Hoerth, *Das Abendmahl des Leonardo da Vinci: Ein*

*Beitrag zur Frage seiner künstlerischen Rekonstruktion* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 198–222, fig. 24 (*Saint John*) (as after Leonardo da Vinci); Kurt Badt, *Andrea Solario: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 188 (as after Andrea Solario); Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro, II: Bramante e Leonardo da Vinci* (Milan, 1915), pp. 534–36, 544, figs. 587 (*Saint James the Less*), 592 (*Saint John*) (as Andrea Solario); C. Horst, "L'Ultima Cena di Leonardo nel riflesso delle copie e delle imitazioni," *Raccolta Vinciana* 14 (1930–34), pp. 172–76 (as after Leonardo da Vinci); Woldemar von Seidlitz, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Vienna, 1935), p. 169 (as after Leonardo da Vinci); Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters, Amplified Edition* (Chicago, 1938), vol. 1, p. 174 n. 1 (as Andrea Solario); Kenneth Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci: An Account of His Development as an Artist* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 94 (as after Leonardo da Vinci); Emil Möller, *Das Abendmahl des Leonardo da Vinci* (Baden-Baden, 1952), pp. 103–8, figs. 61 (*Saint James the Less*), 64 (*Saint John*) (as after Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio); Bernard Berenson, *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini* (Milan, 1961), vol. 1, p. 254 n. 1 (as Andrea Solario); David Alan Brown, *Leonardo's "Last Supper": Precedents and Reflections*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1983), under no. 6 (as Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio?); David Alan Brown, *Andrea Solario* (Milan, 1987), p. 270 n. 98 (as after Leonardo da Vinci).

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of Leonardo da Vinci's presence in Milan during the period from 1482 until 1499, and again between 1506 and 1513. His fresco of the Last Supper in the refectory of the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie, commissioned about 1495 and finished by February 1498, is among the most celebrated and often-copied works of the Italian Renaissance. Numerous versions of Leonardo's famous composition survive—some more faithful than others, and many of disputed attribution.<sup>1</sup>

The present large and impressive drawings correspond very closely to the heads of Saints James the Less and John the Evangelist, who are depicted second and sixth from the left in the fresco. Both sheets belong to a series of at least eleven studies after the figures of Christ and the apostles in the *Last Supper*. Eight of

the drawings, including the present two, were formerly in the collection of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Two others, representing Christ and Saint Thaddeus, are in the National Gallery of Art in Melbourne, and the whereabouts of the *Head of Saint Simon* is unknown.<sup>2</sup>

The drawings were long thought to have been fragments of Leonardo's original cartoon for the fresco, but by the end of the nineteenth century it was generally recognized that they are in fact copies. Since they are closer in style to the fresco than the majority of paintings and drawings after the *Last Supper*, it is clear that the artist must have belonged to Leonardo's immediate circle. As such, they have been associated with Andrea Solario (see no. 45), to whom a copy of the *Last Supper* formerly in the refectory of the Convento dei Gerolomini at Castellazzo has sometimes been ascribed.<sup>3</sup> There are, however, morphological differences between the figures in the drawings and the Castellazzo painting which suggest that they are not by the same hand.

A comparable series of drawn copies after the heads of Christ and the apostles in Leonardo's *Last Supper* is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg.<sup>4</sup> Georg Dehio suggested that the sheets formerly in Weimar might be nineteenth-century copies after the studies at Strasbourg, but given the very old provenance of the present group of drawings, this cannot be the case.<sup>5</sup> More recently, David Alan Brown has argued that, while the drawings differ in style from such studies by Solario as that in the Metropolitan Museum for the head of an apostle in the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Certosa, Pavia (no. 45), they might well be by another of Leonardo's close Milanese followers, Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio.<sup>6</sup> Relatively few drawings have been attributed to Boltraffio, but two rather highly finished studies of a woman and a man (the latter clearly a

portrait) in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, are so close in style to his paintings that they are in all probability by him.<sup>7</sup> These are in turn strikingly similar in technique and handling to the present copies after the *Last Supper*. It therefore seems plausible that the entire group was executed by Boltraffio, probably at much the same time as the drawings in Milan, both of which are dated by Luisa Cogliati Arano to the last years of the fifteenth century.

WMG

1. On the problem of early copies after the *Last Supper*, see N. Bertoglio Pisani, *Il Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci e le sue copie* (Pistoia, 1907); Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro, II: Bramante e Leonardo da Vinci* (Milan, 1915), pp. 534–57 n. 2; C. Horst, "L'Ultima Cena di Leonardo nel riflesso delle copie e delle imitazioni," *Raccolta Vinciana* 14 (1930–34), pp. 118–200; Leo Steinberg, "Leonardo's *Last Supper*," *Art Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1973), pp. 402–10; Marco Rossi, in Marco Rossi and Alessandro Rovetta, *Il Cenacolo di Leonardo: Cultura domenicana, iconografia eucaristica e tradizione lombarda* (Milan, 1988), pp. 76–95.

2. All eight of the drawings that were formerly in the collection of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar were sold at Sotheby's in London on June 28, 1962 (nos. 74–81, as Andrea Solario). They were evidently acquired by David Griffiths, who sold them at Sotheby's, London, on March 28, 1968 (nos. 5–12, repr., as Andrea Solario). All but the present two sheets were resold at Sotheby's, London, on March 10, 1977 (nos. 80–85, repr., as Andrea Solario). The *Head of Saint Simon* reappeared at Sotheby's, London, on March 23, 1978 (no. 106, repr., as Andrea Solario), and was recently again on the art market in New York.

3. The attribution of the present sheets to Solario was proposed by Gustavo Frizzoni, "I Disegni delle teste degli apostoli nel Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci," *Archivio storico dell'arte* 7, no. 1 (1894), pp. 41–49. For the painting formerly at Castellazzo, see Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro, II*, pp. 534–36 n. 2, fig. 585.

4. See Hans Klaiber, "Die Strassburger Kopien nach Leonardos Abendmahl," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911), pp. 231–34; Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro, II*, p. 546 n. 2, figs. 573, 599, 600–3 (as Boltraffio); Emil Möller, *Das Abendmahl des Leonardo da Vinci* (Baden-Baden, 1952), pp. 93–103, figs. 53–58 (as Boltraffio).

5. Georg Dehio, "Zu den Kopien nach Lionardos Abendmahl," *Jahrbuch der Königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 17 (1896), pp. 181–85.

6. David Alan Brown, *Leonardo's "Last Supper": Precedents and Reflections*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1983), under no. 6; Brown, *Andrea Solario* (Milan, 1987), p. 270 n. 98.

7. Inv. nos. F. 290 Inf. 7, F. 290 Inf. 8. See Luisa Cogliati Arano, in Augusto Marinoni and Luisa Cogliati Arano, *Leonardo all'Ambrosiana: Il Codice Atlantico. I disegni di Leonardo e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan, 1982), p. 126, no. 34, repr., p. 127, no. 35, repr., respectively.

## GAUDENZIO FERRARI

Valduggia ca. 1480–Milan 1546

### 47 Standing Virgin Holding the Christ Child

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper; squared in red chalk. 290 × 101 mm (11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4 in.). Lined.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.251)

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; Henry Oppenheimer; sale, Christie's, London, July 10, 13, 14, 1936, no. 82; A. Wilson; Walter C. Baker.

LITERATURE: Claus Virch, *Master Drawings in the Collection of Walter C. Baker* (New York, 1962), no. 10; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 79, repr.; James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* (Paris, 1983), vol. 1, p. 382, under no. 385; James Byam Shaw, review of Bean and Turčić 1982, *Master Drawings* 21, no. 4 (1983), p. 412 n. 5.

Born in Valduggia, northeast of Turin, Gaudenzio Ferrari worked extensively at the Sacro Monte, Varallo, before moving to Vercelli in 1528. In the late 1530s, he settled permanently in Milan. Although distinctly provincial in style, the artist's works reflect the influence of paintings by Leonardo da Vinci's Milanese follower Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480–1532) as well as those by Gaudenzio's older and more sophisticated contemporary Bramantino (ca. 1465–1530).

The poses of the figures in the present drawing are comparable (in reverse) to those of the Virgin and Child in the central panel of a polyptych by Gaudenzio in the church of San Gaudenzio, Novara, which was begun in 1514 and completed by 1521.<sup>1</sup> However, the Metropolitan Museum's study also has features in common with Gaudenzio's painting of the Virgin and Child flanked by standing saints in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin, which is datable later in the artist's career, and in which the morphology of the figures and the treatment of the drapery are similar to those in the drawing.<sup>2</sup> In both the altarpiece in Novara and the painting in Turin, the Virgin is shown seated instead of standing, as she is in the present sketch.

While James Byam Shaw does not dispute the attribution of the sheet, he has remarked upon the close relationship between the poses of the Virgin and Child in the Metropolitan Museum's drawing and those in a study in the Frits Lugt Collection of the Institut Néerlandais, Paris, by Gaudenzio's pupil Bernardino Lanino.<sup>3</sup> There is confusion regarding the work of these two draftsmen, but the present sheet seems more likely to be by Gaudenzio than by Lanino, whose drawings are usually somewhat coarser in handling.<sup>4</sup>

WMG

1. See Luigi Mallé, *Incontri con Gaudenzio* (Turin, 1969), p. 242, pl. 90; Giovanni Romano, *Gaudenzio Ferrari e la sua scuola: I cartoni cinquecenteschi dell'Accademia Albertina*, exh. cat., Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti (Turin, 1982), pp. 62–63, repr.

2. Inv. no. 49. See Mallé, *Incontri con Gaudenzio*, p. 254, pl. 229.

3. Inv. no. 1972-T.2. See James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* (Paris, 1983), vol. 1, no. 385, vol. 3, pl. 439.

4. See Giacomo Rodolfo, *Disegni di Gaudenzio Ferrari e di Bernardino Lanino già nella Galleria dei Duchi di Savoia in Torino* (Carmagnola, 1977); Giovanni Romano et al., *Bernardino Lanino e il cinquecento a Vercelli* (Turin, 1986).



## GIROLAMO SAVOLDO

Brescia ca. 1485–Venice, after 1548

### 48 *Head and Hand of a Bearded Man*

Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper.  
245 × 170 mm (9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library, The Janos Scholz Collection (1981.122)

PROVENANCE: Peter Johann Nepomuk Geiger (see Lugt 1071; as Paris Bordone); Cassini, Venice; Janos Scholz.

LITERATURE: Alfred Neumayer and Janos Scholz, *Drawings from Lombardy and Adjacent Areas, 1480–1620*, exh. cat., Mills College Art Gallery (Oakland, 1956), no. 81, repr.; Michelangelo Muraro, *Venetian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venice, 1957), no. 12 (as Savoldo or Bordone); Creighton Gilbert, *Drawings of the Italian Renaissance from the Janos Scholz Collection*, exh. cat., Indiana University Art Museum (Bloomington, 1958), no. 42 (as Bordone); Alfred Neumayer, *Venetian Drawings, 1400–1630*, exh. cat., Mills College Art Gallery (Oakland, 1959), no. 10 (as Bordone); *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., Staten Island Museum (Staten Island, 1961), no. 9 (as Savoldo); Wolf Stubbe, *Italienische Meisterzeichnungen vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert aus amerikanischem Besitz die Sammlung Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., Kunsthalle, Hamburg (New York, 1963), no. 144 (as Savoldo); Jack Wasserman, *Italian Drawings: To Commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the Death of Michelangelo*, exh. cat., University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee, 1964), no. 9 (as Bordone); Christopher White, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., British Arts Council Gallery (London, 1968), no. 89 (as Savoldo); Konrad Oberhuber and Dean Walker, *Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1973), no. 79 (as Savoldo); *Italian Master Drawings 1350–1800, from the Janos Scholz Collection* (New York, 1976), no. 31, repr. (as Savoldo); Janos Scholz, *Musician and Collector*, exh. cat., Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame (South Bend, 1980), no. 146, repr. (as Savoldo); Edward J. Olszewski, with the assistance of Jane Glaubinger, *The Draftsman's Eye: Late Italian Renaissance Schools and Styles*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979 (Cleveland, 1981), no. 122, repr. (as Savoldo); Konrad Oberhuber and Sabine Kehl-Baierle, *Meisterzeichnungen aus New York*, exh. cat., Graphische Sammlung Albertina (Vienna, 1989), no. 10, repr. (as Savoldo); Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo: *Tra Foppa, Giorgione, e Caravaggio*, exh. cat., Monastero di Santa Giulia (Brescia, 1990), no. II.10 (entry by Gianvittorio Dillon), repr. (as attributed to Savoldo).

A leading disciple of the Brescian school in the first half of the sixteenth century, Girolamo Savoldo spent much of his career in Venice. His luminous colors and evocative landscape backgrounds reflect the influence of Titian (see no. 108) and especially of Lorenzo Lotto, with whose religious paintings Savoldo's share an affectingly meditative character. Despite his long years in Venice, Savoldo remained fundamentally allied to the Lombard tradition, favoring the descriptive naturalism and dramatic chiaroscuro in which the antecedents of Caravaggio lie.<sup>1</sup>

Principally a painter of portraits and devotional images, Savoldo evolved a compositional type in which the figure, represented at close range and in half or three-quarter length, came to dominate. This preoccupation with the monumental human form also informs the artist's small corpus of drawings, which consists almost entirely of black-chalk studies of heads,<sup>2</sup> some executed from life. Described as "véritable 'têtes d'expressions,'" these exhibit a gravity and contemplative character that is a direct expression of Savoldo's own religious sensibility.<sup>3</sup>

The Morgan Library *Head and Hand of a Bearded Man*, executed in black chalk, shares the nuanced chiaroscuro and shadowed, indistinct contours, as well as the intensity of expression, that typify Savoldo's head studies. Like a number of other drawings by the artist, it cannot be directly connected with a specific painting, nor is the identity of the figure certain, although his pose and expression suggest the suffering Christ. The attribution has in the past been questioned, with the name of Paris Bordone often proposed for this sheet and others now assigned to the Lombard artist,<sup>4</sup> but the drawing fits comfortably in Savoldo's graphic oeuvre.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. See the section on Savoldo by Keith Christiansen, in *The Age of Caravaggio*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1985), p. 79 and cat. nos. 11–13, where his importance as a precursor of Caravaggio is discussed. See also Mina Gregori, “I temi della luce artificiale nel Savoldi e le radici lombarde di Caravaggio,” in *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo: Tra Foppa, Giorgione, e Caravaggio*, exh. cat., Monastero di Santa Giulia (Brescia, 1990), pp. 87–91. The works examined in section IV of that catalogue, “Da Foppa a Caravaggio: I pittori del contesto,” nos. IV.1–38, are considered in this context.

2. An exception is the full-length study of a seated male figure in the Albertina, Vienna (inv. no. 22982); *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo*, no. II.6, repr. The origins of this type of drawing lie with Leonardo and his Lombard followers and ultimately the preparatory studies for the *Last Supper* (see, e.g., nos. 45, 46).

3. This analysis of Savoldo’s head studies has been advanced by Catherine Legrand, in *Le siècle de Titien: L’âge d’or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1993), under nos. 149, 150.

4. The *Head of a Bearded Man* (Royal Library, Windsor Castle; *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo*, no. II.1, repr.) and the *Bust Length Portrait of a Bearded Man* (Pierpont Morgan Library; *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo*, no. II.8, repr.) were both at one time ascribed to Bordone.

5. Some of Savoldo’s head studies represent the figure bust length, and the *Head of an Old Man with Eyes Closed* (Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 5524; *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo*, no. II.8) includes the figure’s hand; the format of the present sheet is thus not anomalous.

## CALLISTO PIAZZA

Lodi ca. 1500–Lodi 1561

### 49 *A Bearded Old Man Kneeling, Facing to the Right*

Black chalk, point of brush, gray and some brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper. 189 × 170 mm (7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: [Yvonne Tan Bunzl]; [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Yvonne Tan Bunzl (London, 1987), no. 1, repr.; *Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni*, exh. cat., Colnaghi (New York, 1990), no. 6, repr.

The most gifted of a family of artists that included his father, Martino, his brothers Cesare and Scipione, as well as his sons Fulvio and Muzio, Callisto Piazza was active primarily in Lodi. Between 1524 and 1529, however, he was in Brescia, where he seems to have worked as an assistant to Girolamo Romanino (1484–1566), whose influence may be detected in many of the paintings that Piazza executed during that period. Piazza’s career is reasonably well documented, and much important work on the family was done in connection with the catalogue of the exhibition *I Piazza*, which took place in Lodi in 1989.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, since so few of Piazza’s drawings are directly related to known paintings, he remains rather enigmatic as a draftsman.

Philip Pouncey was the first to suggest that this drawing might be by the artist.<sup>2</sup> Presumably a study for the figure of Saint Joseph in a Nativity or Adoration of the Shepherds, the sheet is executed in the typically North Italian—and more specifically, Venetian—technique of gray ink applied with the point of the brush and heightened with white on blue paper. Venetian influence is manifest in the drawings of Romanino,<sup>3</sup> so it is hardly surprising that it should be apparent in works by his follower Piazza. Moreover, the facial type of the figure in the present study—including his curiously sightless expression—is virtually identical to that of the protagonist in two scenes from the life of Saint Bassian, painted by Callisto Piazza during the early 1530s and now the property of the Banca Popolare, Lodi.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the drawings that have been attributed to Piazza are pen-and-ink studies in a style that is best described as "Romaninesque."<sup>5</sup> However, Ugo Ruggeri has pointed out that the present sheet is comparable in technique as well as handling to Piazza's chalk study of a standing youth in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart,<sup>6</sup> which he associates with a painting of Saint John the Evangelist in a private collection in Brescia.<sup>7</sup> Although the exact date of that picture is uncertain, scholars agree that it was painted between about 1524 and 1530, in the course of the artist's sojourn in Brescia. Given the similarity between the present drawing and the sheet in Stuttgart as well as the degree to which this study of a kneeling man reflects Piazza's contact with Romanino, it, too, may well date from the 1520s.

WMG

1. Gianni Carlo Sciolla et al., *I Piazza da Lodi: Una tradizione di pittori nel Cinquecento*, exh. cat., Museo Civico, Chiesa di San Cristoforo, and Tempio dell'Incoronata, Lodi (Milan, 1989).

2. See *Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni*, exh. cat., Colnaghi (New York, 1990), under no. 6.

3. Romanino's *Nativity* in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (inv. no. 1649), was previously attributed to a follower of Giovanni Bellini and then to Giorgione. See Gaetano Panazza, with the assistance of A. Damiani and B. Passamani, *Mostra di Girolamo Romanino*, exh. cat., Duomo Vecchio, Brescia, and elsewhere (Brescia, 1965), no. 130, fig. 216.

4. See Sciolla et al., *I Piazza da Lodi*, nos. 36, 37, repr.

5. For illustrations and discussion of a representative group of drawings by Callisto Piazza, see Giulio Bora, "I Piazza e la fortuna della 'maniera,'" in Sciolla et al., *I Piazza da Lodi*, pp. 239–61.

6. Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1207. Christel Thiem, *Italianische Zeichnungen: 1550–1800* (Stuttgart, 1977), no. 178, repr. Ruggeri's observation regarding the similarity of the present sheet to the drawing at Stuttgart is recorded in *Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni*, under no. 6.

7. See Panazza, with Damiani and Passamani, *Mostra di Girolamo Romanino*, no. 103b, fig. 188.

## BERNARDINO CAMPI

Cremona 1522–Reggio Emilia 1591

### 50 *The Assumption of the Virgin*

Black chalk, heightened with white, on blue-gray paper; squared in black chalk (lower left quadrant). 238 × 164 mm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library (IV, 156)

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, vol. 4 (London, 1912), no. 156, repr. (as School of Cremona); Felice Stampfle, "Letter: A Campi Drawing in the Morgan Library," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (April 1975), pp. 245–46, fig. 77; *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento*, exh. cat., Santa Maria della Pietà and Museo Civico, Cremona (Milan, 1985), p. 158, under no. 1.15.1 (Robert Miller), and p. 294, under no. 2.10.1 (Giulio Bora).

Philip Pouncey was the first to recognize this drawing as a characteristic work by the Cremonese painter Bernardino Campi. It is a study for the artist's earliest signed and dated work, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, now in the church of Sant'Agata in Cremona (fig. 50.1). According to a now-illegible inscription, the altarpiece was executed in 1542.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, documents discovered by Giorgio Politi suggest that the picture was not commissioned until June 12, 1544; it was presumably finished by May 29 of the following year, when Campi received the last of a series of payments for his work on the painting. Its original destination was an altar in the church of Santa Margherita in Cremona, but the will of the patron, don Facio Trezzi, specifies that after his death the picture was to be moved to Sant'Agata, where it was set up in early 1571.<sup>2</sup>

Stylistically, the altarpiece reflects the influence of Giulio Romano, whose works Campi would no doubt have seen during his apprenticeship to the Mantuan painter Ippolito Costa

(1506–1561). The drawing, on the other hand, is similar in technique and handling to sheets by Giulio Campi (ca. 1500–1572), who was Bernardino's first teacher, and to those by Camillo Boccaccino (ca. 1501–1546), a painter who was to have considerable impact upon his subsequent development as an artist. The study in the Morgan Library corresponds fairly closely to the altarpiece, although in the drawing the Virgin is shown standing rather than kneeling on clouds, and the figure of don Trezzi kneeling before the empty sarcophagus, which is so prominent in the finished work, is faintly indicated with just a few strokes of chalk.

WMG

1. See Robert Miller, in *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento*, exh. cat., Santa Maria della Pietà and Museo Civico, Cremona (Milan, 1985), pp. 157–58, under no. 1.15.1.

2. See Giorgio Politi, "Imitazione d'una discendenza: l'Assunta di Bernardino Campi e il suo committente," in *I Campi*, pp. 33–39.

## AURELIO LUINI

Milan ca. 1530–Milan 1593

### 51 *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on beige paper; lightly squared in red chalk. 420 × 290 mm (16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink on verso, N° 219 and *Luca Cangiasso*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1986 (1986.16)

PROVENANCE: [John Morton Morris].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1985–1986* (New York, 1986), p. 23; Nancy Ward Neilson, "A Drawing by Aurelio Luini," *Master Drawings* 25, no. 4 (1987), pp. 151–52, pl. 6.

Like other late-sixteenth-century Lombard artists, including Bernardino Lanino (ca. 1512–1583), Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1600), and Callisto Piazza, Aurelio Luini was greatly influenced by the work of Leonardo da Vinci's immediate Milanese followers Andrea Solario (see no. 45) and Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480–1532). At the same time, however, paintings by Aurelio Luini are more naturalistic and descriptive in style than those of either his forebears or his more conservative contemporaries. These features of Luini's style are apparent in several frescoes that have been detached from the walls of the now-destroyed church of San Vincenzo alle monache, Milan, and are preserved in the Pinacoteca di Brera and the Castello Sforzesco.<sup>1</sup>

The present sheet, first attributed to Aurelio Luini by Bruno de Bayser, is a compositional study for the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in the Castello Sforzesco (fig. 51.1). The welter of nervous pen lines that describe the forms is typical of the artist's drawings, while the relatively large size and high finish of the Metropolitan Museum's study reflect its function as a *modello* for the fresco. Luini's final study for the *Martyrdom of Saint Vincent* from the same church (now Pinacoteca di Brera) is in the collection of the Arcivescovado in Milan.<sup>2</sup>

WMG

1. For a discussion of Luini's work in San Vincenzo alle monache, see Daniele Pescarmona, in Luisa Arrigoni et al., *Disegni lombardi del Cinque e Seicento della Pinacoteca di Brera e dell'Arcivescovado di Milano*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (Florence, 1986), pp. 53–55, under no. 10; and Nancy Ward Neilson, "A Drawing by Aurelio Luini," *Master Drawings* 25, no. 4 (1987), pp. 151–52.

Neilson (p. 151) argues that the frescoes are stylistically similar to the *Martyrdom of Saint Tecla*, which was commissioned from Luini in late 1591.

2. Inv. no. 173. See Pescarmona, in Arrigoni et al., *Disegni lombardi*, pl. III, no. 10, repr.

## CARLO URBINO

Crema, documented 1553–85

### 52 *The Coronation of Esther* (Esther 2:17)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over red chalk; squared in red chalk. 209 × 311 mm (8¼ × 12¼ in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *m* 13. *giornate*; in pen and brown ink on old mount, *Paolo Veronese come può vedersi nel Ridolfi*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Howard Bayne Fund Gift, 1984 (1984.293)

PROVENANCE: Monmouth County Historical Association.

LITERATURE: Giulio Bora, "Nota sui disegni lombardi del Cinque e Seicento (a proposito di una mostra)," *Paragone* 35, no. 413 (1984), pp. 15–16, 32 n. 52, pl. 32; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1984–1985* (New York, 1985), p. 25.

This sketch was formerly ascribed to Paolo Veronese, but when it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1984, Lawrence Turčić proposed that it might instead be the work of Carlo Urbino, a relatively little known painter from Crema whose drawings are somewhat similar in style to those of Bernardino Campi (see no. 50) and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1600). The attribution to Urbino was subsequently confirmed by Giulio Bora, who connected the sheet with a fresco in the church of Santa Maria di Campagna at Pallanza, on Lago Maggiore.<sup>1</sup> According to Bora, the interior of the church was richly decorated about 1576–77 by Urbino in collaboration with the Milanese painter Aurelio Luini (see no. 51).<sup>2</sup> Luini was responsible for roughly half of the large *Assumption of the Virgin* that occupies the entire apse of the church, as well as for the figures of Saint Mark and Saint Luke in the pendentives beneath the dome and the *Death of the Virgin* on the apsidal arch. Urbino apparently painted the other half of the *Assumption*, the figures of Saint John the Evan-

gelist and Saint Matthew in the pendentives, and the *Coronation of Esther* in the presbytery, where it is paired with Luini's *Death of the Virgin*. He is also credited with the design—if not the actual execution—of much of the rest of the decoration of the building.

The present sketch is a compositional study with minor differences for the fresco of the coronation of Esther (fig. 52.1), a subject that prefigures the elevation of the Virgin Mary to her role as Queen of Heaven. The inscription 13. *giornate* presumably refers to the number of days that would be required to execute the fresco.<sup>3</sup>

WMG

1. Giulio Bora, "Nota sui disegni lombardi del Cinque e Seicento (a proposito di una mostra)," *Paragone* 35, no. 413 (1984), pp. 15–16.

2. Giulio Bora, "Un ciclo di affreschi, due artisti e una bottega a S. Maria di Campagna a Pallanza," *Arte lombarda* 52 (1979), pp. 90–106.

3. Bora has also identified a number of preparatory drawings for other frescoes by Urbino in the same church ("Un ciclo di affreschi," figs. 11–15, 34, 37, 42).

## CAMILLO PROCACCINI

Bologna ca. 1555–Milan 1629

### 53 *The Martyrdom of a Female Saint*

Black chalk, gray wash, heightened with white, on brownish paper; some ruled lines in pen and brown ink. Pasted correction at left, including foreground figure of soldier. 460 × 311 mm (18½ × 12¼ in.). Upper left and right corners rounded off. Lined.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.223)

PROVENANCE: [Jeudwine]; [Colnaghi]; Michael Jaffé; sale, Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1965, no. 53, repr.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue of Old Master Drawings of the 16th to 19th Centuries*, exh. cat., W. R. Jeudwine (London,

1955), no. 47, repr., frontis.; *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Colnaghi (London, 1956), no. 8; Felice Stampfle and Jacob Bean, *Drawings from New York Collections II: The Seventeenth Century in Italy*, exh. cat., Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, 1967), no. 2, repr.; James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, p. 299, under no. 1195; Nancy Ward Neilson, *Camillo Procaccini: Paintings and Drawings* (New York and London, 1979), p. 63, under no. 90, p. 156, ill. 143; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 200, repr.

The most prolific of a family of painters that included his father, Ercole Procaccini il Vecchio (1520–1595), and his younger brother Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574–1625), Camillo Procaccini was born and educated in Bologna. About 1580 he seems to have gone briefly to Rome, and in 1587 he settled permanently in Milan, where during the next forty years he executed numerous important ecclesiastical commissions. Procaccini's work as both painter and draftsman betrays his Emilian origins, and his drawings reflect the influence of artists such as Orazio Samacchini (see no. 13) from Bologna and Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli (see no. 9) from Parma.

Philip Pouncey recognized Procaccini's authorship of this large, highly finished drawing in 1953, more than a decade prior to its acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum. As Nancy Ward Neilson pointed out some fifteen years later, the sheet corresponds fairly closely to a painting by the artist in the Santuario dell'Addolorata at Rho, outside Milan. According to Neilson, the painting dates from between about 1605 and 1609.<sup>1</sup> The Metropolitan Museum also possesses a previously unpublished drawing by Procaccini for the head of the soldier in the left foreground of the composition (fig. 53.1).<sup>2</sup> Executed in red chalk, that drawing was formerly classified as the work of Giuseppe Cesari, il Cavaliere d'Arpino (see no. 89).

While both the painting and the present compositional study clearly represent the martyrdom of a female saint, the exact subject has yet to be established. The architecture, with the Castel Sant'Angelo on the right, identifies the setting as Rome. In the painting, a crown rests on the platform, next to the kneeling saint, and a child-angel, holding a palm in one hand and a wreath of flowers in the other, appears in the sky above her.

A number of hypotheses about the identity of the saint have been put forward. Perhaps the most plausible of these is that she is Agnes, a fourth-century virgin and martyr who, according to some versions of her legend, was beheaded. In Procaccini's other representations of the martyrdom of Saint Agnes, however, she stands on a pyre and is stabbed in the throat.<sup>3</sup>

WMG

1. Letter to Jacob Bean, February 28, 1968, in Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department files. See Nancy Ward Neilson, *Camillo Procaccini: Paintings and Drawings* (New York and London, 1979), pp. 63–64, no. 90, ill. 142.

2. Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971 (1975.131.19); 121 × 89 mm. The connection was made by Veronika Birke in 1979 (files of the Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department) and independently by the present author in 1991.

3. A painting of this subject, originally in the Duomo, Milan, and now in the Borromeo Collection, Isola Bella, was commissioned from Procaccini on November 29, 1590. A number of bozzetti and autograph replicas of this composition have survived. See Neilson, *Camillo Procaccini*, pp. 17–18, no. 16, ills. 36 (the picture in the Borromeo Collection), 37 (a bozzetto in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan); Alessandro Morandotti, "Per l'attività di Camillo Procaccini nell'antico Stato di Milano: il ciclo di Torre Garofoli," *Arte lombarda* 70–71, nos. 3–4 (1984), pp. 137–38, figs. 3 (a replica in Torre Garofoli, near Tortona), 4 (the Castello Sforzesco picture); and sale, Christie's, New York, January 12, 1978, no. 102, repr. (a bozzetto, said by Neilson, *Camillo Procaccini*, p. 18, under no. 16, to be "probably a replica of the Castello bozzetto").

## 54 *The Martyrdom of Saint Dorothy*

Red chalk. 208 × 128 mm (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower left corner, *C. Proc*; at lower margin of old mount, in the hand of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., *Camillo Procaccino*; and on reverse of old mount, in the hand of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., *J. 12*.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (Lugt 2984, 2995); sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1980, no. 14, repr.

Saint Dorothy was an Early Christian virgin and martyr, who was beheaded under Diocletian for refusing to marry or to worship idols. While being led to execution, Dorothy was mocked by a pagan youth called Theophilus, who challenged her to send him fruit and

flowers from the garden of the Lord. Before she was beheaded, Dorothy knelt and prayed, and an angel appeared to her carrying a plate of apples and roses. She asked that the angel take them to Theophilus, who was promptly converted to Christianity, despite great opposition from his friends. He, too, was eventually tortured and beheaded for his faith.

Here, the angel appears to Saint Dorothy in the foreground, while in the distance Theophilus, surrounded by his friends, receives the plate of apples and roses. Although no painting of the subject by Camillo Procaccini is recorded, this drawing is a fine and typical example of the artist's work in his preferred medium of red chalk.

WMG

# Rome, Umbria, and the Marches

## LUCA SIGNORELLI

Cortona ca. 1450–Cortona 1523

## 55 *Saint Lucy*

Black chalk. 233 × 137 mm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Colnaghi (New York, 1990), no. 5, repr. (entry by Claire Van Cleave).

Luca Signorelli began his artistic career as an assistant and follower of Piero della Francesca.<sup>1</sup> He was then attached to the circle of Pietro Perugino, with whom he collaborated in Perugia and Florence in the late 1470s. It was undoubtedly through Perugino's offices that Signorelli was entrusted with two of the Old Testament scenes in the Sistine Chapel, a project which drew the leading Florentine artists of the day to Rome. Signorelli's frescoes, the *Testament of Moses* on the north wall and the now-lost *Death of Moses*, were completed in 1482, after which time the artist spent the rest of his long career working in his native Cortona and the surrounding Tuscan and Umbrian hill towns. Signorelli's masterpiece, the

Chapel of San Brizio in the Duomo of Orvieto, demonstrates the artist's mastery of the human form in the muscular, athletic figures who populate the frescoes. His command of anatomy is also apparent in his drawings, the majority of which are black-chalk figure studies.

The *Saint Lucy* is a late drawing by Signorelli, executed at the end of his career when he relied heavily on workshop assistants to carry out his numerous commissions for altarpieces. The genesis of the figure has recently been analyzed by Claire Van Cleave, who notes that the standing saint initially held a covered cup or ointment jar, the attribute of Mary Magdalen.<sup>2</sup> This object was redrawn, with less emphatic strokes, as a chalice, seen to the right of the ointment jar. Above the chalice float two eyeballs, the attribute of Saint Lucy. The manner in which Signorelli evidently transformed the female saint by recasting her attributes suggests that this sheet was not executed as a preparatory study for a specific painting, whose commission would have stipulated the exact identities of the figures to be represented, but rather as a prototype which could be reused as needed. Indeed, the present study cannot be directly connected with a specific painting by the artist or his workshop, but despite significant differences, does appear to have served as the model for the figure of Saint Catherine in a recently rediscovered altarpiece of 1521, the *Madonna and Child Flanked by Two Angels with Saints Catherine, Benedict, Mary Magdalen, John the Evangelist, and Orsina* now in a private collection.<sup>3</sup> The drawing also possibly provided an initial idea for a painting of Saint Mary Magdalen in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.<sup>4</sup> A black-chalk drawing by Signorelli of Mary Magdalen in the Louvre is closely related to the present sheet.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. Signorelli's artistic beginnings have been most recently discussed by Laurence B. Kanter, "Luca Signorelli, Piero della Francesca, and Pietro Perugino," *Studi di storia dell'arte* 1 (1990), pp. 95–102; see esp. pp. 97ff.
2. *Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Colnaghi (New York, 1990), no. 5.
3. *Master Drawings*, Colnaghi, no. 5. On the painting, see Laurence B. Kanter, *The Late Works of Luca Signorelli and His Followers, 1498–1559*, Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1989, pp. 275–76, fig. 113.
4. A possible connection is noted by Claire Van Cleave (*Master Drawings*, Colnaghi, no. 5), who points out that the position of the figure's arms differs significantly in the painting.
5. Inv. no. 1798. See Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago, 1938), vol. 1, no. 2509 H-6, vol. 3, fig. 114.

## RAPHAEL (RAFFAELLO SANTI)

Urbino 1483–Rome 1520

### 56 *A Canephoros*

Pen and brown ink, possibly retouched in a darker ink along the figure's right side. 323 × 132 mm (12¾ × 5⅜ in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library (I, 17)

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *A Selection from the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1905), no. 17; Gere 1987, no. 1, repr. (as Raphael); David Rosand, "Raphael Drawings Revisited," *Master Drawings* 26, no. 4 (1988), p. 359, fig. 1 (as Raphael).

This drawing has not figured into the modern literature on Raphael as a draftsman. Both A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey believed it to be an old copy after a lost drawing dating from Raphael's early career, but John Gere has recently, if cautiously, resurrected the traditional attribution to Raphael himself. Observing that the facial expression of the figure, the particular way of describing the hands and feet, and the incisively rendered anatomical



structure of the knees are all consistent with Raphael's draftsmanship, he suggests that the *Canephoros* may be an autograph drawing from the artist's early Umbrian period.<sup>1</sup>

The Morgan Library sheet exhibits affinities with a drawing of Saint Sebastian by Raphael preserved in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.<sup>2</sup> The facial type of the saint is close to that of the *Canephoros*, as are the hard, regular hatching of the legs, the curve of the upper body, and the manner of describing the musculature of the torso with a series of long, broken lines. Fischel, followed by Joannides, assigned the Lille study to the year 1501; however, a slightly later date of 1504, the time of the artist's removal from Umbria to Florence, was more recently proposed.<sup>3</sup> The present drawing should likewise be situated in that moment of Raphael's career, and specifically to the beginning of his Florentine period. This is attested by the previously unremarked derivation of the pose of the *Canephoros* from Michelangelo's *David* (fig. 56.1), which was completed in 1504 and unveiled in the Piazza della Signoria in September of that year.<sup>4</sup>

The Morgan Library sheet may now be recognized as further evidence of Raphael's keen interest in Florentine sculpture, documented in his drawings after Donatello, Nanni di Banco, and Michelangelo.<sup>5</sup> It also appears to be his earliest drawing inspired by the *David*.<sup>6</sup>

LWS

1. Gere 1987, under no. 1. Gere notes that the drawing appears to be retouched along the figure's right side; its altered aspect may account for the drawing's dismissal by modern critics.

2. Inv. no. 451. See Oskar Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1913), no. 13; Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael: With a Complete Catalogue* (Berkeley and Oxford, 1983), no. 21.

3. Eckhart Knab, Erwin Mitsch, and Konrad Oberhuber, with the collaboration of Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Raffaello: I disegni* (Florence, 1983), no. 96.

4. John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 3d ed. (New York, 1985), p. 310.

5. On Raphael's copies after Florentine sculpture and the *David* in particular, see the discussion by Mitsch, in Knab, Mitsch, and Oberhuber, *Raffaello*, pp. 94–97.

6. Raphael reinterpreted the *David* in a number of drawings of male nudes from his Florentine period; only one, a study of the sculpture seen from the rear (British Museum, London [inv. no. Pp. 1–68]; see Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, no. 187; Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 15; Joannides, *Drawings of Raphael*, no. 97; Knab, Mitsch, and Oberhuber, *Raffaello*, no. 226), is essentially a literal copy. The Morgan Library sheet is earlier than any of the other drawings in question.

## GIOVANNI RICAMATORE, called GIOVANNI DA UDINE

Udine 1487–Rome 1561

### 57 Study of Two Birds and a Bunch of Grapes

Verso: *A Lioness Running toward the Right*

Watercolor, heightened with white, over black chalk.  
124 × 203 mm (4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8 in.), irregular.

Inscribed in red ink on verso at lower left, 302.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.302)

PROVENANCE: James Jackson Jarves; Cornelius Vanderbilt.

LITERATURE: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook No. 8: Drawings, Water-Color Paintings, Photographs and Etchings, Tapestries, etc.* (New York, 1895), p. 22, no. 302 (as Primaticcio); *Raffaello e i suoi: Disegni di Raffaello e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Accademia di Francia a Roma, Villa Medici (Rome, 1992), no. 95, repr. (as Giovanni da Udine).

Drawings by Giovanni da Udine, Raphael's collaborator in the grand decorative schemes carried out in the last years of his life—the Vatican Logge, the Loggia di Psiche in the Villa Farnesina, and the Villa Madama—are relatively rare.<sup>1</sup> A small number of watercolor studies of plants, animals, and birds, components of the naturalistic and *all'antica* decorative vocabulary in which he specialized, have

been ascribed to the artist.<sup>2</sup> This double-sided sheet in the Metropolitan Museum, which previously lacked a convincing proposal as to its authorship, is a recent addition to his graphic oeuvre, and is of particular note because it is one of the very few drawings by the artist that can be directly connected with known works.

The attribution to Giovanni da Udine was advanced in 1989 by Dominique Cordellier, who recognized the lioness on the verso as a preparatory study for a frescoed squinch in the Villa Farnesina depicting a putto with the panther and thyrsus of Bacchus.<sup>3</sup> Previously unidentified, the two birds on the recto of the sheet are studies for one of the painted pilasters of the Vatican Logge. A reproductive engraving after the now-lost decoration of the eleventh pilaster shows a robin and a hummingbird perched on vines over a bunch of grapes, each identical in appearance and disposition to the two birds of the Metropolitan Museum drawing (fig. 57.1); indeed, the vertical line at the upper left corner may now be recognized as the long, slender beak of the hummingbird whose head has unfortunately been trimmed from the edge of the sheet.

Executed by Raphael's workshop around 1518, the frescoes of the Villa Farnesina and the decorations of the Vatican Logge are roughly contemporary. The *Study of Two Birds* and *A Lioness* may therefore be assigned to this period. An important addition to the small graphic corpus of Giovanni da Udine, the sheet throws light on the working practice of this interesting if enigmatic artist, demonstrating the meticulous attention he lavished on every detail of the dense, elaborate ornament that was his domain in the Raphael *équipe*. The drawing also speaks to the organizational practice of this busy workshop, whose members were engaged simultaneously in a

number of different commissions. A rare surviving example of the type of study that Giovanni da Udine must have produced in great number during the fruitful years of his association with the master, it provides graphic testimony of the major role he played in the formulation of Raphael's late decorative schemes.

LWS

1. A preliminary catalogue raisonné of drawings by Giovanni da Udine has been compiled by Nicole Dacos, in Nicole Dacos and Caterina Furlan, *Giovanni da Udine: 1487–1561* (Udine, 1987), pp. 237–57.

2. See Dacos, *Giovanni da Udine*, nos. 1, 2, 5, 7–9, 14, 18–22. A group of eleven drawings of birds by Giovanni da Udine was recorded in the Crozat Collection (P.-J. Mariette, *Description sommaire des Dessains des grands maîtres d'Italie des Pays-Bas et de France, du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, sale cat. [Paris, 1741], p. 18: "Onze desseins d'oiseaux, la plupart colorés"). Eight of these drawings, formerly in the collection of Tessin, who acquired them from the Crozat sale, are now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, and one is in the British Museum. The whereabouts of the other two are unknown. It is possible that the Metropolitan Museum sheet, whose provenance can only be traced back to the late nineteenth century, is one of the ex-Crozat studies of birds, although this suggestion remains conjectural.

3. The attribution is recorded in a communication in the files of the Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department and was first published in *Raffaello e i suoi: Disegni di Raffaello e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Accademia di Francia a Roma, Villa Medici (Rome, 1992), no. 95.

Although the animal in the drawing looks like a lioness, the corresponding figure in the fresco is a panther. See E. Camesasca, ed., *All the Frescoes of Raphael*, pt. 2 (New York, 1963), pl. 122.

## GIOVANNI FRANCESCO PENNI

Florence 1496–Naples ca. 1528

### 58 *The Massacre of the Innocents*

Pen and black ink, gray wash, heightened with white.  
275 × 480 mm (10<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 18<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Christie's, New York, January 19, 1982, no. 202 (as "follower of Giulio Romano").

The artistic personality of Giovanni Francesco Penni, one of Raphael's two principal assistants in the last decade of his life and joint heir, with Giulio Romano, to his workshop after his death, has become increasingly vague in recent years. The "wastepaper basket" artist of the Raphael school, Penni in the past served as a convenient repository for drawings whose invention unarguably belonged to Raphael, but whose quality was judged weak or otherwise inferior to the hand of the master. This profile of Penni as a draftsman has recently been challenged, foremost by Konrad Oberhuber, who dismantled the corpus of drawings traditionally ascribed to him and reattributed a number of the sheets in question to Raphael himself.<sup>1</sup>

With his artistic activity diminished and his identity as a draftsman obscured, Penni's precise role in the workshop remains open to debate. It seems likely that he was engaged primarily in the capacity of secretary and record keeper (hence his nickname "il Fattore") in the busy studio, with one of his major responsibilities being the production of neat *modelli* clarifying quick sketches by Raphael and Giulio Romano for use by the *garzoni*, and of fair copies and *ricordi* of Raphaellesque inventions.<sup>2</sup> Drawings that remain attributed to him are consistent with this assessment of Penni's function: exhibiting no pentimenti or other signs of creative struggle, they are tidy, legible graphic records of compositions emanating from the Raphael shop. Most share a fussy, slightly nervous character and lack both the dramatic energy and spatial coherence of drawings by Raphael, with forms organized along the surface rather than convincingly arranged in depth. Draperies and other compositional elements are invested with a decorative aspect, and white heightening is applied in thick, dense blobs.<sup>3</sup>

Evincing these stylistic traits, the *Massacre of the Innocents* has a reasonable claim to being an autograph drawing by Gianfrancesco Penni. The composition is directly related to three tapestries of this subject, part of the series known as the *Scuola Nuova* which was commissioned from Raphael's workshop immediately after the master's death by Leo X or Clement VII.<sup>4</sup> The drawing may record an initial design before the decision was made to divide the scene into three separate panels for weaving, or it may be a *ricordo* of the composition produced for the workshop, possibly for future use as a model for a print.<sup>5</sup> Typical of drawings by Penni, the sheet lacks pentimenti and evidence of creative evolution and has the character of a fair copy; it presumably records an original invention by Giulio Romano who was entrusted with designing the *Scuola Nuova* tapestries.<sup>6</sup>

That the present drawing is not a copy after the tapestry cartoon is clear from the fact that the center and right sections of the design are in the same sense as the corresponding weavings, rather than reversed as the cartoons would have been. (The tapestry that corresponds to the left section of the drawing is in the reverse direction, but was evidently woven backward.<sup>7</sup>) Moreover, the design lacks certain details, presumably elaborated at the cartoon stage, such as the statues in niches that in the tapestry appear in the basilica.

Three drawings in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, relating to the *Massacre of the Innocents* have been ascribed to Penni and identified as *modelli* for the tapestries.<sup>8</sup> The New York drawing, arguably an autograph *modello* by this faithful amanuensis of Raphael and later Giulio Romano, is another important document relating to the *Scuola Nuova* commission, confirming Penni's role as the producer of fair copies and *modelli* after Giulio's

designs, and recording an alternative idea for a single, unified composition for the *Massacre of the Innocents*.

LWS

1. Oberhuber's view is advanced in Eckhart Knab, Erwin Mitsch, and Konrad Oberhuber, with the collaboration of Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Raffaello: I disegni* (Florence, 1983), pp. 130–37. The most extreme statement of this revisionist view is Oberhuber, "Penni o Raffaello," in *Raffaello e i suoi: Disegni di Raffaello e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Accademia di Francia a Roma, Villa Medici (Rome, 1992), pp. 21–26.

2. John Shearman, "The Organization of Raphael's Workshop," in *The Art Institute of Chicago Centennial Lectures*, Museum Studies 10 (Chicago, 1983), p. 49. See also Gere 1987, pp. 15–16.

3. For recent characterizations of Penni as a draftsman, see Gere 1987, pp. 15ff.; and Oberhuber, in *Raffaello e i suoi*, pp. 23ff.

4. On the *Scuola Nuova* tapestries, see most recently the entries by Charles Hope, in *Raffaello in Vaticano*, exh. cat., Città del Vaticano (Milan, 1984), no. 124; the *Massacre of the Innocents* panels are reproduced as figs. 124a–c. See also Pouncey and Gere 1962, under no. 138.

5. The subject was earlier treated in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi of ca. 1510–15 after a design by Raphael (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, 26: *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School* [New York, 1978], p. 33 [B. XIV, 21]). See Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Brown, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, exh. cat., Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas (Lawrence, 1981), no. 26, repr. The *Scuola Nuova* version of this subject is loosely based on this prototype.

6. On Giulio's responsibility for the design of the *Scuola Nuova* series and the *Massacre of the Innocents* in particular, see Hope, in *Raffaello in Vaticano*, p. 331.

7. Noted by Hope, in *Raffaello in Vaticano*, p. 332, under no. 124a, who points out that the soldiers incorrectly hold their weapons in their left hands in the tapestry panel, which suggests that the tapestry was woven backward.

8. Inv. nos. A 85 a–c. The drawings are in poor condition, making it difficult to propose an attribution, but they appear to be either by Penni or contemporary copies after his original *modelli*. Their existence confirms that he was charged with producing the designs from which the cartoons were presumably executed. Dr. Carel van Tuyll, Keeper of Drawings of the Teylers Museum, kindly provided information on these drawings.

Penni's responsibility for the *Scuola Nuova modelli* is confirmed by Hope, in *Raffaello in Vaticano*, no. 124, pp. 328, 331.

## GIULIO PIPPI, called GIULIO ROMANO

Rome ca. 1499–Mantua 1546

### 59 *Apparition of Saint Andrew in Glory*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper; partially squared in black chalk. 186 × 267 mm (7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1970 (1970.176)

PROVENANCE: Sir John Charles Robinson (Lugt Suppl. 2141b); earl of Harewood; sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1965, no. 137 (as "God the Father Holding the Cross"); Lt. Col. Sir Michael Peto, Bart.; sale, Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1970, no. 19, repr.

LITERATURE: Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 100, repr.; *Giulio Romano*, exh. cat. by E. H. Gombrich et al., Palazzo Te, Mantua (Milan, 1989), p. 432, repr. (entry by Konrad Oberhuber).

The composition of this drawing corresponds to the upper zone of a fresco, the *Rediscovery of the Sacred Blood*, on the left wall of the Chapel of Saint Longinus in Sant'Andrea, Mantua (fig. 59.1). Commissioned by Polissena Castiglione Boschetti, mother of Duke Federico Gonzaga's mistress Isabella, the decorations of this chapel were designed by Giulio Romano in the late 1530s.<sup>1</sup> The altarpiece representing the Nativity with Saints Longinus and John the Evangelist, now in the Musée du Louvre, was executed by Giulio himself and ranks among the masterpieces of his career, but the frescoes on the lateral walls were carried out in large part by his assistant Rinaldo Mantovano.<sup>2</sup>

The highly finished nature of the Metropolitan Museum study reflects its function as a type of mini-cartoon or *cartonetto*—a precise model provided by the master for his executant to translate into fresco with no modification. This practice of furnishing *garzoni* with finished drawings and absents from the ac-

tual execution was appropriated from Raphael and widely employed by his contemporaries and followers (see, for example, no. 66), although Giulio seems to have experienced an unusual degree of dissatisfaction with his assistants, lamenting the lethargic Rinaldo's inadequate abilities.<sup>3</sup>

In the densely applied white heightening and the relieflike quality of the forms, as well as the fully worked-up and finished character of the design, the Metropolitan Museum sheet departs from the typical *modelli*—pen sketches, often accented with broad pools of wash (see no. 60)—produced by Giulio for his assistants in Mantua. Stylistically, it is close to the type of elaborated composition study that he dispatched to painters in other cities working after his designs.<sup>4</sup> The evident care and attention lavished on the drawing, one of the most distinguished sheets produced during his later career, indicates the importance that the artist attached to this commission.

A composition study for the *Rediscovery of the Sacred Blood* which includes Saint Andrew flanked by angels in the upper zone is in the Coke Collection, Holkham Hall.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. For the most recent discussion of this chapel, see Roberto Brunelli, "La Cappella Boschetti nella basilica mantovana di Sant'Andrea," *Civiltà Mantovana*, n.s. 3 (1984), pp. 65–75; and *Giulio Romano*, exh. cat. by E. H. Gombrich et al., Palazzo Te, Mantua (Milan, 1989), pp. 430–31, 442–44. See also Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New Haven, 1958), pp. 208–11. The frescoes and altarpiece, as well as the related drawings, had traditionally been dated about 1534. However, Giuseppe Pecorari has recently demonstrated that patronage rights of the chapel were only granted to Polissena Boschetti in 1536, this date thus providing the terminus post quem for Giulio's designs.

2. On the altarpiece, see Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, pp. 208–9; and *Autour de Raphael: Dessins et peintres du Musée du Louvre*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1983), no. P3, pp. 123–26. That Giulio himself executed the *Crucifixion* fresco is proposed by Konrad Oberhuber in *Giulio Romano*, 1989, p. 431.

However, Vasari, who visited Giulio in Mantua and knew his work there firsthand, ascribed the frescoes in their entirety to Rinaldo Mantovano (Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 5, p. 545).

3. On the organization of Giulio's workshop in Mantua and his practice with his disciples, see Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, p. 80; Egon Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua* (Baltimore and London, 1977), p. 49.

4. E.g., the frescoes in the cathedral of Verona, which were executed by Francesco Torbido after drawings and cartoons by Giulio Romano. On this commission, see *Giulio Romano*, 1989, p. 434; and Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, pp. 203–6. Giulio's drawing of the *Virgin Assunta* (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, inv. no. A\*77) for the Verona fresco is executed in the same technique as the Metropolitan Museum *Saint Andrew in Glory* (see Bert W. Meijer, *I grandi disegni italiani del Teylers Museum di Haarlem* [Milan, (1984?)], no. 23, repr.).

A small number of *modelli* executed by Giulio for use by his assistants in Mantua exhibit the same technique and degree of finish as the Metropolitan Museum study, e.g., a drawing at Chatsworth for the vault of the Camerino dei Cesari in the Palazzo Ducale (see *Giulio Romano*, 1989, p. 404, repr.).

5. *Giulio Romano*, 1989, p. 136, repr., and p. 138.

## 60 *Apollo in a Chariot Crowning a Suppliant*

Pen and brown ink and brown wash. 199 × 263 mm (7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in ink at lower right, J.R.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn; Lord Francis Egerton, first earl of Ellesmere (Lugt 2510b); sale, Sotheby's, London, December 5, 1972, no. 38, repr.; sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 30, 1982, no. 108, repr.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue of the Ellesmere Collection of Drawings at Bridgewater House* (London, 1898), no. 138; Egon Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua* (Baltimore and London, 1977), p. 125.

One of the major artistic ensembles of the sixteenth century, the suburban villa of Duke Federico Gonzaga in Mantua, the Palazzo del Te, is the crowning achievement of Giulio Romano's career. The architecture, celebrated for

its willful recasting of a classical idiom, houses a wealth of fresco and stucco decoration which was entirely designed by Giulio and carried out by the artist and his corps of assistants in the late 1520s and 1530s.

This sheet is a preparatory study for one of the square stucco reliefs in the vault of the Camera degli Stucchi in the Palazzo del Te.<sup>1</sup> The design, which represents the god Apollo crowning a suppliant with a laurel wreath, is virtually identical to the corresponding relief and is evidently the *modello* used by the executant, who may have been either Giovanni Battista Mantovano or Nicolo da Milano.<sup>2</sup> The hard, precise contours and broad areas of wash employed to suggest shadow and, in the case of the *stucchi*, areas of low relief, are typical of the *modelli* that Giulio produced for use by his assistants in Mantua. As comparison with the related relief underscores, these *garzoni* were given no latitude in interpreting the master's designs and were expected to translate them exactly into fresco or stucco.

The decorations of the Camera degli Stucchi were executed around 1530. The drawing should accordingly be assigned the same date.

LWS

1. Reproduced in Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New Haven, 1958), fig. 305, upper left compartment. On this room, see Egon Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua* (Baltimore and London, 1977), pp. 35–36, 123–27.

2. This was proposed by Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, pp. 148–49.

## 6I Design for a Cradle

Pen and ink, brown wash, over black chalk. 352 × 301 mm (13<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in graphite on verso, *Les Dessins étaient collés emplein sur un carton, on les a décollés / en conservant l'entourage de Mariette*.

Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of the Council (1911.28.169)

PROVENANCE: Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 1852); Count J. P. van Suchtelen (Lugt 2332); Hippolyte Destailleur; Léon Decloux.

LITERATURE: Richard Wunder, *Five Centuries of Drawing* (New York, 1959), no. 5 (as unknown artist); Department of Art, Brown University, *Drawings and Prints of the First Maniera, 1515–1535*, exh. cat., Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1973), no. 21, repr.; Alvar González-Palacios, *Il Tempio del Gusto: Le arti decorative in Italia fra classicismi e barocco* (Milan, 1984), vol. 2, p. 30, no. 23; Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior* (New York, 1991), p. 253, repr. p. 252.

In his role as artistic impresario at the Gonzaga court in Mantua, Giulio Romano was active not only as a painter and architect, but also as the designer of tombs, tapestries, table service, and furniture. His studies for utilitarian domestic objects typically combine classicizing decorative elements with hybrid creatures from the natural world. The counterpoint to his monumental frescoes, these inventions reveal Giulio's boundless artistic imagination at work on a small scale. His drawings for gold and silver objects—plates, cups, caskets, ewers—survive in some number, but studies by the artist for furniture are rare.<sup>1</sup> The Cooper-Hewitt sheet, which represents an ornate cradle, is thus rather unusual in Giulio's graphic oeuvre, although the aesthetic and fanciful decorative vocabulary recall his designs for goldsmith's work.

Princely families in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often commissioned elaborate dynastic cradles to celebrate the birth of an heir. A particularly sumptuous example was recorded at the Sforza court in Milan at the end of the fifteenth century, described in a contemporary source as “very elegant, entirely gilded, with four columns and a splendid canopy.”<sup>2</sup> Conceived as a ship and embellished with marine motifs, the elaborate cradle represented in this drawing, which has in the past been identified as a salt cellar, belongs to this

specialized category of Renaissance object.<sup>3</sup> A similar drawing of a dynastic cradle by Giulio Romano, preserved in the Strahov Codex, Prague, is ornamented with the Gonzaga eagles.<sup>4</sup> Although the Cooper-Hewitt cradle design bears no heraldic devices, it, too, was presumably designed for Giulio's princely patron, perhaps on the occasion of the birth of Francesco Gonzaga, son of Duke Federico, in 1533.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. An album of drawings by Giulio and his followers compiled by Jacopo and Ottavio Strada, which includes designs for furniture, is in the library of the Strahov Monastery, Prague. See B. Bukovinská, E. Fučíková, and L. Konečný, "Zeichnungen von Giulio Romano und seiner Werkstatt in einem vergessenen Sammelband in Prag," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 80 (1984), pp. 61–186.

2. Quoted in Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), p. 253. See pp. 253–56 for a discussion of dynastic cradles.

3. Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, p. 253, suggests that this cradle was intended to be carved of walnut and gilded, and framed by four columns, possibly supporting a canopy, rather than the two represented in the drawing.

4. Strahov Codex, Prague, MS DL III 3, fol. 2/2; see note 1 above. See also *Giulio Romano*, exh. cat. by E. H. Gombrich et al., Palazzo Te, Mantua (Milan, 1989), p. 464, repr.

5. Suggested by Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, p. 253.

## POLIDORO CALDARA, called POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO

Caravaggio ca. 1500–Messina ca. 1536

### 62 *The Penitent Saint Jerome*

Verso: *Two Standing Men, One Seen from the Rear Striding toward the Left*

Red chalk (recto and verso). 208 × 134 mm (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.).

Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, no. 4, repr. (recto only).

This double-sided sheet is an important new addition to the graphic oeuvre of Polidoro da Caravaggio. Executed in the artist's preferred medium of red chalk, it is a paradigmatic example of his style as a draftsman in the mid-1520s. Both the long, tight, and regular hatched strokes employed to describe forms and the somewhat angular contour lines are typical of Polidoro's early drawings. Morphological details—the sharp, pointed noses and sunken eyes, the long tendrils of hair and curiously shadowed head seen in the sketch on the verso—as well as the figure types, characterized by tapering limbs and a ragged aspect, further signal his authorship.<sup>1</sup>

Unusual in subject matter if not in style is the large scale and finished quality of the Saint Jerome in a landscape on the recto. Although it has the character of a worked-up composition study, this drawing is not known to relate to a painting by the artist and is more likely an autonomous invention. Polidoro produced a number of such drawings, although most are executed in pen rather than chalk. In the muscular, ascetic quality of the figure, this study recalls red-chalk drawings by Rosso Fiorentino produced in the 1520s, the period in which he and Polidoro were acquainted in Rome.

The verso of the sheet has a more fragmentary and informal character and appears to be a working drawing. The figures, who are dressed in antique garb, and particularly the striding male at the far right, are notably similar in pose and costume to the two standing witnesses—possibly prisoners—at the right in a study by Polidoro, *Prisoners Brought before a Magistrate*, in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 62.1).<sup>2</sup> This drawing has been plausibly connected with a representation of the same subject from the painted facade of a palace on the Piazza Madama, executed around 1525, fragments of which are preserved in the Pa-

lazzo Barberini, Rome;<sup>3</sup> it is possible that the present study, whose subject should perhaps be recognized as barbarians, as the trousers of the figure on the right signify, was also executed in connection with that decoration.<sup>4</sup>

LWS

1. Relevant stylistic comparisons include a study for a deathbed scene, formerly in the collection of David Rust and now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Lanfranco Ravelli, *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio* [Bergamo, 1978], no. 52, repr.), and a study of women and children in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (inv. no. F 266, Inf. 2; Ravelli, *Polidoro*, no. 125, repr.).

2. Inv. no. I, 20. See Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 71, repr.; Ravelli, *Polidoro*, no. 30, repr.

3. Alessandro Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (Rome, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 124, 305 no. 30; on this lost facade decoration by Polidoro, see Marabottini, *Polidoro*, vol. 1, pp. 124, 358–60. The extant fragments, which were removed by Cardinal Antonio Barberini in 1633, are heavily restored. Although the compositions differ, the Morgan Library drawing obviously represents the same subject as the facade painting and is presumably a first idea for this invention. For an illustration of the fresco in question, see Ravelli, *Polidoro*, p. 17, pl. x.

4. Like the figures in the Catalan drawing, the prisoners brought before the magistrate in Polidoro's fresco wear the trousers that identify them as barbarians (Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* [London, 1986], pp. 194–200; see, e.g., no. 162). The tunic of the figure at the left of the drawing, held at the shoulder with a clasp, is also the same as the garb of the prisoners in the facade painting.

### 63 *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*

Pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash, over black chalk, heightened with white; partly squared in pen, lower right and lower left. 177 × 228 mm (7 × 9 in.).

J. F. McCrindle

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 1852); Mariette sale (*Catalogue raisonné des différents objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composoient le cabinet de feu Mr. Mariette . . .*), chez [F. Basan], Hôtel Serpente, Paris, November 15, 1775–January 30, 1776, no.

265 ("Une Ste. Famille, où se trouvent S. Jean & Ste. Anne, à la plume & au bistre"); Jean-Denis Lempereur (inscribed in ink on back of Mariette's mat, within stamped border, *Polidor de Caravage de Cabinet Crozat, Mariette et Lempereur*; see Lugt 3000); Count Jan Pieter van Suchtelen (Lugt 2332); Eugène Rodrigues (Lugt 897); J. Boussac sale, Paris, September 10, 1926; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fuller Feder; by descent.

LITERATURE: Edmund Pillsbury and John Caldwell, *Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings: Form and Function*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven, 1974), no. 6, repr.; Gere 1987, no. 85, repr.; Frederick A. den Broeder, *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Joseph F. McCrindle*, exh. cat., Art Museum, Princeton University, and elsewhere (Princeton, 1991), no. 3, repr.

Famed for his monochrome facade paintings of classical subjects which, according to Vasari, embellished every street in Rome,<sup>1</sup> and for his evocative landscapes in the Roman *all'antica* manner, Polidoro da Caravaggio was also a gifted draftsman. Among his most appealing drawings are those which record scenes from everyday life—boys playing cards, children at their studies, women doing laundry—in which the artist captures the unassuming human nature of his subjects.<sup>2</sup> His drawings of devotional themes like the Madonna and Child and the Holy Family frequently share this genre-like naturalism, as the McCrindle *Holy Family* demonstrates. Seated on the ground in the pose of the Madonna of Humility, the Virgin is represented as a young girl protectively embracing her child; as a type, she is identical to the round-faced, wide-eyed young women who appear in his drawings of genre subjects.

Like the other members of Raphael's workshop, Polidoro responded to aspects of the master's late style which he perpetuated in his own inventions of the 1520s, the years immediately following Raphael's death. In the case of the *Holy Family*, he adopted a subject that was frequently represented in private devotional images produced by Raphael and his



assistants from 1515 to 1520, such as the *Madonna of Francis I* (Louvre, Paris), the *Madonna del Divin'Amore* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples), the so-called *Small Holy Family* (Louvre), and the *Madonna della Perla* (Prado, Madrid).<sup>3</sup> In all these works the old woman represented in the company of the Madonna and Child and the young Saint John is Elizabeth, mother of the Baptist. The close parallels with Raphael's prototypes suggest that the figure at the left of Polidoro's drawing, whose head is veiled in a manner identical to her counterparts in Raphael's Holy Families, should likewise be identified as Elizabeth rather than Saint Anne, as she has traditionally been described. The tender humanity and naturalism of the Virgin and Child also recall inventions by Raphael,<sup>4</sup> as does the adoption of a landscape setting for the sacred gathering. Polidoro's response to a different impetus, the Flemish and Dutch artists who were active in Rome in the 1520s,<sup>5</sup> is evident in the bold hatching of the gnarled tree at the right, which recalls northern draftsmanship of the period.

The *Holy Family* has been dated to the years immediately preceding Polidoro's permanent departure from Rome following the Sack of 1527,<sup>6</sup> when his Raphael's heritage persisted as a central component of his pictorial vocabulary. Although it is partly squared for transfer, no painting corresponding to this study is known. The sheet enjoys an illustrious provenance, having belonged to both Crozat and Mariette. It retains its distinguished blue Mariette mount, inscribed by the collector within a drawn cartouche, *Polidori Caravagiensis*.

LWS

1. "Non e stanza, palazzo, giardino, ne vigna, dove non siano opere di Polidoro . . ." ("There is not a room, palace, garden, or vigna [in Rome] where there is not a work by Polidoro . . ." [Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5, p. 150]).

2. For Polidoro's drawings, see Lanfranco Ravelli, *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio* (Bergamo, 1978).

3. See Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries* (London and New York, 1971), figs. 101, 104, 106, 108. See also the engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi of the *Virgin of the Palm Tree* (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, 26: *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School* [New York, 1978], p. 89 [B. XIV, 62]).

4. E.g., the *Madonna della Sedia* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) and the *Virgin Reading, with the Infant Christ*, known through a print by Marcantonio Raimondi (*Illustrated Bartsch*, 26, p. 70 [B. XIV, 48]), which may have inspired a drawing of this subject by Polidoro in the British Museum (Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 215; Ravelli, *Polidoro*, no. 61).

5. The influence of Jan van Scorel in particular is evident in Polidoro's works of the mid- and late 1520s. See Ravelli, *Polidoro*, pp. 47–49.

6. Gere 1987, no. 85; Frederick A. den Broeder, *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Joseph F. McCrindle*, exh. cat., Art Museum, Princeton University, and elsewhere (Princeton, 1991), no. 3.

## PIETRO BUONACCORSI, called PERINO DEL VAGA

Florence 1501–Rome 1547

### 64 *The Crucified Christ*

Red chalk. 365 × 280 mm (14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in an old hand in pen and brown ink at upper right, *Il=Parmenganino*.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of a Trustee (1975.11)

PROVENANCE: Prince Johann Georg of Saxony (according to inscription on verso); Maximilian von Heyl zu Herrnsheim (Lugt 2879); private collection, New York.

LITERATURE: Pierpont Morgan Library, *Eighteenth Report to the Fellows, 1975–77* (New York, 1978), pp. 241ff., 279 (as attributed to Girolamo Muziano); Cara D. Denison and Helen B. Mules, *European Drawings, 1375–1825* (New York, 1981), no. 15, repr. (as Florentine School, first quarter of the sixteenth century); *Disegno: Les dessins italiens du Musée de Rennes*, exh. cat., Galleria Estense, Modena, and Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes (Rennes, 1990), under no. 14, repr. as fig. 1 (as Granacci).

The authorship of this drawing has proved a source of puzzlement, and a number of suggestions have been put forth. Early attributions to Parmigianino, recorded in an inscription at the upper right of the sheet, and to Sebastiano del Piombo are both untenable. With the exception of Philip Pouncey, who tentatively ascribed the drawing to Girolamo Muziano, scholars have concurred in assigning it to the early-sixteenth-century Florentine school, and specific attributions to Granacci and Michelangelo have been advanced. The name of Perino del Vaga has also been proposed, a suggestion with which the present authors concur.

The Morgan Library study relates to a small group of drawings by Perino dating from the early 1520s which are similarly executed in red chalk after a live model. These include a study of the dead Christ in the Louvre (fig. 64.1),<sup>1</sup> a study for an arm in the Uffizi,<sup>2</sup> and, possibly, a study of a leg also in the Morgan Library,<sup>3</sup> all of which have been connected with the artist's lost *Deposition* from Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Executed in two phases, this work was begun by Perino around 1520 and completed shortly after the plague of 1522.<sup>4</sup> Two composition studies by the artist for this altarpiece, one in the British Museum<sup>5</sup> and the other, probably the *modello*, in the Louvre,<sup>6</sup> also demonstrate affinities with the present sheet, not only in technique, but also in the morphologies of the figures. The similarities are most evident in the features of the dead Christ in both drawings, which are virtually identical to those of the crucified Christ in the Morgan Library sheet. All these red-chalk drawings by Perino, datable to the early years of his career when his Florentine training still had a discernible mark on his style, share a hard, continuous contour line and reveal a concern for the solid, sculptural modeling of forms.

The function of the Morgan Library *Crucified Christ* is unknown. No commission to the artist from the 1520s—the period to which the drawing can be assigned with certainty on stylistic grounds—for a painting of the Crucifixion is known. It is worth noting, however, that the frescoes in the Chapel of the Passion in Santa Maria della Pietà in Camposanto Teutonico in the Vatican, designed by Perino and possibly executed in part by Polidoro da Caravaggio around 1522, include a representation of the Crucifixion.<sup>7</sup> The figure in the Morgan sheet corresponds quite closely to the crucified Christ in Perino's design for that project, although the arrangement of the legs differs slightly. Alternatively, the drawing may record an idea for an unexecuted fresco or altarpiece in the Chapel of the Crucifix in San Marcello al Corso, Rome, where Perino worked in the mid-1520s. As the chapel was dedicated to the miraculous crucifix it housed, an image of the crucified Christ would have been an appropriate component of the iconographic scheme. This suggestion is conjectural, however, and the possibility remains that the *Crucified Christ* documents an unrecorded commission from Perino's early Roman period.

LWS

1. Inv. no. 631. See Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1966), no. 5, repr.

2. Inv. no. 13486F. See Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino*, no. 6, repr.

3. Inv. no. IV, 22A. See Linda Wolk, "La 'Deposizione' perduta di Perino del Vaga per Santa Maria sopra Minerva," in *Raffaello e l'Europa: Atti del IV Corso internazionale di alta cultura* (Rome, 1990), p. 232, fig. 5.

4. See John Shearman, "An Episode in the History of Conservation: The Fragments of Perino's Altarpiece from S. Maria sopra Minerva," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 356–64; John Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 187–91;

Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga, l'anello mancante: Studi sul manierismo* (Genoa, 1986), pp. 43–49, 300–302, cat. no. B.I.; Gere 1987, under no. 69; and Wolk, “La ‘Deposizione’ perduta di Perino del Vaga,” p. 232.

5. Inv. no. 1854-6-28-13. See Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 157; Bernice Davidson, “Early Drawings by Perino del Vaga,” pt. 1, *Master Drawings* 1, no. 3 (1963), p. 8.

6. Inv. 5008. See Wolk, “La ‘Deposizione’ perduta di Perino del Vaga,” pp. 231, 235 n. 3, fig. 2.

7. On Perino’s involvement in this project, see Alessandro Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (Rome, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 41–46; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, pp. 49–50, 318–20, cat. no. C.I.; Gere 1987, no. 74; Linda Wolk, *Studies in Perino del Vaga’s Early Career*, Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 358–68.

## 65 *Studies of a Horse’s Head and Raised Arms*

Pen and brown ink. 185 × 145 mm (7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in brown ink at lower right, *la soma fac- / ▽ -123- / 35 / bartolomeo oreffi[ce] / 12 / m[e]s[ser] (or m[ae]s[tro]) gia[n]pietro crivell[i] / 20 / perino— / 26— / 25 / li debiti mo[n]tano ▽ 84.*; inscribed at bottom of sheet in a later hand, 1520; cut off at lower edge, *Raffaello*.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Prince de Ligne; Donadieu Collection of Autographs; Donadieu sale, Paris, 1861; Federico Gentili di Giuseppe; unidentified collector’s mark; sale, Sotheby’s, London, December 7, 1976, no. 7; sale, Sotheby’s, New York, January 16, 1986, no. 25.

LITERATURE: Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: École ombrienne et romaine* (Paris, 1870), p. 40 (as Raphael); C. Ruland, *The Works of Raphael . . . as represented in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle* (London, 1876), p. 273, no. 7 (as “probably by Perino del Vaga,” with reference to facsimile reproduction published in Blanc); Oskar Fischel, “Letters to the Editors: Some Lost Drawings by or near to Raphael,” *Burlington Magazine* 20 (February 1912), p. 300, no. 23, repr.; Federico Gentili di Giuseppe, “Una Lettera autografa inedita di Raffaello e un disegno di lui ritenuto smarrito,” *L’Arte*, January 1933, pp. 30–37 (as Raphael); Linda Wolk-Simon, “A Drawing by Perino del Vaga for the *Loggia degli Eroi* of the Villa

Doria and a Document from the Genoese Period,” *Master Drawings* 25, no. 4 (1987), pp. 410–14 (as Perino); *Italianische Zeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. by Heinz Widauer, Linzer Stadtmuseums-Nordico, Graphische Sammlung (Linz, 1991), pp. 50, 54 fig. 2.

The devastating Sack of Rome by Imperial troops in May of 1527 effectively extinguished cultural life in the Eternal City for a decade. Suffering a loss of patronage, and subjected to cruel indignities by the invading German soldiers, the city’s leading artists were forced to flee. Perino del Vaga sought refuge in Genoa at the court of Andrea Doria, the celebrated admiral and newly proclaimed ruler of the city, who enlisted him to carry out the entire interior and exterior embellishment of the newly renovated Palazzo Doria in Fassolo, the suburban outskirts of the port city. Assuming the role of court artist, Perino designed frescoes, *stucchi*, chimneypieces, tapestries, portals, and facade paintings, as well as triumphal arches and other ephemera. One of the greatest artistic ensembles of the late Renaissance, the Palazzo Doria decorations constitute the consummate expression of the modern Roman *all’antica* style.

Although most of his work carried out in the service of the admiral-prince was completed by 1533, Perino remained intermittently in Genoa until 1537.<sup>1</sup> A number of drawings dating from his decade-long Genoese period survive. Some are for religious commissions, but the majority relate to his activity in the Palazzo Doria. The present sheet, ascribed at one time to Raphael, contains studies for one of the major public rooms of the palace, the *Loggia degli Eroi* on the *piano nobile*.<sup>2</sup> Executed between 1530 and 1531, the frescoes in the loggia depict monumental heroes, the seafaring ancestors of Andrea Doria. In the vaults above, surrounded by richly modeled stucco

reliefs, appear small narrative scenes drawn from ancient Roman history. The sketches relate to both parts of the fresco decoration: the large studies of a horse's head are preparatory for the vault fresco *Marcus Curtius Throwing Himself into the Chasm of the Roman Forum* (fig. 65.2), and the three crooked arms with hands gripping invisible staffs and batons record ideas for the artfully posturing heroes who line the length of the loggia, brandishing an assortment of martial trappings as they gaze out at the sea (fig. 65.1).

Comparable in handling and technique to a pen sketch in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, for three of the seated heroes, where the artist employs analogous hard contour lines and short, regular hatching,<sup>3</sup> the drawing shows Perino clarifying specific passages of the figural scenes. Such quick sketches were followed by finished chalk studies for the seated heroes, examples of which are preserved in the Albertina, Vienna, and the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne,<sup>4</sup> and the *modelli* for the vault frescoes, two of which survive.<sup>5</sup> Another sheet of studies connected with the Loggia degli Eroi has recently come to light. Executed in the same technique, it includes two sketches of crooked arms that closely resemble those of the present drawing.<sup>6</sup>

The notations at the lower right of the sheet, contemporary with the drawing and made in the form of account-book entries, record the disbursement of funds to two goldsmiths, Gianpietro Crivelli and one Bartolomeo *orefice*, as well as to Perino himself, perhaps as payment for his work in the Loggia degli Eroi.<sup>7</sup> This sheet thus acquires an added importance as a document, and is particularly notable for being the only such record of Perino del Vaga's entire artistic activity in Genoa.<sup>8</sup>

LWS

1. On Perino's decorations in the Palazzo Doria, see George Lawrence Gorse, *The Villa Doria in Fassolo, Genoa*, Ph.D. diss., Brown University, Providence, 1980, pp. 39–87; Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga, l'anello mancante: Studi sul manierismo* (Genoa, 1986), pp. 73–152, 263–81; Piero Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti* (Rome, 1989), pp. 25–87.
2. Linda Wolk-Simon, "A Drawing by Perino del Vaga for the Loggia degli Eroi of the Villa Doria and a Document from the Genoese Period," *Master Drawings* 25, no. 4 (1987), pp. 410–14. The drawing was first correctly ascribed to Perino when it appeared at auction in 1976.
3. Inv. no. 634. See Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1966), no. 18, repr.; *Autour de Raphael: Dessins et peintres du Musée du Louvre*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1983), no. 91, repr.
4. For the Vienna drawing (inv. no. 574), see Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino*, no. 19, repr.; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, fig. 115. For the Bayonne drawing (inv. no. 1292), see Bernice Davidson, "Drawings by Perino del Vaga for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), pl. 321, fig. 8.
5. The Marcus Curtius *modello* is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. Parker 730. See K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, II: Italian Schools* (Oxford, 1956), no. 730. The *Horatius Cocles Defending the Ponte Sublico modello* is in the British Museum, inv. no. 1946-7-13-58. See Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 164.
6. Stadtmuseum, Linz, inv. no. S V / 248. See *Italienische Zeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. by Heinz Widauer, Linzer Stadtmuseums-Nordico, Graphische Sammlung (Linz, 1991), pp. 50–53, repr.
7. These are transcribed and discussed by Wolk-Simon, "A Drawing by Perino del Vaga," pp. 412 and 413 n. 7.
8. The photograph reproduced by Oskar Fischel, "Letters to the Editors: Some Lost Drawings by or near to Raphael," *Burlington Magazine* 20 (February 1912), p. 300, no. 23, shows the drawing attached at the bottom edge to a fragment of a document identified by him as a probable autograph receipt in Raphael's hand. This inscription was not mentioned by Federico Gentili di Giuseppe, "Una Lettera autografa inedita di Raffaello e un disegno di lui ritenuto smarrito," *L'Arte*, January 1933, pp. 30–37, nor does it appear in his illustration of the drawing (fig. 2). The document, clearly executed in a different hand than the inscriptions on the drawing, was presumably detached from the sheet by this time and probably on the occasion of the Donadieu sale of autographs in 1861, although I have found no reference to such a document in the Donadieu sale catalogue.

66 *Alexander the Great Cutting the Gordian Knot*

Pen and brown ink, gray wash, heightened with white; squared in black chalk. 190 × 112 mm (7½ × 4¼ in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1984 (1984.413)

PROVENANCE: French private collection; sale, Nouveau Drouot, Salle 7, Paris, October 10–11, 1983, lot 72; [John Morton Morris].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1984–1985* (New York, 1985), p. 26; Lawrence Turčić, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notable Acquisitions 1984–1985* (New York, 1985), p. 29, repr.; Gere 1987, no. 79, repr.; Linda Wolk-Simon, "Fame, Paragone, and the Cartoon: The Case of Perino del Vaga," *Master Drawings* 30, no. 1 (1992), p. 63, fig. 9.

Commissioned by Pope Paul III, the decorations of the papal apartments in Castel Sant'Angelo were largely carried out between 1545 and 1547 by Perino del Vaga and his workshop.<sup>1</sup> The frescoes in the Sala Paolina, the large state room used for official functions, depict scenes from the life of Alexander the Great, an allusion to the baptismal name of the pope, Alessandro Farnese. Framed by female figures representing Virtues, the Alexander scenes on the two long walls of the Sala Paolina are executed in gold monochrome intended to simulate ancient reliefs. This technique, as well as the tight compression of the inflated, muscular figures into a shallow field, recalls Polidoro da Caravaggio's celebrated facade paintings of the 1520s,<sup>2</sup> but Perino's ultimate source lies in the similar gold monochromes that occupy the window embrasures and *basamenti* of Raphael's Stanze.

In the Sala Paolina campaign, Perino adopted the practice employed by Raphael in the last years of his life, furnishing his assistants with highly finished drawings which they used to translate his ideas. Thus, while Perino had little role in the execution of the frescoes, the invention of the major parts of the decora-

tive cycle—not only the Alexander scenes and the Virtues, but also the paired *soprapporta* figures, the fictive bronze medallions representing episodes from the life of Saint Paul, and the surrounding stucco reliefs of the vault—belongs to him.<sup>3</sup> Graphic testimony of his authorship exists in the numerous extant drawings by the artist for the Sala Paolina, of which the present sheet for the largest of the five Alexander scenes, executed in the fluid, scribbly style of Perino's late Roman period, is a notable example. The fresco departs from the drawing in the inclusion of a standing soldier to the left, whose addition allowed the composition to be adapted to a wider field, as well as in the slightly altered position of the heads of the spectators, but the two correspond precisely in essential details (fig. 66.1). The Metropolitan Museum drawing is squared for transfer, indicating that it may have served as the *modello* for the fresco.

Two other drawings by Perino for the Alexander scenes—Alexander consecrating the twelve altars and Alexander preserving the writings of Homer—are in the Woodner Collection and in a British private collection, respectively.<sup>4</sup> A preparatory study for the allegorical figure of Prudence is in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. Work on some of the ancillary rooms in the Pauline apartments continued after Perino's death in October 1547; see Filippa M. Alberti Gaudioso and Eraldo Gaudioso, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo: Progetto ed esecuzione, 1543–1548*, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1981), vol. 1, p. 90, for relevant records of payment.

2. This point has been emphasized by Gere 1987, p. 256.

3. J. A. Gere, "Two Late Fresco Cycles by Perino del Vaga: The Massimi Chapel and the Sala Paolina," *Burlington Magazine* 102 (January 1960), pp. 14–19; M. Hirst, "Tibaldi around Perino," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (November 1965), p. 569; Richard Harprath, *Papst Paul III. als Alexander der Grosse: Das Freskenprogramm*

der Sala Paolina in der Engelsburg (Berlin and New York, 1978), pp. 79–82; Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga, l'anello mancante: Studi sul manierismo* (Genoa, 1986), pp. 209, 290–94. Subsidiary parts of the decoration such as the *basamenti* and the pairs of *ignudi* below the Alexander scenes, as well as the figures on the two short walls, were instead designed by Perino's assistants, notably Pellegrino Tibaldi. Gere, "Two Late Fresco Cycles by Perino," p. 16, suggests that Tibaldi may have been responsible for the execution of the fresco of *Alexander Cutting the Gordian Knot*.

4. On the Woodner drawing, see Harprath, *Papst Paul III*, p. 74, fig. 74; Gaudioso and Gaudioso, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III*, vol. 2, no. 74, repr.; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, p. 293; *Woodner Collection: Master Drawings*, exh. cat. by Ann Dumas et al., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1990), no. 25, repr. On the drawing in a British private collection, see Gere, "Two Late Fresco Cycles by Perino," p. 16, fig. 25; *Italian 16th-Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat., Merchant's Hall (Edinburgh, 1969), no. 61, repr.; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, p. 293.

5. Rogers Fund, 1964 (64.179). See Harprath, *Papst Paul III*, p. 73, fig. 72; Gaudioso and Gaudioso, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III*, vol. 2, no. 81, repr.; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 168, repr.; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, p. 218, fig. 261.

## 67 Saint Peter and Saint John Healing a Cripple at the Gate of the Temple

Pen and brown ink over black chalk on recto; on verso, pen sketch of a right hand at upper left, and red-chalk circle at lower right. 253 × 194 mm (9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Carl L. Selden Gift, in memory of Carl L. Selden, 1989 (1989.94)

PROVENANCE: German private collection; [Arnoldi-Livie].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1988–1989* (New York, 1989), p. 24; William M. Griswold, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1988–1989*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 47, no. 2 (Fall 1989), p. 38, repr.; Bernice F. Davidson, "The Cope Embroideries Designed for Paul III by Perino del Vaga," *Master Drawings* 28, no. 2 (1990), pp. 123–41, repr. as fig. 1.

In his *Vita* of Perino del Vaga, Vasari reports that the artist designed a cope for his papal patron, Paul III, with eight scenes from the life of Saint Peter drawn from the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>1</sup> No vestments that accord with this description survive, but a number of designs by or after Perino illustrating events from the lives of Saints Peter and Paul, some of which are finely pricked in a manner that suggests their having been used as embroidery cartoons, and all delineated in an oval or *cadre bombé* field, have traditionally been associated with this commission.

Perino's cope designs—drawings by or after the artist and engravings that record otherwise unknown inventions presumably belonging to the same series—fall into two groups.<sup>2</sup> The Saint Peter scenes include: Peter and John healing a cripple at the gate of the temple, Peter walking on water, Christ washing Peter's feet, the donation of the keys to Saint Peter, and Christ's charge to Peter. The Saint Paul series comprises the following extant compositions: Paul recovering his sight, Paul lowered from the walls of Damascus in a basket, the curing of the cripple at Lystra, Paul preaching at Athens, and Paul overcoming the viper. As Bernice Davidson has observed in a recent, detailed study of the cope designs, neither series is complete. Each lacks canonical episodes from the lives of the respective saints, notably the two subjects that the pope commissioned Michelangelo to represent in the Pauline Chapel—the conversion of Saint Paul and the crucifixion of Saint Peter. Were each inclusive of the obvious missing subjects, there would almost certainly have been too many narrative scenes for a single vestment to accommodate, a circumstance that led Davidson to endorse an earlier hypothesis that Perino provided designs for two separate copes, one with scenes devoted to the

life of Saint Peter and the other to Saint Paul. Confirmation of this conjecture is provided in an archival notice in an inventory of liturgical furnishings drawn up for Pope Paul III which lists two “pioviaie di broccatto,” one embellished with the miracles of Saint Paul and the other with scenes from the life of Saint Peter.<sup>3</sup>

Executed in a loose, free graphic style, the present drawing lacks the finished character of a *modello* or cartoon and seems instead to constitute an earlier phase in the creative process in which the artist fixed the composition. The contours are not pricked, and the pen line departs from the design recorded in the chalk underdrawing, notably in the area of the beggar's left hand and the disposition of Saint John's left arm, factors which further indicate that, unlike some of the other drawings in the series, this sheet did not serve as the actual cartoon employed by the embroiderer. It was presumably superseded by a more finished and worked-up design, now lost, analogous in style and technique to Perino's two drawings of Saint Paul preaching at Athens.<sup>4</sup>

There is another drawing representing Saint Peter and Saint John healing a cripple in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>5</sup> Previously ascribed to Perino, this damaged sheet shows the composition in the same direction as an engraving of the design by Bonasone, and is probably a copy after the print rather than an autograph drawing by Perino.<sup>6</sup>

LWS

1. “Sono state dopo la morte di Perio stampate molte cose ritratte dai suoi disegni . . .” [among these are] “otto storie di San Piero, tratte dagli Atti degli Apostoli, le quali fece in disegno perche ne fusse ricamato per papa Paolo terzo un piviale” (“After Perino's death, many engravings were made after his drawings. [Among these are] . . . eight scenes from the life of Saint Peter, taken from the Acts of the Apostles, of which he made drawings because they were to be embroidered for a

cope for Pope Paul III” [Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 5, pp. 631–32]).

2. For this and what follows, see Bernice F. Davidson, “The Cope Embroideries Designed for Paul III by Perino del Vaga,” *Master Drawings* 28, no. 2 (1990), pp. 123–41. See also Pouncey and Gere 1962, under no. 172.

3. Transcribed by Davidson, “The Cope Embroideries,” p. 138.

4. Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 487 F; Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, inv. no. 124255. See Davidson, “The Cope Embroideries,” figs. 11, 12.

5. Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.227.34). See Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 171, repr.

6. As already suggested by William Griswold, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1988–1989*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 47, no. 2 (Fall 1989), p. 38.

## PIRRO LIGORIO

Naples ca. 1513–Ferrara 1583

### 68 *A Seated Sibyl and Attendant Genius*

Red chalk (recto); pen study of a horse's head on verso. 245 × 265 mm (9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Numbered in pen and brown ink at upper center of recto, 79.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pfeiffer Fund, 1962 (62.120.7)

PROVENANCE: Hugh N. Squire, London; [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: Jacob Bean, “Form and Function in Italian Drawings: Observations on Several New Acquisitions,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21, no. 7 (March 1963), pp. 232–35, fig. 6 (as Sebastiano del Piombo); *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1962–1963*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22, no. 2 (October 1963), p. 63 (as Sebastiano del Piombo); Jacob Bean, 100 *European Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1964), no. 14, repr. (as Sebastiano del Piombo); Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 57, repr. (as Sebastiano del Piombo); J. A. Gere, “Some Early Drawings by Pirro Ligorio,” *Master Drawings* 9, no. 3 (1971), p. 244, pl. 15 (as Pirro Ligorio); Edward J. Olszewski, with the assistance of Jane Glaubinger, *The Draftsman's Eye: Late Italian Renaissance Schools and Styles*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979 (Cleveland, 1981), no. 53, repr.; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 114, repr.

Painter, architect, and antiquarian, Pirro Ligorio was active in Rome and Ferrara. His early days in Rome were spent painting facade decorations, none of which survives, and producing drawings after the antique in what would become a lifelong undertaking. The only extant fresco from his Roman years, the *Dance of Salome* in the Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato executed in the mid-1540s,<sup>1</sup> derives from the monumental narrative style of Salviati (see nos. 25, 26) but reveals Ligorio's artistic predilections in the complex architectural background.

Ligorio's major patron was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, who engaged him as archaeologist and antiquarian, and for whom he designed the celebrated Villa d'Este at Tivoli outside Rome. He also worked as papal architect under Popes Paul IV and Pius IV, succeeding Michelangelo as architect of Saint Peter's in 1564. Ligorio ended his career in Ferrara, having worked in the service of the Este dukes since 1569, designing tapestries and frescoes and collecting antiquities for Alfonso II. His great opus, a monumental and ambitious encyclopedia of antiquities, was unfinished at the time of his death.

This imposing study of a sibyl was ascribed to Sebastiano del Piombo (see no. 107) until John Gere recognized it as the work of Pirro Ligorio.<sup>2</sup> The earlier attribution, proposed by Philip Pouncey, was not without foundation: the highly plastic treatment of forms, reminiscent of Michelangelo, finds close parallels in a number of Sebastiano's chalk drawings, and the pose of the massive, ponderous figure is analogous to the reclining apostle at the right of Sebastiano's *Transfiguration* in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. Nonetheless, certain mannerisms such as "the monstrous hands, clumsily attached to the arms by grotesquely deformed wrists" signal

the hand of Ligorio, as Gere pointed out, and the sheet is now recognized as a characteristic example of his early chalk drawing style.<sup>3</sup> Ligorio's activity as a painter essentially ceased after the San Giovanni Decollato commission; the present drawing, almost certainly a preliminary design for a lost or unexecuted painting, can be dated to the first part of his career.<sup>4</sup>

LWS

1. On this fresco, see Rolf E. Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom* (Neuchâtel, 1976), pp. 105–13, fig. 20; and Jean S. Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia: The Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome* (Ann Arbor, 1984), pp. 18–19, 47–50, fig. 26. J. A. Gere, "Some Early Drawings by Pirro Ligorio," *Master Drawings* 9, no. 3 (1971), p. 239, assigns to Ligorio a monochrome fresco of an ancient sacrifice in the oratory.

2. Gere, "Some Early Drawings by Pirro Ligorio," p. 244. Gere's attribution to Ligorio was subsequently accepted by Pouncey.

3. A red-chalk study of the Virgin and Child, recently on the art market as Polidoro da Caravaggio (Colnaghi, New York, 1987, exh. cat., no. 5, repr.), is precisely comparable in style to the Metropolitan Museum *Sibyl* and is also the work of Ligorio.

4. A sibyl with attendant "genii" appears at the right foreground of Ligorio's *Dance of Salome* in San Giovanni Decollato, and Ligorio later designed a sculpture of this subject for the Villa d'Este (Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia*, p. 49). The recumbent figure in the Metropolitan Museum drawing bears no relation to these strictly classicizing representations, however, although it is conceivably a discarded idea for the fresco.

## Attributed to GUGLIELMO

### DELLA PORTA

Porlezza (Milan) ca. 1515–Rome 1577

## 69 Battle of Horsemen and Foot Soldiers

Pen and brown ink. 207 × 315 mm (8 1/8 × 12 7/16 in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.546)



PROVENANCE: H.M. (Lugt 1343); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie's, London, July 10, 13–14, 1936, no. 36b; Robert Lehman.

LITERATURE: George Szabo, *XVI Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1979), no. 48 (as attributed to Paolo Veronese); Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 95, repr. (as "circle of Perino del Vaga").

A range of suggestions has been advanced for the authorship of this energetic battle scene. Once attributed to Paolo Veronese, the drawing has recently been assigned to the ambient of Perino del Vaga in Rome in the mid-1500s.<sup>1</sup> Although it is superficially close to Perino's manner, the pronounced stylistic idiosyncrasies suggest the hand of a distinct personality. A likely candidate is the Lombard-born sculptor, architect, and *stuccatore* Guglielmo della Porta, who worked as Perino's assistant in Genoa in the 1530s and Rome in the 1540s, and became Piombatore, Keeper of the Papal Seal, following the death of Sebastiano del Piombo in 1547.

Guglielmo della Porta as a draftsman is known primarily through three sketchbooks of his drawings preserved in the Landesmuseum, Düsseldorf.<sup>2</sup> The earliest contains studies from the 1540s, many for projects commissioned by the Farnese, in which the pervasive influence of Perino is evident.<sup>3</sup> These provide compelling points of comparison with the Lehman sheet in terms of subject matter, graphic style, and technique. The nervous, scribbly line and hard hatched strokes that describe volume and fill the spatial voids between figures, and the series of open loops employed to articulate anatomical forms occur in both the battle scene and the sketchbook drawings. Another shared feature is the distinctive morphological type, characterized by sharply pointed noses and blank, angular eyes; the long, tapering, angled fingers; and the lumpy musculature of the agi-

tated figures. And the Roman parade armor and fanciful antique helmets with billowy plumes worn by the soldiers in the Lehman sheet find close parallels in a page from the first Düsseldorf sketchbook<sup>4</sup> and in two sheets by the artist in the Uffizi.<sup>5</sup> The highly eccentric, spidery draftsmanship of Guglielmo della Porta's maturity already present in nascent form in the Düsseldorf studies is evident in the battle scene as well.

On the basis of these stylistic parallels with the first Düsseldorf sketchbook, as well as the obvious influence of Perino del Vaga, the Lehman drawing may be assigned to the 1540s. Its function is unknown, but elements of the composition, specifically the falling soldier holding a shield and the rearing horse in the center, recall the painted gold monochrome tondo representing the conversion of Paul in the Sala Paolina in Castel Sant'Angelo, executed by Perino and his assistants in the mid-1540s.<sup>6</sup>

LWS

1. For the attribution history, see Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 95. The author refers to Guglielmo della Porta but does not propose an attribution to him.

2. Werner Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1964). Other important drawings by this little-studied artist are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. nos. E.501-1966 r&v and E.502-1966 r&v; see Peter Ward-Jackson, *Italian Drawings: Volume One, 14th–16th Century*, Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues [London, 1979], nos. 252, 253); Pierpont Morgan Library (inv. no. I, 33; see Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 112, repr.), and Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund, 63.103.3; see Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 111, repr.).

3. Gramberg, *Skizzenbücher*, text vol., pp. 31–32.

4. Gramberg, *Skizzenbücher*, Sketchbook 1, cat. no. 7.

5. Inv. nos. 548, 549 Orn. See Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1966), nos. 79, 80, fig. 69.

6. Filippa M. Alberti Gaudio and Eraldo Gaudio, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo: Progetto ed esecuzione, 1543–1548*, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1981), vol. 1, p. 188, fig. 133. Guglielmo della Porta executed some of the stucco reliefs in the Castel Sant'Angelo campaign.

MARCO MARCHETTI, called  
MARCO DA FAENZA

Faenza (?) before 1528–Faenza 1588

70 *Project for the Decoration of a Wall*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. 230 × 327 mm  
(9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: [Enrico Cortona]; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1987, no. 76, repr.

LITERATURE: *Disegni e dipinti di maestri antichi presentati da Enrico Cortona*, exh. cat., Sotheby's Italia (Milan, 1985), no. 5, repr.

Marco Marchetti, better known as Marco da Faenza, appears to have worked extensively in Rome prior to joining the atelier of Giorgio Vasari (see nos. 27, 28), with whom he collaborated in the monumental task of refurbishing the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, as a ducal residence. During the 1570s, he was again in Rome, where he was engaged in the decoration of the Logge of Pope Gregory XIII. The idiosyncratic style of Marco da Faenza's drawings thus reflects the influence of Vasari on the one hand and of Taddeo Zuccaro's followers Raffaellino da Reggio (1550–1578) and Cesare Nebbia (see nos. 79, 80) on the other.<sup>1</sup>

The present *modello* appears to be a study for the frescoed decoration of the interior of a palace. Over the fireplace on the left is a depiction of Apollo with the Muses on Mount Parnassus (represented as a tapestry, but prob-

ably meant to be executed in fresco); a statue with the attributes of Astronomy (also presumably painted, not real) occupies the niche in the center of the composition. The coat of arms flanked by female allegorical figures blowing trumpets over the door on the right is that of the grand dukes of Tuscany as grand masters of the Order of Saint Stephen.

The Sacred and Military Order of Saint Stephen was founded in 1561 by Cosimo I, then duke of Florence, and grand duke of Tuscany from 1569 until his death in 1574. The headquarters of the Order is the Palazzo dei Cavalieri (or Caravano) in Pisa, which was remodeled under Vasari's supervision during the early 1560s. Whatever (if anything) the present *modello* has to do with the various projects carried out for the Medici by Vasari and his many assistants, the coat of arms in the drawing suggests that the sketch was executed in connection with a commission from Cosimo I or from his son Francesco, who reigned as grand duke from 1574 until 1587.<sup>2</sup>

Most of Marco da Faenza's drawings are studies for grotesques or other decorative work. This particular sheet is close in style to another project for the elevation of the wall of a palace which was formerly on the art market in London.<sup>3</sup> In that drawing, however, the presence of a cardinal's hat as well as keys and a papal tiara indicate an altogether different patron—possibly the cardinal legate in Faenza, for whom the artist is known to have worked during the early 1580s.<sup>4</sup>

WMG

1. See Gere and Pouncey 1983, p. 123.

2. According to Sotheby's, New York (sale cat., January 14, 1987, no. 76), the arms are those of Ferdinando I. However, Ferdinando became grand duke only in 1587—just a year before the artist's death, and at a time when he seems to have been occupied with commissions in his native Faenza.

3. *Armando Neerman: Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat., National Book League (London, 1975), no. 16, repr.
4. G. M. Valgimigli, "Pittori faentini del secolo XVI," *Atti e memorie della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per . . . Romagna* (Bologna, 1868), p. 149.

## GIROLAMO MUZIANO

Brescia 1532–Rome 1592

### 71 *Christ on the Cross*

Red chalk; squared in red chalk. 405 × 282 mm  
(15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 3, 1980, no. 24, repr.

A native of Brescia, Girolamo Muziano studied first in Padua and then in Venice before moving to Rome in the late 1540s. Highly acclaimed as a landscape draftsman, he executed numerous drawings of penitent saints in vast wilderness settings, some of which were engraved by Cornelis Cort (1533–1578). These betray Muziano's familiarity with the style of Domenico Campagnola (see nos. 109, 110), to whom he had apparently been introduced during his stay in Padua. The artist's narrative compositions, on the other hand, reflect the influence of Taddeo Zuccaro, although in paintings by Muziano the figures are more massive, and their gestures are simpler and less elegant. The sobriety of Muziano's work evidently appealed to Pope Gregory XIII, for whom he supervised a number of important projects, including the mosaic decoration of the Cappella Gregoriana in Saint Peter's.

The figure in this powerful drawing corresponds very closely to that of Christ on the Cross in an altarpiece by Muziano in the Capuchin church of San Francesco in Frascati.<sup>1</sup>

In the painting, Christ is flanked by Saints Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua. Another, somewhat smaller drawing by Muziano of the same subject—not, however, related to a known painting—was recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>2</sup>

WMG

1. See Ugo da Como, *Girolamo Muziano, 1528–1592: Note e documenti* (Bergamo, 1930), p. 120, repr. p. 122.

2. Purchase, David L. Klein, Jr. Memorial Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1990 (1990.149); black chalk; 271 × 191 mm.

## TADDEO ZUCCARO

Sant'Angelo in Vado (Marches) 1529–Rome 1566

### 72 *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*

Verso: *A Kneeling Male Figure*

Pen and ink with brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper (recto); black and white chalk (verso).  
337 × 235 mm (13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.).

Inscribed on Vasari mount in a cartouche on recto, *Taddeo Zvchero / Da S. Agnolo. / Pittore.*; on verso inscribed in a cartouche, *Taddeo Zvchero Da S. / Agnolo Pit.*, and also on mount in another hand, *A. 12, Ld Bentink Col.* and *Wellesly Coll.*

The Pierpont Morgan Library, The Janos Scholz Collection (1973.26)

PROVENANCE: Giorgio Vasari; Bentinck (?); Horace Walpole (according to records of Janos Scholz); Janos Scholz.

LITERATURE: *Pontormo to Greco: The Age of Mannerism*, exh. cat., John Herron Art Museum (Indianapolis, 1954), no. 42, repr. (verso); Wolf Stubbe, *Italienische Meisterzeichnungen vom 14 bis zum 18 Jahrhundert aus amerikanischem Besitz di Sammlung Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., Kunsthalle (Hamburg, 1963), no. 180, fig. 44; John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), p. 181, no. 152, pl. 165; *The Age of Vasari*, exh. cat., Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame (Notre Dame, 1970), no. D25, repr.; Konrad Oberhuber and Dean Walker, *Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, and Pierpont

Morgan Library, New York (Washington, 1973), no. 6, repr.; Licia Ragghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' Disegni del Vasari* (Florence, 1974), vol. 1, p. 147, vol. 2, figs. 448 (verso), 449 (recto); Charles Ryskamp, ed., *Twentieth Report to the Fellows of The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1981–1983* (New York, 1984), p. 187; Konrad Oberhuber and Sabine Kehl-Baierle, *Meisterzeichnungen aus New York*, exh. cat., Graphische Sammlung, Albertina (Vienna, 1988), no. 23, repr.; E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 22, repr.

One of the most important artists in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century, Taddeo Zuccaro was regarded by his contemporaries as the spirit of Raphael incarnate, according to the epitaph of his tomb in the Pantheon. After an initial period of hardship as an apprentice to a succession of undistinguished painters, he achieved acclaim in the Eternal City through his painted palace facades in the manner of Polidoro da Caravaggio, one of which, according to Vasari, was praised by the whole of Rome.<sup>1</sup> He was patronized by such prominent aristocratic families as the Mattei, the Orsini, and the Frangipani, by Popes Julius III and Pius IV, and by the most discriminating savant of the Curia Romana, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who enlisted him as *capomaestro* at his villa at Caprarola. Taddeo also worked for a short time in Urbino and Pesaro in the service of Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere, who capitalized on the artist's talents as decorator, having him design a majolica service as a gift for King Philip II of Spain. Taddeo's career was relatively brief, and a number of his major works are lost or inaccessible. His artistic development is most fully documented in his numerous extant drawings, which reveal the dominant influence of Perino del Vaga and Polidoro da Caravaggio, and, in a less enduring vein, Daniele da Volterra and Francesco Salviati.<sup>2</sup>

Although it is one of his best-known draw-

ings, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness* remains something of an enigma in Taddeo's graphic oeuvre. The sheet enjoys an illustrious provenance, having evidently belonged to Vasari's *Libro de' disegni*, as the cartouche, inscription, and drawn mount imply,<sup>3</sup> but its purpose is unknown. Drawings of comparable finish by Taddeo exist, an example being the study for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* in the Robert Lehman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>4</sup> but these are all preparatory studies or *modelli* for paintings. The Morgan Library drawing, in contrast, cannot be connected with a known commission or an extant work by Taddeo, and the lack of pentimenti, the fully worked-up composition and landscape background, and the careful attention to light and shadow invest it with the character of a finished invention in its own right. It is in this respect somewhat anomalous for the artist, who appears to have produced drawings only as preliminary ideas leading to the realization of a painting and not, as Gere has noted, as "end products."<sup>5</sup> The large blank field at the lower edge of the sheet, conceivably intended for an inscription, suggests that the study may be either a type of presentation drawing or a design for a print.

The verso of the Morgan sheet, recently discussed by James Mundy, contains a study for the kneeling Saint Paul in the scene of his martyrdom in the Frangipani Chapel in San Marcello al Corso. Taddeo was engaged on this commission between 1558 and 1565, and the figure study has been dated to the beginning of that campaign.<sup>6</sup> Although the date of the recto cannot be decisively inferred from this connection, the *Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness* should likewise be assigned on stylistic grounds to the last years of the artist's life.<sup>7</sup>

LWS

1. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 7, p. 78. This was the facade of the Palazzo Mattei.
2. On Taddeo as a draftsman, see John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969).
3. Licia Ragghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' Disegni del Vasari* (Florence, 1974), vol. 1, p. 147.
4. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.553. See Gere, *Taddeo*, p. 180, no. 147; Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 100, repr.
5. Gere, *Taddeo*, p. 13.
6. E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 22.
7. Gere, *Taddeo*, p. 181, no. 152, suggested that this sheet exemplifies a “certain type of finished, late, drawing which sometimes hangs in the balance between Taddeo Zuccaro and Federico.”

### 73 *Nude Man Striding*

Verso: *Three Studies of Soldiers*

Red chalk, heightened with white (recto); red chalk (verso). 420 × 287 mm (16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed on verso in pen and brown ink, *Maturino*; in graphite in nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century hand, *P . . . au Vatican . . . Maturino par / Mariette le pere / Collection van Zande*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1968 (68.113)

PROVENANCE: unidentified collector's mark Z (similar to but somewhat larger than Lugt 2680); Carl König (Lugt 583); sale, Sotheby's, London, March 11, 1964, no. 141 (as *Maturino*); Philip Pouncey, London.

LITERATURE: John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), no. 143, pls. 12 (recto), 14 (verso); Jacob Bean and John J. McKendry, “A Fortunate Year,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27 (February 1969), repr. p. 312 (recto); John Gere, *I disegni dei maestri: Il manierismo a Roma* (Milan, 1971), fig. 14 (recto); *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions, 1965–1975* (New York, 1975), p. 57, repr. (recto); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 279, repr. (recto and verso); E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 5, repr. (recto and verso).

Like many young artists of the period who undertook the pilgrimage to Rome, Taddeo Zuccaro spent his early days in the city studying the works of Michelangelo and Raphael, the remains of classical antiquity, and the painted facades of Polidoro da Caravaggio—undertakings documented in his brother Federico's illustrated *Life of Taddeo*.<sup>1</sup> An early drawing by the artist, this double-sided sheet in the Metropolitan Museum attests to the preoccupations which dominated that moment of his career.

Even though a precise source has not been identified, the verso may have been copied from an ancient battle relief, a possibility signaled by the sculptural plasticity of forms and the figures' Roman helmets and armor.<sup>2</sup> The nude male on the recto, exhibiting a high degree of finish and relief unusual for Taddeo<sup>3</sup> and conceivably drawn from life, recalls the central figure in Raphael's *Repulse of Attila* in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican.<sup>4</sup> Although it was probably not executed as a preparatory study for a specific composition, this drawing served as the model for the soldier holding the reigns of a rearing horse in a drawing by Taddeo depicting a scene from Roman history, presumably a design for a lost facade painting, whose composition and subject matter recall prototypes by Polidoro.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. *The Life of Taddeo Zuccaro by Federico Zuccaro from the Collection of the British Rail Pension Fund*, sale cat., intro. by J. A. Gere, Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990, p. [2 of intro.], nos. 12, 13, 18.

2. The figures may also be copied from a painted battle scene of the type represented by the *Battle of Constantine* in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican, executed by Giulio Romano after Raphael's design.

3. Noted by John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), no. 143.

4. Repr. in Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven and London, 1983), p. 119, fig. 133.

5. Private collection. See Gere, *Taddeo*, no. 250, pl. 9, who first noted the connection; and E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 6, repr.

## 74 *Two Flying Putti and an Urn*

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 383 × 241 mm (15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

Cooper-Hewitt, National Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, Friends of the Museum Fund (1901-39-108)

PROVENANCE: Giovanni Piancastelli.

LITERATURE: John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), no. 139, pl. 80; E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 9, repr.

This drawing was first recognized as the work of Taddeo Zuccaro by John Gere, who noted that the postures of the putti and the arched contour delineated beneath the uppermost figure suggest that they may have been designed as spandrel figures.<sup>1</sup> The subject matter recalls other drawings by Taddeo,<sup>2</sup> but the technique is rather unusual for the artist. The soft modeling of forms, the combination of black and white chalk, and the use of blue paper all recall Venetian drawings of the period (see no. 116), and it is possible that the sheet was executed during Taddeo's trip to Verona in 1552.<sup>3</sup>

LWS

1. John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), no. 139.

2. Other studies of putti in spandrels are noted by Gere, *Taddeo*, under no. 1; and E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum (Milwaukee, 1989), under no. 9.

3. Gere, *Taddeo*, no. 139, dates the drawing to the mid-1550s. Taddeo's trip to Verona had an impact on his graphic style, as evidenced by the study of a river god that recently appeared on the market (sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990, no. 22, repr.).

## 75 *The Triumph of Bacchus*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk; squared in black chalk. 157 × 421 mm (5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed on back of mount, *Federigo Zuccaro in Caprarola vicino a Roma J R.*

Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (Lugt 2184); Charles Rogers (Lugt 624); Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn; sale, Christie's, London, June 4, 1860, part of no. 1074; Sir Thomas Phillipps; T. Fitzroy Fenwick; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, New York; Philip and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia; British Rail Pension Fund; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990, no. 24, repr.

LITERATURE: Jonathan Richardson the Younger, *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c. with Remarks* (London, 1722), p. 291; John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 109, 203, no. 217, pl. 138; J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970), p. 127, no. 3.

It has long been recognized that this spirited drawing by Taddeo Zuccaro of the triumph of Bacchus was inspired by an ancient sarcophagus relief of the type represented by the example now in Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, which was known in Rome at least from the early sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The rectangular field of the sarcophagus front is retained, and the arrangement of the principal figures—Bacchus in his chariot drawn by leopards and the drunken Silenus astride a mule—closely recalls the ancient prototype. Another possible source for Taddeo's design is Perino del Vaga's drawing of this subject (Louvre, Paris), itself inspired by the antique, which served as the model for a rock crystal by Giovanni Bernardi made for the Farnese casket.<sup>2</sup> Executed for Perino's patron Alessandro Farnese, that design would have been known to Taddeo, who worked for the cardinal at his villa at Caprarola in the 1550s; Taddeo's drawing in fact exhibits equally close parallels with Perino's

invention, notably in the postures of the slouching Silenus and his attendants, as it does with any extant classical relief.

Taddeo Zuccaro executed a fresco of the triumph of Bacchus in the Camerino dell'Autunno at Caprarola, and it is not impossible, as the inscription on the back of the mount by the elder Richardson implies, that this study, which is squared for transfer, served as a model for that work.<sup>3</sup> The fresco occupies an oval rather than a rectangular field, but the seated Bacchus in his chariot and the pair of piggyback satyrs at the far right closely emulate their counterparts in the drawing. However, the considerable differences between these two treatments of the subject suggest that Taddeo's drawing may initially have been made for some other purpose and reused for the Caprarola campaign, the artist's last major undertaking before his premature death at age thirty-seven.

LWS

1. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London, 1986), no. 82.
2. On the rock crystal engravings for the Farnese casket, see Wilhelm Slomann, "Rock-Crystals by Giovanni Bernardi," *Burlington Magazine* 48 (January 1926), pp. 14–19; Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga, l'anello mancante: Studi sul manierismo* (Genoa, 1986), pp. 335–38; and Clare Robertson, "Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, *Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 38–40.
3. John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago, 1969), p. 109, noted: "though the connexion with the fresco cannot be entirely ruled out, it cannot be said to be proved."

## FEDERICO BAROCCI

Urbino ca. 1535–Urbino 1612

### 76 *The Madonna del Popolo*

Black, white, and red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized);

lightly squared in black and red chalk over perspectival indications with stylus, the outlines of the principal figures incised, on light brown paper; man and dog at lower right corner drawn on a separate sheet of paper partly silhouetted and inserted by the artist. 549 × 382 mm (21<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

David Tunick, Inc.

PROVENANCE: Prince de Conti; Lempereur sale (*Catalogue d'une riche collection de tableaux, de peintures à gouazze et au pastel, de dessins précieux montés et non-montés; d'estampes choisies enfeuilles et en recueils; le tout des trois Ecoles; du cabinet de M<sup>re</sup>*), Chariot, Boileau, and Joullain, Paris, May 24– , 1773, no. 210; William, second duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718); Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, no. 357; sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, no. 2.<sup>1</sup>

LITERATURE: Filippo di Pietro, *Disegni sconosciuti e disegni finora non identificati di Federico Barocci negli Uffizi* (Florence, 1913), pp. 355ff.; A. Schmarsow, *Federigo Barocci's Zeichnungen: Eine kritische Studie*, IV, Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der König, *Abhandlungen* 30, no. 1 (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 39–40; *Drawings by Old Masters*, exh. cat., Royal Academy (London, 1953), no. 106; Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci: A Critical Study in Italian Cinquecento Painting*, Figura 6 (Stockholm, 1955), pp. 49–50, 130; Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci* (Copenhagen, 1962), pp. 63–64, 167, fig. 43a; *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, exh. cat. by T. S. Wragg, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1962), no. 5, repr.; Andrea Emiliani, *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975), no. 87, repr.; Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Disegni di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1975), under no. 38; Edmund P. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Cleveland, 1978), pp. 4–5, 58–59, no. 35, repr.; Graham Smith, "Federico Barocci at Cleveland and New Haven," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (May 1978), p. 333; Gary Walters, *Federigo Barocci: Anima Naturaliter* (New York, 1978), pp. 96–97, fig. 85; Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci* (Bologna, 1985), vol. 1, p. 135, repr. p. 130.

Federico Barocci was one the most widely admired painters in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century. He was also one of the most prolific draftsmen of the period, his surviving graphic oeuvre numbering nearly two thousand sheets. Following an early period in Rome, where he worked with Taddeo Zuc-

caro in the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican (and where, as the artist himself believed, he was poisoned by jealous rivals), Barocci spent virtually his entire career in Urbino, often working for the ducal court. He received commissions for major altarpieces for churches in Perugia, Arezzo, and Rome, as well as Urbino and elsewhere in the Marches; through these works his influence was widely disseminated even though the artist himself remained relatively isolated in the remote hill town of his birth. The Florentine Ludovico Cigoli (see nos. 36–38), the Sienese Francesco Vanni (see nos. 99–102), and the Carracci and their followers in Bologna were among the many painters working at the end of the century for whom Barocci's luminous palette and emotionally accessible religious imagery represented an artistic paradigm to be emulated.

Barocci's chronic ill health rendered the act of painting a difficult physical exercise, and for this reason he lavished extraordinary effort on the preparatory process. His graphic repertoire, discussed at length by the seventeenth-century biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori, included figure, drapery, and landscape studies; preliminary composition sketches referred to by the artist, according to an early source, as "scarpigni";<sup>2</sup> *modelli* (Bellori's "disegno compito") or finished composition studies, often colored with chalk; *bozzetti* or oil sketches; cartoons—both full-scale designs which were used to transfer the composition to the panel or canvas and *cartoncini per i lumi*, or *chiaroscuro* studies, produced early in the creative process—and colored head studies executed in oil, chalk, or pastel.<sup>3</sup> Every aspect of a painting—not only the composition and lighting, but also the desired coloristic effects—was thus established before the artist picked up a brush. And if a major change was introduced, as in the *Perdono di Assisi*, he would on occa-

sion revise the passage in oil on paper and apply the sheet to the panel or canvas rather than rework the painting itself.<sup>4</sup> This elaborate preparatory process, in which color was accorded a new prominence, underscores a fundamental aspect of Barocci's working practice—what John Shearman has described as "the indivisibility of the drawing process from that of painting."<sup>5</sup> For Barocci, more than any other sixteenth-century artist, drawing and painting formed a single, continuous undertaking.

In 1575, Barocci was commissioned by the Pia Fraternità dei Laici di Santa Maria della Misericordia in Arezzo to paint an altarpiece for their newly consecrated chapel in Santa Maria della Pieve, recently designed by Vasari. This celebrated painting, the *Madonna del Popolo* now in the Uffizi, Florence, represents the Virgin interceding with Christ on behalf of the populace—the subject specified in the contract drawn up between Barocci and the confraternity.<sup>6</sup> A monumental, multifigured composition, the *Madonna del Popolo* was the most ambitious work yet undertaken by the artist. As was typical of his practice, he devoted considerable energy to the preparatory process, and some seventy drawings connected with the painting survive.<sup>7</sup> Among them is this beautiful, large *modello*, formerly at Chatsworth, which, as Edmund Pillsbury has suggested, may be the "cartone . . . che e parte del hopera" to which Barocci referred in a letter addressed to the rectors of the confraternity in 1576.<sup>8</sup>

This elaborate drawing, perhaps the earliest surviving *modello* by the artist to employ colored chalk, established the general composition of the altarpiece. The Virgin and Christ appear in nearly identical form in the painting, but significant changes were made to the figures in the right half of the lower zone,



including to the musician with the dog who was already revised in the *modello* with a correction pasted onto the sheet.<sup>9</sup> (Curiously, the acts of mercy performed by the members of the confraternity, whose mission was to care for the sick and poor, are made less conspicuous in the painting.) Although it is squared and incised for transfer, the *modello* self-evidently does not represent the artist's final scheme, and it would have been followed by later studies in which the composition that Barocci finally elected for the painting was determined.

LWS

1. The catalogue of the Chatsworth sale (Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, no. 2) incorrectly states that the drawing referred to by Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci* (Copenhagen, 1962), p. 167, is not the present sheet.
2. A letter written by one of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici's agents in Urbino refers to a collection of Barocci drawings which included "schizzi, o scarpigni, come soleva dire il Barocci"; cited by Edmund P. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Cleveland, 1978), p. 8, n. 5.
3. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni, scritte da Gio. Pietro Bellori, parte prima* (Rome, 1672); translation by Pillsbury and Richards, in *Graphic Art of Barocci*, pp. 23–24. See also Diane De Grazia, "Refinement and Progression of Barocci's *Entombment*: The Chicago *Modello*," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 12, no. 1 (1985), pp. 31–33. Pillsbury, in *Graphic Art of Barocci*, p. 9, offers caveats to aspects of Bellori's interpretation of Barocci's creative process, but does not dispute the accuracy of the biographer's recitation of the different types of preparatory studies that the artist produced. The laborious work habits necessitated by Barocci's ill health are recounted repeatedly and at length by Bellori in his *Vita*.
4. The head of Saint Francis in the *Perdono di Assisi* (San Francesco, Urbino) is painted on paper attached to the canvas; see Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci* (Bologna, 1985), vol. 1, p. 106; for the painting in general, see Olsen, *Barocci*, pp. 104–15. Other examples of this practice exist in Barocci's painted oeuvre.
5. John Shearman, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (January 1976), p. 52; see also Pillsbury, in *Graphic Art of Barocci*, p. 9. On Barocci's

"painterly" approach to drawing, see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Colour Study in Barocci's Drawing," *Burlington Magazine* 98 (December 1956), pp. 435–39.

6. Olsen, *Barocci*, no. 32, pp. 163–65. The contract is transcribed, and the artist's ongoing dispute with the confraternity summarized, in Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, pp. 26–27; see also under no. 35. On the *Madonna del Popolo*, see also Andrea Emiliani, *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975), no. 106, repr.; S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1971), p. 439; and Emiliani, *Barocci*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 129–49.
7. Olsen, *Barocci*, pp. 165–69; Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, nos. 35–38; Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Disegni di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1975), nos. 38–41; Emiliani, *Mostra di Barocci*, nos. 87–105; Emiliani, *Barocci*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 130–49.
8. Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, no. 35. Barocci often produced half-scale cartoons from which the design was enlarged for transfer onto the panel or canvas; this monumental sheet, larger than a typical *modello*, is probably one such cartoon.
9. The significant changes between this early *modello* and the altarpiece are enumerated in Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, no. 35.

## 77 Head of a Bearded Man

Pink, brown, beige, black, and white oil paint on paper; lined with canvas. 387 × 273 mm (15¼ × 10¾ in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1976 (1976.87.1)

PROVENANCE: London private collection; [Thomas Agnew and Sons].

LITERATURE: Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Disegni di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1975), under no. 43; Andrea Emiliani, *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975), no. 115, repr.; Evelina Borea, "Mostra di Federico Barocci," *Prospettiva*, no. 4 (1976), p. 60; John Shearman, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (January 1976), pp. 51–52, fig. 1; Edmund P. Pillsbury, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Master Drawings* 14, no. 1 (1976), pp. 56, 62; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1975–1976* (New York, 1976), pp. 35, 36, repr.; Edmund P. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Art Gal-

lery, New Haven (Cleveland, 1978), no. 43, repr.; Graham Smith, "Federico Barocci at Cleveland and New Haven," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (May 1978), p. 333; Edmund Pillsbury, "The Oil Studies of Federico Barocci," *Apollo* 108 (September 1978), pp. 170–73, pl. II; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* (New York, 1979), p. 56, repr.; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 20, repr.; Diane De Grazia, "Refinement and Progression of Barocci's Entombment: The Chicago Modello," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1985), p. 41, n. 18; Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci* (Bologna, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 159, 160 fig. 314 (location incorrectly given as private collection); Ann Dumas et al., *Woodner Collection, Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1990), under no. 32.

Shortly after completing the *Madonna del Popolo* (see no. 76), Barocci was commissioned to execute an altarpiece for the Confraternità della Croce e Sacramento in Senigallia. A contract was signed on July 2, 1579, and the painting, which represents the Entombment, was completed in 1582.<sup>1</sup> Immensely popular from the moment of its installation over the high altar of the church of Santa Croce in Senigallia, where it remains to the present day, this work was badly damaged by overzealous copyists whose tracings of the painting pierced the canvas.<sup>2</sup> At the request of the confraternity, Barocci himself restored the altarpiece, which was sent back to him in Urbino in 1606.

Like the *Madonna del Popolo*, the *Senigallia Deposition* was preceded by an extensive and elaborate series of preparatory designs.<sup>3</sup> The more than thirty extant drawings and sketches—figure studies, *modelli*, a chiaroscuro cartoon, a bozzetto or oil sketch, a small-scale cartoon for transferring the design, and individual head studies in chalk and oil—represent the entire range of Barocci's graphic production. The Metropolitan Museum *Head of a Bearded Man* is a study for one of the bearers of Christ in the *Deposition*. In the case of this figure, the preparatory process was particularly complex: the highly finished oil sketch

was preceded by a colored-chalk study, executed in a looser and more summary style and on a slightly larger scale.<sup>4</sup>

Discovered in an English private collection in the 1970s, the *Head of a Bearded Man* is undoubtedly one of the fourteen head studies in oil recorded in Barocci's studio after his death.<sup>5</sup> These head studies—a type of "auxiliary cartoon" executed after the full-scale composition cartoon and therefore late in the preparatory process—allowed Barocci to formulate in detail the expressions and emotions of the figures, and also to determine more precisely the nuances of color in the corresponding passage of the painting.<sup>6</sup>

By producing these auxiliary cartoons Barocci may have been deliberately emulating the practice of Raphael, his compatriot from Urbino.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, the chalk and pastel head studies recall North Italian prototypes and particularly the work of Jacopo Bassano (see no. 112), although a possible link between Barocci's chalk heads and the earlier efforts of Bassano remains hypothetical.<sup>8</sup>

LWS

1. On the commission, see Pio Emilio Vecchioni, "La 'Chiesa della Croce e Sacramento' in Sinigaglia e la 'Deposizione' di Federico Barocci," *Rassegna Marchigiana* 5 (1926), pp. 497–503. For the painting, see Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci* (Copenhagen, 1962), pp. 169–70; Andrea Emiliani, *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975), no. 118; Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci* (Bologna, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 150–67.

2. Olsen, *Barocci*, p. 170; Linda Freeman Bauer, "A Letter by Barocci and the Tracing of Finished Paintings," *Burlington Magazine* 128 (May 1986), pp. 355–57.

3. See Olsen, *Barocci*, pp. 171–72; Emiliani, *Mostra di Barocci*, nos. 107–17; Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Disegni di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1975), nos. 42–43; Edmund P. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Cleveland, 1978), nos. 39–43; Emiliani, *Barocci*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 151–66; and Diane De Grazia, "Refinement and Progression

of Barocci's *Entombment: The Chicago Modello*," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1985), pp. 30–41. The authorship of some of the preparatory studies is disputed.

4. Ann Dumas et al., *Woodner Collection, Master Drawings*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1990), no. 32, repr.

5. "Vi sono da quattordici teste colorite a olio di mano del S.or Baroccio, di vecchi, di donne, di giovani"; quoted by Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, no. 43.

6. On these head studies as "auxiliary cartoons," a type of preparatory study innovated by Raphael, see Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, under no. 16.

7. The analogy between Barocci's head studies and Raphael's auxiliary cartoons has been noted by Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, under no. 28. That Barocci was adopting Raphael's practice by producing "post cartoon studies" was posited by John Shearman, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (January 1976), p. 54. Shearman further noted that "there is good reason to suppose that he [Barocci] was thoroughly familiar with Raphael's drawings."

8. The possibility of North Italian inspiration and the parallels with Bassano are raised by Pillsbury and Richards, *Graphic Art of Barocci*, under no. 28.

## 78 *Head of an Old Woman*

Pink, red, brown, beige, gray, and white oil paint on paper; lined with canvas. 391 × 274 mm (15 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{13}{16}$  in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1976 (1976.87.2)

PROVENANCE: English private collection; [Thomas Agnew and Sons].

LITERATURE: Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Disegni di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1975), under no. 55; Andrea Emiliani, *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975), no. 160, repr.; Evelina Borea, "La mostra di Federico Barocci," *Prospettiva*, no. 4 (1976), p. 60; John Shearman, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (January 1976), pp. 51–52; Edmund P. Pillsbury, "Barocci at Bologna and Florence," *Master Drawings* 14, no. 1 (1976), pp. 56, 63; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1975–1976* (New

York, 1976), p. 36; Edmund P. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Cleveland, 1978), no. 53, repr.; Graham Smith, "Federico Barocci at Cleveland and New Haven," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (May 1978), p. 333, fig. 106; Edmund Pillsbury, "The Oil Studies of Federico Barocci," *Apollo* 108 (September 1978), pp. 170–73, pl. IV; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* (New York, 1979), p. 56, repr.; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 21, repr.; Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci* (Bologna, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 225, 223 fig. 459 (location incorrectly given as English private collection).

Like the *Head of a Man* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see no. 77), this *Head of an Old Woman* is one of the fourteen "teste colorite a olio" listed in an inventory of the contents of Barocci's studio shortly after his death.<sup>1</sup> It is a study for the figure of Saint Elizabeth in the *Visitation* in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, which the artist began in 1583.<sup>2</sup> Dispatched from Urbino and installed in the church in 1586, this work was immediately acclaimed by the Oratorians who had commissioned it and by the many artists who came to admire the first painting by Barocci to be seen in Rome since the artist's departure nearly twenty years earlier.

For this important commission, Barocci conformed to his typically elaborate preparatory process, producing an extensive series of drawings and sketches before carrying out the painting.<sup>3</sup> Like the other oil sketches of heads by the artist, the *Head of an Old Woman* was executed after the cartoon and represents the last stage of the creative process before the painting itself, when the chromatic and expressive content evolved in earlier studies was fixed. The essential continuity between drawing and painting in Barocci's artistic practice is admirably demonstrated in this work, which is striking for its rich coloristic range and degree of finish.

LWS

1. See no. 77, n. 5, above.

2. Harald Olsen, *Federico Barocci* (Copenhagen, 1962), no. 38, p. 179; Andrea Emiliani, *Mostra di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Museo Civico (Bologna, 1975), no. 162; Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci* (Bologna, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 216–29.

3. For the drawings, see Olsen, *Barocci*, pp. 179–80; Emiliani, *Mostra di Barocci*, nos. 152–61; Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Disegni di Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1975), no. 55; Edmund P. Pillsbury and Louise S. Richards, *The Graphic Art of Federico Barocci*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Cleveland, 1978), nos. 48–54.

## CESARE NEBBIA

Orvieto 1536–Orvieto 1614

### 79 *The Assumption of the Virgin*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash; squared in red and black chalk. 250 × 146 mm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.), arched top. Lined; scattered losses.

Inscribed in graphite along lower margin, *Domenichino*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Emma Swan Hall Gift, 1978 (1978.94)

PROVENANCE: Benjamin West (Lugt 419); sale, Sotheby's, London, December 1, 1964, no. 179 (as Jacopo da Empoli); A. Caselli (?); Dr. and Mrs. Malcolm Bick; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 5, 1977, no. 46.

LITERATURE: Peter A. Tomoroy, with the assistance of Kent Sobotik, *The Bick Collection of Italian Religious Drawings*, exh. cat., John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (Sarasota, 1970), no. 17, repr. (as Jacopo da Empoli); Tomas M. Demarco, in *Selections from the Collection of Esther S. and Malcolm Bick: Italian Drawings*, exh. cat., Dartmouth College and elsewhere (Hanover, N.H., 1971), no. 10, repr. (attributed to Taddeo Zuccaro); *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1977–1978* (New York, 1978), p. 37; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 139, repr.

Cesare Nebbia was a pupil and later assistant of Girolamo Muziano (see no. 71), and like his associate Giovanni Guerra (see no. 82), he

executed numerous commissions for Pope Sixtus V (1585–90). Although Nebbia was active principally in Rome, he was also responsible for a significant part of the decoration of the cathedral in his hometown of Orvieto. His drawings betray the influence of Federico Zuccaro and, later, Muziano.

This magnificent sheet has been variously attributed to Domenichino, Jacopo da Empoli, and Taddeo Zuccaro, but was recognized as a characteristic example of Nebbia's draftsmanship by Philip Pouncey and sold as such at Sotheby's in London in 1977. Although it is squared for transfer, the drawing does not correspond to a known painting by the artist.

WMG

### 80 *Saint Matthew and the Angel*

Red chalk, heightened with white. The roundel incised. 179 × 185 mm (7 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{16}$  in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink on verso, *Io Cesari Nebij ho ric[e]vuto da Ms Carlo G . . . scudi tre p[er] . . . settanta . . . ; . . . 18.10; and 12.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1992 (1992.29)

PROVENANCE: "Borghese-Sagredo" (inscription on old mount, *S.F. n°:18*); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1991, no. 140, repr.; [Nissman, Abromson & Co.].

LITERATURE: *Master Drawings 1500–1900*, exh. cat., Nissman, Abromson & Co. (New York, 1992), no. 11, repr.; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1991–1992* (New York, 1992), p. 30.

The immense dome of Saint Peter's was completed in 1590—less than two years after construction began. During the following two decades, the interior of the dome was decorated by a team of mosaicists, at first under the direction of Cristoforo Roncalli (1552–1626), and subsequently under that of Giuseppe

Cesari, il Cavaliere d'Arpino (see no. 89).<sup>1</sup> The mosaics in the dome itself represent Christ, the Virgin Mary, Saint Paul, the twelve apostles, and angels, while those in the pendentives depict the four Evangelists. The cartoons for the Evangelists in the pendentives were commissioned from Giovanni de' Vecchi (see no. 81), who provided designs for the mosaics of Saint John (see fig. 81.1) and Saint Luke, and from Cesare Nebbia of Orvieto, who was responsible for the figures of Saint Matthew (fig. 80.1) and Saint Mark.

The present drawing is a study by Nebbia for the roundel that represents Saint Matthew, who is accompanied by his usual attribute, a winged man—one of the four apocalyptic creatures described in the Book of Revelation (4:6–8). The artist received payments for the cartoon from June 12, 1598, to March 5, 1599, and the mosaic was completed by 1600.<sup>2</sup> This sheet exhibits a number of differences from the mosaic, which is relatively static in composition; a more finished drawing by Nebbia in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi comes considerably closer to the finished work.<sup>3</sup>

Most drawings by Nebbia are executed in pen and wash. The use of red chalk is unusual for him, and in this respect the Metropolitan Museum's drawing may reflect the influence of Nebbia's teacher, Girolamo Muziano (see no. 71).

WMG

1. See Morton Colp Abromson, *Painting in Rome during the Papacy of Clement VIII (1592–1605): A Documented Study*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976 (New York and London, 1981), pp. 81–84, figs. 77, 78; Frank DiFederico, *The Mosaics of Saint Peter's: Decorating the New Basilica* (University Park, Pa., and London, 1983), pp. 64–66, pls. 50–65 (the dome), 66–71 (the pendentives).

2. See DiFederico, *The Mosaics of Saint Peter's*, pp. 64–65.

3. Inv. no. 128 Orn.

## GIOVANNI DE' VECCHI

Borgo San Sepolcro ca. 1537–Rome 1615

### 81 *Scene from Ancient History*

Pen and brown ink, mauve wash, over black chalk; squared in black chalk. 236 × 156 mm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink on old mount, *Camillo Procaccini*.

J. F. McCrindle

Giovanni de' Vecchi was born in Borgo San Sepolcro, but by the early 1560s he was in Rome, where as a young man he worked with Niccolò Circignani (active 1564, d. ca. 1598) and Santi di Tito (see no. 31) in the Vatican Belvedere. In 1570 he was elected to the Accademia di San Luca, and later the same decade he evidently joined the team of artists responsible for the frescoed decoration of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Beginning in 1583 he painted the cupola and pendentives of the Gesù in Rome; these decorations were, however, eventually replaced with frescoes by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, called il Baciccio (1639–1709). Toward the end of the century, Giovanni de' Vecchi executed the cartoons for the figures of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Luke in two of the mosaic pendentives beneath the cupola of Saint Peter's; a preparatory drawing for the roundel that represents Saint John is in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 81.1).<sup>1</sup>

The present sketch was first attributed to Giovanni de' Vecchi by James David Draper. It is not connected with a known painting, but the elongated figures and use of mauve wash are typical of the artist's work as a draftsman.<sup>2</sup> The sheet may be early, rather than late, for it is somewhat reminiscent of drawings by Niccolò Circignani and Santi di Tito; later works, such as the Metropolitan Museum's study for

the figure of Saint John the Evangelist, are more robust in style.

Although the drawing obviously depicts an event from ancient history, the exact subject remains unclear. The focal point of the composition appears to be the object held by the two youths in the foreground. This may be a helmet, from which lots are being drawn by the boy on the left.

WMG

1. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1964 (64.295.3); pen and brown ink, heightened with white, over black chalk, on beige paper, squared in black chalk; irregular circle, 264 × 253 mm. See Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 138, repr.; Bean and Turčič 1982, no. 266, repr.

2. A stylistically comparable drawing, with pale blue instead of mauve wash, is in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (inv. no. 1895-9-15-685). See Gere and Pouncey 1983, vol. 1, no. 282, vol. 2, pl. 269.

## GIOVANNI GUERRA

Modena ca. 1540–Rome 1618

### 82a *Saint Paul and His Companions Praying on the Shore at Tyre* (Acts 21:5)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. 142 × 162 mm (5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at upper margin, PAVLVS A VIRIS ET MVLIERIBVS DEDVCITVR EXTRA CIVITATEM: AC POSITIS IN LITTORE / GENIBVS ORANT OMNES; and numbered at lower margin, XXI. Illegible inscription in pen and brown ink on verso.

### 82b *The Virgin and Apostles Praying in the Upper Room* (Acts 1:14)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. 139 × 179 mm (5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Numbered in pen and brown ink at lower margin, C.I.  
Charles M. and Amy G. Wilson

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, London, April 30, 1990, no. 287 (both drawings); [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: Bean and Turčič 1982, p. 112, under no. 104; *An Exhibition of Master Drawings Presented by Jean-Luc Baroni*, exh. cat. (New York and London, 1991), no. 12, repr. (*Saint Paul and His Companions*), no. 13, repr. (*The Virgin and Apostles*).

A native of Modena, Giovanni Guerra spent most of his adult life in Rome, where he worked closely with Cesare Nebbia (see nos. 79, 80). According to Giovanni Baglione, Guerra's role was more often that of inventor and overseer than painter or designer,<sup>1</sup> but he was evidently a prolific draftsman, whose numerous surviving drawings in pen and brown ink with brown or mauve wash reflect the influence of works by the Zuccari (see nos. 72–75, 84–86) and Giovanni de' Vecchi (see no. 81). Many of Guerra's drawings appear to have been studies for engravings, and that may have been the intended function of the present sheets, although no prints after them are recorded.

The drawing of Saint Paul and his companions praying on the shore at Tyre belongs to an extensive series of scenes from the life of the saint, fourteen of which were identified by Philip Pouncey in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.<sup>2</sup> All are of approximately the same size, and each has a caption in Latin; some are numbered. Two additional sheets from this series are in the Musée du Louvre;<sup>3</sup> two are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Poitiers;<sup>4</sup> and one is in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>5</sup> A drawing of Saint Paul's vision of the man of Macedonia is in a private collection in Belgium,<sup>6</sup> and other scenes from the life of Saint Paul have surfaced from time to time on the art market—including at least two sheets that bear the collector's marks of William Sharp and William Bates, to each of whom the Metropolitan

Museum's study also formerly belonged.<sup>7</sup> The early provenance of the present sheet is unknown, as is that of two further drawings from the series, *The Embarkation of Saint Paul* and *Saint Paul Baptizing at Ephesus*, which were sold in London in 1979.<sup>8</sup>

Although the *Virgin and Apostles Praying in the Upper Room* was acquired by its current owner at the same time as the *Saint Paul and His Companions Praying on the Shore at Tyre*, it is unlikely to have formed part of the series under discussion, since Saint Paul was not present at this apostolic gathering just prior to the Pentecost.

WMG

1. Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d'Urbino VIII* (Rome, 1649; reprint, Sala Bolognese, 1986), p. 159.
2. Inv. no. 2554. See Catherine Monbeig Goguel, "Giovanni Guerra da Modena: Disegnatore, illustratore della fine del rinascimento," *Arte illustrata* 58 (1974), p. 167, fig. 7, pp. 175–76 n. 18.
3. Inv. nos. 10333, 10333 bis (attributed to Guerra by Konrad Oberhuber). See Monbeig Goguel, "Giovanni Guerra da Modena," pp. 167, 175–76 n. 18.
4. Inv. nos. 890-326, 890-327 (attributed to Guerra by Philip Pouncey). See Monbeig Goguel, "Giovanni Guerra da Modena," p. 167, fig. 18, pp. 175–76 n. 18.
5. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950 (1978.376). See Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 104, repr.
6. Guy Grieten, in *Dessins du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les collections privées de Belgique*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1983), no. 60, repr.
7. One of these sheets was sold at Sotheby's in London on November 25, 1971, no. 60 (*Saints Paul and Barnabas Preaching*); the second drawing, *Saint Paul Preaching to the Jews at Antioch*, was formerly on the art market in New York (photograph in Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department files).
8. Sale, Sotheby's, London, December 10, 1979, no. 406, repr. on p. 99, no. 407, respectively.

## NICCOLÒ MARTINELLI, called IL TROMETTA

Pesaro 1540/45 (?)–Rome 1610/15 (?)

### 83 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Pen and brown ink, pale brown wash, heightened with white; many contours indented. 431 × 285 mm (17 × 11¼ in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1970 (1970.113.7)

PROVENANCE: [Yvonne Tan Bunzl].

LITERATURE: *Old Master Drawings and Paintings Presented by Yvonne Tan Bunzl*, exh. cat. (London, 1970), no. 49; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1970–1971* (New York, 1971), p. 16; Jacob Bean, *Drawings Recently Acquired, 1969–1971*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1972), no. 53; Hugh Macandrew, *Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings, III: Italian Schools, Supplement* (Oxford, 1980), p. 271, under no. 459; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 251, repr.

An obscure follower of Taddeo Zuccaro, Trometta was active in Rome in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His style was strictly derived from the example of Taddeo, and through his altarpieces in his native Pesaro, he played a role in importing the late Roman *maniera* to the Marches.<sup>1</sup> With the notable exception of his frescoes in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, which rank as his most important work, few paintings by the artist survive. His personality as a draftsman was defined by John Gere,<sup>2</sup> and it is through his drawings, which have continued to come to light in the wake of Gere's fundamental study, rather than his paintings, that Trometta is known today.

First attributed to Trometta by Gere, the Metropolitan Museum sheet reveals the artist's hand in the distinctive morphological types, characterized by pointy chins, tightly curled hair, and widely spaced, "vacuously ecstatic"

eyes, as well as in the attenuated proportions of the figures.<sup>3</sup> Like many of Trometta's drawings, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* is a finished composition study having the character of a *modello*. The loss of most of the artist's frescoes and altarpieces makes it difficult to establish connections between paintings and drawings, but it is conceivable that the *Adoration* is a preparatory study for Trometta's *Nativity with Shepherds* from the church of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, mentioned by Baglione.<sup>4</sup>

LWS

1. Luciano Arcangeli, "La pittura del Cinquecento nelle Marche," in Luciano Arcangeli et al., *La pittura in Italia: Il Cinquecento* (Milan, 1987), p. 362.
2. J. A. Gere, "Drawings by Niccolò Martinelli, Il Trometta," *Master Drawings* 1, no. 4 (1963), pp. 3–18.
3. Gere, "Drawings by Niccolò Martinelli," p. 10.
4. Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d'Urbano VIII* (Rome, 1649; reprint, Sala Bolognese, 1986), p. 125: "Fece in s. Gioianni Laterano . . . la prima cappella a man diritta nel tempo di Gregorio XIII, oue sopra l'altare e la Natiuita di N. Signore, Verbo hamanato, con li Pastori a olio dipinta, assai bella."

## FEDERICO ZUCCARO

Sant'Angelo in Vado 1540/41–Ancona 1609

### 84 *Saint Catherine of Alexandria Converting the Empress Faustina to Christianity, Flanked by Saints Saturninus and Sisinus*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over red chalk, on faded blue paper. 290 × 407 mm (11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink in the cartouche at the lower center, FEDERICVS ZVCCARVS / ANNORVM TREX DECIM / CORSCNAE; in pen and brown ink on the plinths beneath the figures of the saints to the left and right of the central scene, S. SATVRNINVS / MARTYR, and S. SIMON / MARTYR, respectively.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Michel Gaud; sale, Sotheby's Monaco, June 20, 1987, no. 106, repr.

LITERATURE: E. James Mundy, with the assistance of Elizabeth Oursoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum and National Academy of Design, New York (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 63, repr.

Federico Zuccaro was born in the Marchigian town of Sant'Angelo in Vado, but at about the age of ten he went to Rome to live with—and learn from—his older brother Taddeo (see nos. 72–75). The two artists became frequent collaborators, and for a short time they worked in very nearly the same style—Taddeo's. Unlike Taddeo, however, Federico was extremely peripatetic (he traveled throughout Italy as well as to England and Spain), and when in 1563 he was invited to Venice by Cardinal Grimani, he took the opportunity to visit Lombardy in the company of Palladio and to do some work for the Medici in Florence. Federico returned to Rome just a few months before Taddeo's death in September 1566. He thereupon inherited his brother's numerous unfinished commissions, and eventually became the most influential painter of his generation in Rome.

This drawing is associated with the decoration of the church of Santa Caterina dei Funari, Rome, which was carried out by Federico during the early 1570s. The disputation and martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria decorate the walls of the choir, while frescoes of standing saints flank metal grilles set into the dado below. The present sheet represents a third incident from the life of the saint. After having been imprisoned by the Roman emperor Maxentius, Catherine was visited by his consort, Faustina, whom she promptly converted, together with two hundred Roman soldiers. The fresco of Saint



Catherine's conversion of Faustina is located above the west door of the church,<sup>1</sup> while the figures of Saints Saturninus and Sisinus (not Simon, as the inscription on the drawing indicates) appear on either side of a metal grille in the lower part of one of the side walls of the choir.

The bars of the grille through which the narrative composition is seen in this drawing and another, almost identical sheet, formerly on the art market in New York,<sup>2</sup> suggest that Federico may originally have intended to represent Faustina's conversion to Christianity on a dado in the choir, rather than over the entrance to the church. Another study for the *Conversion of Faustina*, somewhat closer to the painting, was formerly in the collection of J. Q. van Regteren Altena, and is now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup> In the fresco, the grille that appears in all three drawings is omitted. However, as Mundy has pointed out, Federico utilized a similar device a short time later in his frescoed lunette of the Liberation of Saint Peter in the Pauline Chapel of the Vatican Palace.<sup>4</sup>

A sketch in the Uffizi of two female martyrs flanking a grille also has been connected with the dado of the choir of Santa Caterina dei Funari, although in the finished work, all four saints are male.<sup>5</sup>

WMG

1. See E. James Mundy, with the assistance of Elizabeth Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum and National Academy of Design, New York (Milwaukee, 1989), p. 201, fig. 32 (the fresco of the conversion of Faustina).

2. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990, no. 41, repr. See J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970), p. 129, no. 13, pl. 8.

3. Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 1981:37. See L. C. J. Frerichs, *Italiaanse Tekeningen II de 15<sup>de</sup> en 16<sup>de</sup> Eeuw*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, 1981), no. 164, fig. 194.

4. Mundy, with Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque*, p. 203, under no. 63.

5. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. no. 104 Orn. See John Gere, *Mostra di disegni degli Zuccari (Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, e Raffaellino da Reggio)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1966), no. 59, fig. 41.

## 85 *The Submission of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk.  
263 × 213 mm (10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library, The Janos Scholz Collection (1973.29)

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn; sale, Christie's, London, June 4, 1860, part of no. 1074; Sir Thomas Phillipps; T. Fitzroy Fenwick; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach; Janos Scholz.

LITERATURE: *Disegni veneti della collezione Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., Fondazione Cini (Venice, 1957), no. 25, repr.; *Venetian Drawings 1400–1630*, exh. cat., Mills College Art Gallery, Oakland, and H. M. De Young Museum, San Francisco (Oakland, 1959), no. 82; *Master Drawings of the Italian Renaissance*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, 1960), no. 24, repr.; *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., Art Council's Gallery, London, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, and National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (London, 1968), no. 113; J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970), p. 132, no. 21, pl. 14; Janos Scholz, *Italian Master Drawings 1350–1800 from the Janos Scholz Collection* (New York, 1976), no. 65, repr.; Konrad Oberhuber and Dean Walker, *Sixteenth Century Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Washington, 1973), no. 11, repr.; Harold Joachim and Suzanne Folds McCullagh, *Italian Drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1979), p. 40, under no. 34; Cara D. Denison and Helen B. Mules, *European Drawings, 1375–1825* (New York, 1981), no. 27, repr.; Julius S. Held, review of *European Drawings, 1375–1825* by Cara D. Denison and Helen B. Mules, *Master Drawings* 19, no. 2 (1981), p. 177; Charles Ryskamp, ed., *Twentieth Report to the Fellows of The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1981–1983* (New York, 1984), p. 185; George Goldner, with the assistance of Lee Hendrix and Gloria Williams, *The J. Paul Getty Museum: European Drawings 1, Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, 1988), p. 132, under

no. 55; E. James Mundy, with the assistance of Elizabeth Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550-1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum and National Academy of Design, New York (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 86, repr.

In 1580, Federico Zuccaro was commissioned by Paolo Ghiselli, steward of Pope Gregory XIII, to paint an altarpiece of the votive procession of Saint Gregory for a side chapel in the church of the Madonna del Baraccano in Bologna.<sup>1</sup> The picture was completed later the same year and sent to Bologna, where it was severely criticized. Ghiselli thereupon rejected the altarpiece, and declined Federico's offer to paint a picture more to his liking. The artist expressed his indignation in a now-lost satirical painting, *The Porta Virtutis* (or *Minerva Triumphant Over Ignorance and Calumny*), which was unveiled in Rome on October 18, 1581.<sup>2</sup> The incident so angered the pope, who was a native of Bologna, that he banished Federico from Rome and imprisoned his assistant Domenico Passignano.

For the next two years, Federico was therefore obliged to travel, and during this period, he was entrusted by the Venetian government with the execution of a large painting of the submission of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III.<sup>3</sup> The picture, which is still in situ in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio of the Doge's Palace, Venice, was commissioned to replace a painting of the same subject by Titian that had been destroyed by fire in 1577. Tintorettesque in composition, but otherwise thoroughly Roman in style, Federico's painting was begun in 1582, but evidently not finished until the artist returned to Venice in 1603.

This drawing is the first of several compositional studies for the picture, and the only one in which the church of San Marco ap-

pears on the right and the Torre dell'Orologio in the background. In all the other known drawings, as in the finished work, the church of San Marco is on the left, and the view is toward the Piazzetta, with the lagoon and the Isola di San Giorgio in the distance. A study in the Woodner Family Collection is substantially closer in composition to the picture in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, although it contains numerous pentimenti, of which the most significant alters the length of the facade of the Doge's Palace.<sup>4</sup> These pentimenti are repeated in a studio copy of the Woodner drawing at Christ Church, Oxford,<sup>5</sup> but are eliminated in an otherwise almost identical (but significantly better preserved) study by Federico in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.<sup>6</sup> In 1970, J. A. Gere published another sketch for the *Submission of Frederick Barbarossa* in a British private collection; in that drawing, the ornate column in the left foreground that is so prominent a feature of all the other known studies for the painting has been deleted, and a baldachin has been added above the pope and his entourage.<sup>7</sup> A number of studies for individual figures in the picture have also been identified.<sup>8</sup>

Like number 86 below, the present drawing was formerly the property of Sir Thomas Lawrence and Samuel Woodburn, and was part of the Rosenbach "Zuccaro" album. It was, however, one of six sheets that were acquired directly from Dr. Rosenbach by Janos Scholz, and was therefore not sold with the other drawings in the album at Sotheby's in 1990.<sup>9</sup>

WMG

1. The painting is now lost, but at least three drawings and two engravings have been associated with this disastrous project. See J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970), p. 130, under no. 17.

2. The composition is known through preparatory drawings in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (The Janos Scholz Collection, inv. no. 1974.25); and at Christ Church, Oxford (inv. no. 0213). See E. James Mundy, with the assistance of Elizabeth Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum and National Academy of Design, New York (Milwaukee, 1989), no. 85, repr. (the Morgan Library drawing), p. 254, fig. 41 (the drawing at Christ Church).
3. See Umberto Franzoi, *Storia e leggenda del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia* (Venice, 1982), p. 254, no. 338.xxv.11P, fig. 156.
4. Inv. no. WD-135. See Mundy, with Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque*, no. 88, repr.
5. James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, no. 553, vol. 2, pl. 301.
6. Inv. no. 83.GG.196. See George Goldner, with the assistance of Lee Hendrix and Gloria Williams, *The J. Paul Getty Museum: European Drawings 1, Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, 1988), no. 55, repr.; Mundy, with Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque*, no. 87, repr.
7. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" p. 132, under no. 21, fig. 1.
8. See Mundy, with Ourusoff de Fernandez-Gimenez, *Renaissance into Baroque*, p. 262, under no. 87, and no. 89, repr. (recto and verso).
9. See Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" pp. 124, 127, no. 5, pl. 1 (Taddeo Zuccaro); pp. 127–28, no. 6 (Taddeo Zuccaro); p. 128, no. 7 (Taddeo Zuccaro); p. 129, no. 16 (Federico Zuccaro); p. 131, no. 20, pl. 13 (Federico Zuccaro); p. 132, no. 21, pl. 14 (Federico Zuccaro).

## 86 *Design for a Quarant'Ore Decoration*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk. 389 × 285 mm (15<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.).

Inscribed with measurements in pen and brown ink; in pen and brown ink at lower right, *Federigo Zuccaro*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lord Palumbo, David T. Schiff, Drue Heinz and W. Mark Brady Gifts, in memory of Jacob Bean, and Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1993 (1993.120)

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn; sale, Christie's, London, June 4, 1860, part of no. 1074; Sir Thomas Phillipps; T. Fitzroy Fenwick; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach; Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation; British Rail Pension Fund; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990, no. 39, repr.; [W. M. Brady and Co.].

LITERATURE: J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970), p. 131, no. 19, pl. 12; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1992–1993* (New York, 1993).

This magnificent sheet comes from a dismembered album, the contents of which were dispersed at auction in New York in 1990. The album originally comprised seventy-two sheets by or attributed to Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro which had belonged to the British painter Sir Thomas Lawrence. After Lawrence's death in 1830, his entire collection was acquired by a London art dealer, Samuel Woodburn, and it was evidently he who put together the "Zuccaro" album. Woodburn was only partially successful in his attempt to sell the drawings that he had purchased from Lawrence's estate, and the album was still in his possession when he died in 1853. It was later acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps, from whose grandson the drawings were purchased by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach in 1930.<sup>1</sup>

J. A. Gere identified this sheet as a design for the temporary decoration of a chapel for a *Quarant'Ore*, or Forty Hours Devotion.<sup>2</sup> This was a liturgical service during which the consecrated Host was exposed to the adoration of the faithful for a continuous period of forty hours. Especially popular in times of calamity, the devotion seems to have originated in Milan in the first half of the sixteenth century,

and was introduced to Rome by Saint Philip Neri in 1550.<sup>3</sup> In 1592, Pope Clement VIII decreed that the *Quarant'Ore* should be perpetual, rotating from church to church, beginning each year on the first Sunday of Advent in the Pauline Chapel of the Vatican Palace. Clement furthermore attempted to make the ceremony less worldly than it had recently become by measures such as strictly limiting the number of lamps and candles that could be used; nevertheless, the service continued to be performed in ever-more sumptuous and theatrical settings well into the seventeenth century.

The rather elaborate structure in the present drawing consists of an arched niche flanked by alternative solutions for two pairs of pilasters, each of which supports an entablature surmounted by a balustrade. Inside the niche, a small sarcophagus, intended for the Host, is raised on a stepped platform and illuminated by numerous oil lamps. On the left is a statue of the Hebrew prophet Elijah, and on the right, one of Moses, who is shown holding the Tablets of the Law. Overhead, God the Father appears in a glory of angels. As Jacob Bean pointed out, there can be little doubt but that the figures of Elijah and Moses allude to their roles in the Transfiguration, during which the divinity of Christ was revealed to his disciples Peter, James, and John.<sup>4</sup>

Gere has remarked that the heraldic animal that appears on the ends of the balustrades resembles the Buoncampagni dragon.<sup>5</sup> The design may therefore have been made for Pope Gregory XIII Buoncampagni, who reigned from 1572 to 1585, and whose coat of arms appears—albeit in conjunction with the papal tiara—in a comparable study by Federico Zuccaro for the altar wall of the Pauline Chapel.<sup>6</sup>

WMG

1. See J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970), pp. 123–40; Gere, introduction to sale catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990. The 1990 sale catalogue comprised a total of sixty-two numbers. Six drawings had previously been purchased directly from Dr. Rosenbach by Janos Scholz and are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (see no. 85); two other sheets from the album are missing.

2. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" p. 131, under no. 19.

3. For a discussion of the origins and development of the devotion, particularly in the course of the seventeenth century, see Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), pp. 218–48.

A drawing by Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1606–1680) in the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin (inv. no. Hdz. 1513), has been associated with the *Quarant'Ore* of 1640 in the church of the Gesù, Rome. See Hiske Lulofs, "A Design by Grimaldi for the Forty Hours Devotion," *Master Drawings* 30, no. 3 (1992), pp. 320–25, fig. 1.

4. Verbally, to W. M. Brady.

5. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" p. 131, under no. 19.

6. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. no. 14214. See Alfred Stix and L. Fröhlich-Bum, *Die Zeichnungen der toskanischen, umbrischen und römischen Schulen* (Vienna, 1932), no. 268, repr. Federico Zuccaro worked in the chapel intermittently from 1580 until 1584.

## AVANZINO NUCCI

Gualdo Tadino 1551–Rome 1629

### 87 *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over traces of black chalk, on blue paper. Oval, 271 × 204 mm (10<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Contours pricked for transfer. Lined.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1971 (1971.221.2)

PROVENANCE: [Baskett and Day].

LITERATURE: *Exhibition of Italian Old Master Drawings*, Baskett and Day (London, 1971), no. 4, repr.; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1971–1972* (New York, 1972), p. 40; Jacob Bean, *Drawings Recently Acquired, 1969–1971*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1972), no. 32; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 145, repr.

In the late 1950s, Philip Pouncey identified a large, widely dispersed, but stylistically homogeneous group of drawings that are somewhat comparable in technique and handling to works by the Genoese painter Bernardo Castello (see no. 44). He dubbed the draftsman the “pseudo-Bernardo Castello,” despite the fact that he suspected that the artist would turn out to be Roman, not Genoese.

About a decade later, Pouncey recognized that a sketch by the “pseudo-Bernardo Castello” in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,<sup>1</sup> is a study for the figure of Constantine in Avanzino Nucci’s *Baptism of Constantine* in the church of San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome, thus establishing the real artist. Additional evidence of Nucci’s responsibility for the entire “pseudo-Bernardo Castello” group includes the connection, also noted by Pouncey, between a compositional sketch in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool,<sup>2</sup> and an altarpiece, signed by Nucci and dated 1620, in the church of San Francesco, Serrasanquirico, and the inscription *M Avantino dal Borgo*, which appears on a sheet by the “pseudo-Bernardo Castello” in the Albertina, Vienna.<sup>3</sup>

According to Giovanni Baglione, who refers to the artist as Avanzino da Città di Castello, Nucci was a pupil in Rome of Niccolò Circignani (ca. 1517–ca. 1596).<sup>4</sup> His drawings are nevertheless closer in style to works by the brothers Cherubino (see no. 88) and Giovanni Alberti.<sup>5</sup> Since Pouncey’s discovery, a number of additional sheets have been attributed to this interesting minor master. In

1971, John Gere recognized Nucci’s authorship of the present drawing which, although not related to a known painting, is a characteristic and particularly attractive example of the artist’s work as a draftsman.<sup>6</sup>

WMG

1. Inv. no. KdZ 15505.

2. Inv. no. 5083. See Timothy Stevens, *Walker Art Gallery: Old Master Drawings & Prints* (Liverpool, 1967), no. 68, pl. 1.

3. Inv. no. 605 (Sc. R. 700). See Veronika Birke, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Zur Geschichte der Zeichnung in Italien* (Munich, 1991), p. 81, fig. 93.

4. Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de’ pittori scultori et architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d’Urbano VIII* (Rome, 1649; reprint, Sala Bolognese, 1986), p. 300.

5. For an overview of Nucci’s career and an analysis of the principal influences upon his work as a draftsman, see Gere and Pouncey 1983, vol. 1, pp. 138–39; and Lizzie Boubli, in *Hommage à Philip Pouncey, l’œil du connaisseur: Dessins italiens du Louvre*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1992), pp. 119–21, under no. 80.

6. See *Exhibition of Italian Old Master Drawings*, Baskett and Day (London, 1971), under no. 4.

## CHERUBINO ALBERTI

Borgo San Sepolcro 1553–Rome 1615

### 88 *Angel Carrying a Candelabrum*

Pen, brown ink, blue wash, over black chalk. 295 × 180 mm (11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Asta Collection, Venice.

LITERATURE: Kristina Herrmann Fiore, *Disegni degli Alberti*, Xenia Quaderni, no. 4 (Rome, 1983), under no. 41, repr.

Cherubino Alberti was the most prominent member of a family of artists that included his brothers Giovanni and Alessandro, his cousin Durante, and his father, Alberto. A native of San Sepolcro, Cherubino had by 1570 moved

to Rome, where he was active as a printmaker and mural painter. Under the patronage of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592–1605), he executed a number of important fresco cycles including the decorations of the Sala Clementina in the Vatican, the canons' sacristy in San Giovanni Laterano, and the choir of San Silvestro al Quirinale, collaborating with his brother Giovanni until the latter's untimely death in 1601.<sup>1</sup> The graphic styles of Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti are often indistinguishable, and many drawings cannot be decisively assigned to one or the other hand, although their individual personalities as draftsmen have been clarified through the recent studies of Kristina Herrmann Fiore.<sup>2</sup>

This sheet has been connected with the frescoes in the Cappella Maggiore of San Silvestro al Quirinale, which were carried out for Clement VIII in the mid to late 1590s by Cherubino and Giovanni.<sup>3</sup> A demonstration of the perspectival illusionism at which they excelled, the painted vault includes a feigned oculus over the altar, seated saints in the pendentives, flying putti in the *sott'archi*, and angels bearing candelabra standing on pedestals above the entablature. The candle-bearing angel farthest from the entrance arch on the right side of the vault assumes a pose that is notably close to the figure in the drawing. Nearly identical are the turn of the head, the torsion of the upper body, and the placement of the candelabrum; only the position of the legs differs significantly in the fresco, where the angel appears to step forward off his plinth, his drapery more animated with this heightened sense of movement.

That this part of the decoration belongs to Cherubino rather than Giovanni is recorded by Baglione, who refers to the San Silvestro campaign in the *Vite* of both artists. To Cherubino he assigns “le figure che stanno in su

la volta sopra l'altare”<sup>4</sup>—presumably the candle-bearing angels—while Giovanni is credited with the “sfondato con alcuni puttini sopra certe mensole” and “alcune figure, e fuori dell'arco due Arme in scorto assai ben'intese.”<sup>5</sup> One of three known studies by Cherubino for the standing angels, the present drawing provides graphic testimony of his authorship of this part of the decoration.<sup>6</sup>

A similar angel carrying a candelabrum appears to the right of the window above the altar in the Aldobrandini Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome (fig. 88.1). Commissioned by Clement VIII in 1600, the frescoed decorations of this chapel were completed by Cherubino almost a decade after his brother's death.<sup>7</sup> The San Silvestro *Study of an Angel Holding a Candelabrum* was evidently reused by the artist for this late Aldobrandini commission.

LWS

1. See Morton C. Abromson, “Clement VIII's Patronage of the Brothers Alberti,” *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), pp. 531–47.

2. Kristina Herrmann Fiore, “Studi sui disegni di figure di Giovanni e Cherubino Alberti,” *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 6, 65, no. 5 (1980), pp. 39–64; Kristina Herrmann Fiore, *Disegni degli Alberti*, Xenia Quaderni, no. 4 (Rome, 1983). See also Gere and Pouncey 1983, pp. 20–21.

3. Herrmann Fiore, *Disegni degli Alberti*, under no. 41. Reversing the traditional chronology, Abromson, “Clement VIII's Patronage,” pp. 533–34, dates the San Silvestro frescoes before the Sala Clementina campaign, which was completed by early 1600.

4. Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d'Urbano VIII* (Rome, 1649; reprint, Sala Bolognese, 1986), p. 132.

5. Baglione, *Vite*, p. 71. See also Herrmann Fiore, *Disegni degli Alberti*, no. 41, for the division of labor between Cherubino and Giovanni.

6. The remaining drawings are in an Italian private collection and the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome. See, respectively, Herrmann Fiore, “Studi sui

disegni," pp. 50, 54, fig. 29; and Herrmann Fiore, *Disegni degli Alberti*, no. 41, repr.

7. On this fresco, see Abromson, "Clement VIII's Patronage," pp. 540–43. The frescoed lunette is signed with the artist's monogram and inscribed with the date 1610.

## GIUSEPPE CESARI, called IL CAVALIERE D'ARPINO

Rome 1568–Rome 1640

### 89 *Allegorical Figure of Fame*

Graphite and red chalk, heightened with white, on buff paper. 250 × 159 mm (9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *giuseppe di arpino*; in pen and black ink on Mariette mount, *EQUES JOSEPH CESARI / ARPINATEN*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., 1986 (1986.318)

PROVENANCE: Pierre-Jean Mariette (Lugt 1852); Mariette sale (*Catalogue raisonné des différents objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composoient le cabinet de feu Mr. Mariette . . .*), chez [F. Basan], Hôtel Serpente, Paris, November 15, 1775–January 30, 1776, part of no. 126 ("L'Étude d'une figure de Renommée, aux crayons rouge & noir . . ."); Graf Moriz von Fries (Lugt 2903); Dan Fellows Platt (?); [R. H. Macy and Company, New York]; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

LITERATURE: *Centennial Loan Exhibition: Drawings and Watercolors from Alumnae and Their Families*, exh. cat., Vassar College (Poughkeepsie, 1961), no. 32, repr.; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1986–1987* (New York, 1987), p. 24; Lawrence Turčić, "A Drawing of Fame by il Cavaliere d'Arpino," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 22 (1987), pp. 93–95, figs. 1, 3.

Giuseppe Cesari, called il Cavaliere d'Arpino, was among the most influential artists in Rome during the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries. Lawrence Turčić recognized this sheet as Cesari's study for a ceiling fresco (fig. 89.1) in the Palazzina Montalto of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, near Viterbo.<sup>1</sup> The *palazzina* was built by Carlo Maderno (1556–1629) for Alessandro Peretti, Cardinal Montalto (see no. 36), and decorated under the supervision of Cesari and of Agostino Tassi (1579/85–1644) between 1613 and 1615.<sup>2</sup> The personification of Fame appears in the center of the ceiling of a small room on the main (second) floor, where it is surrounded by eight other allegorical figures, executed by an assistant—possibly Niccolò de Felice—after designs by Cesari.<sup>3</sup> As Turčić observed, the figure of Fame in the present study corresponds fairly closely to that in the fresco, although in the finished work the drapery is arranged to reveal her breasts and right leg, her hair is considerably longer, and she does not sound her trumpet, as she does in the drawing.

The sheet retains its blue Mariette mount, and was presented to the Metropolitan Museum by Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, who acquired the drawing at Macy's in New York about 1936.

WMG

1. See Lawrence Turčić, "A Drawing of Fame by the Cavaliere d'Arpino," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 22 (1987), pp. 93–95, fig. 2 (the fresco).

2. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "New Documents for Cardinal Alessandro Peretti," *Burlington Magazine* 135 (May 1993), pp. 316–27, the ceiling repr. p. 319, fig. 5. According to Cavazzini (p. 319), Cesari's personification of Fame is datable to the spring of 1614.

3. See Luigi Salerno, "Study of Some Frescoes in the Villa Lante Bagnaia: Cavaliere d'Arpino, Tassi, Gentileschi and Their Assistants," *Connoisseur* 146 (December 1960), p. 160, fig. 8 (the entire ceiling), p. 162.

# Siena

## GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, called IL SODOMA

Vercelli 1477–Siena 1549

### 90 *Head of a Bearded Old Man in Profile to the Right*

Verso: *Head of a Man Facing Three Quarters to the Left*

Black chalk (recto and verso). 259 × 161 mm (10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). The right margin of the sheet is irregular (made up).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.227.31)

PROVENANCE: The drawing was purchased in London in 1908.

LITERATURE: Roger Fry, "Recent Aquisitions of Drawings," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 3, no. 12 (1908), p. 224 (as Cesare da Sesto); Andrée Hayum, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi—"Il Sodoma,"* Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968 (New York and London, 1976), pp. 142–43, 144 n. 11, under no. 13, fig. 36a.

Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, called il Sodoma, was born in Vercelli, about halfway between Turin and Milan, and apprenticed in 1490 to the Piedmontese painter Giovanni Martino Spanzotti (fl. 1490–1511). By 1503, Sodoma was in Tuscany. Between 1505 and 1508 he executed a series of frescoes depicting scenes from the life of Saint Benedict in the main cloister of the monastery of Monteoliveto Maggiore. He made several trips to Rome, where his principal works are two frescoes in the Farnesina, *The Family of Darius before Alexander* and *The Marriage of Alexander and Roxane*, painted in 1516–17.

Sodoma was active primarily in Siena. In 1526, he executed three scenes from the life of Saint Catherine in the church of San Dome-

nico, and in 1529–30, he painted frescoes of Saint Ansanus and Saint Victor in the Palazzo Pubblico. During the early 1540s, he was in Pisa, and there he painted two canvases for the Duomo and an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with saints, now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, but originally in the church of Santa Maria della Spina. Sodoma's style has often been characterized as Leonardesque, but his works also reflect the influence of Perugino (ca. 1450–1523), Pinturicchio (ca. 1454–1513), and Raphael (see no. 56), as well as that of his Sienese compatriots Baldassare Peruzzi (see nos. 92, 93) and Domenico Beccafumi (see nos. 94, 95).<sup>1</sup>

Philip Pouncey was the first to recognize Sodoma's authorship of this drawing,<sup>2</sup> which had previously been ascribed to the Lombard artist Cesare da Sesto (1477–1523). The bearded old man on the recto of the sheet was later identified by Andrée Hayum as a study for the *Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Jerome, John the Evangelist, and Lucy*, now in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin.<sup>3</sup> Despite this important discovery, however, the drawing was still classified as the work of Cesare da Sesto when it was independently attributed to Sodoma by David Lachenmann in October 1990.<sup>4</sup>

The head on the recto of the drawing corresponds very closely to that of Saint Jerome in the painting in the Galleria Sabauda, although in the preparatory sketch the shoulders of the figure are bare, rather than partially draped. According to Hayum, it is conceivable that the altarpiece came from the church of Santa Caterina in Colle di Val d'Elsa in southern Tuscany. Before that, it may have been in the church of San Bartolommeo alle Volte, Siena, for which an altarpiece was commissioned from Sodoma by Sigismondo Chigi, but evidently stolen by the Spanish and afterward



sent to Colle di Val d'Elsa. Whatever its provenance, the picture can be dated about 1513 on the basis of style.

The relatively small but quite vigorous sketch on the verso of the sheet has not been connected with a known work by the artist.

WMG

1. See Andrée Hayum, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi—"Il Sodoma,"* Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968 (New York and London, 1976), pp. 1-79; Roberto Bartolini, in *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena and elsewhere in Siena (Milan, 1990), pp. 228-35.

2. According to Hayum, *Sodoma*, p. 144 n. 11.

3. Hayum, *Sodoma*, p. 142, under no. 13. For the painting, see Hayum, *Sodoma*, pp. 138-44, no. 13, fig. 36; Enzo Carli, *Il Sodoma* (Tokyo, 1981), pl. xxiii.

4. Note in the files of the Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department.

## 91 *Head of a Man Turned to the Left*

Black and red chalk. 311 × 201 mm (12¼ × 7⅞ in.).

Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman

PROVENANCE: Michel Gaud; sale, Sotheby's Monaco, June 20, 1987, no. 16, repr.

This magnificent sheet is a study for the head of a soldier in Sodoma's altarpiece of the Resurrection, formerly in the church of San Tommaso d'Aquino, Naples, and now in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.<sup>1</sup> Although the early history of the painting is unknown, it is signed and dated 1535, and accords well in style with such pictures by Sodoma as the *Holy Family* and *Resurrection* in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena—both of which also seem to have been executed during the mid-1530s. The head in the drawing corresponds fairly closely to that of the soldier at the center in the foreground of the painting, except that in the finished work, the figure looks almost straight

up, rather than off to the left, and is represented bare chested.<sup>2</sup>

Hayum has associated a red-chalk drawing by Sodoma in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, with the figure of the risen Christ in the Naples *Resurrection*.<sup>3</sup> However, as Graham Smith has pointed out, the relationship between the poses of the two figures is not all that close, and the sheet in the Uffizi might instead have been executed in connection with any of a number of other paintings by the artist.<sup>4</sup>

WMG

1. See Andrée Hayum, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi—"Il Sodoma,"* Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968 (New York and London, 1976), pp. 235-38, no. 33; Enzo Carli, *Il Sodoma* (Tokyo, 1981), fig. 103.

2. For the unconvincing suggestion that this figure is a self-portrait, see R. H. Cust, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi* (London, 1906), pp. 215-16.

3. Inv. no. 1743 F. See Hayum, *Sodoma*, pp. 236-37, under no. 33; no. 13, repr.; Graham Smith, in Annamaria Petrioli Tofani and Graham Smith, *Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Drawings from the Uffizi*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts (New York and Oxford, 1988), no. 13, repr.

4. See Petrioli Tofani and Smith, *Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Drawings*, p. 28, under no. 13.

## BALDASSARE PERUZZI

Siena 1481-Rome 1536

## 92 *Atlas*

Pen and brown ink, over black chalk. 206 × 134 mm (8⅛ × 5¼ in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink on verso, at right, S.R. no.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1992 (1992.304)

PROVENANCE: "Borghese-Sagredo"; [Katrin Bellinger].

LITERATURE: *Drawings Related to Sculpture, 1520-1620*, exh. cat., Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel (London, 1992), no. 1, repr.; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1992-1993* (New York, 1993); William M. Gris-

wold, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1992–1993*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 51, no. 2 (Fall 1993), p. 29, repr.

Baldassare Peruzzi spent much of his career in Rome, where he was active as a painter and an architect. His first major patron was his Si-  
enese compatriot the papal banker Agostino Chigi, for whom Peruzzi designed the celebrated Villa Farnesina and executed frescoes in some of the rooms, working in the company of Sodoma (see nos. 90, 91), Sebastiano del Piombo (see no. 107), and Raphael (see no. 56). Peruzzi's early efforts in Rome also included monochrome facade paintings depicting scenes from ancient Roman history, a genre in which he preceded Polidoro da Caravaggio (see nos. 62, 63). He worked on the periphery of papal circles during Raphael's lifetime, but was appointed architect of Saint Peter's upon Raphael's death in 1520. Like many artists in the city, Peruzzi suffered great hardship during the Sack of Rome in 1527. He escaped to his native Siena where he was appointed architect to the Sienese Republic and was occupied primarily with the designing of fortifications. Peruzzi left Siena permanently in 1535, when he returned to Rome and devoted his energies to architecture and the study of Vitruvius.

Peruzzi's authorship of this recently discovered drawing was first recognized by George Goldner.<sup>1</sup> The bold, shaggy pen work and absence of wash is paralleled in drawings by the artist of the 1520s, such as a study of Apollo in the Musée du Louvre,<sup>2</sup> and the *Allegory of Fortune* in Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>3</sup> The latter study includes the figure of Atlas, who supports a globe rotated on its axis by an angel and a devil while a pope resides, temporarily, at the top. Despite the common subject matter, the Metropolitan Museum *Atlas* bears no

relation to this image, and its function remains unclear. The figure's cast shadows suggest that the drawing is a study for a three-dimensional object, conceivably a bronze statuette resembling the *Atlas* designed by the early-sixteenth-century Paduan sculptor Andrea Riccio.<sup>4</sup> Drawings for metalwork are not unknown in Peruzzi's graphic oeuvre, a relevant example being a medal designed for Pope Clement VII to commemorate the Jubilee of 1525.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, according to Vasari, Peruzzi worked closely with goldsmiths early in his career.<sup>6</sup> Precisely what spherical object the figure was designed to support is unknown, but it was undoubtedly meant to evoke the globe held by Atlas.

An allusion to Hercules should perhaps be recognized in this depiction of Atlas. Peruzzi had earlier represented the Roman hero supporting the earth on his shoulders, the conventional pose of Atlas, in a mythological frieze in the Sala del Fregio in the Villa Farnesina, executed about 1510.<sup>7</sup> Hercules also appears in the guise of Atlas in one of the borders of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries, designed about 1515 for the Sistine Chapel, where, it has been suggested, he is an emblem of papal virtue, alluding to the pope's bearing easily on his shoulders the great weight of the world.<sup>8</sup> Raphael's precedent and the Medicean papal overtones of the Hercules–Atlas figure raise the possibility that Peruzzi's *Atlas* was designed for Leo X or Clement VII.<sup>9</sup>

LWS

1. Cited in *Drawings Related to Sculpture, 1520–1620*, exh. cat., Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel (London, 1992), no. 1.

2. Inv. no. 10386. See Christoph Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11, suppl. (Vienna and Munich, 1967/68), no. 69, pl. LIIa.

3. Inv. no. 0137. See Frommel, *Peruzzi*, no. 100, pl. LXXVa;

James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, no. 358, vol. 2, pl. 250.

4. Known in a number of versions, a fine example of which is in the Frick Collection (inv. no. 15.2.24). See John Pope-Hennessy, assisted by Anthony F. Radcliffe, *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 3, *Sculpture: Italian* (New York, 1970), pp. 106–10. These statuettes were frequently produced to function as oil lamps and inkwells.

5. Private collection. See Frommel, *Peruzzi*, no. 94, pl. LXXa; noted in *Drawings Related to Sculpture*, Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, no. 1.

6. “Praticava sempre con persone ingegnose, e particolarmente con orafi e disegnatori” (Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 4, p. 590).

7. Frommel, *Peruzzi*, no. 18a, pp. 61–64; reproduced in Federico Hermanin, *La Farnesina* (Bergamo, 1927), pl. 33. Unlike Atlas in the drawing, this figure wears the lion skin that identifies him as Hercules (see no. 95 below).

8. John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1972), p. 89; fig. 28a.

9. If Peruzzi's *Atlas* was designed for Leo X or Clement VII, the spherical object held by Atlas may have been intended to allude to a Medici *palla*. Such playful abstraction of the *palle* from their heraldic context finds ample precedent in Medicean papal commissions, e.g., the flying angels holding a single *palla* in the Sala dei Pontefici, executed late in the pontificate of Leo X by Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine. As noted above (see also n. 5), Peruzzi's other goldsmith design of this period, the 1525 Jubilee medal, was a papal commission.

The Metropolitan Museum drawing is to be mentioned in a forthcoming article by Christoph Luitpold Frommel, “Peruzzis römische Anfänge: Von der Pseudo-Cronaca-Gruppe zu Bramante,” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 27, which was unpublished and unavailable to the authors at the time the present catalogue appeared.

### 93 Study for the Tomb of Cardinal Francesco Armellini

Brown ink. 467 × 349 mm (18<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.).

Annotated in entablature, *Inferior Armellinus porcarum per Baltasarum senesem*; annotated in center above effigy, *Quid genus et proavos strepitis? Si primordia vestra / Auctoremque deum spectes. Nullus degener extat. / Ni vitiis pejora favens proprium deserat ortum.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Partial and Promised Gift of Gilbert Butler, 1991 (1991.460)

PROVENANCE: Huart (?) (Lugt 2984); Robinson (Lugt 1433); sale, Sotheby's, London, December 1, 1983, no. 97.

LITERATURE: Christoph L. Frommel, “Baldassare Peruzzi pittore e architetto,” in *Baldassare Peruzzi pittura scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome, 1987), pp. 38, 41 fig. 11; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1991–1992* (New York, 1992), p. 29.

Like Raphael, who retained the sculptor Lorenzetto as a collaborator, Peruzzi produced designs for bronze and marble sculpture (see no. 92). Two important funerary monuments in Rome, the tombs of Pope Adrian VI in Santa Maria dell'Anima and of Cardinal Francesco Armellini in Santa Maria in Trastevere (fig. 93.2), are based on his designs. Both are wall monuments which combine architecture and figural sculpture, including effigies of the deceased reclining on biers. The immediate Roman prototypes for this scheme are the tombs by Andrea Sansovino in Santa Maria del Popolo, executed in the first decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The present sheet, unpublished before it appeared at auction in 1983, is one of two known studies by Peruzzi for the Armellini monument, a double tomb commemorating both Cardinal Armellini and his maternal uncle. It details an elaborate and highly classicizing scheme whose architectural form derives from the Roman triumphal arch. The effigy, which is not dressed in ecclesiastical garb and therefore presumably represents the cardinal's uncle, reclines on an ornate bier reminiscent of an ancient Roman bed. On the step below, two mourning cherubs extinguish their torches in an allusion to death. A Roman portrait bust and a female Virtue in a niche, the latter detail derived from the Sansovino tombs

and repeated in the monument of Adrian VI, occupy the space to the right between fluted Corinthian pilasters. Escutcheons intended for the cardinal's coat of arms occur at the upper and lower right, and blank fields for the carved epitaph, one of which was later inscribed in a sixteenth-century hand with a derogatory reference to the much-despised Cardinal Armellini, are seen in the entablature and the podium. The design is striking in its omission of any Christian imagery referring to death and eternal salvation.

The second drawing by Peruzzi for the Armellini tomb (fig. 93.1), likewise inscribed with a disparaging remark about the cardinal, shows a vastly different and more simplified scheme.<sup>2</sup> The effigy, here clearly recognizable as an ecclesiastic, reclines on a simple sarcophagus supported by an acolyte in the presence of the Virgin and Child. Pilasters with Corinthian capitals are sketchily indicated, but the design lacks the classicizing elements and the pervasive *all'antica* character of the tomb represented in the Butler drawing.

The Armellini monument as executed does not strictly conform to either scheme but combines elements from both drawings. The triumphal arch form recorded in the present design was adhered to, and the effigy of the cardinal's uncle repeats exactly but in reverse that of the corresponding figure in the drawing.<sup>3</sup> From the Frankfurt sketch, the pose of the reclining effigy of the cardinal and the simple Renaissance sarcophagus were retained. But considerable differences distinguish the actual tomb from Peruzzi's designs. The spiritual immediacy envisioned in the Frankfurt design was lost in the final scheme, where the Virgin and Child appear not in close proximity to the effigies but isolated in tondi above. In addition, the wealth of pictorial detail projected in the New York drawing is entirely lacking. Un-

recorded in either study are the freestanding figures who comprise the central element of the sculptural monument: Saint Francis, patron saint of Cardinal Armellini, and Saint Lawrence, who are seen below a half-length blessing figure of God the Father.

A close confidante of the Medici popes whose name and *stemma* he added to his own, Francesco Armellini was made titular cardinal of Santa Maria in Trastevere by Clement VII in November 1523.<sup>4</sup> The decision to erect his tomb in the church must have closely followed this elevation, and Peruzzi's drawings for this commission can be assigned to the mid-1520s on stylistic grounds. Nonetheless, the extent of the artist's involvement in the final scheme is uncertain. Christoph Frommel has argued that the overall design of the monument, the architectural proportions, and even the figure types are consistent with Peruzzi's artistic production of the years 1523–24.<sup>5</sup> However, the tomb was probably only completed after Cardinal Armellini's death in 1528 and so Peruzzi cannot have overseen the entire execution since he fled Rome after the Sack of the city in May of 1527. It is possible that some of the more awkward elements of the Armellini monument, such as the double appearance of the Virgin and Child, reflect the intervention of the sculptor working from Peruzzi's initial designs. The identity of this executant has never been firmly established, but some sources ascribe the work to the little-known Michelangelo Senese. In any event, the restrained and sober character of the tomb and the rejection of the classicizing decorative vocabulary set out in the Butler sheet in favor of the strictly conventional religious iconography that characterizes the final monument undoubtedly reflect a response to the changed climate in Rome after the Sack.

LWS

1. On Sansovino's tomb monuments of Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere in Santa Maria del Popolo, executed between 1505 and 1509, see John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 3d ed. (New York, 1985), pp. 54–55, 346–47, figs. 57, 58.
2. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inv. no. 5605. See Christoph Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11, suppl. (Munich and Vienna, 1967/68), pp. 123–24, no. 87a. Frommel notes that the inscription, “Hic Armellini ribaldocj pessimi ossa sacrata,” resembles the hand of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.
3. The pose and costume of the effigy in the drawing and elements of the bier on which it reclines are similar to the corresponding elements in the tomb of the jurist Antonio da Burgos in Santa Maria in Porta Paradisi, Rome, designed by Peruzzi about 1525; noted by Christoph Frommel, “Baldassare Peruzzi pittore e architetto,” in *Baldassare Peruzzi pittura scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome, 1987), p. 38. For an illustration of this tomb, see Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, pl. LXXIIa. Despite these similarities, the Butler drawing cannot be for that tomb, as the heraldic shield represented at the upper right of the sheet is clearly that of a cardinal.
4. On Cardinal Francesco Armellini, see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. Armellini–Medici.
5. Frommel, *Peruzzi*, p. 123.

## DOMENICO BECCAFUMI

Valdibiena (Siena) ca. 1486–Siena 1551

### 94 *Saint Mark*

Brown, beige, and cream-colored tempera and emulsion, with stylus incisions. 400 × 232 mm (15¾ × 9⅞ in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Jean Douglas Fowles, in memory of R. Langton Douglas, 1975 (1975.97)

PROVENANCE: Henry Scipio Reitlinger; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, December 9, 1953, part of no. 24; R. Langton Douglas, London; Mrs. Edward Fowles.

LITERATURE: Donato Sanminiatielli, “The Sketches of Domenico Beccafumi,” *Burlington Magazine* 97 (February 1955), p. 39, fig. 10; Anna Forlani, *I disegni del Cinquecento: Scuole fiorentina, senese, romano, umbro marchigiana e dell'Italia meridionale* (Venice, 1962), p. 194, under no. 52; A. M. Francini Ciaranfi, *Domenico Beccafumi* (Florence,

1966); Donato Sanminiatielli, *Domenico Beccafumi* (Milan, 1967), p. 129, no. 26, repr. (pl. v. Bozzetti no. 26); Jacob Bean, *European Drawings Recently Acquired, 1972–1975*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1975), no. 3; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1974–1975* (New York, 1975), p. 50; Ebrina Feinblatt, *Old Master Drawings from American Collections*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1976), under no. 23; Edi Baccheschi, *L'opera completa del Beccafumi*, intro. by Giuliano Briganti (Milan, 1977), p. 105, no. 127(1), repr. p. 104 (medium incorrectly described as oil on panel); Bean and Turčić 1982, 30, repr.; *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena and elsewhere in Siena (Milan, 1990), no. 129, repr.; Oreste Ferrari, *Bozzetti italiani dal Manierismo al Barocco* (Naples, 1990), p. 92 (location incorrectly given as collection of Mrs. E. Fowles).

Together with his Florentine contemporaries Jacopo Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino, Domenico Beccafumi ranks as a leading protagonist of early Mannerism. His artistic beginnings remain something of a mystery, and no securely documented works by the artist dating before 1513 are known.<sup>1</sup> Active for most of his career in his native Siena, Beccafumi made brief trips to Rome, Genoa, and Pisa. In 1536 the artist was commissioned to decorate the apse of the Pisa cathedral, for which he executed two large paintings depicting scenes from the Old Testament, *Moses Breaking the Tablets of the Law* and the *Punishment of Korah*,<sup>2</sup> and four standing Evangelists in niches.<sup>3</sup> The Metropolitan Museum study is a preparatory sketch for the Pisa *Saint Mark* (fig. 94.1).<sup>4</sup>

Minor differences distinguish the bozzetto from the painting. In the latter, the figure, now bald, assumes a more frontal stance and is seen in full face rather than near profile, but the essential pose and arrangement of drapery established in the study are retained. The bold light that in the sketch highlights the saint's right side, open book, and lower left leg also recurs in the painting. Executed in broad, fluid

strokes, the bozzetto is essentially a pictorial study of light.

The practice of executing bozzetti as preparatory studies for paintings became widespread in the middle of the sixteenth century, exemplified foremost by the artistic production of Barocci (see nos. 76–78), but Beccafumi's sketches, first produced in the late 1520s, are the earliest surviving examples. The absence of bozzetti of this date by other artists points to the possibility that Beccafumi was the originator of this practice. The impetus behind his innovative production of painted preparatory studies has not been fully explored,<sup>5</sup> but his preeminent concern with light and color, and with the formal and expressive possibilities of an interplay between the two, may underlie Beccafumi's singular and highly personal experiments in this genre.

LWS

1. Attempting to reduce the puzzling lacunae obscuring Beccafumi's early career, the recent monographic exhibition in Siena included a small group of works plausibly ascribed to the artist and dated to the years around 1510; *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena and elsewhere in Siena (Milan, 1990), nos. 1, 2.

2. Donato Sanminiatielli, *Domenico Beccafumi* (Milan, 1967), p. 110, nos. 55, 56, repr.; Edi Baccheschi, *L'opera completa del Beccafumi*, intro. by Giuliano Briganti (Milan, 1977), nos. 123, 124, pls. 54–57.

3. Sanminiatielli, *Beccafumi*, pp. 110–11, no. 57, repr.; Baccheschi, *Opera completa*, nos. 125–28.

4. Sanminiatielli, *Beccafumi*, p. 129, no. 27; Baccheschi, *Opera completa*, p. 105, no. 127(1); *Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, no. 129 (where it is incorrectly stated that this work is mentioned by Walter Vitzthum, review of Bean and Stampfle 1965, *Burlington Magazine* 108 [1966], pp. 109–10). A pen study for the *Saint Mark* is in the Louvre (inv. no. 252; Sanminiatielli, *Beccafumi*, p. 154, no. 77).

5. For a catalogue of Beccafumi's bozzetti, see Sanminiatielli, *Beccafumi*, pp. 125–29, nos. 1–27; and Oreste Ferrari, *Bozzetti italiani dal Manierismo al Barocco* (Naples, 1990), p. 92. For a brief discussion of these sketches, which refutes the often-repeated proposal that they functioned as cartoons, see Andrea De Marchi, "Beccafumi e la sua

'maniera': difficoltà del disegno senese," in *Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, p. 418.

Although remarked by Sanminiatielli almost forty years ago ("The Sketches of Domenico Beccafumi," *Burlington Magazine* 97 [February 1955], p. 35), the extent of Beccafumi's startling originality in the execution of bozzetti has not been fully investigated or assessed.

## 95 *Hercules*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, traces of black chalk.  
235 × 142 mm (9¼ × 5⅝ in.).

Inscribed in brown ink at lower right, *Mecarino*.

Michael Hall, Esq.

PROVENANCE: unidentified collector's mark, lower right; [Enrico Cortona].

LITERATURE: *Disegni di maestri antichi*, exh. cat., Enrico Cortona (Milan, 1983), no. 1, repr.

The subject of this drawing—traditionally ascribed to Beccafumi as the inscription *Mecarino*, the artist's nickname, attests—is the ancient hero Hercules. His identity is signaled by the lion skin worn by the figure and the large club gripped in his right hand. Beccafumi's distinctive graphic manner is evident in the nervous, shaggy pen strokes and the broad application of wash in delicate, transparent patches. The large, gnarled hands of the figure, the exaggeratedly elongated proportions of the torso, and the sinuous contrapposto stance are also hallmarks of his style.

Vasari reports that Beccafumi spent much time during a two-year sojourn in Rome, where he first traveled around 1510, studying the works of Michelangelo, Raphael, and the antique.<sup>1</sup> Subjects drawn from classical antiquity are rare in his graphic oeuvre, however.<sup>2</sup> In terms of its subject matter the *Hercules* thus presents a less familiar facet of Beccafumi's draftsmanship.

Unrelated to any paintings by the artist, the drawing may be an autonomous inven-

tion, or it may represent an idea for a print. No impression of this subject is known, but Beccafumi designed a number of etchings and chiaroscuro woodcuts during the last two decades of his career, many of single standing figures that are closely analogous to the *Hercules*.<sup>3</sup> In light of this possibility, it is worth noting that the ancient hero provided a popular subject for central Italian printmakers in the sixteenth century, treated in engravings and woodcuts designed by Rosso Fiorentino, Peruzzi, and Bandinelli.<sup>4</sup>

A date in the latter part of Beccafumi's career, probably the 1540s, may be proposed for the *Hercules* on the basis of its formal and stylistic similarities to such graphic works as the etching of an *Apostle in a Niche* of about 1540, and a drawing of a *Prophet with Putti* in the Albertina, dated about 1545.<sup>5</sup>

LWS

1. "... Attendendo in quel mentre a studiare . . . le statue e pili antichi d'opera maravigliosa. Là onde non passò molto che egli divenne fiero nel disegnare . . . " (Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5, p. 634).

2. The few extant drawings of classical subjects by Beccafumi are preparatory studies for frescoes in the Palazzo Venturi and the Sala del Concistoro in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. A possible exception is the *Study for a Grotesque* in the Uffizi (inv. no. 150 Orn; see *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena and elsewhere in Siena [Milan, 1990], no. 100, repr.). Inspired by the decorations of the Vatican Logge, it may be connected with the Palazzo Venturi frescoes, or it may be an independent exercise.

3. *Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, nos. 150–54, 163–71.

4. On Rosso's *Hercules* series, engraved by Jacopo Caraglio, see Eugene A. Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino: Drawings, Prints, and Decorative Arts*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1987), nos. 9–14. On the *Labors of Hercules* engraving designed by Bandinelli, see Roger Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli, 1493–1560: Drawings from British Collections*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1988), under no. 42. Peruzzi's *Hercules Chasing Avarice from Mount Olympus* was reproduced in a woodcut by Ugo da Carpi (*The Illustrated Bartsch, 48: Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcuts* [New York, 1983], pp. 220–21 [B. XII,

12]); see Christoph Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11, suppl. (Vienna and Munich, 1967/68), pp. 116–17, no. 81, pl. LXIXa.

5. *Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, nos. 150 and 157, repr.

## VINCENZO TAMAGNI

San Gimignano 1492–San Gimignano ca. 1530

### 96 *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*

Verso: *Studies of Figures and an Aedicula*

Pen and brown ink. 185 × 175 mm (7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in ink on verso at top of sheet, Agresti (Livio) da Forlì [ 1580]. / Disegno: di / Perrino Del Vaga / Scuola romana.; illegible inscription cut off at lower edge.

Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman

PROVENANCE: Michel Gaud; his sale, Sotheby's Monaco, June 20, 1987, no. 108, repr. (recto and verso).

LITERATURE: *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt: Disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, exh. cat., ed. Gianni Carlo Sciolla (Turin, 1989), under no. 30 (entry by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani).

After a presumed period of training with Sebastiano Mainardi, a close collaborator of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Vincenzo Tamagni began his career as an assistant of Sodoma (see nos. 90, 91), with whom he worked at the monastery of Monteoliveto Maggiore outside Siena. He was active as a fresco painter in nearby Montalcino before adjourning to Rome around 1512. There Tamagni entered Raphael's workshop, where he was engaged as an executant in the Vatican Logge decorations.<sup>1</sup> Vasari, whose *Vita* of the artist is brief and unenthusiastic, reports that he executed facade paintings in the city, all of which are lost.<sup>2</sup> Following Raphael's death in 1520, Tamagni returned to his native San Gimignano, producing frescoes and altarpieces in a provincial, *retardataire* High Renaissance idiom. His Roman experience had little impact on his style, which was

rooted in the art of Fra Bartolommeo, Bresciniano, and the early Sodoma rather than the grand, heroic manner of Raphael.<sup>3</sup>

Tamagni's graphic oeuvre, enhanced by the recent addition of this previously unknown drawing, is stylistically homogeneous and consists mostly of pen-and-ink composition studies.<sup>4</sup> These typically exhibit the repeated horizontal hatching and long, angular contour lines evident in the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*. Also characteristic of his draftsmanship are the attenuated, long-limbed figures with curly hair, pointy noses, and unarticulated hands and feet. Although it is evidently a study for the type of *sacra conversazione* altarpiece in which Tamagni specialized upon his return to Tuscany from Rome, the Taubman sheet cannot be connected with a surviving painting. The sketches on the verso, which include an idea for a classicizing architectural throne or backdrop of the type seen in an altarpiece representing the Madonna and Child with Saints Giovanni Gualberto, Benedict, John the Baptist, and Jerome painted by Tamagni in 1522 (San Girolamo, San Gimignano),<sup>5</sup> appear to be unrelated to the composition on the recto, although the bearded figure at the left is possibly an alternative idea for the standing saint holding a book.

LWS

1. See Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello: Maestro e bottega di fronte all'antico*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1986), pp. 106–8. Tamagni's possible involvement in the decorations of the Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena and the Villa Lante *salone*, both proposed by Dacos, "Vincenzo Tamagni a Roma," *Prospettiva*, no. 7 (October 1976), pp. 46–51, is highly speculative.

2. Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 4, pp. 489–92.

3. The most complete discussion of Tamagni's career as a painter remains Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana IX: Pittura del cinquecento. Parte V* (Milan, 1932), pp. 413–22.

4. On Tamagni's drawings, see David E. Rust, "The Drawings of Vincenzo Tamagni da San Gimignano," *Report and Studies in the History of Art 1968*, National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1969), pp. 70–93. Drawings by the artist had earlier been published by A. E. Popham, "Some Drawings by Vincenzo Tamagni da San Gimignano," *Old Master Drawings* 14 (1939–40), pp. 44–46; and Philip Pouncey, "Vincenzo Tamagni at Siena," *Burlington Magazine* 88 (January 1946), pp. 3–8. See also Lieneke C. J. Frerichs, "Een onbekende tekening van Vincenzo Tamagni voor het Rijksprentenkabinet," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 26 (1978), no. 3, pp. 106–12; and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, in *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt: Disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, exh. cat., ed. Gianni Carlo Sciolla (Turin, 1989), no. 30.

5. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana IX*, pp. 414, 419, fig. 235.

## MARCO PINO

Siena 1521–Naples after 1582

### 97 *Man in Armor with Saints, Adoring the Virgin and Child in Glory*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of black chalk. 320 × 216 mm (12<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

Inscribed at lower right, *Marco da Pino Senese dipinse 1575; at lower edge, discepolo p.a del Mecarino poi di Perino poi dipinse sotto Daniel Volterrano. Il Lomasso lo discepolo di M.A. Bonarota.*

The Pierpont Morgan Library (IV, 189)

PROVENANCE: Padre Sebastiano Resta (Lugt 2992); Charles Rogers (Lugt 625); J. MacGowan (Lugt 1496); Charles Fairfax Murray; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, vol. 4 (London, 1912), no. 189.

During the course of his long career, which was spent in Siena, Rome, and Naples, Marco Pino absorbed stylistic influences from a number of his contemporaries. His earliest works, private devotional images of the Madonna and Child and Holy Family, are closely tied to the manner of Beccafumi (see nos. 94, 95), his first master in Siena; the figure canon and graphic technique of his few early drawings similarly



derive from Beccafumi's example.<sup>1</sup> In 1544, Marco Pino moved to Rome, where he collaborated with Perino del Vaga in the Sala Paolina of Castel Sant'Angelo (see no. 66). He later worked with Perino's disciples Daniele da Volterra and Pellegrino Tibaldi (see no. 12) in the Rovere Chapel in the Trinità dei Monti in the early 1550s.<sup>2</sup> Salviati, Michelangelo, and Taddeo Zuccaro were among the other artists active in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century whose influence shaped Marco Pino's style as a painter and a draftsman. The artist's attempt at synthesizing the graceful artifice of Perino with the exaggerated, muscular heroics of Daniele and Tibaldi is evident in such works as the *Resurrection* in the Oratorio del Gonfalone, whose decorations by the leading painters of the day comprise one of the most important pictorial cycles carried out in Rome in the second half of the century.

In the mid-1550s, Marco Pino moved to Naples where he remained until 1567 or 1568, returning intermittently to Rome after that date. His work in Naples consists almost exclusively of large-scale altarpieces in a late *maniera* style, a number of which survive in situ.<sup>3</sup> This detailed study of two kneeling bishop saints and a donor adoring the Virgin and Child is a study for one such work. An inscription at the lower edge of the sheet, possibly by Padre Resta,<sup>4</sup> records that Marco Pino executed a painting of this subject in 1575. There is no known extant work that conforms precisely to the design of the Morgan Library sheet, but the composition exhibits a number of suggestive parallels with a painting ascribed to the artist from the church of Gesù Vecchio, Naples, representing the Madonna and Child in glory adored by Saints Lawrence and Nicholas of Bari.<sup>5</sup> In both drawing and painting, the Virgin and Child appear in the upper zone, floating on clouds and surrounded by

angels, while two saints kneel in adoration in a lush, expansive landscape below. The pose and expression of the young, beardless Saint Lawrence in the altarpiece who gracefully raises his left hand to his breast and gazes heavenward, is particularly close to that of the kneeling saint at the left of the drawing. Given these similarities, it is conceivable that this impressive *modello* bears some relation to the Gesù Vecchio altarpiece, which may be the painting referred to in the inscription. It is also possible that the Morgan Library drawing was executed for a now-lost and otherwise undocumented altarpiece and its composition later adapted for the Naples painting.

The Virgin and Child in a drawing by Marco Pino in the Musée du Louvre, datable around 1550, are close in type to the same figures in the Morgan Library sheet, which is a fine example of the artist's graceful and elegant draftsmanship.<sup>6</sup>

LWS

1. See *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena and elsewhere in Siena (Milan, 1990), nos. 78–80; on Marco Pino in general, see the essay by Roberto Bartolini in the same catalogue, pp. 384–91.

2. Geraldine Albers and Philippe Morel, "Pellegrino Tibaldi e Marco Pino alla Trinità dei Monti," *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 6, 73 (March–April 1988), pp. 69–92. The two artists executed the vault frescoes after the "cartoni" of Daniele da Volterra, according to Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d'Urbino VIII* (Rome, 1649; reprint, Sala Bolognese, 1986), p. 31.

3. See Evelina Borea, "Grazia e furia in Marco Pino," *Paragone*, no. 151 (July 1962), pp. 24–52; and Giovanni Previtali, *La pittura del cinquecento a Napoli e nel Vicereame* (Turin, 1978), pp. 53–60, pls. 73–79.

4. Written communication from John Gere in the curatorial files, Pierpont Morgan Library. A second inscription recounts the various artists with whom Marco Pino collaborated, concluding with Lomazzo's unfounded assertion that he was a disciple of Michelangelo.

5. A photograph of this apparently unpublished painting is in the Witt archive; on the basis of this image, it appears that the upper section of the altarpiece is by a workshop hand and possibly repainted. The saint on the right has been identified as Ignatius, but he is probably Nicholas of Bari.

Although the similarities are fewer, the Morgan Library drawing also demonstrates affinities with Marco Pino's altarpiece *The Madonna of the Rosary* (San Domenico, Bagnoli Irpino), particularly in the poses of the Virgin and the twisting, muscular angel at the upper right. On this painting, which is dated 1576, see Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento a Napoli, 1573–1606: L'ultima maniera* (Naples, 1991), p. 23, repr. p. 22.

6. Inv. no. 10.028. See Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire Général des dessins italiens I. Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, morts avant 1600. Vasari et son temps* (Paris, 1972), no. 114, repr.

## ALESSANDRO DI AGOSTINO CASOLANI

Siena 1552/53–Siena 1607 (?)

### 98 *Sheet of Studies*

Verso: *Figure Studies*

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash (recto);  
pen and brown ink (verso). 272 × 204 mm (10<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed on verso in pen and brown ink, *buono da questa parte, and vanni*.

Private collection

A pupil of Arcangelo Salimbeni (d. 1580?), Alessandro Casolani was a friend and associate of Cristofano Roncalli, called il Pomarancio (1552–1626), whom he accompanied to Rome in 1578 with the Brescian sculptor Prospero Antichi (d. 1592?). While he was in Rome, Casolani not only studied the frescoes of Raphael and Michelangelo, but also was exposed to works by his contemporaries, such as Girolamo Muziano (see no. 71), Giovanni de' Vecchi (see no. 81), and Raffaellino da Reggio (1550–1578). In 1581, he returned to Tuscany, where he became—along with Francesco

Vanni (see nos. 99–101) and Ventura Salimbeni (see nos. 103, 104)—one of the leading painters in Siena.

Although not directly related to a known painting, the studies on the recto of this sheet may be preparatory for a battle scene. The verso of the drawing contains a rapid pen sketch of a bound prisoner and three studies of an *écorché*. Formerly unattributed, the sheet was identified as the work of Casolani by Konrad Oberhuber in 1973 and again by David Lachenmann some years later.<sup>1</sup> In handling as well as technique, it is comparable to numerous other sketches by the artist, including a similarly animated sheet of studies in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence,<sup>2</sup> and a drawing of the young Christ carrying the instruments of the Passion in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, which was first attributed to Casolani by Philip Pouncey.<sup>3</sup>

WMG

1. According to the owner of the drawing.

2. Inv. no. 4908 S; pen and brown ink, brown wash; 196 × 273 mm. See Graham Smith, in Annamaria Petrioli Tofani and Graham Smith, *Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Drawings from the Uffizi*, exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts (New York and Oxford, 1988), no. 67, repr.

3. Inv. no. 2056; black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash; 191 × 125 mm. See Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), no. 118, repr.

## FRANCESCO VANNI

Siena 1563–Siena 1610

### 99 *Standing Woman Looking toward Left Background*

Red chalk, red wash. 248 × 167 mm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). Lined.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965  
(65.131.3)

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings*, Colnaghi (London, 1965), no. 14; Benedict Nicholson, review of exhibition at Colnaghi, *Burlington Magazine* 107 (July 1965), p. 384, fig. 53; *Pantheon* 24, no. 4 (1966), p. 264, repr.; *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1965–1966*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25 (October 1966), p. 74; Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), p. 37, under no. 21; Roseline Bacou, *The Famous Italian Drawings from the Mariette Collection at the Louvre in Paris* (Milan, 1981), under no. 44; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 258, repr.; Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), p. 256, under no. 528.

Francesco Vanni was a stepson and pupil of the Sienese painter Arcangelo Salimbeni (d. 1580?). At an early age, he went briefly to Rome, where he studied with Giovanni de' Vecchi (see no. 81), but by 1580 he was evidently back in Siena. Although Vanni's earliest paintings reflect the late mannerist style of his Roman contemporaries, he soon became aware of the art of Federico Barocci (see nos. 76–78), whose influence is manifest in the works that Vanni executed after about 1585. A prolific and versatile draftsman, he made lively pen sketches of individual figures and groups of figures as well as finished chalk drawings, such as the present example, and delicate compositional studies in oil on paper.

This drawing is a study for Vanni's altarpiece in the Bargagli Chapel in the church of Santo Spirito, Siena, which represents the resurrection of a drowned boy by Saint Hyacinth.<sup>1</sup> On the walls of the chapel are frescoes of four other scenes from the legend of the same Dominican saint by Vanni's half-brother and sometime collaborator, Ventura Salimbeni (see nos. 103, 104). A thirteenth-century Polish missionary, Hyacinth was canonized by Pope

Clement VIII in 1594, and the decoration of the chapel must have been commissioned very soon afterward, for the altarpiece was evidently in place two years later.<sup>2</sup>

A number of preparatory drawings for Vanni's painting have been identified. The earliest of these is a rapid sketch for the entire composition in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.<sup>3</sup> Studies for the figures of Saint Hyacinth and the Virgin and Child—identical in style and technique to the Metropolitan Museum's drawing of a standing woman—are in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence.<sup>4</sup> A study for the same figure as the present sheet is in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena,<sup>5</sup> and another for the Virgin and Child is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.<sup>6</sup> Drawings for the figure leading a horse are in Siena<sup>7</sup> and in the Louvre,<sup>8</sup> which also possesses a superb oil sketch for the entire composition (fig. 99.1).<sup>9</sup> In the finished work, Saint Hyacinth kneels in the foreground, and the female spectator on the right is shown in profile, whereas in both the oil sketch and the present drawing, the woman is turned inward and watches the miracle over her right shoulder.

WMG

1. Repr. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana IX: La pittura del cinquecento. Parte VII* (Milan, 1934), fig. 592.

2. See Alessandro Bagnoli, review of exhibition *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni)* and of the relevant catalogue by Peter Anselm Riedl, *Prospettiva*, no. 9 (April 1977), p. 84.

3. Janos Scholz Collection.

4. Inv. nos. 1281 F, 1292 F, respectively. See Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), no. 20, fig. 21, no. 21, fig. 22.

5. Inv. no. S.III.1/39r. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, p. 37, under no. 21.

6. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 1993. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, p. 37, under no. 21;

Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), no. 527, repr.

7. Soprintendenza, no. 143. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, p. 36 under no. 20, p. 37 under no. 21.

8. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 11849. See Viatte, *Dessins toscans*, no. 528, repr.

9. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 526. See Viatte, *Dessins toscans*, no. 526, repr.

# 100 Sheet of Studies: Standing and Kneeling Clerics and Religious, Adam and Eve, and a Reclining Skeleton

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash. 208 × 288 mm (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at upper margin, *del* [?] Vanni.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1966 (66.93.4)

PROVENANCE: [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings*, Colnaghi (London, 1966), no. 13; *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1966–1967*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26 (October 1967), p. 60; Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi* (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni), exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), p. 45, under no. 33; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 260, repr.; Edward J. Olszewski, with the assistance of Jane Glaubinger, *The Draftsman's Eye: Late Italian Renaissance Schools and Styles*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979 (Cleveland, 1981), no. 73, repr.

This drawing is a study for the *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, which was painted by Francesco Vanni for the church of Santa Margherita in Cortona (fig. 100.1).<sup>1</sup> Datable about 1602, the painting represents the Virgin Mary seated upon clouds, with a crescent moon at her feet, and the Tree of Knowledge below her. She wears a crown of twelve stars, and rests her foot upon the head of a serpent; Adam and Eve are bound, nude, to the base of the tree. Nearby, Saints Francis, Dominic,

Louis of Toulouse, and Margaret of Cortona bear witness to this extraordinary tableau, whose complex iconography was inspired by Giorgio Vasari's *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, executed some sixty years earlier for Bindo Altoviti and now in the church of Santi Apostoli, Florence.<sup>2</sup>

In the present drawing, Vanni sketched, repeated, varied, and refined the poses and gestures of a number of the figures beneath the tree. The male religious that appear in the upper part of the sheet are Saints Francis and Dominic, who stand side by side on the left in the painting. The figure wearing a bishop's miter is Saint Louis of Toulouse, who in the finished work kneels in the left foreground, while the female saint in the lower half of the drawing is Margaret of Cortona. Adam and Eve and a recumbent skeleton, emblematic of Death, are also represented in the Metropolitan Museum's sketch.

A pen sketch for the entire composition of the *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception* was identified by Peter Anselm Riedl in the collection of Dr. E. Schapiro, Paris,<sup>3</sup> and other studies for the painting are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,<sup>4</sup> and in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence.<sup>5</sup> Two further compositional drawings in the Uffizi<sup>6</sup> and in the Musée du Louvre, Paris,<sup>7</sup> were formerly thought to be preparatory for the painting, but are more likely copies after a lost study by Vanni.

WMG

1. See Luciano Bellosi, in Luciano Bellosi et al., *Arte in Valdichiana dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, exh. cat., Fortezza del Girifalco (Cortona, 1970), p. 51, no. 78, repr.

2. For the iconography of this influential painting, which exists in many versions, see Vasari, ed. Milanese, 1906, vol. 7, p. 668.

3. See Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi* (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni), exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), p. 45.

under no. 33; Peter Anselm Riedl, "Francesco Vanni als Zeichner," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 30 (1979), p. 87, fig. 8.

4. Inv. nos. KdZ 22010, 22013, 22518 recto. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, p. 45, under no. 33; Riedl, "Francesco Vanni als Zeichner," p. 100, fig. 25 (inv. no. 22518 recto).

5. Inv. no. 4970 S. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, no. 34, fig. 35.

6. Inv. no. 10808 F. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, no. 33, fig. 33 (as probably by Francesco Vanni); Bean and Turčić 1982, p. 255, under no. 260 (as after Francesco Vanni); Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), p. 271, under no. 552 (as after Francesco Vanni).

7. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 2038. See Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi*, p. 45, under no. 33 (as Francesco Vanni); Bean and Turčić 1982, p. 255, under no. 260 (as after Francesco Vanni); Viatte, *Dessins toscans*, no. 552, repr. (as after Francesco Vanni).

## IOI *Saint Blaise and Saint Catherine of Alexandria*

Black chalk; squared in red chalk. 206 × 159 mm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower left corner, 123.  
Jak Katalan

PROVENANCE: Padre Sebastiano Resta (Lugt 2992); first earl of Powis; earl of Plymouth; sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1986, no. 118, repr.; [Nissman, Abromson & Co.].

LITERATURE: *Italian 16th-Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat., Merchant's Hall (Edinburgh, 1969), no. 88, pl. 60; *Italian Drawings 1550–1800*, exh. cat., Nissman, Abromson & Co. (New York, 1989), no. 14, repr.

Saint Blaise, who was bishop of Sebastea in Asia Minor, kneels on the left, grasping a large book, an iron comb, and a martyr's palm. Blaise was tortured by having his flesh torn with combs, and then beheaded during the persecution of the fourth-century emperor Licinius. He is accompanied by Saint Catherine,

who holds a palm frond and rests her hand upon the spiked wheel that was the instrument of her torture. Overhead, an angel descends with a crown and palm of martyrdom.

Peter Anselm Riedl has suggested that this drawing is a design for a processional banner, or *gonfalone*, possibly for use by the confraternity of San Biagio in Siena.<sup>1</sup> In composition, the sheet is analogous to three other sketches by Vanni which represent Saint Cecilia and her husband, Saint Valerian, with an angel holding crowns hovering between them.<sup>2</sup> According to Riedl, all four drawings were executed about 1600.

WMG

1. See *Italian Drawings 1550–1800*, exh. cat., Nissman, Abromson & Co. (New York, 1989), under no. 14.

2. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nos. 10818 F, 15053 F, 15062 F. See Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei barocceschi senesi (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), nos. 27, 25, 26, figs. 26, 28, 25, respectively.

## FRANCESCO VANNI

Siena 1563–Siena 1610

or

## RUTILIO MANETTI

Siena 1571–Siena 1639

## IO2 *The Coronation of the Virgin*

Brown, gray-blue, and white tempera on paper. 283 × 182 mm (11 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{16}$  in.).

Inscribed in graphite on verso, *Di Francesco Vanni / il di cui quadro è nella sala / del II [?] . . . di Palazzo dove pranzano.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1989 (1989.59)

PROVENANCE: sale, Christie's, London, April 19, 1988, no. 44, repr. (as Francesco Vanni); [Katrin Bellinger].

LITERATURE: Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, *Italian Drawings*, exh. cat., Harari and Johns, London (Munich, 1988), no. 9, repr. (as Francesco Vanni); Duncan Bull, review of exhibition at Harari and Johns, *Burlington Magazine* 131 (January 1989), p. 50, fig. 58 (as Francesco Vanni); *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1988–1989* (New York, 1989), p. 24 (as Francesco Vanni).

This attractive compositional sketch was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1989 as a study by Francesco Vanni for a painting of the Coronation of the Virgin, formerly in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale.<sup>1</sup> An old inscription on the frame suggests that the painting was executed in 1607 for one Fabio Pannilini, Capitano del Popolo. It does not, however, name the artist, and the attribution to Vanni can be traced back only to the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The Metropolitan Museum's sketch was doubtless made in connection with the painting; however, Laurence B. Kanter has recently suggested that the picture is not by Vanni but by Rutilio Manetti.<sup>3</sup>

Manetti was a pupil of Vanni, and his earliest known works, executed about 1600, somewhat resemble those of his teacher. He was later influenced by the comparatively sober style of Domenico Cresti, il Passignano (1558/60–1638), with whose paintings the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale has a certain affinity. About 1615, Manetti evidently traveled to Rome, and from then on he is best characterized as a somewhat provincial follower of Caravaggio.<sup>4</sup>

Although it is attractive, the present sheet seems too crude to be by Vanni, whose oil sketches on paper are usually more delicate and luminous (see fig. 99.1).<sup>5</sup> Rather, the clumsy physical types and thick, fairly uniform application of paint suggest the work of Ma-

netti.<sup>6</sup> The drawing thus lends support to the hypothesis that the painting in Siena might be by the pupil instead of the master.<sup>7</sup>

WMG

1. Inv. no. 27 Mag. See Piero Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: I dipinti dal XV al XVIII secolo* (Genoa, 1978), p. 312, no. 27, p. 313, fig. 373 (as Francesco Vanni).
2. Torriti, *Pinacoteca Nazionale*, p. 312, under no. 27.
3. Verbal communication.
4. See Alessandro Bagnoli, *Rutilio Manetti, 1571–1639*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Florence, 1978); Alessandro Bagnoli, in Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, ed., *L'Arte a Siena sotto i Medici: 1555–1609*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Rome, 1980), pp. 176–84.
5. Typical examples are in the Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris. See Françoise Viatte, *Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Inventaire général des dessins italiens III. Dessins toscans XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Tome I. 1560–1640* (Paris, 1988), nos. 526, 529, 541, 542, repr.
6. For instance, Manetti's oil sketch in the Louvre for the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel. See Viatte, *Dessins toscans*, no. 272, repr. A pen study for the *Rest on the Flight* is in the Metropolitan Museum. See Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 125, repr.
7. Alessandro Bagnoli maintains that both painting and oil sketch are by Vanni, not Manetti (letter to Laurence B. Kanter, June 1, 1993).

## VENTURA SALIMBENI

Siena 1568–Siena 1613

### IO3 *Family Kneeling before an Outdoor Shrine*

Red and black chalk; framing lines in pen and brown ink. 155 × 206 mm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Lined.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.227.11)

LITERATURE: George S. Hellman, "Drawings by Italian Artists in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Print Collector's Quarterly* 6 (1916), pp. 174–75, repr. (as Federico Zuccaro); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 291, repr. (as anonymous Siennese artist, late sixteenth century).

Ventura Salimbeni was a son of the painter Arcangelo Salimbeni (d. 1580?) and a half-brother of Francesco Vanni (see no. 99). Some time after the death of his father, Salimbeni moved from Siena to Rome, where, under the supervision of Cesare Nebbia (see nos. 79, 80) and Giovanni Guerra (see no. 82), he was responsible for part of the frescoed decoration of the Biblioteca Vaticana and the Lateran Palace. During the early 1590s, he executed further frescoes in the churches of Santa Maria Maggiore and Il Gesù, but about 1595 he returned to Siena. In his native city, Salimbeni continued to paint frescoes, altarpieces, and other devotional works, sometimes in collaboration with Francesco Vanni, whose style is at times deceptively similar to his own.

This intriguing study was formerly ascribed to Federico Zuccaro (see nos. 84–86),<sup>1</sup> perhaps because that artist frequently combined red and black chalk in much the same way as in the present sheet. In 1982, however, Jacob Bean observed that it is closer in style to works by Francesco Vanni (see nos. 99–101) and Ventura Salimbeni, although in his opinion the drawing could not be attributed to either one of those draftsmen.<sup>2</sup> The sheet is nevertheless so similar to certain studies by Salimbeni that it seems to this writer worthwhile reconsidering the possibility that the Metropolitan Museum's drawing could be by him. It is, for example, very close in style to a sheet of studies by Salimbeni in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, which is preparatory for a fresco by the artist in the Bargagli Chapel, Santo Spirito, Siena.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, although Salimbeni did not often use red and black chalk together, the Museum's drawing is by no means unique in this respect,<sup>4</sup> but reflects his familiarity with the work of his Roman contemporaries, especially Federico Zuccaro and the Cavaliere d'Arpino (see no. 89).

The intended function of the sheet is equally problematic. The drawing clearly represents a fashionably dressed family kneeling before what appears to be an outdoor shrine to the Virgin Mary. Its format is that of a predella panel, and although predelle were rare in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, examples survive in Siena as they do in Florence. Alternatively, the drawing could be a study for an ex-voto.

WMG

1. See George S. Hellman, "Drawings by Italian Artists in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Print Collector's Quarterly* 6 (1916), pp. 174–75.
2. See Bean and Turčić 1982, p. 291, under no. 291.
3. Inv. no. 1287 F. See Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei baroccheschi senesi (Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni)*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), no. 87, fig. 88.
4. For example, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 10863 F. See Riedl, *Disegni dei baroccheschi senesi*, no. 78, fig. 78.

## Attributed to VENTURA SALIMBENI

### IO4 *The Ascension of Christ* (Acts 1:9–12)

Brush, with brown, gray, and cream-colored oil (?) paint, on paper. Varnished. 299 × 204 mm (11¾ × 8⅞ in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower margin of old mount, *Bar . . . from vol. 2nd N. 35.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.93.2)

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); earls of Pembroke; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 5–6, 1917, no. 491 (as Federico Barocci); [Hans Calmann].

LITERATURE: *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1962–1963*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 (October 1963), p. 63 (as anonymous, seventeenth century).

Despite its high quality and illustrious provenance, this impressive oil sketch remains unattributed, and for that reason it is neither

described nor reproduced in the Metropolitan Museum's catalogue of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian drawings. A fragmentary inscription at the lower margin of the old mount indicates the sheet was formerly thought to be by Federico Barocci, and it was ascribed to him when it was sold in London in 1917. While it is clearly not by Barocci, the drawing is quite close in style to oil sketches on paper by the artist's gifted Sienese followers Francesco Vanni (see nos. 99–101) and his half-brother Ventura Salimbeni (see no. 103).

Lawrence Turčić noted that the sheet is reminiscent in technique and handling of oil sketches by Vanni, but observed that, in the present sheet, "the types are more mannered and 'provincial.'"<sup>1</sup> However, the doll-like figures, agitated drapery, treatment of hands and faces, and even the rendering of foliage are very similar to those in small-scale devotional

paintings by Salimbeni, for example the *Crucifixion*, now in a private collection, Turin.<sup>2</sup> The sheet is also comparable to an oil sketch of the Presentation in the Temple in the collection of the duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Salimbeni had many pupils, and it is possible that the Museum's drawing for an Ascension could be by one of his little-studied followers, such as Sebastiano Folli (1568–1621).<sup>4</sup>

WMG

1. Note in Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department files.

2. See Donatella Capresi Gambelli, in Fiorella Sricchia Santoro et al., *L'Arte a Siena sotto i Medici 1555–1609*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Rome, 1980), p. 152, no. 58, repr.

3. Courtauld Institute of Art negative no. 308/52(29).

4. For Folli, see Capresi Gambelli, in Sricchia Santoro et al., *L'Arte a Siena*, pp. 163–71; Alessandro Bagnoli, "Alcuni disegni sicuri di Sebastiano Folli," *Per A. E. Popham* (Parma, 1981), pp. 97–105.

# Venice and the Veneto

MARCO BASAITI

Venice ca. 1470–Venice after 1530

## 105 Landscape with Saint Jerome

Pen and brown ink. 178 × 211 mm (7 × 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub>).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.275)

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); sale, London, Sotheby's, May 13, 1924, no. 147, repr.; Robert Lehman.

LITERATURE: Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago, 1938), vol. 2, no. 1859j, vol. 3, fig. 429 (as Piero di Cosimo); R. Langton Douglas, *Piero di Cosimo* (Chicago, 1946), p. 128, pl. 80 (as Piero di Cosimo); Sylvie Béguin, in Charles Sterling et al., *Exposition de la collection Lehman de New York*, exh. cat., Musée de l'Orangerie (Paris, 1957), no. 112 (as Venetian, about 1500); *The Lehman Collection*, exh. cat., Cincinnati Art Museum (Cincinnati, 1959), p. 24, pl. 201 (as Giovanni Bellini); Jacob Bean, *Les dessins italiens de la collection Bonnat* (Paris, 1960), under no. 110; Bernard Berenson, *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini* (Milan, 1961), vol. 2, no. 1859j, vol. 3, fig. 346 (as Piero di Cosimo); Fritz Heinemann,



*Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani* (Venice, [1962]), p. 286, no. V.467 (as near Bartolomeo Montagna); Lionello Puppi, *Bartolomeo Montagna* (Venice, 1962), p. 148, fig. 107 (as Bartolomeo Montagna?); Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 4, repr. (as Giovanni Bellini?); Creighton Gilbert, review of *Bartolomeo Montagna* by Lionello Puppi, *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967), p. 186 (as near Andrea Previtali); Zygmunt Wazbinski, "‘Vir melancholicus’: Z dziejów renesansowego obrazowania geniusza," *Folia historiae artium* 5 (1968), p. 6, fig. 8; Terisio Pignatti, *Venetian Drawings from American Collections*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Saint Louis Art Museum (n.p., 1974), no. 7, repr. (as circle of Giorgione); Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, "Bonnatiana, I," *Critica d'arte*, n.s. 42, no. 151–53 (1977), pp. 129–33, fig. 28 (as Venetian, late fifteenth century); George Szabo, *XVI Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection* (New York, 1979), no. 26, repr. (as Venetian artist, first decade of the sixteenth century); George Szabo, *XVIII Century Venetian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*, exh. cat., Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester, and elsewhere (New York, 1982), fig. 9 (as Bartolomeo Montagna or Giorgione); George Szabo, *Masterpieces of Italian Drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1983), no. 40, repr. (as Venetian, first quarter of the sixteenth century); George Szabo, *Landscape Drawings of Five Centuries, 1400–1900: From the Robert Lehman Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., Mary and Leigh Block Gallery (Chicago, 1988), no. 3, repr. (Venice, first quarter of the sixteenth century); Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 19, repr. (the Veneto, early sixteenth century); Anna Forlani Tempesti, "Validità di un metodo," in *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana* (Munich, 1992), pp. 311–13, fig. 7 (as Venetian, early sixteenth century).

Bernard Berenson, followed by R. Langton Douglas, attributed this sheet to the Florentine artist Piero di Cosimo, but most later scholars have considered it the work of a Venetian (or Venetic) draftsman of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In 1977, Carlo Ragghianti remarked that the drawing is identical in style to another landscape, also formerly in the collection of Luigi Grassi, and now in the Albertina, Vienna (fig. 105.2).<sup>2</sup> A third sheet by the same hand is in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (fig. 105.1).<sup>3</sup>

The attribution of this group of studies

remains problematic. They are among the earliest pure landscapes in Italian art, and as such there is relatively little material with which to compare them. Sylvie Béguin was the first to remark upon the affinity between the present sheet and paintings by the Venetian artist Marco Basaiti, and in recent years Bert Meijer as well as Ger Luijten have independently made the same observation with regard to the drawings in Rotterdam and Vienna.<sup>4</sup>

Basaiti remains little known as a draftsman. Only one sheet—a study in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi for Basaiti's *Dead Christ* in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice—is directly related to a painting by the artist.<sup>5</sup> The drawings under discussion differ from the study in Florence in handling and degree of finish, and even though they are not altogether incompatible with it, the comparison is not very instructive. More compelling is the relationship between the New York, Rotterdam, and Vienna sketches and the landscape backgrounds in Basaiti's paintings. For example, the rock formations and trees in the drawings are comparable to those in such pictures by Basaiti as the *Virgin and Child with Saints* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,<sup>6</sup> the *Agony in the Garden* of 1510 in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice,<sup>7</sup> and the *Calling of the Sons of Zebedee*—of which one version is signed and dated 1510 (Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice)<sup>8</sup> and another 1515 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).<sup>9</sup> The transalpine character of the architecture in all three drawings is also consistent with Basaiti's style, which owes much to the prints of Albrecht Dürer.<sup>10</sup>

WMG

1. In his review of Forlani Tempesti 1991 (*Master Drawings*, forthcoming), Carl Brandon Strelke maintains that the sheet is Tuscan, and that it could be by Sodoma. However, the only other landscape drawing that has

been attributed to Sodoma (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 402 P) is somewhat different in style. See Patrizia Zambrano, "Una proposta per il Sodoma disegnatore," in *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana* (Munich, 1992), pp. 93–99, fig. 1.

2. Inv. no. 24025. See Otto Benesch, with the assistance of Konrad Oberhuber, *Disegni veneti dell'Albertina di Vienna*, exh. cat., Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venice, 1961), no. 12, repr. (as Venetian, about 1500); Ger Luijten, in Ger Luijten and A. W. F. M. Meij, *From Pisanello to Cézanne: Master Drawings from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam*, exh. cat., Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Cleveland Museum of Art (Rotterdam, 1990), p. 171, under no. 60, fig. a (as attributed to Marco Basaiti).

3. Inv. no. I 481. See Bert W. Meijer, in Bernard Aikema and Bert W. Meijer, *Disegni veneti di collezioni olandesi*, exh. cat., Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice (Vicenza, 1985), no. 19, repr.; Luijten, in *From Pisanello to Cézanne*, no. 60, repr. (as attributed to Marco Basaiti).

4. Meijer, in *Disegni veneti di collezioni olandesi*, pp. 38–39, under no. 19; Luijten, in *From Pisanello to Cézanne*, p. 171, under no. 60.

5. Inv. no. 156 F. See Fritz Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani* (Venice, [1962]), vol. 1, p. 296, no. MB. 53 (the painting), p. 301, no. MB. 102 (the drawing), vol. 2, figs. 442 (the painting), 443 (the drawing); W. R. Rearick, *Tiziano e il disegno veneziano del suo tempo*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), no. 11, fig. 11 (the drawing).

6. See Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini*, vol. 1, p. 293, no. MB. 29, vol. 2, fig. 438; Luijten, in *From Pisanello to Cézanne*, p. 171, under no. 60, fig. b.

7. See Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini*, vol. 1, p. 294, no. MB. 39, vol. 2, fig. 447.

8. See Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini*, vol. 1, p. 294, no. MB. 37, vol. 2, fig. 448; Luijten, in *From Pisanello to Cézanne*, p. 171, under no. 60, fig. c.

9. See Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini*, vol. 1, p. 294, no. MB. 38, vol. 2, fig. 450.

10. The treatment of the rocks and vegetation in a watercolor in the Uffizi (inv. no. 1700 F), attributed to Basaiti on the basis of an early inscription, may be adduced as further evidence of his authorship of the drawings in New York, Rotterdam, and Vienna. See Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini*, vol. 1, p. 302, no. MB. 112, vol. 2, fig. 479; Rearick, *Tiziano e il disegno veneziano*, no. 12, fig. 13; W. Roger Rearick, in *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1993), p. 24, repr., p. 278, no. 12.

## GIOVANNI ANTONIO DA PORDENONE

Pordenone (Friuli) ca. 1483/84–Ferrara 1539

### 106 *Design for the Decoration of a Pilaster*

Verso: *Design for the Decoration of a Pilaster*

Red chalk (recto and verso). 325 × 208 mm  
(12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower margin,  
*Correggio*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hewitt Fund, 1917  
(19.76.12)

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); Jonathan Richardson, Sr.? (fragment of old backing inscribed in pen and brown ink, *L.51.*, possibly his mark); earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, Wilton House, Salisbury; Pembroke sale, Sotheby's, London, July 5–6, 9–10, 1917, no. 409 (as Correggio).

LITERATURE: S. Arthur Strong, *Reproductions in Facsimile of Drawings by the Old Masters in the Collection of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery at Wilton House* (London, 1900), pt. 5, no. 47, repr. (as Correggio); Adolfo Venturi, "Studi sul Correggio," *L'Arte* 5 (1902), pp. 353–54 (as Bernardino Gatti); T. Sturge Moore, *Correggio* (London, 1906), p. 265, no. 29 (as Correggio); Bryson Burroughs, "Drawings among the Recent Accessions," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 14 (1919), p. 176 (as Correggio); Corrado Ricci, *Correggio* (London and New York, 1930), p. 185 (as not by Correggio); Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), no. 1360 (as Pordenone); Charlotte Heaton-Sessions, "Drawings Attributed to Correggio at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Art Bulletin* 36 (1954), pp. 225–26, fig. 6 (as Pomponio Allegri); A. E. Popham, *Correggio's Drawings* (London, 1957), pp. 62, 159, no. 47, pl. LIII (as Correggio); Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 69, repr. (as Correggio); Myron Laskin, Jr., "A Note on Correggio and Pordenone," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (June 1967), pp. 355–56, figs. 38 (recto), 39 (verso) (as Pordenone); A. Carlo Quintavalle, *L'opera completa del Correggio* (Milan, 1970), p. 114, repr. (as Correggio); A. Ghidiglia Quintavalle, in *Arte in Emilia 4: Capolavori ritrovati e artisti inediti dal '300 al '700*, exh. cat. (Parma, 1971), p. 55; Italo Furlan, "Appunti su opere del Pordenone in Friuli," *Il Noncello*, no. 35 (1972), p. 148 (as Pordenone); David A. Brown, "A Decorative Drawing by Correggio," *Master Drawings* 13, no. 2 (1975), p. 136; Charles E. Cohen, *The*

*Drawings of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone* (Florence, 1980), pp. 11, 100–101, figs. 54 (recto), 56 (verso); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 193, repr.; Vittorio Sgarbi, “Pordenone e la maniera: tra Lotto e Correggio,” in Paolo Ceschi Lavagetto, ed., *Giornata di studio per il Pordenone Piacenza S. Maria di Campagna 26 settembre 1981* (Parma, 1983), p. 68; De Grazia 1984, no. 89, repr. (recto and verso); Charles E. Cohen, “I disegni del Pordenone: fonti e sviluppo,” in *Il Pordenone*, exh. cat. by Caterina Furlan, Villa Manin, Passariano, and San Francesco (Pordenone, 1984), pp. 181–83, figs. 66, 67.

This drawing was long regarded as the work of Correggio, whose name is inscribed at the lower edge of the sheet. Although the Tietzes proposed Pordenone’s authorship as early as 1944,<sup>1</sup> it was not until Myron Laskin connected the studies on the recto and verso with the painted pilasters flanking the entrance of the Pallavicini Chapel in San Francesco, Cortemaggiore (figs. 106.1, 106.2), executed by the Friulian artist around 1529, that the correct attribution was firmly established.<sup>2</sup>

Pordenone was active in Cremona, Treviso, Mantua, Genoa, Venice, and in various cities in Emilia in addition to his native Friuli. Although other artists whose work he encountered during his peripatetic career—Titian, Raphael, Sebastiano del Piombo—as well as German prints had a more profound and enduring impact on his style, the example of Correggio was of considerable importance. Their frescoes share a dramatic and unprecedented “proto-Baroque” illusionism which signals an awareness of and conceivably a dependence on each other’s experiments, although the question of priority remains open to debate, and Correggio’s influence is apparent in Pordenone’s organ shutters in Spilimbergo and his frescoes in Piacenza and Cortemaggiore.<sup>3</sup> Pordenone’s responsiveness to Correggio is also discernible in a number of his drawings, among them the Metropolitan Museum study for the Pallavicini Chapel pilasters.

The morphologies of the figures are reminiscent of the Emilian artist, and the handling of the red chalk—the soft, searching contours, delicate modeling, and shadowy *sfumato*—is also akin to Correggio’s graphic style. The sculptural volume of forms and energetic, spiraling movement are typical of Pordenone’s vigorous draftsmanship.

LWS

1. Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), no. 1360.

2. Myron Laskin, Jr., “A Note on Correggio and Pordenone,” *Burlington Magazine* 109 (June 1967), pp. 355–56.

3. On Correggio’s influence on Pordenone, see Laskin, “A Note on Correggio and Pordenone,” pp. 355–56; and Charles E. Cohen, “I disegni del Pordenone: fonti e sviluppo,” in *Il Pordenone*, exh. cat. by Caterina Furlan, Villa Manin, Passariano, and San Francesco (Pordenone, 1984), pp. 181–83. It is possible that Pordenone first encountered Correggio in Rome, where both artists may have been present around 1518.

## SEBASTIANO LUCIANI, called SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO

Venice 1485–Rome 1547

### 107 *The Christ Child and Saint John the Baptist*

Black and some white chalk, on blue paper. 86 × 115 mm (3⅜ × 4½ in.).

Inscribed in pencil on reverse of old mount, Baldassar Peruzzi. and Peruzzi 93a / #57.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1975 (1975.89)

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (Lugt 2184); [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: Jacob Bean, *European Drawings Recently Acquired, 1972–1975*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1975), no. 30, repr.; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1974–1975* (New York, 1975), p. 50; Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford, 1981), p. 138, pl. 177; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 237, repr.

After an early period of activity in his native Venice, where he was a close follower of Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo spent his entire career in Rome. He became a disciple of Michelangelo, who provided him with drawings for his major commissions until the early 1530s, when the two artists had a falling out over the *Last Judgment* that Michelangelo was about to undertake in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>1</sup> Although Sebastiano produced portraits and devotional images through the end of his career, his artistic activity slackened after this estrangement, which closely followed his appointment to the curial office of Piombatore, or Keeper of the Papal Seal, by his long-standing patron, Clement VII. Many of the studies that Michelangelo executed for Sebastiano during their extended association were at one time ascribed to the Venetian artist, and it was only through the critical efforts of Johannes Wilde in the middle of this century,<sup>2</sup> which restored to Michelangelo the drawings in question, that Sebastiano's personality as a draftsman was clarified.

Executed in black chalk, Sebastiano's preferred medium, the *Christ Child and Saint John the Baptist* has been dated to the 1530s.<sup>3</sup> The technique and subject matter link it to a large sheet in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, representing the Holy Family, in which the Christ Child appears in a similar guise.<sup>4</sup> Michael Hirst has noted that the pose of the naked Christ holding a globe recalls Parmigianino's *Madonna della Rosa* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), a work which evidently belonged to Clement VII and which the Venetian artist could therefore have known firsthand.<sup>5</sup> The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist was treated in a late painting by Sebastiano, the *Madonna del Velo* now in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples;<sup>6</sup> although the composition, which is based on an earlier

painting of this subject by the artist, differs from the Metropolitan Museum drawing, it is possible, given the similarity of the pose of the Christ Child, that this sheet constitutes an early idea for that work.

LWS

1. See Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 123–24.
2. A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London, 1949); Johannes Wilde, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Michelangelo and His Studio* (London, 1953).
3. Hirst, *Sebastiano*, p. 138; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 237. Hirst suggests that the drawing may be cut down.
4. Inv. no. 4813. See Popham and Wilde, *Italian Drawings . . . at Windsor Castle*, no. 923, pl. 80.
5. Hirst, *Sebastiano*, p. 138.
6. Hirst, *Sebastiano*, pp. 137–39; Mauro Lucco, *L'opera completa di Sebastiano del Piombo* (Milan, 1980), no. 91, pl. LXIII.

## TITIAN (TIZIANO VECELLIO)

Pieve di Cadore ca. 1488/90–Venice 1576

### 108 *Landscape with a Goat*

Pen and brown ink. 97 × 153 mm (3<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6 in.). Lined.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Herring and Mr. John D. Herring, 1991 (1991.462)

PROVENANCE: William Esdaile (Lugt 2617); Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); Paul L. and John D. Herring.

LITERATURE: M. Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, "Per un catalogo ragionato dei disegni di Tiziano," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 16 (1988), pp. 29, 37, no. 4; M. Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, "Un nuovo disegno di Tiziano," *Venezia arti* 3 (1989), pp. 161–63; M. Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano: Corpus dei disegni autografi* (Milan, 1989), no. 4, repr.; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1991–1992* (New York, 1992), p. 29; William M. Griswold, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1991–1992*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 50, no. 2 (1992), p. 25, repr.

Given Titian's incalculable historical significance as a painter, it is remarkable how little agreement exists regarding his work as a draftsman. Thus the Metropolitan Museum's well-known study of a group of trees, included in the 1965–66 presentation of drawings from New York collections organized by Jacob Bean and Felice Stampfle, has been plausibly demoted to the status of an early forgery, drawn over a pale counterproof of Titian's woodcut *The Sacrifice of Abraham*.<sup>1</sup> The present sketch, on the contrary, is a fairly recent discovery, and constitutes an important addition to the small corpus of the artist's known drawings.

The sheet is close in style to several others that may be among Titian's earliest extant works. These include a *Landscape with a Goat* in the Musée du Louvre<sup>2</sup> and a sketch in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi which depicts an alpine landscape with an eagle.<sup>3</sup> Another, more problematic drawing in the same style is the *Alpine Village with Two Lovers*—known in at least four versions, of which the best is at Chatsworth.<sup>4</sup> Each of these sheets is drawn in pen and ink, and each represents a pastoral landscape with rustic farm buildings of the kind with which Titian would have been familiar from the countryside surrounding his birthplace at Pieve di Cadore in the foothills of the Alps. In all of the related drawings, closely spaced vertical and horizontal strokes describe the architecture, while more vigorous, curvilinear pen work indicates the features of the landscape.

Scholars concur that these sheets were drawn relatively early in Titian's career, when he was profoundly influenced by Giorgione (ca. 1477/78–1510). The exact date, however, remains controversial. Chiari Moretto Wiel argues that they were executed during the first decade of the sixteenth century;<sup>5</sup> Oberhuber and Rearick date them about 1511–12;<sup>6</sup> and

Wethey proposes that they were made in 1512–15.<sup>7</sup> The problem is unresolved, but marked similarities between the treatment of the landscape and architecture in the present drawing and in Titian's frescoes (documented 1510–11) in the Scuola del Santo, Padua,<sup>8</sup> as well as in the *Noli me tangere* of about 1512 in the National Gallery, London,<sup>9</sup> suggest that the Metropolitan Museum's sheet may date from much the same period.

The fragmentary sketch at the upper left margin of the drawing represents part of the head of a bearded man. Clearly, the drawing has been trimmed, and it has been suggested—albeit with scant evidence—that this sketch was formerly part of the same sheet as the *Alpine Landscape with an Eagle* in the Uffizi.<sup>10</sup>

WMG

1. Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.227.38). See Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 58, repr. (as Titian); Peter Dreyer, "Tizianfälschungen des sechszenten Jahrhunderts," *Pantheon* 27, no. 4 (1979), pp. 365–75, figs. 7, 9, 10 (as the work of a forger); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 249 (as Titian?); Konrad Oberhuber, in *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1993), p. 111, repr., p. 460, no. 103 (as Titian).

2. Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. no. 5539. See Konrad Oberhuber, with the assistance of Hilliard Goldfarb, *Disegni di Tiziano e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice (Vicenza, 1976), no. 19, repr.; Harold E. Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings: With Reference to Giorgione and Some Close Contemporaries* (Princeton, 1987), no. 32, fig. 74; M. Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano: Corpus dei disegni autografi* (Milan, 1989), no. 1, repr.; Oberhuber, in *Le siècle de Titien*, p. 110, repr., p. 459, no. 101.

3. Inv. no. 937 P. See Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano*, no. 14, repr.; W. R. Rearick, *Tiziano e il disegno veneziano del suo tempo*, exh. cat., Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976), no. 18, fig. 17; Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings*, no. 33, fig. 76; Chiari Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano*, no. 3, repr.

4. Inv. no. 749 B. See Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano*, no. 15, repr.; Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings*, no. 34, fig. 70; Chiari Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano*, no. 2, repr.

A version of the composition, also at Chatsworth, has sometimes been attributed to Titian, but is more

likely a copy (inv. no. 749 A). See Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano*, no. 16, repr. (as a copy after Titian); Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings*, no. 34a, fig. 71 (as Titian).

Other versions are in the Département des Arts Graphiques of the Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. 5581), and the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (inv. no. KdZ 16065). See Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings*, pp. 152–53, under no. 34a, figs. 72 and 73, respectively.

5. Chiari Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano*, pp. 81–82, under nos. 1–3.

6. Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano*, p. 69, under no. 19; Rearick, *Tiziano e il disegno veneziano*, p. 43, under no. 18.

7. Wethey, *Titian and His Drawings*, pp. 151–52, under nos. 32–34.

8. See Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 3 vols. (London, 1969), vol. 1, nos. 93–95, pls. 139–43.

9. See Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, vol. 1, no. 80, pl. 71.

10. Chiari Moretto Wiel, *Tiziano*, p. 82, under no. 4.

## DOMENICO CAMPAGNOLA

Venice (?) 1500–Padua 1564

### 109 *Landscape with an Old Woman Holding a Spindle*

Pen and brown ink. 255 × 370 mm (10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 14<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).  
Lined.

Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower margin, right of center, *P*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.243)

PROVENANCE: Prosper Henry Lankrink (Lugt 2090); Mark Oliver; R. E. A. Wilson (according to Virch); Walter C. Baker.

LITERATURE: *Drawings by Old Masters*, exh. cat., Savile Gallery (London, 1930), no. 7, repr. (as Cariani); K. T. Parker, "Sidelights on Watteau," *Old Master Drawings* 10 (1935), p. 8; K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné* (Paris, 1957), vol. 1, p. 58, under no. 439; Aldo Bertini, *I disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino* (Rome, 1958), p. 21, under no. 76; Claus Virch, *Master Drawings in the Walter C. Baker Collection* (New York, 1962), no. 11; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 40, repr.; Jacob Bean, with the assistance of Lawrence Turčić, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986), p. 298,

under no. 334; Paula Volent, in Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann et al., *Creative Copies: Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*, exh. cat., Drawing Center (New York, 1988), pp. 146–48, under no. 41, repr.

Domenico Campagnola was born of German parents, but at about the age of ten he was adopted by the painter and engraver Giulio Campagnola (1482–after 1515). Like his adoptive father, Domenico was a talented printmaker, and his earliest engravings, signed and dated 1517, reflect his familiarity with works by Giorgione (1477 or 1478–1510) and the young Titian (see no. 108). He spent most of his life in Padua, where he executed frescoes in the Scuola del Carmine and the Scuola del Santo. In 1531, Domenico painted the ceiling of the Scuola di Santa Maria del Parto in Padua, and the following year he is recorded in Venice, working side by side with Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (see no. 106), whose style had considerable impact upon the younger artist's subsequent development as a painter. Most of Domenico's work as a draftsman was made for sale to collectors, and his Titianesque landscape drawings in particular exercised enormous influence upon later artists, including Girolamo Muziano (see no. 71) as well as Agostino (1557–1602) and Annibale Carracci (1560–1609).

Although somewhat faded, this sheet is an exceptionally fine but otherwise typical example of Domenico Campagnola's work as a landscape draftsman. An early copy, quite close in style to the original, is in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin.<sup>1</sup> During the eighteenth century, when it may have belonged to the French collector Pierre Crozat, the present drawing was again copied, this time in red chalk, by Antoine Watteau (1684–1721); Watteau's copy is now also in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>2</sup>

WMG

1. Inv. no. 15962. See Aldo Bertini, *I disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino* (Rome, 1958), no. 76, repr.
2. Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.237). The drawing measures 206 × 319 mm, and is thus somewhat smaller than Campagnola's original. See K. T. Parker, "Sidelights on Watteau," *Old Master Drawings* 10 (1935), p. 8, pl. 7; K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné* (Paris, 1957), vol. 1, no. 439, repr.; Jacob Bean, with the assistance of Lawrence Turčić, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986), no. 334, repr.; Paula Volent, in Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann et al., *Creative Copies: Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*, exh. cat., Drawing Center (New York, 1988), no. 41, repr.

## IIO *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (Luke 7:36–50)

Pen and brown ink. 280 × 422 mm (11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

B. H. Breslauer

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); William, second duke of Devonshire (Lugt 718); sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, no. 5, repr.

LITERATURE: Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), no. 434; *Italian Art and Britain*, exh. cat. compiled by Denis Mahon et al., Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1960), no. 557.

Although better known for his pen sketches of pastoral landscapes, Domenico Campagnola also executed a large number of figural drawings in the same style and technique. The present sheet represents a passage from the Gospel according to Saint Luke. While Christ was at table in the house of Simon the Pharisee, a penitent harlot (later identified with Mary Magdalen) entered, "and stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them . . ." (Luke 7:38). The compositional source for Campagnola's drawing may be a print of the same subject by Marc-

antonio Raimondi (ca. 1480–before 1534), in which the figure of the penitent woman, in particular, is strikingly similar.<sup>1</sup>

Dated by the Tietzes to Campagnola's "late period," this sheet is one of a sizable number of drawings by the artist that formerly belonged to Peter Lely. Many of these were subsequently acquired—possibly as early as 1694—by William Cavendish, later second duke of Devonshire, and comprise some of the more than two dozen drawings attributed to Campagnola still in the collection at Chatsworth.

WMG

1. *The Illustrated Bartsch, 26: The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School* (New York, 1978), p. 37 [B. XIV, 23-1]. I am grateful to Linda Wolk-Simon for pointing out the possible relationship between the drawing and the print.

## POMPONIO AMALTEO

Motta di Livenza 1505–San Vito al Tagliamento 1588

## III *Susanna and the Elders before Daniel* (Daniel 13:44–63)

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk, on gray-green paper. The head of the woman to the right of Susanna is a pentimento that has been pasted onto the sheet. Squared in black chalk. 388 × 555 mm (15<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 21<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). Stains.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1966 (66.93.2)

PROVENANCE: Paul Sandby (Lugt 2112); Sir Edward J. Poynter, Bart.; sale, Sotheby's, London, April 24–25, 1918, no. 133 (as Pordenone); earl of Harewood; sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1965, no. 133, repr. (as Pordenone); [Colnaghi].

LITERATURE: *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings*, Colnaghi (London, 1966), no. 8, pl. 11 (as Pordenone); *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1966–1967*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26 (1967–68), p. 60 (as Pordenone); Charles E. Cohen, "Drawings by Pomponio Amalteo,"

*Master Drawings* 11, no. 3 (1973), pp. 249–50, pl. 5; Charles E. Cohen, “Two Projects by Pordenone and Pomponio Amalteo,” *Pantheon* 31, no. 3 (1973), pp. 248–51, fig. 14; Charles E. Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo* (Pordenone, 1975), pp. 38–43, fig. 25; Italo Furlan, “Pomponio Amalteo disegnatore,” *Il Noncello* 41 (1975), pp. 9–10, fig. 8; Charles E. Cohen, *The Drawings of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone* (Florence, 1980), p. 39, fig. 152; Luigi Menegazzi, ed., *Amalteo*, exh. cat. by Charles E. Cohen et al., Museo Civico (Pordenone, 1980), pp. 81, 83, fig. 13; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 6, repr.; Caterina Furlan, *Il Pordenone* (Milan, 1988), p. 231, under no. 91, p. 303, under no. D64.

This drawing is a study for one of three much-damaged scenes of judgment that were commissioned by Cardinal Marino Grimani to decorate the Municipal Loggia at Ceneda (now Vittorio Veneto), north of Treviso.<sup>1</sup> Although the frescoes at Ceneda were formerly attributed to Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (see no. 106), they are now acknowledged to be the work of his pupil, son-in-law, and close follower, Pomponio Amalteo. While Amalteo's paintings usually do not have the dramatic impact of those by his teacher, he did mimic Pordenone's illusionism and shared his preference for exaggeratedly massive figures, perpetuating the older artist's style well into the second half of the sixteenth century.

Charles Cohen has associated a number of preparatory drawings with the frescoes at Ceneda. These include a rapid pen sketch in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan,<sup>2</sup> that is related to the *Justice of Trajan* on the rear wall of the loggia, as well as a more finished compositional study for the same scene in the Musée du Louvre.<sup>3</sup> Both of these Cohen ascribes to Pordenone, as he does a study in the Louvre for the *Judgment of Solomon* on one of the side walls.<sup>4</sup> Pordenone's authorship of these three preparatory drawings suggests that the commission for the frescoes at Ceneda might originally have been awarded to him.<sup>5</sup> If

so, Amalteo may have been entrusted with the project upon his father-in-law's definitive departure from the Friuli for Venice in 1535. In any event, Amalteo's work at Ceneda probably dates from the second half of the 1530s.<sup>6</sup>

The rather dry, overly meticulous pen work of the Metropolitan Museum's study for the *Judgment of Daniel* is consistent with that of other drawings by Amalteo, although here the pupil comes closer than in most works to the style of his master. Other drawings related to the *Judgment of Daniel* are in the Musée du Louvre;<sup>7</sup> in a Dutch private collection;<sup>8</sup> and (formerly) on the art market in New York.<sup>9</sup> While the Louvre study is by Amalteo, the other two sheets are clearly copies. The drawing in the Metropolitan Museum comes closer to the parts of the fresco that are still legible than any of the other sheets that have been associated with the composition. The Museum's study also corresponds better than the others to Carlo Ridolfi's description of the loggia, published in 1648, according to which Susanna stood with her hands clasped and looked heavenward as she does in the present work;<sup>10</sup> in the Louvre drawing, on the other hand, her head is bent and her arms are at her sides.

WMG

1. See Charles E. Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo* (Pordenone, 1975), pp. 27–43, figs. 13 (*The Justice of Trajan*), 20 (*The Judgment of Solomon*), 22 (*The Judgment of Daniel*); Caterina Furlan, *Il Pordenone* (Milan, 1988), p. 341, no. A41, all three frescoes repr.

2. Inv. no. Cod. F 263 Inf. 69. Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo*, p. 29, fig. 14, pp. 31–32; Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, p. 300, no. D62, repr.

3. Inv. no. 5426. Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo*, pp. 32–35, fig. 18; Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, pp. 300–301, no. D63, repr.

4. Inv. no. 5424. Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo*, pp. 35–36, 39, fig. 21; Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, pp. 300, 302–3, no. D64, repr.



5. See Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, p. 341, under no. A41.
6. Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, p. 341, under no. A41.
7. Inv. no. 5425. See Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo*, pp. 36, 38, 42, fig. 24.
8. See Cohen, *I disegni di Pomponio Amalteo*, pp. 36, 40, fig. 23 (as after Pomponio Amalteo).
9. Photograph in Metropolitan Museum Drawings Department files.
10. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (Venice, 1648), p. 98: "... l'innocente Susanna nó guari lontana con le mani aggroppate mira il Cielo, accompagnata da molte donne."

## JACOPO DA PONTE, called JACOPO BASSANO

Bassano del Grappa ca. 1510–Bassano del Grappa  
1592

### II2 *Head of Saint Joseph*

Black, white, and red chalk, some red wash, on faded blue paper. 156 × 130 mm (6⅞ × 5⅛ in.). Lined.

Inscribed in pen on mat, *Tiziano Vecelli fece.*

Private collection

PROVENANCE: unidentified collector's mark consisting of the letter M inside an oval.

LITERATURE: Felice Stampfle and Cara D. Denison, *Drawings from the Collection of Lore and Rudolf Heinemann*, exh. cat., Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, 1973), no. 27, repr. (as attributed to Jacopo Bassano); W. R. Rearick, "Early Drawings of Jacopo Bassano," *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978), pp. 166, 168 n. 14, repr. p. 165, fig. 7 (as Jacopo Bassano); W. R. Rearick, *Jacobus a Ponte Bassanensis: Disegni giovanili e della prima maturità (1538–1548)* (Bassano del Grappa, 1986), vol. 1, 4, pl. III; *Jacopo Bassano c. 1510–1592*, exh. cat., Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa, and Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (Bologna, 1992), no. 82, repr. (entry by Vittoria Romani).

Jacopo Bassano was one of the most original draftsmen of the sixteenth century. Like most Venetian artists of his generation, his debt to Titian was profound.<sup>1</sup> His early drawings betray the influence of the older master in the

bold, rough handling of black chalk accented with luminous touches of white. In the 1540s, he expanded his range of media, exploring what would come to be known as a *trois crayons* technique. His innovative experiments with colored chalks on blue paper allowed Bassano to achieve the rich pictorial and coloristic effects of painting in his graphic work. This painterly approach to drawing finds close parallels in the independent efforts of Barocci later in the century (see nos. 76–78).

The present drawing was recognized by Roger Rearick in 1978 as a preparatory study for the head of Saint Joseph in Bassano's *Flight into Egypt*, which was commissioned for the church of Santissima Annunziata in Ancona (fig. II2.1).<sup>2</sup> Executed around 1542 and now in the Toledo Museum of Art, the painting exhibits a Lombard-derived naturalism that is a hallmark of Bassano's early style. This naturalism would soon be eclipsed by mannerist artifice and exaggeration inspired by Francesco Salviati (see nos. 25, 26) and his Venetian disciple, Giuseppe Porta (see no. 117)—a shift in style that has been described as a period of crisis in Bassano's art.<sup>3</sup> The *Head of Saint Joseph*, which demonstrates the artist's preeminent concern with accurately describing the furrowed, rugged visage of the bearded old man, is a product of the earlier moment of Bassano's activity. Datable roughly to the year 1542 on the basis of its connection with the Toledo painting, the drawing is one of the earliest-known examples of Bassano's colored-chalk technique.

LWS

1. Titian's influence on Bassano has been most recently discussed by Francesco Valcanover, "Le dernier Titien et le fin du siècle à Venise," in *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1993), p. 605.

2. W. R. Rearick, "Early Drawings of Jacopo Bassano," *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978), p. 166. On the painting, see *Jacopo Bassano c. 1510–1592*, exh. cat., Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa, and Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (Bologna, 1992), no. 11. The painting left Ancona when it was sold in 1801.

3. *Jacopo Bassano*, under no. 13.

## BATTISTA FRANCO

Venice ca. 1510–Venice 1561

### II3 *The Penitent Thief on the Cross*

Pen and brown ink; outlines incised for transfer. 399 × 256 mm (15¾ × 10¼ in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.8)

PROVENANCE: earls of Pembroke; Pembroke sale, Sotheby's, London, July 5–6, 9–10, 1917, part of no. 415; Walter C. Baker, New York.

LITERATURE: Claus Virch, *Master Drawings in the Collection of Walter C. Baker* (New York, 1962), no. 13; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report 1971–1972* (New York, 1972), p. 39; Jacob Bean, *European Drawings Recently Acquired, 1972–1975*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1975), no. 19; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 85, repr.

One of the most prolific draftsmen of the sixteenth century, Battista Franco was active in Venice, Rome, Florence, and Urbino. Although a native of Venice, he became an ardent admirer of Michelangelo following an early trip to Rome, and his graphic style is strictly rooted in central Italian *disegno*. Vasari spoke disparagingly of his abilities as a painter while referring to his near obsession with drawing, remarking that Franco was "ostinato in una certa openione che hanno molti, il quali si fanno a credere che il disegno basti a chi vuol dipignere."<sup>1</sup>

Franco's graphic oeuvre is comprised largely of fluid pen sketches, many of antique

subjects. Chalk figure studies by the artist also exist in some number. Most of his drawings cannot be connected with finished works, but some have been recognized as preparatory designs for paintings, majolica, and prints. This sheet is a study for the good thief in Franco's etching *Christ on the Cross between the Two Thieves* (fig. 113.1).<sup>2</sup> Its unusual style, distinguished by precise contours and meticulous hatching analogous in precision to an engraving, is explained by the drawing's function. That this study served as the actual model for the print, in which the figure appears in the same scale but in reverse, is attested by the incised contours, which indicate that the sheet was traced through onto the plate.

Another drawing by Battista Franco for the same print, the *Unrepentant Thief on the Cross*, is also in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 113.2).<sup>3</sup>

LWS

1. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 6, p. 572.

2. *The Illustrated Bartsch, 32: Italian Artists of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1979), p. 168 [B. XVI, 12].

3. Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.7); Bean and Turčić, no. 86, repr.

### II4 *Gods on Olympus*

Pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash. 168 × 191 mm (6⅝ × 7½ in.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library (IV, 72; I.16.7)

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); Charles Fairfax Murray, London; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, vol. 4 (London, 1912), no. 72.

The story of Cupid and Psyche, narrated by the ancient Roman poet Apuleius in *The Golden Ass* (Books 4–6), was a favorite subject

in the Renaissance. Episodes from the Psyche legend were depicted in a number of sixteenth-century secular decorations such as the frescoes by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua and Perino del Vaga in Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome. The most celebrated and influential pictorial treatment of this late-antique fairy tale is the cycle by Raphael and his workshop in the loggia of the Villa Farnesina, Rome, executed around 1518.

This drawing by Battista Franco illustrates a central episode of the Psyche legend—the moment when the mortal Psyche, having successfully overcome the obstacles laid before her by Venus, is presented by Cupid to the Olympian gods. Surrounding Jupiter, who extends his hand in greeting, the assembled deities include Venus, Mars, the two-faced Janus, Diana, Neptune, and Mercury. An earlier moment of the narrative is represented in the upper part of the composition, where Mercury, identified by his winged messenger's hat, transports Psyche to Olympus. An engraving of the council of the gods by the Master of the Die, produced in the 1530s, evidently provided the source for Franco's design, in which a number of similarly disposed deities appear, likewise framed in a circular cloud bank (fig. 114.1).

The circular shape of the composition suggests that the Morgan Library drawing may be a design for majolica. Battista Franco executed a number of majolica designs for the duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo della Rovere, in whose service he worked intermittently between 1545 and 1551. These were produced by the majolica manufacture in Castel Durante.<sup>1</sup> His most important effort was a vast service illustrating the history of Troy, pieces of which are now scattered among a number of collections. A drawing by Franco for this service in the Musée du Louvre, which represents

Achilles donning his armor, is executed in the same style and technique as the present study.<sup>2</sup> In light of the possibility that the Morgan drawing is a design for majolica, it should be noted that a majolica plate illustrating the council of the gods, based on the above-mentioned engraving by the Master of the Die, was produced in Urbino in 1543.<sup>3</sup>

LWS

1. On Battista Franco's majolica designs, see Timothy Clifford and J. V. G. Mallet, "Battista Franco as a Designer for Majolica," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (June 1976), pp. 387–410.

2. Inv. no. 3005.

3. An example of this plate is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; see Bernard Rackham, with emendations and additional bibliography by J. V. G. Mallet, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Italian Maiolica* (London, 1977), vol. 1, no. 904, vol. 2, pl. 145.

## 115 *Design for the Decoration of an Apse*

Pen and brown ink, gray wash, over black chalk.  
499 × 335 mm (19<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed on verso in graphite, *Raphael Urbino*.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: sale, Sotheby's, London, July 21, 1966, part of lot 59 (as Florentine School, seventeenth century); Chiltern Art Gallery.

LITERATURE: Konrad Oberhuber, ed., *Renaissance and Baroque Drawings from the Collections of John and Alice Steiner*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown; J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), no. 13, repr. (entry by Thomas R. Sylvester); Peter Ward-Jackson, *Italian Drawings: Volume One, 14th–16th Century*, Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues (London, 1979), under no. 140; Edward J. Olszewski, with the assistance of Jane Glaubinger, *The Draftsman's Eye: Late Italian Renaissance Schools and Styles*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979 (Cleveland, 1981), no. 47, repr.; Alfred Moir, ed., *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of John and Alice Steiner*, exh. cat., Yale University Art

Gallery; Santa Barbara Museum of Art; Springfield Museum of Fine Arts; Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary (Santa Barbara, 1986), no. 21, repr. (entry by Richard Serros).

This drawing records an elaborate scheme for the walls and semidome of an apse. Separated by *all'antica* grotesque decorations, the coffers of the semidome contain scenes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ. Two episodes from the life of the Virgin, the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple, are represented in the large fields below. The archangel Gabriel appears at the upper left, his presence indicating that the Virgin Annunciate was to have been depicted in the spandrel to the right of the semidome. God the Father surrounded by a choir of putti descends through a feigned oculus above. The design is striking in its combination of a Roman decorative vocabulary—the articulation of the semidome recalls Peruzzi's Ponzetti Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace, Rome<sup>1</sup>—with a North Italian illusionism that derives from Pordenone (see no. 106).<sup>2</sup>

A drawing by Battista Franco in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which corresponds almost exactly in scale to the present sheet, delineates the identical scheme as that recorded in the upper part of the composition (fig. 115.1).<sup>3</sup> The New York drawing includes the zone below the entablature and is thus of significant interest because it documents the entire scheme of which the London study is only a partial record.

Noting the relationship between these two drawings and calculating the approximate dimensions of the actual doorway represented at the lower center of the present sheet, Peter Ward-Jackson inferred the size of the church for which the design was intended, and tentatively proposed a connection with Battista Franco's campaign in the cathedral of Urbino—the only monumental ecclesiastical decoration

of this scale carried out by the artist.<sup>4</sup> Commissioned by the duke of Urbino and completed in 1546, this work was destroyed when part of the church collapsed in an earthquake in 1789. Ward-Jackson's suggestion remains speculative, particularly since the specific subject mentioned by Vasari as having been painted by Franco—the Coronation of the Virgin with prophets, patriarchs, sibyls, apostles, and martyrs in the dome of the tribune<sup>5</sup>—does not appear in the design preserved in the London and New York drawings. But Vasari referred only to the ceiling painting, whereas the drawings clearly record a scheme for the semidome and walls of the apse—possibly an early idea which was not ultimately realized. The lack of correspondence between the drawings and the biographer's account thus has little bearing on the question, and Ward-Jackson's hypothesis that these studies relate to the Urbino cathedral program has much to recommend it. If the sheet here under discussion does indeed document some stage of this commission, it provides a valuable record of a major lost decoration by Battista Franco.

LWS

1. On the Ponzetti Chapel decorations, completed by Peruzzi in 1516, see Christoph Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11, suppl. (Vienna and Munich, 1967/68), no. 42, figs. xxvib, xxvii.

2. The illusionistically rendered figure of God the Father with putti descending into the dome recalls Pordenone's frescoes of the same subject in San Francesco, Cortemaggiore (Piacenza), and in the Duomo in Treviso, the latter destroyed in the Second World War. See S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500–1600*, 2d ed. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1983), pp. 292, 298, fig. 124.

3. Inv. no. 97; Peter Ward-Jackson, *Italian Drawings: Volume One, 14th–16th Century*, Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues (London, 1979), no. 140.

4. Ward-Jackson, *Italian Drawings*, no. 140.

5. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. 6, p. 580.

JACOPO ROBUSTI, called  
JACOPO TINTORETTO

Venice 1518–Venice 1594

II6 *Samson Killing the Philistines*

Black and white chalk on blue paper (recto); studies of the same group on verso. 415 × 270 mm (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Dr. and Mrs. Victor Bloch; sale, Sotheby's, London, November 12, 1964, no. 113.

Although he never traveled to Florence, Tintoretto was familiar with Michelangelo's sculptures in the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo by means of the small-scale replicas sent to him, according to the biographer Ridolfi, by the sculptor's close follower Daniele da Volterra.<sup>1</sup> It was presumably from the same source that the Venetian artist acquired a wax or clay bozzetto of Michelangelo's model for his unexecuted *Samson and the Philistines*, designed around 1530 for the Piazza della Signoria in Florence.<sup>2</sup> Like the Medici Chapel figures, Michelangelo's *Samson* group was repeatedly copied in drawings by Tintoretto and his assistants.<sup>3</sup> As these studies amply attest, the spiraling, energetic forms of Michelangelo's group exercised a particular appeal for Tintoretto, whose canvases are populated with such twisting, animated figures. The study of Michelangelo was, in fact, a central tenet of Tintoretto's style, the artist wishing to combine "il disegno di Michel Angelo e'l colorito di Titiano."<sup>4</sup>

Invariably executed in black and white chalk on blue paper and frequently occupying both sides of the sheet, Tintoretto's *Samson* drawings exist in a number of collections. A fine example is the present sheet, whose sureness of handling suggests that it is the work of the master rather than a pupil. Other draw-

ings by Tintoretto of this group are to be found in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford;<sup>5</sup> the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne;<sup>6</sup> the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon;<sup>7</sup> the Stanford University Art Museum;<sup>8</sup> and elsewhere. Of these versions, the New York sheet is unique in showing the torso of Samson in a strictly frontal pose.

LWS

1. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato* (Venice, 1648), reprint edition, ed. D. von Hadeln (Berlin, 1914–24), vol. 2, p. 14.

2. On Michelangelo's *Samson and the Philistines*, see Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: III. The Medici Chapel*, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1970), p. 102.

3. The Tietzes cite twenty-two drawings of this subject, ten of which they assign to Tintoretto and twelve to his shop (Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* [New York, 1944], nos. 1559, 1564, 1566, 1666, 1679, 1707, 1708, 1733, 1734, 1741, 1771, 1772, 1811, 1813, 1814, 1827, 1841, 1842, 1845, 1848, 1860, 1862). Paola Rossi, *I disegni di Jacopo Tintoretto* (Florence, 1975), pp. 13–15, lists seven of these studies, all double-sided, as autograph works by Tintoretto, and one as possibly by Tintoretto.

4. Discussing the importance of Michelangelo for Tintoretto, Ridolfi, *Maraviglie*, vol. 2, p. 14, imputes this maxim to the artist himself.

5. Parker II, no. 714 (see K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, II: Italian Schools* [Oxford, 1956], no. 714; Christopher White, Catherine Whistler, and Colin Harrison, *Il segno del genio: Cento disegni di grandi Maestri del passato dall'Ashmolean Museum di Oxford*, exh. cat., Palazzo Ruspoli [Rome, 1991], no. 21, repr.), and Parker II, no. 713, probably by a follower.

6. Inv. no. 143. See Jacob Bean, *Bayonne, Musée Bonnat: Les dessins italiens de la Collection Bonnat* (Paris, 1960), no. 170, repr.

7. Inv. D.3129. See Rossi, *Disegni di Tintoretto*, p. 16, figs. 25, 26.

8. Inv. no. 83.231. See *The Stanford Museum* 12–13 (1982–83), n.p., repr. Another *Samson* drawing was recently on the art market; see Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, *Drawings Related to Sculpture* (London, 1992), no. 10, repr.

## GIUSEPPE PORTA, called

### GIUSEPPE SALVIATI

Castelnuovo Garfagnana (Lucca) ca. 1520–Venice  
ca. 1575

#### II7 *The Abduction of Helen*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized), over traces of black chalk, on light blue paper. 303 × 384 mm (11<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.405)

PROVENANCE: Thomas Lawrence (?); William Mayor, London (Lugt 2799); Jeffrey Whitehead, London; Whitehead sale, Christie's, London, 1903, no. 22; [Garfield Galleries, Toronto]; Winters, Canada (?); sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 12, 1960, no. 73; Robert Lehman.

LITERATURE: William Mayor, *A Brief Chronological Description of a Collection of Old Master Drawings and Sketches, by the Most Celebrated Masters of the Different Schools of Europe, from the Revival of Art in Italy in the XIIIth to the Middle of the XVIIIth Century; Formed by and Belonging to Mr. Mayor; the Results of Upwards of Forty Years' Experience and Research* (London, 1871), no. 61; William Mayor, *A Brief Chronological Description of a Collection of Original Drawings and Sketches by the Old Masters of Different Schools of Europe, from the Revival of Art in Italy in the XIIIth to the XIXth Century; Formed by the Late Mr. William Mayor, of Bayswater Hill, London, the Result of Upwards of Fifty Years' Experience and Research*, 2d ed. (London, 1875), no. 93; George Szabo, *XVI Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1979), no. 16, repr. (as Polidoro da Caravaggio); David McTavish, "Roman Subject-Matter and Style in Venetian Façade Frescoes," *RACAR* 12, no. 2 (1985), p. 192, fig. 3 (as Giuseppe Porta); Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 99, repr.

Giuseppe Porta was apprenticed to Francesco Salviati (see nos. 25, 26), whose name he adopted. Aside from two brief sojourns in Rome, he worked for his entire career in Venice, having traveled there with his master Salviati in 1539. He fully absorbed the stylistic tenets of Venetian painting, but his Roman experience left its mark on his style, and like

Salviati, Vasari, and the sculptor and architect Jacopo Sansovino, he was instrumental in introducing elements of the Roman *maniera* to Venice.<sup>1</sup>

Long thought to be by Polidoro da Caravaggio, the *Abduction of Helen* was recently recognized as the work of Giuseppe Salviati by David McTavish.<sup>2</sup> The artist's graphic oeuvre is small, but the Lehman sheet corresponds precisely in style to autograph drawings in the Uffizi, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>3</sup> The muscular forms, carefully drawn contours, extensive use of white heightening, and dramatic chiaroscuro are seen in other drawings by the artist, and the facial types of the abductors are also characteristic of his draftsmanship.

Before he received major commissions for altarpieces, Giuseppe Porta first earned fame in Venice for his facade paintings. His chiaroscuro frescoes on the Grand Canal, now lost, were singled out for particular praise by Pietro Aretino, who declared them the equals of the Roman facades of Peruzzi and Polidoro.<sup>4</sup> The classical subject matter and the relieflike character of the composition, the pronounced chiaroscuro appropriate for a monochrome painting, and the evident recollection of Polidoro's Roman facades indicate that the Lehman drawing may be a study for such a decoration.<sup>5</sup> This suggestion remains speculative, but the long-standing attribution of this sheet to Polidoro testifies to the suitability of the design to this purpose.

LWS

1. For a summary of the career of this little-studied artist, see the doctoral dissertation by David McTavish, *Giuseppe Porta called Giuseppe Salviati* (New York and London, 1981); and the biographical essay by the same author in *Da Tiziano a El Greco: Per la storia del manierismo a Venezia, 1540–1590*, exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale, Venice (Milan, 1981), p. 88.

2. "Roman Subject-Matter and Style in Venetian Façade Frescoes," *RACAR* 12, no. 2 (1985), p. 192. McTavish first credited Porta with the invention of this composition on the basis of a copy in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (inv. no. NMH 1701 b / 1875; see McTavish, *Giuseppe Porta*, pp. 366–67, no. 4, fig. 153). His attribution of the Lehman drawing to the artist was endorsed by Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 99.
3. Forlani Tempesti 1991, under no. 99.
4. Letter to the artist, 1548; see *Lettere sull'Arte di Pietro Aretino*, ed. Ettore Camesasca with commentary by Fiduzio Pertile (Milan, 1957–60), vol. 2, pp. 232–33; cited by McTavish, "Roman Subject-Matter," p. 192.
5. McTavish, "Roman Subject-Matter," p. 192, notes that the composition of the Lehman drawing recalls a scene from a frieze of Polidoro's lost facade painting from the Palazzo Gaddi, Rome. He further observes that the subject of the Lehman sheet, an episode from the story of the Trojan War, would have had a historical resonance for a Venetian audience as, according to some early sources, Venice was founded by the Trojans, and before Aeneas founded Rome.

## PAOLO FARINATI

Verona 1524–Verona 1606

### II8 *Prophet Holding a Banderole*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk. 238 × 215 mm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

Inscribed on verso in pen and brown ink, S.V. n° 83; in black chalk, N° 121.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1986 (1986.14.2)

PROVENANCE: "Borghese-Sagredo"; [Morton Morris & Company, Ltd.].

LITERATURE: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for the Year 1985–1986* (New York, 1986), pp. 22, 23, repr.

Paolo Farinati worked as a painter, architect, sculptor, and printmaker. Like other artists of his generation active in Verona such as Battista del Moro, Bernardino India, and Domenico Brusasorci, he was profoundly influenced by the painterly style and luminous palette of his compatriot Paolo Veronese (see no. 119) while

at the same time exhibiting mannerist tendencies and a preference for sculptural *disegno* derived from the example of Giulio Romano (see nos. 59–61) in nearby Mantua. As noted by the biographer Carlo Ridolfi, who recalled having seen albums of the artist's drawings in the collection of his son Cristoforo, Farinati was a gifted and extraordinarily prolific draftsman whose graphic works were avidly collected.<sup>1</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum *Prophet with a Banderole* is a distinguished example of the type of drawing for which Farinati is best known: the highly finished "presentation piece" executed in a rich combination of media (Ridolfi's "carte tinte tocchi d'acquarelli e lumi di biacca"<sup>2</sup>), here reminiscent of a chiaroscuro woodcut. Many such drawings by the artist were produced as autonomous works; however, the Metropolitan Museum sheet may be a preparatory study. This is suggested both by the redrawn contours of the figure's hood, shoulders, and upper arms—corrections not usually seen in Farinati's presentation drawings—and by the carefully delineated, regularly spaced masonry seams along his entire left side, which appear to indicate the voussoirs of an architectural framework.

Heralds of the New Testament, prophets were frequently depicted over an entrance arch or in spandrels in chapels illustrating scenes from the life of Christ or the Virgin; it seems likely that Farinati's figure, who occupies precisely this type of space, was envisioned for such a context.<sup>3</sup>

LWS

1. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato* (Venice, 1648), reprint edition, ed. D. von Hadeln (Berlin, 1914–24), vol. 2, p. 127; p. 132: "I disegni da lui fatti furono per così dire infinite in carte tinte tocchi d'acquarelli e lumi di biacca, che sarebbe impossibile il raccontarne le inuentioni."

2. Ridolfi, *Maraviglie*, vol. 2, p. 132. A. E. Popham suggested that Farinati may have produced such finished drawings for sale on the open market, a hypothesis which accounts for the exceedingly large number of "presentation drawings" by him (A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* [London, 1949], p. 217).

3. Farinati painted prophets in the *cappella maggiore* of the church of Santi Nazaro e Celso, Verona (mentioned by Ridolfi, *Maraviglie*, vol. 2, p. 128), but no apparent correspondence exists between these frescoes, which survive in poor condition, and the Metropolitan Museum drawing.

## PAOLO CALIARI, called

### PAOLO VERONESE

Verona 1528–Venice 1588

#### II9 *Studies of Apostles*

Pen and brown ink with bistre wash, on ivory paper.  
301 × 211 mm (11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and ink in the artist's hand, *Marco, Zuane, and Mato*; in pen in a later hand, *Paolo Veronese*.

Private collection

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092); W. Eisdale (Lugt 2617); his sale, Christie's, London, June 18–25, 1840, no. 437; J. Thane; Henry Oppenheimer; his sale, Christie's, London, July 13, 1936, no. 206; Rasini, Milan.

LITERATURE: Tancred Borenius, "A Group of Drawings by Paul Veronese," *Burlington Magazine* 38 (February 1921), p. 54; D. F. von Hadeln, *Venezianische Zeichnungen des Spätrenaissance* (Berlin, 1926), pl. 41; Percy H. Osmond, *Paolo Veronese: His Career and Work* (London, 1927), p. 101; Giuseppe Fiocco, *Paolo Veronese* (Bologna, 1928), p. 209; Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), p. 348, no. 2116; Terisio Pignatti, *Veronese* (Venice, 1976), no. 45; Richard Cocke, *Veronese Drawings* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), no. 96, repr.; W. R. Rearick, *The Art of Paolo Veronese, 1528–1588*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1988), no. 81, repr.; *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1993), no. 269.

In 1574 and again in 1577, the Palazzo Ducale in Venice was devastated by fire, which destroyed the pictorial decorations of the rooms of state, including works by Pisanello, Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, and Carpaccio. Veronese, who, together with Tintoretto (see no. 116), ranked as the preeminent artist of the Venetian Republic in the later sixteenth century after the death of Titian, was commissioned by the senate to execute ceiling paintings in the refurbished Sala del Collegio and adjoining Anticollégio, and, after the second fire, in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio. Parts of the later program, which includes Veronese's celebrated *Triumph of Venice*, were awarded to his rival Tintoretto, whose contribution was loudly criticized when it was unveiled. The final part of the decoration to be planned was a monumental *Paradise* on the end wall, designed to replace the destroyed fourteenth-century fresco by Guariento. For this prestigious commission a competition was held between Veronese, Tintoretto, Francesco Bassano, and Palma Giovane, all of whom submitted *modelli* of this subject. The campaign was entrusted to Veronese, who was to be assisted by Francesco Bassano, but the artist died before the painting was realized.<sup>1</sup> His *modello*, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, depicts an expansive, light-filled heaven densely populated with angels, saints, and the elect.

This vivacious sheet of studies is one of three surviving drawings by Veronese for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio *Paradise*. The artist has represented isolated groups of angels and saints, some of whom are identified by inscriptions or attributes. The manner of covering the paper with rapid, fluid, but highly legible and coherent sketches is characteristic of Veronese's draftsmanship. Likewise executed in an animated pen-and-ink technique, the two



other drawings, both representing the Coronation of the Virgin and now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, are less articulated in detail and seem to constitute preliminary ideas for the complex composition.<sup>2</sup> All three drawings and the Lille *modello* have been dated about 1582, when the competition for the *Paradise* probably took place.<sup>3</sup>

LWS

1. On the *Paradise* commission, see Richard Cocke, *Veronese Drawings* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), under no. 96; W. R. Rearick, *The Art of Paolo Veronese, 1528–1588*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1988), p. 154; *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1993), under no. 269 (entry by Terisio Pignatti).

2. Inv. nos. KdZ 26356, KdZ 26360. See Cocke, *Veronese Drawings*, nos. 94, 95. This sequence of drawings, with the New York sheet comprising the most fully worked-up design before the *modello*, is proposed by Rearick, *Paolo Veronese*, under no. 81. The suggestion of Cocke (*Veronese Drawings*, under no. 96) that these drawings document a stage after the *modello*, and are datable ca. 1585, is conjectural and, to the present author, unconvincing.

3. The exact date of the competition is unknown; most recently, Pignatti (in *Le siècle de Titien*, under no. 269) has suggested that it occurred between 1578 and 1582.

## JACOPO PALMA, called PALMA GIOVANE

Venice ca. 1548–Venice 1628

### 120 *Self-Portrait with Allegorical Figures*

Pen and ink with brown wash. 295 × 215 mm  
(11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.).

Inscribed in pen and ink at lower right, *palma*.

The Pierpont Morgan Library (I, 73)

PROVENANCE: Nicholas Lanier (according to an inscription formerly on the back recording that the drawing was presented by the artist; Lugt 2885); François-Roger Gaignières (Lugt 1135); Sir Peter Lely

(Lugt 2092); Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (Lugt 2184); Lord Palmerston (Lugt 2364); Charles Fairfax Murray, London; J. Pierpont Morgan.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *A Selection from the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1905), no. 73; Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), no. 1044; Heinrich Schwarz, "Portrait Drawings of Palma Giovane and His Family: A Postscript," *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Antonio Morassi* (Venice, [1971?]), pp. 213, 212 fig. 7; Adelheid M. Gealt, *Italian Portrait Drawings, 1400–1800, from North American Collections*, exh. cat., Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington; Gallery of Art, University of Pittsburgh; Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College (Bloomington, 1983), under no. 11, n. 5.

Among the most tireless draftsmen of the sixteenth century, Palma Giovane produced a large number of engaging portrait drawings over the course of his long career. The artist himself and his wife, Andriana, were favorite subjects, and some of their children were recorded as well.<sup>1</sup> In addition, Palma executed a number of informal portrait drawings of celebrated artists of his own time and earlier generations, principally Venetian painters and sculptors, but also such *stranieri* as Sodoma, Michelangelo, Parmigianino, and Andrea del Sarto.<sup>2</sup> Their purpose is unknown, but the artist may have compiled these portraits with the intention of publishing them. This he had done with other drawings: among Palma's closest friends was the engraver, publisher, and print dealer Giacomo Franco, who published a volume of the artist's designs under the title *De eccellentia et nobilitate delineationis* in 1611.<sup>3</sup> And in 1636, eight years after Palma's death, the firm that Franco had founded brought out another volume of the artist's work, a series of etchings published as an instruction manual on draftsmanship.<sup>4</sup>

The Morgan Library drawing is a self-portrait of the artist set in an elaborate decorative framework and flanked by two alle-

gorical figures. Abundance is seen on the left; the identity of the male figure on the right is ambiguous. (He may represent Fame, who reaches for a laurel branch.) That the subject here represented is Palma himself is established by the correspondence with other self-portraits, including a more informal pen drawing also in the Morgan Library (fig. 120.1),<sup>5</sup> and a painting in the Pinacoteca Querini-Stampalia, Venice.<sup>6</sup> A nearly identical self-portrait surrounded by a similar allegorical framework is in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin.<sup>7</sup> It is inscribed with the date 1597 in the cartouche below the portrait, the period from which the Morgan sheet also dates. The function of these elaborate portrait drawings can only be surmised; they may have been designed as frontispieces to the published editions of Palma's drawings.

LWS

1. See Heinrich Schwarz, "Palma Giovane and His Family: Observations on Some Portrait Drawings," *Master Drawings* 3, no. 2 (1965), pp. 158–65; and Heinrich Schwarz, "Portrait Drawings of Palma Giovane and His Family: A Postscript," in *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Antonio Morassi* (Venice, [1971?]), pp. 210–15.

2. A number of Palma's portrait drawings of artists are preserved in a small book in the Lugt Collection (Institut Néerlandais, Paris, inv. no. 4804; see James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection* [Paris, 1983], vol. 1, no. 249). These were executed around 1602–4, and seem to be fair copies made by the artist after his own original, more freely drawn portrait sketches, which survive in various collections. As Byam Shaw has noted, many of the non-Venetian portraits appear to be based on the woodcuts from Vasari's *Vite*.

3. On Palma's "Academy," see Schwarz, "Observations on Some Portrait Drawings," pp. 160–61.

4. Schwarz, "Observations on Some Portrait Drawings," pp. 160–61. These were published under the title *Regole per imparar a disegnar i corpi humani diuisi in doi libri. Delineati dal Famoso Pittor Giacomo Palma*. The etchings show assorted body parts densely crowded together in a rather haphazard arrangement in a manner analogous to the sheets representing artists' portraits.

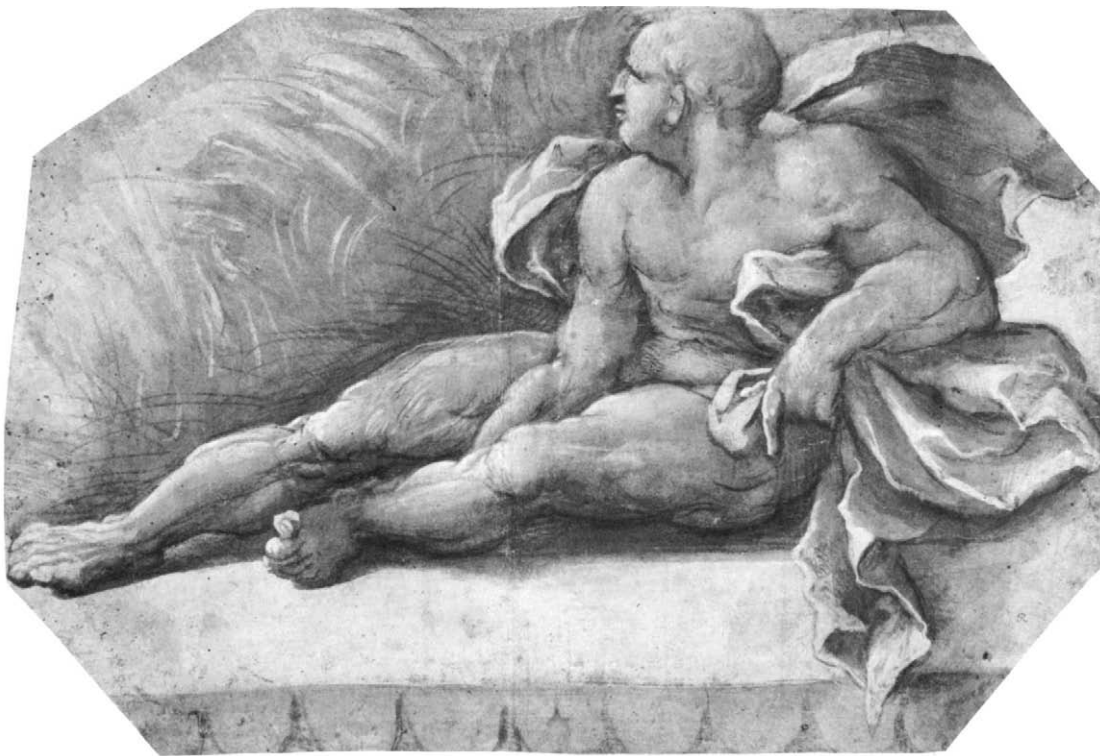
5. Inv. no. IV, 82.1. See Schwarz, "Observations on Some Portrait Drawings," pp. 159, 163 n. 8; see also Adelheid M. Gealt, *Italian Portrait Drawings, 1400–1800, from North American Collections*, exh. cat., Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington; Gallery of Art, University of Pittsburgh; Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College (Bloomington, 1983), no. 11, repr.

6. Schwarz, "Portrait Drawings: A Postscript," p. 214, fig. 11.

7. Inv. no. 15959. A. Bertini, *I disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino* (Rome, 1958), no. 299; Schwarz, "Portrait Drawings: A Postscript," pp. 211, 212 fig. 6.



# PLATES



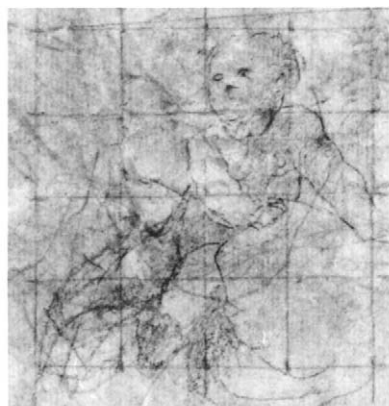
I AMICO ASPERTINI. *Nude Male Figure Seated on the Ground*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 1.1. ASPERTINI. *Seated Nude Male*. Uffizi, Florence



2 CORREGGIO. *Study of Two Apostles with Putti*. W. M. Brady and Co., Inc.



Verso of 2 *Two Studies of Putti and Two Studies of Legs* (detail)



Fig. 2.1. CORREGGIO. *Study for the Dome of San Giovanni Evangelista*. The Pierpont Morgan Library



3 BIAGIO PUPINI. *Figures in a Deposition*.  
Mr. and Mrs. Morton B. Harris



Fig. 3.1. PEDRO MACHUCA. *The Deposition*.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris



4 MICHELANGELO ANSELMi. *Putto Bending a Bow*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

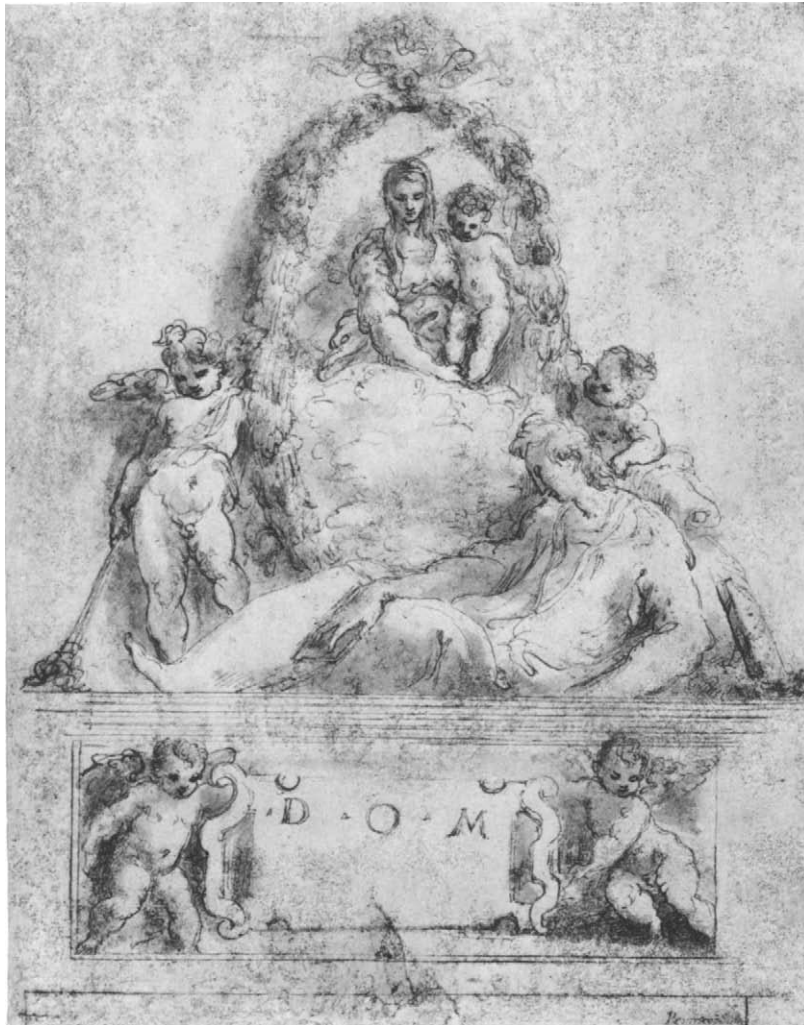




5 PARMIGIANINO. *A Woman Seated on the Ground Nursing a Child*. Private collection



6 PARMIGIANINO. *Mercury*. Private collection



7 PARMIGIANINO. *Design for a Sepulchral Monument.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 7.1. ANGELO FALCONETTO,  
after Parmigianino. *Design for a  
Sepulchral Monument*



8 PARMIGIANINO. *Landscape with Trees*. Private collection



9a Attributed to GIROLAMO MAZZOLA BEDOLI. *Adam*.  
Private collection



Fig. 9.1. PARMIGIANINO.  
*Adam*. East vault of  
Santa Maria della Steccata,  
Parma





9b Attributed to GIROLAMO MAZZOLA BEDOLI. *Aaron*.  
Private collection



Fig. 9.2. PARMIGIANINO.  
*Aaron*. East vault of  
Santa Maria della Steccata,  
Parma



10 LELIO ORSI. *Peasants and Animals in a Storm*. Private collection



11a LELIO ORSI. *Battle Scene*. Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Mont



11b LELIO ORSI. *Triumphal Procession*. Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Mont

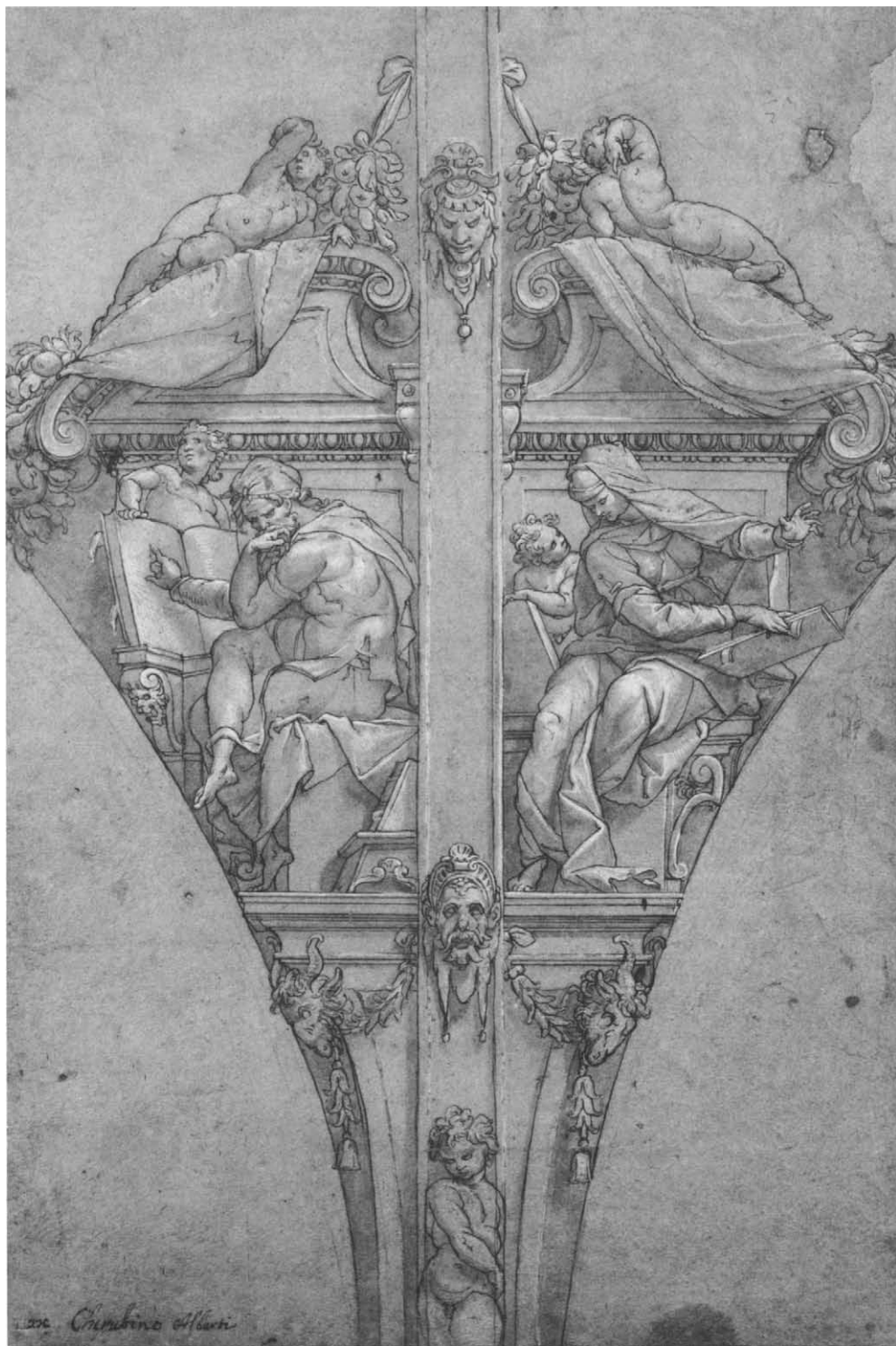




12 Attributed to PELLEGRINO TIBALDI. *Studies of Animal Heads and of a Cartouche*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 12.1. TIBALDI. *Studies of Animals' Heads*. Uffizi, Florence



13 Orazio Samacchini. *The Prophet Jeremiah and the Samian Sibyl*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



14 JACOPO BERTOIA. *God the Father with Four Angels*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 14.1. BERTOIA. *The Dream of Jacob*.  
Stanza dei Sogni, Caprarola



15 JACOPO BERTOIA. *Soldiers on Horseback and on Foot*. Private collection



16 FERRAÙ FENZONI. *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ at the Foot of the Cross*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

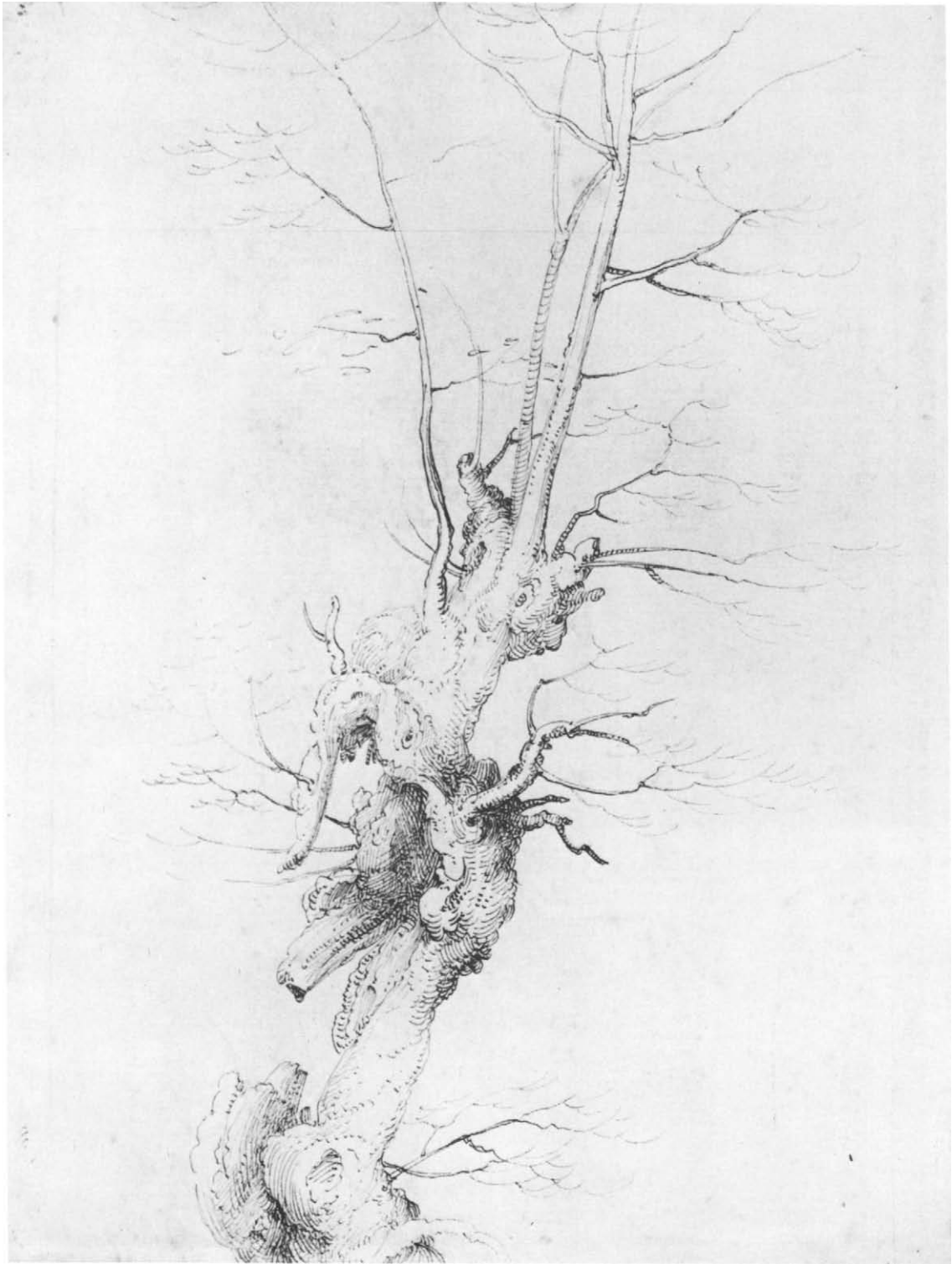


Fig. 16.1. FENZONI. *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*. Pinacoteca, Faenza



Fig. 16.2. FENZONI. *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ at the Foot of the Cross*. Pinacoteca, Faenza



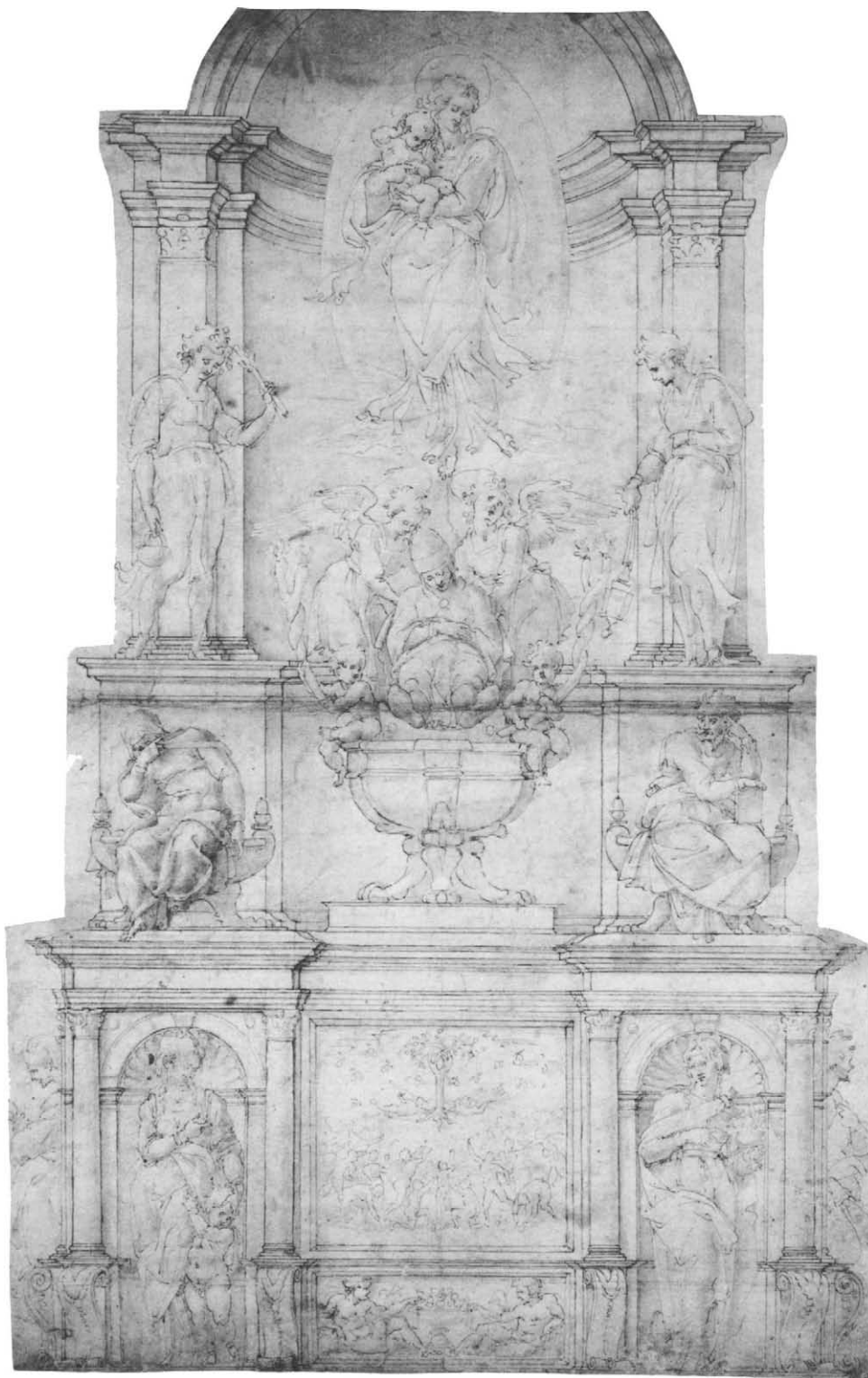


17 FRA BARTOLOMMEO. *A Leafless, Gnarled Tree*. Private collection



Verso of 17 *Village on the Crest of a Hill, Approached by a Road with a Horseman and Other Figures*





18 MICHELANGELO. *Project for a Wall Tomb*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

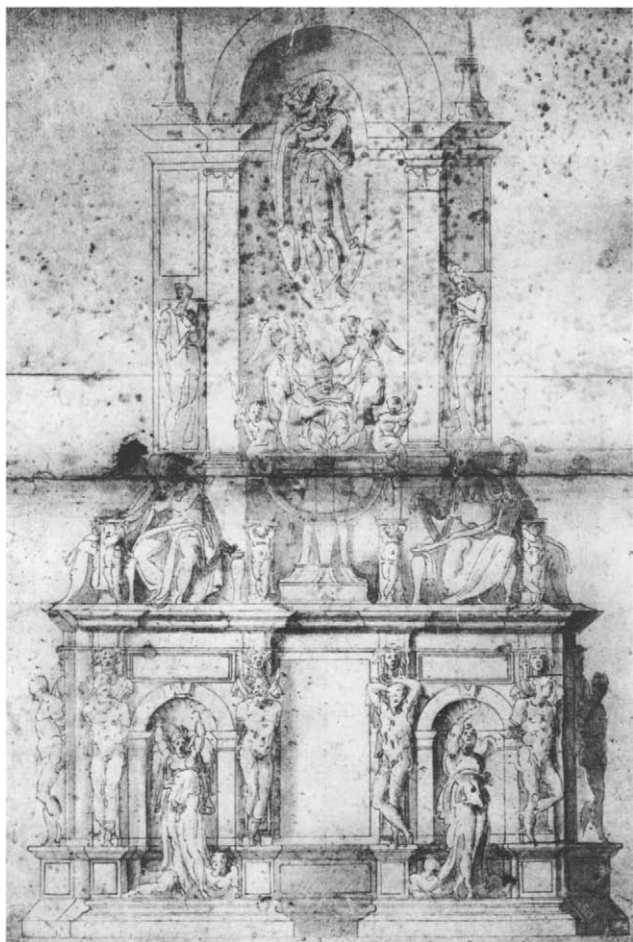


Fig. 18.1. JACOMO ROCCHETTI, after Michelangelo.  
*Project for a Wall Tomb*. Staatliche Museen, Berlin

Fig. 18.2. MICHELANGELO. *Study for a Prophet*.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris

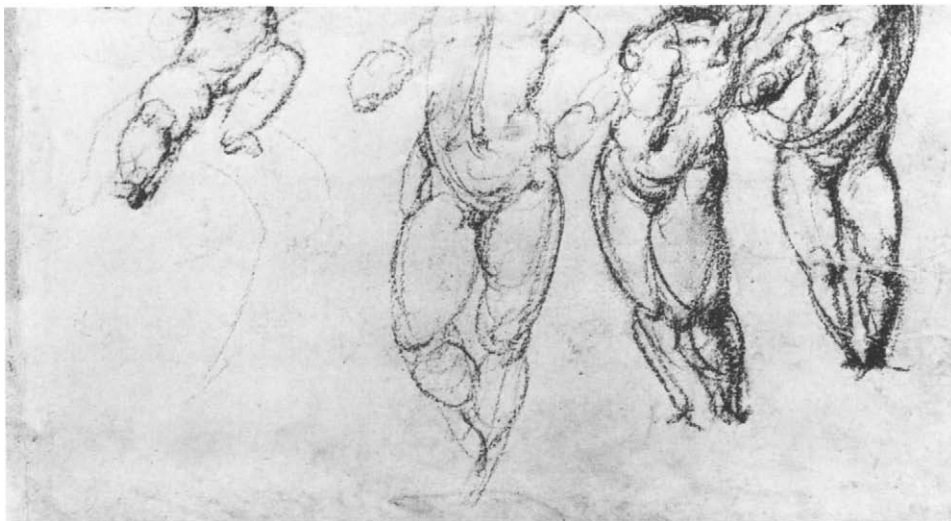




19 ANDREA DEL SARTO. *Standing Man Turned to the Right*. The Pierpont Morgan Library



20 GIOVANNI ANTONIO SOGLIANI.  
*Two Studies of a Male Nude*. Jak Katalan

Verso of 20 *Four Studies of an Infant*



21 BACCIO BANDINELLI. *Study of the Head of a Horse Turned in Profile to the Right.*  
Mr. and Mrs. Nereo Fioratti



Fig. 21.1. *Battle of the Greeks and Amazons*, sarcophagus. Vatican Museums



Fig. 21.2. BANDINELLI.  
*Study of the Head of a Horse.*  
Formerly Witt Collection,  
London





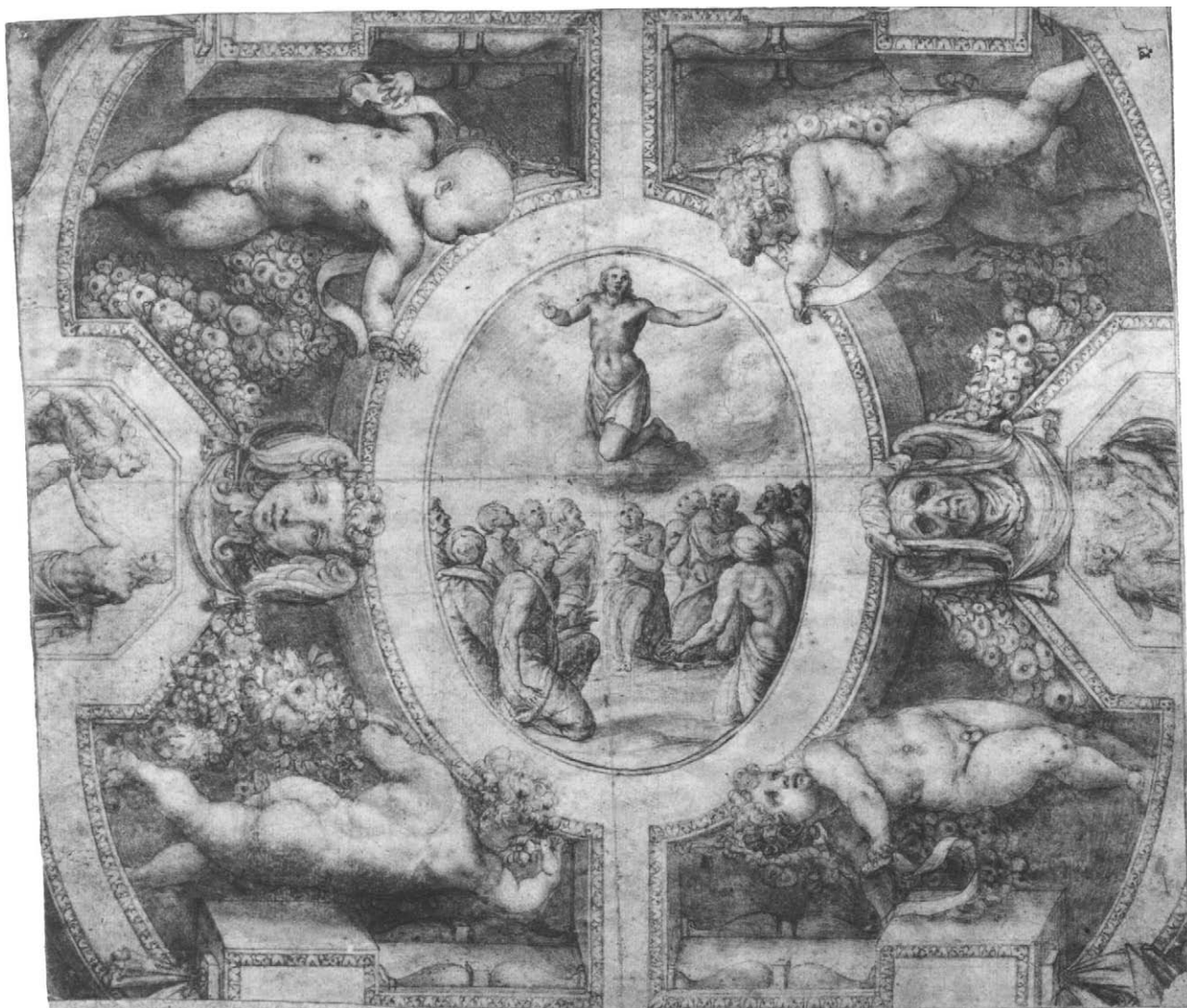
22 JACONE. *A Group of Three Figures*. Jak Katalan



23 AGNOLO BRONZINO. *Reclining Male Nude*.  
Private collection



Fig. 23.1. BRONZINO. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*.  
San Lorenzo, Florence

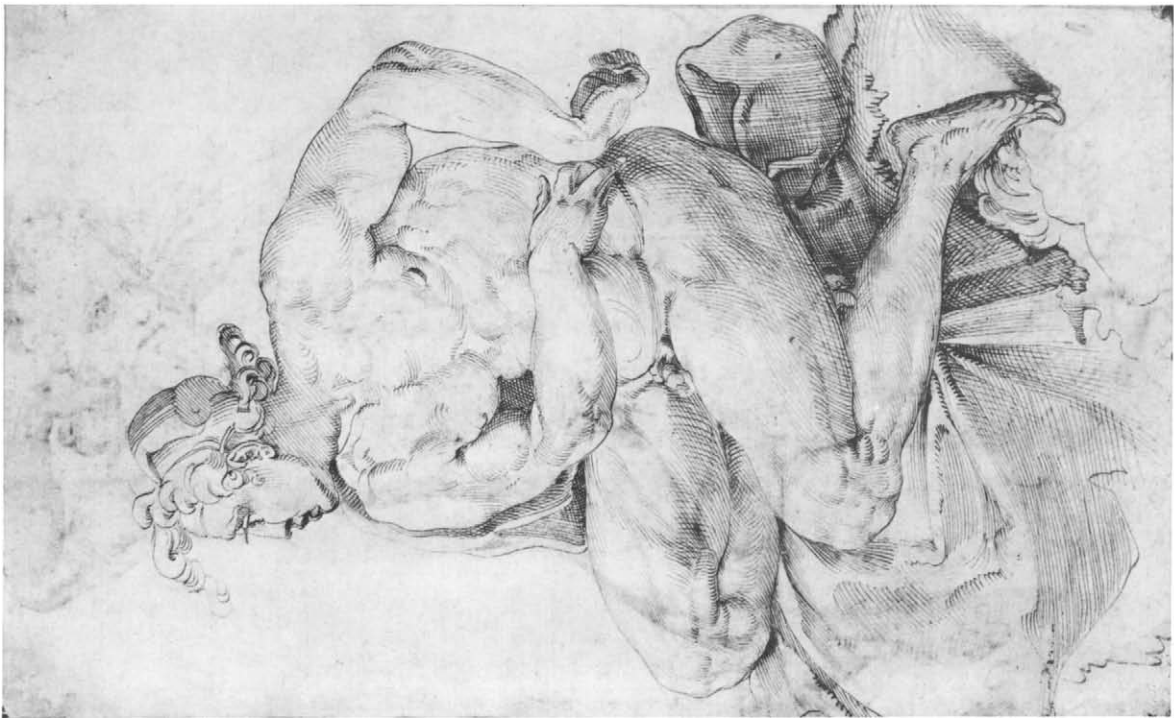


24 AGNOLO BRONZINO OR ALESSANDRO ALLORI. *Design for a Ceiling with the Ascension*. The Pierpont Morgan Library





Verso of 25 Bearded Male Figure Holding Drapery



25 FRANCESCO SALVIATI. Young Male Figure Seated on Drapery.  
Michael Hall, Esq.

26 FRANCESCO SALVIATI.  
*Female Nude Turned toward the Right.*  
 Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman

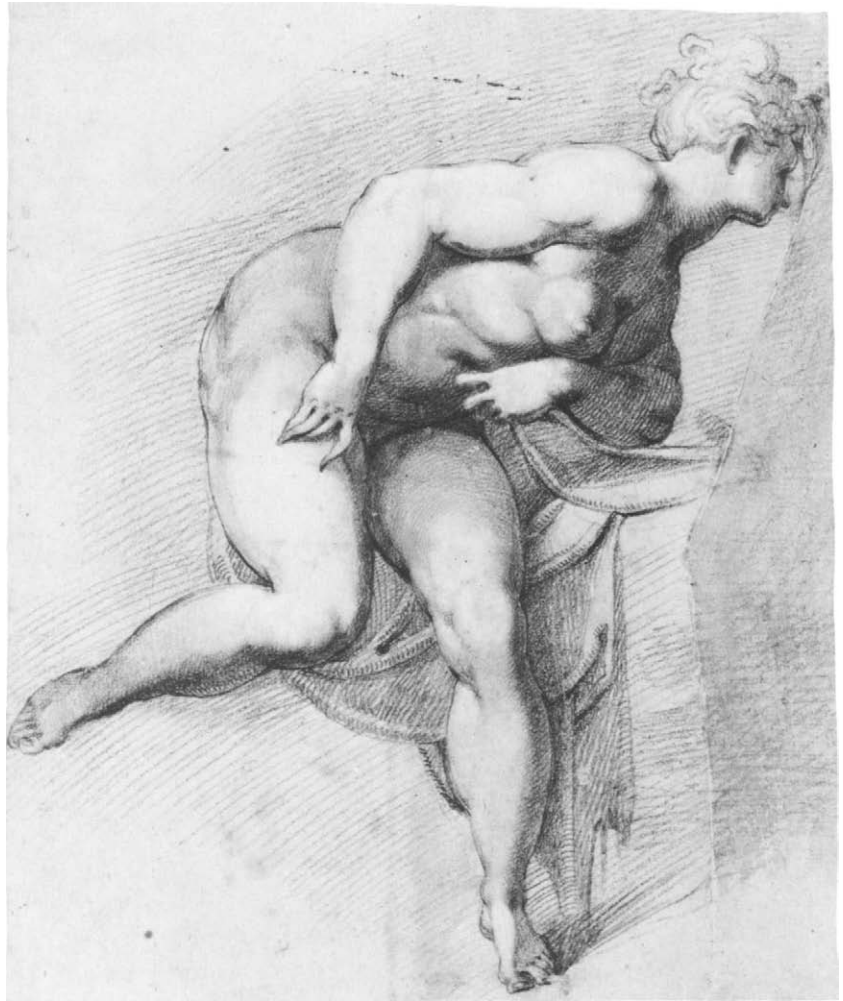


Fig. 26.1. GIORGIO GHISI, after Michelangelo.  
 Detail from the *Last Judgment*

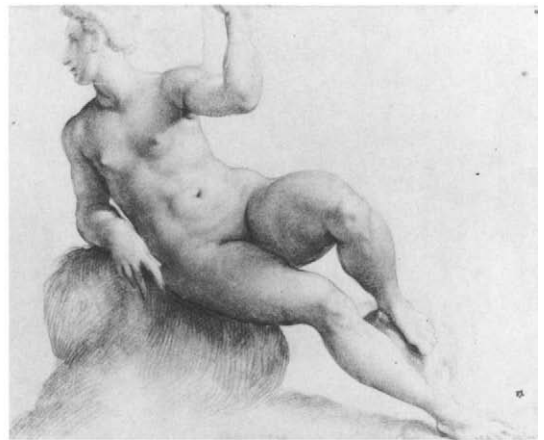


Fig. 26.2. SALVIATI. *Female Nude.*  
 British Museum, London



27 GIORGIO VASARI. *The Fruits of the Earth Offered to Saturn*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



28 GIORGIO VASARI. *The Abduction of Ganymede*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

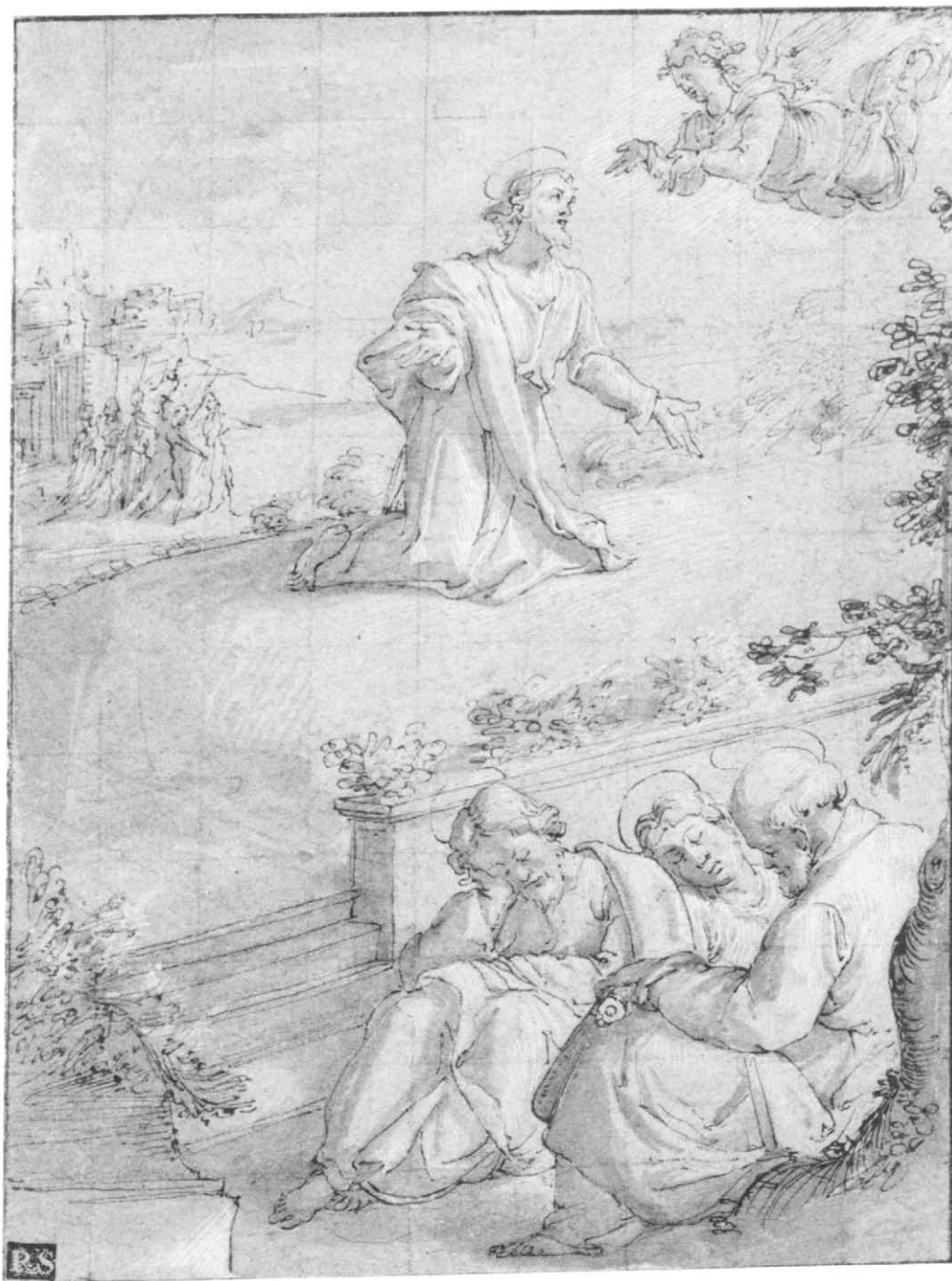


29 Attributed to MASO DA SAN FRIANO. *Sheet of Studies*. Cooper-Hewitt Museum



30 Attributed to ALESSANDRO ALLORI. *Head of a Woman*. Private collection





31 SANTI DI TITO. *The Agony in the Garden*. Private collection



32 GIOVANNI BATTISTA NALDINI. *Hercules and the Nemean Lion; Hercules and the Cretan Bull*. Jak Katalan



Verso of 32 *Hercules and the Cretan Bull*

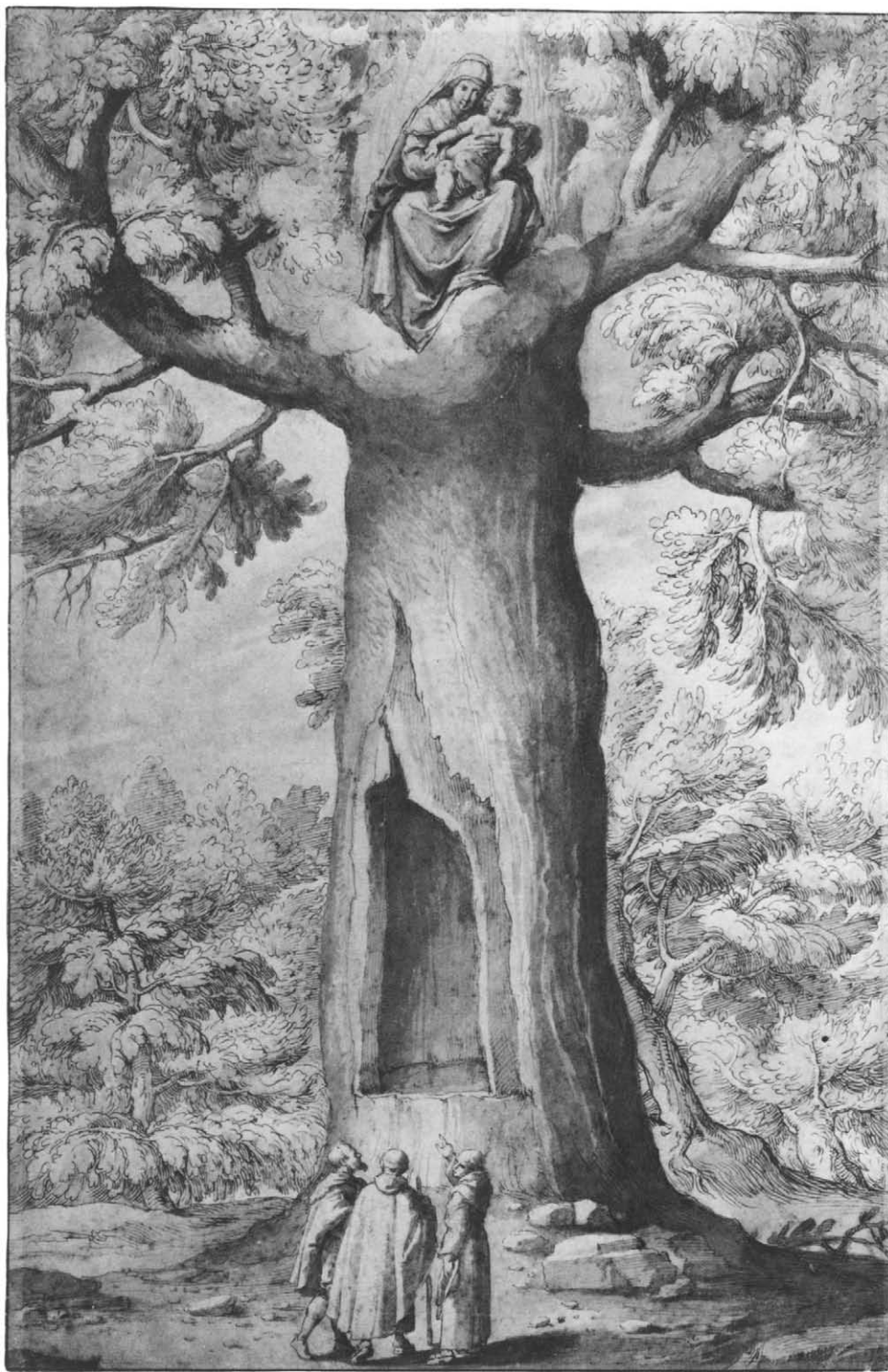




33 GIOVANNI BANDINI. *Standing Apostle*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
Robert Lehman Collection



34 JACOPO ZUCCHI. *Design for a Fountain with the Figure of Oceanus and the River Gods Arno and Tiber.*  
Cooper-Hewitt Museum



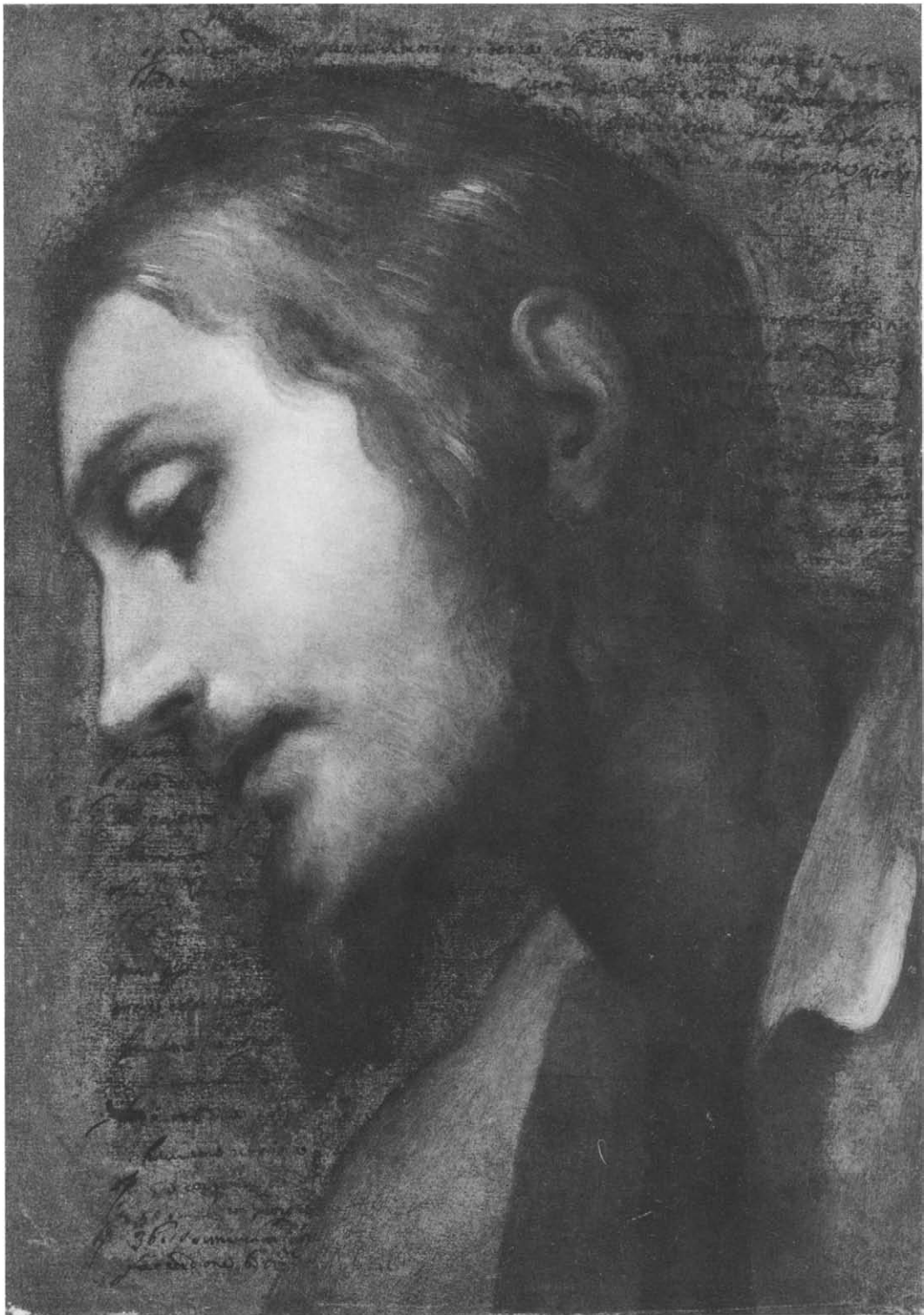
35 JACOPO LIGOZZI. *The Beech Tree of the Madonna at La Verna.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



36 CIGOLI. *A Pope Receiving Divine Inspiration for His Writings*. Private collection



Verso of 36 *Studies of the Virgin and Child and Saints*



37 CIGOLI. *Head of Christ*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art





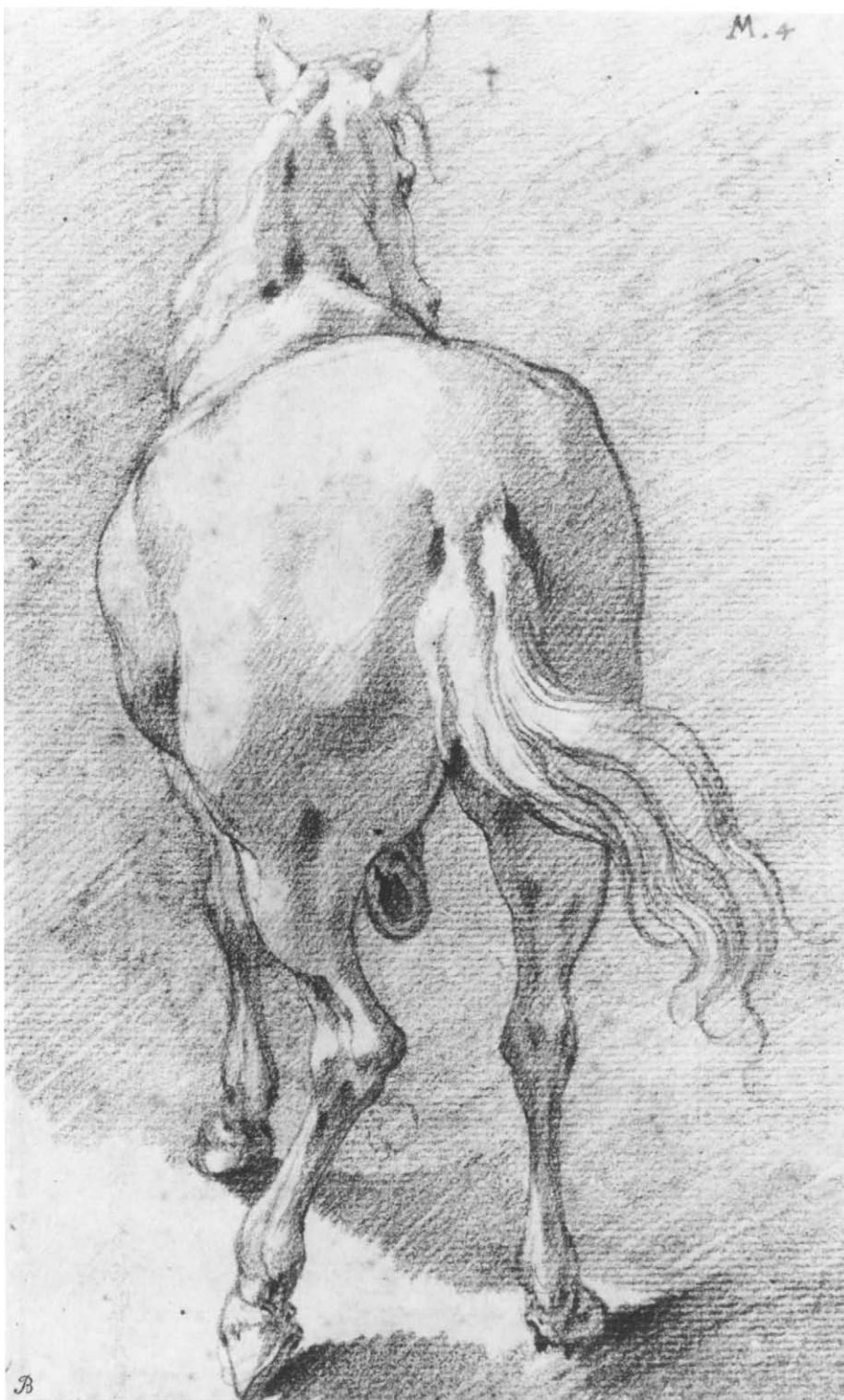
38 CIGOLI. *Study for a Male Figure Being Lowered into a Grave.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Verso of 38 *Kneeling Female Figure in Profile Facing Left*



39 Coscì. *The Wedding at Cana*. The Pierpont Morgan Library



40 ANDREA BOSCOLI. *A Horse, Seen from Behind*. Jak Katalan

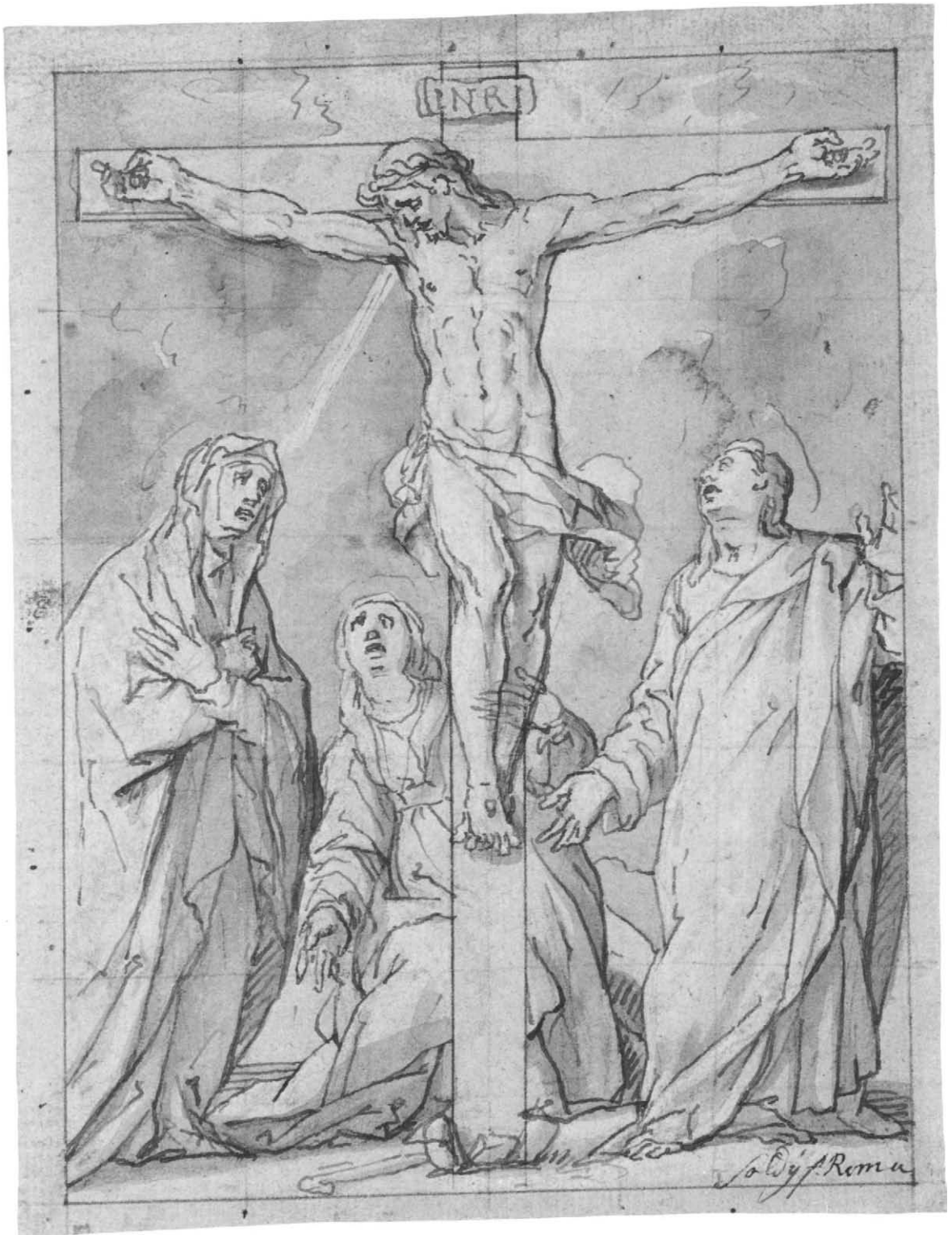




41 LUCA CAMBIASO. *The Visitation*. Robert L. Manning



42 GIOVANNI BATTISTA PAGGI. *Christ Receiving the Virgin into Paradise.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



43 LAZZARO TAVARONE. *Christ Crucified, Attended by the Virgin, Saint Mary Magdalen, and Saint John the Evangelist.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



44 BERNARDO CASTELLO. *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda*. Private collection

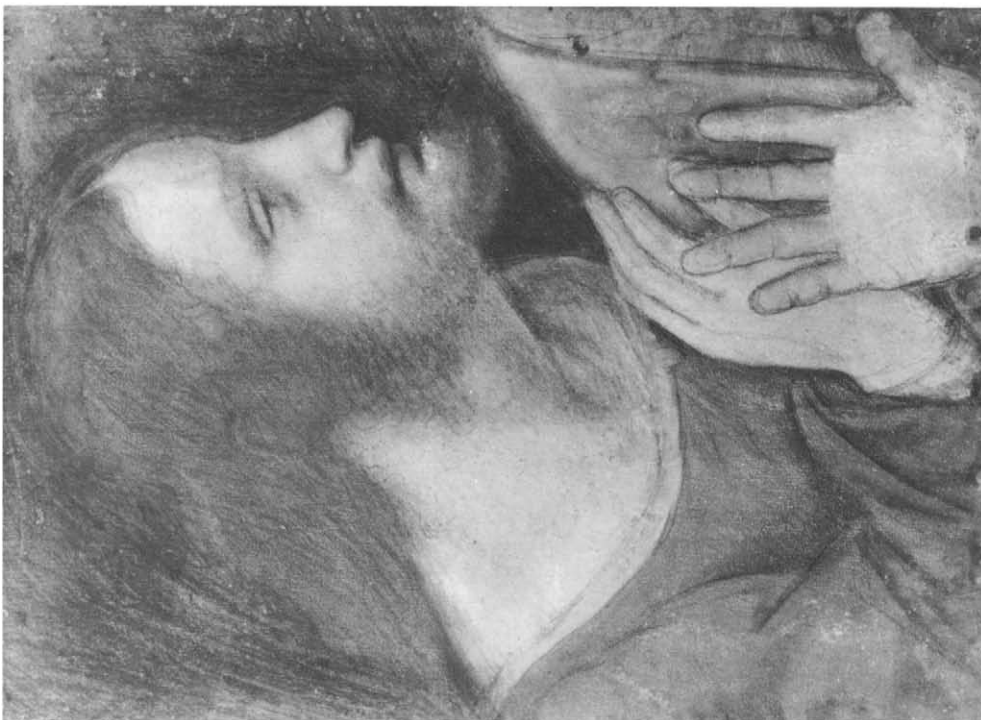




45 ANDREA SOLARIO. *Head of a Bearded Man*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



46b GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO. *The Head of Saint John the Evangelist, after Leonardo da Vinci.* B. H. Breslauer



46a GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO. *The Head of Saint James the Less, after Leonardo da Vinci.* B. H. Breslauer



47 GAUDENZIO FERRARI. *Standing Virgin, Holding the Christ Child*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



48 GIROLAMO SAVOLDO. *Head and Hand of a Bearded Man*. The Pierpont Morgan Library

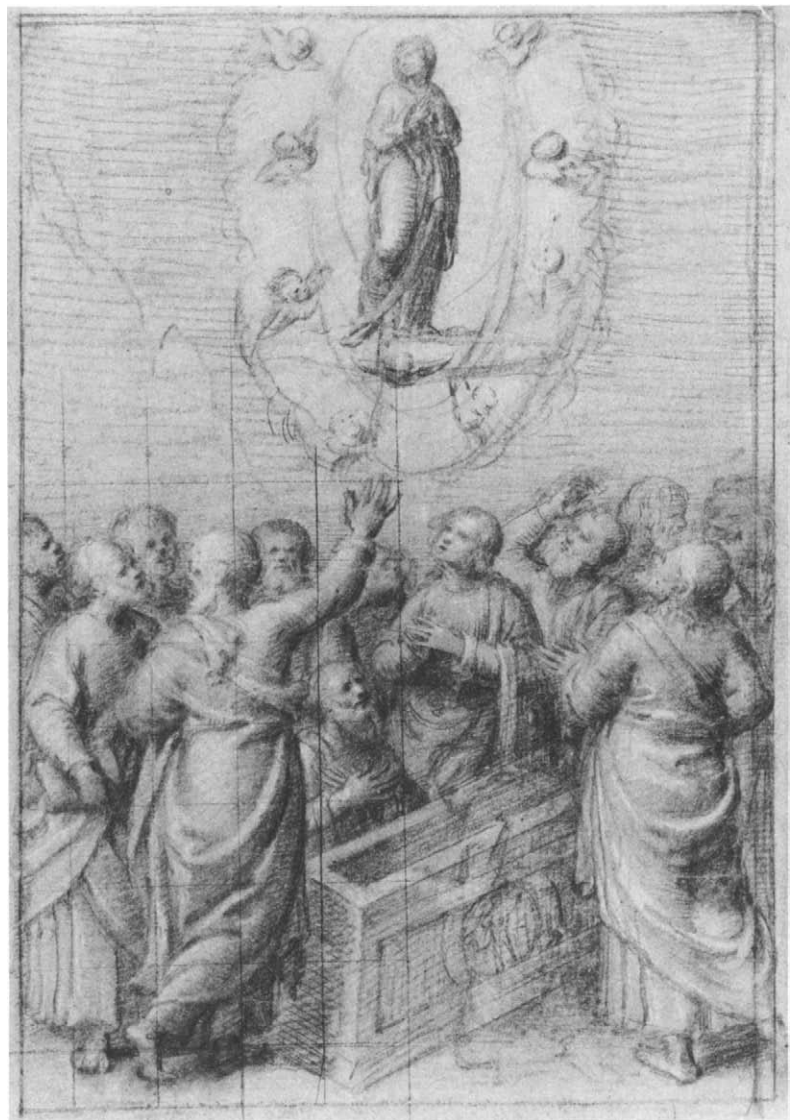




49 CALLISTO PIAZZA. *A Bearded Old Man Kneeling, Facing to the Right*. Private collection



Fig. 50.1. CAMPI. *The Assumption of the Virgin*. Sant'Agata, Cremona

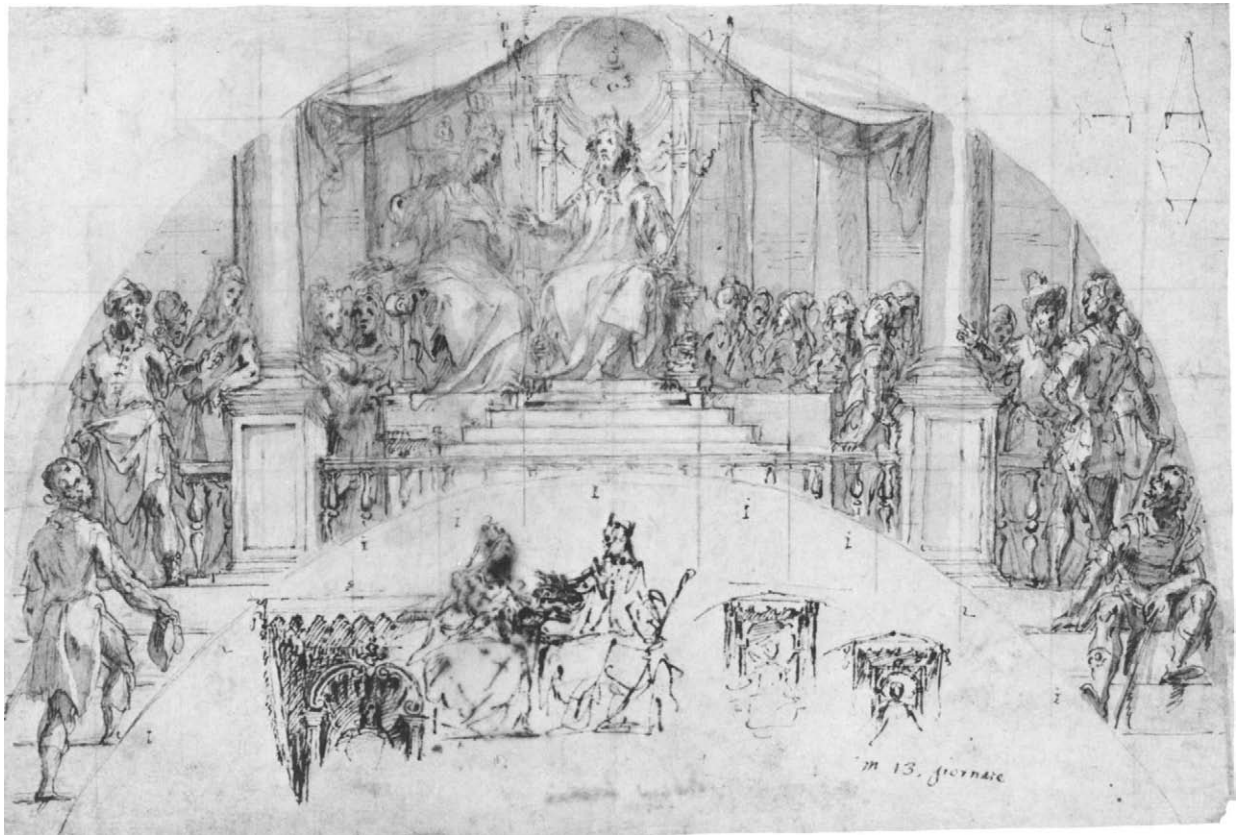


50 BERNARDINO CAMPI. *The Assumption of the Virgin*.  
The Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig. 51.1. AURELIO LUINI. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*.  
Castello Sforzesco, Milan

51 AURELIO LUINI. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



52 CARLO URBINO. *The Coronation of Esther*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

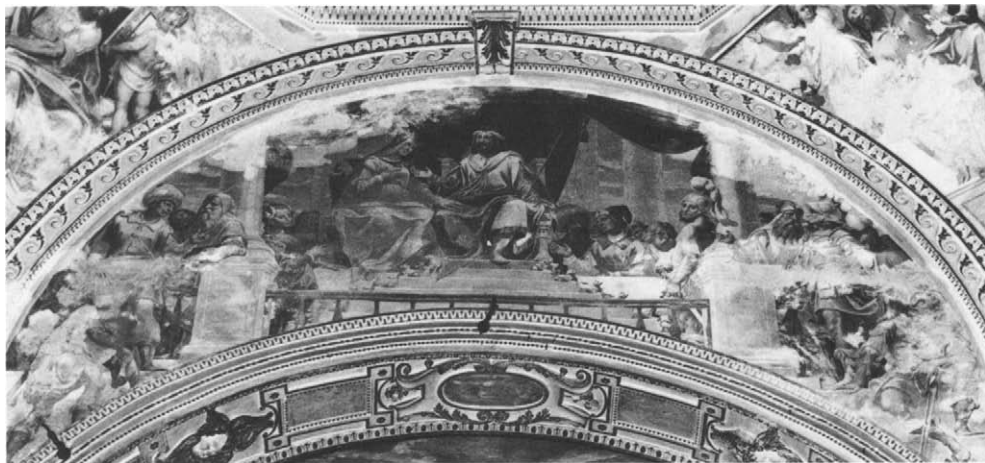


Fig. 52.1. URBINO. *The Coronation of Esther*. Santa Maria di Campagna, Pallanza



53 CAMILLO PROCACCINI. *The Martyrdom of a Female Saint*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art





Fig. 53.1. PROCACCINI. *Head of a Soldier*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



54 CAMILLO PROCACCINI. *The Martyrdom of Saint Dorothy*. Private collection



55 LUCA SIGNORELLI. *Saint Lucy*. Private collection

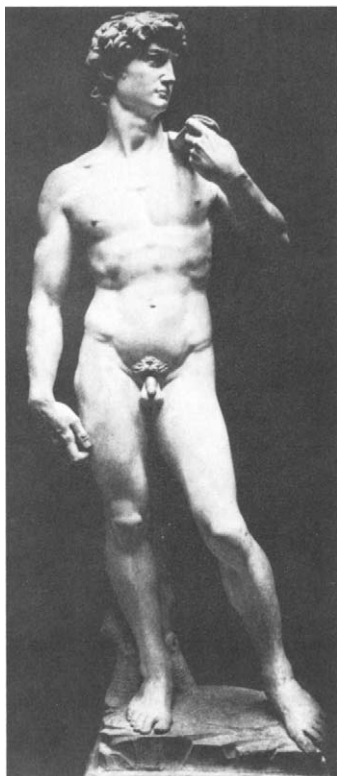
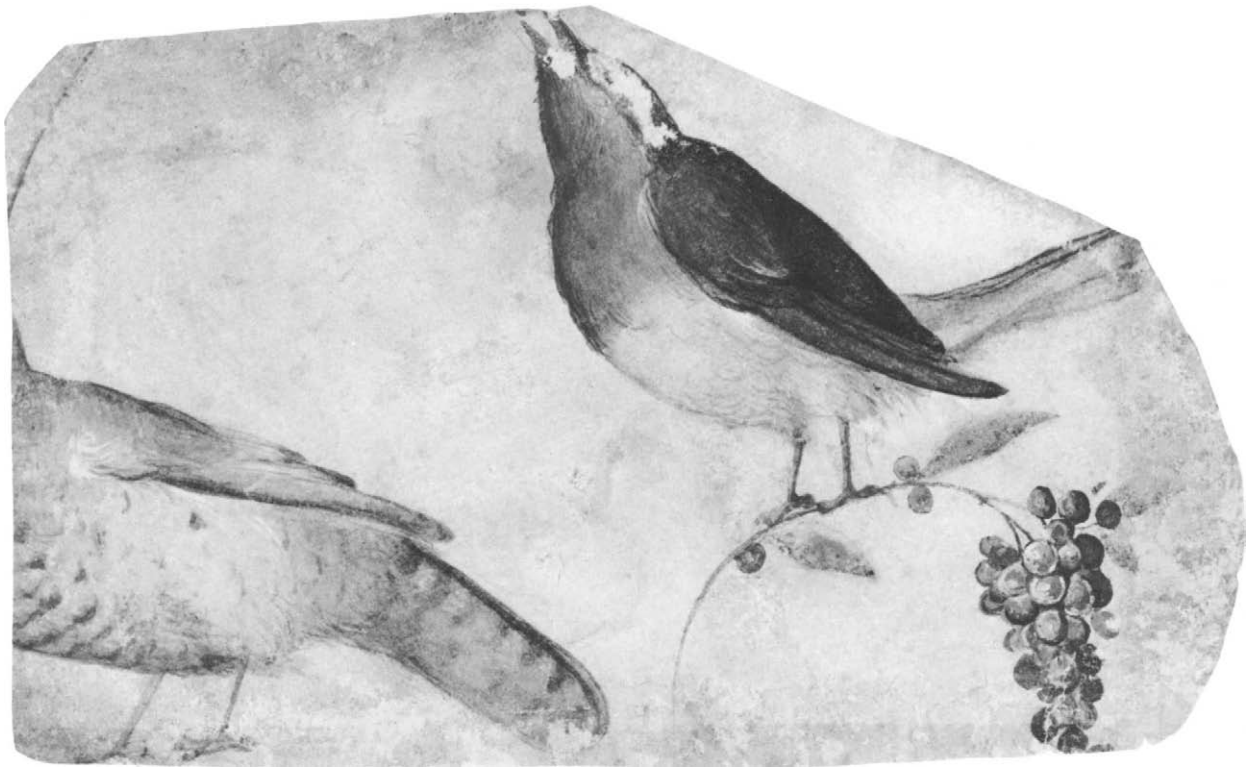


Fig. 56.1. MICHELANGELO. *David*.  
Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence



56 RAPHAEL. *A Canephoros*.  
The Pierpont Morgan Library

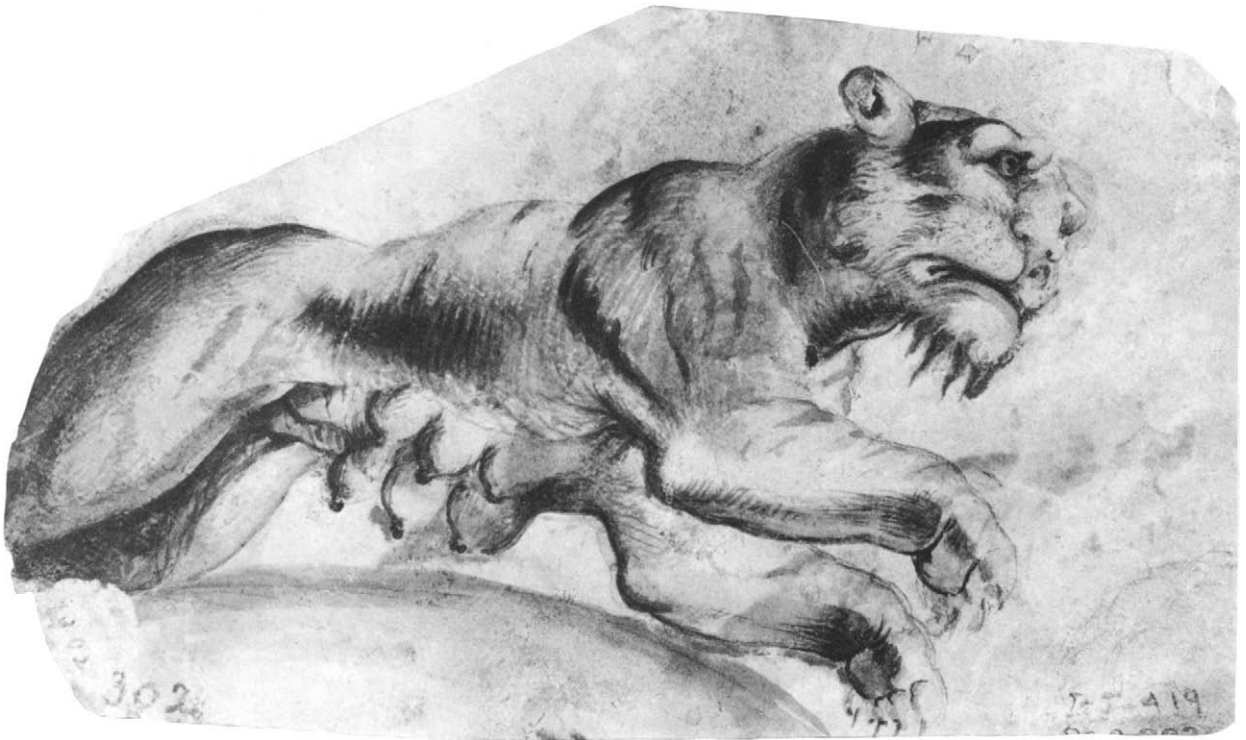




57 GIOVANNI DA UDINE. *Study of Two Birds and a Bunch of Grapes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 57.1. OTTAVIANI, after Giovanni da Udine. Decoration on a pilaster from the Vatican Logge



Verso of 57 *A Lioness Running toward the Right*



Fig. 57.2. GIOVANNI DA UDINE.  
*Putto with a Panther.*  
Villa Farnesina, Rome



58 GIOVANNI FRANCESCO PENNI. *The Massacre of the Innocents*. Private collection



59 GIULIO ROMANO. *Apparition of Saint Andrew in Glory*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

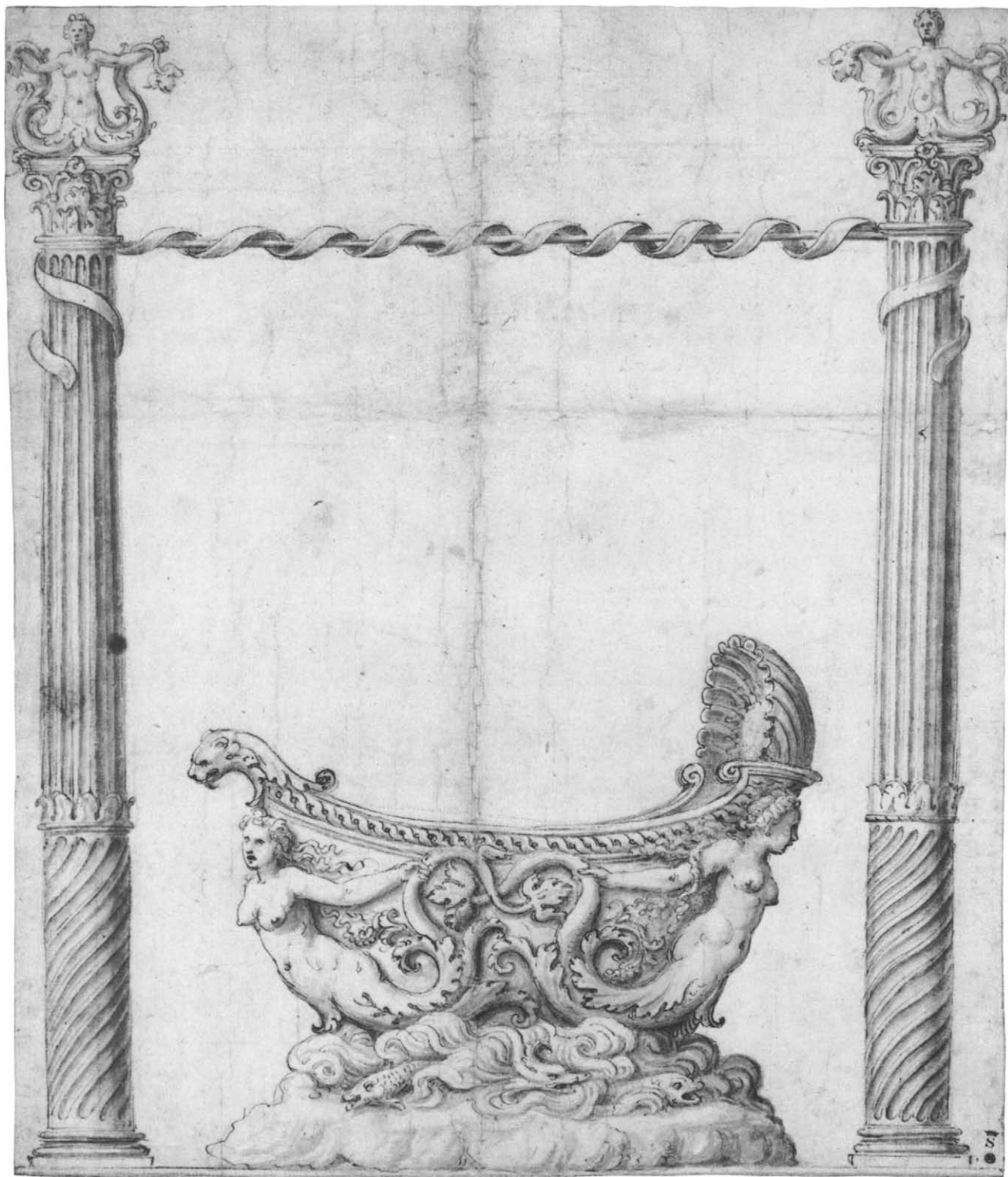


Fig. 59.1. RINALDO MANTOVANO. *The Rediscovery of the Holy Blood*. Boschetti Chapel, Sant'Andrea, Mantua



60 GIULIO ROMANO. *Apollo in a Chariot Crowning a Suppliant*. Private collection





61 GIULIO ROMANO. *Design for a Cradle*. Cooper-Hewitt Museum



62 POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO. *The Penitent Saint Jerome*. Jak Katalan



Verso of 62 *Two Standing Men, One Seen from the Rear Striding toward the Left*

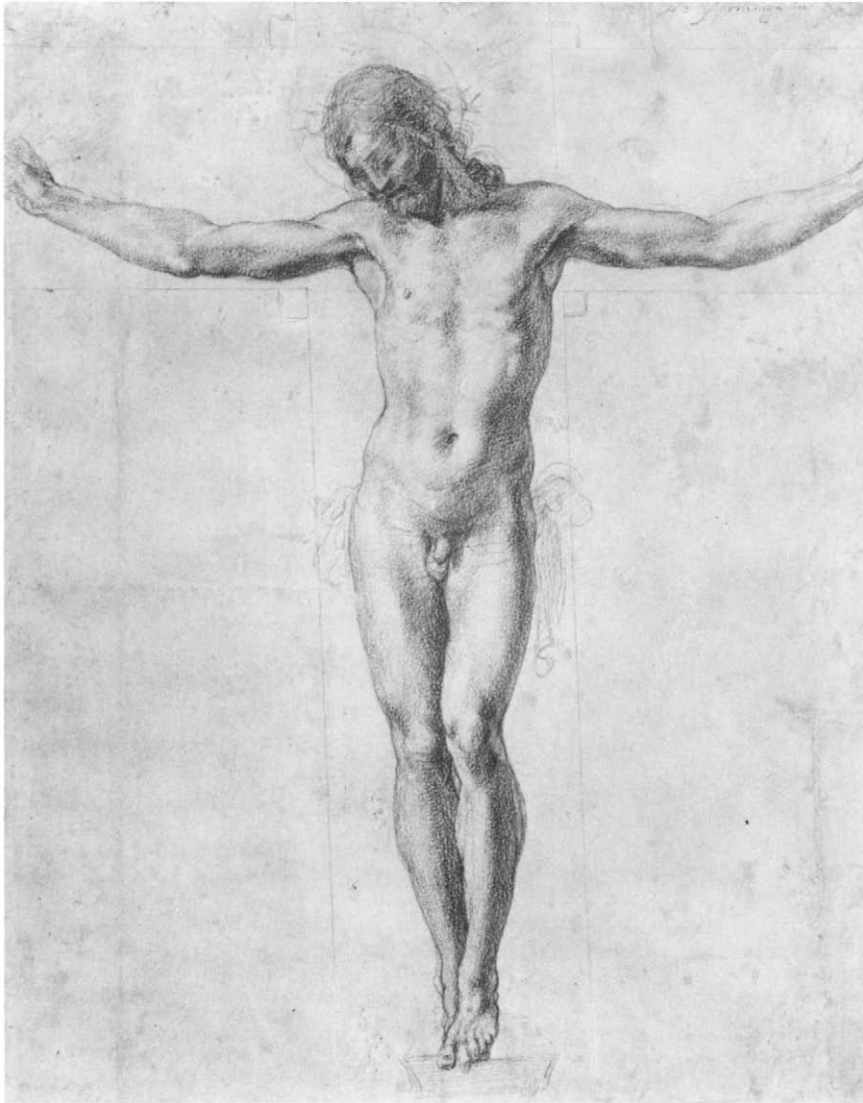


Fig. 62.1. POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO. *Prisoners Brought before a Magistrate*. The Pierpont Morgan Library



63 POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO. *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*. J. F. McCrindle





64 PERINO DEL VAGA.  
*The Crucified Christ.*  
The Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig. 64.1. PERINO DEL VAGA. *Study of the Dead Christ.*  
Musée du Louvre, Paris



65 PERINO DEL VAGA.  
*Studies of a Horse's Head and  
Raised Arms.* Private collection

Fig. 65.1. PERINO DEL VAGA.  
Fresco in the Loggia degli Eroi,  
Palazzo Doria, Genoa

Fig. 65.2. PERINO DEL VAGA.  
*Marcus Curtius Throwing Himself  
into the Chasm of the Roman  
Forum.* Palazzo Doria, Genoa

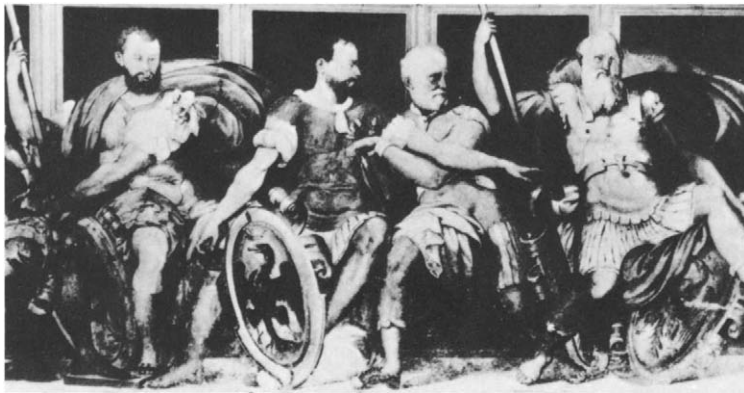




Fig. 66.I. PERINO DEL VAGA.  
*Alexander the Great Cutting the Gordian Knot.* Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome

66 PERINO DEL VAGA. *Alexander the Great Cutting the Gordian Knot.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



67 PERINO DEL VAGA. *Saint Peter and Saint John Healing a Cripple at the Gate of the Temple.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

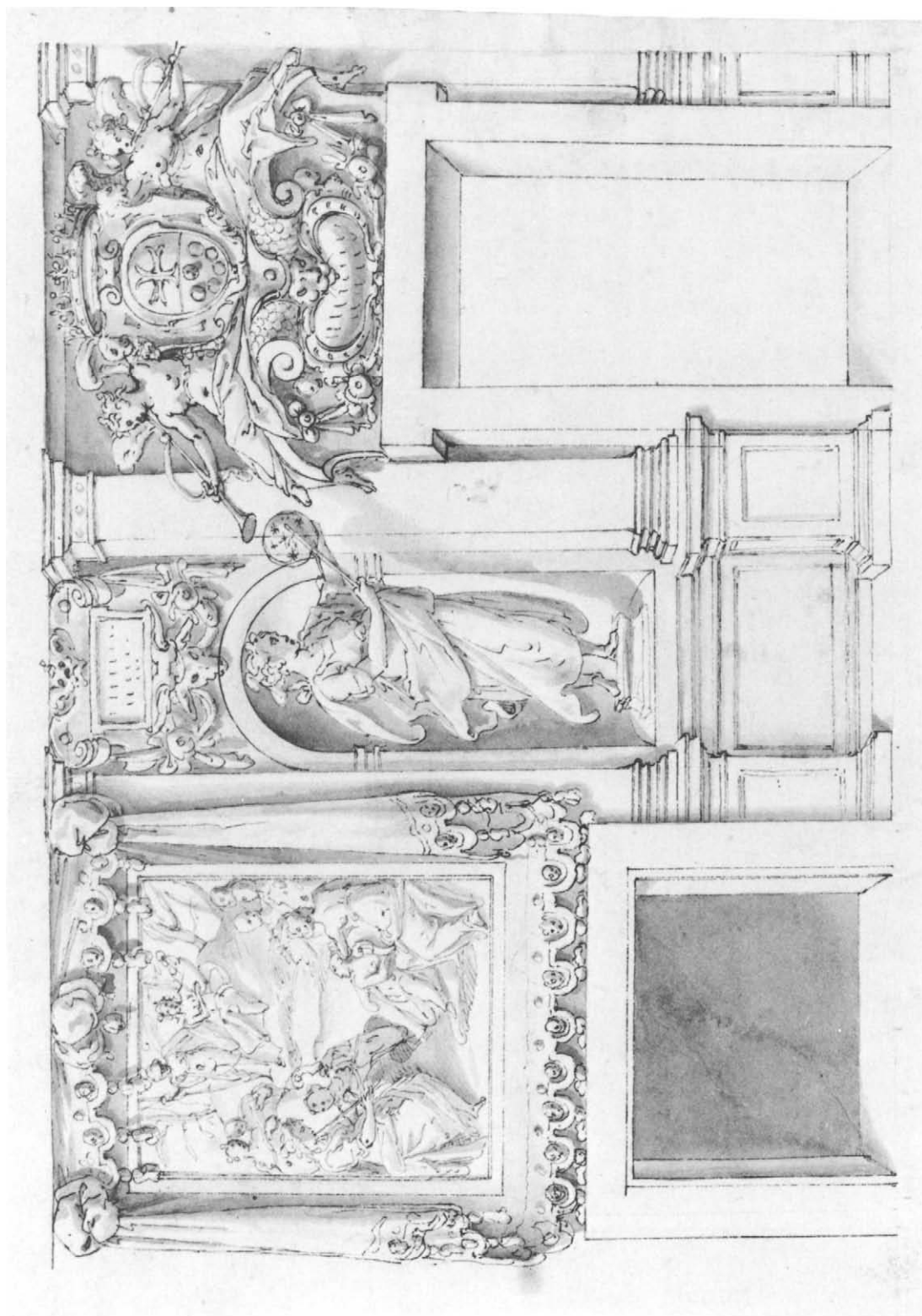


68 PIRRO LIGORIO. *A Seated Sibyl and Attendant Genius*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

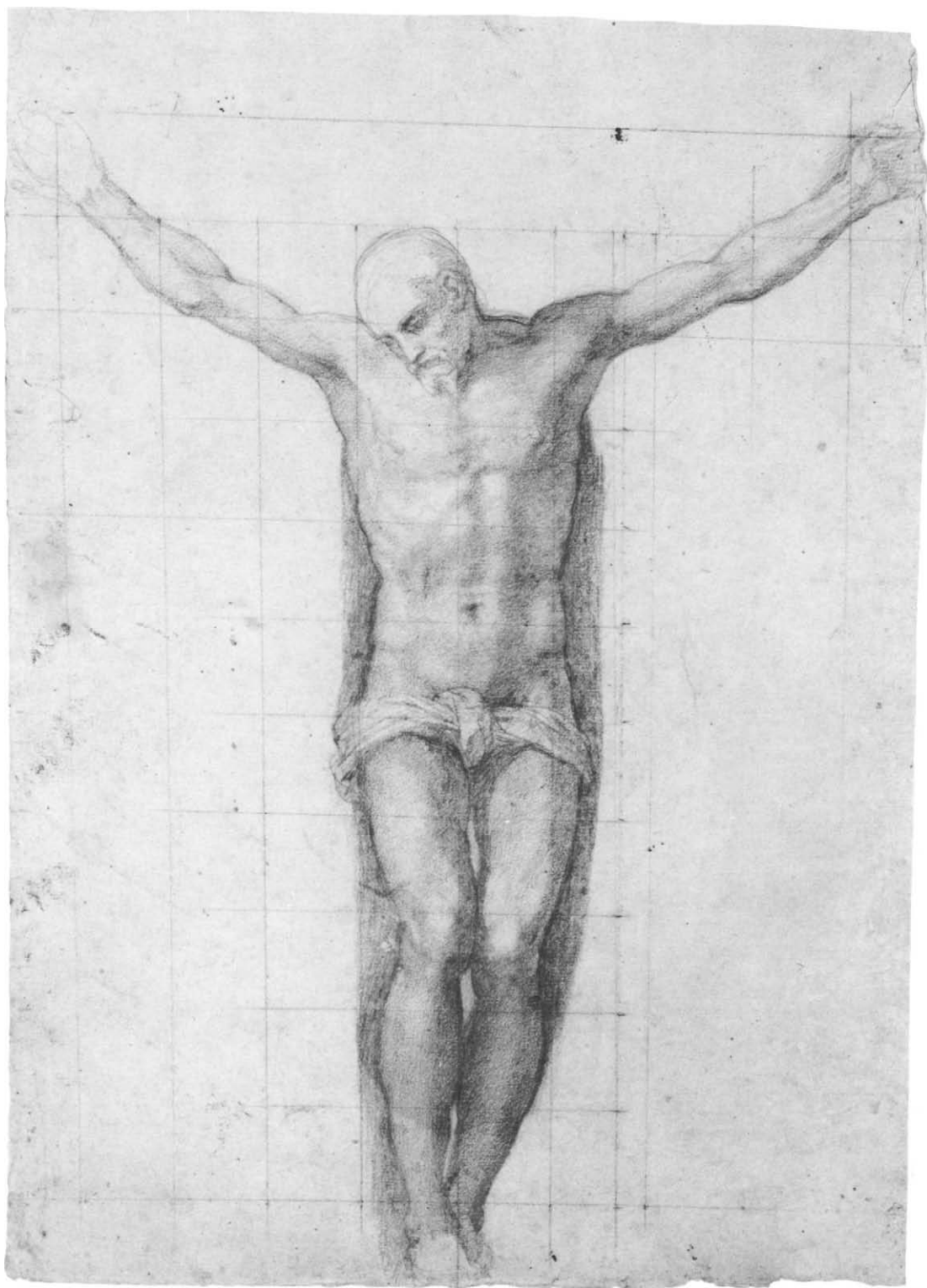




69 Attributed to GUGLIELMO DELLA PORTA. *Battle of Horsemen and Foot Soldiers*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection



70 MARCO DA FAENZA. *Project for the Decoration of a Wall.* Private collection



71 GIROLAMO MUZIANO. *Christ on the Cross*. Private collection

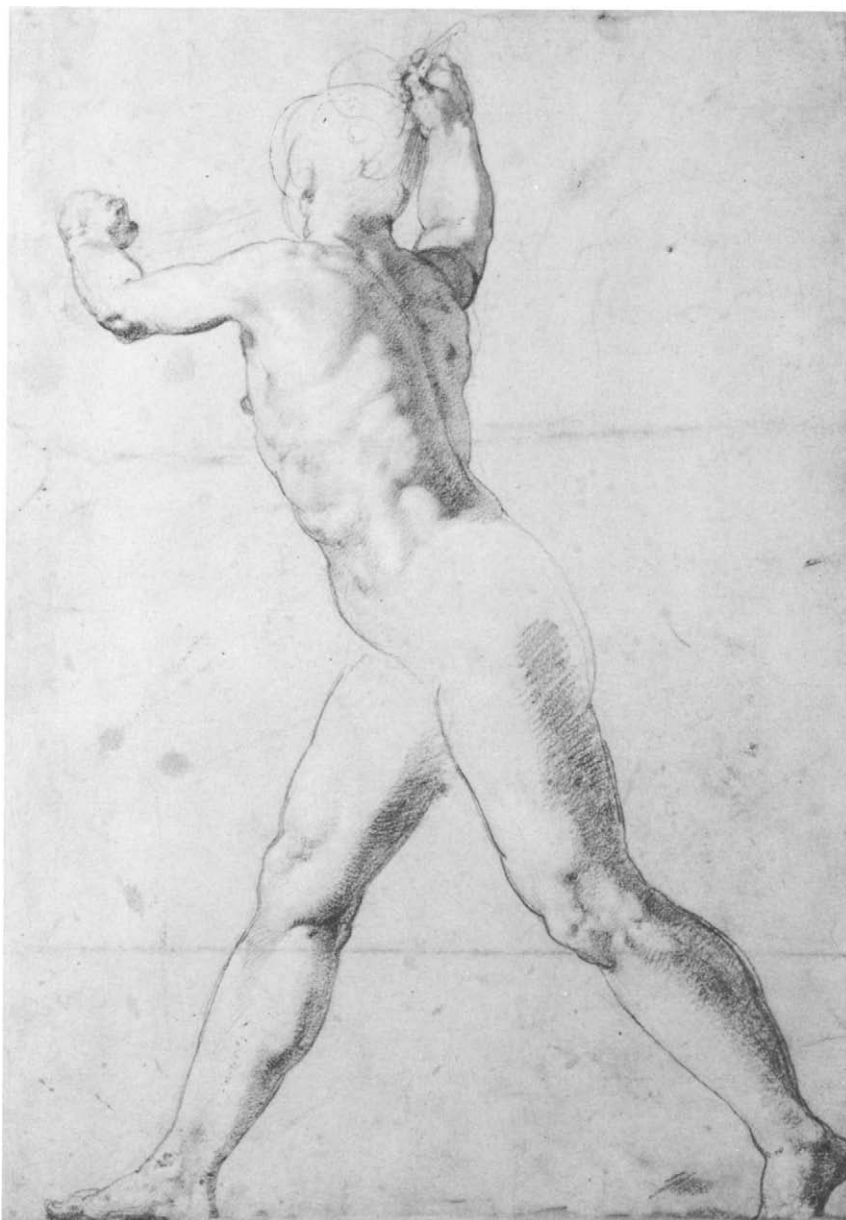




72 TADDEO ZUCCARO. *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness.*  
The Pierpont Morgan Library



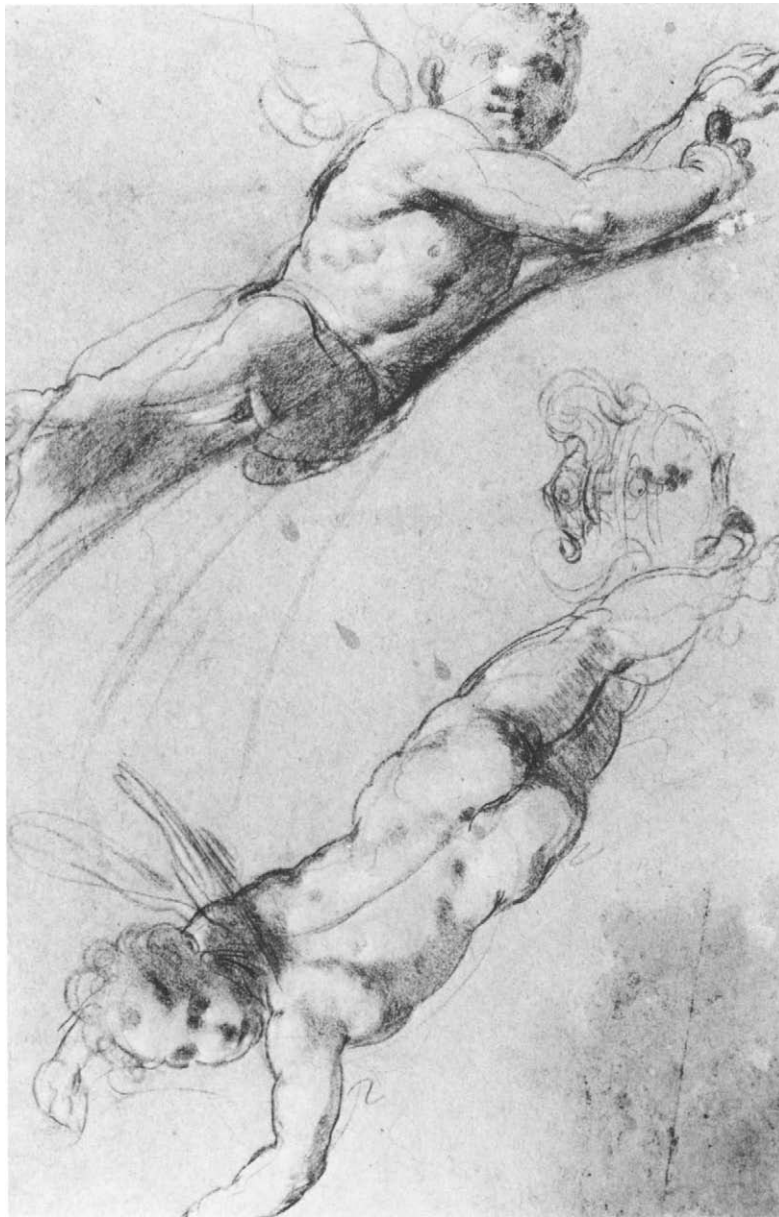
Verso of 72 *A Kneeling Male Figure*



73 TADDEO ZUCCARO. *Nude Man Striding*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Verso of 73 *Three Studies of Soldiers*



74 TADDEO ZUCCARO. *Two Flying Putti and an Urn.*  
Cooper-Hewitt Museum

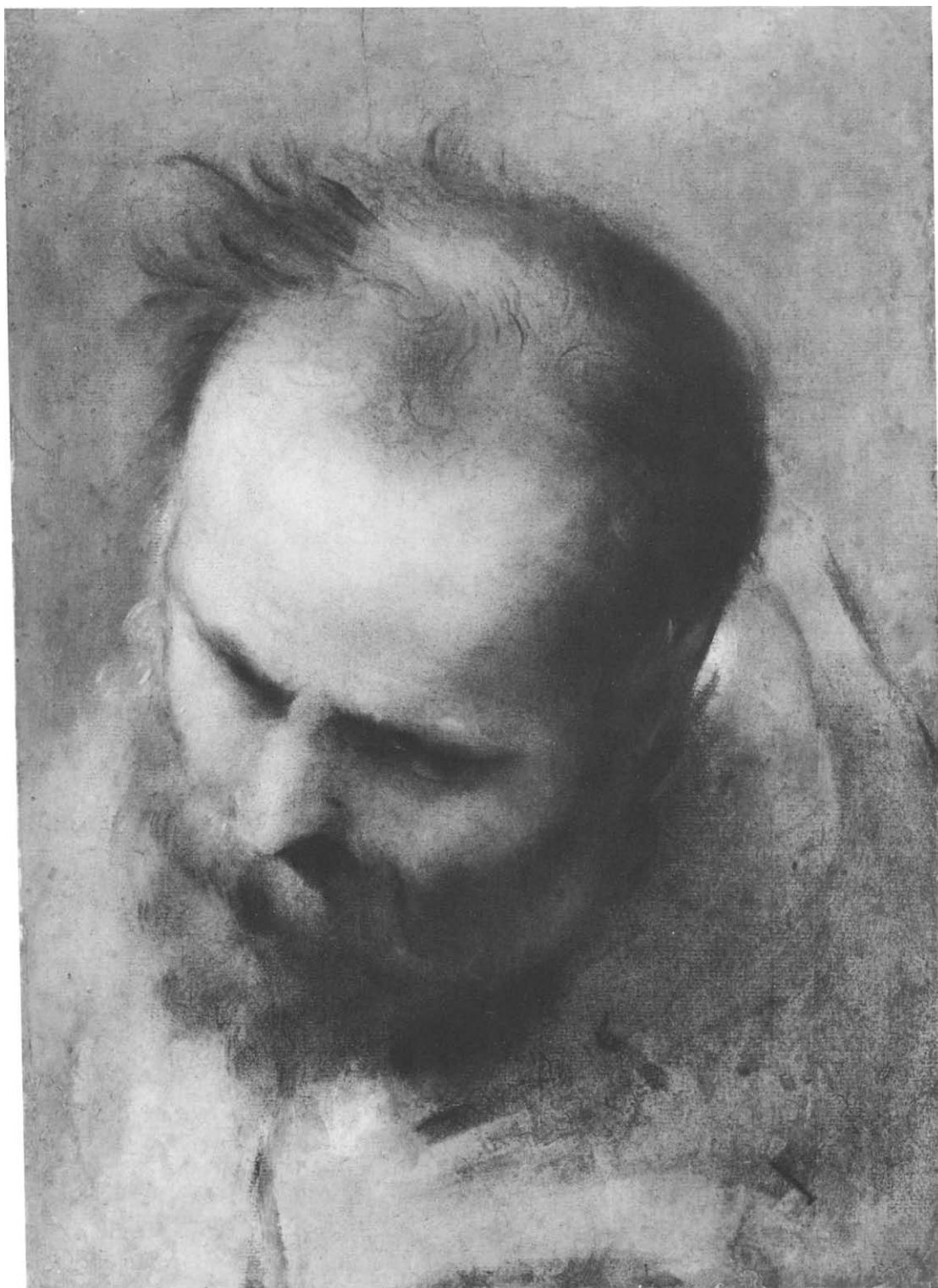


75 TADDEO ZUCCARO. *The Triumph of Bacchus*. Jak Katalan





76 FEDERICO BAROCCI. *The Madonna del Popolo*. David Tunick, Inc.



77 FEDERICO BAROCCI. *Head of a Bearded Man*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art





78 FEDERICO BAROCCI. *Head of an Old Woman*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



79 CESARE NEBBIA. *The Assumption of the Virgin*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 80.1. NEBBIA. *Saint Matthew* (mosaic).  
Saint Peter's, Vatican

80 CESARE NEBBIA. *Saint Matthew and the Angel*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art





Fig. 81.1. GIOVANNI DE' VECCHI.  
*Saint John the Evangelist.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

81 GIOVANNI DE' VECCHI. *Scene from Ancient History*. J. F. McCrindle



82a GIOVANNI GUERRA. *Saint Paul and His Companions Praying on the Shore at Tyre.* Charles M. and Amy G. Wilson

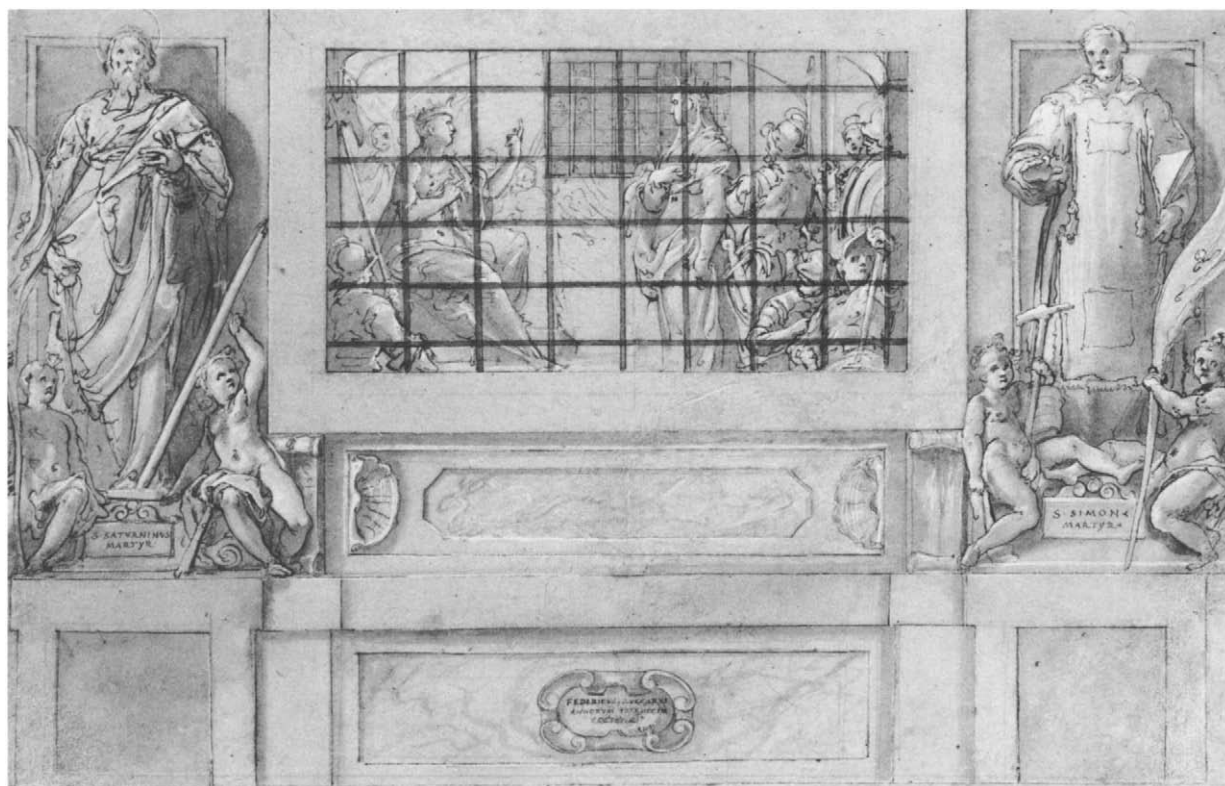


82b GIOVANNI GUERRA. *The Virgin and Apostles Praying in the Upper Room.* Charles M. and Amy G. Wilson





83 TROMETTA. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

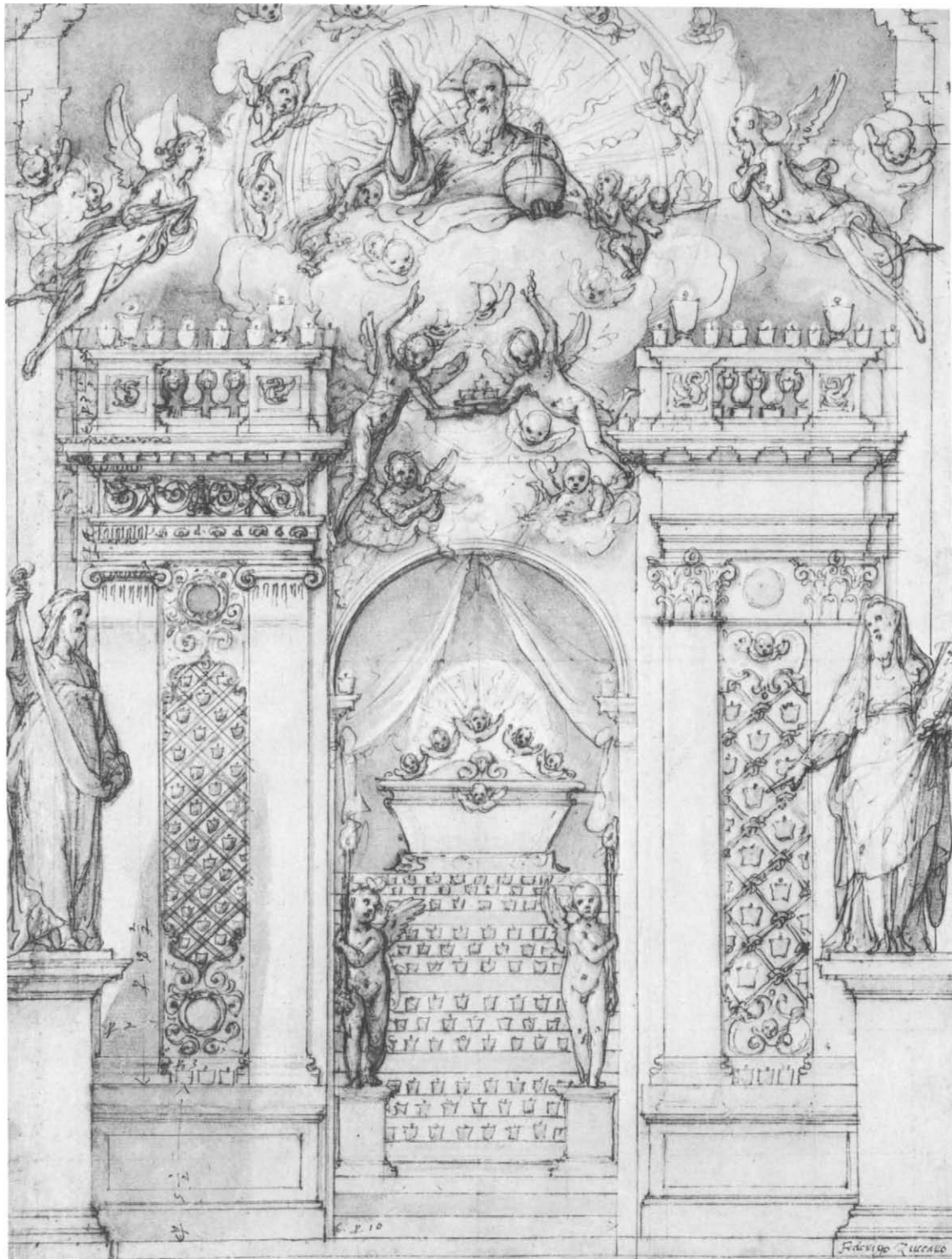


84 FEDERICO ZUCCARO. *Saint Catherine of Alexandria Converting the Empress Faustina to Christianity, Flanked by Saints Saturninus and Sisinius*. Private collection



85 FEDERICO ZUCCARO. *The Submission of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III.*  
The Pierpont Morgan Library





86 FEDERICO ZUCCARO. *Design for a Quarant'Ore Decoration*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



87 AVANZINO NUCCI. *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



88 CHERUBINO ALBERTI. *Angel Carrying a Candelabrum*. Private collection



Fig. 88.1. CHERUBINO ALBERTI. *Angel Carrying a Candelabrum*. Aldobrandini Chapel, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome



89 CAVALIERE D'ARPINO. *Allegorical Figure of Fame*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 89.I. CAVALIERE D'ARPINO.  
Ceiling fresco in the Palazzina  
Montalto, Villa Lante, Bagnaia



90 SODOMA. *Head of a Bearded Old Man in Profile to the Right.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

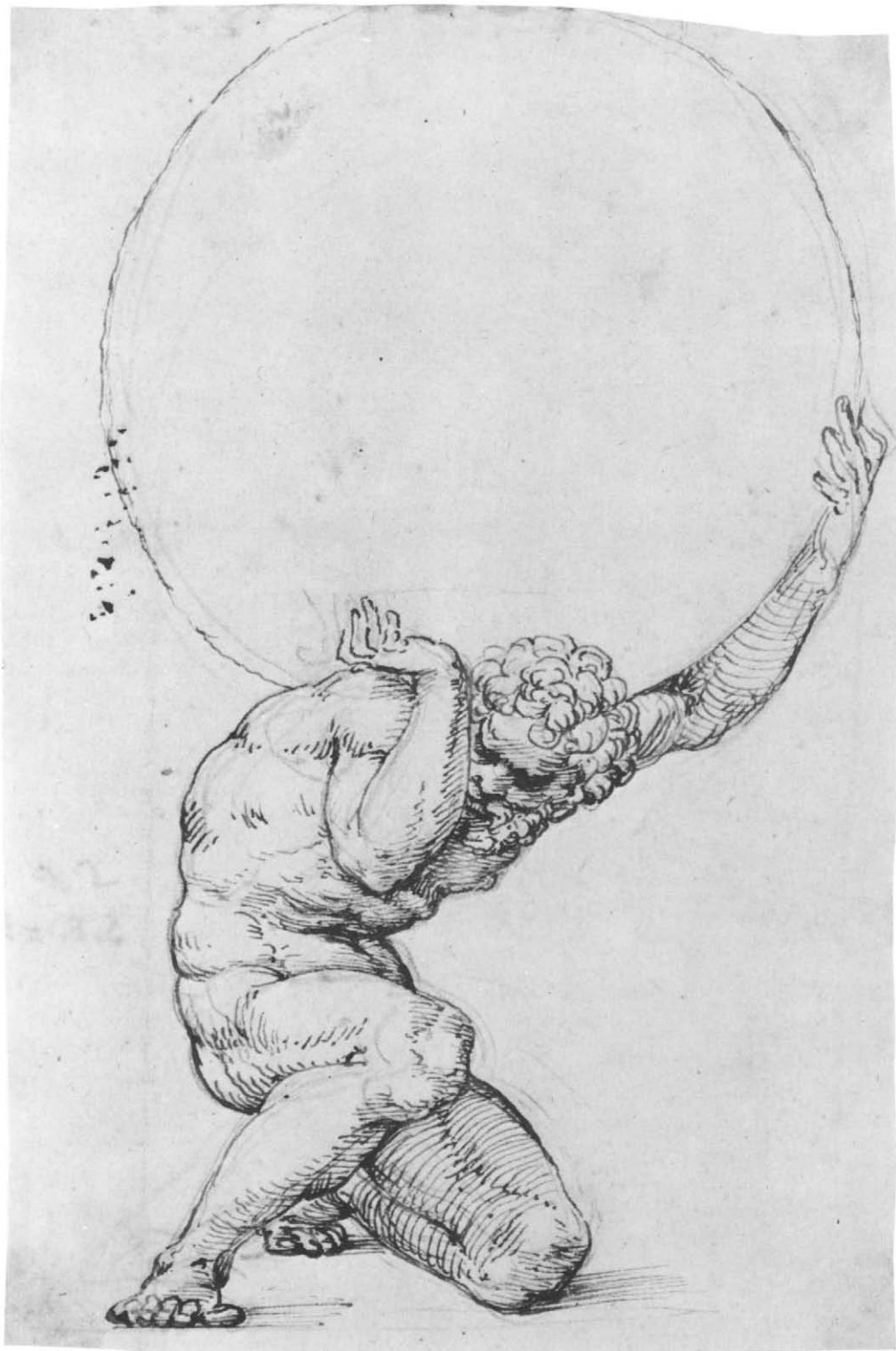


Verso of 90 *Head of a Man Facing  
Three Quarters to the Left*





91 SODOMA. *Head of a Man Turned to the Left*. Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman



92 BALDASSARE PERUZZI. *Atlas*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



93 BALDASSARE PERUZZI. *Study for the Tomb of Cardinal Francesco Armellini.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Partial and Promised Gift of Gilbert Butler

Fig. 93.1. PERUZZI. *Study for the Tomb of Cardinal Armellini.* Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt

Fig. 93.2. *Armellini Tomb.* Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome

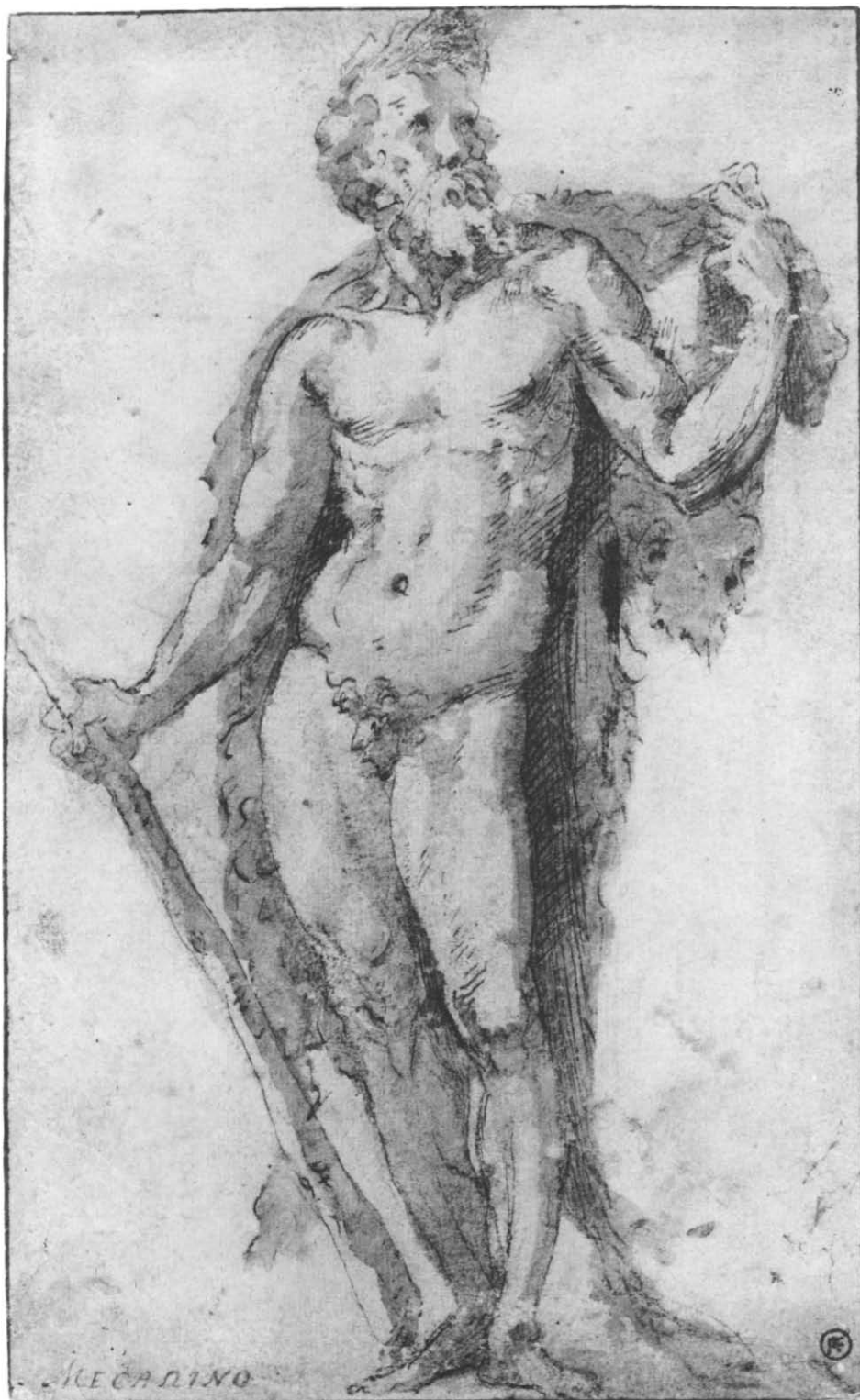






Fig. 94.1. BECCAFUMI. *Saint Mark*. Cathedral, Pisa

94 DOMENICO BECCAFUMI. *Saint Mark*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



95 DOMENICO BECCAFUMI. *Hercules*. Michael Hall, Esq.



96 VINCENZO TAMAGNI. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints.*  
Mrs. A. Alfred Taubman



Verso of 96 *Studies of Figures and an Aedicula*

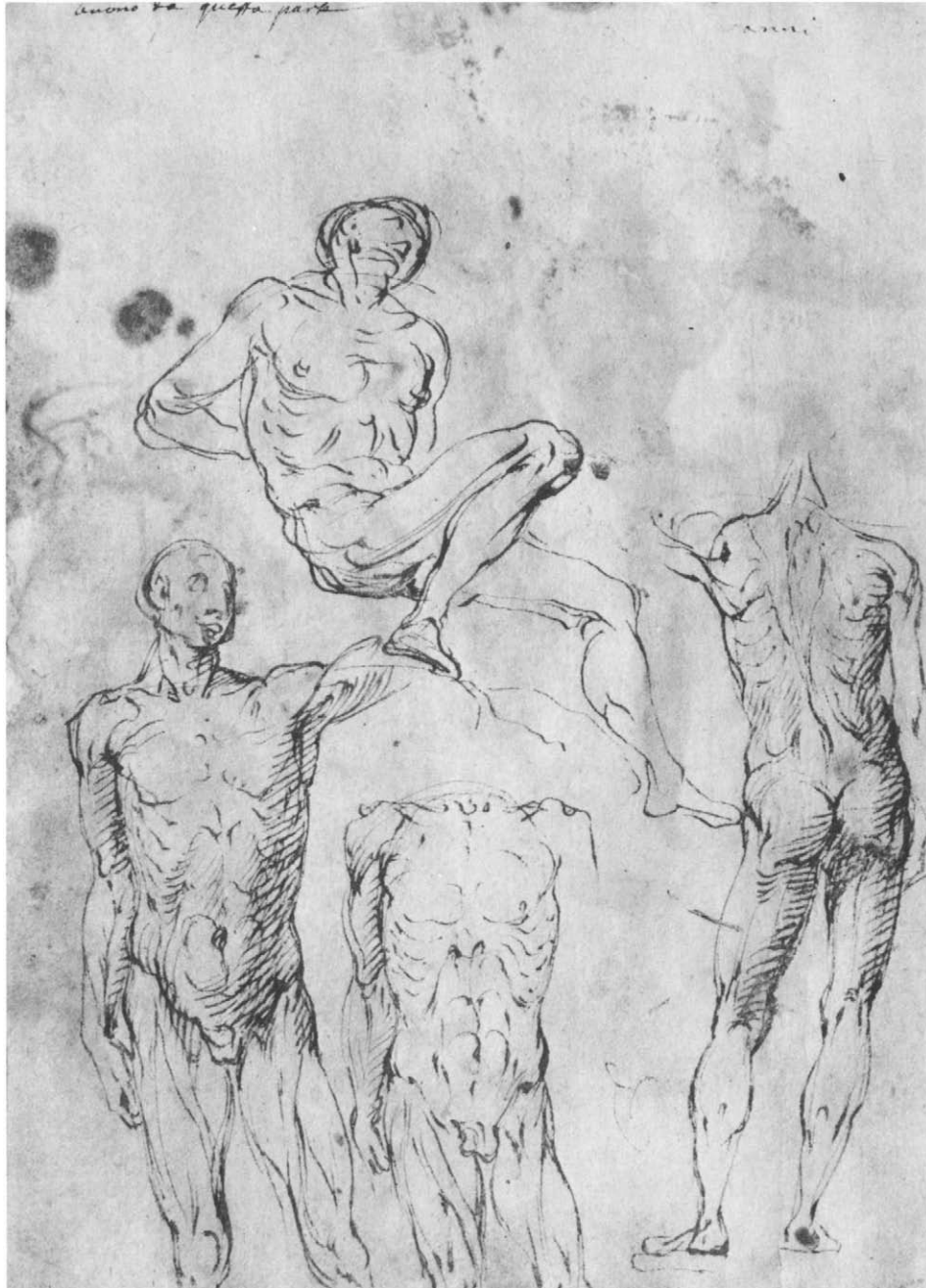


97 MARCO PINO. *Man in Armor with Saints, Adoring the Virgin and Child in Glory.*  
The Pierpont Morgan Library



98 ALESSANDRO DI AGOSTINO CASOLANI. *Sheet of Studies*. Private collection





Verso of 98 *Figure Studies*



99 FRANCESCO VANNI. *Standing Woman Looking toward Left Background*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 99.1. VANNI. *Saint Hyacinth Resuscitating a Drowned Boy*. Musée du Louvre, Paris



100 FRANCESCO VANNI. *Sheet of Studies: Standing and Kneeling Clerics and Religious, Adam and Eve, and a Reclining Skeleton.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 100.1. VANNI. *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception.* Santa Margherita, Cortona

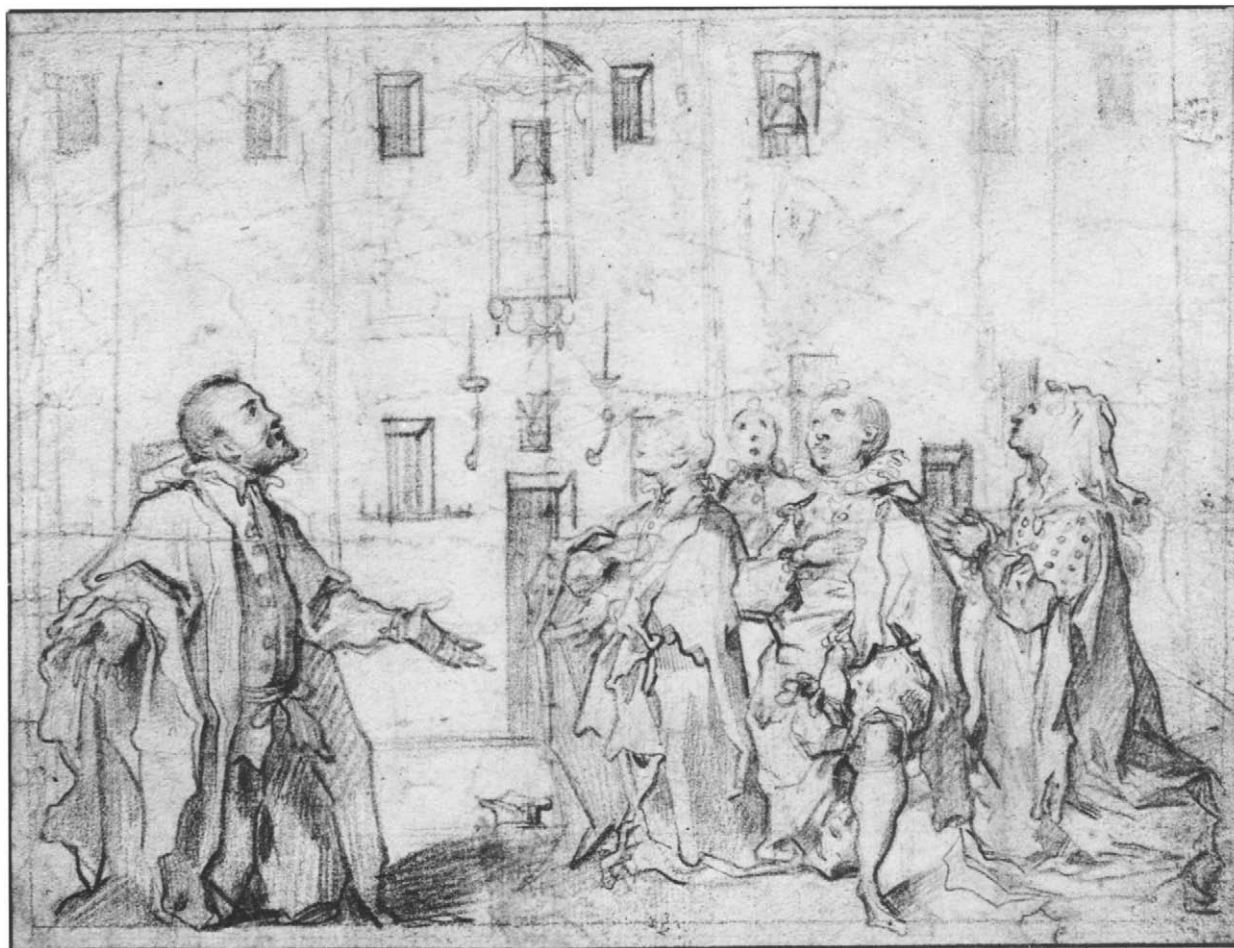




101 FRANCESCO VANNI. *Saint Blaise and Saint Catherine of Alexandria*. Jak Katalan



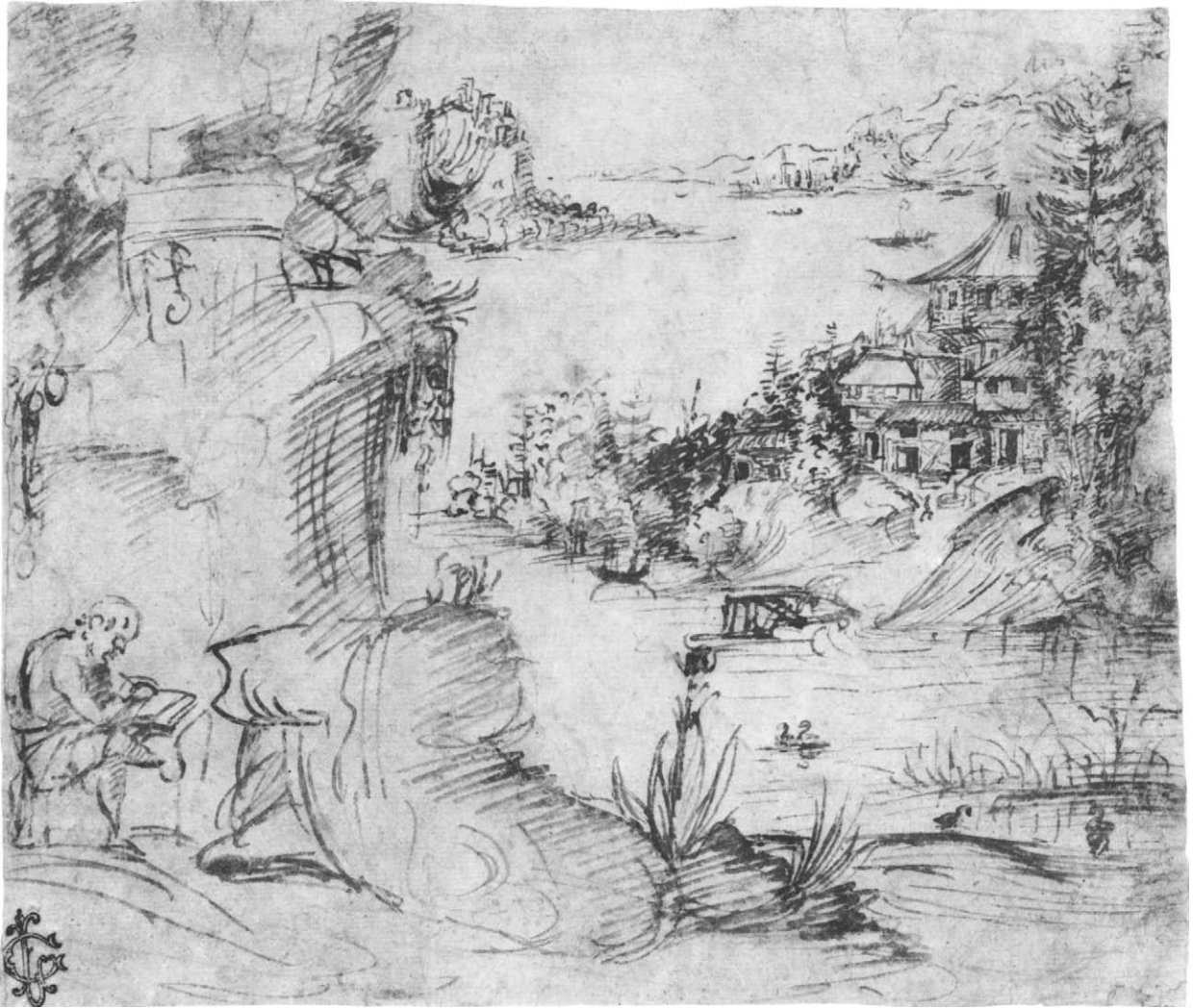
102 FRANCESCO VANNI OR RUTILIO MANETTI. *The Coronation of the Virgin*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



103 VENTURA SALIMBENI. *Family Kneeling before an Outdoor Shrine*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



104 Attributed to VENTURA SALIMBENI. *The Ascension of Christ*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



105 MARCO BASAITI. *Landscape with Saint Jerome*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection



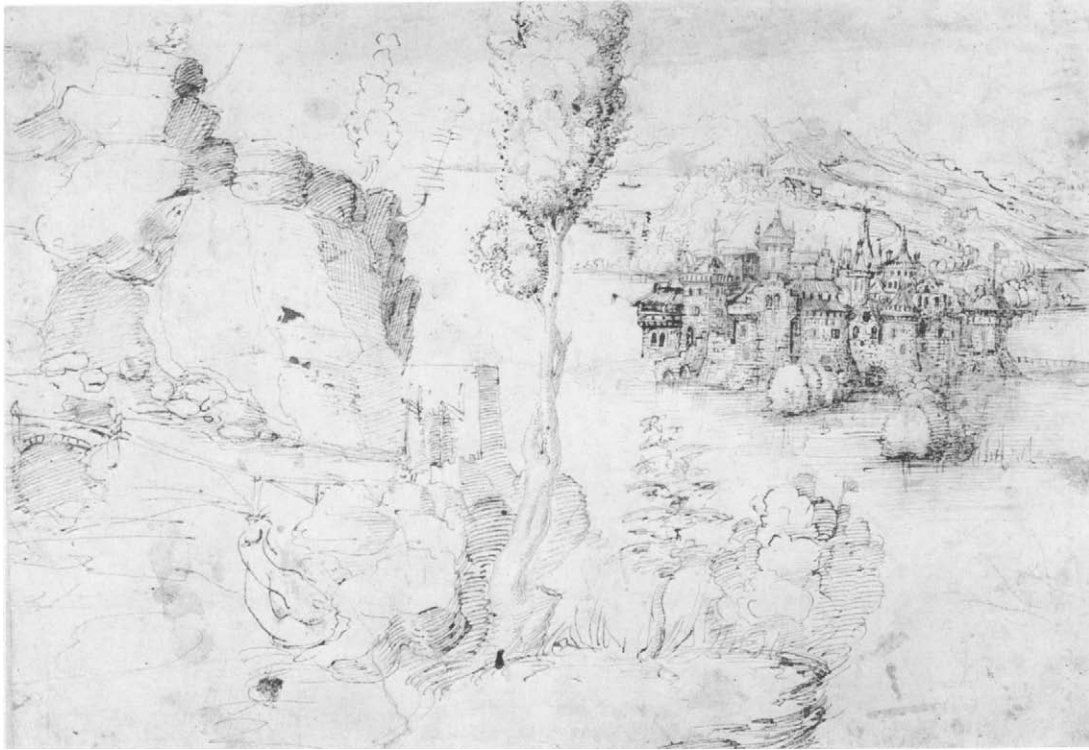


Fig. 105.1. BASAITI.  
*Rocky Landscape  
with a City on a Lake.*  
Museum Boymans-van  
Beuningen, Rotterdam



Fig. 105.2. BASAITI.  
*Wooded Landscape  
with a City on a Stream.*  
Albertina, Vienna



106 GIOVANNI ANTONIO DA PORDENONE. *Design for the Decoration of a Pilaster.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

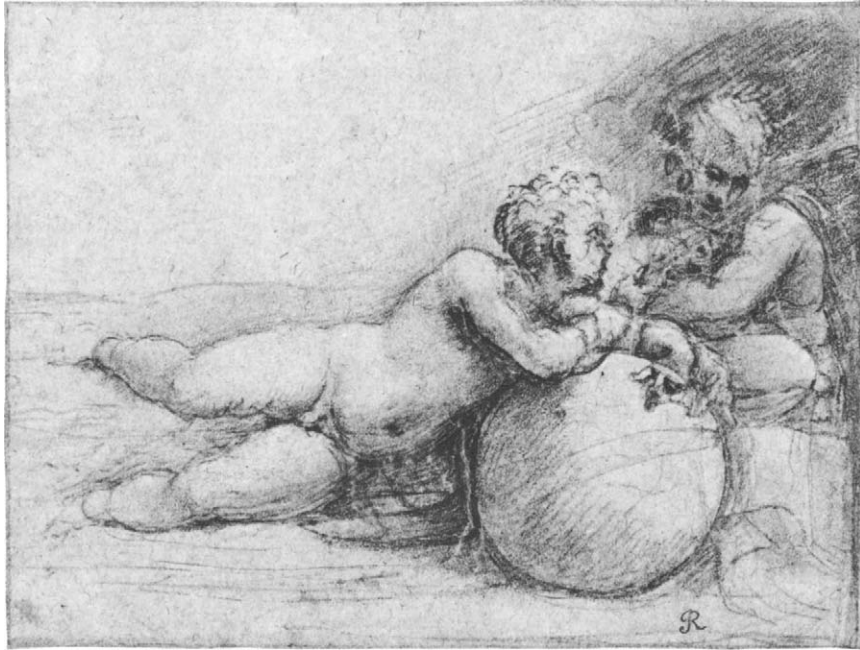




Verso of 106 *Design for the Decoration of a Pilaster* (detail)



Figs. 106.1 and 106.2. PORDENONE.  
Decorations on pilasters, Pallavicini  
Chapel, San Francesco,  
Cortemaggiore



107 SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO. *The Christ Child and Saint John the Baptist.*  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



108 TITIAN. *Landscape with a Goat*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



109 DOMENICO CAMPAGNOLA, *Landscape with an Old Woman Holding a Spindle*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



110 DOMENICO CAMPAGNOLA. *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*. B. H. Breslauer



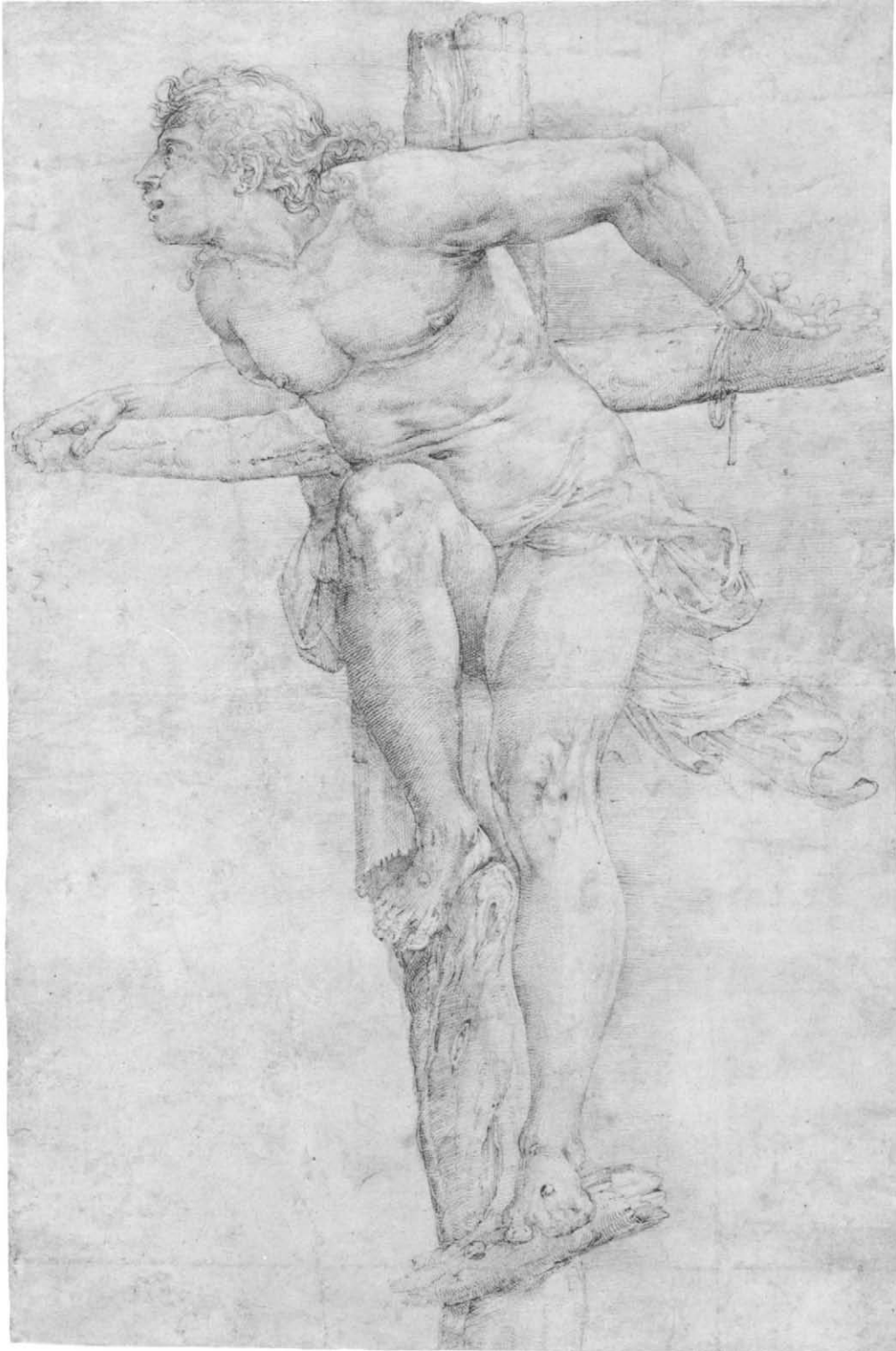
111 POMPONIO AMALTEO. *Susanna and the Elders before Daniel*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

112 JACOPO BASSANO.  
*Head of Saint Joseph.*  
Private collection



Fig. 112.1. BASSANO. *The Flight into Egypt.*  
Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio





113 BATTISTA FRANCO. *The Penitent Thief on the Cross*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 113.1. FRANCO. *Christ on the Cross between the Two Thieves*



Fig. 113.2. FRANCO. *The Unrepentant Thief on the Cross*.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



114 BATTISTA FRANCO. *Gods on Olympus*.  
The Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig. 114.1. MASTER OF THE DIE. *Council of the Gods*

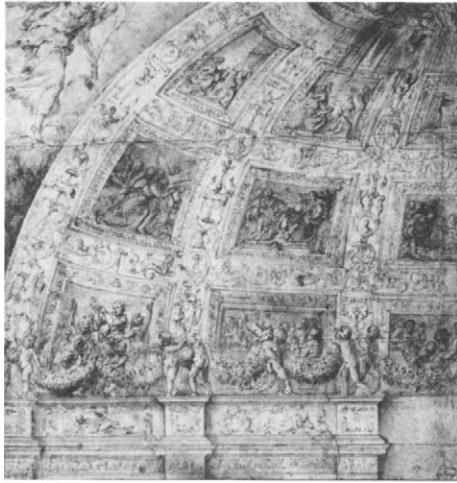
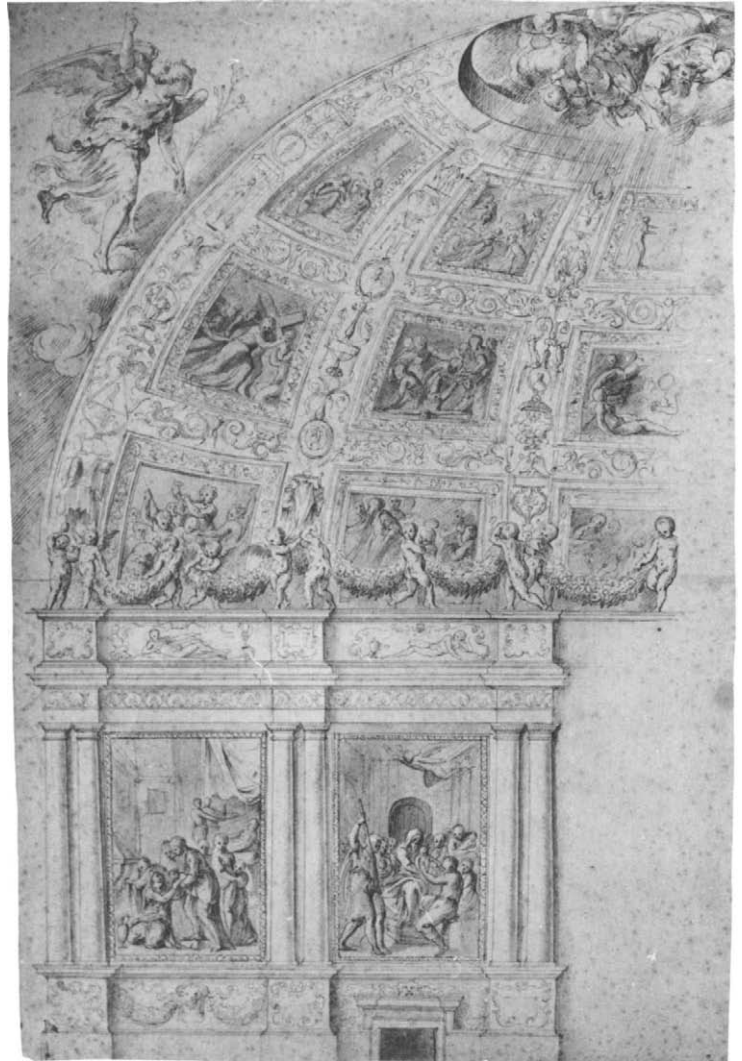


Fig. 115.1. FRANCO. *Design for the Decoration of an Apse*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



115 BATTISTA FRANCO. *Design for the Decoration of an Apse*. Private collection



116 TINTORETTO. *Samson Killing the Philistines*. Private collection





117 GIUSEPPE SALVIATI. *The Abduction of Helen*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection



118 PAOLO FARINATI. *Prophet Holding a Banderole*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art





119 VERONESE. *Studies of Apostles*. Private collection



120 PALMA GIOVANE. *Self-Portrait with Allegorical Figures*.  
The Pierpont Morgan Library



Fig. 120.1. PALMA. *Self-Portrait*.  
The Pierpont Morgan Library

# Index of Artists

Alberti, Cherubino	88	Jacone, Jacopo di Giovanni di Francesco, called	22
Allori, Alessandro	24, 30	Ligorio, Pirro	68
Amalteo, Pomponio	III	Ligozzi, Jacopo	35
Anselmi, Michelangelo	4	Luini, Aurelio	51
Aspertini, Amico	I		
Balducci, Giovanni, called Cosci	39	Manetti, Rutilio	102
Bandinelli, Baccio	21	Marco Marchetti da Faenza	70
Bandini, Giovanni	33	Maso da San Friano	29
Barocci, Federico	76–78	Michelangelo	18
Fra Bartolommeo	17	Muziano, Girolamo	71
Basaiti, Marco	105		
Bassano, Jacopo	112	Naldini, Giovanni Battista	32
Beccafumi, Domenico	94, 95	Nebbia, Cesare	79, 80
Bedoli, Girolamo Mazzola	9	Nucci, Avanzino	87
Bertoia, Jacopo	14, 15		
Boltraffio, Giovanni Antonio	46	Orsi, Lelio	10, 11
Boscoli, Andrea	40		
Bronzino, Agnolo	23, 24	Paggi, Giovanni Battista	42
		Palma Giovane	120
Cambiaso, Luca	41	Parmigianino	5–8
Campagnola, Domenico	109, 110	Penni, Giovanni Francesco	58
Campi, Bernardino	50	Perino del Vaga	64–67
Casolani, Alessandro	98	Peruzzi, Baldassare	92, 93
Castello, Bernardo	44	Piazza, Callisto	49
Cesari, Giuseppe, called Cavaliere d'Arpino	89	Pino, Marco	97
Cigoli, Ludovico	36–38	Polidoro da Caravaggio	62, 63
Correggio	2	Pordenone, Giovanni Antonio da	106
		Porta, Giuseppe, called Giuseppe Salviati	117
Farinati, Paolo	118	Porta, Guglielmo della	69
Fenzoni, Ferraù	16	Procaccini, Camillo	53, 54
Ferrari, Gaudenzio	47	Pupini, Biagio	3
Franco, Battista	113–15		
		Raphael	56
Giovanni da Udine	57		
Giulio Romano	59–61	Salimbeni, Ventura	103, 104
Guerra, Giovanni	82	Salviati, Francesco	25, 26

Samacchini, Orazio	13		
Santi di Tito	31		
Sarto, Andrea del	19		
Savoldo, Girolamo	48		
Sebastiano del Piombo	107		
Signorelli, Luca	55		
Sodoma, Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, called	90, 91		
Sogliani, Giovanni Antonio	20		
Solario, Andrea	45		
Tamagni, Vincenzo	96		
Tavarone, Lazzaro	43		
Tibaldi, Pellegrino	12		
Tintoretto, Jacopo	116		
Titian	108		
Trometta, Niccolò Martinelli, called	83		
Urbino, Carlo	52		
Vanni, Francesco	99–102		
Vasari, Giorgio	27, 28		
Vecchi, Giovanni de'	81		
Veronese, Paolo	119		
Zuccaro, Federico	84–86		
Zuccaro, Taddeo	72–75		
Zucchi, Jacopo	34		

