Few visitors to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York or Berlin’s Gemäldegalerie who look hard at the slightly macabre paintings of Vittore Carpaccio (ca. 1460–1525/26) will leave unaffected. These compelling works can set the viewer on a path of inquiry into the creative processes, and questions arise about the inspirations and sources drawn on by quattrocento artists. How did the artist work when imitating nature, combining it with his artful imagination, creating rich narrative detail? One part of the process, the borrowing of motifs—common in the period—is the subject of this essay. Carpaccio will be my example; by examining a selection of his work I intend to bring to light some of the methods used in Venetian workshops at the end of the fifteenth century. My focus is directed particularly toward the relationship between model-drawings and the actual painted compositions for which such models were used.

Two of Carpaccio’s paintings will be discussed here: Meditation on the Passion of about 1480–1505 in the Metropolitan Museum and The Preparation of Christ’s Tomb of about 1505 in the Gemäldegalerie (Figures 1, 3, Colorplates 4, 5). This investigation is a continuation of my previous research, published as an article in 1993, in which I reconstructed the original placement of the two paintings, once located in the Scuola di San Giobbe, Venice. The paintings, which represent Christ’s Passion witnessed by Job and other biblical figures and saints, convey a morbid mood. Both remind us of the sacrament of the Eucharist. In the New York Meditation on the Passion, Job, on the right, points his finger at something outside the picture plane, probably a reference to the chalice and bread of the Mass or to the tabernacle, where the sacred bread was kept on the altar. The Berlin Preparation of Christ’s Tomb, with its representation of the actual body of Christ on a tablelike stretcher that can be read as an altar or mensa, epitomizes the essential idea of transubstantiation during the Eucharist Mass. (Job is seated just behind, under the tree.) Optical distortions such as Christ’s elongated legs establish a perspectival viewpoint distinctly to the left. Therefore one is tempted to conclude that the small, symmetrically composed panel in New York was the original altarpiece, while the Berlin canvas was probably one of several decorative paintings above a wooden paneling on the right (Figure 2). A continuous row of canvas paintings of this sort (teleri) is preserved in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice.

Job is rarely represented in church decoration. Bereft of his belongings, Job was predestined to become the patron of the poor. Venice still has a poorhouse, a monastery, and a church of Saint Job (San Giobbe). The representation in both pictures of the hermit saint, his poverty emphasized, demonstrates the relationship of these important institutions to the Franciscan reform movement in Venice. Most likely both pictures were created for the Scuola di San Giobbe, which was founded by the friars and sisters of the San Giobbe hospice. This institution also commissioned Giovanni Bellini’s famous Pala di San Giobbe in the church of San Giobbe.3

From Pattern Book to Model Collection

Much of the painstaking preliminary work of a completed composition lies concealed behind it. When creating a picture, Carpaccio inserted various motifs based on model-drawings into his composition. Such models were typically collected by workshops, worked on, altered, and multiplied. If an animal or a human being either nude or in a special costume had to be rendered in a certain posture, the artist would search in that collection for a suitable drawing and transfer it onto his painting. A single model was often used in several pictures.

The collection of model-drawings that served as a source for Carpaccio’s motifs was actually a further development of the pattern books used during the Middle Ages. These were collections of motifs often compiled into a copybook or a more substantial volume,
Figure 1. Vittore Carpaccio (Italian, Venetian, ca. 1460–1525/26). Meditation on the Passion, ca. 1480–1505. Oil and tempera on wood, 70.5 x 86.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1911 (11.118). See also Colorplate 4

Figure 2. Proposed reconstruction of the altar wall, with Carpaccio's Passion paintings, in the Scuola di San Giobbe, Venice
each page carrying rows of schematic variations on a certain motif. A typical example is the well-preserved Taccuino degli animali, an animal pattern book from the workshop of Giovannino de’ Grassi (active from 1380s, died 1398). Interestingly, one generation after de’ Grassi, Antonio Pisanello (ca. 1395–1455) produced his own kind of model collection in which studies from nature replaced the rather stiff and repetitive pattern book motifs. Art historians have not defined the difference between a bound pattern book and a model collection (in German, Vorlagenansammlung). I would describe the model collection as an assortment of drawings of different sizes and subjects and displaying different techniques. They were utilized in Italian workshops during Carpaccio’s lifetime. In Pisanello’s model collection, preserved through the Codex Vallardi; copies from older models and drawings after motifs from other artists existed side by side with his own inventions—studies from nature and of animals or humans. Significantly, even when Pisanello tried to copy an old conventional pattern book motif, he represented his creatures with individuality and expressiveness, rendering the same animal from different viewpoints. Evidence of this can be found in an early Pisanello drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris) that shows a pair of rabbits facing each other as well as a single rabbit, a deer, and a fallow deer, all in an arrangement resembling that of a pattern book (Figure 4). His striving to copy and imitate nature is also evident in a drawing of a male nude on the same page. Comparison with a pattern book from Lombardy (Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice; Figure 5) demonstrates that its somewhat schematic profile view of a rabbit and Pisanello’s drawing are based on similar models taken from the same perspective. But Pisanello, with his strong feeling for the body of the
animal, rendered it as a lifelike creature in three dimensions; and he added a second rabbit to make a pair, their heads facing each other. This motif will be further discussed later.

**Traveling Motifs: Images Borrowed from Other Artists**

A number of old Lombardesque animal patterns were used as models by artists and thereby circulated to a certain extent. Annegret Schmitt has traced a motif that traveled from Giovannino de’ Grassi via a North Italian drawing to a Venetian narrative painting in the Louvre. Similarly, a fallow deer fleeing in the background of Carpaccio’s *Meditation on the Passion* (Figure 6), which also appears in Carpaccio’s *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice; Figure 7), goes back to a de’ Grassi motif (Figure 8). Some motifs derived from Pisanello’s animals—a young deer, a fallow deer, and a rabbit—were
used by Carpaccio as well as by Giovanni Bellini, but they most likely reached the two artists through other sources.9 The same is true of the representations of a parakeet, a marten, and a grazing deer in Carpaccio’s New York painting. All of these are combined in the Venice Saint Jerome and the Lion just mentioned.10

A leopard attacking a stag appears in the upper left background of the Meditation on the Passion (Figure 9) and recurs in Carpaccio’s Blood of the Redeemer (Museo Civico, Udine). (The motif, with its sacrifice of the defenseless, is to be understood as a symbol of the Eucharist.) The same grouping is taken up again in the Codex Zichy (Figure 10), by the Venetian engineer and cartographer Angelo dal Cortivo (1462–1536).11

This codex even includes, on folio 163, a drawing of a classical Roman arch in a ruined state that is identical in composition and perspective to the arch in the middle ground of Carpaccio’s Preparation of Christ’s Tomb (Figures 11, 12). The tufts of grass, the carved relief, the arch segments strewn over the ground, and the broken column shaft are strikingly similar in the two representations. We must assume that Carpaccio’s composition and the Codex Zichy are both linked to a model the origin of which we do not know.

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Figure 11. Angelo dal Cortivo (Italian, Venetian, 1462–1536). Codex Zichy, fol. 163 (detail). Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest (photo: Ervin Szabó Library)
The *Codex Zichy*’s text is a heterogeneous collection of sonnets, other verses, and treatises on architecture. Its illustrations, which resemble those of a pattern book, are mainly of antique architectural elements and ornaments. There are also imaginative renderings of ancient temples and ruins as well as Latin and Greek alphabets, Islamic ornaments, and Arabic letterings. The treatise on architecture on folios 89–164, which is illustrated with drawings, is based on Francesco di Giorgio Martini’s work. Some motifs, like the leopard attacking a stag just mentioned, have not yet been traced to their sources. This combat group is almost certainly derived from an antique sarcophagus. Certain motifs in the *Codex Zichy* remind us of drawings after antiquity by Andrea Mantegna; a large head seen from below on folio 46 verso is a direct copy after Mantegna’s print *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (Figures 14, 15). An antique arch segment overgrown with grass similar to that in the codex appears in Mantegna’s fresco *The Execution of Saint James*, painted in the Ovetari Chapel, Padua, but now destroyed (Figure 13), and his *Saint Sebastian* (Louvre). Even the hills on top of which towns and fortresses are clustered in the *Codex Zichy* (fol. 163) can often be seen in Mantegna’s œuvre.
Figure 14. Angelo dal Cortivo. *Codex Zichy*, fol. 46v (photo: Ervin Szabó Library)

Figure 15. Andrea Mantegna. *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (detail), ca. 1470. Engraving and drypoint, 33.5 x 45.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and the Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund (1986.1159)

Figure 16. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Preparation of Christ’s Tomb* (detail) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

Figure 17. Attributed to Andrea Mantegna. *Entombment with Four Birds*, ca. 1465. Engraving, 44.1 x 35.5 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung (photo: Albertina)
Motifs of Mantegna’s were borrowed by Carpaccio. In the latter painter’s Preparation of Christ’s Tomb, both the grief-stricken John seen from the back and the group with the swooning Virgin Mary (Figure 16) distinctly resemble figures in Mantegna’s print of the Entombment, which has come down in several different workshop versions (Figure 17). The print medium allowed these motifs to become widely known and consequently more accessible. We know, for example, that Carpaccio utilized woodcuts by Erhard Reutlich as illustrated in Bernhard von Breydenbach’s Peregri- natio in Terram Sanctam (published 1486).

Carpaccio found others of his motifs in compositions by Giovanni Bellini. Here the route of transfer was probably more direct, since there are several reasons to believe that he apprenticed in the Bellini workshop. In Carpaccio’s Preparation of Christ’s Tomb, the walking, mourning women and Mary Magdalene with her ointment box, all in the right middle ground (Figure 16), had already appeared in Bellini’s Resurrection (Figure 18). As it happens, both paintings hang in the same room of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, permitting a comparison of their motifs.

Notably, more than fifty years after Pisanello drew his pair of rabbits (Figure 19), Carpaccio reproduced it in the background of his Meditation on the Passion, as well as in his Young Knight in a Landscape (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; Figures 20, 21). The rabbit-pair motif, which I believe to be an invention of Pisanello’s on the basis of his drawing, spread in a unique way, unlike the dispersal of the (older) motif...
of the single rabbit and other animal motifs. Although Dominique Cordellier argues, in the catalogue that accompanied the important Pisanello exhibition held in Paris in 1996, that the two rabbits were a more or less accidental copy of a model book motif, he also hints at the possibility of their being an example of “motif travel.” According to Cordellier, Carpaccio’s *Young Knight in a Landscape* may also answer questions about Pisanello’s lost *Saint George*, which was prominently frescoed on a pillar of the Pellegrini Chapel in Sant’ Anastasia in Verona and through which motifs have traveled.19

The detailed description Vasari gives of Pisanello’s *Saint George* could easily also apply to Carpaccio’s *Young Knight in a Landscape*, who is putting his sword back into its sheath. According to Vasari, Pisanello also painted a *Saint Eustace* on the right pillar in the Pellegrini Chapel; the saint stroked a brownish dog with white specks that lifted its paws. Interestingly, a Pisanello drawing in the Louvre also shows a dog with raised paws and may have served as a model for the dog in his lost *Saint Eustace* fresco. And identical to the dog in Pisanello’s drawing is the one in Carpaccio’s *Young Knight in a Landscape*. Another Pisanello drawing similarly matches the heron fighting with an eagle on the upper left in the *Young Knight in a Landscape*.20 It seems entirely possible, therefore, that the dog, the heron fighting with an eagle, and the rabbit pair were first assembled in Pisanello’s lost fresco *Saint George* in Sant’ Anastasia in Verona. Carpaccio must have known this fresco when he painted *Saint George and the Dragon* for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice. In both compositions, a dragon terrorizes a barren landscape strewn with skulls, bones, and carcasses and inhabited by lizards and snakes.

Beginning about the time of Pisanello’s studies from nature and his unique interpretations of it, the imagination and inventiveness of artists became predominant aspects of the creative process. Hence the model collection was a workshop’s strictly guarded resource, rarely handed out to competitors. Indeed, in Poitiers in 1398 the painter Jean de Hollande filed a complaint against another artist, Jacquemart de Hesdin, who he claimed had stolen color pigments and model sheets from his safe.21 In the 1420s we find Filippo Brunelleschi advising Mariano Taccola not to share his *invenzioni* with others.22 If motif inventions from the middle of the quattrocento did “travel,” it was either through direct contact with the workshop or through print copies, which circulated widely.

*Studi dal vivo e dal non più vivo*

As the human being became the measure of all things and man as an individual moved to the center of intellectual inquiry, artists expanded their interest in the nude. Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donatello created new, influential figures of nudes, mainly male. Pisanello’s drawings of nudes could have been copied after antique sculpture (particularly sarcophagi reliefs) or done

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Figure 22. Vittore Carpaccio. *The Dead Christ*. Pen and brush over metalpoint on blue Venetian paper, 10.5 x 26.3 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, KdZ 5034 (photo: Kupferstichkabinett, Jörg P. Anders)

Figure 23. Vittore Carpaccio. *Pietà*. Panel, 26 x 21 cm. Private collection, Bergamo
from the live model. From the early Renaissance on, studying the nude was a normal part of artistic training. Drawn figures were then transferred to paintings.

Carpaccio apparently left three completely different anatomical studies of the male body. An interesting one of Christ in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Figure 22), which relates to the Preparation of Christ’s Tomb, has a complicated history of attribution. The drawing was formerly in the collection of Adolf von Beckerath. When it appeared in an exhibition of the collection in 1898, Beckerath attributed it to the painter Ercole de’ Roberti of Ferrara and called it a study for the Pietà by de’ Roberti in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. In 1933 the Berlin drawing, attributed to Ercole de’ Roberti, was shown in the exhibition “Pittura Ferrarese del Rinascimento,” organized by Carlo Gamba. But subsequently Gamba withdrew the Ercole de’ Roberti attribution and changed it to Carpaccio. Giuseppe Fiocco, Roberto Longhi, and Georg Gronau all concurred in this opinion in 1933–34. Fiocco based his arguments on a comparison with a small Pietà (Figure 23), which he also convincingly attributed to Carpaccio, but his theory found no support among other Carpaccio scholars. Only in 1995 was the point raised again, by Hein-Th. Schulze Altcapppenberg in his catalogue of master drawings from the collection of Adolf von Beckerath. Schulze Altcapppenberg, having found an inscription written on the passe-partout in 1984 by the Venetian art scholar Alessandro Ballarin that describes the drawing as “by Carpaccio for the Preparation in the Berlin Gallery,” considered a link to the Preparation of Christ’s Tomb. The drawing’s attribution to Carpaccio becomes even more secure when we compare the facial features of the head with those of the dead Christ in the Preparation of Christ’s Tomb. The two works show a strikingly similar deepset root of the nose under a forehead that is unusually low for a portrait of Christ. Both depict a dimple under the lower lip and a markedly protruding chin. I contend that the same life model who posed for the Berlin drawing also posed for a preliminary drawing used for the Preparation of Christ’s Tomb.

It is important to note that a preparatory drawing from life of a nude was also used to render the aged body of Saint Job in the New York Meditation on the Passion as well as that of Saint Job in the Berlin Preparation of Christ’s Tomb. It has not previously been recognized that both representations of the hermit were based on the same cartoon. Every detail, such as the wrinkled skin of the stomach, is identical—even in dimensions—in the two works (Figures 24–26).
degli Schiavoni (Figures 27–36). It is obvious that Carpaccio used the same cartoons for both works, transferring them at full scale onto the canvas or panel. What transferring method he used—whether spolvero, or pouncing (forcing powdered carbon through perforations in the drawing lines of the cartoon), or calco (blackening the back of the cartoon and tracing its lines with a stylus)—could be determined by infrared reflectogram, although to my knowledge this has not yet been done. Carpaccio usually worked his underdrawings freely, as is evident from infrared reflectograms taken of some of his other work.35

**Narrative**

The above discussion is meant to help us understand the complex creative processes behind large-scale Venetian narrative paintings. Narrative is conveyed in diverse ways in the multfigured Preparation of Christ’s Tomb. Various scenic moments are grouped around the central figure of Jesus’s body, inviting us to reflect on or become involved with the story. We are to partake in the preparations for the Entombment by way of these details: the carrying of the bowl, which points to the washing of Christ’s body; the linen cloth or shroud, ready to wrap the body; the opening up of the tomb, performed by two turbaned men; the mourning of Saint John and the woman supporting the Virgin Mary, who has slumped to her feet. The empty crosses on Golgotha are a reminder of the Crucifixion. The skulls and bones scattered in the foreground are a

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Figure 26. Tracing of figures of Saint John: New York version in black, Berlin version in gray, relative sizes as in originals

Figure 27. Vittore Carpaccio. The Preparation of Christ’s Tomb (detail of a skull)

Figure 28. Vittore Carpaccio. Saint George and the Dragon (detail of a skull), ca. 1502–8. Oil on canvas, 141 x 360 cm. Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (photo: Alter Pallucchini, Teleri del Carpaccio [see note 1], pl. xxviii)

Figure 29. Tracing of skulls: Berlin version in black, Venice version in gray, relative sizes as in originals
Figure 30. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Preparation of Christ’s Tomb* (detail of a corpse) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

Figure 31. Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a corpse) (photo: after Palluccini, *I teleri del Carpaccio* [see note 1], pl. xxviii)

Figure 32. Tracing of corpses: Berlin version in black, Venice version in gray, relative sizes as in originals

Figure 33. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Preparation of Christ’s Tomb* (detail of a jawbone) (photo: Gemäldegalerie, Jörg P. Anders)

Figure 34. Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a jawbone) (photo: Alinari)

Figure 35. Vittore Carpaccio, *Meditation on the Passion* (detail of a skull and a jawbone)

Figure 36. Vittore Carpaccio, *Saint George and the Dragon* (detail of a skull) (photo: after Palluccini, *I teleri del Carpaccio* [see note 1], pl. xxviii)
pictorial translation of “Golgotha,” which means skull in Hebrew. In the distance, Mary Magdalen, carrying the ointment box, is already anticipating the Resurrection three days ahead, when she comes to anoint the body and finds the tomb empty (Mark 16:1, Luke 24:1).35

The object of the painter’s focus is less a sequence of logical events within a set space and time than a collection of solitary figures and actions that enhance the sacred drama. Figures are not brought into a spatial unity—as they would be in a homogeneous space based on a one-point perspective—but are instead superimposed on the landscape. This is especially noticeable in the space, not clearly defined, between Christ’s body, with the green cloth behind it, and the legs of Saint Job. A similar “patchwork” effect appears in background elements of the New York Meditazione on the Passion. The parakeet, the marten, the pair of rabbits, and the leopard-stag group seem glued onto the landscape. Saint Jerome’s lion floats in an undefined space between tombstones and rocks. Several motifs in both the Preparation of Christ’s Tomb and the Meditation on the Passion are identical to ones in other paintings. Likewise, the postures of the figures, the depiction of parts of their anatomy, and the pleats of their costumes recur again and again in Carpaccio’s paintings and in compositions stemming from his workshop. The only discernible differences are in the colors, the attributes of the figures, or the context in which an animal or skull is set.

Discrete individual motifs based on studies from nature were thus assembled by Carpaccio, creating the effect of a collage avant la lettre. Although in using established motifs he was following a tradition, he employed them in unique ways. Because of the “collage” effect and the fact that his figures often do not interact with one another, an almost surrealistic and even morbid atmosphere is evoked. This quality has frequently been regarded as a characteristic feature of Carpaccio’s paintings. The effect is heightened by his inclusion of morbid items, skulls and bodies that are fragmented, dead, or decomposed. All of these Carpaccio arrived at by way of extensive studies from nature, as we have seen with the drawing of Christ’s body in the Kupferversuchkabinett. It seems that anatomical studies of life models as well as dead bodies became especially important for him, acting as agents of the narrative to grasp the viewer.

Viewers are still fascinated by Carpaccio’s figures, which are either visibly of living flesh and blood or, like the grayish green body of Christ, palpably dead. The two figures of Saint Job, which successfully convey the appearance of an aged human body, are generally regarded as among the earliest realistic depictions of a body in old age in the history of art.36 By the way he articulates the human body, Carpaccio makes the viewer believe in the actuality of the events he presents. Ultimately, the skulls creating a shocking battlefield are the bodily remnants and silent witnesses of the gruesome event that is his subject here, and, especially in the quattrocento, would have encouraged a spectator’s reliving of the Passion of Christ—the imitatio Christi.

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NOTES

1. Carpcaccio scholars have suggested a wide variety of dates for the two paintings. For The Meditation on the Passion these range between 1485 and 1515; Teresio Pignatti, Carpecco (Lausanne, 1958), p. 53 (ca. 1500); Jan Lant, Carpecco: Gemälde und Zeichnungen, Gesamtausgabe (Cologne, 1962), p. 253 (ca. 1475); Guido Perocco, L’opera completa del Carpecco (Milan, 1967), p. 105 (ca. 1510); Rodolfo Pallucchini, I telei del Carpecco in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1977), p. 31 (ca. 1495–1505); Peter Humfrey, Carpecco: Catalogo completo dei dipinti (Florence, 1991), p. 98 (1505–7); Vittorio Sgarbi, Carpecco (Milan, 1994), p. 158 (ca. 1508–15). For The Preparations of Christ’s Tomb they range between 1485 and 1520: Pignatti, Carpecco, p. 100 (ca. 1510); Lant, Carpecco: Gemälde und Zeichnungen, p. 245 (ca. 1505); Perocco, L’opera completa del Carpecco, p. 106 (ca. 1510); Pallucchini, I telei del Carpecco, p. 31 (ca. 1495–1505); Humfrey, Carpecco: Catalogo completo dei dipinti, p. 148 (ca. 1515–20); Sgarbi, Carpecco, p. 186 (ca. 1515–20). In this paper I employ the date ranges that in my opinion are most likely.

2. Brilliant, “Povero Giuopo”: Carpecco ‘Grabereitung Christi’ und die ‘Scuola di San Giobbe’ in Venedig,” Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, n.s., 35 (1995), pp. 111–28. The two pictures belonged to the Roberto Canoni Collection, Ferrara, in 1827. At that time they both must have already carried false signatures of Mantegna, as they are listed under his name in Canoni’s inventory; see Giuseppe Campori, ed., Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventari inediti di quadri, statue, disegni, bronzi, dorature, smalti, medaglie, avori, ecc. dal secolo XV al secolo XIX (Modena, 1870), p. 117. In the course of restoration work Mantegna’s signature was removed from the New York panel, and in the right-hand corner, on the cartouche, the inscription “vctorjs carpatji venetijs opus” came to light. See Murray Pease, “New Light on an Old Signature,” MMA Bulletin, n.s., 3 (1953), pp. 1–4. The Berlin canvas still carries the inscription “ANDREAS MANTINEA F.”

3. See Roma Goffen, “Bellini, S. Giobbe and Altar Egos,” Archivio per il Basso Egeo, 14 (1986), pp. 77–90; Peter Humfrey, The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice (New Haven and London, 1993), pp. 112, 203–7, 347. Goffen’s belief, shared by Humfrey, that Bellini’s Pala di San Giobbe was commissioned by the Scuola di San Giobbe remains convincing. Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli’s proposition that the Altar del Santo in Chiesa mentioned in the inventory of the Scuola di San Giobbe is not the Bellini altar-piece but rather a small altar with a wooden sculpture of Job is based on her misinterpretation of a document (which is about property of the San Giobbe church, not the Scuola). She presents the document as her discovery, but it had been published many years earlier by Pietro Paolo in L’architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia (Venice, 1893), vol. 2, sect. 1, p. 191. See Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, “La sapienza nel silenzio: Riconsiderando la Pala di San Giobbe,” Saggi e memorie di storia dell’arte 12 (1998), pp. 11–53.


7. This bundle of 378 drawings is named after the Milanese expert and art dealer Giuseppe Vallardi (1784–1865), who in 1856 sold it to the Musée du Louvre as by Leonardo. The former provenance of the codex is one of art history’s unresolved questions. The bound volume, manufactured after the famous example of Leonardo’s Codex Atlanticus, did include some drawings by Leonardo, but most of the drawings in the Codex Vallardi were later attributed to Pisanello. The Codex was in time disassembled by the Louvre’s Department of Prints and Drawings and the drawings were separated according to attribution. See Giuseppe Vallardi, Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci posseduti da Giuseppe Vallardi dal medesimo deserviti e in parte illustrati (Milan, 1855); Bernhard Degenhart and Annegret Schmitt, Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, pt. 3, Verona: Pisanello und seine Werkstatt (Munich, 2004), vol. 1, p. 13.


9. In Giovanni Bellini’s painting The Resurrection (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Figure 10), the fallow deer is hardly noticeable at the far right, behind the guard, and the rabbit appears on the left, above the tomb opening. The fallow deer was also utilized by Carpecco in the Visitazione (Museo Correr, Venice) from his cycle for the Scuola degli Albanesi, in The Sermon of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem (Louvre) from the Scuola di Santo Stefano, and in The Metamorphosis of Alcyone (Philadelphia Museum of Art). The young deer is represented in a second picture for the Scuola degli Albanesi, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). Unnumerable Pisanello motifs are to be found in the border decorations of the most important illuminated books from Ferrara, the Bible of Basso d’Este (Biblioteca Estense, Modena). See Brigit Blass-Simmen, “Pisanello et l’enlumineur ferrarese,” in Pisanello: Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service Culturel, les 26, 27, et 28 juin 1996, ed. Dominique Cordellier and Bernadette Py (Paris, 1998), pp. 577–617. Presumably, Francesco del Cossa copied from these the rabbits in his painting of the mouth of April in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.

10. The parakeet is also featured in his Saint George Baptising the Pheon (Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice).

11. Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest, fol. 30r. “Scriptor et compositor” Angelo dal Cortivo. The texts are written in Venetian dialect.

Mussini, Francesco di Giorgio e I vitruvii: Le traduzioni del "De Archi-
tectura" nei Codici Ziche, Spexer 2:29 e Magdalenermab I.I.1411.
Ingenium (Centro Studi Leon Battista Alberti), no. 6 (Florence, 2003). A direct link between the architecture of Francesco di Giorgio and the church of San Giobbe was established by Lorenzo Finocchi Gherst, Il Rinascimento veneziano di Giovanni Bellini (Venice, 2003-4), pp. 32-73. The parallel between that link and the one associating the Codex Ziche copy after Francesco di Giorgio with Carpaccio’s paintings for San Giobbe is either a coincidence or confirmation of the theory that the paintings were created for the church of San Giobbe.


17. The relationship requires further investigation. The resemblance of Carpaccio’s compositions and narrative details to those of Gentile Bellini, and his closeness both stylistically and in choice of motifs to Giovanni Bellini, speak in favor of such an apprenticeship. For instance, the motif of Saint Jerome sitting with the lion in the Meditation on the Passion is similar to Giovanni Bellini’s Saint Jerome (National Gallery, London). A drawing in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (Cod. B 271 inf., n. 8), attributed to Carpaccio by Ugo Ruggieri in Disegni veneti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana anteriore al secolo XVIII (Florence, 1979), pp. 18-19, is done after the head of Christ in Giovanni Bellini’s Transfiguration (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples).

18. A further use of the rabbit pair is in a picture probably from the Carpaccio workshop, The Birth of the Virgin from the Scuola degli Albanesi (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo). See also note 9, above.


21. For a more detailed account, see Blass-Simmen, “Pisanello e l’enlumine ferrarese,” pp. 57-80; see also Scheller, Exemplum, pp. 78-79.

22. Scheller, Exemplum, p. 79. In at least one case, however, model sheets are known to have been on loan: Lorenzo Ghisberti asked for the return of some bird sheets (carte degli uccelli) after the death of the Sienese sculptor Goro di Neroccio. See Degenhart and Schmitt, Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 290.

23. These studies of nudes are not catalogued as Pisanello’s own work, but I disagree with Degenhart and Schmitt’s new opinion that the nude studies in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (inv. no. KdZ 387), and Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. no. 1520), as well as the studies from antiquity in the collection of drawings known as the Taccuino di viaggio and now preserved in several collections, are not authentic work by Pisanello. See Degenhart and Schmitt, Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, pt. 3, vol. 1, 2. It seems unconvincing to argue that, although Pisanello could be called the inventor and spiritus rector of nude studies and studies after antiquity—a revolution for the arts—these drawings were executed by his pupils. Moreover, stylistic analysis demonstrates that the drawings are closely linked to Pisanello’s known creations.

24. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (inv. no. 34846); Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (inv. no. 1942-7-13-3, verso); Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. KdZ 5914).

25. Annullung von Kunstwerken des Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz (Berlin, 1898), no. 131; and see Hans Mackowsky, in Annullung von Kunstwerken des Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz, ed. Wilhelm von Bode (Berlin, 1889), p. 50. Mackowsky believed that the drawing was a copy after Ercole de’ Roberti rather than a preparatory study.


28. Fiocco had seen the Pietà several times during the 1930s in the Agnew Collection, London. Today the small panel (26 x 21 cm) is apparently in a private collection in Bergamo (although Francesco Rossi, director of the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, wrote on December 20, 2001, that he did not know the whereabouts of the picture).


30. According to Schulze Altcaffenberg, Die italienischen Zeichnungen, p. 194 (slightly revised in Schulze Altcaffenberg, Kunstlinie der Gründerzeit), the Berlin drawing is not a drawing dal vivo, because of the already included stigmata and the absence of a support under the head. I would counter that the taut muscles of the torso indeed indicate that the head has no support whatever, and that in an already authenticated drawing dal vivo (British Museum, London), a wound appears on Christ’s left side. In my opinion, the study of the body of Christ is a preliminary drawing and not a copy of the Pietà, because there are
some discrepancies between the drawing and the final picture in the position of Christ’s legs and head.

31. Astonishingly often in Carpaccio’s work, the same model drawing was used several times in the same cycle: an example is the cycle in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, where the prominent group of trumpeters and drum player, and also a horse groom, appear in different groupings in both the Triumph of Saint George and Saint George Baptizing the Pagan. Only their attributes and the patterns of their clothing were changed. In the artist’s Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians (Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice), the same model drawing of a nude was used in both the foreground and, in a slightly smaller version, the middle ground. In the Ordination of Saint Stephen (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), the robes worn by the two deacons seen in profile in the middle were copied down to every pleat.


33. Only one infrared photograph of the Preparation of Christ’s Tomb is on file at the Gemäldegalerie; it shows spontaneous underdrawings for Job’s garment and the outlines of Saint John. Spontaneous underdrawing also occurs in the Two Venetian Women (Museo Correr, Venice); see Attilia Dorigato, ed., Carpaccio, Bellini, Tara, Antonello e altri restauri quattrocenteschi della Pinacoteca del Museo Correr (Milan, 1993), pp. 177–85.

