

THE DRAWINGS OF BRONZINO

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



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Carmen C. Bambach, Janet Cox-Rearick, and George R. Goldner

with contributions by
Philippe Costamagna, Marzia Faietti, and Elizabeth Pilliod

Edited by Carmen C. Bambach

The exhibition was organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
in collaboration with the
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi and the Polo Museale Fiorentino, Florence

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DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

The *Drawings of Bronzino* and the exhibition it accompanies mark a significant achievement in the advancement of scholarship on the history of Florentine drawing, indeed on the history of sixteenth-century Florentine art. For the first time, almost all the known drawings by or attributed to the renowned Florentine Mannerist painter Agnolo Bronzino are assembled in one volume and presented in one exhibition, which I am delighted to acknowledge takes place in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Many of the sheets have never before been on public view, and our project therefore greatly advances knowledge of the considerable accomplishments of Bronzino as a draftsman.

The breadth of Bronzino's draftsmanship is revealed in the sketches, studies, *modelli*, and cartoons covered in this volume. His iconography encompasses nudes, religious scenes, portraits, figure studies, and more, and he produced images ranging from delicate to forceful, simple and intimate to more complex and monumental. The inclusion of sixty-two full-page illustrations of paintings and tapestries enhances the visual appeal of the volume and provides a marvelous opportunity to compare Bronzino's brilliant feats in these mediums with his works on paper, many of which directly relate to them.

This important project was conceived during the tenure of my predecessor Philippe de Montebello, Director Emeritus of The

Metropolitan Museum of Art, and I thank him for his typically insightful approval. The project has greatly benefited from the thorough and discerning scholarship of the six art historians of the field who contributed to this catalogue, and in particular, George R. Goldner, who first thought of dedicating an exhibition to Bronzino the draftsman. Carmen C. Bambach guided the publication and the exhibition through the many stages required for their successful accomplishment with her usual expertise and dedication, and the esteemed scholar Janet Cox-Rearick acted as co-curator of the exhibition. And of course, the project could not have been carried through without the collaboration of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi and the Polo Museale Fiorentino. The Uffizi houses nearly one half of Bronzino's known drawings.

Acknowledgment is also due to our generous supporters. Gail and Parker Gilbert, revered friends of the Metropolitan Museum, have played an important role in making possible a number of exhibitions, including this rare presentation of Bronzino. It is always heartening to have early support for projects, and for this exhibition, we are grateful to Dinah Seiver and Thomas E. Foster for recognizing the exhibition's importance while it was still in its nascent stages. Finally, we owe a debt of gratitude to The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its ongoing dedication to the Museum's publication program.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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This publication and the accompanying exhibition were first proposed and supported under the directorship of Philippe de Montebello and reached fruition under his successor, Thomas P. Campbell, the present Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. We are very grateful to both of them. In Florence, Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Soprintendente Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze, invaluable and staunchly supported our exhibition with loans and advice.

An enormous debt of gratitude is owed to the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi and the Polo Museale Fiorentino, for the collaboration of an erudite essay in this catalogue, for the many opportunities for scholarship, and for nearly one-half the loans to our exhibition. Marzia Faietti, Director of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, deserves heartfelt thanks, as do the members of her staff, especially Giorgio Marini, as well as Antonia Adamo, Maurizio Bacci, Elisabetta Bandinelli, Maurizio Boni, Lucia Corrieri, Luciano Mori, Massimo Pivetti, and Antonella Poleggi.

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NOTE TO THE READER

This catalogue includes all the drawings thought to be by Bronzino by the three curators of the exhibition, and in the rare exceptions in which agreement among them is not unanimous, the authorship of a drawing is indicated as “attributed to.” The book and the exhibition it accompanies gather the totality of the artist’s corpus of drawings but for a handful of sheets, which are briefly catalogued in Appendix 1 of this publication (pp. 287–88). Appendix 1 contains a short list of drawings unanimously considered by the authors to be by Bronzino and a second list of drawings whose attribution to him is in dispute. Appendix 2 (pp. 289–91) illustrates and newly transcribes and translates a letter of April 30, 1548, by Bronzino that often has been presumed lost.

Drawings in the exhibition are reproduced as close as possible to actual size; lost or damaged areas in the original support of a drawing appear in a tone lighter than that of the original sheet. In general, the presentation of Bronzino’s drawings follows the chronology of his career proposed by the authors. Height precedes width in dimensions. The color of the paper is white or off-white

unless otherwise indicated. All early annotations on Bronzino’s sheets by collectors have been transcribed in this publication, but annotations on the mounts of drawings are transcribed only when they have historical importance. The condition of drawings is discussed only when bearing on issues of attribution or function.

Translations of quoted text from primary sources are the authors’ own unless otherwise noted. The literature on Bronzino is cited in abbreviated form in the essays, catalogue entries, and appendices; the bibliography at the end of the catalogue gives a key to those forms. Each catalogue entry’s bibliography attempts to be comprehensive, also including exhibition catalogues. Attributions made by previous scholars are listed only if they differ from those offered by the present authors, and in those cases, the name of the proposed artist is given within parentheses. A scholarly consensus is a rare event in the art-historical literature, and like their predecessors, the present authors have not achieved complete agreement on a small number of points, which are noted to the reader.

THE DRAWINGS OF BRONZINO



THE LIFE OF BRONZINO

Elizabeth Pilliod

At the height of his career, Agnolo Bronzino (Agnolo di Cosimo Mariano di Tori, Monticelli 1503–Florence 1572) enjoyed widespread renown. Although he spent nearly his entire life and career in Florence, as he was court artist to Cosimo I de' Medici, his works were sent abroad as official diplomatic gifts. Bronzino was admired by illustrious figures such as the poet Annibale Caro (1507–1566) and the physician, historian, and biographer Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), and he was recognized as a distinguished poet and an august advisor on the arts in Florence.¹ Giorgio Vasari, fellow artist and author of *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (*The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*), the definitive contemporary history of Italian art, characterized Bronzino as mild-mannered, polite, loving, and highly respected.² But only a decade after his death, writers under the influence of the Counter-Reformation, concentrating on religious works visible in the Florentine churches, derided his paintings as lacking devotion and filled with contorted figures.³ In ensuing centuries, Bronzino was relegated to passing mentions as a good portraitist but a failure for replicating the negative aspects of Michelangelo's style. Some saw his works as lacking in a sculptural definition of form (a quality that was dear to contemporary theorists), while others saw them as marbled concotions. Bronzino's art was largely forgotten until *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid* was acquired by the National Gallery, London, in 1860, and entered the public eye (plate 31).⁴ The visual impact of the picture inspired labels such as immoral and morally degenerate, and with Victorian logic, such terms were also applied to his character. In 1923, for example, Frank Jewett Mather wrote: "He was a vicious person, a cold aesthete, with few of the generous virtues that nourish the soul."⁵ This assessment of Bronzino's character by one of the leading figures of North American academic art history in the early twentieth century was still the response conditioned by the erotic tango of nude lovers—mother and son—at the center of our artist's painting.

However, other aspects of Bronzino's life and art were also receiving attention. Around 1900, Bronzino's poetry intrigued Albertina Furno, a scholar of Italian literature, and she began documenting

his life.⁶ Monographs devoted to Bronzino appeared in 1911 and 1928.⁷ Bronzino's exquisite chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio (plates 20–25, 52–54), restored in 1929 and for the first time visible to the public, inspired Alfredo Lensi to praise his "extraordinary qualities" and "chaste female nudes that have the solid delicacy of certain masterpieces of Greek sculpture."⁸ By the mid-twentieth century, critics were delving into the patronage and artistic scene of sixteenth-century Florence, and both our artist and his works came to be perceived as elegant, complex, intellectual, and sometimes witty.⁹ The brief outline of his career in the *Vite* by Vasari—who, despite being a good friend of Bronzino's, was nonetheless a competitor—did little to resolve these conflicting perspectives.¹⁰ Who was this study in contrasts?

Bronzino was born on November 17, 1503, in Monticelli, which was then a suburb of Florence and is outside the Porta San Frediano to the southwest. The son of humble parents, a butcher, Cosimo, and his wife, Felice, he was known in his youth as Agnolo son of Cosimo from Monticelli. Only after attaining some professional recognition did he acquire the nickname by which he is now known, Bronzino. The name may refer to his ruddy complexion or auburn hair and most likely was coined by some of Bronzino's witty fellow poets, who also went by such colorful nicknames (fig. 1).¹¹ It is not known how the young Bronzino came to the study of art, but after apprenticeships with two minor painters, he had the good fortune sometime between 1515 and 1518 to become a pupil of Jacopo da Pontormo (1494–1557). We see Bronzino as a young lad, before he undertook any independent painting, seated on the steps in the foreground of Pontormo's *Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* of about 1518 (fig. 2 and frontispiece, p. 2).¹² The two men shared an affinity that was both personal and professional, which lasted four decades, until Pontormo's death on January 1, 1557.¹³ Bronzino imitated the style of his master so exactly that even as experienced an observer as Vasari noted it was sometimes impossible to tell which man had painted what.¹⁴ This is particularly the case at the beginning of Bronzino's career and at the end of Pontormo's.

Pontormo launched his young protégé by including him in one of his important commissions, to fresco a series of episodes from the Passion of Christ in the Certosa di Galluzzo just outside Florence, where Pontormo took Bronzino to live at the end of 1522 to escape an outbreak of the plague. There, over a door leading to the cloister in which Pontormo worked, Bronzino painted on one side

Frontispiece: Jacopo da Pontormo, detail of figure 2 showing the young Bronzino in *Joseph and Jacob in Egypt*, ca. 1518. Oil on wood. National Gallery, London



Figure 1. Sixteenth-century Florentine artist, *Portrait of Bronzino*. Oil on wood. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

a *Man of Sorrows* (1524) and on the other a *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1525–26), as well as miniatures in a book of plainsong for the monks (1526).¹⁵ After the plague subsided, the two commuted to the Certosa from Florence, as they were still finishing their work there. At the same time, they began to decorate the chapel for the Capponi family in S. Felicità (1525–28). Bronzino's contribution to the chapel consisted of painting the evangelists Mark and Matthew (plates 1, 2) in the tondi and a lost figural composition on the vault, which may have been painted from drawings supplied by his master.¹⁶ His reliance on Pontormo and his tentative mastery of anatomy are evident in these and a contemporary painting, his first large-scale work, a fresco of *St. Benedict in the Wilderness* (fig. 3).¹⁷ Bronzino designed the saint, seen rolling in thorns to excise temptation, by combining an idea by Pontormo for the position of the reclining figure with an element in his own tondo of St. Mark from the Capponi Chapel (plate 1), the way the saint supports his weight with a bent arm. The damaged fresco also introduces Bronzino's penchant for painting mysterious landscapes.

Between 1525 and 1530, the young artist also seems to have painted his first portraits and devotional works, including *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John the Baptist* (plate 3), in which the collaboration between pupil and master can be traced through



Figure 2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Joseph and Jacob in Egypt*, ca. 1518. Oil on wood. National Gallery, London

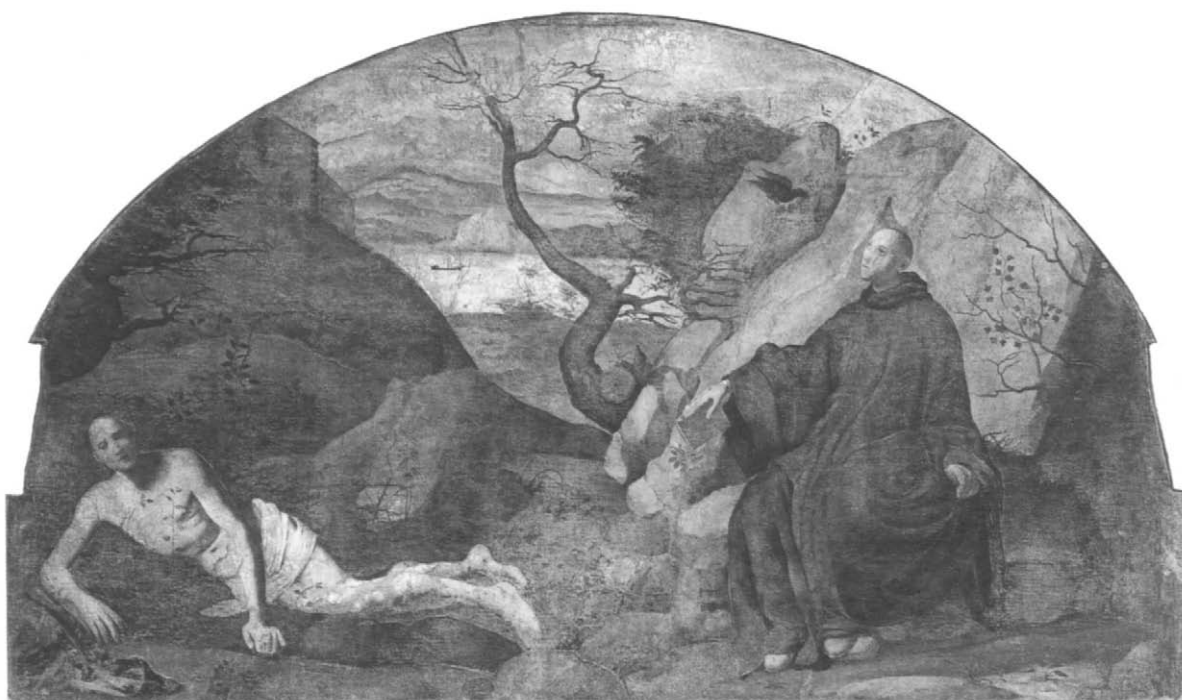


Figure 3. Agnolo Bronzino,
St. Benedict in the Wilderness,
 ca. 1525. Fresco (transferred),
 86 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 147 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (220 × 374 cm).
 Convent of S. Salvi (formerly
 Badia), Florence

both drawings and paintings (see cat. no. 8). Another important picture of this period is the *Portrait of Lorenzo Lenzi* (plate 5). The young man is shown in three-quarter length, isolated against a dark green background. He turns slightly, emerging from the shadows to present the viewer with a demeanor serious beyond his years. The format of the painting derives from Pontormo's portraits of about 1525, as does the gentle, atmospheric quality of the image,¹⁸ but the elegant script of the sonnet visible on the book is written in Bronzino's own clear calligraphy. The careful rendition of the verses, transcribed in the book displayed by Lenzi, suggests that Bronzino's involvement with the literary set in Florence may have begun as early as the late 1520s.¹⁹ The pictorial references to poetry found in subsequent portraits by Bronzino are all the more intriguing since we know he composed both satirical and lyrical poetry.²⁰ Furthermore, according to several of his contemporaries, Bronzino was well versed in classical literature and knew all of Dante's and much of Petrarch's works.²¹ Perhaps for this reason, he was engaged by the banker Bartolommeo Bettini around 1532 to paint portraits of these very famous poets in a bedchamber dedicated to the idea of poetry and love (see cat. no. 16, a large preparatory drawing for the head of Dante).²² Like Bettini, his patron, Bronzino became a member of the *Accademia Fiorentina* (the Florentine literary academy) shortly after its inception, in 1541. Through the lectures and discussions of his fellow members, Bronzino refined his knowledge of ancient and modern literature. He was keenly involved in the debates over the primacy of painting or sculpture and in 1547, began a letter defending painting in response to the call of his friend and fellow academician Benedetto Varchi for position papers on the subject.²³ Although it seems odd that the son of a butcher could acquire such erudition, Bronzino is not the only example of such a paradox.²⁴

Between 1528 and 1529, Bronzino produced his first signed work, an altarpiece for the Cambi family in the church of S. Trinità. It is a pivotal painting, still revealing a latent dependence on his master yet exhibiting a new ability to freeze and immobilize his figures, even as they are deeply emotional.²⁵ Life in Florence was disrupted by the siege of the city from October 1529 to August 1530 by the allied Imperial and Spanish forces, which resulted in the expulsion of the republican government and the making of the first duke of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici. One of the brave young men who fought in that doomed attempt, the Florentine Francesco Guardi, is the presumed subject of an elaborate portrait, a collaborative effort of about 1530 by Bronzino and Pontormo. Pontormo depicted the soldier standing staunchly in defense of Florence (fig. 4), while Bronzino (using some of Pontormo's drawings as the basis for his figures) made its cover, the panel of *Pygmalion and Galatea* now in the Uffizi (plate 7). Although not uncommon in the Renaissance, few covers have survived, and even fewer can be securely associated with their original partners. Covers served both protective and iconographic purposes; here the cover painted by Bronzino hints at a relationship between the Florentine soldier and Pygmalion, a man who brought to life his lovely sculpture by praying.²⁶ Bronzino's remarkable teal blue and green landscape leads to a glowing pink horizon where the coming dawn advances; the animation of the sculpture, now complete, has occurred under cover of darkness, and the woman is born with the rebirth of the day. Perhaps the renewal of the city of Florence after the devastating siege, in which the young soldier's family temporarily lost much of their property, links the portrait with its cover. The quizzical heifer whose sacrifice is underway and the bizarre architecture of the sacrificial altar foreshadow the kind of enigmatic elements that became hallmarks of Bronzino's unique style.



Figure 4. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Portrait of a Halberdier (Francesco Guardi?)*, 1528–30. Oil on wood transferred to canvas, 36¼ × 28¾ in. (92.1 × 72.1 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum (89.PA.49)

Since the war had severely limited opportunities in Florence, Bronzino went for two years to Pesaro on the Adriatic coast, to join the court of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, the duke of Urbino (1490–1538). He assisted in decorating rooms in the duke’s villa, painted a harpsichord case, and produced a portrait of the duke’s heir, Guidobaldo II della Rovere, who became the duke in 1539 at the age of twenty-four (plate 9).²⁷ Through the court of Urbino, Bronzino absorbed artistic influences from the work of Dosso Dossi (ca. 1486–1541/42) and Titian (ca. ?1485/90–1576), and great predecessors such as Piero della Francesca (ca. 1415–1492).²⁸ He also may have encountered the sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–1592) and Laura Battiferri, a woman of patrician background later immortalized by Bronzino as the spirit of Dante in one of his arresting portraits of the 1550s now in Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.²⁹

During these years, Bronzino must have befriended the sword-maker and *armaiuolus* Tofano Allori, whose profession imbued Bronzino’s depictions of armor with a glinting reality, already visible in the portrait of the young Guidobaldo.

Bronzino curtailed his sojourn at Pesaro as a court artist when Pontormo insisted that he return to help on a commission from Duke Alessandro de’ Medici to complete frescoes at the Medici villa of Poggio a Caiano, which unfortunately were quickly abandoned. Once back in Florence, he also assisted on now lost paintings in a loggia of the Medici villa at Careggi, although work there ceased when Alessandro was assassinated on January 6, 1537.³⁰ Over the course of the 1530s, Bronzino produced many masterful portraits, including among others the *Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute* (plate 10), *Portrait of Ugolino Martelli* (plate 13), *Portrait of a Woman*

with a Dog in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, and *Portrait of a Young Man* (plate 14), which seem to culminate in his *Portrait of Bartolomeo Panciatichi* of the early 1540s in the Uffizi (plate 15).³¹ These portraits are a series of evolving compositions of single figures ensconced in hyper-normal architectural environments. In them, incidental inanimate objects such as inkwells and furniture vie for the spectator's attention, sometimes even seeming to come alive. These elements may derive from literary or poetic allusions, and they undoubtedly bore a significant relationship to the person depicted, although only a few such emblematic items have been deciphered.³²

In 1539, Bronzino had contributed to the wedding decorations for Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence (a title he assumed in 1537), and his career as a court artist was launched.³³ By 1540, Bronzino's name appeared on the court rolls with a salary of six *scudi*, which was doubled to twelve and a half in 1547.³⁴ His first portraits of the young ducal couple, executed within a year of the marriage, exhibit the inscrutable, mask-like faces for which he became famous.³⁵ An image of Cosimo as Orpheus (plate 12) displays Bronzino's knowledge of archaeological finds, in this case the ancient Greek *Belvedere Torso* in the Vatican Museum, which served as the source for the duke's upper body. The bulging back of the naked duke is attached to a passive face emerging from deep shadows, creating a sense that the head floats separately from the body. This initiated a period during which Bronzino was engaged almost continually in painting or designing for Duke Cosimo and his wife. His first such decorative project was to assist Pontormo on a series of paintings depicting Cosimo's horoscope in a loggia at the duke's favorite villa of Castello (1537–42).³⁶ Next, Bronzino began work on the Chapel of the duke's beautiful Spanish wife, Eleonora di Toledo (plates 20–24).³⁷ The Chapel occupied Bronzino from 1541 to 1545, briefly in 1553, and again in the mid-1560s. On the painted altarpiece with side panels and frescoed ceiling and walls, Bronzino devised a dazzling jewel-box, combining enamel-like color, complex design, and his interest in the architectural fashions of the moment.³⁸ He was asked in 1553 to repaint the altarpiece, because the original had been dispatched as a diplomatic gift in 1545 to Cardinal Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, minister of Charles V, in return for his assistance on a number of political matters, including securing the Order of the Golden Fleece for Cosimo.³⁹ The same fate, to be given as a gift, seems to have befallen an equally splendid painting, *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid* (plate 31), which was sent to Francis I, king of France, around the same time.⁴⁰ Vasari did not specify the name of the patron, although it likely was the duke.⁴¹ Certainly a recondite painting, this *Allegory* would have been appreciated greatly by Francis I, whose taste ran to the lascivious and unusual.

By 1541, Bronzino had deepened his connections to fellow artists and artisans—and potential patrons—by joining the lay confraternity to which his friend Tofano Allori (father of the artist Alessandro) belonged, the Compagnia di S. Bastiano, which was devoted to

St. Sebastian and had its meeting place in rooms behind the church of the SS. Annunziata. Members were drawn from varied professions and social levels, and Bronzino was active, serving in various offices and collaborating on group projects such as the spectacular float they constructed for the Feast of St. John the Baptist (the patron of Florence) in 1545.⁴² In 1541, when the elder Allori died, Bronzino assumed responsibility for his family, including all his debts, and in 1542, he provided a dowry for the swordmaker's daughter. When a few years later his own mother and niece came to live in the house Tofano Allori had left, Bronzino also provided for them.⁴³ The Allori clan enriched the bachelor painter's existence for the remainder of his life, providing him with a surrogate family, a fairly grand residence, a home with a bottega on its ground floor, just off the Via dei Calzaiuoli, not far from the Cathedral of Florence, and also with a dignified funerary monument after his death.⁴⁴ One of Tofano's sons, Alessandro Allori (1535–1607), showed such an aptitude for art that Bronzino took him on as an apprentice before 1549.⁴⁵ These acts of generosity and mutual affection certainly paint a picture of our artist's character that is quite different from the nineteenth-century notion of the man.

Bronzino's responsibilities increased as one of the inner circle of artists around Duke Cosimo. From the beginning of Cosimo's foray in the mid-1540s into tapestry weaving, Bronzino was enlisted to supply designs for a variety of pieces, for the duke's dream was to have tapestry works that in ambition and richness would rival those of the princes of Europe. To do so, he imported experienced Flemish weavers and commissioned his stable of court artists, including Pontormo, Bronzino, and Francesco Salviati, to produce designs for a series of twenty tapestries on the life of Joseph. By 1546, however, Bronzino took over the project and was responsible for sixteen of the weavings (see cat. nos. 35–43; plates 36–51).⁴⁶ Early into this commission, in 1548, Bronzino went briefly to Rome, where he perhaps drew inspiration for the monumental project from the grand Roman style.⁴⁷ Simultaneously, he was busy painting a series of quintessential court portraits: the duke (plate 27), the duchess (plate 30), their children (plates 28, 29), and the duke's mother, Maria Salviati. Bronzino and his assistants reproduced the duke's official portrait numerous times, and it became another handy diplomatic gift. The image of Eleonora, seen with her male child, was a brilliant statement of dynastic strength as well as a reference to her work on behalf of the state. The distant watery landscape visible behind Eleonora probably refers to her purchase of the land by the Arno River near Pisa and to her efforts to render that reclaimed marshy territory useful.⁴⁸

By the early 1550s, Bronzino's position was secure, but he needed additional sources of income to support his "adoptive" brood. Therefore, in 1551, he petitioned the duke for various income-producing properties and requested help with the dowry of one of his wards, all of which the duke granted as thanks for his meritorious service.⁴⁹ In addition to his ducal work, Bronzino accepted

some ambitious private commissions, including large altarpieces—*The Descent into Limbo* for the Zanchini family in S. Croce, which includes portraits of some of the literary figures and artists that Bronzino had long known and admired, and *The Resurrection* for the Guadagni family in SS. Annunziata, both finished in 1552 (see cat. nos. 50–52; plates 58, 59).⁵⁰ He returned to work for the Capponi family, portraying a young and haughty *Lodovico Capponi* set before a brilliant green drapery (plate 55). With his extended index finger, Capponi obstructs our view of the miniature portrait he holds, which may depict one of his love interests, or a personification of Lady Luck, as she bears the inscription, “SORTE” (fate).⁵¹ Lodovico is an imposing presence, as are the sitters in several other portraits by Bronzino of approximately the same date.⁵²

In 1551, Bronzino joined the ducal family in Pisa for a while, to paint more portraits of the Medici children.⁵³ There, he also received a commission for a monumental altarpiece for the Cathedral of Pisa, in which the Risen Christ appeared with his cross amid a group of saints, including a St. Bartholomew kneeling in the lower right corner who was depicted almost completely flayed, recalling the method of his martyrdom.⁵⁴ The skin peeling away from the saint’s body in this panel reveals the musculature with startling clarity, demonstrating that Bronzino’s grasp of anatomy derived from either dissections or medical treatises.

Bronzino continued to work for Duke Cosimo throughout this period. From 1555 to 1557, he prepared designs for a series of four tapestries to be woven by the ducal weavers, illustrating stories from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.⁵⁵ When his former teacher died on January 1, 1557, Bronzino was ordered by the duke to finish Pontormo’s frescoes in the choir of S. Lorenzo, the elder master’s last major commission. Bronzino did so, faithfully completing the frescoes according to drawings he had been able to retrieve from Pontormo’s vacant home.⁵⁶ Bronzino had been so close to his teacher that he believed he would inherit Pontormo’s estate, and while initially Duke Cosimo supported his claim, unfortunately the courts, swayed by perjured testimony, awarded everything to a man who falsely claimed to be a relative of the deceased.⁵⁷

Cosimo commissioned several more major public paintings from Bronzino; in 1561, he completed the large *Deposition* for a convent in Portoferraio (Elba), and in 1564, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* for the Church of S. Stefano dei Cavalieri (the Order of the Knights of St. Stephen) in Pisa.⁵⁸ The latter was a prestigious commission to adorn the headquarters of the new religious military order that Cosimo had been permitted to establish under papal approval. Ephemeral productions were also required of him, such as the decorations made to adorn the city for the wedding of Cosimo’s son Francesco to Johanna of Austria in 1565, for which Bronzino contributed two allegorical scenes (cat. nos. 55, 56). By this time, Bronzino had become a highly regarded friend of the duke’s most erudite advisor on artistic matters, the prior of the Hospital

of the Innocents, Don Vincenzo Borghini, who even consulted Bronzino in devising some of the designs for the wedding.⁵⁹ The artist also returned to the Chapel of Eleonora after the duchess Eleonora died, to create new flanking panels for the altarpiece in 1564, in which he subtly revised the various thematic strands embodied in the Chapel.⁶⁰ Bronzino’s final monumental fresco, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1564–69) for the church of S. Lorenzo, rivaled the grand Roman decorations Cosimo hoped to emulate and was filled with portraits, architecture, and nudes, precisely the elements that would lead to the decline of his reputation (cat. nos. 58–60; plate 61).⁶¹

In the same decade, Bronzino worked for various private patrons, including the Cavalcanti, an important banking family, for whom he painted a *Noli me tangere* in which Christ and the Magdalen, rendered in hues of sapphire and emerald, are posed as if in a minuet-like dance, standing before a magical landscape of green-tinged clouds (plate 60).⁶² A small picture on copper, the *Allegory of Happiness*, likely the one mentioned by Vasari as painted for Cosimo’s son Francesco I, represents Bronzino’s foray into working for the new leader of Florence.⁶³ Probably about the same time, he painted a *Prudence* as a cover for a painting for an old friend, the notary Ser Carlo Gherardi, for whom he created several other pictures.⁶⁴ Faced with the new ducal artistic organization, run by Vasari after 1555 and increasingly bureaucratic as Cosimo demanded larger decorative projects, Bronzino inevitably became one among many artists, although still highly valued by Cosimo. More serious, however, were the gathering forces of stylistic revolution, brought on by the artistic climate of Rome and the religious fervor of the Counter-Reformation. The artist’s most successful response was one of his last paintings (1567–69), a modest funerary monument for another of his friends, a slender *Pietà*, designed to hang originally on a column in the nave of the church of S. Croce (plate 62).⁶⁵ Every aspect of the work is handled with economy: the identification of the Virgin with her son is suggested through the parallel repetition of their feet; despite the narrow format, the dead Christ dominates the picture plane, his body aligning with the surface of the painting, swaying from side to side. The figures are enveloped in shadows, and the tone is somber, in some ways a perfect response to the new world in which the elderly Bronzino found himself.

In 1571, Bronzino was enlisted as one of six artists to reform the art academy of Florence, the *Accademia del Disegno*, and the next year, he was elected its consul. From 1567, he had been involved with his fellow artists in the decoration of the meeting place of that institution, designing for it a fresco of the Trinity, which was completed in 1571 by his pupil Alessandro Allori.⁶⁶ In gratitude for providing him with a life of art and paternal concern, and on behalf of the entire membership and in honor of Bronzino’s seminal place in ducal Florence, Allori added a portrait of Bronzino at the lower right after Bronzino’s death on November 23, 1572.

- 1 For the altarpiece of the Chapel of Eleonora sent as a gift to the minister of Charles V, see Cox-Rearick 1993. In a letter of 1562, Annibale Caro mentioned a portrait Bronzino made of him when he was very young (Caro 1559–66/1961, p. 95). Bronzino's portrait of Andrea Doria was made for Paolo Giovio, who Vasari says was Bronzino's "amico suo" (Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 595). For Giovio's praise of Bronzino, see Simon 1987, p. 388. Vasari mentioned his expertise as a poet (Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 605). In the 1560s, Bronzino was an organizer of state celebrations for the funeral of Michelangelo and the marriage of Francesco I, one of the founders of the *Accademia del Disegno*. In 1567, he was called upon to judge the value of paintings by Vasari intended to decorate the newly built Uffizi (noted in Dorini 1933, pp. 30–31).
- 2 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 605.
- 3 For a sample of such criticism, see Borghini 1584/2007, pp. 63, 93–94, 96, 98.
- 4 Anderson 1994.
- 5 Mather 1923, pp. 251–52. See also the anonymous review of McComb 1928 in *Saturday Review of Literature* 5, no. 24 (January 5, 1929), p. 575, in which he was berated for not investigating "Vasari's report of his moral degeneracy"! Vasari made no such statement.
- 6 Furno 1902.
- 7 Schulze 1911; McComb 1928.
- 8 Lensi 1929, p. 134.
- 9 See Becherucci 1949; Smyth 1949, pp. 196–207; and Emiliani 1960.
- 10 Smyth 1982, p. 50, remarked on the lack of detail in Vasari's *Life* of Bronzino. For Vasari's attitude toward his rivals, see Pilliod 1998.
- 11 Pilliod 1992a, p. 99.
- 12 Smyth 1955, pp. 10, 22. According to the most recent scholarship on *Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* (National Gallery, London), the painting probably dates to 1518. See Plazzotta and Billinge 2002, pp. 668, 670, n. 25.
- 13 The correct date of Pontormo's death was discovered by the present author; see the discussion and transcription of the relevant document in Pilliod 2001, pp. 113, 257, n. 2.
- 14 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 593.
- 15 The dating is established by documents in Chiarelli 1984, vol. 2, pp. 274–75, 348–51; and Pilliod 1992b, pp. 77–87, nn. 11, 15. The two paintings, much damaged, are extant; the miniature paintings are not.
- 16 Pilliod 2001, pp. 56–62.
- 17 Badia, Florence; see Smyth 1949, pp. 192–94.
- 18 See Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 233–34, no. 223, vol. 2, fig. 219, for the comparable portraits of Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici.
- 19 Cecchi 1990 dates the portrait of Lenzi to 1528; see also Cecchi 1991.
- 20 In addition to Furno 1902, see Petrucci Nardelli 1998 and Parker 2000. Studies on portraits by Bronzino that emphasize their prominent literary allusions include Cropper 1985, Wildmoser 1989, and Plazzotta 1998.
- 21 Heikamp 1957; Parker 2000, pp. 15–18, 21; Pilliod 2001, pp. 166–67, 183.
- 22 Aste 2002.
- 23 Mendelsohn 1982.
- 24 One of the most famous literary figures in sixteenth-century Florence, Giovambattista Gelli (1498–1563), was a shoemaker; see De Gaetano 1976. Bronzino was a friend of Gelli and portrayed him in several works of art; see Pilliod 2001, p. 176.
- 25 For its sources in German prints and Pontormo's Certosa *Lamentation*, see Smith 1977; and Pilliod 2001, pp. 62–65. For the documentary evidence, consult Waldman 1997.
- 26 The subject is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.238–97, again suggesting Bronzino's close reading of poetic texts. See Costamagna 1994, pp. 211–13, nos. 66, 66A; and Cropper 1997, esp. pp. 92–98.
- 27 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 594–95. See also Smyth 1955, pp. 129–89; and Spike 2000.
- 28 Smyth 1971, pp. 80–86.
- 29 Plazzotta 1998; Kirkham 2002a. Most scholars have dated her portrait about 1555–60; see Plazzotta 1998, p. 254.
- 30 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 595–96, and vol. 6, pp. 276, 280–81.
- 31 Bronzino produced a number of works for the Panciatichi in the early to mid-1540s (see plates 15, 16); see *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 595. One is identified in Smith 1982a.
- 32 For an identification based on such parerga, see Holderbaum 1995.
- 33 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 596.
- 34 Only Bronzino, Bachiacca, and Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio were listed in the earliest extant payroll. For Bronzino and other artists on these rolls, see Pilliod 1998, Appendix 1, pp. 51–52.
- 35 *Portrait of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici as Orpheus* (plate 12) and *Eleonora di Toledo* (Národní Galerie, Prague); see Carl Brandon Strehlke in Philadelphia Museum of Art 2004, pp. 130–33, no. 38, and pp. 136–38, no. 40.
- 36 While the paintings are lost, some drawings are extant. For this complex imagery, see Cox-Rearick 1984.
- 37 For all aspects of the chapel including the pertinent documents, see Cox-Rearick 1993; for the influence of Eleonora's background on the chapel's iconography, see Gaston 2004.
- 38 Pilliod forthcoming.
- 39 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 75.
- 40 For the history and bibliography of the painting, see Cox-Rearick 1996b, pp. 227–34, no. VII-1.
- 41 Bartolomeo Panciatichi has been suggested as the subject by Alessandro Cecchi; see Cecchi 1996, p. 47.
- 42 Pilliod 2001, pp. 91–95.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 100–103.
- 44 Bronzino took responsibility for the Allori family at the death of Tofano in 1541. For their intertwined lives, see Pilliod 1992a, pp. 95–96; and Pilliod 2001, pp. 81–95, 97–112.
- 45 For Alessandro Allori, see Lecchini Giovannoni 1991.
- 46 Smith 1982b; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 149–63; Meoni 1998, pp. 124–41, nos. 1–10.
- 47 Smyth 1971, p. 47, n. 7.
- 48 Langdon 2006, pp. 78–80.
- 49 Pilliod 2001, pp. 218–19, doc. nos. 14a–d.
- 50 For the literary connections and context, see Gaston 1983.
- 51 See Brock 2002, pp. 140–44.
- 52 For example, the portraits *Stefano Colonna* (Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, Rome), *Portrait of a Man* (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City), and *Portrait of Laura Battiferri* (Loeser Collection, Florence), among others.
- 53 Heikamp 1955.
- 54 Only two fragments of this altarpiece have survived. The painting was completed in 1556. See Supino 1893, pp. 7–8; and Pontabry 1992.
- 55 Heikamp 1969, pp. 36, 69–70.
- 56 Pilliod 2001, pp. 115–16.
- 57 For documentation of the fight over Pontormo's estate, see *ibid.*, pp. 113–44.
- 58 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 602–3.
- 59 For Borghini and Bronzino, see Pilliod 2001, pp. 166–67, 200–201; and Scorza 2003, p. 118.
- 60 Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 86–90.
- 61 Campbell 2004.
- 62 Pilliod 1991.
- 63 Cosimo abdicated in Francesco's favor in 1564; see Smith 1984.
- 64 Cecchi 1987. Bronzino, Tofano Allori, and Gherardi seem to have been friends from at least the late 1520s. Both used Gherardi as their notary; see Pilliod 1992a, pp. 95–96.
- 65 Pilliod 2001, p. 88; for the della Fonte as the patron for this painting, its original location and date, see Pilliod 1986.
- 66 Geisenheimer 1907.



THE CRITICAL FORTUNES OF BRONZINO'S DRAWINGS FROM VASARI TO BERENSON

Marzia Faietti

Bernard Berenson's judgment in 1903 regarding Bronzino's drawings is worth quoting in full, as it was to influence the scholarship on our artist for a half century afterward:

Pontormo had but two followers whom we need to consider. The fame of the one has greatly surpassed that of his master; whereas of the other, not even the name will be known to many of my readers. Yet were we to base an estimate upon the drawings that these two pupils have left behind them they would change places, Naldini rising to reputation and Bronzino sinking into obscurity.

What has happened to the countless drawings that a painter like Bronzino must have made in the course of his brilliant career? I doubt whether much over a dozen remain altogether, and one is tempted to fancy that, aware of his dulness [sic] as a draughtsman, he made away with his sketches. The few that do remain are singularly devoid of interest, and bear out the severe criticism made by Vasari of Bronzino's drawings. Only two need arrest our attention. They will more than suffice to do him justice. They are heads, one of a young woman almost in profile to the left, looking down . . . [fig. 1], and the other of a youth also looking down to the left through half-closed eyes [cat. no. 30 in this publication]. Both are attractive as types, and drawn in black chalk with a neatness that we expect of Bronzino, but also with a feebleness of touch that renders them totally uninteresting as draughtsmanship.¹

The list accompanying this harsh judgment by Berenson comprised only thirteen drawings in all, twelve from the collection of the Galleria degli Uffizi and the thirteenth from the Musée du Louvre; only one was deemed worthy of illustration (figs. 2–8).² In reaching his conclusions, Berenson spent considerable time in the study room of the Florentine museum, in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, exchanging views with Pasquale Nerino Ferri (1851–1917), who was then the director and who had published the *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta di disegni antichi e moderni*, noting in it twenty-four drawings by Bronzino—both of secure authorship and attributed to him. Ferri mentioned individually only

fourteen drawings, seven of which coincide with Berenson's list (figs. 1–5).³ Thus, the two scholars reached conclusions that were not wholly at odds. With respect to what Berenson was to write ten years later, Ferri's new classification of drawings, presented publicly in 1893, showed him to be less severe as far as Bronzino was concerned. In fact, he chose to exhibit three sheets by the artist and as many by Giovanni Battista Naldini, thus balancing out each artist's reputation.⁴

The intention of this essay is to examine the consequences of Berenson's critical interpretation on the modern scholarship that was to define Bronzino as a draftsman. It will summarize this history of critical fortunes from the sixteenth century to 1903, when the first edition of Berenson's book was published, and then will discuss in greater detail the literature until 1961, when the revised Italian translation of his *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* was published posthumously. The subject of this essay deliberately concludes at the beginning of the 1960s, the decade that saw the emergence of an increasingly defined and objective critical interpretation of the artist's drawings, thanks especially to the research of Craig Hugh Smyth, whose monograph on Bronzino of 1971 was the culmination of earlier investigations,⁵ and of Janet Cox-Rearick, whose distinguished work then and now, over the course of more than three decades, in redefining the oeuvre of Pontormo has also led to important reassessments of that of Bronzino.⁶ The present author will not discuss occasional mentions of drawings by Bronzino in the scholarly literature or of individual drawings by him, since the other essays and catalogue entries in this publication provide a critical review of Bronzino's graphic oeuvre, with an up-to-date summary of scholarly opinions on what most reliably can be considered his corpus.

It is not possible to determine the precise reasons that led Hanns Schulze not to consider drawings in his doctoral thesis on Bronzino of 1909,⁷ formally published as a book two years later with the addition of a few pages.⁸ One can only hypothesize that he did not feel the need to dwell on an aspect of Bronzino's artistic activity that was considered marginal by those who, like Berenson, had dealt with it in the context of a more comprehensive investigation of Florentine drawing. The sole graphic work mentioned by Schulze

Frontispiece: Detail of catalogue number 30



Figure 1. Alessandro Allori, *Young Woman in Bust-Length in Left Profile*. Black chalk on darkened white paper, 8¾ × 7¼ in. (22.3 × 18.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (577 F)

is the *Descent of Christ in Limbo*, a large drawing at the Uffizi that is now well recognized as by Alessandro Allori.⁹ It was believed by Ferri in 1890 to be an original study for the painting of the same name in the Galleria Colonna in Rome,¹⁰ but the German scholar identified the work as “a preparatory drawing for, or a copy after the painting.”¹¹

A catalogue of drawings appeared in the subsequent monograph on Bronzino by Arthur McComb, published in 1928 by Harvard University Press.¹² McComb identified thirty sheets, divided between the Louvre, the museum in Besançon (but only four works listed in the former, compared with one in the latter), private collections, and finally the Uffizi, which continued to have the lion's share, with twenty-one drawings, although not all were considered autograph and some only possible attributions.¹³ But McComb did not believe other sheets were original either, including the *Bust Portrait of a Young Man* (a work that appeared on the art market in London in 1920), the *Annunciation* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and the *Marsyas* in the Louvre (see cat. no. 15). Of these, the last sheet is certainly autograph, as it was a preparatory study for the figure at center in the painting of Apollo and Marsyas in the Hermitage (plate 8), a work that McComb also believed should be rejected in favor of Correggio, or at least of the Parmesan school.¹⁴

The scholar's opinions about attribution were especially influenced by the research of Berenson, but he had also studied the holdings of Bronzino drawings in the large public collections, first and foremost those of the Uffizi and the Louvre. His critical assessments certainly seemed to reflect the current Pontormo scholarship, as he specifically referred to the catalogue raisonné of Pontormo's drawings published in 1914 by Frederick Mortimer Clapp,¹⁵ who had already produced a preliminary study on the subject in 1911,¹⁶ and who authored a monograph on this artist in 1916.¹⁷

In his early contributions, Clapp reiterated the solution adopted by Berenson in *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, presenting Bronzino and Naldini together as pupils of Pontormo and defining the first as a mediocre draftsman (following Berenson in his mistaken reading of Vasari's biography of Lappoli in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*).¹⁸ Clapp also accepted Berenson's hypothesis that Bronzino's doubts about the judgment of posterity might have led him to destroy his drawings. The remaining sheets, Clapp continued, would lead one to suppose that nothing of the artist's earliest output had survived and that he had constantly imitated the style of his master between 1536 and 1545, citing as an example of his critical reasoning the sheet in the Uffizi (13847 F) that is no. 603 on Berenson's list and that he, like Berenson, incorrectly described as the *Head of a Boy* (cat. no. 30); as one now knows, this is a study of a young woman in bust-length for the Besançon *Lamentation* (plate 26). Clapp thought that in the end, any timid *coup de crayon* by Bronzino always would have been inferior to even the most modest example of draftsmanship by Pontormo, and this scholar also stated that he knew only a few drawings attributed to the master, including a pair mentioned elsewhere.¹⁹ By this, Clapp meant two sheets in the Uffizi drawings collection (6639 F and 6704 F; cat. nos. 19 and 26) not included in Berenson's list and that Clapp himself had identified in 1911 as autograph preparatory works by Bronzino, respectively for the Panciatichi *Holy Family* now in the Uffizi (plate 17) and the fresco of *The Crossing of the Red Sea* in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio (plate 22).²⁰

In his subsequent monograph of 1916, Clapp dwelt more briefly on Bronzino's drawings, essentially repeating the data from his 1914 catalogue. In particular, regarding the two sheets just mentioned, he wrote: “They are dry, tame, uncertain variants of drawings that Jacopo made between 1535 and 1545,” and he concluded by saying: “Even Vasari realized how poor a draughtsman Bronzino was.”²¹ Notwithstanding the fact that his discovery of two securely autograph drawings provided important elements for the reconstruction of Bronzino's graphic oeuvre, Clapp still seemed to be echoing Berenson's words of condemnation, as both scholars misread, at least in part, Vasari's text in the *Vita* of Lappoli.

In the expanded edition of 1938 of *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, Berenson decided to retain the brief text on the artist he had written in 1903, although with the addition of a marginal note stating that the updated list of drawings helped increase, if only

slightly, Bronzino's reputation as a draftsman.²² To illustrate, he cited the two discoveries made by Clapp, nos. 601c and 601d in his list, both drawings in the Uffizi—the study of the child for the Panciattichi *Holy Family* and the standing male nude seen from behind for *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (see cat. nos. 19 and 26; plates 17, 22)—as well as three other drawings no longer accepted to be by Bronzino. These now long-since-rejected sheets are the Loeser drawing, Berenson's no. 593d, representing a full-length female nude seen from the back (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Charles Loeser Bequest, acc. no. 145), together with two sheets in the Louvre, Berenson's nos. 605a and 605b, one representing in his words, a "jumble of nudes for the Deluge at S. Lorenzo" (1026), and the other, a "nude man lying on ground" (1027).²³

Berenson's list in 1938 now consisted of thirty-two drawings given to Bronzino (including the sheets whose attributions were reconfirmed since they were put forward in 1903), and these were gathered from the holdings of three public collections—except two cases, the doubtful sheet in the Fogg Art Museum that has already

been mentioned and a drawing incorrectly ascribed to the school of the artist, the Louvre *modello* for *The Preparation of the Marriage Bed* (cat. no. 56), which is here considered autograph (with reworking in pen and ink by another hand), connected to the Palazzo Ricasoli facade decoration, and which was imprecisely described by Berenson as "Venus and three Graces" (his no. 605 E).²⁴ The revised list of 1938 was the fruit of Berenson's own reconnoitering, statements made to him verbally, together with his reading of monographic studies published in the intervening years, such as those by Clapp and McComb, but also of other specialized articles and books. Among the latter, he accepted without hesitation the opinions of Valerio Mariani, who had connected to Bronzino's project for the destroyed frescoes in the choir of S. Lorenzo the two sheets in the Louvre (1026 and 1027); the first of these had been published already by Clapp as a study by Pontormo.²⁵ Berenson also partly responded to the views of Hermann Voss, with regard to the Louvre *modello* for *The Preparation of the Marriage Bed*, or "Venus and three Graces" as he called it, believed by Voss to be



Figure 2. Girolamo Savoldo, *Head of a Young Man*. Black chalk and some brown wash, traces of white chalk highlights, on faded blue paper, 10 × 7 in. (25.5 × 17.8 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (572 F)



Figure 3. Florentine artist of the mid-sixteenth century, *Seated Young, Seminude Man and Studies of Related Details*. Black chalk and some brown wash, on partly darkened white paper, 14½ × 10¾ in. (36.7 × 26.2 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (571 F)

original (a view that seems correct) and that it might be a school work related to a lost painting made for the marriage of Francesco I de' Medici and Johanna of Austria. Berenson, in contrast, was firmly convinced that it was a copy by Alessandro Allori.²⁶

The Italian edition of 1961, entitled *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini*, continued to keep unaltered both the introductory text on Bronzino and the accompanying list of works, only including a few bibliographical updates (which in at least one case induced Berenson to reject the attribution to Bronzino) and a change of location for the two sheets formerly in the Koenigs Collection, Haarlem, which had now passed to the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (these sheets are not accepted as by Bronzino and are therefore excluded from the present publication).²⁷ Given the persistently static quality of Berenson's cataloguing since 1903, his publication in 1961 made no positive contribution to the search for the artistic personality of Bronzino as a draftsman, at least in Italy. In addition, the critical misfortune of this aspect of the artist's oeuvre was further increased with the appearance of the monograph by Andrea Emiliani in 1960, published just one year before the Italian edition of the highly successful posthumous work by Berenson.²⁸ Bronzino's drawings were basically ignored in Emiliani's book, even if two were reproduced in the text and several others were mentioned in commentaries on the plates illustrating paintings, or more sporadically, in the *regesto* (critical summary). While always including precise reference to prior critical opinions on Bronzino's drawings, Emiliani took no particular position on this aspect of the artist's endeavors, for he evidently considered it marginal with respect to the painted oeuvre; this approach also conditioned his aesthetic judgments.²⁹

Such meager interest derived from the format of Emiliani's book as an essay. Or was it the reflection, at least in part, of the heritage of persistent critical prejudice about Bronzino's drawings, contributed to by Berenson's erroneous reading of Vasari and offered uninterruptedly between 1903 and 1961? In this regard, one may not omit that Italian radio published in 1954 a limited edition volume reproducing fifty-three drawings in facsimile, selected from the Uffizi and Casa Buonarroti in Florence, and it contained Berenson's text on Bronzino more or less unaltered with respect to the versions of 1903 and 1938.³⁰ The drubbing Berenson gave our artist-draftsman thus seemed to have been kept alive, at least in Italy, for almost sixty years.

Emiliani's bibliography cites two fundamental studies on our artist by Craig Hugh Smyth—his article in 1949 and his Ph.D. dissertation in 1955—but they seem to be mined only to provide single, fragmentary items of information, essentially evading their larger implications. Yet a critical revival of Bronzino as draftsman had to include these texts, above all as they provide some illuminating insights about the interpretation of the earliest sources. Initially, Smyth had treated the drawings of the Florentine artist, albeit rapidly, in his article published in 1949 in *The Art Bulletin*.³¹ In

rereading the passage that refers to Bronzino in Vasari's biography of Giovanni Antonio Lappoli, Smyth gave a radically different interpretation of the idiomatic phrasing, "senzaché disegnava benissimo," words that in their usual meaning convey a positive sense ("certainly, drawing very well") but that can also be translated in a negative sense ("without drawing very well"), as Berenson proposed.³² Smyth thus corrected Berenson, who in his negative reading had even gone so far as to imagine our artist destroying his drawings out of shame.³³ Vasari's turn of phrase meant the same to Clapp as it did to Berenson,³⁴ but to do it justice, the passage by the Aretine biographer should be quoted firsthand:

Lappoli, then, although he might have gone to work under Andrea, for the said reasons attached himself to Pontormo, under whose discipline he was for ever drawing, spurred to incredible exertions, out of emulation, by two motives. One of these was the presence of Giovan Maria dal Borgo a San Sepolcro, who was studying design and painting under the same master, and who, always advising him for his own good, brought it about that he changed his manner and adopted the good manner of Pontormo. The other—and this spurred him more strongly—was the sight of Agnolo, who was called Bronzino, being much brought forward by Jacopo on account of his loving submissiveness and goodness and the untiring diligence that he showed in imitating his master's works, not to mention that he drew very well and acquitted himself in colouring in such a



Figure 4. Attributed to Battista Franco (called "Il Semolei"), *Foreshortened Head of Young Man in Right Profile*. Black chalk on paper prepared gray on the recto, and squared on the verso in black chalk, 5⁵/₈ × 4³/₄ in. (14.2 × 12.2 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (575 F)



Figure 5. Alessandro Allori, *Young Woman in Bust-Length Facing Left*. Black chalk on white paper tinted brown, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (16.1 × 11.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (574 F)

*manner, that he aroused hopes that he was destined to attain that excellence and perfection which have been seen in him, and still are seen, in our own day.*³⁵

The balanced conclusion drawn by Smyth from a critically precise reading is worth quoting: “A correction of this reading does not suddenly prove Bronzino’s draftsmanship as brilliant as Pontormo’s, but it may help to keep one from assuming that no good drawing, or, of more importance to the argument to come, that no drawing good enough to be Pontormesque can be by Bronzino.”³⁶

It seems timely at this point to introduce another passage from Vasari that has eluded those studying our artist, at least as far as the present author is aware. In the *Vita* of Battista Franco by Vasari, in which he describes this artist’s involvement in the decoration of the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio for the marriage of Duke Cosimo de’ Medici and Eleonora di Toledo, the biographer maintained that Battista “was surpassed, by Bronzino and by others who had less design than himself, in invention, in boldness, and in the treatment of the chiaroscuro.”³⁷ Certainly, this last observation was not

intended to indicate that Bronzino and his colleagues working on this Medici project were not capable of *disegno*, because in that context, the words had, instead, a rhetorical meaning, used to balance the negative opinion expressed about Battista’s activity. Neither, then, could this passage be used to discredit the Florentine’s skills of draftsmanship. Smyth also cited the statement by Raffaele Borghini, according to whom two sheets by Bronzino, “in his best manner,” appeared in excellent company in the Villa del Vecchietto outside the Porta S. Niccolò in Florence, where a valuable collection of rare paintings and sculptures, and also cartoons and drawings, included important names such as Michelangelo, Leonardo, Benvenuto Cellini, Francesco Salviati, Botticelli, Antonello da Messina, and Giambologna.³⁸ Further on, the same collection was said to contain, in addition to those by Bronzino, sheets by Taddeo and Federico Zuccari, “two beautiful sheets with new compositions by the Fleming Giovanni Stradanus,” as well as numerous drawings, models, and a painting by Andrea del Sarto.³⁹ Thus it was that this pantheon of Florentine (and not only Florentine) glory also found a well-deserved place for Bronzino as a draftsman.

Smyth also provided an initial list of drawings with secure authorship, deliberately very restricted and based on the two sheets in the Uffizi identified by Clapp in 1911, preparatory for the Panciaticchi *Holy Family* and the fresco of *The Crossing of the Red Sea* in the Palazzo Vecchio (see cat. nos. 19 and 26). This slender corpus included a third item, considered not far in date from the Christ Child in the Panciaticchi *Holy Family* (plate 17): the black chalk drawing long believed to be by Pontormo and only recently given to Bronzino (cat. no. 17), in which he recognized a study for the *Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute* in the Uffizi (plate 10).⁴⁰ Smyth criticized Berenson for his resistance to Bronzino’s authorship, as he had considered briefly the connection of the Chatsworth drawing to the Uffizi portrait in his 1938 list to *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, but he continued to believe that Pontormo had executed the drawing; Smyth credited Berenson’s reluctance to his persistent, erroneous reading of Vasari’s text. But the reassessment of our artist’s drawings also faced challenges even when Berenson’s authority was not being followed. In her volume of 1944 on the Tuscan Mannerists, Luisa Becherucci accepted Bronzino’s authorship of the Chatsworth portrait drawing (cat. no. 17) because of its scarce expressive qualities, concluding: “Bronzino was never a great draftsman: for him line was not the great stylistic tool it was for Pontormo. He needed color to define his forms. His light was not a vibrant element of his drawings but had to be spread across the full range of tonalities, adhering more immediately to the reality of the senses.”⁴¹

Once again in his seminal article of 1949, Smyth restored to Bronzino’s authorship the drawings on the double-sided sheet in the Uffizi (cat. no. 8),⁴² earlier thought to be a work of Pontormo.⁴³ Smyth connected the recto with the St. Elizabeth in the *Holy Family* now in Washington (plate 3), a work also removed by the art historian



Figure 6. Attributed to Francesco Salviati, *Day (Il Giorno)* after Michelangelo. Black chalk on beige paper, $10\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27.5 × 34.8 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (14778 F)



Figure 7. Attributed to Francesco Salviati, *Night (La Notte)* after Michelangelo. Black chalk, with stumping, squared in black chalk, on beige paper, $10\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{8}$ in. (26 × 36.4 cm). Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (749)

from the oeuvre of Pontormo and assigned to his pupil, who nonetheless would have found inspiration for his painting in another *Head of an Old Woman* drawn by Pontormo in the Uffizi (6729 F verso). Smyth's attribution met with immediate agreement, and indeed, the *Mostra di disegni dei primi manieristi italiani* held in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi in 1954 included Smyth's recent attribution among the selection of works by Bronzino.⁴⁴

The American scholar also provided indications and precise information in his notes, handwritten on the mounts of the drawings at the Uffizi⁴⁵ and which he later developed in his Ph.D. dissertation presented at Princeton University in 1955, in which an entire chapter was dedicated to the master's drawings.⁴⁶ One may especially single out Smyth's citation of two preparatory sheets, the Frankfurt *modello* for the vault frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo at the Palazzo Vecchio (cat. no. 23),⁴⁷ and first identified by Voss in 1920,⁴⁸ and the British Museum design for a tapestry border used in the Story of Joseph series (cat. no. 35), noted by Philip Pouncey in an observation on the mount that remained long unpublished.⁴⁹

Finally, Smyth's attempt in 1955 to establish a more reliable catalogue of the artist's drawings—starting with the lists prepared by Berenson and McComb and integrating some of the studies that had appeared in the meantime (including that of Hermann Voss, judged by Smyth “the most successful”⁵⁰)—succeeded in proposing a more substantial corpus. However, this list did not total even fifty drawings, including originals, possible originals, copies, and school works. Yet Smyth felt that while the nucleus of his catalogue (above all the autograph works) was relatively small in number, the word modest could not be used to describe the oeuvre of Bronzino, whose versatility and quality never lapsed into inferiority.

Once again, Smyth spoke of the misinterpretation of Vasari's *Vita* of Lappoli and defended the artist's dedication to drawing (“Bronzino must have been a devoted draftsman”⁵¹) and the necessity of removing from his corpus non-authentic sheets that had led to a misunderstanding of his style and his stature as a draftsman. Smyth also discussed some of Bronzino's most pronounced stylistic characteristics as a draftsman; for a more detailed commentary on that aspect of our artist's drawings, the present audience is also invited to read the other contributions in this catalogue.

One may nevertheless recall here the extremely incisive way in which Smyth concluded his chapter on the drawings, using the *Dialogo di pittura* by Paolo Pino (Venice, 1548), in which Bronzino was not only included among the major painters between the era of Giotto and his own time but even merited special praise:⁵² “It seems unlikely that he [Paolo Pino] could have had any reservations about Bronzino in the role of draftsman as distinct from that of painter. One can believe instead that Bronzino's drawings helped qualify him for such a comparison in the eyes of Pino and his contemporaries, that the very character of their line and volume made them seem the embodiment of Florentine ideals in contrast to those of Venice, as the two schools were customarily compared in the sixteenth century. In painting *and* drawing, Bronzino may well have seemed the most Florentine of the Florentines.”⁵³ In reality, in Pino's fictional dialogue between Fabio and Lauro, the former had limited himself to defining Bronzino as “the finest colorist painting today,”⁵⁴ avoiding mention of the more clearly graphic aspect of his painting, an aspect a modern viewer may be tempted to emphasize, not only while gazing at his paintings but also while pausing to read the artist's own words, as stated in the well-known unfinished

letter that was his contribution to Benedetto Varchi's inquiry into the primacy of painting or sculpture.⁵⁵

The radical reversal of meaning in the passage from Vasari, correctly suggested by Smyth, as well as Borghini's evidence that Bronzino's drawings were being collected, is complemented by other contemporary texts, confirming that our artist's practice of drawing was certainly not sporadic and that it was even appreciated. To cite one example among many others, Jacopo Rilli stated about Bronzino in 1700: "He thus became known as both a celebrated painter and a literary man, for in ways equally felicitous, he applied beautiful color to canvas and erudite ink to paper."⁵⁶ Or one may wonder about the meaning of the word "*designa*" (a far cry from classical Latin), which recurs in our artist's last will and testament and which was probably used to designate the sketches and drawing projects he left as a bequest to Alessandro Allori, together with the paintings and all that pertained to the art of painting.⁵⁷

But more important are the words of Bronzino himself, as they reveal just how committed he was when preparing a drawing. He addressed a letter from Poggio a Caiano, on August 22, 1545, to Pier Francesco Riccio, majordomo of Cosimo I, in which he spoke about the shipment of a painting to Flanders, noting Cosimo's wish to have another picture and what was needed in consequence: "Since His Excellency requested that another one be done, that it was necessary for the painting to stay there at least eight or ten days [for me] to do some drawings."⁵⁸ The painting has been identified with the *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici*, now in the Uffizi (plate 27). As for the drawing, it does not seem the project involved a new *invenzione*, because, as our artist underlined, an iconographic innovation does not correspond to the expectations and desires of the duke. But since drawings had to be made during the time allotted for the preparation of the wood panel, it is clear that Bronzino was thinking of one or more preparatory studies, involving eight or ten days of

his time, which was deemed indispensable even though he had already consigned an earlier version.

Finally, for a deeper understanding of Bronzino's ideas on drawing, one may wonder whether it might not be opportune to study some of the statements made in *Il primo libro de' ragionamenti delle regole del disegno d'Alessandro Allori con M. Agnolo Bronzino* (the first book on the reasoning and rules of drawing by Alessandro Allori with M. Agnolo Bronzino), written by our artist's pupil in various versions in 1565, with the aim of offering a primer on fine draftsmanship to dilettante gentlemen.⁵⁹ In *Il primo libro de' ragionamenti*, theoretical and stylistic questions are in fact made part of formal practice, and here one may only single out the instance of an initial declaration that was supposed to have been made by Bronzino at Allori's prompting. That declaration explains just how much his activity as an artist was based on a knowledge of Renaissance principles of drawing theory and on his wish to harmonize theory and style within the kind of studio practice that regards the most finished studies as the most desirable result:

So, then, on every occasion that shading and lighting are used to seek or give relief by using any kind of color, this is painting and not drawing, and drawing does not seek to be other than what line may more subtly show. But I would not want you to believe that I wished to persuade either painters or sculptors or others who, bearing in mind what I have said, would make drawings without using shading or relief in all the ways they can, which would be contradicting what I myself do every time I have to happen to make a drawing. But I say this to give a satisfactory response to your question; indeed, I always support the notion that drawings should be as studied and finished as possible, in order to facilitate the [painted] work. And leaving this discussion aside for now, I would consider more strongly the many difficulties that exist before a drawing is even begun.⁶⁰

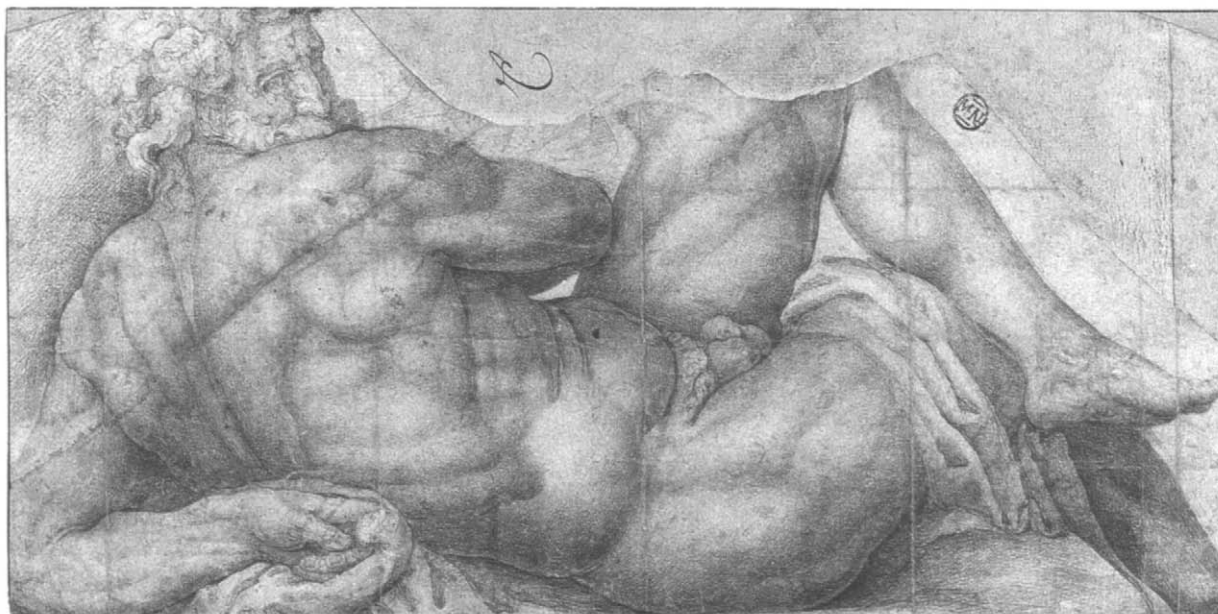


Figure 8. Attributed to Francesco Salviati, *Day (Il Giorno)* after Michelangelo. Black chalk with stumping on beige paper, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (16.8 × 33.5 cm). Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (750)

Therefore, consider the interpretative reversal of the passage Vasari included in his *Vita* of Lappoli, the precocious collecting of Bronzino's drawings documented by Borghini, the presumed presence of finished studies for pictorial projects (and not only pictorial ones) considered in his will, the other early evidence adduced here, and above all, the statements of the artist himself or the words put into his mouth by his pupil Allori. All these elements combined should remove once and for all Berenson's harsh judgment and the resulting relapses that lingered long afterward almost by virtue of inertia, at least among certain authors, thus reinforcing a certain critical misfortune for Bronzino as a draftsman.

Conversely, it is now certain that Bronzino applied himself to drawing and did not destroy his own projects (since several of these were in fact inherited by Allori), that his drawings were collected together with those of other major artists and the echo of the

esteem in which his *carte* were held could still be heard in 1700, when Jacopo Rilli spoke about this. Furthermore, it is evident that Bronzino had precise ideas about the conceptual aspect of drawing, and these were rooted in Alberti's principles, in his definition of painting as consisting of three elements—"circonscrizione, composizione, ricevere di lumi" (circumscription, composition, and reception of light)—proposed in 1435–36 in *Della pittura*, Alberti's seminal treatise on painting.⁶¹ Bronzino was aware of the aspects of drawing that emulate nature, those aspects being embodied in the finished study.

However, was Bronzino always a good draftsman, independently of his subject matter and its aims? The question is variously addressed in the present publication, but ultimately, the answer resides in the level of appreciation held for Bronzino's drawings by his audience.

- 1 Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 327 and note. Compare Berenson's text with the biography of Giovanni Antonio Lappoli in the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite* (transcribed in Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 5 [text] [1984], pp. 179–80). Berenson's assessment was repeated in subsequent editions of this work (Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 321 and n. 2; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, p. 468) but is based on a misunderstanding of Vasari's text, as is explained in Smyth 1949, pp. 195–96, Smyth 1955, pp. 19–20, 35 and n. 1, and the essay by Janet Cox-Rearick in this catalogue, pp. 20–33. For the two drawings cited by Berenson, see Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, nos. 594 and 602. The first of these references, which Berenson illustrated (Berenson 1903, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVIII), is to a sheet in the Uffizi (577 F), now attributed to Alessandro Allori (see Petrioli Tofani 1991, pp. 243–44, no. 577 F, ill.); for the other sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 10894 F), see catalogue number 30 in the present exhibition. The present author would like to thank Carmen Bambach, Elena Bonato, Frank Dabell, and Alessandro Nova.
- 2 Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, nos. 593–605 (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 572 F, 577 F, 880 E, 4982 F, 570 F, 571 F, 576 F, 6357 F, 6359 F, 10894 F, 13847 F, 13848 F); these drawings are followed by the sheet in the Louvre (Département des Arts Graphiques, 19). See also Berenson 1903, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVIII, an illustration of no. 594, *Head of a Young Woman Looking down in Profile to Left* (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 577 F), now attributed to Allori (see note 1 above). Four drawn copies after Michelangelo's allegorical sculptures in the Medici Chapel, Florence, were first ascribed to Battista Franco by Raphael Rosenberg in his introduction to his doctoral thesis (Rosenberg 1996): a sheet in the Uffizi attributed to Bronzino (14478 F); another in Windsor Castle (0428; Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 269, no. 508, as a good academic copy from the middle of the sixteenth century); and two drawings in the Louvre (Département des Arts Graphiques, 749 and 750; Joannides 2003, pp. 280, 284–85, nos. 161, 168, as by Battista Franco). For a more recent discussion of this group and an additional sheet, representing *Dawn (l'Aurora)* in pen and brown ink (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, K 67.34), see Joannides 2003, pp. 280, 284–85, under nos. 161, 168, with bibliography. See also Rosenberg 2000, pp. 224–25, nos. NZ 193–96, 199. The attributions of these drawings are still open to discussion. Regarding the Uffizi sheet (14478 F), which is a copy after *Day (Il Giorno)*, reproduced in this essay as Figure 6, I am convinced by the attribution to Francesco Salviati, proposed by Catherine Monbeig-Goguel (oral communication, June 2009), endorsed also by Carmen Bambach and Hugo Chapman. Similarly, the drawings in the Louvre (Département des Art Graphiques, 749 and 750) are also attributed to Salviati, reproduced in this essay as Figures 7 and 8.
- 3 Ferri 1890, pp. 36–37. Ferri's list contains the following inventory numbers: 880 E; 1787 E; 570 F–577 F; 4982 F; 6358 F; 13843 F; 14778 F.
- 4 Ferri 1893, pp. 67, 69 (but it is not known which sheets he chose).
- 5 Smyth 1971.
- 6 See, in particular, Cox-Rearick 1964b; and Cox-Rearick 1971. See also what is stated about Bronzino in her monograph on Pontormo: Cox-Rearick 1964a (the tondi with *Saint Mark*, *Saint Luke*, and *Saint Matthew* in the Capponi Chapel in S. Felicità, Florence, had already been addressed by the scholar in Cox-Rearick 1956, p. 17, n. 5). Further material appears in K. Andrews 1964.
- 7 Schulze 1909.
- 8 Schulze 1911 (the addition is a brief chapter entitled "Die Werke Angelo Bronzinos," pp. 17–21).
- 9 This drawing is in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (1787 E); see Petrioli Tofani 1987, pp. 735–36, no. 1787 E, ill. See also Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 243, under no. 59, fig. 124.
- 10 See Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 243, no. 59, figs. 121, 122.
- 11 Schulze 1911, p. 20, and p. xvii, no. 1271, "Vorlage oder Kopie zu dem Bilde."
- 12 McComb 1928.
- 13 Ibid., pp. 147–53; regarding the Uffizi drawings, listed on pp. 147–51, the following inventory numbers were rejected: 571 E, 880 E, 1787 E, 6681 F, 10894 F, and 13843 F. For 1787 E (believed to be by Alessandro Allori as a study for his *Descent of Christ in Limbo* in the Galleria Colonna, Rome), see McComb 1928, p. 25, n. 5, and for 13843 F, p. 27.
- 14 The author refers respectively to the sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, December 7–10, 1920, no. 42; *Drawings by the Old Masters* 1905, no. 35; and finally, Russell 1924, where on p. 125 the scholar discusses the *Marsyas*, relating it to the painting in the Hermitage (although such a connection had already been made in 1913 by Voss; see note 26 below).
- 15 Clapp 1914.
- 16 Clapp 1911.
- 17 Clapp 1916.
- 18 Compare Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 321, n. 2; Smyth 1949, pp. 195–96; Smyth 1955, pp. 19–20, 35 and n. 1; and the essay by Janet Cox-Rearick in this catalogue, pp. 21–33.
- 19 Clapp 1914, pp. 48–49 (on Bronzino as draftsman).
- 20 Clapp 1911, p. 23, no. xxvii.
- 21 Clapp 1916, p. 97.
- 22 Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 321 and n. 3.
- 23 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 63, no. 605A, p. 64, no. 605B.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 62–64.
- 25 These sheets from the Louvre are not exhibited, because the attributions to Bronzino are not accepted. See Mariani 1926, figs. 1, 2.
- 26 Voss 1913, p. 309 (Voss was the first to connect the painting of *Apollo and Marsyas* in the Hermitage with the drawing for the figure of Marsyas in the Louvre, discussed a few paragraphs ago in our text; see Voss 1913, p. 314, n. 1). As for the other bibliography discussed by Berenson, I shall limit myself to citing for Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 594A (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 609 E), Gamba 1918, p. 2, no. 6, ill.; and for no. 604A (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 17819 F), Kusenberg 1929, pl. 42.
- 27 Berenson 1961, vol. 1, pp. 467–68, and p. 468, n. 1, vol. 2, pp. 114–17, vol. 3, figs. 980–88; the drawing that saw its attribution altered was in fact the first in the list, no. 593A, corresponding to a sheet in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (5156), which Keith Andrews recently had published as a preparatory study by Tanzio da Varallo for two frescoed figures in the chapel of the Sacro Monte at Varallo (K. Andrews 1960).
- 28 Emiliani 1960.
- 29 For example, pls. 4 and 5 (*The Evangelist Mark* and *The Evangelist Luke*, Capponi Chapel, S. Felicità, Florence); pl. 18 (*Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute*, Galleria

- degli Uffizi, Florence); pl. 36 (Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence): in this case, apart from the drawing mentioned for the ceiling of the chapel, now in Frankfurt, Emiliani indicated the study for the head of a woman at the far left of the fresco with *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock*, already reproduced by Voss 1928, p. 13, now in the Louvre (Département des Arts Graphiques, 17; see Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean in *Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe* 1959, pp. 41–42, no. 16); pl. 61 (Panciaticchi *Holy Family*, Galleria degli Uffizi); pl. 66 (*Pietà*, Galleria degli Uffizi); and pl. 83 (*Christ in Limbo*, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Croce, Florence). Other sporadic citations appear in the *regesto*; see, for example, pp. 61, 71, 87, 89.
- 30 Berenson 1954, p. 147, 10894 F, p. 180, pl. 11.
- 31 Smyth 1949.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 196.
- 33 See note 1 above for all the relevant citations.
- 34 See Smyth 1949, p. 196.
- 35 "Il Lappoli adunque, ancorché fusse potuto andare a star con Andrea, per le dette cagioni si mise col Puntormo, appresso al quale continuamente disegnando, era da due sproni per la concorrenza cacciato alla fatica terribilmente: l'uno si era Giovan Maria dal Borgo a Sansepolcro, che sotto il medesimo attendeva al disegno et alla pittura, et il quale, consigliandolo sempre al suo bene, fu cagione che mutasse maniera e pigliasse quella buona del Puntormo; l'altro (e questi lo stimolava più forte) era il vedere che Agnolo chiamato il Bronzino era molto tirato innanzi da Iacopo per una certa amorevole sommissione, bontà e diligente fatica che aveva nell'imitare le cose del maestro, senzaché disegnava benissimo e si portava ne' colori di maniera, che diede speranza di dovere a quell'eccellenza e perfezzione venire che in lui si è veduta e vede ne' tempi nostri." Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 5 (text) (1984), pp. 179–80; English trans., Vasari 1568/1996, vol. 2, pp. 204–5.
- 36 Smyth 1949, p. 196.
- 37 "fu superato dal Bronzino, e da altri che avevano manco disegno di lui, nell'invenzione, nella fierezza e nel maneggiare il chiaro scuro." Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 5 (text) (1984), p. 463; English trans., Vasari 1568/1996, vol. 2, p. 502.
- 38 "della sua miglior maniera." Borghini 1584, p. 13.
- 39 "due carte bellissime di nuoua inuentione di Giouanni Strada Fiammingo." *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 40 Smyth 1949, p. 195, n. 82, where a detailed bibliography is given, with the observation that the attribution to Bronzino was first published by Archibald G. B. Russell in *Vasari Society* 1925, p. 7, no. 9, while Berenson's edition of 1938 still kept it under Pontormo's name (Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 318, n. 1, vol. 2, pp. 273–74, no. 1957, vol. 3, fig. 984).
- 41 "Il Bronzino non fu mai un grande disegnatore: la linea non era per lui il grande mezzo stilistico del Pontormo. Gli occorreva il colore per definire la sua forma. La sua luce non vibrava nel disegno, ma doveva stendersi, trascorrere sull'ampiezza del piano cromatico, in una più immediata aderenza alla realtà degli aspetti sensibili." Becherucci 1944, p. 44.
- 42 Smyth 1949, pp. 196–97, figs. 10, 11.
- 43 Clapp 1914, pp. 148–49, no. 6552; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 283, no. 2054.
- 44 Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, pp. 57–60, nos. 95–100; the other drawings selected corresponded to inventory nos. 6589 F, 6704 F, 570 F, 6357 F, and 6358 F. See also the catalogue for the earlier venue, Rijksmuseum 1954, pp. 84–87, nos. 117–22.
- 45 Smyth 1949, p. 186, n. 20, p. 195, n. 80, rejects the attribution of Uffizi 17819 F, which is not a study for Bronzino's *St. Lawrence*, but for another *St. Lawrence*, also at the Certosa (see note 25 above); Smyth 1949, p. 195, n. 80: the two drawings in the Louvre (Département des Arts Graphiques, 1027 [cited erroneously as 19] and 1026) cannot be connected with specific figures in the frescoes for S. Lorenzo in Florence.
- 46 Smyth 1955, "The Drawings of Bronzino," pp. 35–90.
- 47 Smyth 1949, p. 195, n. 80; Smyth 1955, pp. 39–41, no. A2.
- 48 Voss 1920, vol. 1, p. 217, n. 2.
- 49 See Smyth 1949, p. 195, n. 80; and Smyth 1955, pp. 48–49, no. A7a.
- 50 Smyth 1955, p. 36, n. 1.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 52 Pino 1548, pp. 23–24; Pino 1548/2000, pp. 121–22.
- 53 Smyth 1955, pp. 89–90.
- 54 "Bronzino seguita all'ascendere, egli uerrà un eccellentissimo maestro, & ardisco, ch'el mi par el più bel coloritore, che dipinga à giorni nostri"; Pino 1548, p. 24; Pino 1548/2000, p. 122.
- 55 Bottari and Ticozzi 1822, pp. 36–37, under doc. no. 19: "Dicono, rispondendo alla terza ragione, che bene è vero che ambedue le dette arti si fanno per imitare la natura, ma quale delle due più conseguisca l'intento loro, risponderanno più di sotto; solo dicono, che per questo non imitano più la natura per far di rilievo che altrimenti; anzi tolgono la cosa, che già era di rilievo fatta dalla natura; onde tutto quello che vi si trova di tondo, o di largo, o d'alto, non è dell'arte, perch'è prima vi erano e larghezza e altezza, e tutte le parti che si danno a' corpi solidi, ma solo è dell'arte le linee che circondano detto corpo, le quali sono in superficie; onde, com'è detto, non è dell'arte l'essere di rilievo, ma della natura, e questa medesima risposta serve ancora, dove dicono del senso del tatto, perchè il trovare la cosa di rilievo di già è detto non essere dell'arte." (They say, addressing the third consideration, that it is indeed true that both these arts are made to imitate nature, but that they will respond later as to which of the two better achieves their aim. They say only this, that they do not imitate nature to create relief any more than otherwise. Rather, they remove the thing that was already created in relief by nature; so that everything that is round, or wide, or high, does not pertain to art, because both width and height and all the forms proper to solid bodies were there before, whereas art only concerns itself with the lines that surround such bodies, those on the surface. And therefore, as is said, relief does not belong to art but nature, and this same response also applies to what they say about the sense of touch, since finding that something is already in relief is said to be extraneous to art.)
- 56 "Si fece egli pertanto conoscere celebre Pittore, e Letterato, per aver con egual felicità adoperato i vaghi colori sopra le tele, e gli eruditi inchiostri sulle carte." See *Notizie letterarie ed istoriche* 1700, pp. 173–78 (quotation on p. 173).
- 57 See Furno 1902, p. 104.
- 58 Bronzino, Poggio a Caiano, to Pier Francesco Riccio, majordomo of Cosimo I, August 22, 1545 (autograph letter), transcribed in Gaye 1839–40, vol. 2, pp. 330–31, doc. no. 233: "Molto Reverendo Signor mio osservandissimo[.] Ieri, che fummo alli xxi del presente, fui con S. E. per cagione del Ritratto, dove dissi quanto per vostra S. mi fu imposto circa la speditione della tavola in fiandra, et come, volendo sua E. che sene rifacessi un'altra, bisognava stare costì al manco otto o dieci giorni per farne un poco di disegno. dissemi che così voleva et era contento, ma mi pare che S. E. si contenti che prima si fornisca il ritratto; et di più dice Sua E. che si faccia in questo mezzo fare il legname per dipingervi su detta tavola, et aggiunse sua prefata E. io la voglio in quel modo proprio come sta quella, et non la voglio più bella; quasi dicesse non m'entrare in altra inuentione, perchè quella mi piace. . . ." (My very reverend lord. Yesterday, the twenty-first of the current [month], I met with His Excellency about the portrait, and I told him what I was instructed to say concerning the shipment of the painting to Flanders; and also, since His Excellency requested that another one be done, that it was necessary for the painting to stay there [in the chapel] at least eight or ten days [for me] to do some drawings. He said that was fine [with him] and that he was pleased, but I think that he would prefer to have the portrait completed first; moreover, His Excellency requests the panel be prepared so we can start painting, and he added, 'I would like it to be exactly like the other one, not an improved version,' as if to say, 'Do not change your conception; I like it as it is.'). Translation from Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 79–80, 365, n. 23, and p. 337, doc. no. 13, with a different interpretation of the letter, and proposing the subject of the portrait to be more likely a portrait of Eleonora, rather than Cosimo. However, the point about Bronzino being a painstaking draftsman remains the same.
- 59 Allori ca. 1565–70/1973; see also Paola Barocchi in Barocchi 1973, pp. 1900–1901.
- 60 "Ecco adunque che, tutte le volte che per la forza dell'ombre e de' lumi si cerca o dà il rilievo con qualsivoglia colore, è pittura e non disegno; il qual disegno non vuol essere altro che quello che la linea più sottilmente dimostrar possa. Ma non vorrei che questo mio ragionamento ti facessi credere ch'[io] volessi persuadere tanto alli pittori o scultori o altri che, per quanto ho detto, restassero di non dar l'ombra a i loro disegni et il rilievo in tutte le maniere che si usano del disegnare; ché darei contro a quello che fo io stesso tutte le volte che mi occorra far disegni; ma è stato più per un poco di sodisfazione alla tua domanda; anzi, conforto sempre che i disegni si studino e finischino il più che sia possibile, acciò che l'opere vengano più facilitate. E, lasciando per ora il disputar di questo, considero molto più a molte difficoltà che ci saranno prima che si venga a mettere in opera il disegnare." Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, pp. 1946–47.
- 61 Alberti 1435–36/1991, p. 65 (book 2).



BRONZINO AS A DRAFTSMAN

Janet Cox-Rearick

Little documentary material exists from Bronzino's lifetime concerning his drawings or his activity as a draftsman, as he did not write about his art. His only known statement on the subject is his unfinished response in 1547 to Benedetto Varchi's *richiesta* (letter of request) on the primacy of painting or sculpture.¹ At the time, drawing was a subject for formal discourse only by academicians, particularly after the founding of the *Compagnia ed Accademia del Disegno* (Academy and Confraternity of Drawing and Design) in 1563, and by *letterati* like Giorgio Vasari, who published the second edition of the *Vite*, with its chapters on *disegno*, in 1568.² For artists in general, however, drawings did not have a special status, often being considered disposable products of the workshop. If mentioned at all, they were referred to in negotiations between the artist and his patron on the commissioning of works of art, their progress, and payment for them.

Two letters are known in which Bronzino and his patron Duke Cosimo I de' Medici allude to studies he was making for a particular commission. On December 16, 1550, Bronzino wrote to Cosimo's majordomo Pier Francesco Riccio, mentioning a drawing from life he had made of the duke's seven-year-old son, Giovanni, in preparation for a portrait: "Yesterday I spoke with their Excellencies and the Duchess [Eleonora] asked me to begin the portrait of Don Giovanni, and yesterday I sketched the face, and last night I showed it to the duke."³ This letter is evidence that the artist showed preparatory drawings for commissioned works to the patron for approval and permission to proceed with the painting. The other letter is from the patron to the artist. In 1565, Duke Cosimo commissioned Bronzino to paint *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* in the Medici church of S. Lorenzo (plate 61). On February 11, he wrote to Bronzino: "As for the paintings that are planned for the two walls of S. Lorenzo, . . . you can start to do the cartoons so that we can see them and decide about them, because we will be happy to have the church decorated."⁴

In addition to his career as a painter, Bronzino was also a prolific poet, a painter-poet on the model of Michelangelo.⁵ He was author of hundreds of poems from serious Petrarchan sonnets to burlesque poems (*capitoli*).⁶ At the end of his *Vita* of Bronzino, Vasari gave somewhat perfunctory praise to this other important aspect

of our artist's creative life. Perhaps a touch of professional jealousy prevented him from recognizing that Bronzino was a prominent member of the Florentine cultural elite, of which Varchi was the key figure, and that there were close links between his art, poetry, and literary culture.⁷ Although Bronzino did not write formally about drawing, he mentioned it at least twice in his poems. The satirical *capitolo* "The Second [poem] on Excuses" is about all the excuses artists make in order to defend their art.⁸ The poem ends with a plea to artists, which Bronzino would often repeat, to imitate the model of Michelangelo.⁹ He also reminds them to maintain a painstaking working practice and an accomplished draftsmanship: "Few people train and draw / . . . so that art falls and strays from the truth."¹⁰ In another poem, "Capitolo del Bronzino pittore in lode del dappoco" (Poem by Bronzino in praise of the idler), he subscribed to the conceptual notion of *disegno* as an intellectual rather than a manual activity: "Design, the universal father / is much more than using rulers and compasses / and understanding stones and wood."¹¹

In his own time, Bronzino was an admired, if not famous, exponent of the art of *disegno*. As is well known, Vasari mentioned Bronzino's drawings only in an off-hand comment in his *Vita* of Giovanni Antonio Lappoli. Enumerating Bronzino's many virtues as a painter, Vasari added: "not to mention that he drew very well."¹² The only other published late-sixteenth-century reference to Bronzino's drawings is in *Il Riposo* (1584) by Raffaele Borghini.¹³ He mentioned drawings in the collection of Bernardo Vecchietti by Leonardo, Michelangelo, Cellini, and several other artists, including Bronzino, by whom there were "two drawings in his best manner" ("del Bronzino due disegni della sua miglior maniera"), a generalization that tells the reader nothing about what that "best style" might be. Borghini also noticed a drawing by Bronzino in the Sirigatti Collection in Florence, evidently considering it as a minor collector's item at best. The critical fortunes of Bronzino as a draftsman are discussed in the essay by Marzia Faietti (pp. 11–19), and here one can only emphasize that the subject of Bronzino as a draftsman dropped out of sight, and the critical fortune of his drawings was practically nonexistent until the early twentieth century, when it effectively began in 1903, with Bernard Berenson's *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*.¹⁴ Berenson's critical assessment of Bronzino was negative, effectively based on a misreading of Vasari's *Vite* and little

understanding of this devoted, though very independent pupil of Jacopo da Pontormo.

DRAWINGS IN PONTORMO'S WORKSHOP, ca. 1524–27

The first phase of Bronzino's development as a draftsman was under the aegis of his teacher.¹⁵ Although only nine years older than Bronzino, Pontormo was, by the early 1520s, a recognized painter in Florence with powerful patrons, including the ruling Medici family and other members of the cultural elite. According to Vasari, the fifteen-year-old Bronzino was already a *garzone* (assistant) in Pontormo's studio in 1518, when Pontormo depicted him in the foreground of *Joseph in Egypt* (see frontispiece of Pilliod essay, p. 2).¹⁶ Becoming Pontormo's favorite among his few pupils, Bronzino entered the workshop in 1524 and remained his primary assistant, then collaborator, until about 1527 or 1528.¹⁷ In 1530, after he became an independent painter, Bronzino left Florence for a two-year stay in the employ of the duke of Urbino at Pesaro, but his close personal and professional relationship with his master endured until Pontormo's death in 1557.¹⁸

In his *Vita* of Bronzino, Vasari observed how closely the pupil's style imitated that of his master: "Having been many years with Pontormo . . . [Bronzino] adopted his manner so well and so imitated his works that their pictures have been taken very often one for the other, so similar were they. And it certainly is a marvel how Bronzino learned the manner of Pontormo so well."¹⁹ Vasari did not say so, but Bronzino also imitated Pontormo's graphic style. Drawings from the 1520s show that the pupil emulated his master's style and technique, using, for example, the red chalk that Pontormo generally employed.²⁰ It was only toward the end of the decade after leaving Pontormo's workshop that Bronzino developed an easily recognizable personal graphic style.

Bronzino's drawing style during his years with Pontormo was virtually unknown and was unstudied before the mid-twentieth century. Of the twenty-two of his drawings in this volume dating from about 1524 to about 1540, ten carried a traditional attribution to Pontormo, which was retained by scholars.²¹ Thus, there was uncertainty about the attribution of many of our artist's youthful drawings, often leading to disputed or incorrect attributions to Pontormo. Indeed, seven of the drawings mentioned above that earlier scholars gave to Pontormo are still occasionally ascribed to him.²²

How did Pontormo teach his talented pupil to draw, and how did Bronzino learn the art of *disegno* from him in the early 1520s? As was traditional in the Late Medieval and Renaissance workshops of painters in Italy, Bronzino must have copied his master's drawings, but no extant examples have been recognized. Pontormo supplied Bronzino with studies, the motivation of which was clearly pedagogical, the master intending to teach his pupil by giving him a drawing to use for either his own or collaborative paintings. On

occasion, some of those drawings understandably have been attributed to Bronzino himself. There are also compositional drawings that Pontormo initially may have intended to use for a painting but which then passed on to Bronzino (see cat. no. 9). Finally, it is clear that Pontormo's drawings were readily available in the *bottega*, and Bronzino sometimes drew on the unused versos of Pontormo's studies (see cat. nos. 4–5).

In 1524, the year Bronzino entered his workshop, Pontormo supplied drawings to his pupil (see under cat. no. 1), and even as late as 1529, Bronzino based the kneeling Pygmalion in his *Pygmalion and Galatea* (plate 7) on a study by Pontormo for St. Francis in the *Madonna and Saints* in S. Michele Visdomini, Florence.²³ But the young Bronzino soon played a more important role in Pontormo's *bottega* as collaborator in two major projects of the mid-1520s, in which he used drawings supplied by his master. In 1522, Pontormo had taken his apprentice with him to the monastery of the Certosa di Galluzzo near Florence, where he painted frescoes of the Passion of Christ and entrusted two overdoor lunettes to Bronzino.²⁴ Two drawings by Pontormo represent ideas for the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, but they are too small and lacking in detail to have been useful as models for Bronzino, who may have produced his own large, black chalk drawing to paint the saint (cat. no. 1; fig. 1).

The other project on which Bronzino collaborated with his master was the decoration of the Capponi Chapel in the church of S. Felicita, Florence, dating to 1525–27, and thus partly overlapping the work at the Certosa.²⁵ Pontormo entrusted Bronzino to fresco the figures in the (lost) vault of the Capponi Chapel as well as to paint the two tondi in the pendentives dedicated to the evangelists St. Mark and St. Matthew, for which there are studies by the younger artist (see cat. nos. 6–7; plates 1–2).

BRONZINO'S DRAWINGS AS AN INDEPENDENT ARTIST, ca. 1528–40

After the completion of the Certosa fresco cycle and the Capponi Chapel, Bronzino's burgeoning artistic individuality became more pronounced, and so perhaps did the temperamental differences between the reclusive Pontormo and his sociable pupil. In any case, as his path diverged from Pontormo's, Bronzino turned away from the direct imitation of his master's style, which he had embraced during his years in Pontormo's workshop. His personal graphic style began to emerge in studies for paintings of about 1527 to 1530, as is evident in the studies in black chalk for St. Elizabeth and the head of the Christ Child in *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* (cat. nos. 8–10; plate 3). The large and highly finished drawing for the Child (cat. no. 10) is the first surviving example of a *modello* by Bronzino, which may have been used in reverse in the painting. Its draftsmanship is rooted in the idiom of Pontormo's refined drawings of the late 1520s, such as the studies for heads in the Capponi Chapel *Lamentation*, with their luminous, transparent



Figure 1. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1525–26. Fresco, 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (100 × 240 cm). Certosa di Galluzzo, Florence

chiaroscuro, ornamental line, rhythmic organization of form, and lyrical sense of *grazia* (see cat. no. 6, fig. 6-1).²⁶ Bronzino imitated this mode, but he went beyond Pontormo in linear calculation, manipulating strokes to stress the unique shape and texture of the features and each lock of curly hair. Whereas Pontormo's chiaroscuro evokes a refined substance too immaterial to be called sculptural, Bronzino's characteristically wiry tautness of line, as in the contour of the right side of the face (cat. no. 10), emphasizes the finiteness of the forms, which are shaped into a sculptural roundness. Along with this hardening of line and substance came a sweetly restrained quality of expression, and this tranquil beauty became a hallmark of Bronzino's portraits of children.

Among Bronzino's first large-scale independent works are two paintings done in 1528–29, an altarpiece of the *Pietà with St. Mary Magdalen* (the *Cambi Pietà*; plate 6) and a lost fresco of the *Noli me tangere* in the garden of the convent of the nuns of the Poverine, mentioned together by Vasari, who lauded the *bella maniera* and *diligenza* of the *Pietà*.²⁷ It is the first time that the biographer used these words of praise for Bronzino's painting, and he would employ them often in his *Vita* of the artist (the word *diligenza* occurs ten times) to suggest the shift in style and workmanship in both paintings and drawings that occurred at this date.²⁸

The single extant drawing for the *Cambi Pietà* is a still Pontormesque study in red chalk for the legs of Christ (cat. no. 14), but the drawings for the *Noli me tangere* show the change of style that Vasari observed. A large *modello* in black chalk, whose location is unknown after it belonged to Armando Neerman (fig. 2; see also Appendix 1) records the composition in its final form, and the red-

chalk drawing that preceded it is a detailed exploratory study for Christ's drapery (cat. no. 13), which vividly demonstrates the *diligenza* of Bronzino's figural drawing. Given the small corpus of our artist's drawings, it is unusual that studies in two different modes have survived for the same composition, and this fact helps remove the occasional doubts expressed by scholars regarding Bronzino's authorship of one sheet or the other. The lost ex-Neerman *modello* (fig. 2; see also Appendix 1) suggests some of the new directions that Bronzino's draftsmanship would take in the 1530s, and these may be illustrated by comparing it with Pontormo's *modello* for the *Carignano Visitation*, dating from these same years, which is also similar in size, medium, and technique of squaring for transfer (fig. 3).²⁹ The comparison reveals the style of Bronzino to be very different from the circular rhythms and interlocked figures of Pontormo's *modello*. In contrast to Pontormo's floating figures, the elongated central figure by Bronzino stands firmly on the ground in a Classical contrapposto, and the composition is further stabilized by the kneeling figure of the donor seen in profile. Moreover, the mood of the protagonists has a lyrical quality, far from the sense of disquiet and the agitated expressions of the attendants in Pontormo's *Visitation* drawing and in other studies of the 1520s by the elder master.

During his stay in Pesaro in 1530–32 in the employ of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, Bronzino painted a harpsichord cover, *The Contest of Apollo and Marsyas* (plate 8),³⁰ for which there are large figure studies in red chalk for Pan (later changed to Marsyas) and the judge, Midas, on the same sheet (see cat. no. 15, recto and verso). The verso of the sheet offers a life study after a



Figure 2. Agnolo Bronzino, *Noli me tangere* with a kneeling nun as donor, set in a landscape with two buildings, ca. 1528. Black chalk, squared and partially indented for transfer, $14\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in. (37.8 × 27.2 cm). Present whereabouts unknown

nude model seated on a stool, drawn in a naturalistic mode that contrasts with the study on the recto of the sheet for Pan, who is drawn in a realistic mode—especially the muscled neck and the head seen in exaggerated *sotto-in-sù* perspective. The difference in drawing technique reflects Bronzino’s sensitivity to the different worlds of Midas and the half-animal Pan. There is clearly no longer any question of confusing the drawings of Bronzino and Pontormo done by 1530–32. The style of Bronzino’s gracefully posed seated Midas, delineated by finely drawn-out contours and subtle interior modeling, contrasts with Pontormo’s intense graphic mode in a study for St. John the Baptist of about 1522, with its expressive penimenti (changes) and the rapid parallel hatching that binds the figure with the space around it (fig. 4).³¹

With his return to Florence in 1532, Bronzino became Pontormo’s collaborator again in three Medicean fresco projects. According to Vasari, Pontormo had persuaded him to return from Pesaro to assist in the preparation of a lunette pendant to *Vertumnus and Pomona* (cat. no. 4, fig. 4-2) as well as other frescoes at Poggio a Caiano.³² Vasari related that Bronzino executed cartoons of *Hercules and*

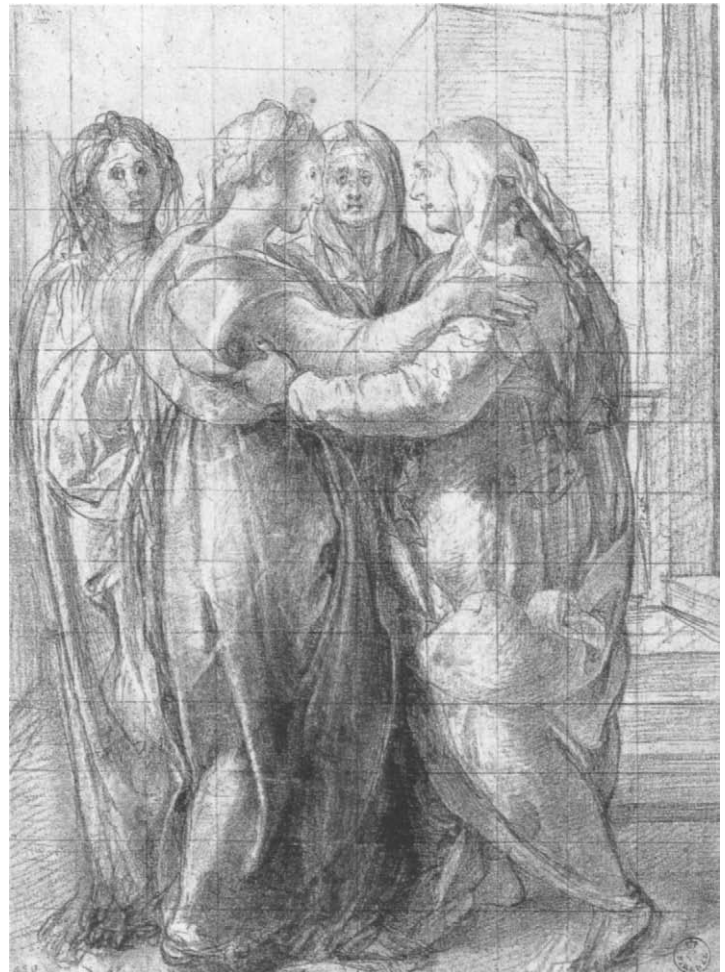


Figure 3. Jacopo da Pontormo, *modello* for the Carmignano Visitation, ca. 1528–30. Black and red chalk, $12\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{16}$ in. (32.7 × 24 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (461 F)

Antaeus, Venus and Adonis, and a drawing of *Nudes Playing Football* that he had seen in the house of Ludovico Capponi.³³ While a drawing of *Nudes Playing Football* exists by Pontormo,³⁴ Bronzino’s version of the subject and his two cartoons are lost.

Few surviving drawings by Bronzino date to the years after his return from Pesaro in 1532 and before he entered the service of Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici in 1539. These include a portrait study for the *Head of Dante* after an earlier representation of the poet commissioned for the *camera* of Bartolommeo Bettini (cat. no. 16) and two portrait drawings, a study for the *Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute* and a study for a portrait of a seated man (see cat. nos. 17–18; plate 10; essay by Philippe Costamagna, pp. 51–60). There are also drawings for major paintings of sacred subjects, the earliest of which is the tender life study for the Christ Child in the Panciatichi *Holy Family* from about 1535–39 (see cat. no. 19; plate 17). The squared drawing in Budapest for the *Madonna with St. John* now in Detroit is the only *schizzo* in Bronzino’s oeuvre (see cat. no. 21, fig. 21-1), although he must have produced such initial ideas for everything he painted. The recently discovered study for the

dead Christ in the *Pietà with Four Angels* in the Mercatale tabernacle of about 1539 is Bronzino's major figure drawing of the late 1530s (see cat. no. 20, fig. 20-1). It is also the drawing that most clearly anticipates his mature style and draftsmanship of the next decade in nude studies for figures in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, such as *St. Michael* (cat. no. 24) and the man with his back turned in *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* (cat. no. 26).

BRONZINO AS COURT ARTIST TO THE MEDICI, ca. 1540–45

Our artist collaborated with Pontormo on the destroyed fresco decorations of the loggia at the Villa of Careggi (1535–36) for Duke Alessandro de' Medici and at the Villa of Castello (1538–43) for Duke Cosimo de' Medici.³⁵ There are almost twenty drawings by Pontormo for these frescoes,³⁶ but none by Bronzino. Our artist appears to have been employed only as an executant of Pontormo's designs for the allegorical figures, which may indicate one of the reasons no drawings by Bronzino survive from the early phase of his



Figure 4. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1522. Red chalk, 15½ × 10⅞ in. (39.3 × 27.1 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6597 F)

career as a Medici court painter. In 1539, however, while the loggia at Castello was still in progress, Bronzino left Pontormo to become the principal court painter to Duke Cosimo. He contributed to the *apparato* (temporary festival decoration) erected for Cosimo's marriage to Eleonora di Toledo in 1539 and was then given commissions for two major decorations in the Palazzo Vecchio (the former Palazzo della Signoria of the Florentine republic), which Cosimo was transforming into a lavishly decorated ducal abode. Bronzino painted frescoes on the ceiling and walls and an altarpiece for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo; he also designed tapestries for the Sala del Consiglio dei Duecento and other rooms in 1545–53 while also working continually as the leading portraitist of the ducal couple and their many children. This close association of artist and patron would endure for the rest of Bronzino's life.

By 1545, Bronzino had become the most sophisticated artist in Florence to represent the Maniera, a highly self-conscious and elegant style influenced by Michelangelo's art of the 1520s and 1530s. It has been termed aptly the "stylish style," one of artifice, with a taste for abundance, artificiality, ornamentation, and that ineffable quality—*grazia*.³⁷ All aspects of Renaissance art of the early sixteenth century are inverted: space is tipped-up and shallow, light is frontal, flat poses of figures are contradicted by marble-like sculptural modeling, and limbs are accentuated, parallel, or angular. Attenuated, graceful figures of extreme elegance often stand in *contrapposto* with an exaggerated thrust of the hip,³⁸ and their extremities, hair, beards, and costumes have a polished finish.

DRAWINGS FOR THE CHAPEL OF ELEONORA DI TOLEDO (1540–45)

The Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo was the first major work of the Maniera in Florence (plate 20).³⁹ In 1540 to early 1541, Bronzino painted the ceiling to create the illusion of a vault populated by saints and putti (plate 21),⁴⁰ frescoing also the stories of Moses on the walls (plates 22, 23). From September 1541 to March 1542, he executed *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* on the right wall (plate 22), while on the left wall, which was broken by a small window, placed high up in the center of the continuous composition, he painted *Moses Striking Water from the Rock and The Gathering of Manna* (plate 23)⁴¹ as well as *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent* that crowns the entrance wall (plate 24).⁴² Multileveled political meanings were encoded in the decoration. Moses, who led his people to the Promised Land, alluded to Duke Cosimo, who would bring back the Golden Age of Medici rule in Florence, and the program as a whole celebrated the marriage of Cosimo and Eleonora, blessed with the birth in 1541 of their heir, Francesco.⁴³

The preparatory studies for the Chapel are the first cohesive group of drawings by Bronzino for a single project (cat. nos. 23–31).⁴⁴ They show a wider range of draftsmanship than his earlier drawings, and like the chapel paintings, they signal a transition from

Bronzino's early style, marked by the influence of Pontormo, to his mature Maniera, a shift that coincided with and was reinforced by his move from private to predominantly ducal patronage. Precedents for Bronzino's design of the vault fresco (plate 21) lie in two vault decorations by Pontormo that were carried out with his pupil's assistance (both lost). One was the cupola of the Capponi Chapel, with its monumental seated figures of God the Father and the four patriarchs that were the models for Bronzino's saints Jerome, Francis, and John in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo.⁴⁵ A more recent precedent of the mid-1530s, which would have given Bronzino experience in painting ceiling frescoes, is the loggia of the Medici Villa at Careggi, where he painted allegorical figures of Fortune, Fame, Peace, Justice, and Prudence in the spandrels and putti in the oval vault.⁴⁶ It is characteristic of Bronzino's concern with anatomical exactness and of his *diligenza* that he made such a precise, naturalistic study for a figure, such as the St. Michael (cat. no. 24), who would be painted fully dressed in armor and with outspread wings. It is an exemplar of the new, stylized, antinaturalistic mode of the Maniera, and the exquisitely modeled drawing fixed the saint's pose as less mobile than in the compositional study (cat. no. 23) and recast him as a vertical figure that is flatly lit from the front. St. Michael reads as an emblem over the altar, in contrast to the illusionism and emotional expressiveness of the other three saints on the vault.

In addition to the changes from the compositional drawing recorded in the studies (cat. nos. 23, 24), Bronzino reused an earlier drawing for the angel to the right of St. Michael. His *modello* in black chalk for the head of the Christ Child (cat. no. 10) in *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* of about 1527 (plate 3) became the head of the angel, but he shifted the viewpoint to the *sotto-in-sù* of the vault so that the head is seen from below, creating a dynamic torsion between the head and neck, which continues that of the entire figure, and he lightly sketched in the angel's wings.

Among the five extant studies for the chapel's wall frescoes (cat. nos. 26–31), the large drawing on ocher prepared paper (cat. no. 26), portraying the youth with his back turned in *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* (plate 22), is a paradigm of Bronzino's sculptural mode. This figure study, with its firm contours and the play of light over its smooth, polished forms, demonstrates most clearly Bronzino's obsession with a sculptural ideal also evident in the three other nudes in the foreground of the fresco and in the study for the legs of one of them (cat. no. 27). It is also one of the few classicizing studies by Bronzino that may be compared with its antique source, a Roman bronze known as the Idolino, which he could have seen in Pesaro (see cat. no. 26, fig. 26-1).⁴⁷ The changes Bronzino made are typical of his figural ideal, the gentle contrapposto of the antique boy being transformed into a *figura serpentinata*, a calculated pose of decorative artificiality that is frequent in the art of the Maniera. The remaining three studies are for the once continuous fresco (without the door that was cut through it

later), *Moses Striking Water from the Rock and The Gathering of Manna* (plate 23), a pendant to *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* (plate 22), which also has two scenes.⁴⁸ One drawing is a cartoon fragment for the head of the smiling woman to the far left in *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*, which Bronzino used to transfer the design for the head onto the plaster (cat. no. 29). During the restoration of the chapel frescoes in 1990, a study was made of the outlines of Bronzino's *giornate* (the area of a fresco executed in one day), and it was calculated that there were two hundred and fifty-four *giornate* in the chapel frescoes.⁴⁹ Hence, they were executed in about eight months, which tallies with the documentary evidence that the wall frescoes were painted from September 1541 to August 1542. The scheme of the *giornate* for the scene of *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* shows that the smiling woman was painted in one day (fig. 5).

Another sheet offers further studies for the same scene on the recto and a study for *The Gathering of Manna* on the verso (cat. no. 28); the latter is a delicate and detailed drawing for the drapery that twists intricately around the hips of a nude in the left foreground of *The Gathering of Manna*, which is larger in scale than the other figures in the scene and hence very prominent. It is a contrasting pendant to the classicizing, sculptural man seen with his back turned in *The Crossing of the Red Sea*, which is on the opposite wall and presents a *figura serpentinata* that belongs to the new world of the Maniera that Bronzino invented in the course of his work on the Chapel of Eleonora frescoes. This new style is demonstrated spectacularly in *The Lamentation* altarpiece, one of the masterpieces of the Florentine Maniera (plate 26). Painted after the frescoes were completed, it was sent by Duke Cosimo to Besançon in 1545, as a diplomatic gift to a minister of Emperor Charles V.⁵⁰ The single drawing for the *Lamentation* is a subtle black chalk study from life (cat. no. 30).

DRAWINGS FOR TAPESTRIES, ca. 1545–51

In October 1545, only a few months after Bronzino delivered the *Lamentation* altarpiece for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Duke Cosimo invited the Flemish weavers Jan Rost and Nicolas Karcher to set up shop in Florence, and soon afterward, he commissioned cartoons from Bronzino, Pontormo, and Salviati for tapestries for rooms in the Palazzo Ducale.⁵¹ Although none of the cartoons survive, eleven *modelli* and other drawings for them exist, and these mark a transition in Bronzino's draftsmanship from black chalk to a more pictorial style involving lavish use of ink washes with white gouache highlights over the chalk (see cat. nos. 34–43).

Three *portiere* (door hangings) were commissioned from Bronzino in 1545–46. In December 1545, *The Dovizia (Great Abundance)* was delivered (plate 33), and a record of this delivery shows the way tapestry cartoons could be used in workshop practice, aside from their function as the drawings to be followed by the weavers. Riccio reported that Bronzino's cartoon had been included with the tapestry for

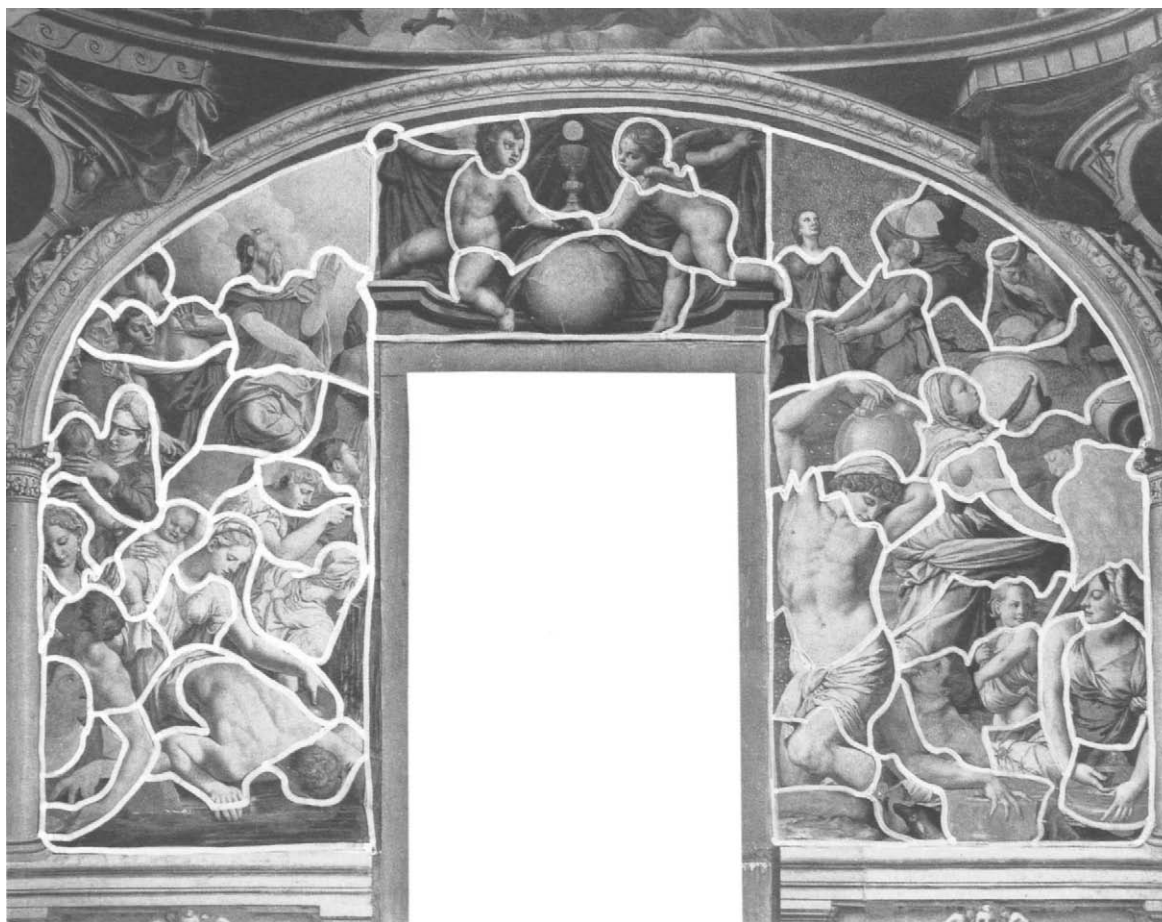


Figure 5. Agnolo Bronzino, *Moses Striking Water from the Rock and The Gathering of Manna* and Alessandro Allori, *Putti with Chalice and Globe*, diagram of the *giornate*. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Florence (diagram by Daniella Dini)

comparison and that the artist, who was present, was not pleased with the cartoon and promised to do better (cat. no. 36 verso contains a probable small-scale study for the tapestry of *The Dovizia*).⁵² The compositional drawings for the tapestries include the *modello* for *Justice Liberating Innocence* (see cat. no. 34; plate 34), which was delivered in spring 1546 and which like all tapestry studies, depicts the composition in reverse, or mirror-image. As is also seen here, Bronzino's elegant, dynamic style was influenced by the decorative mode of the Maniera, as it was explored by Francesco Salviati, our artist's compatriot, who was also then in the service of Duke Cosimo from 1543 to 1548.⁵³ An experienced tapestry designer, Salviati was apparently responsible for the *invenzione* of *Justice Liberating Innocence* (see his study of a similar composition in the same medium; cat. no. 34, fig. 34-1).⁵⁴

In late 1545, the ducal tapestry workshops also began production of the ambitious Story of Joseph series, completed in 1553. In contrast to the Moses frescoes in Eleonora's private chapel, the tapestries were designed for one of the most politically important public rooms in the former Palazzo Vecchio, the Sala dei Duecento on the *piano nobile*, or second story (plates 32–47). The Joseph cycle is another example of Medici image-making that carries further the conceit of Duke Cosimo as an Old Testament hero seen in the Moses frescoes. Like Joseph, Cosimo was the second founder of his line (after Cosimo de' Medici "Il Vecchio") who would bring

Florence into a new Golden Age.⁵⁵ Two sets of ten tapestries tell Joseph's story, the first highlighting the theme of his predestined ascendancy and his trials in Egypt, the second the triumph of the hero leading his people to fulfillment and prosperity, with an emphasis on the themes of reconciliation and familial continuity dear to the Medici. The tapestries, which were not executed in narrative sequence, are listed in delivery records, while the drawings and cartoons for them were presumably made in the year preceding the delivery (see cat. nos. 35–43 for additional historical details). The tapestry of *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet* (plate 39), which was delivered in 1546,⁵⁶ served as a prototype for the whole series. A *modello* for it, in pen and ink with wash and white gouache highlights, is similar to the study for the borders and might have been shown to the patron at the same time (fig. 6).⁵⁷ It is a complex, light-filled composition, which was clearly made to demonstrate the artist's skill. The work includes two scenes in different spaces as well as architecture, landscape, furniture, and a variety of figure types—an elderly man, a *répoussoir* nude, a youth, and a prominent depiction of pharaoh's wife that is one of the most elegant examples of a Maniera figure in all the drawings for the series.

The next three tapestries—*Joseph's Dream of the Sheaves of Grain*, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, and *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife*—were delivered on August 3, 1549 (plates 41–43).⁵⁸ The preliminary drawings are of refined technical virtuosity and

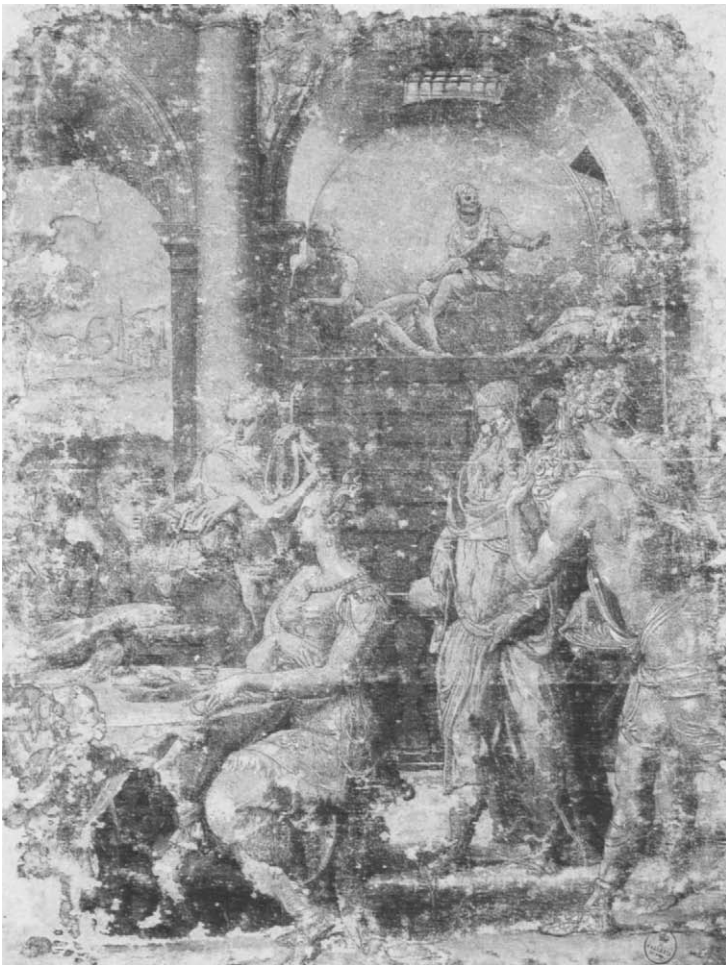


Figure 6. Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet*, ruined *modello*, ca. 1546–49. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache over black chalk on yellow-brown paper, 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (58 × 42.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (15721 F)

indicate that they were the end result of numerous studies (cat. nos. 35, 37–39, 41–43). They represent a supreme example of his *diligenza* in the graphic preparation for a work of art in his artistic maturity, offering a parallel to the drawings for *The Lamentation* in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (plate 26). Both show Bronzino's technique of composing overlapping forms, at once sculptural and flattened parallel to the picture plane, into a composition that is crafted like a relief. His virtuosity in handling the strata is such that several levels can be read from foreground to background, yet the intricate design is also locked to the picture surface. Individual figures are appropriately proportioned and exhibit the perfect language of hand gesture that Vasari mentioned as a requisite of a *bella maniera*.⁵⁹ The last sheet of this group is again a fragile drawing that is not exhibited here because of its condition, a *modello* in black chalk of fanciful decorative complexity, for *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 7).⁶⁰ The theme and its treatment recall Rosso Fiorentino's erotic drawing *Mars Disarmed by Cupid and Venus*, made for Pietro Aretino in 1530, which Bronzino could have known from René Boyvin's engraving (see fig. 8).⁶¹

The second set of the Joseph tapestries was begun in 1549, and the cartoons for them were completed in late 1551 or 1552; they are listed in an inventory of 1553 (cat. nos. 41–43). Because of the participation of Raffaellino dal Colle in the execution of the later *modelli* and cartoons, the attribution of two of the *modelli* as being entirely by Bronzino is sometimes disputed by scholars (cat. nos. 42, 43),⁶² but be this as it may, the very large, highly finished *modello* for *The Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* (cat. no. 41) is without doubt an autograph demonstration drawing.⁶³

DRAWINGS FOR LATER WORKS, ca. 1552–65

After the completion of the cartoons for the Story of Joseph tapestries in 1551, Bronzino painted two monumental altarpieces of almost identical size (about 4.5 meters in height) for major Florentine churches, which must have established his reputation as a painter



Figure 7. Attributed to Agnolo Bronzino, *Study for Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife*, ca. 1546–49. Black chalk, 24 × 15 in. (60.8 × 38 cm). Christ Church, Oxford (1840)



Figure 8. René Boyvin, engraving after Rosso Fiorentino's *Mars Disarmed by Cupid and Venus*, 1530. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

of large-scale sacred works.⁶⁴ *The Resurrection*, which Vasari referred to as “grande e bellissima” (great and most beautiful), is in the Guadagni Chapel in the tribune of the church of SS. Annunziata (plate 59), and *The Descent of Christ into Limbo*, which was painted for the Zanchini Chapel in S. Croce, was also praised by Vasari for its virtuosic collection of portraits of contemporaries and its nudes (plate 58).⁶⁵ A drawing for the *The Resurrection*—a monumental, highly elaborated *modello*—is unique among Bronzino’s surviving drawings (cat. no. 50). There are also studies for the soldier who wakes, rearing back and attempting to shade his eyes from the sight of the resurrected Christ (cat. no. 51), and for the crawling man at Christ’s feet, one of the nudes Vasari so admired in the altarpiece of *The Descent of Christ into Limbo* (cat. no. 52). These life studies in black chalk are similar to the idealizing mode of the much earlier Mercatale *Pietà* drawing (cat. no. 20). However, they are more ambitious in their exploration of the challenging subject of the nude in action. Michelangelo, Bronzino’s constant inspiration, provided the models in many drawings, and among these are the Medici Chapel studies of the late 1520s and drawings like *The Resurrection* in the Royal Library, Windsor (fig. 9).⁶⁶

Our artist continued to receive important Medici painting commissions, most of them clustered in the mid-1560s. Probably at the

behest of Duchess Eleonora herself, in 1553, he painted a second version of the *Lamentation*, to replace that which had been in her Chapel and which had been given away by Duke Cosimo. Bronzino probably worked from the original cartoon, and in 1564, he painted new wings depicting the *Annunciation* (plates 53, 54).⁶⁷ The squared compositional study in black chalk for the *Virgin Annunciate* is among the few examples in Bronzino’s oeuvre of this type of drawing (cat. no. 49), the last in the artist’s graphic preparation for a panel painting before the cartoon (that is, if such a full-scale design was produced at all). While this sheet has sometimes been considered a copy after the painting, because of the dry and labored quality of execution and a perceived lack of vitality⁶⁸ in the uninflected line, the numerous small differences between the drawing and the painting establish that it was preparatory to it.

After the ascendancy of Vasari in 1555 as Duke Cosimo’s court artist and his appointment as *capomaestro* in the decoration of the Palazzo Ducale, Medici commissions to Bronzino were not forthcoming. However, in 1564–65, Cosimo ordered a number of large-scale projects from him, including altarpieces for churches in Tuscan cities under ducal control⁶⁹ and two very public works in Florence celebrating Medici rule. These were monumental in scale, populated by crowds of participants, and overtly Michelangelesque in style.

The first of the projects was the *apparato* for the marriage of the Medici heir, Francesco, and Johanna of Austria (Giovanna d’Austria) in December 1565. Such festive and ephemeral Medicean decorations were described by learned iconographers and chroniclers of the time, and the copious documentation for this work and event included a program invented by Vincenzo Borghini, the duke’s primary iconographer.⁷⁰ Enormous paintings designed by Bronzino were part of an ensemble celebrating the glory of Hymen, god of marriage, and they were mounted on a temporary construction covering the facade of Palazzo Ricasoli for the triumphal entry of the bride into Florence. They represent *The Virtues and Blessings of Matrimony Expelling the Vices and Ills*, an allegory in a dramatic mode, and *The Preparation of the Marriage Bed*, in which Juno, Venus, the three Graces, their helpers, and swarms of putti led by Cupid attend to the making of the marital bed. Borghini called them a “finzione poetica” (poetic make-believe),⁷¹ while Vasari wrote that they were “of such beauty that they appeared not to be things for a festival but worthy to be set in some honorable place forever, so finished were they and executed with such diligence.”⁷² Bronzino’s large compositional studies for these ephemeral works were done in black chalk with brush and brown wash, but the reworking in pen and ink was by a later hand (cat. nos. 55, 56).⁷³ The central figure in the *modello* for *The Preparation of the Marriage Bed* is Juno, goddess of matrimony, identifiable by her tiara and her attribute of the peacocks at her feet, and below her is Cupid, who is derived from Folly in Bronzino’s *Allegory of Venus and Cupid* (plate 31). The conceit of the drawing and some of the figures may have been inspired by

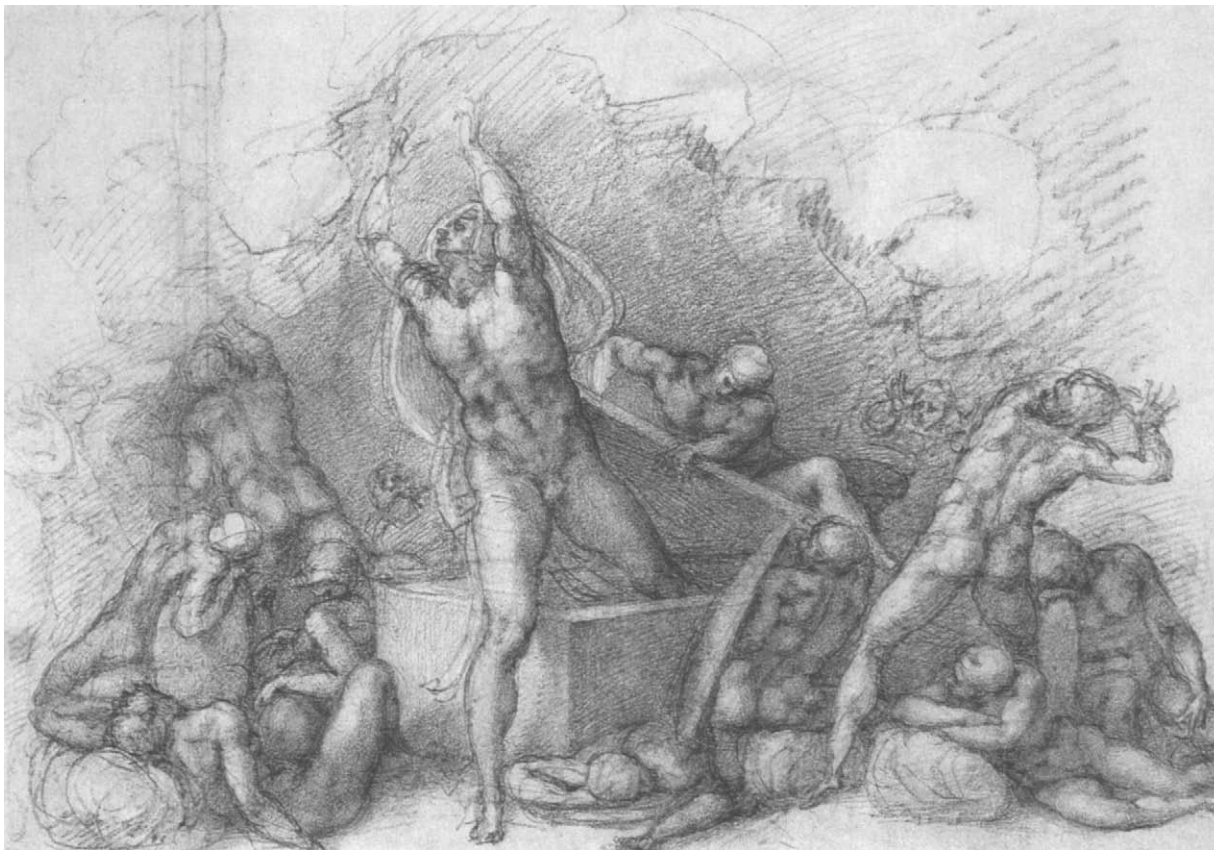


Figure 9. Michelangelo, *The Resurrection*, ca. 1526. Black chalk, 9½ × 13¾ in. (24.1 × 34.9 cm). Royal Library, Windsor (RL 12767)

Boyvin's engraving after Rosso's *Mars Disarmed by Cupid and Venus*, which also depicts a host of attendants and putti preparing a marital bed—in this case, that of King Francis I of France (fig. 8).⁷⁴

The sheer scale and the athletic Michelangelism of the densely layered and intertwined nudes in the propagandistic Medici wedding decorations had a sacred counterpart in the fresco of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, painted in the left aisle wall of S. Lorenzo in 1565–69 (plate 61).⁷⁵ His last major work, this fresco represents a summa of Bronzino's art, a gigantic apotheosis of the Maniera and of the Michelangelism of his late style. In this profoundly referential—indeed, backward-looking—painting, Bronzino emulated the artistic language of Michelangelo and worked systematically in reference to his works, quoting extensively from the Sistine Chapel ceiling and *The Last Judgment*, the sculptures in the Medici Chapel in S. Lorenzo, as well as from antique sculpture.⁷⁶ Bronzino even may have quoted from the modestly scaled fresco, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* over the altar in the choir of S. Lorenzo, later destroyed, which Pontormo had left unfinished on his death and he had completed.⁷⁷ Bronzino's two large preparatory studies in black chalk for the serving men in the left foreground of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (cat. nos. 59, 60) display a graphic style that seems to evolve from his drawings of nudes for altarpieces from the early 1550s (cat. nos. 51–53), and this is evident in the emphasis on contours and minimal modeling. The poses and pronounced Michelangesque muscularity seen in *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*

studies, however, are new in Bronzino's art of the mid-1560s and relate them closely to the contemporary wedding *apparato* drawings (cat. nos. 55, 56). The two studies for the serving men who tend to the fire in the *Martyrdom*—one working the bellows and one lifting a sack—belong to a late stage in the design process, as is indicated by their squaring (cat. nos. 59, 60), and recall the group of laborers in Bronzino's tapestry *Joseph's Dream of the Sheaves of Grain* (plate 41). They are loosely based on studio models and are depicted as hulking types in the act of working, in great contrast to the elegant posturing of the other figures in the frescoed scene.⁷⁸ The near-comic demeanor of these nudes brings to mind Bronzino's burlesque poetry, the *capitoli*,⁷⁹ and they may provide the closest analogy in Bronzino's art to the comic realism of his poems—another fundamental aspect of his creative life. A third study in black chalk for the foreground figures in the fresco is a delicately executed study for the River God at extreme right (cat. no. 58), who is identifiable as the Tiber, in allusion to the Roman locale of St. Lawrence's martyrdom. This drawing is not squared and may belong to an early stage in the development of this *répoussoir* figure. The River God is idealized and overscaled to signify a reality different from that of the men acting out the narrative around him.⁸⁰ This nude is also differentiated from the others in its reference to an antique sculpture, the *Belvedere Torso*, which is seen in reverse design and to which Bronzino added a head and contorted limbs (fig. 10).⁸¹

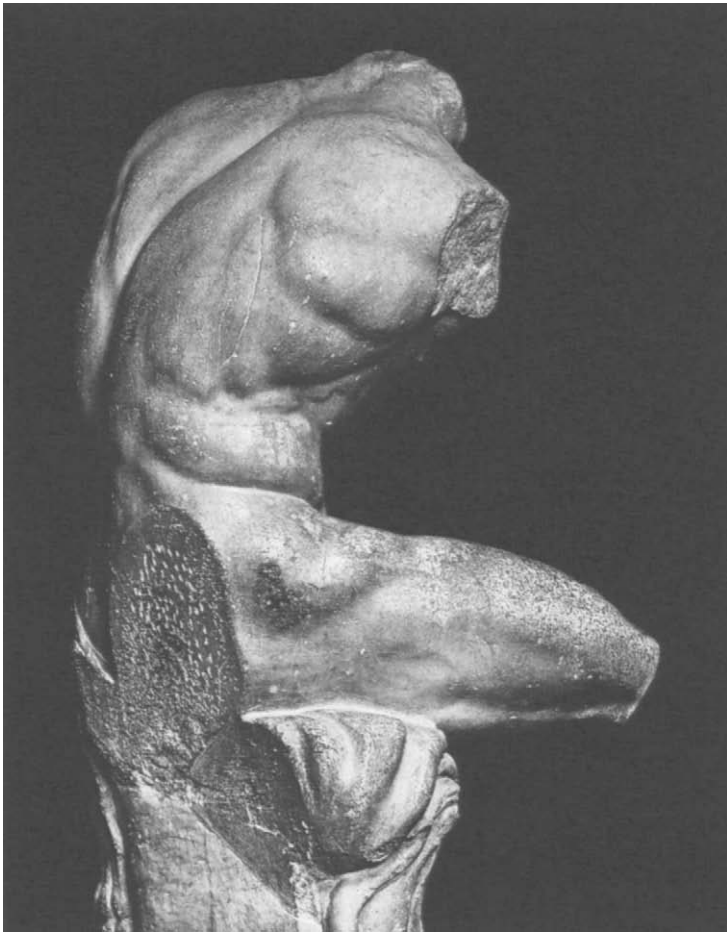


Figure 10. Apollonius, *Belvedere Torso*, Greek, Hellenistic, 1st century B.C. Marble, h. 62 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (159.1 cm). Vatican Museums, Rome

While painting *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, Bronzino came into close contact with his master Pontormo's last work, left unfinished at the time of his death, which was also in the Medici church, the frescoes on the three walls of the choir at S. Lorenzo. These unfinished, lost frescoes depicted scenes from the history of man, from the Creation to the Last Judgment.⁸² The *Resurrection of the Dead* occupied the entire right lower wall, and the *Ascension of Souls* was above the altar. All that remains for a visual reconstruction of those two frescoes is a copy after part of the *Resurrection*, two of Pontormo's figure studies for it, and a study for the *Ascension of Souls* (fig. 11). These, like all Pontormo's black-chalk drawings for the upper register of frescoes in the choir, are highly Michelangelesque in character yet reveal not a trace of the aggressively sculptural Michelangelism of Bronzino's studies for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. Pontormo's last drawings seem populated with figures flowing rhythmically into one another in circular patterns, an expressive Michelangelism that contrasts with the tense linear definition of Bronzino's late style.

The *Resurrection of the Dead* and the *Ascension of Souls* were surely commissioned by Duke Cosimo as a Florentine answer to Michelangelo's great *Last Judgment*, which Pontormo's frescoes

must have evoked vividly. Bronzino would have had this great ensemble before his eyes as he painted the *Martyrdom* on the nave wall nearby. From there, he would have had a clear view of the right wall of the choir and of Pontormo's *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* over the altar, which our artist himself had brought to completion, and perhaps, he experienced a sense of identification with and competition with the last works of his former master. It is ironic—perhaps even poetic—that Bronzino's own *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* and its studies brought him back to Pontormo, with whom he began his life as a Florentine painter and draftsman and whom he mourned in his poetry.⁸³ Like Pontormo's, the stylistic language of Bronzino's *Martyrdom* is that of Michelangelo, but with a more academic, less expressive tone. The frescoes by Pontormo and Bronzino in S. Lorenzo must have been seen by contemporaries as contrasting interpretations of Michelangelo—even as antipodes of Michelangelism.

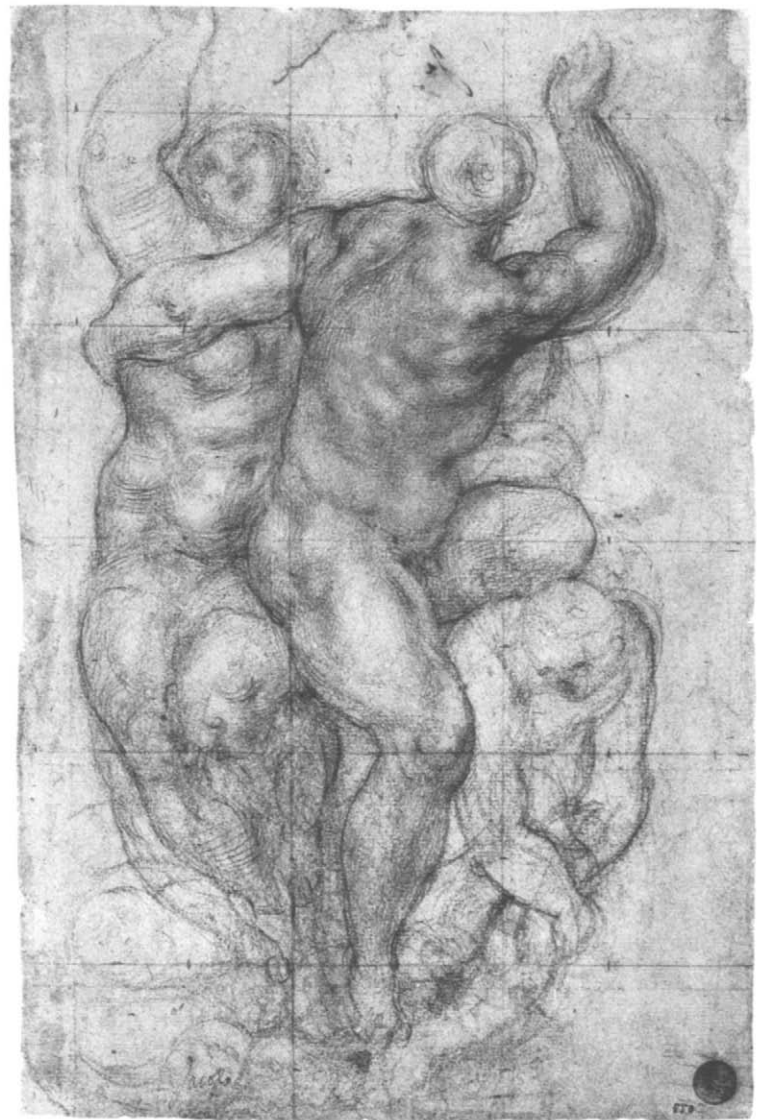


Figure 11. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for the Ascension of Souls*, ca. 1550–55. Black chalk squared in red chalk, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.8 × 19 cm). Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (550)

- 1 Transcribed in Barocchi 1971, pp. 499–503.
- 2 See herein essay by Carmen C. Bambach, pp. 35–49.
- 3 “Ter mattina parlai a loro Ex.tie Ill.me, & la S.ora Duchessa m’inpose che io cominciassi il ritratto del S.or Don Giovanni, & così ieri io bozzai il [vis]o & iersera lo volse vedere, & così lo vidde ancora il nostra Ill.o & Ex.[o] Padrone. . . .” Archivio di Stato, Florence, MdP f. 1170a, fasc. 1, ins. 3 bis, c. 38; transcribed in Edelstein 2001a, pp. 228–30, 245–46, doc. no. 7. For Bronzino’s Chancery cursive (italic) hand, see Cropper 2004, pp. 15–16.
- 4 Duke Cosimo, Pisa, to Bronzino, Florence: “A Bronzino pittore. Carissimo nostro. le tavole di pittura per la chiesa de’ Cavalieri et del Elba sono comparse; et quanto alle pitture che disegnate di fare nelle dua facciate di San Lorenzo, ci pare al proposito, et però potete cominciare a farne i disegni su cartoni, acciò li vediamo et cene risolviamo, perchè ci sarà grato per lornamento di quella chiesa. state sano. di Pisa el di 11 Febr. 64 [1565].” Archivio di Stato, Florence, MdP 220, fol. 78; transcribed in Gaye 1839–40, vol. 3, pp. 166–69, doc. no. 153. There must have been numerous such references to drawings by Bronzino in private correspondence. Little material has come to light, but Paolo Giovio does mention a Bronzino drawing in his possession in a letter to Duke Cosimo of October 14, 1540. See Giovio 1514–44/1956, p. 256.
- 5 As noted by Cropper 2004, p. 14.
- 6 The bibliography of modern studies of Bronzino as poet is extensive; see esp. Parker 1997; Parker 2000; Parker 2003; and Parker 2004.
- 7 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 604–5. On Varchi, see Cecchi 1991. On Varchi, the group of poets and *letterati* with whom Bronzino was associated in the 1540s, and the Accademia Fiorentina, see Cropper 2004, pp. 14–28.
- 8 See Parker 2004.
- 9 This poem and Bronzino’s Michelangelism are discussed by Brock 2002, pp. 312–13.
- 10 “. . . poco si studia e disegna / e le semplici turbe poco esperte / de’ giovani van dietro a questa pesta, / onde l’arte dal ver cade e diverte” (lines 133–36); Parker 2004, p. 171.
- 11 “però ch’ il padre universal disegno / è molto più, ch’ oprar regolo e seste / e delle pietre interdersi e del legno” (lines 289–91); *ibid.*, p. 163.
- 12 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, pp. 6–7: “. . . l’altro [artist besides Lappoli who worked with Pontormo] . . . era il vedere che Agnolo chiamato il Bronzino era molto tirato innanzi da Iacopo, per una certa amorevole sommissione, bontà, e diligente fatica, che aveva nell’imitare le cose del maestro; *senza che disegnava benissimo* [author’s italics], e si portava ne’ colori di maniera, che diede speranza di dovere a quell’eccellenza e perfezione venire, che in lui si è veduta e vede ne’ tempi nostri.”
- 13 Borghini 1584, pp. 13, 21.
- 14 Berenson 1903, vol. 1, pp. 31, 327; see also the expanded listing in Berenson 1961 and the review of it in Pouncey 1964, p. 284.
- 15 Pilliod 1992b; Pilliod 1995; and Pilliod 2001, pp. 53–66. See also Costamagna 1994, pp. 64, 72.
- 16 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, p. 261: “Fra le quali figure ritrasse, a piedi della storia, a sedere sopra certe scale, Bronzino allora fanciullo e suo discepolo, con una sporta; che è una figura viva e bella a maraviglia.”
- 17 Following a tradition of using *garzone* as models for preparatory studies, the face of the boy, now a few years older, may be identifiable as the model in a number of Pontormo studies of the mid-1520s. See Pilliod 2001, pp. 139–41, and figs. 115, 117a–g.
- 18 The correct day of Pontormo’s death was discovered by Elizabeth Pilliod; see discussion and transcription of the relevant document in Pilliod 2001, pp. 113, 257, n. 2.
- 19 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 593: “Costui essendo stato molti anni col Puntormo . . . prese tanto quella maniera, ed in guisa immitò l’opere di colui, che elle sono state molte volte tolte l’una per l’altre, così furono per un pezzo somiglianti. E certo è maraviglia come il Bronzino così bene apprendesse la maniera del Puntormo.”
- 20 Cat. nos. 3–5, 11, 14, 15.
- 21 Cat. nos. 3–7, 10, 11, 14, 20.
- 22 Cat. nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14, 17.
- 23 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6744 F recto); see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 133, no. 48, vol. 2, fig. 54.
- 24 Now ruined and over-painted; see Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, nos. 1, 2, ill.
- 25 Costamagna 1994, pp. 183–93, nos. 50–53, ill.; Pilliod 1995, pp. 134–48.
- 26 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (6627 F recto); see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 261, no. 274, vol. 2, fig. 259.
- 27 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 594: “Nell’orto delle suore dette le Poverine dipinse a fresco un bellissimo tabernacolo, nel quale è Christo che appare a Madalena in forma d’ortolano. In Santa Trinita . . . si vede di mano del medesimo, in un quadro a olio al primo pilastro a man ritta, un Cristo morto, la Nostra Donna, San Giovanni, e Santa Maria Madalena, condotto con bella maniera e molta diligenza.”
- 28 For Bronzino’s *diligenza*, see Parker 2004, pp. 167–68.
- 29 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (461 F); see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 272, no. 289, vol. 2, fig. 281.
- 30 Baccheschi 1973, p. 88, no. 16, ill. For Bronzino in Pesaro, see Mendelsohn 2007.
- 31 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (6597 F); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 190, no. 161, vol. 2, fig. 152.
- 32 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 595.
- 33 *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 276: “Finalmente [Pontormo] fece tornare il Bronzino; ma non per tanto non so potè mai indurre quest’uomo a fare di quest’opera altro che i cartoni . . . in uno de’ quali cartoni, che sono oggi per la maggior parte in casa di Ludovico Capponi, è un Ercole che fa scoppiare Anteo; in un altro, una Venere e Adone; ed in una carta, una storia d’ignudi che giuocano al calcio.”
- 34 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (13861 F); see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 285–86, no. 307, vol. 2, fig. 296.
- 35 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, pp. 181, 183.
- 36 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 289–92, nos. 313–21, vol. 2, figs. 301, 303–7, and vol. 1, pp. 305–8, nos. 336–44, vol. 2, figs. 316–21, 323.
- 37 It is different from *maniera*, meaning simply an artist’s “style.” For an extensive bibliography, see Smyth 1962; Shearman 1967; and Pinelli 1993.
- 38 See the diagram of poses and gestures typical of *Maniera* in Smyth 1962, fig. 10.
- 39 The chapel decoration is recorded in detail by Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 8, pp. 506–7. See also Allegri and Cecchi 1980, pp. 21–29; Cox-Rearick 1993; and Edelstein 1995, pp. 295–398.
- 40 See Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 59–62, giving the dates 1541–43; and Edelstein 2000, giving the dates September 1541 to August 1542.
- 41 Today these scenes are separated by a doorway that was cut through in 1580–81, when Alessandro Allori painted the *Putti with Chalice and Globe* above it.
- 42 For the order of execution of the frescoes, see Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 54–73; Edelstein’s slightly different reading of the doorjamb inscriptions (Edelstein 2001c, pp. 42–44) is followed here.
- 43 Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 260–325.
- 44 Cox-Rearick 1971; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 94–142, and *passim*.
- 45 See Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 254–56, nos. 260–66, vol. 2, figs. 246–52; and Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 100, fig. 54.
- 46 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 596: “Al Puntormo suo maestro aiutò a fare, come si disse di sopra [Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, p. 281, in the life of Pontormo], l’opera di Careggi, dove condusse di sua mano ne’ peducci delle volte cinque figure; la Fortuna, la Fama, la Pace, la Iustizia, e la Prudena; con alcuni putti, fatti ottimamente.” See also Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 98–100.
- 47 Smyth 1971, pp. 5–6.
- 48 Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 130–32.
- 49 For *giornate* in fresco painting, which are the sections of the fresco that were executed in a single day, see Bambach 1999, pp. 66–76; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 66–70, figs. 39–42, with thanks to Daniela Dini, who carried out the work at the time of the restoration.
- 50 For the altarpiece, see Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 8, p. 597; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 145–88; and Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie, Besançon 2007, a monograph on the recent restoration of the altarpiece.
- 51 For these and their extensive bibliography, see Smyth 1971, pp. 20–41; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 88–119, 149–204, vol. 2, pp. 363–90, nos. 10–29, figs. 10–29; and Meoni 1998, pp. 124–41, nos. 1–10, ill.
- 52 Bronzino’s technique in this new kind of work must have improved, for all but three of the remaining tapestries were based on his cartoons.
- 53 Cox-Rearick 2005a, pp. 301–5.
- 54 Monbeig-Goguel 1976; Cox-Rearick 2005a, pp. 301, 304–5.
- 55 Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 291–92.
- 56 See Baccheschi 1973, p. 96, no. 59, ill. p. 97; and Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 372–73, no. 16, fig. 16.
- 57 See Smyth 1971, pp. 21–24, 39–40, 95–99, 101, figs. 16, 17; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 373, under no. 16, fig. 110; and Cox-Rearick 2005a, p. 309. This damaged work was too fragile to be included in the exhibition accompanying this catalogue.
- 58 Christ Church, Oxford (1840); see Smyth 1971, Appendix 3, pp. 94–101; Baccheschi 1973, pp. 97–98, nos. 63–65, ill.; and Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 364–66, nos. 10, 11, figs. 10, 11, and pp. 371–72, no. 15, fig. 15.
- 59 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 4, p. 10. For *bella maniera* (particularly in relation to Salvati), see Cox-Rearick 1998, pp. 28–30; and Cropper 2001a, pp. 697–98.
- 60 See Smyth 1971, pp. 39–40, 76, n. 188, fig. 37; Baccheschi 1973, pp. 97–98, no. 64-1, ill.; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 371–72, under no. 15, fig. 109; Meoni 1998, p. 131, under no. 3; and Cox-Rearick 2005a, p. 315, n. 72. This drawing is not included in the exhibition due to its damaged condition.
- 61 See Smith 1978, p. 111; for Rosso’s drawing, see Cox-Rearick 1996b, pp. 267–73, no. VIII-2.
- 62 See Smyth 1971, pp. 32–33, 40.
- 63 Pilliod 2006, p. 99.
- 64 Both are signed and dated 1552; see Baccheschi 1973, p. 101, nos. 95, 96, ill.
- 65 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 599–600.
- 66 Tolnay 1970, pp. 218–19, no. 109, ill. no. 145.

- 67 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 185–86.
- 68 See Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, pp. 70–71, no. 29, ill.
- 69 *Deposition and Lamentation* (Porto Ferrario, Elba; now Accademia, Florence) and the *Nativity* (Church of the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano, Pisa). See Baccheschi 1973, pp. 104, 105, nos. 117, 120, ill.
- 70 See Pillsbury 1970; and Scorza 1981.
- 71 See Scorza 1981, p. 70.
- 72 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 604: “Nelle nozze della reina Giovanna d’Austria . . . dipinse in tre tele grandi, che furono poste al ponte alla Carraia . . . alcune storie delle nozze d’Imeneo in modo belle, che non parvero cose da feste, ma da essere poste in luogo onorato per sempre, così erano finite e condotte con diligenza.”
- 73 See Stephen J. Campbell in National Gallery of Canada 2005, pp. 232–33, 348, no. 80, ill.
- 74 See Smith 1978, p. 111; for the engraving, Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 111.
- 75 Baccheschi 1973, p. 105, no. 121, ill. p. 104.
- 76 See Waźbiński 1987, pp. 197–213; and Brock 2002, pp. 312–26, particularly his insightful discussion of the serving men.
- 77 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 325.
- 78 Campbell 2004, pp. 106–7.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 119, mentions the poem *Il piato*.
- 80 The motif of the sinuous arms with one bent over the head occurs in another Bronzino drawing of these years, a black chalk study of a nude seen from behind, which, however, does not appear to be connected with a figure in the *Martyrdom*.
- 81 See Simon 1985, pp. 21–22. It may not be coincidental that in his portrait, *Duke Cosimo as Orpheus* of ca. 1539 (Philadelphia Museum of Art), Bronzino quoted the antique torso in the nude Cosimo’s back and left leg. Bronzino’s patron may thus be indirectly alluded to in the *Martyrdom* not only in the small likeness in the right middleground, but the foreground in this heroic, Herculean figure.
- 82 See Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 319–27; and Costamagna 1994, pp. 252–66, no. 85. For the copy and the studies, see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 396, no. A216, vol. 2, fig. 371, and vol. 1, pp. 340–42, nos. 376–79, vol. 2, figs. 360–62.
- 83 See Cropper 2004, p. 30, for Bronzino’s emotional attachment to Pontormo and the fourteen poems he wrote on his master’s death.



THEORY AND PRACTICE IN BRONZINO'S DRAWINGS

Carmen C. Bambach

“I say to you briefly that by drawing I mean all those things that can be formed with the value, or force, of simple lines.”¹ This succinct though somewhat polemical definition by Bronzino occurs in a dialogue written in 1560–70, by his beloved pupil and adoptive son, Alessandro Allori (1535–1607).² It served as a preamble to a detailed discussion of the practices of figure drawing, a greatly neglected subject at the time, especially in the most significant contemporary text, the introduction to Giorgio Vasari’s *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (*The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*), published in 1550 and then in 1568, in a much expanded edition.³ In Allori’s recorded dialogue on figure drawing, the *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, Bronzino discoursed at length about method, proportion, and human anatomy, also pointedly extolling “pulitezza” (cleanliness of drawing technique) on the paper and giving a few hints about achieving it.⁴ This discussion came as a coda a decade or two after the heated theoretical debates regarding the comparison of the visual arts had acquiesced with the proposal that *disegno* (drawing and design) was the basis of all the visual arts.⁵

As a founding member, consul, reformer, and lieutenant of the *Compagnia ed Accademia del Disegno* (Confraternity and Academy of Drawing and Design), which was formally inaugurated in Florence on January 13, 1563, Bronzino, who was at the time just about sixty years old, offered a paragon of good draftsmanship difficult to surpass by the younger generation of Florentine artists.⁶ At least seven of Bronzino’s numerous pupils became inscribed members of the *Compagnia ed Accademia del Disegno* in the 1560s,⁷ and the master’s most important legacy to them was the fine technical craftsmanship of his drawings—his “superb art” and “extreme diligence”⁸—particularly evident in his handling of chalk, whether red or black, and also in his closely observed studies of the nude figure. While the techniques of Italian Mannerist drawings rarely have been discussed as an independent subject, in contrast to the large existing literature on earlier Renaissance drawings, the evidence of Bronzino’s works on paper, considered alongside the rich writings by Florentine

authors dating from his lifetime or from a few years later, sheds light on his great discipline and independence as a draftsman.

Fifty-nine sheets with drawings by Bronzino (or attributed to him) are exhibited here, that is, nearly his entire existing corpus, a very reduced number for a draftsman of his generation.⁹ His numerous poems seem as carefully crafted as his drawings and thereby represent the other facet of his creative energies on paper, but Vasari felt little appreciation for our artist’s sonnets, *saltarelli*, *capitoli*, and other *rime burlesche*.

In contrast to Allori’s little-heeded dialogue on figure drawing, which records Bronzino’s opinions, Vasari’s description of the design process in the introduction to his *Vite* is instead the model of sixteenth-century drawing practice that art historians most usually regard as normative for this period.¹⁰ The founding of the *Compagnia ed Accademia del Disegno* in 1563 and the publication of the second, revised edition of Vasari’s *Vite* in 1568 were closely related events.¹¹ The passages about *disegno* in the introduction to the 1550 and 1568 editions of Vasari’s *Vite* offer only minor differences of phrasing. One must note, however, that the extent to which Bronzino’s surviving drawings do not appear to conform in certain matters of technique and function to Vasari’s prescribed model of design is significant. This fact cannot be explained simply as the result of accidents of survival.¹² In Vasari’s 1568 edition of the *Vite*, the biography of Bronzino occupies a place of privilege in the account of the most perfect era, the section *Degli Accademici del Disegno* dedicated to the academicians,¹³ and Vasari stated of Bronzino: “We have had a deep friendship of forty-three years,”¹⁴ which apparently extended back to 1524, when Vasari arrived in Florence. While he upheld Bronzino’s technical virtuosity as a painter as exemplary, the Aretine biographer was frustratingly silent regarding Bronzino’s drawings and their techniques (his single comment, that Bronzino “drew extremely well,” is, in fact, buried in the biography of Giovanni Antonio Lappoli, Pontormo’s pupil¹⁵). Vasari also apparently did not collect Bronzino’s drawings, even as he gathered works by his contemporaries. Could it be that our artist offered in his approach to *disegno* an alternative to Vasari’s dominant model?

First, one must consider the question of Bronzino’s artistic lineage¹⁶ and the legacy of training and techniques received from his



Figure 1. Raffaellino del Garbo, *Christ Resurrected and Studies of Two Hands*, ca. 1495. Metalpoint on gray-blue prepared paper, glued onto a Mariette mount, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (37.5 × 25.4 cm). British Museum, London (Pp. 1-32)

masters.¹⁷ Bronzino's apprenticeships—at first with Raffaellino del Garbo (ca. 1466/70—after 1527), probably before 1520,¹⁸ and then more extensively with Pontormo (1494–1557),¹⁹ with whom he stayed closely associated until that master's death—left some indelible traces in his practices as a draftsman, although Raffaellino's influence was much more negligible. Bronzino used papers of prepared color (particularly gray-blue), a technique that harked back to the Quattrocento and was sometimes preferred by Raffaellino in the 1490s, as in his study of the resurrected Christ (fig. 1), a drawing once owned by Vasari and now pasted onto a Mariette mount.²⁰ Bronzino was inspired by Pontormo's figural style into the 1550s, and

he also drew with red chalk or black chalk in very Pontormesque techniques, with firm, sometimes overly emphatic contours and internal modeling combining partial hatching and sfumato. The media of his drawings are typical of many Florentine Mannerist artists, essentially according with the brief mentions in Vasari's introduction on *disegno* in the *Vite*²¹ and with the more expansive description in Raffaele Borghini's *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584),²² but initial sketches and pen-and-ink drawings by Bronzino are extremely rare. The scarcity of pen-and-ink studies stands out, considering that the use of this medium, particularly at the stages of invention and synthetic summary, was favored by draftsmen of his

generation. Pen and ink were praised by contemporary authors, such as Vasari, Benvenuto Cellini, and Borghini, as either a difficult (*difficile*) or the most difficult (*difficilissimo*) medium to master in drawing.²³ Bronzino's own preference is expressed in Allori's dialogue on figure drawing: "I believe that it is better to draw with a pointy chalk, as when an error is made, it can be corrected with a soft breadcrumb."²⁴ But this cannot be the whole story.

Bronzino's training with Pontormo, one of the greatest master draftsmen in chalk, almost certainly offers a reason for his preference, as Pontormo very rarely if ever drew in pen and ink.²⁵ A sheet done solely in pen and brown ink that is attributed to Bronzino, probably rightly so in the present author's opinion, is a damaged *Virgin and Child in a Landscape* that is not exhibited here (fig. 2), although its attribution has rarely been challenged.²⁶ The scribbles on the verso of the Getty Museum sheet (cat. no. 46) are most probably autograph, and the pen-and-ink outlines on the Frankfurt *modello* (cat. no. 23) are considered to be by Bronzino by this author, as is true of those on the Ambrosiana, British Museum, and Krugier *modelli* (see cat. nos. 34, 35, 41). In addition, our artist often used a very liquid, rather transparent wash modeling, applied with the brush over the black-chalk underdrawing without pen-and-ink outlining, to articulate the chiaroscuro of forms (see cat. no. 42), and he deepened shadows by working up the washes, layer upon layer. Vasari mentioned in passing the traditional recipe ("ink with a little water makes a gentle tint"),²⁷ while Borghini elaborated that a good wash ("acquerello") could be "made by putting two small drops of ink in as much water as can be contained in the shell of a walnut."²⁸

The young Bronzino most often employed the medium of red chalk, usually of a rather bright color and in emulation of the techniques of Pontormo until the early-to-mid-1530s, when he seems to have given it up. While his use of soft black chalk during this early period was infrequent, it became his favorite medium from the early 1530s into his late career, during the late 1560s. As is seen in his sheet with two studies for the legs of Christ in the *Cambi Pietà* of about 1529 (cat. no. 14), a drawing that an earlier generation of scholars attributed to Pontormo,²⁹ the Pontormesque handling of the pointy red chalk consists of an approach that is almost pen-like, with strong outlines and hatching with very precise short strokes curving and straight, with a minimal amount of stumping for the deepest shadows in the knee at upper left. Red chalk (*pietra rossa* or *matita rossa*), as is mentioned by Cellini,³⁰ Vasari,³¹ and Borghini,³² is a hard natural hematite. As Bronzino's drawings in red chalk can confirm (see, for example, cat. nos. 4–6, 12–15, 36 verso), it was considered especially appropriate to draw the figure from the model ("per ritrarre dal vivo"), as stated by Cellini, Bronzino's close friend.³³ In describing the initial manner of drawing with red chalk, Borghini indicated that it was helpful to draw first auxiliary lines with an uninked stylus, which left incisions on the paper (one was absolutely to avoid leadpoint underdrawing in red-chalk studies),³⁴ a practice well known to art historians from



Figure 2. Attributed to Agnolo Bronzino, *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, 1540s. Pen and brown ink, 9¾ × 6¾ in. (24.8 × 16.1 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (2249)

Raphael's drawings. Cellini emphasized that the red chalk could be corrected by erasing it with a little piece of soft breadcrumb,³⁵ an observation that echoes the comment in Allori's dialogue on figure drawing mentioned above.³⁶

Sixteenth-century texts describe the medium of black chalk (*pietra nera* or *matita nera*) for drawing as frequently as that of charcoal (*carboncino* or *carboni*),³⁷ but Bronzino seems to have relied most often on black chalk. Drawings by Bronzino possibly done in charcoal (rather than black chalk) are Pontormesque in style and technique, and they exhibit much smudging in the modeling. They include the Uffizi double-sided sheet with studies for St. Elizabeth on the recto and the Virgin on the verso (cat. no. 8) of about 1527 as well as the summary sketch of a *Half-Length Figure of a Boy Looking Up* (cat. no. 36 recto) of about 1540–49. Between the mid-1530s and the early 1550s, as Bronzino greatly abandoned Pontormo's more pictorial techniques of sfumato modeling within bold, broken-up contours, he turned to the model of Michelangelo, absorbing not



Figure 3. Michelangelo, *Study for the Last Judgment*, 1534–36. Black chalk, 9½ × 7⅞ in. (24.2 × 18.2 cm). Teylers Museum, Haarlem (A23)

only the great master's figural vocabulary but also his exacting technique of drawing with fine outlines and hatching in black chalk, as Michelangelo developed in the "presentation drawings" (made as gifts in the 1520s for Gherardo Perini and the 1530s for Tommaso de' Cavalieri), as well as in the preparatory studies of the 1530s for the *Last Judgment*.³⁸ The great master's studies for the *Last Judgment* were perhaps the most formative for Bronzino (fig. 3) in that they are exploratory drawings exhibiting dynamic contrasts of finish and unfinish ("non finito"), and his figural vocabulary, if not his drawing

technique, continued to hold sway over Bronzino into the late 1560s. The Michelangelesque technique in our artist's drawings is manifest in the vigorous outlines and interior modeling of carefully hatched strokes that follow the form, as in the *Study of a Left Leg and Drapery* (cat. no. 45). He often sensitively exploited the white of the paper for the pristine tonal contrast it can provide when drawing in red or black chalk. Many of his early white and off-white papers are very thin (cat. no. 8 has an acorn watermark that is typical of Florentine paper around 1530³⁹), while some of his later drawings at

times seem to be drawn on thin, though more mealy buff color papers, as is seen in two of the figure studies for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (cat. nos. 58, 60; see plate 61).

A few of Bronzino's drawings dating between 1540 and 1553 are on papers prepared with color, a technique of *fogli tinti* (see cat. nos. 22–24 recto, 26, 41), which was much used in the fifteenth century and which is described in Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'arte* of about 1400, with regard to metalpoint drawing.⁴⁰ The technique of drawing in black chalk or ink with wash and gouache on colored paper was revived by Mannerist artists, and while it is mentioned only in passing by Allori,⁴¹ it is discussed at some length in Cellini's *Discorso sopra l'arte del disegno*, a manuscript written in the 1560s,⁴² and also in Borghini's *Il Riposo*, published in 1584.⁴³ Bronzino's *Standing Nude*, a study from about 1541–42 for *The Crossing of the Red Sea* fresco (cat. no. 26; see plate 22), is prepared with a relatively saturated ocher color, which enabled a delicate tonal modeling with black chalk, while his two drawings for the vault frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (cat. nos. 23, 24; see plate 21) and one *modello* for tapestries (cat. no. 41) are prepared with gray-blue and mauve hues. Bronzino also used manufactured blue paper (*carta azzurra*) in the Ambrosiana *modello* of *Justice Liberating Innocence* (cat. no. 34) and in the pen-and-ink study for a tapestry border in the British Museum (cat. no. 35), both works dating from around 1545–46. The use of leadpoint (*lo stile di piombo* or *stiletto di disegnare*) is discussed by Borghini,⁴⁴ and some of the terms regarding this medium were later defined in Filippo Baldinucci's *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno*.⁴⁵ The use of leadpoint was also mentioned in passing by Bronzino himself in at least one of his sonnets,⁴⁶ but the medium is difficult to identify with any certainty from among his extant drawings.

To turn now to questions of function, Vasari's introduction to the *Vite* in both the 1550 and 1568 editions attempted to describe a relatively orderly overview of the design process, in which the consecutive steps of artistic creation were marked by more or less clearly discernible types of preliminary drawings, from the moment of invention in quick sketches, to more deliberated studies, to the final step of enlarging the design to the full scale of a cartoon, or *cartone*.⁴⁷ According to Vasari, artists first produced sketches ("schizzi"), resembling "the form of a stain" ("in forma di una mac[c]hia"), as they were intended to convey only a rough compositional idea, "to find the manner of the poses" ("per trovare il modo delle attitudini"), and sketches rapidly poured forth onto the paper out of the fury of artistic inspiration ("dal furor dello artifice . . . solo per tentare l'animo di quel che gli sovviene"). However, no initial sketches (*primi pensieri*) by Bronzino survive, other than the quick composition in black chalk, from about 1540, of the *Madonna and Child* in Budapest (cat. no. 21), related to the small panel in Detroit.⁴⁸ Rather unusual for a sketch, this small sheet attributed to Bronzino is also squared with a grid in black chalk, and the figural types with their flame-like hands recall Parmigianino, although

the summary sketchiness evokes that of certain figures in Bronzino's Frankfurt *modello* (cat. no. 23). The extremely sketchy background figures, at upper left and upper right in Bronzino's monumental preparatory *modello* in Berlin (cat. no. 42) from around 1550–53, can help one identify what other quick sketches by our artist might have resembled. This drawing is also squared for proportional enlargement.

According to Vasari's model of design, from the exercise of sketching, the second step evolved, which entails the production of a variety of more finished types of drawings "done with all the diligence that is possible"⁴⁹—in red chalk, or black chalk, or in chiaroscuro with pen, ink, washes, and lead-white, or just in pen and ink—but Vasari identified these only with the generic word *disegni* (drawings or designs). These *disegni* encompassed studies of drapery and the figure from models, but life drawing for Vasari appears to have been optional, that is, "if the artist did not feel confident in being able to execute them by himself."⁵⁰ For Bronzino, in contrast, the "ritrarre dal naturale" (drawing after nature) was a necessity, and was greatly enhanced by the study of proportion and anatomy from the skeleton and dissected corpse. This much is learned from the arduous step-by-step discussion of figure drawing in Allori's *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*.⁵¹ Anatomical study was a natural part of figure drawing, as is discussed in Cellini's manuscript fragment of the 1560s, *Sopra i principii e 'l modo d'imparare l'arte del disegno*,⁵² and Bronzino detailed procedures of anatomy, as Allori recorded.⁵³ Although it is mentioned that Bronzino produced anatomical drawings,⁵⁴ none securely attributed to him are extant. In any case, figure studies, particularly after the male nude, are the most common type of drawing by Bronzino (cat. nos. 6–8, 14, 15, 19, 20, 24, 26–28, 32, 33, 40, 47, 48, 51, 52, 58–60), for, as he expressed in the dialogue recorded by Allori, "The nude, in my opinion, is the most beautiful and perhaps the most difficult type of portrayal that is done by us."⁵⁵

The stage of deliberated studies, as described in Vasari's introduction to the *Vite*, also included composition drawings of a synthesized and detailed character, although Vasari's wording in this regard is somewhat vague, and these finished types of drawings preceding the cartoon included the squared composition studies that art historians often designate as *modelli*.⁵⁶ The early written sources from the fifteenth century onward, however, suggest that drawings functioning as *modelli*—that is, as demonstrations of work to be executed—were produced as part of the design process for use in the artist's workshop as well as for communicating ideas to the patron. But they were often not recognized as a specific or formal drawing type, and Vasari's introduction to the *Vite* does not employ the term *modello* for such drawings.⁵⁷ In any case, *modelli*, demonstration drawings done to plan the enlargement of a composition or for the patron (which often also served a contractual purpose),⁵⁸ were an important type of study produced by Bronzino, as is represented by the relatively finished Frankfurt design for the vault fresco

of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (cat. no. 23), but which is not squared. One may also include in this category of *modelli* a number of the compositions for tapestries (cat. nos. 34, 37–39, 41–43), three of which are in fragments, and the two detailed scenes in the Louvre and Christ Church for the temporary facade decorations of Palazzo Ricasoli (cat. nos. 55, 56), all of which are squared.

Letters from the 1540s to the 1560s by Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and his contemporaries (exchanged when the two parties involved in the correspondence were not residing in the same city) reveal a number of instances in which drawings served as a means of discussing the evolution of designs between the patron, his intermediaries, and the artist.⁵⁹ This particular use of drawings also must have frequently occurred in Bronzino's employment as court artist to Duke Cosimo and his wife, Eleonora di Toledo. Bronzino's Louvre cartoon fragment (cat. no. 29), a working drawing that was actually used on the fresco surface,⁶⁰ is almost certainly drawn in a refined finish because of its additional function as a demonstration piece, probably made by the artist to show his patron. This may be deduced from a later instance, a letter from February 11, 1565, in which Duke Cosimo wrote from Pisa to Bronzino in Florence, to advise him: "Begin producing the drawings of cartoons, so that we see them and resolve matters, because this decoration of the church is to be pleasing."⁶¹ Confirmation of another kind is also found in an earlier letter, referring to Vasari rather than Bronzino, in which Duke Cosimo in Pisa wrote to Vasari in Florence on October 6, 1557, about his having reviewed and approved the artist's cartoons for a project.⁶² The last step in Vasari's description of the design process in the introduction to the *Vite* consists of enlarging the design to the full scale of the final work, by drawing a cartoon, or *cartone*, in charcoal. To judge from the incisions left on the surface of his frescoes, which are especially visible in raking light (fig. 4), it is clear that Bronzino must have produced numerous cartoons to transfer the design onto the plaster surface, which perished in the working process.⁶³ The only surviving cartoon fragment by Bronzino, the *Head of a Smiling Young Woman* in the Louvre (cat. no. 29) exhibits outlines that were partly stylus-incised to transfer the design onto the plaster surface in the fresco *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* (see fig. 4; plate 23).

The types of drawings in Bronzino's oeuvre (sketches, studies, *modelli*, and cartoons) do not agree entirely with Vasari's model of design. In addition, another discordant point of practice with respect to the Aretine biographer emerges in Bronzino's consistent predilection for employing the squaring grid to gauge the proportions and foreshortenings of figures and to enlarge designs (see cat. nos. 16, 17, 21, 22, 28, 34, 36 verso, 38, 41, 42, 49, 55, 56, 59, 60). Even his quick Budapest *Madonna* sketch (cat. no. 21) is squared. Bronzino's interest in the squaring grid generally conforms with a long-standing Florentine practice, going back to the description of the veil ("velum," or "velo"), in Leon Battista Alberti's treatise on painting of 1435–36,⁶⁴ but which Vasari described only as a grid ("graticola")

in connection with the drawing of perspectival elements in the final scale of the cartoon ("a grid of small squares, which is enlarged in the cartoon").⁶⁵ Vasari's restraint in discussing the subject is not surprising. Elsewhere, the present author described the pedagogic debates among fifteenth- and sixteenth-century theorists regarding the squaring grid and the notion that it impeded the exercise of visual judgment, or *giudizio dell'occhio* (the judgment of the eye, a term used by Vasari and other Cinquecento writers), the quality in a draftsman Michelangelo is said to have extolled most highly.⁶⁶ It seems that Michelangelo himself generally avoided the use of the squaring grid in his drawings.⁶⁷ Yet in the camp advocating for the use of squaring grids was Leonardo, who, in 1490–92, recommended it for precision in life drawing, noting that a draftsman should view the posed nude model through a wood frame threaded with a grid of squares (a "rette" or "telaro"), that he was to calibrate the axis of the body with a plumb-line, which consisted of a thread weighted by a ball of wax, and that he was also to square lightly the paper with a corresponding grid before starting to draw the figure.⁶⁸ This type of exercise in figure drawing with the squaring grid was illustrated in Albrecht Dürer's *Die Undersweysung der Messung*, first published in Nuremberg in 1525, and later often reprinted (fig. 5). One may recall in this regard that as a very young boy, Bronzino's teacher, Pontormo, was apprenticed to Leonardo⁶⁹ and also that Pontormo very frequently drew squaring grids in his studies, as for example, in his *Archangel Gabriel* (fig. 6), of about 1525–28, intended for the Capponi Chapel in S. Felicita, Florence.⁷⁰ Pontormo continued this practice into his late career, as is seen in his studies for the choir frescoes of S. Lorenzo.⁷¹ The heritage of the squaring grid for Bronzino thus seems clear. Several works by our artist that are drawn and squared with black chalk probably closely accord with Leonardo's practice—a study of two reclining models in intertwined poses (cat. no. 28), which was intended for the fresco *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* of about 1542–43 (plate 23) as well as two studies of nude models (cat. nos. 59, 60), which were preparatory for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (plate 61), frescoed more than twenty years later, in 1565–69. In these cases, the difficult poses of the figures compressed in stark foreshortening indicate the reason for calibrating space and proportion with the squaring grid. Only a faint plumb-line is visible in Bronzino's study of a River God (cat. no. 58), which is also preliminary for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. Here, the compact, twisted pose of the figure is precisely designed to align vertically the head, left shoulder, and left knee, which creates a stark foreshortening of the limbs. Borghini's *Il Riposo* praised Bronzino highly for his self-confidence as a painter of nudes in *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* fresco,⁷² which was the product of long and disciplined study after the live model. In contrast, the squaring grid hardly interested either Vasari in his *Vite* or Anton Francesco Doni (1513–1574), the Florentine author. Doni's protagonist in the short dialogue *Disegno*, published in Venice in 1549, adamantly objected to the squaring grid,⁷³



Figure 4. Agnolo Bronzino, Detail in raking light showing the stylus incisions from the cartoon in the fresco *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*, ca. 1542–43. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (Photograph: Rita Alzeni)



Figure 5. Albrecht Dürer, *Die Undersweyung der Messung*, 1525. Woodcut, $2\frac{1}{16} \times 8\frac{7}{16}$ in. (7.5 × 21.5 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (4687-1877)

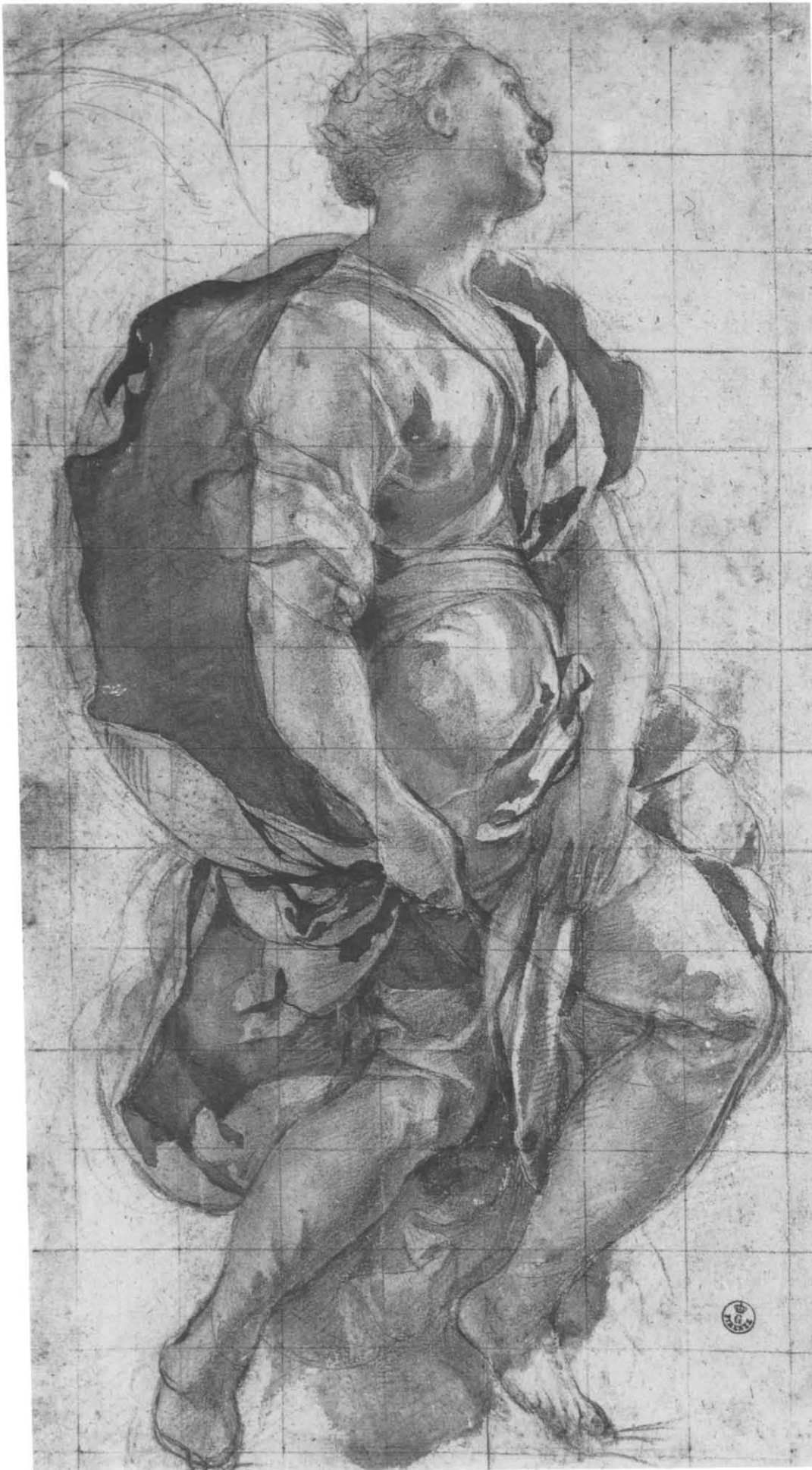


Figure 6. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for the Archangel Gabriel*, ca. 1525–28. Black chalk, brush and brown wash, traces of red chalk, highlighted with white gouache, squared in red chalk, $15\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39.1 × 21.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6653 F)

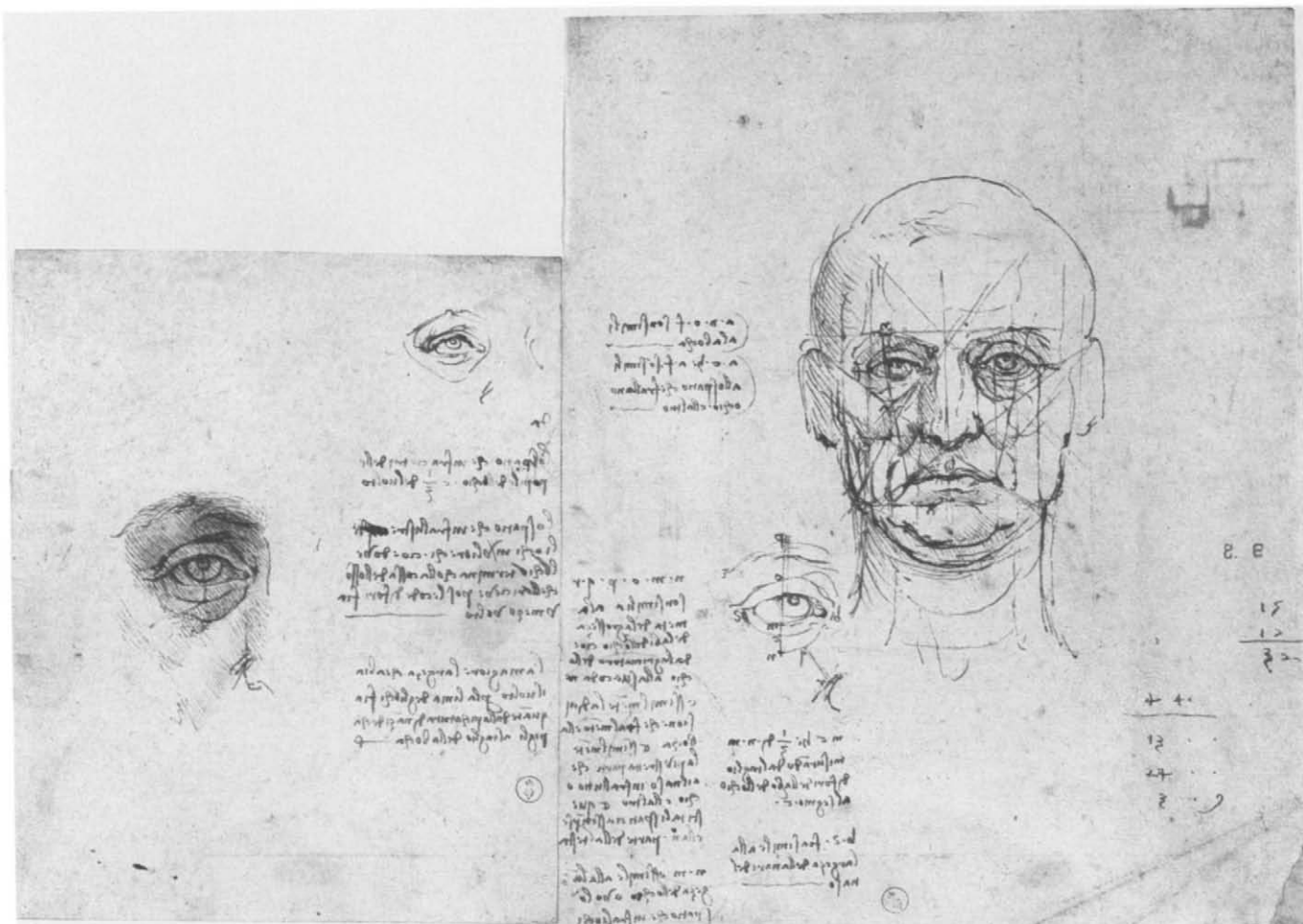


Figure 7. Leonardo da Vinci, *Studies of the Proportions of the Human Head*, ca. 1490–92. Pen and brown ink over stylus ruling and compass construction, left fragment: 5¾ × 4⅝ in. (14.5 × 11.7 cm) and right fragment: 7¾ × 6¼ in. (19.7 × 16 cm). Biblioteca Reale, Turin (D.C. 15574–76)

“because it makes the practice of the hand lazy, and it very much deceives or delays the eye’s true judgment.”⁷⁴

Perhaps more so than any of his Florentine contemporaries, Bronzino excelled as a portraitist, no doubt because of his acute powers of observation and psychological description as well as his innate sense of proportion. It is not surprising in this context that his idealized portrait of Dante in Munich (cat. no. 16) exhibits the faint remains of a squaring grid, while his portrait of a man in Chatsworth (cat. no. 17) is rather assertively squared. Perhaps more curiously, the portrait of a man in the Uffizi (cat. no. 18) is squared on the verso of the sheet with a grid drawn in leadpoint or black chalk. With the Uffizi sheet held to the light, it is evident that the man’s figure is encompassed by four squares and his head by one square, while the square coinciding with the head on the recto is drawn with intersecting lines (corner to corner), to indicate the placement of the facial features. The grid of squares, with one bisected to create equilateral triangles, was typical for artists theorizing about facial proportion, an application rooted in the Vitruvian canon (but as it was interpreted in the fifteenth century), and it is well exemplified in Leonardo’s Turin drawing (fig. 7). Emulating Bronzino’s practice, Allori’s aforementioned dialogue on figure

drawing recommends and illustrates the use of a grid of nine squares inscribed onto the head as a means of calibrating facial proportions.⁷⁵

The drawing after nature (“ritrarre dal naturale,” as Leonardo, Vasari, and others called it) did not consist only of studying the live model. Vasari, in his *Vita* of Pontormo in the 1568 edition, noted that at Pontormo’s death, “In his house were found many drawings, cartoons, and clay sketches [*modelli di terra*] most beautiful.”⁷⁶ At least two drawings attributed to Bronzino appear to have been drawn from clay or wax mannequins. This can be deduced from the clump-like hands, seen in the intended figure of Christ in a drapery study for the *Noli me tangere*, which decorated the lost frescoed tabernacle of the *Poverine*⁷⁷ as well as in the summary sketch of a youth with bent arm (see cat. nos. 13, 36 recto). Bronzino appears to have drawn draperies from both inanimate sources and live models (compare cat. nos. 13 and 28 verso), and in this, his practices were rooted in the fifteenth century. It may be recalled that drapery studies after mannequins dressed with real cloth, sometimes cast in clay slip to fix them more permanently, were drawn in the studio of Andrea del Verrocchio (1434/37–1488) starting in the 1460s, and Leonardo’s notes for his intended treatise on painting refer to drapery studies from the model.⁷⁸ The introduction on *disegno* in



Figure 8. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1534–38. Oil on wood, 37 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (95.6 × 74.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.16). Underdrawing and underpainting in infrared reflectography (Infrared reflectogram, Sherman Fairchild Conservation Center, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) (see plate 14)



Figure 9. Detail of Figure 8, in the actual size of the painting. (Infrared reflectogram, Sherman Fairchild Conservation Center, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

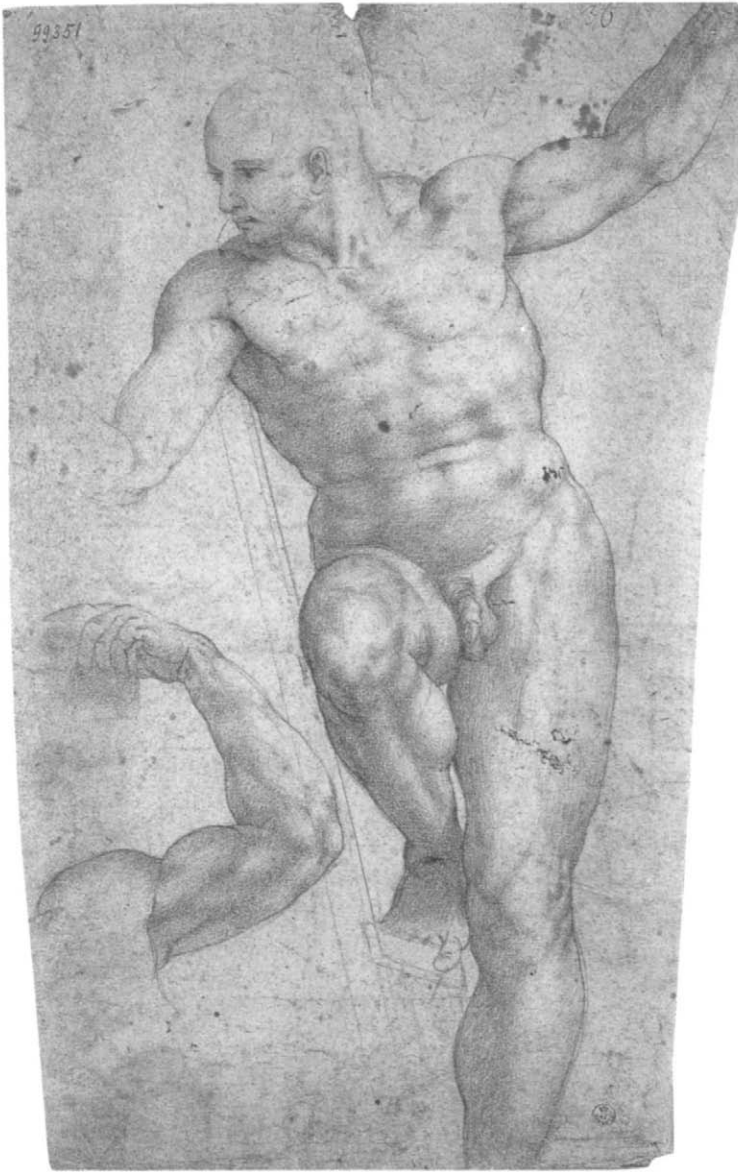


Figure 10. Alessandro Allori, *Studies for a Crucifixion*, ca. 1570. Black chalk, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ \times 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (33.2 \times 26.8 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (99351 F)

Vasari's *Vite* dedicates a separate section to describing the design of foreshortened figures ("scórti delle figure") and set forth the paragon of Michelangelo, whose practice was to study the foreshortened poses of the figure from clay and wax models ("modelli di terra o di cera").⁷⁹ Cellini's *Discorso sopra l'arte del disegno* of the 1560s also alludes in passing to such preliminary models,⁸⁰ while Doni's small treatise, *Disegno*, of 1549, describes the practice of using clay, wax, or wood figurines to study the relief of a figure ("rilievo") and the disposition of draperies ("i panni").⁸¹ Federico Zuccaro's letter to the *Accademia del Disegno*, datable to the late 1570s or early 1580s, states an explicitly pedagogic reason. He urged the academicians to teach young artists the practice of drawing from such clay figures to learn chiaroscuro: "It is good, even necessary, to make models of clay" ("et buono anzi necessario il fare di terra e modelli").⁸² The study of perspective also became an essential part of a young artist's training in the *Accademia del Disegno*,⁸³ and

Bronzino was praised as a perspectivist by both Vasari and Raffaele Borghini.⁸⁴ Nearly nothing survives, however, to indicate our artist's prowess in architectural perspective, other than the Frankfurt *modello* (cat. no. 23) and the constructions of direct incisions on the surfaces of his frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo and *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (see plates 20–24, 61).

Bronzino's most intense work as a designer of tapestries occurred between 1545 and 1553, and coincided with the momentous foundation and development of the tapestry manufactory in Florence, under the patronage of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (see plates 33–51). Bronzino excelled as a tapestry designer among artists of his generation in Italy, perhaps only rivaled by Giulio Romano (ca. 1499?–1546) in the numbers of his designs. Yet Vasari's introduction to the *Vite*, describing the arts of *disegno*, is absolutely silent about tapestry-making, even as he discussed other crafts (besides painting), including the techniques of sgraffito, stucco, mosaic, marble and wood intarsia, stained glass window-making, niello, and printmaking.⁸⁵ Bronzino was certainly the leading master designer of tapestries in Florence, as he produced designs for nineteen monumental tapestries of complex figural subject matter (with the aid of assistants),⁸⁶ while in contrast, Francesco Salviati, Jacopo da Pontormo, and Bachiacca (Francesco Ubertini),⁸⁷ his colleagues also employed by the Medici tapestry manufactory, designed only twelve such tapestries among them. Although Bronzino's final cartoons for tapestries do not survive, it is almost certain that the keys to his success were the clarity of his designs and his rigorous artistic discipline, evident in his adoption of a meticulous practice of design and craftsmanship in his drawings, together with a vast inventiveness (the "perfezzione e bontà" that Vasari mentioned⁸⁸).

The Story of Joseph series is considered the masterpiece of Florentine tapestry production,⁸⁹ and the contracts with the weavers date to October 20, 1546.⁹⁰ Bronzino's preparatory studies for the Story of Joseph series (see cat. nos. 37–43) comprise a relatively homogeneous group of drawings in his oeuvre, although the attributions of some of these have been debated unjustifiably. It must be emphasized, in fact, that the surviving documents for the Joseph project help settle any questions of authorship in favor of Bronzino. Our artist petitioned Duke Cosimo, around October 26, 1545, for a salary of twenty scudi monthly, so that, in his words, he could employ one *garzone* (young assistant) or more at the same time,⁹¹ and Jan Rost complained to Duke Cosimo on November 17, 1545, that Bronzino should have assistants to paint the tapestry cartoons, in order for the artist to keep up with his fifteen weavers.⁹² Assistants, however, are not actually documented until after April 30, 1548, when Bronzino on his return from Rome first asked Duke Cosimo for money to employ a "maestro" to aid him, Raffaellino dal Colle (ca. 1490/95–1566), and according to a document of 1551, Raffaellino stayed in Bronzino's employment ("tenuto detto b[r]onzino") in this capacity for two years, five months, and twenty-five days.⁹³ From 1549 onward, Alessandro Allori and Lorenzo di

Bastiano Zucchetti collected payments specifically (and only) for painting the borders of tapestry cartoons, while Guido di Piero Poggini was paid by the day for grinding the colors for Bronzino to paint the cartoons.⁹⁴ Therefore, while the cartoons were painted with the help of assistants, the preliminary design drawings for the tapestries here exhibited are all attributable to Bronzino himself. Among the largest-scale *modelli*, *Joseph Receiving Benjamin* (cat. no. 43) is replete with spirited underdrawing in black chalk and is executed in an unusual, very painterly technique of monochrome gouaches. The detailed preparatory *modelli* for tapestries by Bronzino that survive, which are usually squared, indicate that his compositions were clearly legible and translatable by the weavers, because his drawings were complete in all details and were precisely outlined, with distinct demarcations of shadow and highlight. He achieved highlights with exact strokes of white gouache, in either fine parallel lines or cross-hatching. Bronzino's prolonged association with the Medici tapestry manufactory is among the rare and early instances in which an artist was engaged to produce designs—from the stage of a sketch to the cartoon—for tapestry weavers who worked in the same city, thus avoiding the exporting of the artist's designs and cartoons from Italy to Flanders for the weaving stage.

A number of Bronzino's drawings are partly retouched with pen and brown ink, and these instances deserve comment, as such ink reworking is most often not by the original artist. Early examples include the study of St. Elizabeth for *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* (cat. no. 8 recto), drawn to a high finish in either charcoal or very soft black chalk. That drawing probably became rubbed in its details and was therefore selectively reinforced in the outlines with pen and ink, almost crudely so by a later hand, on the eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, back of the head, as well as the arm and hand seen at lower left. Done over black chalk and modeled with brush and wash, the figures in the Louvre study for *The Preparation of the Marriage Bed* (cat. no. 56) were re-outlined in pen and brown ink by another artist, who also squared the composition in pen and ink; the squaring lies on top of all layers of drawing. At times, more than a few of Bronzino's figure studies in red chalk have been described incorrectly as highlighted with white, but most of such sheets with white highlights are composition drawings in ink washes. Our artist's usual technique was to highlight drawings not with white chalk but with delicately parallel-hatched strokes applied with a fine brush, in white gouache, made according to the usual recipe of "lead-white tempered with gum arabic," as Vasari and Borghini noted.⁹⁵ Cellini, on the other hand, wrote that the lead-white and gum arabic could be caked into the form of a "pastello" (literally, pastel),⁹⁶ but this does not apply to Bronzino at all. The fact that our artist favored finely controlled, liquid highlights in white gouache instead of white chalk or "pastelli" (which cause broader marks) can serve as evidence for doubting attributions to Bronzino; the two fragments at Christ Church with spirited studies for *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (cat. nos. 61, 62), which were originally

part of the same sheet and are highlighted in white chalk, are by an unknown Florentine artist. Not all cases are this clear-cut, however, and the use of white-chalk highlights on the Louvre cartoon fragment (cat. no. 29), while possibly added by a later hand, could be an element of the sixteenth-century technique of drawing cartoons, as the use of "gesso da sarti" (tailors' white chalk) was a typical medium for highlights in cartoons.⁹⁷

Examination of the underdrawings of many of Bronzino's paintings using infrared reflectography confirms the meticulous precision of his technique and shows his continued attempts to refine the design from drawings on paper onto the painting surface.⁹⁸ He often permitted himself changes of detail after this stage, at times even substantive. Recent infrared reflectography examination reveals that the Metropolitan Museum's *Portrait of a Young Man* (plate 14), painted by Bronzino in oil on wood around 1534–38, exhibits several stages of preliminary design—a bold underdrawing with noticeable pentimenti in a dry, crumbly medium that is most likely black chalk, which was then gone over with the brush in an aqueous medium, perhaps repeatedly so (figs. 8, 9); the poses of the hands and fingers clearly changed a great deal.⁹⁹ More importantly, along the contours of the young man's face and ear at right, the design in aqueous medium depicts the ear larger and in nearly frontal view, the neck thicker, while the chalky underdrawing represents a fleshier tip of the nose and chin, and thicker lips (in sum, a considerably less idealized portrait than the final, delicately applied top layers of paint suggest). The self-assured modeling is done, much as in Bronzino's drawings on paper of the 1530s, with diagonal, parallel hatching of very distinct strokes, in a still Pontormesque style of draftsmanship. Moreover, just as one can discern searching, exploratory lines in the eye's placement at right (see fig. 9), if Bronzino's most finished drawings on paper are studied attentively, one can also observe carefully erased pentimenti indicating an exploratory nature, which can go easily undetected in the finished layer of design.

Vasari's biography of Bronzino in the 1568 edition of the *Vite* noted that "many were the disciples created by Bronzino," in addition to Alessandro Allori,¹⁰⁰ and Raffaellino dal Colle, who assisted Bronzino with the tapestry cartoons on the Story of Joseph.¹⁰¹ The documents for the Joseph tapestries also add Lorenzo di Bastiano Zucchetti as assistant to Bronzino, a minor artist whose life dates are not known and who helped Bronzino paint the borders of tapestry cartoons in gouache.¹⁰² The names of other Florentine painters mentioned by Vasari as Bronzino's pupils include Giovanni Maria Butteri, Cristofano dell'Altissimo, Stefano Pieri, Lorenzo dello Sciorina, and Battista Naldini.¹⁰³ Some of them became recognized painters and draftsmen in their own right. The lasting significance of Bronzino's example can be intuited in their drawing techniques on paper prepared with color, in their predilection for closely observed studies of the nude figure in chalk (fig. 10), and in their ideal of a perfected craftsmanship of painting.

- 1 “E ti dico brevemente che per il disegno intend’io tutte quelle cose che si possono formare con il valore o forza delle semplici linee.” This and all quoted translations of primary sources are by the present author. See Alessandro Allori’s dialogue, the *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno (Il primo libro de’ ragionamenti delle regole del disegno d’Alessandro Allori con M. Agnolo Bronzino)*, MS E.B.16.4, Fondo Palatino, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. Transcribed in part in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, pp. 1941–81 (quotation on p. 1944); catalogued in Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, pp. 309–10. Compare Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), p. 112 (on “lineamenti”). I am indebted to Alessandra Baroni, Andrea Bayer, Marzia Faietti, Charlotte Hale, Lucia Meoni, Rachel Stern, Louis A. Waldman, and Linda Wolk-Simon for their helpful suggestions.
- 2 Allori, *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in part in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973.
- 3 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 117–20.
- 4 Regarding “pulitezza,” see Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, p. 1966 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento terzo*).
- 5 Compare Giorgio Vasari’s “Proemio,” transcribed in Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 11–12, as well as Vasari’s letter of February 12, 1547, to Benedetto Varchi (“E perché il disegno è madre di ognuna di queste arte, essendo il dipignere disegnare”), transcribed in Barocchi 1971, pp. 493–99 (quotation on p. 497); Bronzino’s undated, rather evasive letter to Varchi (transcribed in Barocchi 1971, pp. 499–503); and Pontormo’s letter to Varchi (“perché una cosa sola c’è che è nobile, che è el suo fondamento, e questo si è el disegno”) transcribed in Barocchi 1971, pp. 504–7 (quotation on p. 504). These and five other letters were included in the 1549 publication of *Due lezioni* by Benedetto Varchi.
- 6 For a documented account of Bronzino and the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*, see Barzman 1985; Ważbiński 1987; Barzman 2000; Geronimus and Waldman 2003, pp. 121–22, 145, nn. 30–33; and Jacobs 2005.
- 7 On Bronzino’s numerous pupils, see Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), pp. 238–40; and on those enrolled in the *Accademia del Disegno*, Barzman 2000, p. 30.
- 8 See “tanta arte,” “estrema diligenza,” and other such terms recurring frequently in the 1568 Giunti edition of Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite*, in the biography of Bronzino, in describing Bronzino’s paintings (Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 [text] [1987], pp. 232–37). Vasari was, however, curiously silent about Bronzino’s drawings. On “diligenza,” see also the biography of Bronzino in Borghini 1584, pp. 533–39.
- 9 A list of drawings that could not be exhibited in this show but which are believed to be by Bronzino by the curators, or to be reasonably attributed to him, is provided in Appendix 1 of this catalogue, Lists A and B. On the survival of drawings by Quattrocento and Cinquecento artists, see Bambach 2009b.
- 10 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 117–20.
- 11 Compare Ważbiński 1987; Jacobs 2005, pp. 101–2; and Baroni 2007.
- 12 This point was greatly overlooked in the argument made in Jacobs 2005, about Bronzino being the paradigmatic artist exemplified in Vasari’s *Vite*. (See also essay herein by Janet Cox-Rearick, pp. 21–33.)
- 13 Regarding this point, compare Pilliod 2001, p. 5; Jacobs 2005, pp. 102–3 (disagreeing with Pilliod 2001); and Baroni 2007, pp. 171–73.
- 14 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 238: “come sappiamo noi che abbiam tenuta insieme stretta amicizia anni quaranta tre, cioè dal 1524 insino a questo anno.”
- 15 *Ibid.*, vol. 5 (text) (1984), p. 180: “senzaché disegnava benissimo.” See the explanation of this passage in Smyth 1949, pp. 195–96; Smyth 1955, pp. 19–20; and Smyth 1971, p. 1.
- 16 For an excellent discussion of this aspect of artistic lineage regarding Pontormo, Bronzino, and Allori, see Pilliod 1992a and Pilliod 2001.
- 17 Bambach 1999, pp. 29–32.
- 18 The biography of Raffaellino del Garbo in the 1550 Torrentino edition of Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite* states that he was Bronzino’s early teacher (Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 4 [text] [1986], p. 119). For a documented biography of Raffaellino del Garbo and his probable date of death after 1527, see Bambach 1997a; and Waldman 2006.
- 19 On Pontormo’s drawing techniques, see Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, pp. 3–24; and Bambach 1997b, pp. 447–50.
- 20 This is discussed here in cat. nos. 23, 24. On the drawing by Raffaellino del Garbo, see George R. Goldner in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1997, pp. 340–41, no. 112.
- 21 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 117–21.
- 22 Borghini 1584, pp. 137–45.
- 23 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), p. 118: “Molti altri [artisti] fanno con la penna sola, lasciando i lumi della carta, che è difficile, ma molto maestrevole.” Benvenuto Cellini’s *Discorso sopra l’arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1929: “il qual modo di disegnare si è difficilissimo, e sono pochissimi quei che anno disegnato ben di penna.” Borghini 1584, p. 139: “farà ben dar opera di disegnar con la penna, il che, come che sia piu difficile, è molto piu bello, e da persone piu introdotte nell’arte.” See also Cennini ca. 1400/1982, pp. 14–15 (chaps. 13, 14).
- 24 Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, p. 1951 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento primo*): “Io credo che sia meglio il disegnare con la matita appuntata, per ciò che, quando si facci qualch’errore, si può correggere e cancellare con la midolla del pane.”
- 25 See Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 5; and Bambach 1997b, pp. 448–49.
- 26 The attribution to Bronzino of this sheet (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 2249) has been maintained in Schulze 1911, pp. xiii, 8; Schweitzer 1918, p. 46; McComb 1928, p. 60; Smyth 1955, pp. 54a–56, no. A13; K. Andrews 1964, p. 159, pl. 28a; and Smyth 1971, p. 48, n. 11. It has been doubted in Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 14. See Appendix 1 of this catalogue, List B, no. 2.
- 27 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), p. 118: “e l’inchiostro poi con un poco d’acqua fa una tinta dolce che lo vela et ombra.” Compare Cennini ca. 1400/1982, pp. 30–32 (chap. 31): “una gocciola o due d’inchiostro.”
- 28 Borghini 1584, pp. 138–39: “acquerello, che si fa mettendo due gocciole d’inchiostro in tant’acqua, quanto starebbe in vn guscio di noce.”
- 29 The attribution to Bronzino is due to Smyth 1955, pp. 54–54a, no. A11, and Smyth 1971, pp. 51–52, n. 21, although Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 469, no. 2030, continued to insist on the earlier attribution to Pontormo.
- 30 Cellini’s *Discorso sopra l’arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1930.
- 31 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), p. 118 (Vasari also called this medium “lapis rosso”). Compare Baldinucci 1681, p. 92, under “Matita rossa.”
- 32 Borghini 1584, p. 139.
- 33 Cellini’s *Discorso sopra l’arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1930: “per ritrarre dal vivo.”
- 34 Borghini 1584, p. 139.
- 35 Cellini’s *Discorso sopra l’arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1930: “un poco di midolla di pane.” Compare Cennini ca. 1400/1982, p. 14 (chap. 12).
- 36 See Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, p. 1951 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento primo*).
- 37 Compare Cennini ca. 1400/1982, pp. 32–34 (chaps. 33, 34); Bronzino’s own poem (“mentre che ‘l gufo ruguma”), transcribed in Rossi Bellotto 1998, p. 73; Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 118–19; Cellini’s *Discorso sopra l’arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, pp. 1929–30; and Borghini 1584, pp. 139, 143. See also Baldinucci 1681, p. 28, under “Carboni per disegnare,” and p. 92, under “Matita nera.”
- 38 On Michelangelo’s presentation drawings, compare Wilde 1953; Hirst 1988, pp. 105–18; and Hugo Chapman in Teylers Museum 2005, pp. 202–11.
- 39 This watermark is in Briquet 1966, vol. 2, p. 407, no. 7435.
- 40 Cennini ca. 1400/1982, pp. 15–32 (chaps. 15–31).
- 41 See Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, p. 1945 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento primo*).
- 42 See Cellini’s *Discorso sopra l’arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1929: “altro modo si è usato in su e’ fogli tinti di tutti e’ colori.”
- 43 Borghini 1584, p. 141.
- 44 Compare Borghini 1584, pp. 138–39; and the mention by Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, p. 1945 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento primo*).
- 45 Baldinucci 1681, pp. 158–59.
- 46 Bronzino’s sonnet *Del pennello*, transcribed in Petrucci Nardelli 1988, p. 25: “e ch’io veggia d’alzar questo mio stile, / s’io vo’ far quella cosa ch’io disegno. . . .”
- 47 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 117–21.
- 48 The Budapest sketch was attributed to Bronzino by Lajos Vayer in 1956, and this attribution was reaffirmed in Cox-Rearick 1981b.
- 49 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 117–18: “nel far de’ quali, con tutta quella diligenza che si può.”
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 118: “. . . si cerca vedere dal vivo, se già l’artefice non si sentisse tagliando in modo che da sé li potesse condurre.” His rather fragmented discussion of life drawing and drapery studies appears once in the passage about *disegni* and is later elaborated upon under “cartone” (*ibid.*, p. 119).
- 51 See Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in part in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973.
- 52 Cellini’s *Sopra i principii e ‘l modo d’imparare l’arte del disegno*, as transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973b.
- 53 See Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, pp. 1947–50 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento primo*).
- 54 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 235.
- 55 Bronzino in Allori’s *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, p. 1947 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento primo*): “trattandosi dello ignudo, che mi par la più bella e forse la più difficile imitazione che si faccia da noi.”
- 56 As generally used in the context of Italian draftsmanship, *modello* designates a drawing on paper or parchment that demonstrates clearly and in detail the appearance of a composition, figure or motif prior to its execution in another medium, but on this debated term, compare Bambach 1992 and Bambach 1996.
- 57 Bambach 1996, pp. 762–65.
- 58 *Ibid.*

- 59 See, for example, letters transcribed in Gaye 1839–40, vol. 2, pp. 289–91, 367–68, 386–87, 392, 399–400, doc. nos. 214, 257, 278, 284, 290; and Frey 1923–30, vol. 1, pp. 486, 490–92, doc. nos. 256, 260, 261.
- 60 I am deeply indebted to Antonio Natali for arranging my study of the corresponding fresco in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, with the assistance of Rita Alzeni (June 30, 2009); see further cat. no. 29, for the technical evidence.
- 61 Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Pisa, to Bronzino, February 11, 1565 (modern style), transcribed in Gaye 1839–40, vol. 3, p. 166, doc. no. 153: "et però potete cominciare a farne i disegni su cartoni, acciò li vediamo et cene risolviamo, perchè ci sarà grato lornamento di quella chiesa." Originally, Duke Cosimo had apparently intended to have two frescoes with episodes from the Life of St. Lawrence painted in the nave of the church of S. Lorenzo, but only one, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, was executed (plate 61). Regarding the function of cartoons as works of presentation and demonstration for the Renaissance patron, see Bambach 1999, pp. 256–57.
- 62 See the letter from Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Pisa, to Giorgio Vasari, Florence, October 6, 1557, transcribed in Frey 1923–30, vol. 1, p. 486, doc. no. 256.
- 63 On cartoons and the destructive techniques of transferring their designs, see Bambach 1999.
- 64 See Alberti 1435–36/1972, pp. 67–70 (book 2); Alberti 1435–36/1991, pp. 65–67 (book 2); and Bambach 1999, pp. 128, 419, nn. 6–9.
- 65 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), p. 119: "una graticola di quadri piccoli ringrandita nel cartone."
- 66 On the notion of "giudizio dell'occhio," compare Vincenzo Danti's *Trattato delle perfette proporzioni* (Florence, 1567; see transcription in Danti 1567/1973, p. 1763: "le seste del giudizio"), and Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 111–17. See also Paola Barocchi in Danti 1567/1973, pp. 1763–64, n. 3.
- 67 See further Bambach 1999, pp. 128–33.
- 68 Compare Leonardo's passage originally in Paris MS A, fol. 104 recto, now found in MS 2185, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, in the section titled "a imparare a fare bene uno posare," fol. 24 recto; and Bambach 1999, pp. 128–29.
- 69 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 5 (text) (1984), p. 307.
- 70 On this study by Pontormo, compare Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, pp. 263–64, no. 279, noting that the brown wash is by another hand; and Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 48, no. 21, noting that the drawing is accepted as autograph in its entirety. To my eye, the wash is also autograph.
- 71 The examples include Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, nos. 93, 152, 153, 160, 192, 206, 261, 266, 278, 287, 293, 327, 350, 354, 357, 360, 366, 370, 376.
- 72 See Borghini 1584, p. 62: "... si come ha fatto il Bronzino, che sentendosi molto valere nel fare ignudi."
- 73 In Doni 1549, p. 9 (recto), the practice of the squaring grid is referred to much more wordily, as "certe reti, & altri modi li linee intersecati, con uarie forme di sestì, di quadri."
- 74 Ibid.: "perche la fa pigra la pratica della mano, & molto inganna, o ritarda il uero giudicio dell'occhio." See also Bambach 1999, pp. 130–32.
- 75 Bronzino, as interlocutor in Allori's dialogue, called this type of grid on the head the "quadro grande con li quadretti." See Bronzino in Allori's *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*, transcribed in Allori ca. 1565–70/1973, pp. 1958–63 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento secondo*), 1966–71 (*Il primo libro, Ragionamento terzo*) (quotation on p. 1963).
- 76 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 5 (text) (1984), p. 333: "Furono dopo la costui morte trovati in casa sua molti disegni, cartoni e modelli di terra bellissimi."
- 77 This commission is recorded in Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 231.
- 78 Compare Weixlgärtner 1954; and Bambach 2004.
- 79 See Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 119, 122–24.
- 80 See Cellini's *Discorso sopra l'arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1932: "e' piglia un valentuomo terra o cera."
- 81 Doni 1549, p. 14 (verso): "con piu nobili effetti si fanno le figure di terra & di cera," p. 16 (recto): "a comodargli sopra i modelli di terra o di legname che si cometta con le membra, accio possa col panno fare tutte l'attitudini che ti piace."
- 82 See letter from Federico Zuccaro to the Luogotenente and Consuls of the *Università, Compagnia, ed Accademia del Disegno*, undated (ca. 1578–85), transcribed in Barzman 2000, Appendix, p. 244, under item no. 6.
- 83 Ibid., p. 244, under item no. 8: "Non si tacesse la prospettiva al pittore tanto necessaria che senza la scienza di Lei non si sanno fare scurci, ne componimenti di storie."
- 84 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 234: "due scene e prospettive per comedie, che furono tenute bellissime"; Borghini 1584, p. 538: "con vna bellissima prospettiva."
- 85 Compare Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), pp. 111–71.
- 86 In addition to the sixteen tapestries from the Story of Joseph series, Bronzino also designed *The Dovizia (Great Abundance)*; *Justice Liberating Innocence*; and *Spring*. See here cat. nos. 34–43 for the historical details; plates 33–51.
- 87 The tapestries designed by Francesco Salviati are: *Joseph Explaining to Pharaoh The Dream of The Fat and Thin Cows*, *The Lamentation*, *The Resurrection*, *The Deposition*, and *The Ecce Homo* (Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, IA 1912–25, nos. 728, 773, 59, 582, 60). The tapestries designed by Pontormo are: *The Lament of Jacob*, *Joseph Accused by the Wife of Potiphar*, and *Joseph Retaining Benjamin* (Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, O.D.P. nos. 111, 110, 109). The tapestries designed by Bachiacca belonging to the series of the months of the year are: *March, April, and May*; *June and July*; *August, September, October, and November*; and *December, January, and February* (Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, inv. IA 1912–25, nos. 526, 524, 527, 525). Compare Meoni 1998, pp. 132–54; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 25–46.
- 88 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 234.
- 89 Compare Adelson 1990, vols. 1–4 (esp. vol. 1, p. 149); Meoni 1998; and Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 521–25, no. 62; and Meoni in Palazzo Pitti 2008. I am greatly indebted to Lucia Meoni for stimulating conversations about the Joseph tapestry series (spring 2009), as well as to Clarice Innocenti and Gianna Bacci for various opportunities of studying some of the Joseph tapestries in the restoration laboratory at the Sala delle Bandiere of the Palazzo Vecchio in May 2009 and for their permission to study the conservation report, no. G.R. 9486/VIII, now in the archives of the Laboratorio di Restauro, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence.
- 90 The individual contracts for the Story of Joseph tapestries, on behalf of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and Jan Rost, and on behalf of the Duke and Nicolas Karcher, are transcribed in full: Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 528–37, doc. nos. 65, 66.
- 91 "Chiede à quella [Excellentia] che li piaccia ordinare gli siano pagati scudi uenti il mese, per che oltre alli bisogni di sè proprio, gli bisogna poter tenere, uno, & alle uolte più garzoni." The full document is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 512, doc. no. 31.
- 92 "Facessi mettere altro ch[e] vno pictore a lauorare li cartoni de panni habbiamo a fare. p[er]ch[e] el el bronzino solo no[n] potra resistere a darci quelli disegni habbiamo di bisogno." The full document is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 516, doc. no. 38.
- 93 "Raffaello di michelagnio dal b[or]gho tenuto detto b[r]onzino a lauorare li cartonj de pannj de la storia dj Josef cho sua designj." The full document is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 596, under doc. no. 174. Moreover, the letter from Bronzino to Duke Cosimo I, dated April 30, 1548, about Raffaellino dal Colle (the "maestro") is today in the Fondation Custodia—Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (6830) (reported as whereabouts unknown in *ibid.*, pp. 550–51, doc. no. 93, and quoted from the transcription in Gaye 1839–40); see Appendix 2 of this catalogue. That Duke Cosimo granted Bronzino's request for the maestro Raffaellino del Colle appears confirmed in a letter from Cristiano Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio on May 5, 1548 (Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 551, doc. no. 94). Documents of payment to him dating from May 15, 1548, to October 17, 1551, are transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 564–65, 596–97, 611–14, doc. nos. 122, 174, 187.
- 94 No documented life-dates are presently known for either Lorenzo di Bastiano Zucchetti or Guido di Piero Poggini. Documents of payment are to Alessandro Allori for the borders of cartoons (July 31, 1549; April 1, 1549–July 5, 1550, October 15, 1552–February 11, 1553); to Lorenzo di Bastiano Zucchetti for the borders of cartoons (July 13, 1549; April 1, 1549–July 5, 1550); to Guido di Piero Poggini as grinder of colors, and in one passage among others his role is described: "p[er] essere stato 4 giornj a macinare cholorj al b[r]onzino p[er] li chartonj" (April 1, 1549–July 5, 1550); see Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 550–51, 562–65, 578, 581, 637, doc. nos. 93, 121, 122, 140, 143, 230 (quotation on p. 562, under doc. no. 121).
- 95 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (text) (1966), p. 118: "con un pennello sottile intinto nella biacca stemperata con la gomma si lumeggia il disegno." Borghini 1584, p. 140: "biacca per dare i lumi / ... biacca stemperata con gomma."
- 96 Cellini's *Discorso sopra l'arte del disegno*, transcribed in Cellini 1560s/1973a, p. 1929.
- 97 Bambach 1999, pp. 54, 393, n. 127.
- 98 For infrared reflectograms and other technical evidence regarding Bronzino's altarpiece of *The Lamentation*, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (plate 26), see the various contributions in Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon 2007. Additionally, Mag. Elke Oberthaler, Chief Conservator of the Gemäldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and Carol Plazzotta, Curator of Italian Paintings, National Gallery, London, kindly shared with me technical information about Bronzino's paintings in their institutions, including results of infrared reflectography examinations.
- 99 I am deeply indebted to Andrea Bayer and Charlotte Hale for organizing the examination of Bronzino's *Portrait of a Young Man* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art with infrared reflectography conducted by Ms. Hale and for generously sharing these results with me, here published for the first time. The infrared examination was carried out using an Indigo Systems Merlin Near Infrared camera with a macro lens customized for the range of 0.9–1.7 microns.
- 100 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 238: "Molti sono stati i creati e discepoli del Bronzino."
- 101 For the documentary evidence, see notes 91–94 above.
- 102 For the documents of payment to these artists, see notes 93, 94 above.
- 103 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), pp. 239–40.



THE PORTRAITS OF BRONZINO

Philippe Costamagna

It is not surprising that for centuries, Agnolo Bronzino has been associated primarily with his activity as portraitist, as he is among the greatest Florentine practitioners of that genre. Because of his portraits, Bronzino was spared the critical disapproval given to post-Raphael Florentine painters at the end of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century, which was promulgated by historians who tagged them with the then-pejorative term Mannerist. Although the critical appreciation for Bronzino's religious and secular paintings did not recognize their true value until the second half of the twentieth century, his portraits have always been admired by art historians and sought after by collectors, despite often erroneous attributions.

Many late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century art historians chiefly linked Bronzino's name with a group of painted portraits of sumptuously costumed courtiers, most of which—as one now knows in critical hindsight—are products from the studios of Alessandro Allori (1535–1607) or Santi di Tito (1536–1602). In addition, some portraits that were attributed to Pontormo incorrectly for a long time have now been recognized as works by the young Bronzino. This state of confusion arose from the fact that Bronzino had always been considered, with justification, the inventor of a Florentine prototype of court portrait. After Duke Cosimo I de' Medici assumed power in 1537, the purpose of portraits changed radically, as they no longer were meant to be keepsakes or to commemorate an event in the life of the sitter. Instead, they served to disseminate an official image of a member of a reigning family or to glorify his courtiers. Bronzino's superb skills with the brush enabled him to render flesh and cloth with a level of realistic detail that could satisfy the Medici family's desire to exalt the images of its members (see plates 27–30). By the early 1530s, Bronzino had become known for painting the portraits of members of Florentine society, which elegantly depict the sitters accompanied by all the symbols and accoutrements of their status. These works gave rise to a new type of thoroughly Florentine court portrait, which became widespread across Europe and which was adopted by the younger generation of Florentine painters, notably by the aforementioned Alessandro Allori and Santi di Tito. In his recasting of the court portrait as a genre,

Bronzino closely studied Michelangelo's inventions and sculptural style, thus endowing his portraits with a specifically Florentine quality (*Fiorentinità*).

Although Michelangelo was not especially renowned as a portraitist in his time, the role he played in the history of portraiture is far more important than one might think. His *Portrait of Andrea Quaratesi* in the British Museum (fig. 1)¹ can be compared to Bronzino's drawn portraits, which vividly demonstrate the degree to which Bronzino was indebted to Michelangelo. Without doubt, the older master's work provided a source for the remarkable techniques used in the rare portrait drawings by Bronzino that have survived. Despite some retouching in Michelangelo's British Museum sheet, it is possible to see that its remarkable qualities emanate from a technique of drawing with thick, sometimes curving strokes of black chalk, in parallel-hatching and cross-hatching that follow the form. Bronzino adopted this technique for his earliest drawings, notably in his head of Dante in profile (cat. no. 16), and it is not an unexpected fact, given that the young artist had the opportunity to study the cartoon (now lost) of the *Venus and Cupid* that Michelangelo realized for his Florentine friend Bettino Bettini, who was also Bronzino's patron. In order to convey the beauty of the young Andrea Quaratesi, Michelangelo abandoned the technique he had employed ten years earlier for his *teste divine* (divine heads), in which he defined the modeling of the flesh with precision while rapidly sketching the curves, thereby imparting a certain lightness to his vision of ideal beauty. After the sack of Rome in 1527 and the siege of Florence leading to the downfall of the Florentine republic in 1530, Michelangelo's drawing style underwent a radical change, becoming less naturalistic and more self-contained. The change corresponded in great measure to the evolution of his thought in response to the political and religious upheavals of the period. Through his use of thick black chalk, Michelangelo managed to convey the anxiety and melancholy of the young Andrea Quaratesi, an emotional state that one is tempted to relate to contemporary events. The political impact of Michelangelo's creations was such that it is hardly surprising that Florentine artists, especially Pontormo and Bronzino, followed the development of the sculptor's drawing style, as it so closely embodied the *Fiorentinità* of this particular artistic culture.

Frontispiece: Detail of catalogue number 18



Figure 1. Michelangelo, *Portrait of Andrea Quaratesi*, ca. 1530–32. Black chalk, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41.1 × 39.2 cm). British Museum, London (1898-9-15-519)

THE IDEAL OF BEAUTY

Since Petrarch, portrait drawings have been associated with the representation of ideal beauty. In sonnets 77 and 78 of his *Canzoniere* (*Song Book*), Petrarch thanked Simone Martini for a drawing depicting his beloved Laura. The poet thus could speak to the object of his affections, who seemed to listen but could not respond.² The drawn portrait of Laura incontestably served as the model for the

ideal of female beauty in the Italian poetic tradition,³ also influencing the description of beauty and the idealization of love in all the arts so that when artists at the end of the fifteenth century wanted to represent feminine beauty, they aimed for the same ideal.⁴ For example, Leonardo da Vinci was able to surpass his rivals in the context of the *paragone*, or comparison, between poetry and painting with his portrait of *Mona Lisa* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; his artistic skill seemed unsurpassed in visualizing the idea of the



Figure 2. Andrea del Sarto,
Portrait of a Woman, ca. 1525.
Red chalk, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
(27.3 × 20.9 cm). École
Nationale Supérieure des
Beaux-Arts, Paris
(E.B.A. 289)

beloved in paint. In this respect also, a certain number of sheets from the fifteenth century portraying with great sensitivity the heads of women or young boys by artists such as Domenico Ghirlandaio, Filippino Lippi, Lorenzo di Credi, and Raffaellino del Garbo—although it is often difficult to know if these are actual portraits—cannot be separated from the Florentine literary tradition.

Very few portrait drawings have survived from the first half of the sixteenth century, even though most Florentine artists of the

period were prolific draftsmen. Given the small sampling, it is difficult to define a precise evolution clearly. Nonetheless, in the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, it appears that the mythic portrait of Laura drawn by Simone Martini more than a hundred years earlier remained very much in the Florentine manner. Thus, as the realization of the beauty of the beloved in the Petrarchan sense, Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* served as the model for numerous portraits painted in Florence in the first half of the sixteenth century. Yet

Florentine painters understood best the revolutionary legacy of Leonardo through the portraits that Raphael executed in Florence, in about 1503 to 1508. At the source of this transformation is a pen-and-ink study for a *Portrait of a Young Woman* in the Musée du Louvre,⁵ a rare sheet that influenced two portraits in red chalk by Andrea del Sarto, both preparatory studies for known painted portraits, a study in the Uffizi⁶ for the *Lucrezia del Fede* in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and a study for a *Portrait of a Woman*,⁷ which was preparatory for a painting, now at the Uffizi, in which the sitter holds a book by Petrarch. In the latter painting, as well as in the drawing at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. 2)—in which the colors are indicated—Andrea took special pains in realizing the rendering of the facial expression, in order to attain the Petrarchan ideal of beauty.

Bronzino's response to these works by Andrea del Sarto from before 1530 is seen in one of his most beautiful female portraits, representing *Francesca Salviati*, painted about 1533 and now in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. There, Bronzino combined the Florentine literary and pictorial traditions with the majesty and elegance of Titian's portraits of women, which our artist saw during his short sojourn in Pesaro at the time of his employment by Duke Francesco Maria I della Rovere. Although no autograph, securely identifiable preparatory drawings for the Frankfurt *Francesca Salviati* exist, two portrait drawings of women, as fascinating as they are controversial, were sometimes connected with Bronzino's Frankfurt portrait. These two sheets, one in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, and the other in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, are of difficult attribution,⁸ as they are much retouched, but they represent the rare evidence of two different types of portraits, both of which probably were conceived as independent works. Rather than drawings made from life and intended to be offered as gifts, in the tradition of the mythic *Portrait of Laura*, the Albertina and Uffizi sheets more likely are later works, in the style of Bronzino—which would explain the problematic status of their attribution—meant to represent a specifically Florentine ideal of beauty. Each of the authors of these drawings took as a model, in his own way, the portrait by Bronzino today in Frankfurt. It is even plausible that the artist who made the Uffizi drawing appropriated for his own use the research carried out by Bronzino, seeking to render a more modern *Mona Lisa* of his own. Yet the Frankfurt portrait, in this author's opinion, must be considered above all as an early form of a state portrait painted in Florence. Bronzino's own translation of the Petrarchan ideal of beauty, on the other hand, is clearly revealed in his *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, now in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. This portrait probably was commissioned by Bartolomeo Varchi about 1550–60, and in it, Bronzino elevated the poet Laura Battiferri (1523–1589) to the ranks of Dante and Petrarch, the greatest authors of the Tuscan literary tradition. Our artist compared the qualities of Battiferri to those of Petrarch's beautiful and virtuous Laura, a

paragon further emphasized in the sonnets on the portrait that Bronzino and Varchi exchanged.⁹ Following the traditional representation of Dante, Bronzino depicted Battiferri in half length, with her body shown from the front and her head in profile. To underline further the correspondence, Bronzino in all probability referred to his idealized portrait drawing of Dante in Munich (cat. no. 16) of several years earlier in representing the face of Battiferri in profile. The influence of Michelangelo is apparent in the technique of the Munich drawing and is also indirectly present in the painted face of Laura Battiferri. In adopting a three-quarter pose for Battiferri, Bronzino also followed the model of Michelangelo's statue of Giuliano de' Medici in the New Sacristy at S. Lorenzo (see cat. no. 18, fig. 18-1). Our artist had previously used Michelangelo's *Giuliano de' Medici* for his *Allegorical Portrait of Dante* in a Private Collection, Florence (see cat. no. 16, fig. 16-1), thus highlighting the *Fiorentinità* of his models. This association of Florence's literary and visual culture, especially Dante, Petrarch, and Michelangelo, whose preeminence was acknowledged throughout the Italian peninsula, makes the *Portrait of Laura Battiferri* the quintessential Florentine portrait of a woman.

IN THE SHADOW OF RAPHAEL AND MICHELANGELO

The portrait drawing of Andrea Quaratesi (see fig. 1) represents Michelangelo's vision of the Petrarchan ideal of beauty, as did his lost portrait of Tommaso de' Cavalieri, the only portrait by Michelangelo described by Vasari in his biography of the great master as his "first and last, for he abhorred anything from life unless it was of the utmost beauty."¹⁰ As stated, the role played by Michelangelo in the evolution of the portrait in the sixteenth century is more significant than it may seem, for his work often provided the exemplar for the most revolutionary portraits by Sebastiano del Piombo (1485/6–1547).¹¹ But to convey only the beauty of his models, he did not use any artifice that might deflect attention from the face, thus placing himself within the purist tradition of fifteenth-century portraiture seen through the prism of Raphael.

No evidence exists that Bronzino could have had access to Michelangelo's portrait drawings, given the fact that they were private works and that they were little known; apparently Vasari, as biographer of Michelangelo, only knew of the drawing portraying Tommaso de' Cavalieri. Nevertheless, when the *Portrait of Andrea Quaratesi* is compared with the rare black-chalk portrait drawings by Bronzino that survive—the sheets in Chatsworth (cat. no. 17) and in the Uffizi (cat. no. 18) and especially the drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum (cat. no. 54)—one is led to think the opposite. Clearly, Bronzino strove to convey the ideas of Michelangelo, as is evident in both his technique and his attempt to portray the psychological presence of the sitter, and he also associated the figures he painted with the very poses he borrowed from the great sculptor. Bronzino



Figure 3. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for a Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1525. Black chalk highlighted with white chalk squared on bluish prepared paper, $13\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (33.2 \times 21.1 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (452 F recto)

thus made his drawings, and the finished portraits that resulted from them, the paragon of the Florentine portrait.

Like his painted portraits, Bronzino's portrait drawings mark a turning point in the evolution of the typology of Florentine portraiture. But examples are sparse; only three securely identified portrait drawings based on life by Bronzino are presently known (cat nos. 17, 18, 54), and in general, one must emphasize, portrait drawings by other Florentine artists of his time, even those who are known for their vast graphic production, are also very rare. The few examples that have survived the vicissitudes of time demonstrate that the evolution of the Florentine portrait drawing corresponds to that of the painted works. It is possible to relate certain sheets in black or red chalk to the first prototype in the style of Raphael (in which the sitter is shown seated in a three-quarter view), which was systematically "Tuscanized" by Andrea del Sarto and later popularized by the artists in his studio in the late 1520s. Of these sheets, the *Study for the Portrait of a Man* in the Musée du Louvre¹² includes all the features of such Florentine drawings.



Figure 4. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for a Portrait of a Young Man Holding a Horn*, ca. 1530–35. Red chalk, $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27.2 \times 19.6 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (443 F recto)

However, no completely satisfying attribution can be made for this sheet, illustrating perfectly the problems one encounters in attempting to distinguish between drawings made by artists of the highest order and those made by more minor masters, such as the *Study for the Portrait of a Woman* in the Musée Condé, Chantilly,¹³ which seems characteristic of Jacone (died 1553), an eccentric pupil of Pontormo, who was Bronzino's contemporary.

The Florentine portrait underwent a radical transformation after the arrival in Florence of Raphael's *Portrait of Pope Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi* in the Uffizi and his now lost portraits of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, which were exhibited at the Palazzo Medici, as part of the celebrations of the marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici (Giuliano's nephew), Duke of Urbino, and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne in May 1518.¹⁴ Young artists who saw these paintings, which were among the earliest representations of the Ceremonial Portrait in Italy, immediately strove to exploit the compositional and pictorial models invented by Raphael. The pose used by Raphael for the *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici*, who



Figure 5. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for the Portrait of Francesco Guardi* (?), ca. 1529–30. Black chalk, 10 × 8 in. (25.3 × 20.4 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (463 F recto)

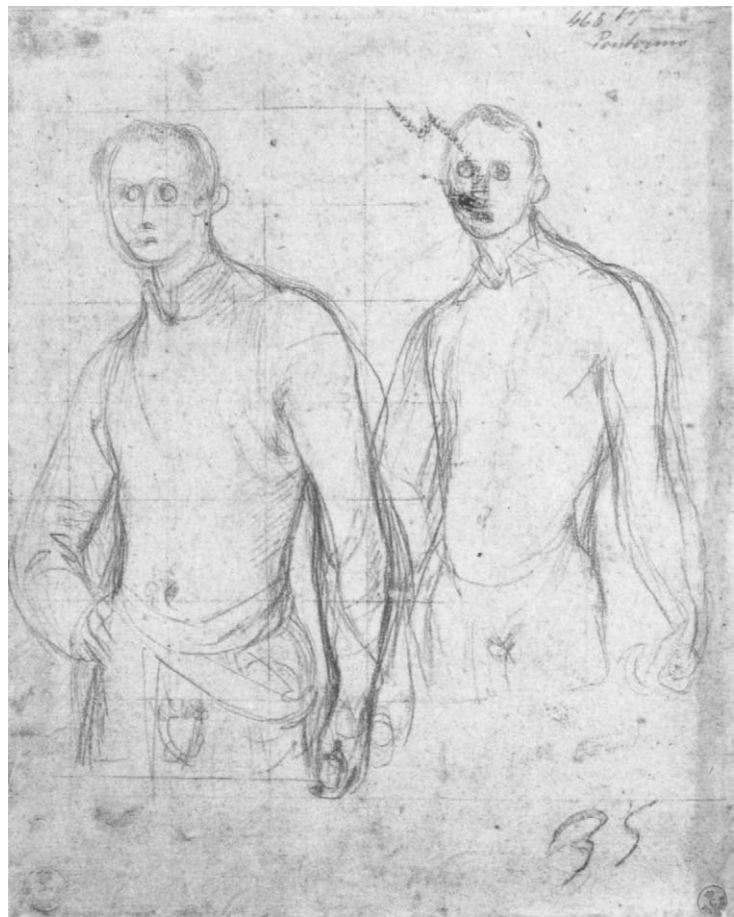


Figure 6. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Studies for the Portrait of Francesco Guardi* (?), ca. 1529–30. Black chalk, 10 × 8 in. (25.3 × 20.4 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (463 F verso)

is shown standing, was followed particularly by Domenico Puligo (1492–1527), Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540), and Pontormo.¹⁵ The sheet by Pontormo (fig. 3), very likely a preparatory study for the lost portrait of the young Ippolito de' Medici with his dog Rodon, is the single and consummate example by a Florentine artist of a direct graphic adaptation after Raphael's portrait. Pontormo's sheet was without doubt a working drawing, as is indicated by its technique of black chalk and squaring for transfer, rather than a presentation drawing, and he did not introduce the secondary details of the portrait—especially the dog—until the final painting. In painting the young Lorenzo Lenzi about 1530 (plate 5), Bronzino seems to have taken as his model the painted portrait by his master, or more probably, the preparatory drawing that was of course, readily accessible to him.

A rupture with the immediate cultural and political past of the city, if rupture it was, took place at the time of the siege of Florence. The *bella gioventù* (Florentine youth), for the first (and last) time, became ardently involved in the defense of their city. These *bella gioventù*, young men who despite their youth were ready to fight for Florence's liberty,¹⁶ sought to capture the enthusiasm that stirred them by commissioning their portraits from painters and

sculptors who, through their art, participated in the general fervor. It is to this unique moment in the history of Florence that one must look for the origin of the transformation of artists' graphic technique (as has been pointed out with regard to the *Portrait of Andrea Quaratesi* by Michelangelo) and beyond that, the typology of portraits. Visual evidence of these young Florentines going off to save their birthplace is found in two preparatory drawings for the portraits, one by Andrea del Sarto in the Uffizi¹⁷ showing a young man holding a lance and proudly turned toward the viewer, and the other by Pontormo (see figs. 5, 6; fig. 4 in Pilliod essay, p. 6),¹⁸ possibly a preparatory study for the portrait of the young Francesco Guardi described by Vasari in his biography of Pontormo.

After the fall of the city in the autumn of 1530 and the installation of Alessandro de' Medici as Duke of Florence by Emperor Charles V, every form of art served as an opportunity to manifest opposition to the despotic reign of the young ruler. On his return from Pesaro, Bronzino contributed to the decoration of a room in the residence of Bartolommeo Bettini with three lunettes representing Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio set above Pontormo's *Venus and Cupid* in the Galleria dell' Accademia, Florence, executed after a cartoon by Michelangelo. The critical role that Michelangelo



Figure 7. Francesco Salviati, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1542–43. Black chalk, $10\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (27 × 21.6 cm). The Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Dyce 186)



Figure 8. Baccio Bandinelli, *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici*, ca. 1543–44. Black chalk, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. (26.8 × 20.4 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (15010 F)

played in the decoration of the room probably corresponded to Bettini's wish to demonstrate his repudiation of the tyrannical stance of Duke Alessandro, an attitude shared by the great sculptor. In addition to producing the cartoon used by Pontormo in his painting, Michelangelo probably inspired the pose seen in the *Allegorical Portrait of Dante* in a Private Collection, Florence (see cat. no. 16, fig. 16-1),¹⁹ which represents an adaptation of the *figura serpentinata* that he had just invented for the sculptures of the New Sacristy in S. Lorenzo. Indeed, the resemblance between the figure of Dante and the sculpture traditionally identified as Giuliano de' Medici is striking, leading to the impression that Michelangelo may have directly suggested the pose to Bronzino. Bolstered by this experiment, our artist adapted the pose of Michelangelo's Giuliano de' Medici in the preparatory drawing for the *Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute* (cat. no. 17; plate 10) and then subtly varied it in a number of his subsequent portraits, most notably in the works directly following, such as the study for a *Portrait of a Seated Man* (cat. no. 18) and the *Portrait of Ugolino Martelli* (plate 13). The allusion to Michelangelo in these portraits by Bronzino, as in the lunette for Bettini, most likely indicates the republican sympathies of the sitters. Already in 1531, Pontormo

in his *Portrait of Amerigo Antinori* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Palazzo Manzi, Lucca, had revealed the young man's political orientation by choosing as model the portrait of one of the most famous republicans, the *Portrait of Anton Francesco degli Albizzi* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, by Sebastiano del Piombo, a work, moreover, related to Michelangelo in its conception.²⁰ The political convictions of the young Ugolino Martelli, who maintained close ties with exiled literary figures, especially Benedetto Varchi, seem evident. With these works representing the elite of a society still adhering to its fundamental values, Bronzino created a formula for an original type of portrait, one characteristically Florentine, which originated in the work by the greatest of all Florentine artists, Michelangelo.²¹

In order to accentuate the *Fiorentinità* of his painted portraits, Bronzino depicted his sitters within undeniably Florentine architectural interiors, made of *pietra serena* (a typical, dark gray-green stone from Tuscany, or "*macigno*"), but these architectural backgrounds do not appear in the preparatory drawings. Bronzino's reliance on the style of the architectural features to identify the model as Florentine reached its highest degree in the *Portrait of Bartolomeo Panciatichi* in the Uffizi, painted around 1541 (plate 15).²² The



Figure 9. Alessandro Allori, *Portrait of Tommaso de' Bardi (?)*, 1559. Black chalk with traces of red chalk, 15½ × 9¾ in. (39.3 × 24.7 cm). British Museum, London (1958-12-13-1)

complexity of that portrait, one of Bronzino's most finished, arises from its connection to the very place for which it was created, the Accademia degli Humidi, which became the Accademia Fiorentina on the first day of the year 1542 (March 25, according to the Florentine calendar). Indeed, without diminishing the artist's creative genius, it seems hard to believe that the sitters for Bronzino's portraits, who were all associated with Florentine literary circles,²³ did

not influence his artistic choices. He was a member of the academy from February 11, 1541, until March 4, 1547. In fact, the propensity toward literary allusion in Bronzino's portraiture began with the decoration of the *Camera* of Bartolommeo Bettini, in which our artist displayed his *Fiorentinità* through his references to the literary and visual culture of the city and, more specifically, to Dante, Petrarch, and Michelangelo, whose supremacy was then recognized

throughout the Italian peninsula. The prominence of Florentine culture, which every citizen recognized, was encouraged by Duke Cosimo de' Medici after he came to power in 1537, especially at the time the Accademia Fiorentina was created and later, in 1563, when the *Compagnia ed Accademia del Disegno* was founded, thus making it possible to regain lost cultural identity.²⁴

Bronzino thus naturally became the portraitist of Cosimo de' Medici, developing three different types of official portraits of the duke (in armor, at the age of forty, and with the Order of the Golden Fleece), and he executed at least four portraits of Duchess Eleonora di Toledo, also depicting most of their eight children (see plates 28–30).²⁵ For the first official image of the duke, painted in 1545, the *Portrait of Cosimo in Armor* in the Gallery of South Wales, Sydney, Bronzino was understandably inspired by Titian's portrait of Emperor Charles V in armor, which is now lost but which was well known throughout Italy based on the reproduction in wood engraving by Giovanni Britto of the early 1540s.²⁶ Not a single one of Bronzino's preparatory drawings for his portraits of the ducal family has survived. Nevertheless, it is possible to relate Bronzino's painted portrait of the duke to a contemporary sheet in the Uffizi²⁷ that is closely connected to the *Portrait of Duke Cosimo as Hercules*, engraved in 1544 by Niccolò della Casa, based on a drawing by Baccio Bandinelli. Bandinelli's drawing reveals stylistic similarities with Bronzino's graphic work, which at first seems surprising but which in retrospect demonstrates a desire to disseminate a consistent official image of the duke. Furthermore, the circulation of drawings among studios was routine in sixteenth-century Florence—for example, Bronzino adapted an invention by Bandinelli for the altarpiece intended for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio (see plates 20–25, 52–54)²⁸—and artists shared references. In this case, therefore, Michelangelo's portrait drawings played a role in unifying a common Florentine graphic style.

READING BRONZINO'S PORTRAIT DRAWINGS

Given the limited corpus of Bronzino's drawings that has survived, the very small number of his known portrait drawings is inevitable. Because preparatory drawings for portraits made by his contemporaries are equally rare, it is worth taking into consideration the entire body of extant Florentine sixteenth-century drawings in order to gain a more comprehensive point of view. Portraits were painted rather quickly during this period, and relatively few preparatory drawings are extant. When they were not simply rapid sketches meant to indicate an idea, preliminary drawings primarily served to show the outline for the entire composition, to refine the details of physiognomy, to represent accurately the clothing (on some sheets, the faces are barely indicated), to practice a small aspect of the design such as the hands of the sitter, or above all, to record the sitter's likeness. But not all the studies of faces should be considered portraits. Thus, Bronzino's *Studies for a Portrait of a Boy*

in red chalk in the Uffizi (cat. no. 12) need not be viewed as the first step toward a portrait but rather as a physiognomic study based on the face of a young *garzone* in the studio. In general, the portraits for which Florentine sixteenth-century artists made numerous preparatory sketches are very rare. When working on an especially important commission, an artist might make several preparatory studies, as Pontormo did when he was charged with carrying out a posthumous portrait of Piero de' Medici ("il Gottoso"), painted as a pendant to the *Portrait of Cosimo "Il Vecchio" (Pater Patriae)* in the Uffizi.²⁹

It is not always easy to know if a drawing without a known connection to a portrait is to be considered a preparatory study or a finished work in its own right. For example, the recto of a sheet exhibiting a study for a presumed portrait of Francesco Guardi on the verso (figs. 5, 6) would lead one to think that this was a finished drawing to be presented as a gift to the sitter being portrayed, but the two rough sketches on the verso clearly indicate that the entire sheet is to be understood as being preparatory for a portrait at three different stages of design (two sketches and a finished study). On the verso of the sheet, the pose is seen in two different versions, at right, as a rapidly sketched initial idea, which is developed at left with much greater attention to the details; the more finished sketch at left is squared. It is somewhat surprising that the squaring was done not for the very finished face on the recto but for the intermediary study, which permits a glimpse of the techniques practiced in the workshop.³⁰ Whereas the two figures sketched on the verso of the sheet are characteristic of Pontormo's graphic style, the one on the recto evokes instead the drawings of Bronzino and in particular, his technique in the Uffizi sheet (cat. no. 18). The two artists worked together in close collaboration at various points of their careers, and Pontormo was aware of Bronzino's innovations. An example is a study in red chalk attributed to Pontormo for the *Portrait of a Young Man Holding a Horn*,³¹ (see fig. 4) whose highly finished style and unconstrained pose evoke Bronzino's portrait drawings. Our artist's role in the evolution of Florentine portraiture is, therefore, incontestable,³² and it is even possible to identify Bronzino's work as the visual source for Pontormo's late portraits. Thus, when Pontormo realized the *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in 1541, he adopted the solution proposed by Bronzino in his *Portrait of a Young Man* (plate 14), painted in the late 1530s.³³ On the verso of Pontormo's Uffizi double-sided sheet is a study for the portrait in Washington, in which the artist very closely studied the physiognomy of Monsignor della Casa, representing the prelate's face in a profile view as well.

These may be the exceptional preliminary drawings for the faces of the sitters, following in a sense the tradition of Leonardo's physiognomic studies and distinguishing Florentine production from that of other Italian artistic centers. The example of the Getty sheet (cat. no. 54) is significant. Bronzino sought to capture the

sitter's likeness in the drawing realized from life, and like Michelangelo, he also conveyed the sitter's emotions. Through the drawing, Bronzino deciphered the young man's inner life, whereas in the portrait for which the drawing is a study in Kansas City (plate 56), he presented a proud courtier perfectly representative of the new Florentine society. Similar head studies are exemplified in sheets by Francesco Salviati, and these are for the most part strikingly spontaneous drawings in red chalk from his youth. They are inseparable from his apprenticeship with Andrea del Sarto, as is revealed in a study of a young man in bust-length wearing a hat in Chatsworth³⁴ and also in a later and very beautiful study in black chalk of the head of a young man (fig. 7).³⁵ The latter sheet presents analogies of technique to the Getty study and also to Bandinelli's *Portrait of Cosimo I* (fig. 8), which bears witness to the fact that in a certain sense a common style existed among different Florentine artists and that it was traceable to the same source—the portrait drawings in black chalk by Michelangelo.

In order to gain a better understanding of Bronzino's drawn portraits, the more abundant corpus of drawings by his most important pupil, Alessandro Allori, also should not be overlooked.

Notable among these examples is an early drawing in the British Museum (fig. 9) that was long attributed to Bronzino, although the precise modeling of the clothing and features of the model, set in deliberate contrast to the rapidly sketched table with figural carving, is characteristic of the young Allori's style.³⁶ The British Museum study portrays the bearded man leaning on a table, which is very rapidly sketched; one of the details of this table includes a carved male figure with his bent torso and legs in poses that recall those of Michelangelo's *Slaves* originally intended for the marble *Tomb of Pope Julius II*. The allusion to Michelangelo's tomb design for the Della Rovere pope leads one to conjecture that this was a preparatory study for the lost portrait of Tommaso Bardi, painted by Allori soon after he arrived in Rome in 1559.

The few known drawings related to Bronzino's portraits provide a more or less representative idea of what our artist's total production must have resembled. In the genre of portraiture, Bronzino influenced the best among his contemporaries, even impacting the art of Pontormo, his teacher, and that impact continued until the end of the century through the work of his most devoted and long-lived pupil, Alessandro Allori.

- 1 Inv. 1895-9-15-519, black chalk, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (41.1 × 29.2 cm); among the very ample bibliography on the drawing, see, most recently, Hugo Chapman in Teylers Museum 2005, pp. 209–11, ill. no. 70.
- 2 On the portrait of Laura, see Mann 1998, pp. 18–19.
- 3 See Pozzi 1979; and Quondam 1989.
- 4 See Tinagli 1997, pp. 85–86; and Wright 2000, pp. 87–88.
- 5 Département des Arts Graphiques (3882), pen, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (22.3 × 15.8 cm); see, most recently, Tom Henry in National Gallery, London 2004, pp. 176–77, no. 52, ill.
- 6 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (647 E), red chalk, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (24.2 × 20.1 cm); see Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Pitti 1986, pp. 262–63, no. 52, ill.
- 7 École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (E.B.A. 289), red chalk and traces of black chalk, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (27.5 × 20.8 cm); see Philippe Costamagna in National Gallery of Canada 2005, pp. 136–37, no. 34, ill.
- 8 Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (164), black and red chalk, 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36 × 24.3 cm); see Achim Gnann in Peggy Guggenheim Collection 2004, pp. 148–49, no. 55, ill. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (414 E), red chalk with traces of white chalk, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39.1 × 26.7 cm); see Forlani Tempesti 2001, pp. 525–28, fig. 2, and Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, pp. 42–43, no. 19, ill.
- 9 See Smith 1996; and Plazzotta 1998.
- 10 “che nè prima nè poi di nessuno fece il ritratto, perchè aboriva il fare somigliare il vivo, se non era d'infinita bellezza”; Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 271–72. See also Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 110.
- 11 See Costamagna 2003, pp. 26–29.
- 12 See Costamagna 2002, p. 200, fig. 7.
- 13 Inv. 110, red chalk, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (19.2 × 15.9 cm); see Caroline Lanfranc de Panthou in Lanfranc de Panthou and Peronnet 1995, pp. 134–36, no. 41, ill.
- 14 See Oberhuber 1971.
- 15 See Costamagna 2002, pp. 200, 203–4.

- 16 See Cropper 2000, pp. 96–98.
- 17 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (326 F), black chalk, 11 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (27.9 × 13 cm); see Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Pitti 1986, p. 306, no. 85, ill.
- 18 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (436 F recto), black chalk, 10 × 8 in. (25.3 × 20.4 cm); see Carlo Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, pp. 85, 88, no. v1.4, fig. 57, and Costamagna 2005a, p. 61.
- 19 See Costamagna in Galleria dell'Accademia 2002, pp. 184–85, no. 22, pl. 11/1.
- 20 See Costamagna 2003, pp. 28–29, fig. 4.
- 21 See also Brock 2002, pp. 112–14, 124–32.
- 22 See *ibid.*, pp. 119–24.
- 23 On this, see Cecchi 1991.
- 24 For this concept, see Cropper 2004, pp. 23–28; and Costamagna 2005a.
- 25 See Langedijk 1981–87, *passim*; and, for the portraits of the duchess Eleonora, Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 35–53.
- 26 See the work of Mozzetti 1996.
- 27 See Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, pp. 31–32, no. 13, ill.
- 28 See Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 155–78.
- 29 See Costamagna 2005a, pp. 53–55.
- 30 See the essay herein by Carmen Bambach, pp. 35–49, where the practice of squaring in the drawings of Bronzino and Pontormo is discussed.
- 31 See Costamagna 2005b, p. 70, pl. 65.
- 32 See, most recently, Cropper 2001b.
- 33 See Cox-Rearick 1982, pp. 70–71.
- 34 Devonshire Collection (13), red chalk, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.8 × 12.2 cm); see Costamagna in Villa Medici 1998, p. 223, no. 82, ill.
- 35 See Costamagna in Villa Medici 1998, p. 232, no. 87, ill.
- 36 Our attribution to Allori and its relation with the portraits cited by Borghini (see Costamagna 1988, p. 25) have been accepted by Simona Lecchini Giovannoni (1991, p. 302, no. 177). Elizabeth Pilliod (2001, p. 179), who suggests that the work depicts Benedetto da Montauto, nevertheless retains the old attribution to Bronzino.

DRAWINGS

1. *Reclining Partially Draped Youth Seen to the Knees*, ca. 1525

Black chalk on buff paper, $6\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{13}{16}$ in. (15.7 × 27.5 cm)

Annotated at the bottom border in the center, in pen and red ink: "Jacopo da Pontormo"; in the bottom right corner (in Crozat's hand?), in black ink: "31"; and in the upper left corner, in a third hand, in brown ink: "a/a." The verso of the sheet exhibits various trials in black and red chalk. The drawing has been cut along the upper border, removing the top of the model's head, and at the right border below the knees

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (90.GA.22)

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat? (annotated lower right [in Crozat's hand?], "31"; remnant of a border ruled around the margins of the drawing in pen and brown ink [from Crozat's mount?]); Max Michaelis, Cape Town; sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1989, no. 6 (as by Naldini); Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London; acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 1990

BIBLIOGRAPHY: [George R. Goldner] in "Acquisitions" 1991, p. 155, no. 41 (as by Pontormo), ill.; Pilliod 1992b, pp. 77–78 (as by Pontormo), fig. 1; Costamagna 1994, pp. 64, 97, n. 107 (as by Pontormo); Pilliod 1995, fig. 1 (as by Pontormo); Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, pp. 96–97, no. 37 (as ascribed to Pontormo [Bronzino?]), ill.; Pilliod 2001, pp. 54, 56, fig. 50 (as by Pontormo); Brock 2002, pp. 20, 23 (as by Pontormo); Gründler 2008, p. 173, n. 8 (as by Pontormo)

The question of the Getty drawing's attribution is complex. Its authorship is presented here by the curators of the exhibition as by Pontormo or Bronzino. While the Getty study is of softer overall handling than securely autograph drawings by Pontormo, it nevertheless recalls most closely some of his figure studies from 1518–21, at the latest 1525.¹ Like some of these studies, it exhibits firm, broad outlines, which also include a few reinforcement strokes, or pentimenti; the strokes of such contours seem expressively jagged, in dynamic contrast to the softer modeling within. The anatomical definition of the torso with tonal inflections of the sternum and other bones and the facial features are also characteristic of Pontormo's figure studies. A particularly Pontormesque feature is seen in the somewhat empty, rounded eye sockets, boldly outlined.

However, the attribution to the young Bronzino is also to be considered with good reason.² Nicholas Turner suggested in 1990–91 that the Getty drawing was by Pontormo and that he made it to aid Bronzino in painting an over-door lunette, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, in the monastery of the Certosa di Galuzzo (see fig. 1 in Cox-Rearick essay, p. 23).³ Elizabeth Pilliod, Philippe Costamagna, and Maurice Brock concurred on the Pontormo attribution, and the drawing is listed in the museum as "ascribed to Pontormo."⁴ The authors of the catalogue entry on the Getty drawings (1997) attributed it to Pontormo, while conceding the possibility that it may be a very early drawing by Bronzino, comparable to his study of about 1525 for the tondo of St. Matthew in the Capponi Chapel in S. Felicita, where he was working as Pontormo's collaborator.⁵

This drawing derives in type from Pontormo's chalk studies of *garzoni* (studio assistants) of the early 1520s (for example, fig. 1-1).⁶ It might also be compared with a drawing that Pontormo unquestionably supplied to Bronzino for the St. Jerome of his pupil's contemporaneous *Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels* of about 1525–28 (plate 4).

These comparisons do not yield a fit with Pontormo's graphic style of the mid-1520s, and the attribution of the Getty drawing to him is difficult to sustain. The author of this drawing simplified Pontormo's complex and nuanced graphic mode: forms (like the hands) are less eccentric, and the deliberate contours have none of the rapidly repeated outlines of Pontormo's drawings of these years; in other words, the drawing is exactly what one might expect from a talented pupil emulating his master's manner. The conclusion by the authors of the Getty catalogue that this drawing is by Bronzino is thus a reasonable one.

In the first phase of his development as a draftsman, Bronzino was under the aegis of Pontormo, who taught his pupil by giving him drawings like the St. Jerome sheet mentioned above to use either in his own or in collaborative paintings. Pontormo took Bronzino to Galluzzo when he fled Florence in 1522 to escape the plague, and he entrusted his pupil with two over-door lunettes in the cloister of the Certosa while he was at work on the *Passion of Christ*. One of these, which Vasari described as "A nude St. Lawrence on the gridiron painted in oil on the wall," was begun in 1525 and finished in early 1526.⁷

Before Bronzino made this drawing for the lunette, Pontormo had provided him with the basic composition of the *St. Lawrence*



Figure 1-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Reclining Boy*, ca. 1521. Black chalk, $11 \times 15\frac{7}{8}$ in. (28 × 40.2 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6741 F verso)

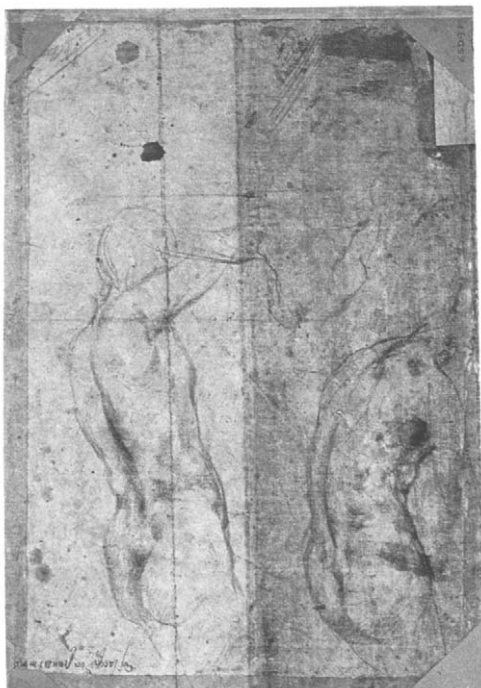


Figure 1-2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Studies for the Way to Calvary and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, ca. 1523–24. Black chalk and red chalk, 9⁵/₈ × 14¹/₄ in. (24.3 × 36.1 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6529 F verso)

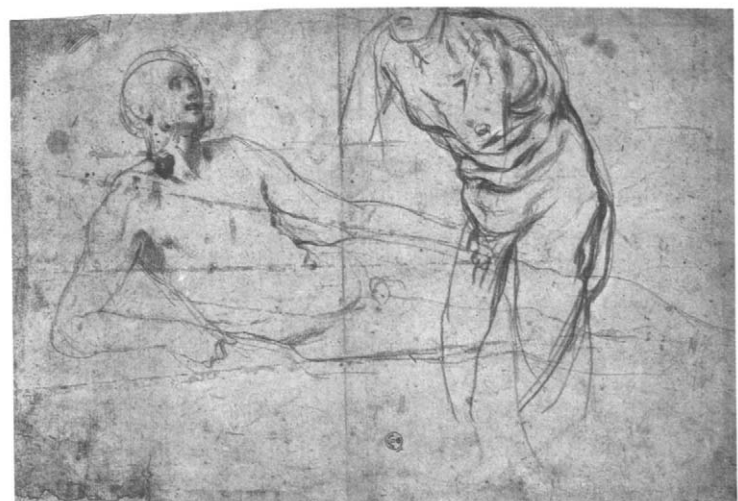


Figure 1-3. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Studies for the Way to Calvary and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, ca. 1523–24. Red chalk, 9⁵/₈ × 14¹/₄ in. (24.3 × 36.1 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6529 F recto)

in two sketches in red chalk on the recto and verso of a sheet primarily devoted to his studies for the *Way to Calvary* (figs. 1-2 and 1-3), a fresco of 1525 in the monastery courtyard. These drawings were discussed by the present author in relation to the *St. Lawrence* in 1964.⁸ In contrast to the Getty drawing, which is broadly executed in black chalk, these sketches are drawn with a finely pointed red chalk without interior modeling. They also depict a slim, attenuated nude with a small head, a figure of an entirely different physical type than the robust, normatively proportioned boy in the Getty drawing.

One side of the Uffizi sheet (fig. 1-3) shows the saint posed much as in the Getty sheet, with his head in three-quarter view, but looking up rather than straight ahead. There is a pentimento along the right side of the head, suggesting Pontormo's search for its final position. The figure on the other side of the Uffizi sheet (figs. 1, 2) is even more lightly drawn, and the legs are not indicated at all. However, it does show the head in profile and looking up, as in the painting. Bronzino carried over this indecision about the head position in the Getty drawing, where there are pentimenti on the right side of the head and in the facial features.⁹

The Uffizi sketches bring up the possibility that Pontormo originally may have planned to execute the lunette himself, and in any event, they are too small and lacking in detail to have been useful as models for Bronzino. In his large and more highly finished life study, Bronzino worked out the details of the pose, even to the indication of the position of the thumb and forefinger that would hold the palm. In the painting, he changed the saint's head to look up in profile at the angel who bestows on him the martyr's palm and crown. This change is evident in several pentimenti in the drawing of the head and face, where Bronzino explored alternate positions of the head, which was originally turned more in profile, as in the second Uffizi drawing discussed above. Pilliod believes that Bronzino may have reused this drawing for the fresco, *St. Benedict in the Wilderness* of about 1525 in the Badia, Florence (see fig. 3 in Pilliod essay, p. 5).¹⁰

A later derivation from the Getty sheet may be a drawing in black chalk of a youth of about 1590 by Ludovico Cigoli (1559–1613).¹¹

The boy's reclining pose and the positions of his arms and legs clearly depend on the Bronzino drawing. This suggests that the Getty sheet might have been among the drawings that Bronzino left his pupil Alessandro Allori, which thus could have been accessible to Florentine artists in the last years of the century, like Cigoli, who took part in a revival of aspects of Pontormo's style.

JC-R

1. Examples are sheets in the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, New York, 1954-4 recto (Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 200–201, no. 188, vol. 2, fig. 172); J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 87.GB.95 (ibid., vol. 1, p. 136, no. 60, vol. 2, fig. 61); Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2903 recto (ibid., vol. 1, p. 188, no. 155, vol. 2, fig. 149); École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 293 recto and verso (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 119–20, no. 24, vol. 2, fig. 29, and vol. 1, pp. 144–45, no. 72, vol. 2, fig. 76); Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, PL 568 (ibid., vol. 1, p. 163, no. 100, vol. 2, fig. 102); and Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence: 465 F recto and verso (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 166–67, no. 104, vol. 2, fig. 114, and vol. 1, p. 334, no. 361, vol. 2, fig. 343); 6564 F recto (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 104–5, no. 6, vol. 2, fig. 10); 6598 F (ibid., vol. 1, p. 376, no. A92); 6676 F verso (ibid., vol. 1, p. 103, no. 2, vol. 2, fig. 5); 6740 F recto and verso (ibid., vol. 1, p. 388, no. A157, and Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357-4, no. 165a [former no. A157], vol. 2, fig. 155a, and Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 191–92, no. 166, vol. 2, fig. 156).
2. See Essay, nn. 35, 36.
3. This drawing was acquired as by Pontormo in 1990. See the unsigned entry by George Goldner in "Acquisitions" 1991, p. 155. The observations by Nicholas Turner were made when the drawing passed through the art market (see Pilliod 1992b, pp. 77, 85, n. 5).
4. Pilliod 1992b, pp. 77–78; Costamagna 1994, pp. 64, 97, n. 107; and Brock 2002, pp. 20–23.
5. Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, pp. 96–97, no. 37.
6. See also Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 6673 F verso (Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 185, no. 148, vol. 2, fig. 140); Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 6729 F recto (cat. no. 9); Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 6632 F verso (Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 240, no. 239, vol. 2, fig. 233); and Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 247, no. 254, vol. 2, fig. 243.
7. Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 594: "un San Lorenzo nudo supra la grata, colorito a olio nel muro." See Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, nos. 1, 2, ill.; and, for the date, Pilliod 1992b. *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* and its companion piece, the *Man of Sorrows*, survived in over-painted and ruined condition.
8. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 6529 F recto and verso (Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 218, no. 198 [recto], vol. 2, fig. 193, and vol. 1, p. 220, no. 202 [verso], vol. 2, fig. 196). See also Pilliod 1992b, pp. 78–81; and Pilliod 2001, pp. 53–54.
9. For these, see the detail of the head and bust of the Getty drawing in Pilliod 2001, frontispiece.
10. Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, no. 3, ill. However, the reclining saint is different in pose, figure type, and proportions from the *St. Lawrence* in Bronzino's drawing.
11. Miles Chappell connects this drawing with Cigoli's *Resurrection* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) (personal communication to the author).



AGNOLO BRONZINO

2. *Head of a Child Looking up to the Left (study for an angel in the Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels), ca. 1524*

Black chalk on buff (slightly darkened) paper, glued onto secondary paper support, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13.6 × 10.4 cm)

Annotated in pen and brown ink at lower right corner: "Bronzino"
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (13847 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 603; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 603; Smyth 1955, p. 62, no. A19, p. 92, fig. 98; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 603; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 366, 379, n. 23, pl. 3; Smyth 1971, p. 51, n. 21; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 86, no. 123; Matteoli 1984, pp. 430–31, n. 7; Costamagna 1994, p. 284, under no. A31, p. 292, under no. A50; Brock 2002, pp. 25, 329, n. 11

Bernard Berenson attributed this drawing to the young Bronzino, and Craig Hugh Smyth made a tentative association with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels*, which he attributed to Bronzino (plate 4).¹ In 1980, Petrioli Tofani published a similar drawing in the Uffizi for the head of the angel seated to the left (cat. no. 3).² The heads are identical in graphic style and are close in size, and there are similar brown stains on each drawing, indicating that they were cut from the same sheet, after which the inscription on the present drawing was added.

As the present author noted, the small altarpiece for which this drawing was preparatory was a collaborative effort of about 1524, the year Bronzino entered Pontormo's workshop, making it one of his very earliest works.³ The invention of the composition, an archaic *sacra conversazione*, and the execution of the painting were surely due to Bronzino. He was supplied with drawings from Pontormo, who gave his pupil one that he used for the figure of St. Jerome in the Courtauld Institute (fig. 2-1).⁴ There are also Pontormo drawings of the Madonna and Child (see cat. no. 4 recto) from which Bronzino's Madonna may have been derived.⁵



Figure 2-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for St. Jerome*, ca. 1525. Black chalk, 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 11 in. (40.4 × 28 cm). Prince's Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute, London (D.1978.PG.92v)

Moreover, the Christ Child and the angels seated on the steps vividly recall Pontormo's putti in the lunette of *Vertumnus and Pomona* in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano as well as his putto studies of about 1520–21 (see figs. 4.2 and 3-1 below),⁶ but Bronzino's dry and static mode in these two head studies is very different from his master's febrile draftsmanship in his drawings for putti.

Bronzino's concept of form, with broad, smooth volumes and precise execution, is already in evidence in these two studies, in which the heads are typically drawn from life without the curly hair that Bronzino added when he painted the figures. The rotund solidity of the heads is repeated in the nostrils, eyes, and eyeballs. The drawings, like the painting, have an archaic quality that recalls the graphic tradition of the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento, as seen in the style of Bronzino's first master, Raffaellino del Garbo.

JC-R

- 1 Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 603; Smyth 1955, p. 92, and p. 62, no. A19. For the painting, see Berti 1973, p. 97, no. 71 (as by Pontormo), ill. p. 96 and pl. xxviii; and Costamagna 1994, pp. 72, 283–84, no. A31, ill.
- 2 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 86, no. 124, ill. p. 87.
- 3 Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 366, 379, n. 23, pl. 3.
- 4 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 232, no. 222, vol. 2, fig. 216.
- 5 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 244–45, no. 249, vol. 2, fig. 238.
- 6 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 244, no. 246, vol. 2, fig. 235.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

3. *Head of a Child Looking Up to the Right* (study for an angel in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels*), ca. 1524

Black chalk, glued onto secondary paper support, 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
(12.9 × 9.7 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (15822 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 86, no. 124, ill. p. 87; Matteoli 1984, pp. 430–31, no. 7; Costamagna 1994, p. 284, under A31; Brock 2002, pp. 25, 329, n. 11

This drawing was identified by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani among the anonymous sixteenth-century drawings in the Uffizi as a study for the head of the angel seated to the left in Bronzino's *Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis,*



Figure 3-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for a Putto*, ca. 1524–25. Red chalk, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (28.2 × 19.8 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6678 F recto)



and *Two Angels* in the Uffizi (plate 4).¹ It is a pendant to catalogue number 2, and is in the same scale, although the modeling is less elaborate, and it was probably cut from the same sheet of paper. The pose of this child's head is comparable to Pontormo's putto studies of about 1520–21 (fig. 3-1).²

JC-R

- 1 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 86, no. 124.
- 2 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 244, no. 246, vol. 2, fig. 235.



4v

AGNOLO BRONZINO

4. Verso: *Head of a Child Looking Slightly to the Left and Right Leg of a Seated Figure from the Knee Down*, ca. 1525

Verso: red chalk; recto, black chalk, 11 × 12¹/₁₆ in. (27.9 × 32.9 cm)

Annotated in pen and ink along the lower right border: "Fran.co Rosi 269"¹

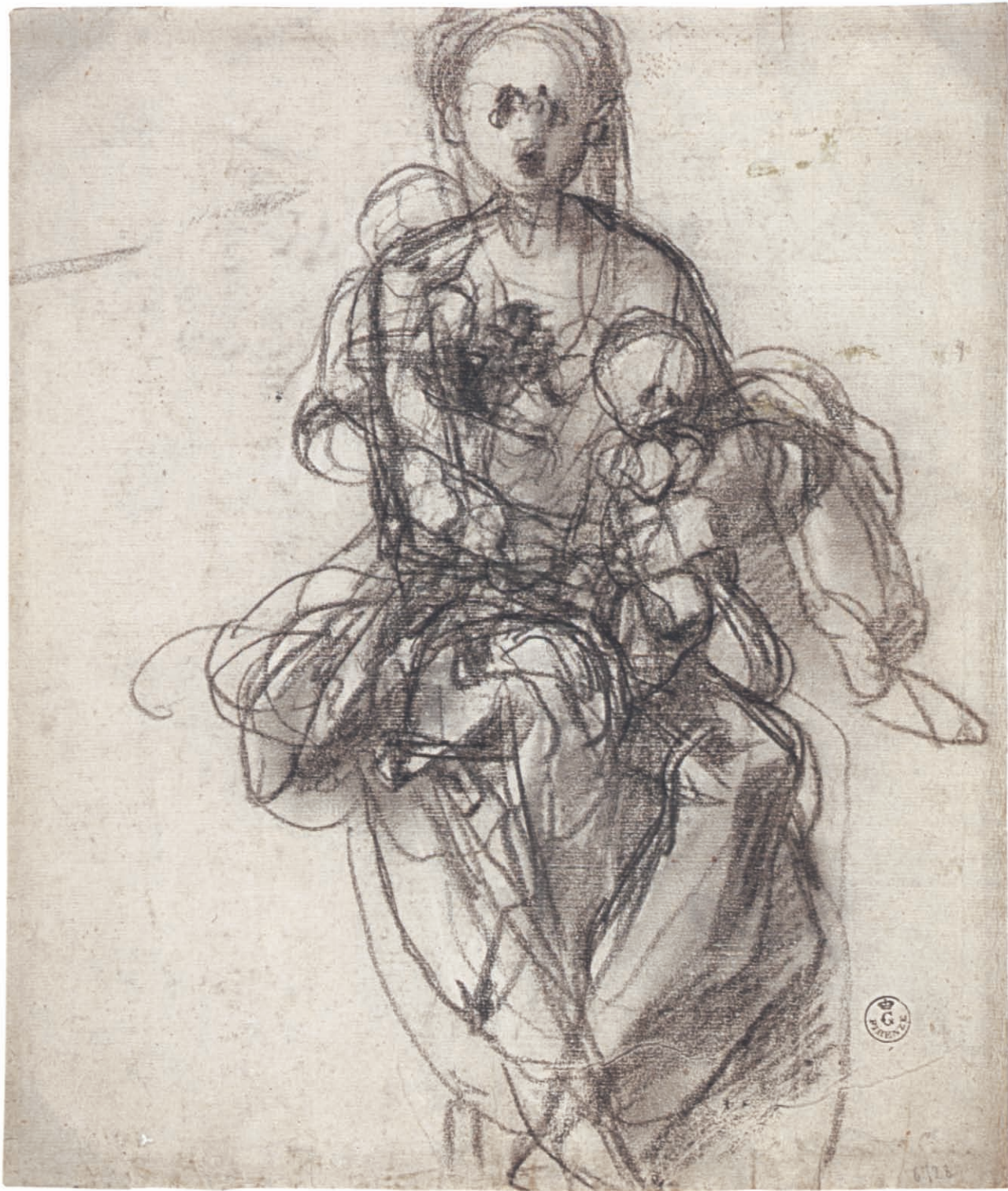
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6728 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 296, no. 221I (as by Pontormo); Luisa Marcucci in Palazzo Strozzi 1956, pp. 89–90, no. 118, pl. cxiv-b (recto); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 497, no. 221I (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 245, no. 250 (verso; as by Pontormo?); Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 79, fig. 63 (verso); Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 245, no. 250 (verso; as by Pontormo?); Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357-5, no. 250, p. 415-3, no. A152a (as by Bronzino?), vol. 2, fig. 393d; Costamagna 1994, p. 292, under no. A50 (recto); Bambach 1997b, p. 448 (verso)

JACOPO DA PONTORMO

4. Recto: *Study for a Madonna and Child with St. John*, ca. 1524–25



4r

The studies by Bronzino on this sheet are on the verso of a compositional study in black chalk by Pontormo for a Madonna and Child of about 1524–25.² Pontormo presumably gave the drawing to his pupil Bronzino, who may have used it as a starting point for his *Madonna and Child with St. John* of about 1526–28, in which the seated Virgin, who holds the Child on the left, is clearly based on Pontormo's idea (fig. 4-1).³

In the early literature, this Bronzino drawing on the verso of the Pontormo *Madonna and Child* was attributed to Pontormo and identified as a study for the leg of Pomona and the head of the putto to the right above the window in the fresco of *Vertumnus and Pomona* of about 1520–21 in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano (fig. 4-2). Luisa Marcucci considered it to be a copy after a Pontormo drawing of the same period.⁴ The present author suggested the possibility of Bronzino's authorship and then identified the drawing as by Bronzino of the later 1520s, connecting it in style with the verso of Uffizi 6513 F (cat. no. 5) and Uffizi 6667 F recto (cat. no. 12) on the basis of the draftsman's insistence on the volume of the forms, a slightly mechanical touch in the modeling, and a hardening of the line.⁵ The leg is indeed a copy after the right leg of Pomona, but the life study of a child's head is not in the same position as the putto in the lunette. It may have been drawn with the young St. John in the Corsini *Madonna and Child with St. John* in mind (see fig. 4-1), but it is not directly preparatory to it. As he did in the studies for the angel heads in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels* (cat. nos. 2, 3), Bronzino drew the head without the curly hair that he added when he painted children's heads like St. John's in the Corsini painting.

JC-R



Figure 4-1. Agnolo Bronzino, *Madonna and Child with St. John*, ca. 1526–28. Oil on wood, 20½ × 15¾ in. (52 × 40 cm). Galleria Corsini, Florence

- 1 For the mid-seventeenth-century collector Francesco d'Antonio Rosi, whose name appears on many Uffizi drawings attributed to Pontormo, see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 10, n. 24.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 244–45, no. 249, vol. 2, fig. 238.
- 3 See Berti 1973, p. 103, no. 103, ill. p. 102 (as by Pontormo); and Costamagna 1994, p. 292, no. A50.
- 4 Luisa Marcucci in Palazzo Strozzi 1956, pp. 89–90, no. 118.
- 5 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 245, no. 250 (as by Pontormo?); Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357-5, no. 250, p. 415-3, no. A152a (as by Bronzino).

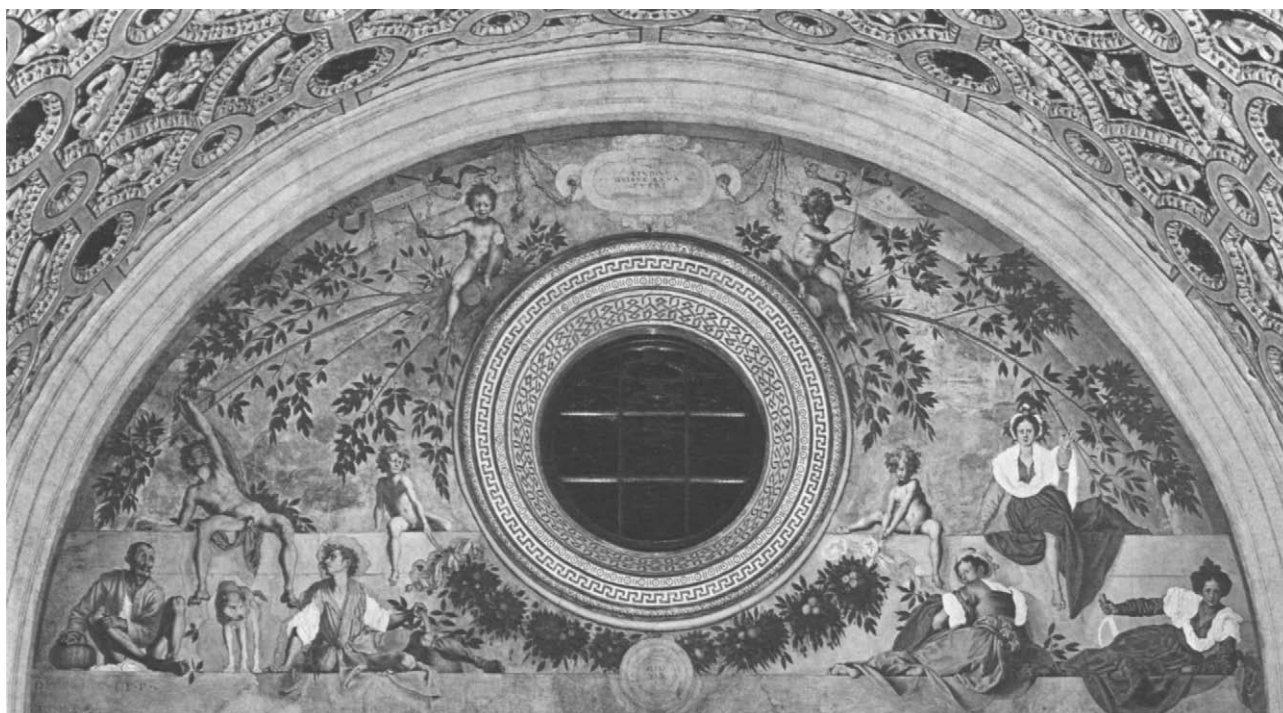


Figure 4-2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1520–21. Fresco. Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano

AGNOLO BRONZINO

5. *Verso: Lower Part of a Seated Draped Figure Facing Left; Small Sketch for a Madonna, Pair of Eyes, Profile, and Turbaned Head, ca. 1525–28*

JACOPO DA PONTORMO

5. *Recto: Seated Nude Youth, ca. 1525*

Verso: red and black chalk, figure and turbaned head in red chalk, eyes in black chalk, and profile in red and black chalk; recto: red chalk, 8¹/₁₆ × 14⁷/₁₆ in. (22.7 × 36.6 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6513 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 141, no. 2018 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, pp. 122–23, no. 6513 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 280, no. 2018 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 467, no. 2018 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 240, no. 237 (verso; as by Pontormo), pp. 255–56, no. 263 (recto), vol. 2, fig. 250; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 240, no. 237 (verso; as by Pontormo), Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357–5, no. 237, p. 415–1, no. A59a (as by Bronzino), vol. 2, fig. 393a, vol. 1, pp. 255–56, no. 263 (recto), vol. 2, fig. 250

Bronzino's drawing is on the verso of a nude study in red chalk by Pontormo for *God the Father with the Four Patriarchs* on the now-destroyed vault of the Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita, painted about 1525.¹ Neither Bernard Berenson nor Frederick Mortimer Clapp commented on this verso. The present author ascribed it

tentatively to Pontormo, noting that the hesitation in the line and the stiffness of the forms of the drapery gave the impression of a copy—perhaps after Dürer because of the regular shading and sharp demarcation of the edges of the folds. She grouped it with the verso of Uffizi 6728 F (cat. no. 4) and the recto of Uffizi 6667 F (cat. no. 12), which are similar in style.² The two drawings are given to Bronzino in the present publication, and this one also should be attributed to him.

Since this study is on the verso of a drawing by Pontormo for the Capponi Chapel vault, it should be dated about 1525–28, while Bronzino was working with his master there. The small sketch in black chalk below is for a Madonna and Child with her legs to the left, perhaps indicating that the larger drapery study was for the lower part of this Madonna; the other sketches are doodles of no apparent significance.

JC-R

¹ Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 255–56, no. 263, vol. 2, fig. 250.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 240, no. 237 (as by Pontormo); see also Cox-Rearick 1981a, Addenda and Corrigenda, vol. 1, p. 415–1, no. A59a (as by Bronzino).



5v



5r

6. *Draped Man Seen to the Waist Leaning Forward to the Left (study for St. Mark), ca. 1525–26*

Red chalk on off-white paper (now discolored), glued onto secondary paper support (the drawing is very abraded and discolored with small losses; it is possible that it was counterproofed and then reinforced; there are vertical lines near the right and left borders of the sheet), 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (20 × 15 cm)

Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D. 1511)

PROVENANCE: Amédée-Paul-Émil Gasc (1817–?), Paris (stamp recto; Lugt 1131); Charles Gasc, Paris (stamp recto; Lugt 542); Jean-François Gigoux (1806–1894), Besançon (stamp recto); acquired as a gift from Gigoux by the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, 1894 (museum stamp; Lugt, suppl., 238c)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 273, no. 1954C (as by Pontormo); Smyth 1949, p. 190, n. 42 (as by Pontormo), fig. 6; Cox-Rearick 1956, p. 17, n. 5 (as by Pontormo); Luciano Berti in Palazzo Strozzi 1956, p. 29, under nos. 47–51 (as by Pontormo); Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pls. 4, 5) (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 456, no. 1954C (as by Pontormo); K. Andrews 1964, p. 157 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 360–61, no. A9; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 369–70, 379, n. 34, pl. 1; Roseline Bacou in Petit Palais 1965, pp. 40–41, no. 50, ill.; Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, pp. 360–61, no. A9, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415-1, no. A9; McCorquodale 1981, p. 20 (as probably by Pontormo); Costamagna 1994, p. 187, under no. 51

Bronzino worked from 1525 to 1528 as Pontormo's assistant in the Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita, Florence (see fig. 7-1). He painted figures in fresco of *God the Father with the Four Patriarchs* in the now-destroyed vault and, in the pendentives, some of the tondi of the Four Evangelists—*St. Mark*, *St. Matthew*, and *St. Luke* (plates 1 and 2), the *St. Matthew* designed by Pontormo.¹ There is disagreement about the authorship of these tondi and the related preparatory drawings. This is partly because Vasari wrote in the life of Pontormo that Bronzino painted one tondo, and in the life of Bronzino, he claimed that the younger artist painted two.² Vasari's statements can be easily resolved, however, since the style and technique of the two tondi indicate that Bronzino designed and painted the *St. Mark*, while he was responsible only for the execution of *St. Luke*.

This drawing for *St. Mark* is one of the two surviving studies for the Evangelists, the other being a study for *St. Matthew* (cat. no. 7). In the painting, the angle of the right arm is changed so that the forearm rests on a ledge in front of the saint and the hand holds a quill pen. The drapery over the saint's shoulders is enlarged, he has a beard and mustache, his mouth is closed, and his gaze is shifted so that he looks out at the observer.

Following an old annotation on the verso of the sheet, this drawing was attributed to Pontormo in the early literature. The present author gave it to Bronzino in 1964, noting the artificial,

masklike character of the face, with its staring eyes and open mouth, and pointing out that Pontormo's luminous surfaces and vibrant line are not in evidence.³ The style of the drawing is far from the delicate and lucid manner of Pontormo's studies for the Capponi Chapel (fig. 6-1).⁴ This attribution to Bronzino has had a mixed reception: Craig Hugh Smyth and Philippe Costamagna accepted it, but Charles McCorquodale thought Pontormo was more likely its author, since the saint's pose was conceived in greater rapport with the round form of the tondo as painted.⁵

The early ascription of this drawing to Pontormo, and especially the recent lack of unanimity in accepting the Bronzino attribution, leads us back to Vasari. In his account of Bronzino's collaboration with his master in the decoration of the Capponi Chapel, the biographer marveled that Bronzino had acquitted himself so well in imitating Pontormo's style that their pictures were very often taken one for the other.⁶ Vasari's remark might well have been a comment on this very Pontormesque drawing, which nevertheless bears the distinctive stamp of Bronzino's hand.

JC-R

- 1 Pilliod 2001, pp. 61–62.
- 2 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, p. 271, and vol. 7, p. 594. For a summary of early opinions on Bronzino's authorship of the *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*, see Smyth 1949, pp. 188–92.
- 3 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 360–61, no. A9; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 369–70.
- 4 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 261, no. 274, vol. 2, fig. 259.
- 5 Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21; Costamagna 1994, p. 86, under no. 51; McCorquodale 1981, p. 20.
- 6 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 593: "Costui essendo stato molti anni col Puntormo, come s'è detto, prese tanto quella maniera, ed in guisa immitò l'opere di colui, che elle sono state molte volte tolte l'une per l'altre, così furono per un pezzo somiglianti."



Figure 6-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Studies for the Women in The Lamentation*, Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita, ca. 1528–28. Red chalk on pink prepared paper, 8 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (20.2 × 14 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6627 F recto)



7. *Half-length Nude Youth with Drapery over His Shoulders and Forearm, Looking to the Left, His Arm Resting on a Ledge (study for St. Matthew in the Capponi Chapel, later used for St. Sebastian in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid), ca. 1525–26*

Black chalk, partly glued onto secondary paper support, 8¼ × 6⅞ in. (20.9 × 16.9 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6674 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 119 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 140, no. 2000 (as by Pontormo); Uffizi 1910, p. 24 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, pp. 224–25, no. 6674 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 292, no. 2159D (former no. 2000) (as by Pontormo); Smyth 1949, p. 190 (as a study for *St. Mark* by Pontormo), fig. 7; Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pls. 4, 5) (following Smyth 1949, as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 490, no. 2159D (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 382–83, no. A125 (as a study for *St. Matthew*); Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 369–70, 379, n. 35, pl. 4; Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21; Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, under no. 6, ill. no. 6-I; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, pp. 382–83, no. A125 (as a study for *St. Matthew*); Cox-Rearick 1987b, pp. 157–58, fig. 2; Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, pp. 96–97, under no. 37 (this and the following references as a study for *St. Sebastian*), fig. 37A; Pilliod 2001, p. 94, fig. 86; Brock 2002, p. 168, ill. p. 169; David Franklin in National Gallery of Canada 2005, p. 241, under no. 83, fig. 83.1

The present author attributed this drawing to Bronzino in 1964, considering it to be a study for his *St. Matthew* tondo in the Capponi Chapel (plate 2).¹ The drawing had been traditionally ascribed to Pontormo and connected to the *St. Mark* by Craig Hugh Smyth in 1949, followed by Andrea Emiliani in 1960. Smyth came to agree with the attribution to Bronzino in 1971.² Like the drawing for *St. Mark* (cat. no. 6), the tondo format is not yet indicated in this drawing, but it must have been for *St. Matthew*, who is the only one of the Evangelists who would have been depicted as a youthful, curly-headed nude with round eyes, a short nose, a small, full mouth, and drapery around his shoulders. The style of the drawing is unlike that of Pontormo's studies for the Capponi Chapel (fig. 7-1); rather, it resembles Bronzino's early style, as in the heavy contours and short strokes of the modeling, the awkward articulation of the arms and shoulders, the unfinished hands, and the frozen facial expression. The handling of the black chalk also suggests Bronzino's drawing for the *St. Elizabeth* in the *Holy Family* in Washington, D.C. (cat. no. 8), and the articulation of the shoulders and arms—even to some extent, the face and expression—are remarkably like the saint in the fresco *St. Benedict*

in the *Wilderness* of about 1525–26 in Florence (see fig. 3 in Polliod essay, p. 5).³ Subsequently, this idea for the pose of *St. Matthew*, perhaps considered too similar to that of *St. Mark*, was discarded, and Pontormo painted the Evangelist in the tondo to the right of the altarpiece with his attributes of the book and angel in a more dynamic and unbalanced composition.⁴

Bronzino later adapted his unused patriarch drawing for *St. Sebastian* (plate 11). In 1987, the present author attributed this painting to Bronzino as dating 1532–35 and connected this drawing with it.⁵ Adjusting his composition to the different subject of the new commission, Bronzino finished the saint's right hand, shifted the angle of the head, elaborated the drapery folds, and added two arrows, an attribute of the martyred *St. Sebastian*. Maurice Brock and David Franklin dated both the drawing and the Madrid painting to the early 1530s, but Elizabeth Pilliod has placed them just after the Capponi Chapel, presumably about 1528.⁶

JC-R

- 1 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 382–83, no. A125; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 369–70, 379, n. 35.
- 2 Smyth 1949, p. 190; Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pls. 4, 5); Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21.
- 3 See Smyth 1949, pp. 192–94; and Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, no. 3, ill.
- 4 Pontormo's original tondo has long been in restoration in the Fortezza da Basso and is replaced in the chapel by a copy.
- 5 Cox-Rearick 1987b.
- 6 Brock 2002, p. 168; Franklin in National Gallery of Canada 2005, pp. 240–41, no. 83; Pilliod 2001, p. 94.



Figure 7-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, View of the Capponi Chapel, 1525–28. S. Felicità, Florence



8. *Recto: Old Woman Holding a Staff and Looking to the Right (study for St. Elizabeth in the Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John), ca. 1527*

8. *Verso: Study for the Virgin in Bust-Length Profile from the Dudley Madonna*

Recto: soft black chalk or charcoal, some outlines reworked with pen and brown ink, on very thin buff paper; verso: black chalk, highlighted with some white chalk (the lower half of the recto below a fold line is heavily stained, as is the entire drawing on the verso. Paper darkened on both sides), 13³/₄ × 10¹/₁₆ in. (35 × 25.6 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6552 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 143, no. 2054 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, pp. 148–49, no. 6552 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 283, no. 2054 (as by Pontormo); Smyth 1949, pp. 196–99, n. 87, figs. 10, 11; Rijksmuseum 1954, p. 84, no. 117; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, p. 57, no. 95; Smyth 1955, pp. 59–60, no. A16, figs. 99, 100; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 472, no. 2054 (as by Pontormo); Forlani Tempesti 1962, p. 176, no. 36, ill. (recto); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 373, no. A75; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 373, 374, 381, n. 52, pls. 6, 8; Smyth 1971, p. 51, n. 21; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 373, no. A75; McCorquodale 1981, p. 35 (recto); Costamagna 1994, p. 194, under no. 54, p. 330, under no. A136; Cecchi 1996, p. 6 (recto); Pilliod 2001, pp. 62, 244, nn. 11, 14 (recto; as by “Pontormo [or Bronzino]”), fig. 59; Brock 2002, pp. 28, 329, n. 17 (recto), ill.; Tazartes 2003, p. 80 (recto), ill. p. 16

The drawing on the recto of this sheet is a study for the St. Elizabeth in Bronzino’s *Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* in Washington, D.C. (plate 3). She is represented exactly as our artist would paint her, wearing a coif over her hair and a low-cut bodice revealing her right shoulder and holding the top half of a staff in her right hand. Some of the contours of the figure have been reinforced in brown ink (lips, eyebrows, back of the coif, forearm, and hand), making the quality of the black-chalk lines difficult to read. Elizabeth Pilliod has suggested these lines indicate that the drawing was used repeatedly in Bronzino’s workshop, but one may add here that they could just as well have been added by a later hand.¹

Attributed to Pontormo and dated in the late 1520s by Bernard Berenson and Frederick Mortimer Clapp, the drawing was identified as Bronzino’s study for St. Elizabeth by Craig Hugh Smyth.² The attribution to Bronzino was accepted by later scholars, with the exception of Berenson (1961) and Pilliod (2001), who stated that Bronzino could not have been “so proficient in drawing at such an early stage” and made an unconvincing comparison with

Pontormo’s study of heads in red chalk for the Capponi Chapel *Lamentation* (see cat. no. 6, fig. 6-1).³ She also posited that in 1524, Pontormo gave the drawing to Bronzino, who used it for the angel to the left in the *Man of Sorrows* lunette in the Certosa di Galluzzo (fig. 8-1), an unconvincing comparison difficult to verify given the ruined condition of that work. He then used it for the *Holy Family*.

An important source for the composition of the *Holy Family*—in particular, the St. Elizabeth—is a Leonardesque *Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* (possibly based on a lost original of Leonardo’s mature period, 1508–10), which was sold on the Paris art market in 1900.⁴ Smyth pointed out that there are many similarities between Bronzino’s *Holy Family* and this work, such as the (almost invisible) rocky setting and the poses of St. John and the Christ Child.⁵ Indeed, Bronzino’s entire painting depends on this picture in varying degrees, but the most striking derivation is the bust-length depiction of St. Elizabeth, who looks up at the Christ Child and holds a staff. She was unquestionably Bronzino’s model for the figure depicted in the Uffizi drawing and the Washington D.C. picture.

Bronzino’s dependence on this model is consistent with his extensive interest in Leonardo’s work, of which only a few salient examples are mentioned here. His master Pontormo was a *garzone* in Leonardo’s studio early in his career, perhaps at the time the Leonardesque pictures that influenced Pontormo and Bronzino were executed.⁶ Pontormo, who was painting Leonardesque works himself,⁷ may have passed on elements of Leonardo’s style to his pupil in the early 1520s, when Bronzino began his apprenticeship with him. Bronzino’s interest in Leonardo continued; for example, he was the author of a copy of a Leonardo *Madonna* in the possession of the Medici that was to be passed off as an original.⁸

The discovery that a *Holy Family* probably based on a lost Leonardo of about 1508–10 was the source for the St. Elizabeth in Bronzino’s Uffizi drawing and for the figure in the Washington D.C. painting for which it was used has important consequences regarding the study of Bronzino’s early drawings. Until now, it has been assumed that a study in red chalk of an old woman’s head by Pontormo, with a presumed Bronzino copy after it in black chalk on the verso (cat. no. 9) was part of his preparation for St. Elizabeth. That drawing may now be removed from consideration as a study for the Washington D.C. painting, since the head in red chalk does not resemble the St. Elizabeth in the painting and the feeble black chalk copy of it must be by a studio assistant. Hence, Bronzino may have known Pontormo’s drawing, but it is unconnected with the genesis of his St. Elizabeth.

On the verso of the present sheet is a study in black chalk highlighted with white of a woman in profile, which is placed sideways on the sheet, occupying exactly the area below the fold line that runs through the middle of St. Elizabeth’s face on the recto.⁹ Smyth recognized that this drawing was a partial copy of a marble relief known as the *Dudley Madonna*, which is attributed to Desiderio da Settignano (fig. 8-2).¹⁰ The *Dudley Madonna* was well





Figure 8-1. Agnolo Bronzino, *Man of Sorrows*, 1524. Fresco, 27½ × 94½ in. (70 × 240 cm). Certosa di Galluzzo, Florence

known among Florentine artists at this time, partly as a result of the interest of Bandinelli, Pontormo, and Bronzino in it.¹¹ There is, in fact, a painting from Bronzino's workshop in which the Virgin (seen to the knees) and the Child are copied precisely from the relief.¹² In this free copy, the Virgin has become a monumental, muscular nude, and the only bit of drapery copied from the draped figure in the relief is the veil over her head. Since the Child is also omitted, the figure reads more like a Michelangelesque prophetess or a relative of his Medici Chapel *Night* than a Madonna.

Both sides of the sheet are autograph drawings by Bronzino. The verso is more damaged and presents an issue of condition and not of authorship.

JC-R

- 1 Pilliod 2001, p. 62.
- 2 Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 143, no. 2054, and Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 283, no. 2054; Clapp 1914, pp. 148–49; Smyth 1949, pp. 196–98; Smyth 1955, pp. 59–60, no. A16; Smyth 1971, p. 51, n. 21.
- 3 Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 472, no. 2054; Pilliod 2001, pp. 62, 244, n. 14.
- 4 *Catalogue des tableaux anciens des écoles primitives, italienne, allemande et flamande, bois sculptés, tapisserie, sale cat.*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 25–26, 1900, no. 22, ill.
- 5 Smyth 1949, pp. 200–201. The connection with the Leonardesque painting is also mentioned by Shapley 1979, vol. 1, p. 375.
- 6 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, p. 246.
- 7 Costamagna 1994, p. 116.
- 8 Edelstein 2003a, pp. 4–9 and n. 37, with other examples of Bronzino's interest in Leonardo's work (with bibliography).
- 9 See, among others, Smyth 1949, pp. 196–98, Smyth 1955, pp. 59–60, and Smyth 1971, p. 51, n. 21; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 373, no. A75; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 373, no. A75; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 374, 381, n. 55, pl. 8; and Costamagna 1994, p. 80.
- 10 Smyth 1949, pp. 196–98.
- 11 Costamagna 1994, pp. 193–94, under no. 54.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 306–7, no. A79 (with bibliography), ill. The present author once attributed this painting to Bronzino himself (Cox-Rearick 1964b, p. 374, fig. 8) but has not been able to reexamine it since its location is unknown.



Figure 8-2. Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Madonna and Child (the Dudley Madonna)*, ca. 1461–64. Marble, 10¾ × 6½ in. (27.5 × 16.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London



8v

JACOPO DA PONTORMO AND
WORKSHOP OF AGNOLO BRONZINO

9. *Verso: Draped Head of an Old Woman Looking Up and Head Restudied without Drapery*, ca. 1520–22

JACOPO DA PONTORMO

9. *Recto: Compositional Study for a Madonna and Child*

Verso: Red and black chalk, recto: black chalk, squared in red chalk, 7½ × 10 in. (19 × 25.4 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6729 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 120 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 140, no. 2003 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, p. 263, no. 6729 (verso; as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 296, no. 2211A (former no. 2003) (as by Pontormo); Smyth 1949, p. 199, n. 109, pp. 201–2, n. 201 (as by Pontormo), fig. 15 (verso); Rijksmuseum 1954, pp. 54–55, no. 66 (verso by Bronzino); Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, p. 32, no. 47, p. 57 (verso by Bronzino); Emiliani 1960, p. 61 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 497, no. 2211A (as by Pontormo), vol. 3, fig. 956 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 245–46, no. 251 (verso; as by Pontormo and Bronzino), vol. 2, fig. 239, and vol. 1, pp. 206–7, no. 192 (recto), vol. 2, fig. 181; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 373–74, 381, nn. 53, 54 (verso as by Pontormo and Bronzino), pl. 7 (verso); Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 14 (verso; as entirely by Pontormo); Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21 (verso; as entirely by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, pp. 245–46, no. 251 (verso; as by Pontormo and Bronzino), Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357–5, no. 251, vol. 2, fig. 239, and vol. 1, pp. 206–7, no. 192 (recto), vol. 2, fig. 181; Forlani Tempesti 1988–89, p. 107, n. 2 (verso; as entirely by Pontormo); Costamagna 1994, p. 72, ill. p. 72 (recto), p. 330, under no. A136 (verso; as by Pontormo and Bronzino); Carlo Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, p. 122, no. VII.13 (verso as entirely by Pontormo), fig. 75 (recto); Pilliod 2001, p. 244, n. 12 (verso); Cox-Rearick and Costamagna 2004, pp. 15, 16, n. 21, fig. 10 (recto)

On the verso of this sheet are two studies of the head of an old woman looking up and to the right. Bernard Berenson listed them as by Pontormo without comment, while Frederick Mortimer Clapp believed they were for a *Pietà* of 1516–19, and Craig Hugh Smyth (1949) dated the drawing to the mid-1520s, comparing the heads with *St. Mark* and *St. Matthew* in the Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita (plates 1, 2).¹ He also believed that Bronzino used these studies for the *St. Elizabeth* in *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* in Washington, D.C. (plate 3). Formerly attributed to Pontormo, this painting is now generally accepted as entirely by Bronzino, with the exception of the head of *St. John*, which is painted in a more translucent technique resembling that of Pontormo.²



Fig. 9-1. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Holy Family with Infant St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1524, 1526. Oil on wood, 47¼ × 38¾ in. (120 × 98.5 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (5527)



Figure 9-2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Figural Study for the lunette fresco of Vertumnus and Pomona* at Poggio a Caiano in two fragments (the upper part of the figure 6531 F; the lower part of the figure 6530 F verso), ca. 1520–22. Black chalk, upper part of figure, 6¾ × 8¾ in. (17 × 22.3 cm); lower part of figure, 8¾ × 10¾ in. (21.4 × 27.7 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6530 F verso and 6531 F)



9v

The present author noted in 1964 that these two heads were very different in style and established that only the red chalk study was Pontormo's and that it was probably contemporaneous with the compositional study for a Madonna on the recto.³ Its luminous chiaroscuro, vibrating contours, and focused intensity are characteristic of his drawings of 1520–22, such as the studies for the Poggio a Caiano lunette (fig. 9-2).⁴ She also suggested that the copy in black chalk of Pontormo's head in red chalk was Bronzino's trial version for the St. Elizabeth in the Washington D.C. *Holy Family*. Subsequently, opinions about this drawing diverged; Anna Forlani Tempesti thought that both heads were by Pontormo, while Smyth was unsure about the Bronzino attribution of the head in black chalk.⁵ However, Elizabeth Pilliod rightly observed that neither head was identical with the St. Elizabeth in the painting and posited that the drawing might have had another purpose entirely.⁶ In any event, Bronzino would have had no need to use Pontormo's study of an elderly woman in his preparation for the St. Elizabeth, because he had adapted the figure directly from a Leonardesque *Holy Family* (see fig. 8-2). The draftsmanship of the head in black chalk on this sheet is not similar to Bronzino's, as is clear if it is compared with his own study for the St. Elizabeth (cat. no. 8 recto). The present sketch, then, was probably by an assistant in the workshop who tried awkwardly to copy Pontormo's head in red chalk.

The recto of this sheet is a compositional study in black chalk squared in red chalk by Pontormo for a *Madonna and Child* that was probably for a commission of about 1522.⁷ Pontormo seems to have given the drawing to Bronzino, who executed a painting based on it about 1524, adding St. Joseph and St. John at the sides (fig. 9-1). Philippe Costamagna observed that the facture of that painting in the Hermitage is more porcelain-like than Pontormo's, and John Shearman, who cited differences in technique and color in the painting, proposed that Bronzino executed the Madonna and Child and Pontormo himself added the saints about 1526.⁸

JC-R

- 1 Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 140, no. 2003, Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 296, no. 2211A (former no. 2003), and Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 497, no. 2211A; Clapp 1914, p. 263; Smyth 1949, p. 199, n. 109, p. 202.
- 2 Costamagna 1994, pp. 72, 329–30, no. A136, ill. For the painting as a work of collaboration, see Smyth 1949, pp. 198–201; and for the attribution of the St. John to Pontormo, following Smyth, see McCorquodale 1981, p. 33, and Pilliod 2001, p. 62.
- 3 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 245–46, no. 251; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 373–74.
- 4 See Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 176–77, no. 130, vol. 2, fig. 116; vol. 1, p. 182, no. 140; vol. 1, pp. 182–83, no. 141, vol. 2, fig. 135 (verso).
- 5 Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 14; Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21.
- 6 Pilliod 2001, p. 244, n. 12.
- 7 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 206–7, no. 192, vol. 2, fig. 181.
- 8 Costamagna 1994, p. 72, and pp. 321–22, no. A116; Shearman 1972, p. 211.



10. Recto: *Head of a Curly-Haired Child Looking Up to the Right (study for the Christ Child in the Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John)*, ca. 1527

10. Verso: see catalogue number 27

Recto and verso: Black chalk, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (32.1 × 24.6 cm)

Annotated at lower left corner, in pen and black ink: "A. Bronzino"

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (C85)

PROVENANCE: Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London; his posthumous sale, Christie's, London, June 4–8, 1860 (Lugt 1953, n.p. [sale no. 25634]); acquired by the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, 1860

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 376–77, 382, n. 65, pl. 9 (recto); Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 39, under no. 11 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 107, 371, n. 24 (verso ascribed to Alessandro Allori), fig. 62 (recto); Perović 2001, pp. 13–14 (recto), figs. 8, 9 (detail); Brock 2002, pp. 26, 329, n. 15 (recto), ill. p. 28; Tazartes 2003, p. 80, ill. p. 16 (recto)

Bronzino's study of a child's head was traditionally attributed to Alessandro Allori, but in 1964, the present author recognized it as a preparatory study for the head of the Christ Child in *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* of about 1525–28 in Washington, D.C. (plate 3).¹ Bronzino, who until this date had made his drawings in Pontormo's favored red chalk, shifted to black chalk in this study, which would henceforth be his preferred medium.

This drawing is the last example of Bronzino's early penchant for the motif of an upturned child's head, which could serve as an angel, a putto, St. John, or, as here, the Christ Child. The study for the angel on the steps to the left in *The Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome and St. Francis and Two Angels* of about 1525–28 (cat. no. 3; plate 4) is the prototype for this more elaborated drawing, in which for the first time Bronzino added the curly hair that the Child would have in the painting. The addition gives this drawing a more decorative aspect than his earlier putto drawings (cat. nos. 2, 3), implying that it belongs to a later moment; without the hair, however, the similarity to the earlier heads is striking.

The large drawing is the first surviving example by Bronzino of a *modello*, or finished study. It was used in reverse in the painting for the Christ Child's head (fig. 10-1), which is viewed from farther below and is turned farther in three-quarter view to look up at the Virgin. In spite of this difference, these heads are stylistically identical, with the same insistence in the modeling on the roundness of the head and neck and on the contrast between the hard flesh and the mass of woolly curls. Both display Bronzino's characteristic eye with its heavy lid and wide expanse of white, an emphatic separation of the nostrils, and a pronounced curve of the lips that is emphasized more in the drawing by a pentimento.

In 1540–41, Bronzino reused this sheet, adapting the child's head for the putto to the right of St. Michael on the vault of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (fig. 10-2). He changed the viewpoint so that the angel's head is seen from below and created a dynamic torsion between the head and neck, continuing that of the entire

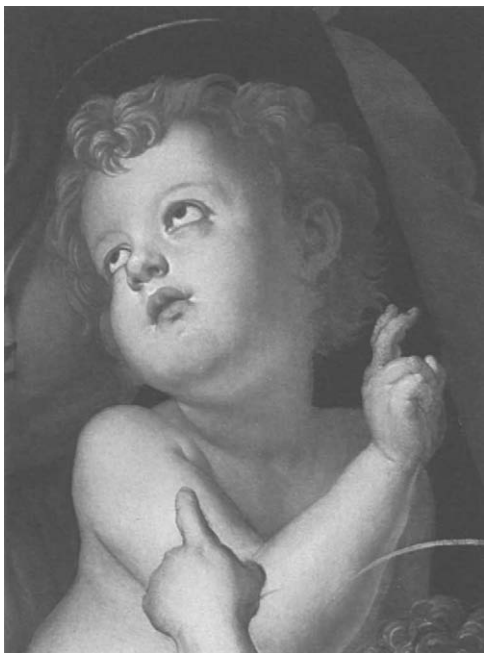


Figure 10-1. Detail of plate 3. Agnolo Bronzino, Head of the Christ Child, from *Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John*, ca. 1525–28. Oil on wood. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 10-2. Detail of plates 20, 21. Agnolo Bronzino, Putto to the right of St. Michael, ca. 1540–41. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



figure. He also lightly sketched in the wings of the angel in the Chapel of Eleonora.

Further evidence that the sheet was reused for the Chapel angel is found in the drawings on the verso of the sheet, which are Bronzino's preparatory studies for the fresco on the right wall of the Chapel (cat. no. 27), *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appoints Joshua* (plates 20, 22). The lightly sketched lower torso and crossed legs seem to have been an idea for the man in the center of the fresco, but the drawing has been reworked by another hand.

Several of the figure studies on a smaller scale and drawn very lightly on the verso of this sheet give evidence of Bronzino's interest in Michelangelo's sculptures in the Medici Chapel: to the left, two studies after *Twilight* and *Night* and above, a sketch after the *Day* from the shoulders down.

JC-R

1 Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 376–77. For the painting, see Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, no. 8, ill. p. 87. See also cat. no. 8.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

11. *Head of a Smiling Child*, ca. 1527–30

Black chalk, 4¹/₁₆ × 4³/₁₆ in. (12.2 × 10.6 cm) (oval)

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (C360)

PROVENANCE: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, ca. 1756 or 1763 (manuscript inventory)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bambach 2008, p. 61, fig. 11

This frontal view of a child's head was formerly kept with drawings of the sixteenth-century Italian school of the second tier with a traditional attribution to Pontormo. Carmen Bambach recognized the hand of Bronzino and dated the drawing between 1525 and 1535, probably about 1530–35, characterizing the medium as a fine-tip and silvery black chalk with modeling in delicate hatching following the curves of the forms.¹ She noted that the putto type is similar to the larger, more highly articulated study of a head, also in Dresden (cat. no. 10), here dated about 1527, as well as to the head of the Christ Child in *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John* (plate 3), for which cat. no. 10 is a study.

This child is a characteristic early Bronzino type, with the large rounded eyes and protruding ears that are seen in his studies for the Christ Child, St. John, and angels of the mid-1520s (cat. nos. 2, 3). Like the study for the head of the Christ Child in *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John*, and unlike his other early drawings of children, this one already has the curly hair that Bronzino added—like a wig—to the painted versions of the bald-headed children in his studies for *The Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels* (plate 4).

The figure in this drawing also has a little smile, which reveals the center two front teeth. None of the children in the paintings mentioned above smiles, but there are examples of smiling children who show their teeth in other Bronzino Madonnas of this period, such as a *Madonna and Child with St. John* of about 1527–30



Figure 11-1. Detail of Agnolo Bronzino, *Madonna and Child with St. John*, ca. 1527–30. Private Collection, Milan



attributed to Bronzino (fig. 11-1).² This little drawing may have been used for one of them.

Bronzino continued to depict little children who smile and show their teeth in paintings of the 1540s such as *Giovanni de' Medici* in the Uffizi (plate 29), *Folly* in the *Allegory of Venus and*

Cupid in London (plate 31), and *Cupid* in the allegory of the same subject in Budapest (plate 57).

JC-R

¹ Bambach 2008, p. 61.

² Cox-Rearick and Costamagna 2004.

12. Recto: *Studies for a Portrait of a Boy, ca. 1527–28*

12. Verso: *Half-length Nude Looking over His Shoulder and Draped Lower Half of a Reclining Figure, ca. 1527–28*

Recto: red chalk; verso: red and black chalk, 11¾ × 10⅞ in. (29.9 × 27.7 cm)
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6667 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 118 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 139, no. 1996 (as by Pontormo); Uffizi 1910, p. 23 (recto, as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, p. 218, no. 6667 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 291, no. 2156A (as by Pontormo), vol. 3, fig. 982 (recto); Steinbart 1939, p. 3 (recto as by Pontormo); Uffizi 1939, p. 26 (recto as by Pontormo); King 1940, p. 82 (recto); Palazzo Strozzi 1940, p. 49, room 5, no. 12-G (recto, as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 488, no. 2156A (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 241–42, no. 241 (recto, as by Pontormo? or Bronzino), vol. 2, fig. 230, and vol. 1, p. 382, no. A124 (verso, as after Pontormo); K. Andrews 1966, p. 582; Berti 1966, p. 57, n. 34 (recto, as by Pontormo); Forlani Tempesti 1967, pp. 79, 85, n. 7, fig. 64 (recto); Pillsbury 1977, p. 180 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1981, vol. 1, pp. 241–42, no. 241 (recto, as by Pontormo? or Bronzino), vol. 2, fig. 230, and vol. 1, p. 382, no. A124 (verso, as after Pontormo), Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415–2, no. A124 (recto and verso, as by Bronzino), vol. 2, fig. 393C (verso); Forlani Tempesti 1988–89, p. 107, n. 2; Forlani Tempesti 1996, p. 62; Carlo Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, p. 90, no. vi.8 (as by Pontormo), fig. 61 (recto); Bambach 1997b, p. 448, fig. 1 (recto); Cropper 2004, p. 24 (as attributed to Pontormo); Carl Brandon Strehlke in Philadelphia Museum of Art 2004, pp. 96–97, no. 19 (recto as by Pontormo; verso as a copy after Pontormo?), ill.

The studies of the bust of a boy looking over his left shoulder on the recto of this sheet carried a traditional attribution to Pontormo and were classified in the early literature as studies for an unknown portrait of the late 1520s. The present author, followed by Keith Andrews and Anna Forlani Tempesti, expressed doubt about this attribution and suggested that Bronzino might be the author of the drawing because of the hardening of the forms and an over-precision of the line.¹ In contrast, Edmund P. Pillsbury and Carlo Falciani have maintained the attribution to Pontormo, as has Elizabeth Cropper.²

Discussing the Bronzino attribution, the present author pointed out the marked similarity of the larger head study to

Bronzino's *Portrait of Lorenzo Lenzi* in Milan (plate 5).³ Carmen Bambach concurred with the similarity of the larger study to the Lenzi portrait, pointing out the similarity to the boy studied in cat. no. 3.⁴ In the context of a discussion of Lenzi, who she does not believe is represented in the drawing, Cropper found the larger study suggestive of an Andrea del Sarto angel and the smaller suggestive of a St. John the Baptist by Desiderio da Settignano.⁵

In the opinion of the present author, the features of the boy and his intense gaze are strikingly similar to Lenzi's, but like the sitter in cat. no. 3, the drawing does not have the characteristics of a portrait study. As was observed by Carl Brandon Strehlke, it is a study of a *garzone* at a fresco site (although Strehlke considered this drawing as by Pontormo).⁶ The boy wears a work shirt and a loose hat of the sort worn to protect the hair from falling plaster and paint.

The attribution of the two studies on the verso to Pontormo was not discussed until the present author and Forlani Tempesti, seconded recently by Bambach, attributed them to Bronzino.⁷ It has not been noted that the study for the drapery of a figure reclining on a wall with the right leg extended and the left hanging down is a copy of the drapery of Pomona, who reclines on the wall to the right in the lunette of Pontormo's *Vertumnus and Pomona* in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano (fig. 12-1). The nude study must reflect a lost Pontormo drawing of 1545–49 for one of the three tapestry cartoons for the Story of Joseph series. The elongated, muscular nude seen from behind is similar to his *Study for a Nude in Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh* (fig. 12-2).⁸

JC-R

- 1 Cox-Rearick 1964a, pp. 241–42, no. 241; K. Andrews 1966, p. 582; Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 79. Andrews introduced the possibility that the source of the pose was a *St. John the Baptist* by Andrea del Sarto (Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz; see Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 71, b, vol. 2, pp. 244–45, no. 55.) However, the comparison with Sarto is not convincing as the angle of the head in the two compositions is not the same; moreover, considering Bronzino's working method, a painting of St. John the Baptist as the origin of a portrait study seems unlikely.
- 2 Pillsbury 1977, p. 180; Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, p. 90, no. vi.8; Cropper 2004, p. 24.
- 3 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 241–42, no. 241; see also Cox-Rearick 1981a, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415–2, no. A124. Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 505, mentioned the *Portrait of Lorenzo Lenzi* in passing with a list of others; see Baccheschi 1973, p. 89, no. 21, ill., Cecchi 1990, Cecchi 1996, p. 6; and Alessandro Cecchi in Uffizi 1996a, p. 372, no. 138, who identified the portrait as Lenzi, aged about twelve.
- 4 Bambach 1997b, p. 448.
- 5 Cropper 2004, p. 24.
- 6 Carl Brandon Strehlke in Philadelphia Museum of Art 2004, p. 96.
- 7 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 382, no. A124; Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 79, 85, n. 7; Bambach 1997b, p. 448.
- 8 See Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 316–17, no. 347, vol. 2, fig. 333.





Figure 12-1. Detail of Figure 4-2.
Jacopo da Pontormo, Pomona in
Vertumnus and Pomona, 1520–21.
Fresco. Medici villa at Poggio a
Caiano

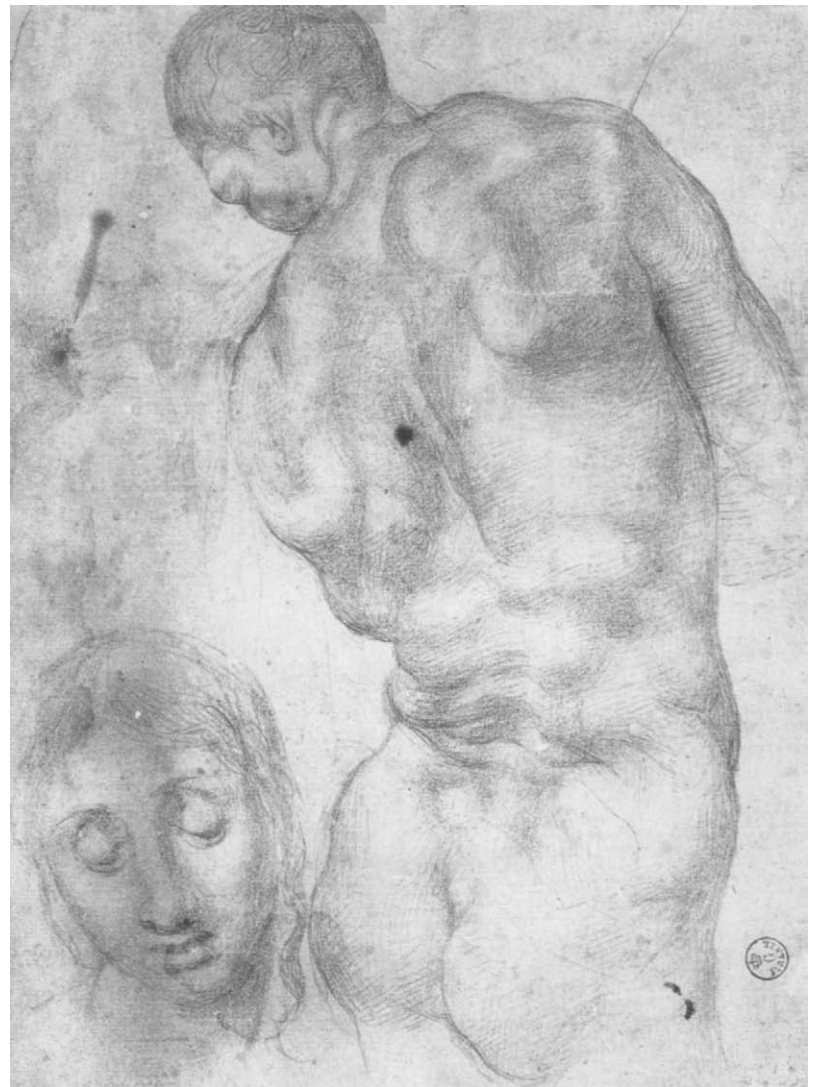


Figure 12-2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for
a Nude in Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh*,
ca. 1546–49. Black chalk on pink prepared
paper, 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (22.5 × 16.5 cm).
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,
Florence (6593 F recto)



13. *Christ in a Composition of the Noli me tangere Standing and Holding a Staff (the drapery folds at his waist are restudied twice to the left), ca. 1528*

Red and black chalk, main study glued onto secondary paper support, 15 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (38.6 × 28.2 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6633 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clapp 1914, p. 196, no. 6633; Forlani Tempesti 1962, pp. 241–42, no. 93 (as by Clemente Bandinelli), ill.; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 379, no. A109 (as by Clemente Bandinelli); Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 379, no. A109 (as by Clemente Bandinelli), Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415–2, no. A109 (as by Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1981c, pp. 291–92, 293, n. 11, pl. 37; Graham Smith in *Detroit Institute of Arts* 1988, pp. 64–65, no. 27; Cecchi 1996, p. 12; Pilliod 2001, p. 245, n. 15 (as by neither Bronzino nor Pontormo)

Frederick Mortimer Clapp rejected the traditional attribution to Pontormo of this study after the model.¹ An attribution to Baccio Bandinelli's son, Clemente, was written on the mount (Anna Forlani Tempesti pointed out that this attribution was by Luisa Marcucci).² Clemente's graphic oeuvre is undefined, and there is no way of confirming this attribution, but it was repeated without comment until the present writer called attention to Bronzino's *modello* for the *Noli me tangere* painted for the nuns of the Poverine.³ It was then clear that this drawing was preparatory to the figure of Christ in Bronzino's lost painting. Only Elizabeth Pilliod has rejected this attribution, nor does she believe that this drawing and the *modello* (which she attributes to Pontormo) are by the same hand.⁴ Regarding the style of these two drawings, it must be recalled that they are of an entirely different type and function—a squared *modello* in black chalk and a study in red chalk of drapery on a studio mannequin—and need not look exactly alike to be by the same artist.

This drawing is in the Florentine tradition of drapery studies on mannequins going back to Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto. Bronzino must have made such studies frequently, but this large red-chalk *modello* for a full-length standing figure is the only example by him for a painting. Its style is similar to that of studies in red chalk of drapery over the legs of seated figures dating from the 1520s (cat. nos. 5 verso and 12 verso). Except for the realistic life study of Christ's feet, which were transferred exactly to the *modello*, the mannequin served as a prop for an elaborate study of drapery that records the fall of light on the folds of the heavy fabric. Those around Christ's waist are restudied on the left side of the sheet, and then Bronzino used the lower variation in the compositional study.



Figure 13-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Modello* for the *Annunciation* in the Capponi Chapel, 1525–28. Red chalk, squared in red chalk, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39.3 × 21.7 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (448 F)

Although it is a study after a draped mannequin, this drawing is closely related to studies of a similar type by Pontormo, such as the *modello* for the Virgin in the *Annunciation* of about 1526–28 in the Capponi Chapel (fig. 13-1).⁵ However, the emphasis on sculptural form and the insistence on detail are characteristic of Bronzino's evolving personal graphic mode.

JC-R

1 Clapp 1914, p. 196, no. 6633.

2 Forlani Tempesti 1962, pp. 241–42, no. 93.

3 Cox-Rearick 1981a, Addenda and Corrigenda, vol. 1, p. 415–2, no. A109; Cox-Rearick 1981c, figs. 1, 2, 4, pl. 36.

4 Pilliod 2001, p. 245, n. 15

5 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 263, no. 278, vol. 2, fig. 268.



AGNOLO BRONZINO

14. *Bent Legs from the Knees Down and Restudied without the Feet* (study for the legs of Christ in the *Cambi Pietà*), 1529

Red chalk, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ in. (16.5 × 24.9 cm)
Annotated in pen and ink on verso: "di Jacop"

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6527 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 142, no. 2030 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1911, p. 22, no. xviii; Clapp 1914, p. 132, no. 6527 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 281, no. 2030 (as by Pontormo); Smyth 1955, pp. 54–54a, no. A11, fig. 109; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 469, no. 2030 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A66; Cox-Rearick 1964b, p. 380, n. 43; Cox-Rearick 1970, pp. 370–71, no. 211a (as by Pontormo), pl. 9a; Smyth 1971, pp. 51–52, n. 21; Shearman 1972, p. 210; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A66, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415–2, no. A66 (as no. 211a); Costamagna 1994, p. 176, under no. 43b, p. 286, under no. A35 (as by Pontormo); Pilliod 2001, pp. 64, 245, n. 17 (as by Pontormo and Bronzino), figs. 63, 65 (detail); Brock 2002, p. 40 (as by Pontormo)

This drawing exemplifies the difficulty in distinguishing between the graphic styles of Pontormo and Bronzino in the mid- to late 1520s. Opinion is divided between the attribution to the master and the pupil—or to both, if, as has been suggested, the two pairs of legs are by different hands. Frederick Mortimer Clapp identified the drawing as Pontormo's study for the legs of Christ in the Capponi Chapel *Lamentation*, while recent scholars have considered it to be Pontormo's study of 1523–25 for an unexecuted *Nailing to the Cross* in the Certosa di Galluzzo.¹ The position



Figure 14-2. Detail of plate 6. Agnolo Bronzino, *Legs of Christ in The Pietà with St. Mary Magdalen (Cambi Pietà)*, ca. 1529. Oil on wood. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

of the legs in this drawing is similar to that in Pontormo's study of Christ in the *Nailing to the Cross* in the Uffizi² (fig. 14-1) but is by no means identical; nonetheless, an attribution to Pontormo has been favored by most critics.

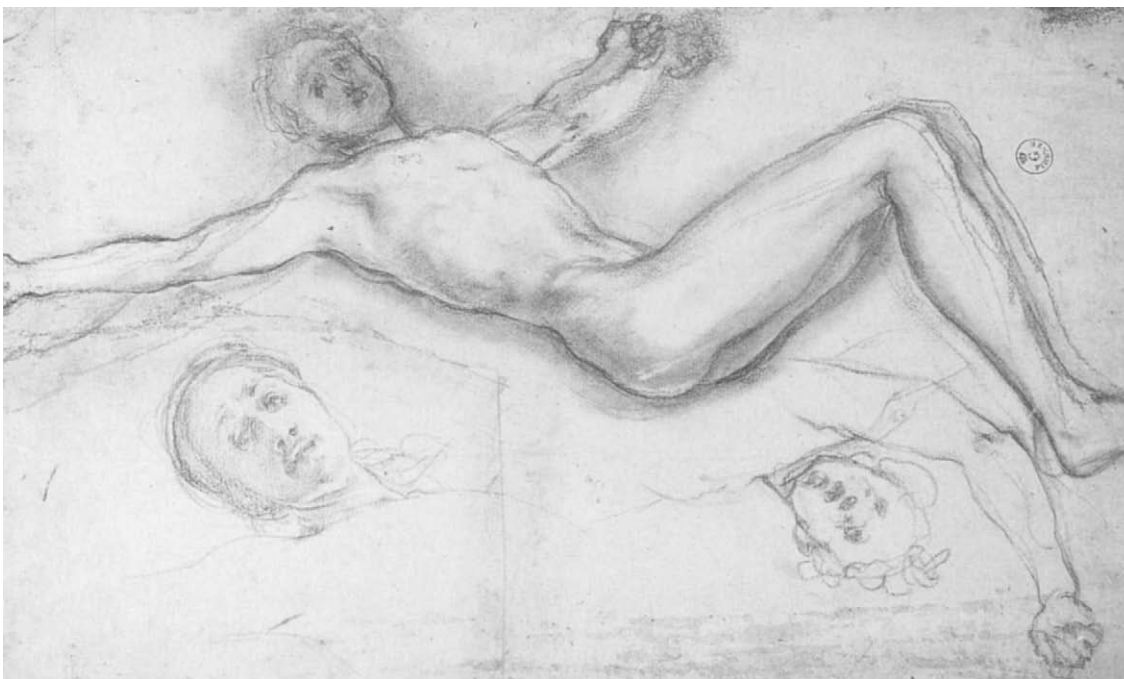


Figure 14-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for the Certosa Nailing to the Cross*, 1523–24. Black chalk highlighted with white, head studies in red chalk, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 15$ in. (23.6 × 38 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6665 F)



However, the argument for the attribution of this drawing to Bronzino as a study for the Cambi *Pietà* is far stronger. Craig Hugh Smyth, followed by the present author and John Shearman, attributed the drawing to Bronzino as a study for the Cambi *Pietà* (plate 6).³ Louis Alexander Waldman established that this painting was executed in 1529 for the Florentine banker Lorenzo Cambi for his chapel in S. Trinita.⁴ In his life of Bronzino, Vasari mentioned it (immediately after the *Noli me tangere*) as hanging in the church, on the first pier to the right in the nave, mistakenly including St. John in the composition: “And in S. Trinita, . . . one sees a picture in oil by the same hand on the first pilaster to the right, showing a Dead Christ, Our Lady, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalen, executed in a beautiful manner and with much diligence.”⁵

Elizabeth Pilliod characterized this drawing as Pontormesque and considered the possibility of Pontormo’s authorship of the upper pair of legs—with Bronzino responsible for the lightly sketched lower pair.⁶ She noted details that match the Cambi *Pietà* rather than the *Nailing to the Cross*, such as the wider angle of the more relaxed legs, the outward rotation of the rear ankle and foot, and the retracted toes of the closer foot. She also observed that the faint indication of the hand of the dead Christ beneath the knees of the lower pair of legs confirms the association of this drawing with the Cambi *Pietà*, in which the hand can be seen (fig. 14-2). The evidence, then, is strongly in favor of attributing the upper

pair of legs to Bronzino. As Shearman observed, in addition to their timid drawing style, which he associated with the young Bronzino, there are similarities such as the alignment of the knees, the curling toes, and the light beneath the feet that link it to Bronzino’s Christ.⁷ Moreover, the weak grasp of anatomy, the cursory parallel strokes of the modeling, and the inexpressive pentimenti are similar to the graphic mode of Bronzino’s study for the Capponi Chapel *St. Matthew*, executed only a few years earlier (cat. no. 7). The lower pair of legs is too weak even to be considered as by Bronzino and must have been sketched by an assistant in the *bottega* attempting to copy a drawing by the master.

JC-R

- 1 Clapp 1914, p. 132, no. 6257. For the Certosa fresco cycle and its drawings, see Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 213–26, nos. 196–214, vol. 2, figs. 188, 190–204, 206, 207; Costamagna 1994, pp. 168–78, nos. 41–45, ill.; Pilliod 1992b; Pilliod 1995, pp. 134–48; and Carlo Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, pp. 128–30, no. vii.20, fig. 82.
- 2 Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 222–23, no. 207, vol. 2, fig. 199.
- 3 Smyth 1955, pp. 54–54a, and Smyth 1971, pp. 51–52, n. 21; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A66, and Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 371, 380, n. 43; Shearman 1972, p. 210.
- 4 Waldman 1997.
- 5 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 594: “In Santa Trinita . . . si vede di mano del medesimo, in un quadro a olio al primo pilastro a man ritta, un Cristo morto, la Nostra Donna, San Giovanni, e Santa Maria Madalena, condotti con bella maniera e molta diligenza.”
- 6 Pilliod 2001, p. 64.
- 7 Shearman 1972, p. 210.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

15. Recto: *Seated Nude Youth Playing Panpipes*, ca. 1530–32

15. Verso: *Seated Nude Turned to the Left and Unrelated Doodle in Black Chalk of a Profile of a Head Turned Left (studies for *The Contest of Apollo and Marsyas*)*, ca. 1530–32

Recto: red chalk; verso: black chalk, 10 × 7¹/₁₆ in. (25.4 × 18 cm)

Annotated on recto at right upper corner, in pen and brown ink: “Coregio” (framing pen and ink outlines added on all sides)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (5923)

PROVENANCE: Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1793 (museum stamp; Lugt 2207)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Voss 1913, pp. 311, 314, n. 1, 316, fig. 17; Voss 1920, vol. 1, pp. 208–9; Russell 1924, p. 125, pl. II, e; McComb 1928, p. 106 (as School of Parma, sixteenth century); Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1936, p. 145, n. 38; Popham 1957, pp. 21–27, 151, no. 10, pl. x (recto and verso as by Correggio); Zamboni 1958, p. 195 (as by Correggio); Emiliani 1960, p. 62, pl. 10; Bevilacqua and Quintavalle 1970, no. 91 (as by Correggio); Smyth 1971, p. 53,

n. 21; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, pp. 36–38, no. 9, ill.; Baccheschi 1973, p. 88, under no. 16, ill. no. 16-1; Bury 1990, p. 13, fig. 8 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1991, ill. nos. 7, 8 (this and the following citations include references to the verso of the drawing); Kustodieva 1994, p. 117 (as by Bronzino?); Spike 1995, p. 19, ill. p. 15; Brock 2002, pp. 44–45, 329, n. 46, ill.; John T. Spike in Palazzo del Duca, Senigallia 2004, p. 375, no. x4, ill.; Kustodieva 2006, p. 135; Mendelsohn 2007, p. 93, fig. 12 (verso)

This double-sided sheet has red chalk studies for Marsyas and Midas, two of the four protagonists seated to the right in Bronzino’s *Contest of Apollo and Marsyas* in St. Petersburg (plate 8).¹ The painting was originally a harpsichord cover painted by Bronzino in Pesaro for Duke Guidobaldo da Urbino in 1531–32. Vasari mentioned it twice, first in the life of Pontormo: “Bronzino had to stay with that prince longer than he wanted, and he painted during that time a harpsichord case that pleased the prince very much.”² Then, in the life of Bronzino: “He went to Pesaro, where, under the protection of Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, besides the





Figure 15-1. Detail of plate 8. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Contest of Apollo and Marsyas*, ca. 1530–32. Oil on canvas (transferred from wood), 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 46 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (48 × 119 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

above-mentioned harpsichord case full of figures, which was a rare thing.³ Raffaele Borghini specified that it depicted the story of the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas.⁴ The painting conflates two myths about musical contests, one between Apollo and Marsyas, the other between Apollo and Pan, both drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.382–400, 11.146–93).

The harpsichord cover and the recto of the Louvre sheet (the verso was then unknown) were long attributed to Correggio because of an erroneous inscription on an engraving of the painting of 1562 by Giulio Sanuto (1540–1588), which was repeated in the annotation on the drawing.⁵ At present, however, there is general agreement on the attribution of both painting and drawing to Bronzino, which was reconfirmed after the discovery of the verso of the drawing in 1991, when the sheet was lifted from its mount.

On the recto of this drawing, Bronzino portrayed Apollo's rival musician in the contest as Pan, whose identity is indicated not only by the wind instrument—the panpipes—that he plays but also by the incomplete legs, which would have been represented below the knees as the limbs of a goat, the god Pan's legs. Indeed, a technical report on the transfer of the painting to canvas has noted that the underdrawing on the panel showed hoofs or goat's feet.⁶ In the painting, the musician has become Marsyas, whose human legs are depicted, and he is shown playing a shawm.

On the verso of the drawing, Bronzino depicted Midas, a judge of the competition between Marsyas and Apollo, who sits with Minerva to the right of the musicians in the painting (fig. 15-1). While the drawing on the recto once might have been mistaken

for a Correggio, the study for Midas on the verso is unequivocally an elegant example of Florentine *disegno*. It is a life study showing a *garzone* in the studio, seated on a stool, with the drapery over his thighs that Bronzino would elaborate in the painting lightly indicated. The model is posed with his head bent and looking down, whereas in the painting, the head of Midas is turned as he looks intently at Marsyas with a gaping expression signaling his stupidity as a contest judge.

In the painting, Bronzino made a clear distinction between the gods Apollo and Minerva, who are idealized physical types seated in elegant poses, and their rustic counterparts, both life studies from the model in the studio. Pan (who became Marsyas in the painting) is portrayed with an unusual degree of realism, his scrawny torso and neck emphasizing his ungainly pose, while Midas—with the large hands and feet of a youth—sits in a sprawling position, his legs apart like Pan's.

JC-R

- 1 For the painting, see Kustodieva 1994, pp. 116–17, no. 55, ill, who reviewed the history of the work (transferred from panel to canvas in 1865), listed nineteenth-century attributions, and included an extensive bibliography.
- 2 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 6, p. 276: "Il Bronzino fu forzato tratteneri più che non avrebbe voluto con quel prencipe [Guidobaldo da Urbino], e dipignerli in quel mentre una cassa d'arpicordo, che molto piacque a quel prencipe."
- 3 Ibid., vol. 7, pp. 594–95: "Andò [Bronzino] . . . a Pesaro, dove appresso Guidobaldo duca d'Urbino fece, oltre la detta cassa d'arpicordo piena di figure, che fu cosa rara."
- 4 Borghini 1584, p. 534: "Essendosi poscia trasferito a Pesaro [Bronzino] dipinse a Guidobaldo duca d'Urbino entro una cassa d'Arpicordo la favola d'Apollo, e di Marsia con molte figure, la qual opera è tenuta cosa rara."
- 5 Bury 1990, pp. 12–15, 44, no. 5, pl. 5.
- 6 Kustodieva 1994, p. 116.



16. *Head of Dante in Profile Facing Right and Wearing a Cap (study for Allegorical Portrait of Dante)*, 1532

Black chalk, accidental traces of red chalk (cut down on all sides; surface very abraded, especially front part of face; contours, including outline of profile, have been strengthened), 11 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 8 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (29.1 × 21.8 cm)

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (2147 z)

PROVENANCE: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (manuscript inventory, 1802–4, no. 5676, as “Unbekannt: Kopf eines alten Mannes mit einer Mütze”; and manuscript inventory, 1852, no. 2147, as “Masaccio da S. Giovanni, Tomaso: Bildniss des Dante”) (stamp on verso [Lugt 1094b], and no. 2147 [from inventory of 1852])

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 604E; Smyth 1955, pp. 63–64, no. A22, fig. 113; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 116, no. 604E, vol. 3, fig. 987; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 376, 381, n. 64; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, a; Smyth 1971, p. 53, n. 21; Baccheschi 1973, pp. 89–90, under no. 20; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 86, no. 125, ill. p. 87; McCorquodale 1981, p. 43, pl. 27; Richard Harprath in Neue Pinakothek 1983, p. 23, no. 9, pl. 8; Nelson 1992, pp. 65, 75, n. 44, fig. 12; Costamagna 1994, p. 221, n. 1, under no. 70; Smith 1996, p. 32; Plazzotta 1998, p. 257, n. 47, fig. 40; Perović 2001, pp. 12–13, fig. 6; Brock 2002, p. 100, ill.; Philippe Costamagna in Galleria dell’Accademia 2002, pp. 184, 185, under no. 22, p. 193, no. 25, ill.; Tazartes 2003, p. 98, ill. p. 22; Perlman 2004, pp. 109–10, 359, fig. 12; Rick Scorza in National Gallery of Canada 2005, p. 310, under no. 113, fig. 113.2

This drawing was first identified as Bronzino’s by Bernard Berenson in 1938.¹ Since then, it has been accepted as his by all scholars; the issues surrounding this work concern its purpose and source. Craig Hugh Smyth mentioned a possible association with the lost portrait of Dante that Bronzino painted in 1532 after his

return from Pesaro.² According to Vasari, it was part of a series of images of Tuscan poets who wrote of love—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—which were mounted in lunettes in a room in the house of Bartolommeo Bettini in Florence.³

Of the depictions of the three poets, Bronzino’s *Dante* was the most copied, in both paintings and drawings, which show the poet in three-quarter length, seated in profile right, holding an open copy of the *Paradiso*. The best-known version of the *Dante* is a heavily restored square panel from the workshop of Bronzino in Washington, D.C.⁴ Another version is a canvas in the original lunette format in a private collection in Florence (fig. 16-1). As Philippe Costamagna has argued, this work has the best claim to being Bronzino’s original, or at least reflecting its quality very closely.⁵ In a detailed comparison with the Washington D.C. replica, he points out that this version’s colors, including the flesh tones, the modeling of the face, the softer and less mechanical handling of the red drapery, and the more solid depiction of the landscape are closer to Bronzino’s technique. He also noted that the viewpoint in this painting is slightly from below, as it would have been in a lunette high on the wall of Bettini’s chamber.

Bronzino’s drawing is not the final study for the painting, in which the poet is shown in *profil perdu* and his head is inclined but is a preliminary study after a likeness of Dante showing him in strict profile with his head upright. Jonathan Nelson identified Bronzino’s visual source for the drawing as an often-copied early fifteenth-century manuscript illumination in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (fig. 16-2), which Bronzino followed in detail, including the headdress.⁶

JC-R



Figure 16-1. Attributed to Agnolo Bronzino, *Allegorical Portrait of Dante*, 1532. Oil on canvas, 51 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (130 × 136 cm). Private Collection, Florence



Figure 16-2. *Portrait of Dante*, manuscript illumination, early 15th century. Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence



- 1 Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 604E. For literature predating the attribution, see Richard Harprath in *Neue Pinakothek* 1983, p. 23, no. 9.
- 2 Smyth 1955, p. 63; Smyth 1971, p. 53, n. 21.
- 3 Vasari mentioned this work in the life of Pontormo (*Vasari 1568/1878–85*, vol. 6, p. 277): “Nelle lunette . . . aveva cominciato a fare dipignere dal Bronzino, Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio, con animo di farvi gli altri poeti che hanno con versi e prose toscane cantato d’Amore.” He cited it again in the life of Bronzino (*Vasari 1568/1878–85*,

- vol. 7, p. 505): “. . . ed a Bartolommeo Bettini, per empierre alcune lunette d’una sua camera, il ritratto di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio, figure dal mezzo in su, bellissime.” For this lost ensemble, see Nelson 1992, pp. 63–68; Brock 2002, pp. 164–66; and Philippe Costamagna in *Galleria dell’Accademia* 2002, pp. 184–86, no. 22, pl. 11/1.
- 4 See Shapley 1979, vol. 1, pp. 514–16; and Nelson 1992, pp. 64, 67–68.
- 5 Costamagna in *Galleria dell’Accademia* 2002, pp. 184–86, no. 22.
- 6 Biblioteca Riccardiana; Florence, MS 1040, c. 1r; see Nelson 1992, p. 64, fig. 6.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

17. *Study for the Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute*, ca. 1532–34

Black chalk, squared in black chalk, 10⁷/₁₆ × 7⁵/₁₆ in. (26.5 × 18.6 cm)

The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Bakewell, Chatsworth (714)

PROVENANCE: Nicholaes Antoni Flinck, Rotterdam (inscribed on recto; Lugt 959), sold 1723–24; William Cavendish (1672–1729), 2nd Duke of Devonshire (stamp on recto; Lugt 718)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strong 1902, pl. 16 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 137, no. 1957 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, p. 81 (as by Pontormo); Archibald G. B. Russell in *Vasari Society* 1925, p. 7, no. 9, ill.; Popham 1931, p. 65, no. 234, pl. CXCVIII; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 318, n. 1, vol. 2, pp. 273–74, no. 1957 (as by Pontormo), vol. 3, fig. 984; Becherucci 1944, p. 44; Gere 1949, pp. 169–70, fig. 29; Smyth 1949, p. 195, nn. 82, 83; Smyth 1955, pp. 60–61, no. A17, fig. 111; Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 18); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 457, no. 1957 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 298, under no. 331, p. 362, no. A16; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 376, 381, n. 63; Pouncey 1964, p. 284; Smyth 1971, pp. 3–4, 49, n. 13, fig. 4; Christine I. Swartz in *Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* 1973, pp. 23–24, no. 19, ill.; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in *Palazzo Strozzi* 1980, p. 86, no. 126, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 298, under no. 331, p. 362, no. A16; McCorquodale 1981, pp. 43, 45, pl. 28; Nicholas Turner in *British Museum* 1986, p. 165, under no. 119; Costamagna 1994, p. 212, under no. 66, n. 1; Jaffé 1994, p. 84, no. 51 (as by Pontormo), ill.; Cecchi 1996, p. 20; Brock 2002, pp. 112, 331, n. 16, ill. p. 114; Janet Cox-Rearick in *Art Institute of Chicago* 2002, p. 150, under no. 14; Tazartes 2003, p. 96, ill. p. 25; Hiller von Gaertringen 2004, p. 492 (as by Pontormo), fig. 351; Carl Brandon Strehlke in *Philadelphia Museum of Art* 2004, pp. 104–5, no. 22, ill.; McCorquodale 2005, p. 47, pl. 32; Philippe Costamagna in *National Gallery of Canada* 2005, pp. 226–27, 347, no. 77, ill.

The Chatsworth drawing is the sole surviving final study for a known portrait by Bronzino. It is preparatory for the *Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute* in the Uffizi (plate 10), painted by Bronzino about 1532–34. The squaring confirms the assertion that it is indeed a definitive study, even though it contains certain differences from the painted portrait. This sheet thus constitutes a rare example of workshop techniques in the domain of portraiture. In the finished drawing, Bronzino applied himself to defining the figure as he wished to see it in the painted version, and this is explicit in the astonishingly painstaking approach that relates to the technique of copying, although this is an original drawing. Bronzino transferred the figure onto panel, preserving the slightest of details he had planned in the drawing. He then made a few small modifications; in the present case, they consist of the insertion of a white

shirt that enhances the flesh tones, the broadening of the beret, the elimination of the ring—visible on the sitter’s left hand in the drawing—and above all, the substitution of the initially planned handkerchief with the neck of a lute. The general compositional decoration that forms the setting for the figure evidently was worked out directly on the painted panel. It was at this point that Bronzino inserted not only the lute but also the inkwell and the architectural background, all emblematic of the sitter’s status.

By means of the young man’s pose and the door in *pietra serena*, Bronzino sought to represent the sitter’s *fiorentinità* (Florentine quality). Indeed, the inclusion of the undeniably Florentine architectural motif in *pietra serena* allowed him to place emphasis on the sitter’s origins. As for the pose, thoroughly studied by Bronzino in the drawing, what is seen here is a literal replication of the sculpture identified as *Giuliano de’ Medici* (fig. 18-1), carved by Michelangelo for the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, Florence. The painter copied Michelangelo’s sculpture by shifting his viewpoint so that his sitter’s face would be seen frontally. By using as his model the greatest of the Tuscan sculptors, Bronzino created a portrait formula of pure Florentine quality. The role played by Michelangelo’s statue in Florentine portraiture is considerable. In 1534, Vasari also made use of the pose created by Michelangelo for his *Portrait of Alessandro de’ Medici* in the Uffizi. If Vasari sought to emphasize the legitimacy of the new sovereign by adopting Michelangelo’s pose for the first official image of the duke, Bronzino instead suggested the sitter’s Republican sympathies.

Although the identity of the sitter in the Uffizi portrait remains unknown, as Janet Cox-Rearick has noted,¹ the inkwell and lute in the painting enable us to imagine that he was of high social class; these two accessories are clear allusions to music and writing. Within Bronzino’s cultivated circle, Giovanni Battista Strozzi (1503–1571) immediately comes to mind. A poet and musician, and the author of celebrated madrigals, Strozzi, the son of Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi, took part in the festivities for the marriage of Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici and Eleonora di Toledo in 1539, and he participated in the foundation of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1541.² Given the lack of knowledge of the young poet’s physical appearance, it is difficult to claim that the youth portrayed by Bronzino represents Strozzi, although such a hypothesis is appealing.

PC

1 In *Art Institute of Chicago* 2002, p. 150, no. 14.

2 Pilliod 2001, p. 88; Plaisance 1973/2004, pp. 84–85.



18. *Study for a Portrait of a Seated Man, ca. 1535*

Black chalk, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (39 × 26.1 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6698 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 119 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 140, no. 2002 (as by Pontormo), pl. CLXXIV; Uffizi 1910, p. 22 (as by Pontormo); Gamba 1912, p. 3, no. 18 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, pp. 243–44, no. 6698 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1916, p. 85 (as by Pontormo); McComb 1928, p. 8 (as by Pontormo); Popham 1931, p. 65, no. 233 (as by Pontormo), pl. CXCVII; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, pp. 317–18, vol. 2, p. 294, no. 2181a (former no. 2002) (as by Pontormo); Uffizi 1939, p. 26 (as by Pontormo); Palazzo Strozzi 1940, p. 51, room 5, no. 14 (as by Pontormo); Becherucci 1943, p. 10 (as by Pontormo), pl. 25; Becherucci 1944, pp. 20–21, 60 (as by Pontormo), pl. 50; Bibliothèque Nationale 1950, no. 425 (as by Pontormo); Berti Toesca 1953, p. 23, pl. 46 (as by Pontormo); Tietze 1953 (as by Pontormo, possibly a self-portrait); Rijksmuseum 1954, p. 61, no. 77 (as by Pontormo), fig. 14; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, p. 37, no. 56 (as by Pontormo), fig. 12; Berti 1956, pp. 8–9 (as by Bronzino or Pontormo, of Pontormo?), pl. v; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 494, no. 2181A (as by Pontormo), vol. 3, fig. 971; Forlani Tempesti 1962, p. 177, no. 37, ill.; Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 23–24, no. 12; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, pp. 81, 297–98, 310, no. 331 (as by Pontormo), vol. 2, fig. 325; Forster 1964, p. 381; Berti 1965, pl. LVII (as self-portrait by Pontormo); Shearman 1965, vol. 1, p. 130, n. 1; K. Andrews 1966, p. 581; Berti 1966, p. 53 (as by Pontormo); Forster 1966, p. 108; Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 79; Smyth 1971, pp. 49–50, n. 18; Berti 1973, p. 84 (as self-portrait by Pontormo), ill. no. 16; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, pp. 81, 297–98, 310 (as by Pontormo), no. 331, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357–7, no. 331, p. 415–3, no. A130a, vol. 2, fig. 325; McCorquodale 1981, pp. 43, 45–46 (as portrait of Pontormo), pl. 29; Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, pp. 66–69, no. 28 (as portrait of Pontormo), ill.; Cox-Rearick 1989, pp. 59–60, 81, n. 69, fig. 24; Monbeig-Goguel 1989, p. 714; Wildmoser 1989, p. 186 (as self-portrait by Pontormo), fig. 3; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 195–96, 383, n. 27, p. 203 (as portrait of Pontormo), fig. 134; Costamagna 1994, p. 212, n. 1, under no. 66; Cecchi 1996, p. 20; Forlani Tempesti 1996, p. 62 (as portrait of Pontormo); Carlo Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, pp. 12–14, no. 1.4 (as portrait of Pontormo), fig. 4; Pilliod 2001, fig. 1 (as portrait of Pontormo); Tazartes 2003, p. 96, ill. p. 12 (as portrait of Pontormo); Carl Brandon Strehlke in Philadelphia Museum of Art 2004, pp. 106–7, no. 23 (as portrait of Pontormo), ill.; Costamagna 2005a, p. 57, pl. 63; McCorquodale 2005, p. 47, pl. 33 (as portrait of Pontormo)

This sheet, one of the most fascinating portrait drawings of sixteenth-century Florence, has been attributed in equal measure to Pontormo or Bronzino, but the most recent scholarly consensus now appears to agree on the latter's authorship. Indeed, even though the portrait drawings made by both master and pupil during the 1530s closely resemble one another in style, this drawing displays more of Bronzino's highly finished approach. Pontormo's style, unquestionably influenced by that of his own pupil, is more sensitive to chiaroscuro, as one can see for example in a drawing in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6503 F recto) made as a preparatory study for a portrait of Maria Salviati.



Figure 18-1. Michelangelo, *Statue of Giuliano de' Medici*, 1524–34. Marble, 173 cm. New Sacristy, S. Lorenzo, Florence

Beyond a certain physical resemblance between the model in the drawing and Pontormo, it seems very likely that the forceful presence of the sitter was what prompted many historians to perceive a special human link connecting sitter and artist, and thus to defend with conviction the idea that this was a portrait of the master by his pupil. Yet it seems curious that Bronzino would have chosen to represent his master in the pose he had adopted for his portraits of Florentine patricians, derived from Michelangelo's sculpture of Giuliano de' Medici (fig. 18-1). If he had to create a portrait of Pontormo, Bronzino probably would have done more to convey their artistic relationship and personal affinities. The theory advanced by Graham Smith—that Pontormo could have posed for his pupil to provide a study for a portrait of another individual commissioned from Bronzino—seems equally unlikely, given the particularly finished quality of this drawing.¹

One must voice caution about the identification of the sitter as Pontormo in these different readings of the Uffizi drawing, as some scholars have already discovered about the subject. In fact, the man portrayed by Bronzino displays a pronounced baldness that never happened to Pontormo. The painter had a full head of hair, as is seen in his self-portrait in the Uffizi (6587 F), drawn in 1527–28, and throughout his life, he retained a tuft of hair at the



top of his forehead, as is shown when he was portrayed as an older man, in the portrait painted by Bronzino in the fresco of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* in S. Lorenzo (plate 61) and also in the woodcut made for Vasari's *Lives* and in the portraits included by Alessandro Allori in his frescoes of the Trinity and Christ among the Doctors in SS. Annunziata, Florence.

While highly finished, the drawing does not appear to be an independent work but rather a preparatory study for a portrait, as suggested by the repeated detail of the hand presenting a letter.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

19. *Sleeping Child and the Child's Right Hand* (study for the Panciatichi Holy Family), ca. 1535–39

Black chalk on very thin off-white paper, 7 5/8 × 10 1/2 in. (19.3 × 26.7 cm)

Annotated on verso, in pen and brown ink, in a seventeenth-century(?) hand: "Jacopo da Pontormo"

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6639 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 148, no. 2131 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1911, p. 23, no. xxvii; Clapp 1914, p. 199, no. 6639; McComb 1928, p. 150, no. 6639; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 601C (former no. 2131), vol. 3, fig. 999; Smyth 1949, p. 195; Smyth 1955, pp. 38–39, no. AI, fig. 112; Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 61); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 601C, vol. 3, fig. 984; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 380, no. A113; Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 366, 379, n. 25; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, b; Smyth 1971, pp. 2–3, 48, n. 8, fig. 1; Baccheschi 1973, p. 90, under no. 31; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 83, under no. 116; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 380, no. A113

This drawing was given to Pontormo by Bernard Berenson, but Frederick Mortimer Clapp recognized that it was Bronzino's study for the upper body of the sleeping Christ Child in the Panciatichi *Holy Family with St. John* of the 1530s (plate 17).¹ That painting is signed "BRONZ[IN]O FIORE[N]T[INO]" and was mentioned by Vasari: "For Bartolommeo Panciatichi, he painted two large pictures of the Madonna with other figures, marvelously beautiful and executed with great diligence."²

Because of its connection with a signed painting, the sheet has been a kind of benchmark for Bronzino's drawing style of the late 1530s. Here, the evidence of a more refined draftsmanship in black chalk is typical of Bronzino's mature style. Craig Hugh Smyth noted the delicate luminosity of the flesh in this study, and in fact, it is the first of Bronzino's surviving drawings to display such subtlety of modeling, as compared, for example, with the coarser

Such a repetition corresponds to one of Pontormo's workshop practices and appears in his preparatory drawing in the Uffizi (449 F verso) for the hand holding a letter in the double portrait now in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice. In the finished portrait, the letter held by the sitter was intended to bear an inscription that could have marked an important event in his life or simply his name, in all likelihood accompanied by that of the artist.

PC

1 Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 69.



Figure 19-1. Detail of plate 17. Agnolo Bronzino, Christ Child and St. John in *The Holy Family with St. John* (the Panciatichi Holy Family), ca. 1535–39. Oil on wood. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

shading of the heads of the children drawn about a decade earlier (cat. nos. 2, 3).

Bronzino's study from the model differs in several ways from the Child in the painting, who lies more upright (fig. 19-1). As had been his custom when portraying children from life in preparation for figures of the Christ Child, St. John, or angels in his drawings of the 1520s, Bronzino depicted Christ without hair, adding the child's curls only in the painting.

JC-R

1 Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 148, no. 2131; Clapp 1914, p. 199, no. 6639. For the *Holy Family*, see Baccheschi 1973, p. 90, no. 31, ill., and pls. xv, xvi.

2 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 595: "A Bartolommeo Panciatichi fece due quadri grandi di Nostra Donne con alter figure, belli a maraviglia, e condotti con infinita diligenza."



Handwritten text, possibly a signature or date, written vertically on the left side of the paper.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

20. *Dead Christ (study for the Mercatale Pietà)*, ca. 1538–39

Black chalk, with later framing lines in pen and brown ink, verso squared in black chalk, glued onto secondary paper support, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (31.4 × 21.9 cm)

Annotated on verso of old mount, now removed, numbered in brown ink: “1”; in black chalk: “Michelangelo”

Private Collection, New York

PROVENANCE: Private Collection, Paris; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris (Étude PIASA), November 20, 2000, no. 21; Colnaghi, London, 2001; Private Collection, U.S.A., 2001

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Master Drawings* 2001, no. 3, ill.; Monbeig-Goguel 2001, pl. x; Pilliod 2001, p. 245, n. 17; Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, pp. 300–301, no. 156, ill.; Brock 2002, pp. 39–40, ill.; Ekserdjian 2005, fig. 1; Louis Alexander Waldman in National Gallery of Canada 2005, pp. 228–29, no. 78, ill.; Pilliod 2005b, p. 710, fig. 79; Rhoda Eitel-Porter in Morgan Library & Museum 2007, pp. 28–29, no. 10, ill.

This magnificent finished study for a dead Christ in a *Pietà* is among the most important new drawings by Bronzino to surface in recent years. It was sold in Paris in 2000 as “attributed to Bronzino” and resold shortly thereafter in London as a study for the Christ in his signed altarpiece of 1529, the *Pietà with St. Mary Magdalen* (the *Cambi Pietà*) in the Uffizi (plate 6).¹

As has been noted by critics, however, there are important differences between the composition of the drawing and the painting. The Paris sale catalogue mentions that the present author identified the drawing as a study for the *Cambi Pietà*, but this does not seem to be the case.² In the painting Christ’s legs and right arm are bent, the left arm is not raised, and the Virgin does not hold his hand. Catherine Monbeig-Goguel noted further differences, such as the angle of vision, the direction of the light, and the thrown-back position of Christ’s head.³

In 2002 the present author pointed out that Bronzino used this drawing in almost all its essentials in a fresco located in a country tabernacle at Mercatale San Casciano Val di Pesa, near Florence.⁴ According to Vasari, this work was commissioned by Matteo Strozzi from Bronzino in the years after his return from Pesaro: “For Matteo Strozzi, he painted in fresco, in a tabernacle of his villa at S. Casciano a Pietà with some angels, which was a beautiful work” (fig. 20-1).⁵ Since Bronzino returned from Pesaro in 1532 and Strozzi, his patron, died in 1541, the tabernacle would have been painted sometime between these dates.

The side panels each depict angels holding the Instruments of the Passion, and the central panel is a reprise of the composition of



Figure 20-1. Agnolo Bronzino, Tabernacle with panels of the *Pietà with the Magdalen and St. John and Angels with the Instruments of the Passion*, ca. 1538–39. Mercatale San Casciano Val di Pesa (near Florence)





Figure 20-2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Lamentation*, ca. 1525. Fresco. Certosa di Galluzzo, Florence

the Cambi *Pietà* changed to fit the vertical, arched format of the tabernacle: the Virgin is standing rather than seated; Christ's body is seated rather than reclining; and St. John leans over him to the left. As noted, Vasari mentioned a St. John in the Cambi *Pietà*, and it is possible that this mistake was a result of confusion between Bronzino's two paintings of the same subject. The Mercatale tabernacle frescoes are ruined and overpainted, with extensive revision of details, which must be taken into account in dating the work.⁶

Monbeig-Goguel noted that the drawing was not from a live model because the hands—one supporting Christ's neck, another holding his left hand, and one (barely visible) resting on his thigh in the same position as the right hand of the Magdalen in the painting—indicate that it is a synthesis based on other studies that have not survived.⁷ The presence of the hands touching Christ's body also indicates that the drawing was preparatory to a composition in which he would be supported by mourners, as in the Mercatale tabernacle *Pietà*. This treatment of the subject of the dead Christ held by the Virgin and accompanied by saints is in the

Florentine tradition of Perugino, Fra Bartolomeo, Andrea del Sarto, and—most notably—Pontormo, whose Christ in the *Lamentation* of about 1526–28 in the Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita, Florence, is the immediate prototype for Bronzino's dead Christ. However, he also must have been inspired by Pontormo's Christ in the *Lamentation* of about 1525, a fresco in the Florentine countryside at the nearby Certosa di Galluzzo (fig. 20-2). The high finish of the drawing suggests that it was a final study for Christ, and this is borne out by the squaring on the verso, which indicates that it was ready to be enlarged in a transfer process leading to the cartoon used in painting the fresco.

In 2005, Louis Waldman and David Ekserdjian independently established that the dead Christ drawing was not connected at all with the Cambi *Pietà* but was a preparatory study for the Mercatale *Pietà*.⁸ Waldman detailed several arguments on which his conclusion was based. The direction of the light comes from the right in the Cambi *Pietà* but from the left in the drawing and the Mercatale fresco. Lighting from the right was Bronzino's "default mode," and on this basis alone, it is unlikely that the drawing was

for the right-lit Cambi painting. Crucial differences occur in details of the composition: Christ's head is thrown back in the Cambi *Pietà* but inclined forward in both the drawing and the Mercatale fresco; his body is reclining in the *Pietà* but sits upright in the drawing and the fresco; the play of Christ's and the Magdalen's hands, with his left forearm and hand raised and the Magdalen's left hand touching his thigh, is similar in the drawing and the Mercatale fresco, but this motif is not present in the Cambi altarpiece. Waldman also observed that Christ's body is heroic, idealized, and muscular in the drawing and the tabernacle fresco in comparison with the less organic Christ of the Cambi painting of 1529, and he points out that this figure foreshadows the dead Christ of *The Lamentation* of 1545 in the Chapel of Eleonora (plate 52).

The similarity of the dead Christ in the drawing and in *The Lamentation* suggests that the dating of the drawing and of the Mercatale fresco should be reconsidered. Elizabeth Pilliod (who may not have been familiar with the fresco) questioned the association of the drawing with the Cambi *Pietà*, speculating that its style was closer to Bronzino's study for St. Michael on the ceiling of the Chapel of Eleonora of about 1540–41 (cat. no. 24), adding that it might even have been a study for the *Lamentation* altarpiece.⁹ While the drawing cannot have been preparatory to the altarpiece, the Michelangelesque monumentality of the nude, its plasticity, and the refined delicacy of handling of the black chalk are indeed similar to the St. Michael study and to others in Bronzino's graphic oeuvre dating after 1535.

Further, several arguments support a later date for Bronzino's drawing and the Mercatale frescoes. Like the dead Christ in the Chapel of Eleonora *Lamentation*, the drawing has an elegiac quality,

showing the dead Christ as an idealized nude untouched by the Crucifixion. The wound of the lance usually depicted on his chest is not indicated, and his face is composed as in reverie. *The Angels with the Instruments of the Passion* flanking the *Pietà* in the Mercatale tabernacle also suggests a later date. Even given the extreme difference in scale and medium, the angels are similar to those on either side of the Virgin in Bronzino's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a small panel of ca. 1538–40. 1539 in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (plate 19).¹⁰ But perhaps most important, the placement of the tabernacle in Vasari's account of Bronzino's paintings after his return from Pesaro is at the end of a list of eleven paintings, and it is followed immediately by the *Nativity*.¹¹ Vasari then changed the subject of his narrative to Bronzino as Medici court painter, mentioning his frescoes at Villas Careggi and Castello from the 1530s and the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, begun in 1540.

JC-R

- 1 For the *Pietà*, see Waldman 1997, and under cat. no. 14. For the sale, see Hôtel Drouot, Paris (Étude PIASA), sale cat., November 20, 2000, no. 21.
- 2 Hôtel Drouot, Paris (Étude PIASA), sale cat., November 20, 2000, no. 21.
- 3 Monbeig-Goguel 2001.
- 4 Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, pp. 300–301, no. 156.
- 5 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 595–96: "Per Matteo Strozzi fece, alla sua villa di San Casciano, in un tabernacolo, a fresco una Pietà con alcuni Angeli, che fu opera bellissima." For this fresco, see Baccheschi 1973, p. 89, no. 23 (as a lost work). Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 96, fig. 49, described it as "ruined and overpainted [but] must once have been an impressive work (of interest also as an early essay on the subject of the Cappella di Eleonora altarpiece)."
- 6 For the most recent restoration in 1941, see Torriti 1993, under Mercatale Val di Pesa.
- 7 Monbeig-Goguel 2001.
- 8 Waldman in National Gallery of Canada 2005, p. 228; Ekserdjian 2005.
- 9 Pilliod 2005b, p. 710.
- 10 Signed BRONZINO. See Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, p. 506; and Baccheschi 1973, p. 89, no. 26, ill.
- 11 Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 595–96.

21. *Compositional Study for a Madonna and Child with St. John, ca. 1540*

Black chalk, squared in black chalk, $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11.1 × 9.9 cm)

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Department of Drawings and Prints, Budapest (1796)

PROVENANCE: Esterházy Collection (without stamp); Országos Képtár (Hungarian National Gallery; later the Szépművészeti Múzeum), 1870 (museum stamp; Lugt 2000)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hoffmann 1929–30, pp. 149–51, ill. no. 24; Vayer 1956, p. 25, no. 46; Cox-Rearick 1981b, p. 24, n. 16, fig. 12; Loránd Zentai in Saarland Museum 1997, pp. 118–19, no. 27, ill.; Zentai in Szépművészeti Múzeum 1998, p. 60–61, no. 21, ill.

This small drawing was catalogued in the Esterházy Collection as by Raphael and later attributed to Parmigianino by the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. Edith Hoffmann identified it as a study for Bronzino's *Madonna and Child with St. John* (fig. 21-1), then in the collection of Sigfrid Aram, New York, and dated it about 1535.¹ In 1929, the painting passed to Alvin Macauley Jr., who bequeathed it to the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1981.² Examination by infrared photography and X-rays at the museum in 1981 proved the authenticity of the *Madonna and Child with St. John*, revealing the presence of pentimenti in the right corner of the hill in the left background, in the Madonna's veil to her left, her left elbow and right cuff, Christ's chin and right foot, and St. John's garment.

The painting may be dated about 1540, as is indicated by close analogies with the female figures and children in Bronzino's works of about 1539–40.³ Its facture, the delicate type of the Madonna, and the landscape with the little figure are especially close to Bronzino's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (fig. 21-2; plate 19).⁴ The head of the Madonna is also strikingly similar to that of the woman to the far left in *Moses Strikes Water from the Rock and The Gathering of Manna* of 1543–46 in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (plate 23) as well as the study for that head (cat. no. 29). The composition and figure types, especially the profile pose of the Christ Child, are closely related to Bronzino's *Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth and St. John* in London (plate 18; see infrared reflectogram, fig. 22-1).

The attribution of the Budapest drawing and its association with the Detroit painting were accepted by all writers after Hoffmann. This type of drawing—a *primo pensiero*, or compositional sketch, is the sole example among Bronzino's surviving drawings, although he must have done numerous sketches of this type for his paintings. This one is squared, indicating that Bronzino planned to transfer it to another sheet for enlargement and the completion of the details of the figures and the definition of their exact poses.

Our artist derived the Madonna's serpentine seated pose from Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo* in the Uffizi, but in the painting, he



Figure 21-1. Agnolo Bronzino, *Madonna and Child with St. John*, ca. 1540. Oil on wood. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit



Figure 21-2. Detail of plate 19. Agnolo Bronzino, the Madonna in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1538–40. Oil on wood. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest



changed the preliminary version of the figure in this sketch. Her proportions were altered so that her head is much larger in relation to the torso, and her position is more frontal. She also makes the liturgical *orans* gesture, changing her into a more emblematic figure.

Bronzino originally planned to include St. Elizabeth, who is sketched in very lightly above her son, St. John the Baptist. Elizabeth appears to the right of the Madonna in Bronzino's contemporaneous *Madonna and Child with St. John and St. Elizabeth*,⁵ but in the Detroit painting (fig. 21-1), the figure of St. Elizabeth was omitted. Bronzino also changed the pose of the Christ Child; he no longer leans against and caresses his mother's right arm and hand

as in the drawing. Instead, he holds a large orb with a *mappamondo* centering on the Mediterranean and extending from Spain to Arabia, emphasizing the theme of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*.⁶

JC-R

1 Hoffmann 1929–30, pp. 149–51.

2 For earlier owners, see Cox-Rearick 1981b, p. 17, n. 2. Although it is unlikely that either knew the painting, Emiliani 1960, p. 84, called it a copy, as did Baccheschi 1973, p. 102, under no. 105, while Berenson 1963, vol. 1, p. 44, listed it as "homeless."

3 For detailed comparisons with these, see Cox-Rearick 1981b, pp. 17–24.

4 Baccheschi 1973, p. 89, no. 26, ill.

5 Cox-Rearick 1981b, p. 24, fig. 11.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 24–27.

22. *Compositional Study for a Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth and St. John, ca. 1541–43*

Brush with brown ink and brown wash, over traces of black chalk, on cream paper washed in light brown, highlighted with white gouache and touches of pink in the child's leg and left chest, squared in lead point, glued onto secondary paper support, 9³/₁₆ × 7³/₈ in. (23.4 × 18.7 cm)

Annotated on verso: "Cab. de Jabach"

Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (5601)

PROVENANCE: Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, acquired between 1820 and 1860 (manuscript inventory, 1864, as "unknown Italian"; later addition, "Bronzino")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Voss 1920, vol. 1, p. 212, n. 1; K. Andrews 1964, pp. 159, 160, n. 15, pl. 28b; Pouncey 1964, p. 284; Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 14 (as not by Bronzino); Smyth 1971, p. 53, n. 21 (as not by Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 316, 413, n. 75, fig. 186 (as not by Bronzino); Pilliod 2006, pp. 110, 125, n. 39; Plazzotta 2010

This drawing was attributed to Bronzino by Hermann Voss and was first connected with *The Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth and St. John* in London (plate 18) by Keith Andrews.¹ Anna Forlani Tempesti and Craig Hugh Smyth did not agree with this attribution, and the present author suggested that the drawing was a variant of the 1540s on the composition of the London painting—either a copy of a lost drawing by Bronzino or a reworked original.² Recently, following a technical examination of the painting at the National Gallery, London, and a close study of the Frankfurt drawing, Carol Plazzotta concluded that it is Bronzino's preliminary idea for the composition.

As is clear from the description of its medium, the Frankfurt drawing is a complex, multilayered work that is not easy to read. Some outlines, such as the contours and facial features of the Madonna, have been reinforced in brown ink and brush over the lead-white highlighting. These include her eyelids, tip of the nose, and inner lips, as well as the Child's profile and body and the facial features of St. John. Squaring in black chalk, with the grid established by compass pricks along the drawing's edges, also passes over all the layers, suggesting a single campaign of work by Bronzino.³

X-ray examination and infrared reflectography (fig. 22-1) have revealed that Bronzino transferred the design of the Frankfurt drawing to the panel and began working it up in paint, but subsequently, he made extensive revisions that altered the picture's appearance and meaning.⁴ For example, St. John, who is squeezed in the left margin in the drawing, was ultimately painted over the Madonna's drapery in the right foreground in the painting. The Madonna, who is seated and holds the Christ Child astride her right thigh in the drawing, supports him with her right arm and hand in the painting. There are two important changes in the pose of the Christ Child. In the drawing, his left arm encircles his

mother's neck, and his right hand pulls her drapery over his head, while in the painting, he holds up the reed cross in his left hand and flowers over his head in the right hand. St. Elizabeth's head in the drawing is inclined with her veil covering most of her forehead, but in the painting, her face is in full view and highlighted.

Plazzotta pointed out that these changes are typical of Bronzino's habitual revision of his first ideas after they had been realized in paint, sometimes late in the genesis of a composition, concluding that "the rearrangement of individual components of his compositions . . . is fundamental to the stylish artifice of Bronzino's finished works."⁵ *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid* in London (plate 31) is an analogous case. The pentimenti made in the course of its execution have been studied in the laboratory, although no drawing like the Frankfurt sheet records Bronzino's initial ideas for the composition.⁶

JC-R

1 Voss 1920, vol. 1, p. 212, n. 1; K. Andrews 1964, p. 159.

2 Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 14; Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21; Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 316, n. 75. See also Pilliod 2006, pp. 110, 125, n. 39.

3 Plazzotta 2010.

4 For this information and what follows, see *ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 See Plazzotta and Keith 1999; and Cox-Rearick 2005a.



Figure 22-1. Infrared reflectogram of plate 18. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth and St. John*, ca. 1541–43. National Gallery, London



23. *Modello for the Frescoed Vault of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, ca. 1540*

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache, over black chalk, and stylus-ruling, on gray-blue prepared paper; framing outlines in pen and dark brown ink, silhouetted and glued onto secondary support, 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (34.5 × 26.1 cm) maximum of original sheet

Annotated on verso of mount at top in graphite: “*Ec. romaine. / lit. P.*”; in pen and brown ink at center: “*Julio Romano. Plafond / pour un Cabinet de Medici a florence*”; in pen and brown ink by another hand: “*No. 11 Giulio Romano*”; at bottom in graphite: “*Ecole Romaine L. no. 1*”

Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (4344)

PROVENANCE: Johann Friedrich Städel (1727–1816), Frankfurt; bequeathed by him to the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 1816 (manuscript inventory, MS 3038, ca. 1820–25, n.p. [under “Jules Papi, dit Romano”], no. [1], “un Plafond avec l’Archange Michael, St. François d’Assisi, St. Jérôme et St. Jean l’Evangeliste. Dessiné à l’encre de la Chine et rehaussé de blanc sur un fond gris foncé 9’7 x 12’8”]; and *Inventarium der Handzeichnungen*, n.d. [begun February 15, 1862], fol. 144, no. 4344, “Plafond mit dem Wappen der Medici, St. Michael, St. Johannes d. Evang., Hieronymus u. Andr.”)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Voss 1920, vol. 1, p. 217, n. 2; Würtenerberger 1940, pp. 75–76, n. 16, fig. 32; Smyth 1949, p. 195, n. 80; Smyth 1955, pp. 39–41, no. A2, pp. 88, 218, n. 3, fig. 114, figs. 115, 116 (details); Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 36); Smyth 1962, p. 64, n. 115; Shearman 1963, p. 416, fig. 35; Pouncey 1964, p. 284; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11–13, fig. 1; Smyth 1971, pp. 10–19, 25, 33, 59, nn. 59, 60, figs. 10–13 (details), 14; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 39, under no. 10; Baccheschi 1973, p. 91, ill. no. 36–39-1; Cheney 1973, pp. 165–68; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1975, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 53); Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 70, under no. 133; Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27, no. 10 (1-5), ill.; Lutz S. Malke in Städelsches Kunstinstitut 1980, pp. 114–15, no. 55, ill.; McCorquodale 1981, pp. 77–78, pl. 50; Cox-Rearick 1991, pp. 37–39, ill. nos. 2, 2a (detail); Margret Stufmann in Städelsches Kunstinstitut 1991, pp. 38–39, no. 12, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 101–2, 240, 242–43, 276, 278, 369–70, n. 16, pl. 15; Edelstein 1995, pp. 408–23, 430, 445; Cecchi 1996, p. 27, ill. no. 27; Voss and Pelzel 1997, vol. 1, p. 179, n. 6; Edelstein 2001b, fig. 1; Brock 2002, pp. 183, 333, n. 3, ill. p. 184; Tazartes 2003, p. 122, ill. p. 28; Cox-Rearick 2004, p. 248, n. 92, fig. 10.7; McCorquodale 2005, pp. 89–90, pl. 56; Pilliod 2006, pp. 103, 106–8, 110, 119–22, 126, n. 58, fig. 8, figs. 9–11, 20 (details); Gründler 2008, p. 184, n. 54

The Frankfurt drawing was probably bought in Paris by the collector J. F. Städel before 1816.¹ It was long identified as by Giulio Romano in early inventories and archival annotations of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, since the artistic personality of Bronzino was virtually unknown outside Italy during the eighteenth century. This sheet was first correctly attributed to Bronzino in 1920 by Hermann Voss,² who connected it to our artist’s vault fresco in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo. It is among the earliest complete extant design drawings by Bronzino and is the only extant complete preliminary composition for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo frescoes. The issues of its dating, iconography, and function are clarified by the historical circumstances of

the commission to which it relates, since both the level of detail and degree of finish of the design almost certainly indicate that it was a *modello* (demonstration piece) intended for the patron. From 1540 onward, Bronzino worked almost exclusively for Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici and his wife, Eleonora di Toledo, gradually earning their patronage for important commissions. The noble couple had married by proxy on March 29, 1539—Eleonora entered Florence on June 29, 1539—and they moved on May 14, 1540, from the Medici palace at Via Larga to take up residence in the Palazzo Vecchio (the Palazzo della Signoria of the Florentine republic). One of Bronzino’s first commissions was to decorate in fresco the new private oratory of the Duchess (the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo), built by Giovambattista di Marco del Tasso (1500–1555) in 1539–40, and located in her apartments on the second floor of the Palazzo, in the west wing.³ Del Tasso, the architect, was Bronzino’s good friend (our artist dedicated a moving sonnet to him on his death).⁴

It is extremely probable, the present author thinks, that Bronzino gained access and drew the Frankfurt *modello* before the actual building of the Chapel of Eleonora was complete. For, the main profile of the vault in the chapel and final fresco is markedly different from that seen in the Frankfurt drawing, and this difference in design between drawing and fresco cannot simply be explained as Bronzino’s mistake in drawing the architecture from memory. The design is otherwise quite specific, and drawings for patrons are meant to be exact. In the Frankfurt *modello*, the perimeter of the vault surface is envisioned as a gently curving, elongated quatrefoil form, which is emphasized by the double framing outlines drawn by the artist in black chalk and partly highlighted with white gouache. The feet of the four caryatid putti are drawn as if resting on the gently lobed perimeter molding, which indicates that the quatrefoil shape was intentional. In the fresco, Bronzino abandoned this complex four-lobed shape for the vault in favor of the simpler and more elegant contour of an oval, which enabled the depiction of a more illusionistically credible support with pendentives.

That Eleonora di Toledo was the patron of the Chapel decorations, rather than her husband, Cosimo, seems to be confirmed by a passage in the 1550 Torrentino edition of Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite*, as it mentions in the biography of Raffaellino del Garbo (who was Bronzino’s early teacher)⁵ that Bronzino’s Chapel was “executed in fresco for the most illustrious lady Duchess.”⁶ Given that both patron and artist were alive at the time of Vasari’s publication in 1550, and as Vasari had a political stake in getting the facts of his story correct (he lost no opportunity to ingratiate himself with



Duke Cosimo),⁷ there is little reason to doubt his veracity. The further narrative aside by Vasari regarding the saints portrayed in the wings of the Chapel's altarpiece, told in the 1568 Giunti edition of his *Vite*, in the biography of Bronzino, seems to confirm Eleonora's personal patronage in the decoration of her oratory ("the lady Duchess, having changed her mind, had these other two made"⁸). The frescoes on the walls in the Chapel may be dated to 1541–43, based on the inscriptions on the marble frame of the doorway around *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent* fresco (on the entrance, or west wall; plate 24), together with the documents of payment to Bronzino, which date from April 1542 to July 1543, and other written sources.⁹ The vault fresco in the Chapel (plate 21) was the first actually painted by Bronzino, probably in 1541, but late 1540 is not out of the question.¹⁰ As the surface is composed of forty-seven *giornate*, or plaster patches, each painted in a day, with an additional ten *giornate* dedicated to the four pendentives,¹¹ this must correspond more or less to the duration of Bronzino's execution of the vault fresco.

In offering a detailed composition study for the Chapel vault, the Frankfurt *modello* appears at first glance to be very close to the design of the final fresco, but its many differences evident with closer attention attest to a meditated process of inventing the iconography. In addition to the rethinking of the shape of the vault, as discussed, the Frankfurt *modello* may also provide some indication that Bronzino—probably following his patron's wishes—first intended to place the scene with St. Michael (seen here in the compartment at the bottom border) above the entrance, on the west wall of the Chapel,¹² given that paintings and sculptures of the Last Judgment were frequently reserved for the entrance of chapels and churches. In the frescoed vault, Bronzino finally rendered the scene with the avenging Archangel above the altar and the penitent Jerome above the entrance. In the Frankfurt *modello*, the perimeter of the vault surface (which is envisioned as a gently curving, elongated quatrefoil form) implies a domical interior space. This, combined with the fact of the quatrefoil shape of the perimeter, would have created a perhaps unresolvable level of complexity in the geometry of the illusionistic framework, certainly requiring a more ingenious design for the supporting elements of the vault to function in a credible way with the actual architecture of the Chapel. While the Frankfurt sheet is silhouetted along the contours of the design, and thus this aspect remains somewhat ambiguous, the indication seems to be that Bronzino would have allowed the perspective of the molding on the capitals at the corners to curve upward into the vault surface itself. In the final fresco, in contrast, the perspective of the molding on the capitals curves downward, as the overall perspectival illusion radiates in a unified way from the center of the vault downward (see plates 20, 21). The Frankfurt *modello*, as a demonstration drawing, done almost certainly for the patron, therefore represents a crucial midpoint in the gestation of Bronzino's ideas for the illusionistic structure of the vault.



Figure 23-1. Detail of plate 21. Agnolo Bronzino, center motif with the Trinity, ca. 1540–41, overpainted by Bronzino in 1565. Vault fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

As finally painted, the Chapel vault fresco is a tour de force of illusionistic painting, as has been emphasized often in the literature.¹³ This illusionism is so convincing that the viewer may forget repeatedly that the implicit architectural structure is fictively painted in its entirety, for the actual vault surface is gently concave and surprisingly uneven. The work of bringing the illusionistic framework to full fruition was probably done on the rough plaster of the painting surface and in drawings on paper, although none has survived other than the present sheet. As frescoed, the illusionistic framework is laden with "sculpted" ornament and with interplays between figures and motifs that are "real" and "carved." While the Frankfurt *modello* already portrays the basic structure of the vault in four compartments, it represents several further differences with respect to the fresco. In the drawing, the putti caryatids seem of more infant-like proportions and vary in their poses, while the ribs are detailed with small garlands and long expanses of repeating oval molding. In the fresco, the dividing ribs instead portray much weightier garlands, each suspended, toward the center of the vault, from a fictively painted hook support. The main oval composition of the vault, as frescoed, is carried by four pendentives, and the latter are detailed with moldings within moldings and pediments, canopies of intricately knotted draperies, idealized faces and grotesque masks in the antique style, as well as oval relief medallions painted in monochrome to

simulate metal. The vault itself is envisioned as an architecturally ordered opening into the dome of heaven (this aspect of the celestial setting is only summarily indicated in the Frankfurt *modello*), and this is seen through the four ribs with garlanded trellises that articulate the sky as if it were an actual spandrelled dome, borne by the animated, more mature putti caryatids.

The oval celestial realm in the frescoed vault is bathed in golden divine light emanating from the center, behind the oval medallion, and it gradually gives way to the thick, puffy clouds accumulating around the perimeters (see plate 21). Each of the four vault compartments contains the monumental form of a saint in a symbolic context, appearing to the viewer as if revealed in a mystical vision. They depict, respectively, the seated St. Michael (seen in the act of final judgment and vanquishing the Devil, sword and scale in hand, while flanked by a wingless, praying infant at his left, and another engulfed underneath the shadow of his cloak at right, both children symbolizing the Christian soul); the seated St. John the Evangelist (depicted as the aging apocalyptic seer of the Island of Patmos); the kneeling St. Jerome in Penance; and the Vision of St. Francis with Brother Leo at his left. Vasari's words in 1568, about these four holy figures frescoed on the vault, may be quoted: "Every one of these is oriented with their feet toward the walls . . . executed with diligence and great love."¹⁴ Michael, John, Jerome, and Francis represent different eras in the history of salvation,¹⁵ and they were saints to whom Eleonora di Toledo was especially devoted. But the inclusion of these four saints is rather unusual, given that chapel vault frescoes in Italy most traditionally depicted either Prophets of the Old Testament or Sibyls (from the *Apocrypha*), or the four Doctors of the Church. Eleonora's choice of the Vision of St. Francis, in particular, seems to have alluded to the birth on March 25, 1541, of Francesco, the much-awaited eldest son of the ducal couple who was regent from 1564 onward and who was to reign as Francesco I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, from 1574 until his death in 1587.¹⁶

In the Frankfurt *modello*, the noticeable pentimenti on the figure of St. Jerome indicate a marked rethinking of this image (these changes are further described in cat. no. 25), and in the *Vision of St. Francis*, Brother Leo is placed at right of Francis, rather than at left as in the final fresco. The Frankfurt *modello* depicts at center the Medici-Toledo coat of arms, which was the original design intended for the oval medallion in the vault fresco, but it was overpainted by Bronzino in 1565, with a motif of the Trinity in the form of the *vultus trifrons*, according to a Medieval reformulation of the antique prototype of the three-face symbol (fig. 23-1). In the fresco, the earlier, original design of the Medici-Toledo device, as seen in the Frankfurt *modello*, has become evident underneath the crumbling of the pigments, because the repainting by Bronzino was done *a secco*, that is, while the plaster surface was dry.¹⁷ Alterations were done to the Chapel after Eleonora's death (December 17, 1562), and notably the obliteration of her heraldic device at center of the vault, as Duke Cosimo remarried and the eagle of the

Hapsburg empire would have been particularly out of place. Further changes to the Chapel occurred after Bronzino's death (November 23, 1572), although none that affected the vault fresco.

The overall technique of the Frankfurt *modello*, of carefully delineated forms drawn on paper prepared with gray-blue color, is somewhat reminiscent of that in drawings from the 1490s by Bronzino's early teacher Raffaellino del Garbo (ca. 1466/70–after 1527; see fig. 1 in Bambach essay, p. 36).¹⁸ As a firsthand examination of the Frankfurt *modello* can establish, the fictive architectural elements of the vault composition were first ruled and detailed in black chalk, with the figures then inserted in black chalk and modeled with brown wash. In addition, while it has been stated that some of the figures were reworked with touches of brown ink, added by a later hand,¹⁹ that seems incorrect, as the pen-and-ink outlines are not only fully consonant with the forms of the wash modeling but also advance the level of descriptive detail of the figures, even as it is awkward in certain places.²⁰ Bronzino's drawings are not always beautiful in their details or anatomically correct.²¹ The open book held by the figure of St. John the Evangelist is indicated only in the black-chalk underdrawing, and the eagle is seen in profile rather than in frontal view. The scene with the Vision of St. Francis is cropped (by at least 5 mm), and the thinly washed preparation on the sheet was originally a more saturated blue, which has now faded closer to gray.

CCB

- 1 Lutz S. Malke in Städelsches Kunstinstitut 1980, p. 114, no. 55; Margret Stuffmann in Städelsches Kunstinstitut 1991, p. 38. This drawing has been thought to have a Jabach provenance, a fact that is not demonstrable (Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 369, n. 16).
- 2 Voss 1920, vol. 1, p. 217, n. 2.
- 3 For these details, compare Allegri and Cecchi 1980, pp. 19–29; and Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 1–60.
- 4 Bronzino's sonnet to Giovambattista del Tasso is transcribed in Moreni 1823, p. 116; and Rossi Bellotto 1998, p. 27. The notice of Del Tasso's death on May 8, 1555, is given in Pontormo's diary, along with his mentioning of the many dinners with Bronzino in those days (transcribed in Mayer 1982, pp. 110–11).
- 5 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 4 (text) (1976), p. 119.
- 6 "Per la illustrissima signora Duchessa la cappella lavorata in fresco." These facts are not repeated in the 1568 Giunti edition of the *Vite*; compare both editions in Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 4 (text) (1976), pp. 119–20.
- 7 Edelstein 2001a, p. 232.
- 8 "La signora Duchessa, mutato pensiero, fece fare questi altri due": Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 233.
- 9 Compare Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 26; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 60–68, 328–30, fig. 34, for documents, transcriptions, and photographs of the dated inscriptions on the marble doorframe.
- 10 The starting date of 1540 was proposed in Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 28.
- 11 Compare Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 62, 67.
- 12 Edelstein 2001b.
- 13 One of the earliest cogent historical accounts about this illusionism of the vault fresco and the Frankfurt *modello* is Würtenberger 1940, pp. 75–76, n. 16, fig. 32.
- 14 "Ciascuna delle quali vólta i piedi alle facce . . . condotte tutte con diligenza et amore grandissimo"; Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 233.
- 15 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 240.
- 16 Cheney 1973, p. 167; Edelstein 2001a; Edelstein 2001b.
- 17 Painting *a secco* is not as durable a technique as *buon fresco*, in which the water-based colors are applied before the plaster sets and carbonates.
- 18 For an example of a drawing on blue-gray prepared paper by Raffaellino del Garbo, see the sheet (British Museum, London, Pp.1-32) (see Bambach essay, fig. 1).
- 19 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 369, n. 16.
- 20 On the figure of St. Jerome, his lion, and St. Michael.
- 21 This point is well made in Pilliod 2006, pp. 105–10.

24. Recto: *Seated Male Nude Youth (study for St. Michael Fighting the Devil in the vault of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo), ca. 1540–41*

24. Verso: *Study for the Medici-Toledo Arms, ca. 1540–41*

Recto: black chalk on off-white paper colored with blue-gray wash (now faded); framing outlines in pen and black-brown ink; verso: black chalk on off-white paper (unprepared), 15¼ × 9 in. (38.8 × 22.8 cm)

Watermark: greatly illegible

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (6356)

PROVENANCE: Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), Florence (his collection albums, Musée du Louvre, Paris, vol. 2, fol. 102, as by Lomazzo); his son, Francesco Saverio Baldinucci (1663–1738), Florence; acquired by the Musée du Louvre, 1806 (museum stamp; Lugt 1886)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 18, fig. 3 (recto); Monbeig-Goguel 1971, pp. 15, 83 (recto), pl. xv; Smyth 1971, pp. 7–8, 16, p. 57, n. 45, fig. 8 (recto); Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 39, no. 10, ill. p. 38; Baccheschi 1973, p. 91, under no. 36, ill. no. 36-1 (recto); Cheney 1973, p. 165; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1975, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 53); Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27, no. 10 (3); Lutz S. Malke in Städtisches Kunstinstitut 1980, p. 114, n. 2, under no. 55, fig. 55b; McCorquodale 1981, pp. 77–78, pl. 51 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1991, pp. 35–38, 48–49, figs. 1, 1a, 3; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 102, 105, 122, 276–77, 370, n. 20, p. 402, n. 58, figs. 58, 171; Cecchi 1996, p. 27; Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, pp. 301–2, no. 157, ill. (recto); Brock 2002, pp. 204, 334, n. 51, ill. p. 211 (recto); Tazartes 2003, p. 122 (recto), ill. p. 30; McCorquodale 2005, p. 89 (recto), pl. 57; Pilliod 2006, pp. 99, 103, 106, 108, 110, 124, n. 29, figs. 3, 6; Rhoda Eitel-Porter in Morgan Library & Museum 2007, p. 28, n. 7, under no. 10

The recto of the Louvre sheet was independently identified as by Bronzino in 1971 by Craig Hugh Smyth and Janet Cox-Rearick, who also connected it to the Chapel of Eleonora vault (plate 21).¹ This detailed study done from life shows a seated male nude youth, who was presumably a *garzone* posing in Bronzino's studio. It is datable to about 1540–41² and represents an intermediate design intended for the seated, highly idealized figure of St. Michael the Archangel, frescoed above the altar, on the east wall, in one of the four compartments of the vault fresco in the Chapel of Eleonora (fig. 24-1). Although the life study indicates no specific context or secondary figures, the seated St. Michael, weigher of souls and protector of the elect on Judgment Day (Daniel 5:27; 12:1),³ is seen in the fresco in the act of final judgment and vanquishing the Devil. In addition to prefiguring the Last Judgment, the presence of the victorious Archangel may also allude to contemporary political events and Duke Cosimo's defeat of the *Fuorusciti* (Exiles) in the Battle of Montemurlo.⁴ St. Michael wields a sword in his right hand and a scale in his left. He is flanked by a wingless, praying infant on the left, while another figure of a child seems engulfed underneath the shadow of his cloak at right; both infants

personify Christian souls. The Archangel's seated pose in three-quarter view is a virtual pinwheel in design, curiously reminiscent of Greek sculpture from the Archaic period.⁵ At the lower center on the recto of the Louvre sheet, there is a reprise of the figure's left hand clasping a stick, the object that becomes the arm of a scale in the final fresco. It is clear that this Louvre study was prepared after the Frankfurt *modello* (fig. 24-2), given that the Frankfurt drawing portrays the clothed St. Michael with an outstretched empty left hand rather than holding the stick (or arm of the balance), as is seen here and in the fresco. Bronzino seems to have changed the design of St. Michael to make his form more prominent with respect to the other saints portrayed in the vault compartments and to emphasize the iconographic links with the altar wall; below, the monumental painting of *The Lamentation* in the Chapel (see plates 20, 26, 52 for the original and replacement versions of this altarpiece) includes the instruments of the Passion, which are often depicted in compositions of the Last Judgment.⁶

The drawing surface on the recto of this Louvre sheet is considerably abraded and stained, as may be expected from a heavily used working drawing, and this apparent problem somewhat obscures the signs of exploration evident throughout the sheet when examined closely. Pentimenti outlines occur on the lower part of the figure's raised right arm, the upper contour of his right leg, and the contour of his left hip, while the reworked contours of his left foot suggest that at first the heel was much thicker. On the unprepared verso of the sheet at the bottom is a small, though exquisitely bold sketch in black chalk portraying the coat of arms (*impresa*) of the Medici-Toledo family, quartered with the ducal coronet and the Hapsburg imperial eagle; the Medici *palle* only are faintly evident.⁷ The *impresa* can be likened in design to that on the vault of the adjoining *Camera Verde* (Green Room), frescoed in 1540–42 by Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (1483–1561), for the Duchess Eleonora (fig. 24-3). The oval medallion of the *Trinity*, in the form of the *vultus trifrons* that is frescoed at center on the vault of the Eleonora di Toledo Chapel, constitutes a repainting by Bronzino in 1565 (see fig. 23.1), and underneath is another design discernibly of the Medici-Toledo coat of arms; this latter motif was probably closer to what is seen in the Louvre verso sketch. The design of these arms on the painted vault has become evident underneath the crumbling pigments. The Frankfurt *modello* (cat. no. 23) portrays at center an early idea for this heraldic motif.







Figure 24-1. Detail of plate 21. Agnolo Bronzino, St. Michael, ca. 1540–41. Vault fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Figure 24-2. Detail of catalogue number 23



Figure 24-3. Detail of Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, the Medici-Toledo Arms, 1540–42. Vault fresco. Camera Verde, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

- 1 Compare Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8; and Smyth 1971, pp. 7–8.
- 2 See here cat. no. 23, on the dating of the vault fresco of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo.
- 3 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 240.
- 4 This point is rightly made in Cheney 1973, p. 167. Between April and July 1537, Piero Strozzi led an army of Florentine exiles (the *Fuorusciti*), reinforced by hired mercenaries, in attempts to recapture towns in Florentine territory, and he succeeded in taking the castle of Montemurlo. On August 1, 1537, however, in the Battle of Montemurlo, the invaders were crushed, and on June 12, the envoy of the Holy Roman Emperor recognized Cosimo I de' Medici as the legitimate ruler of Florence. Cosimo's victory over the *Fuorusciti* cemented his position in Florence.
- 5 An example of such a winged figure in a small bronze from the sixth century B.C.E. (National Museum, Athens) is illustrated and discussed by Lutz S. Malke in *Städelsches Kunstinstitut* 1980, p. 114, n. 1, under no. 55, fig. 55a.
- 6 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 240.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 402, n. 58.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

25. *Head of a Bearded Old Man*, ca. 1535–42

Black chalk on buff paper (now slightly darkened), glued onto secondary paper support, 5¹/₁₆ × 4³/₁₆ in. (14.4 × 10.9 cm)

Annotated on recto at lower left, in pen and brown ink, in a nineteenth-century hand: "57"; and at upper right: "576"; on verso of mount in graphite: "Bronzino."

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (576 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793], vol. 1, as by "Bronzino Angiolo" [*Universali*, vol. 7, no. 3]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 37; Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 599; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 62, no. 599; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 599; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 19, n. 60, fig. 5; Baccheschi 1973, pp. 91–92, under no. 38, ill. no. 38-1; Cheney 1973, p. 166; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1975, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 53); Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27; McCorquodale 1981, p. 78; Petrioli Tofani 1991, p. 243, no. 576 F, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 102, 370, n. 19, fig. 56; Perović 2001, pp. 12–13, fig. 7; McCorquodale 2005, p. 90

This small, exquisitely rendered study in soft black chalk of nearly silvery hue was almost certainly executed from the live model, for the subject's hirsute beard seems too closely observed to be based on an imagined figure. Although this drawing traditionally had been attributed to Bronzino in the early inventories of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,¹ it was first formally published as by Bronzino in 1903 by Bernard Berenson, who also maintained that opinion in 1938 and 1961.² Despite this early

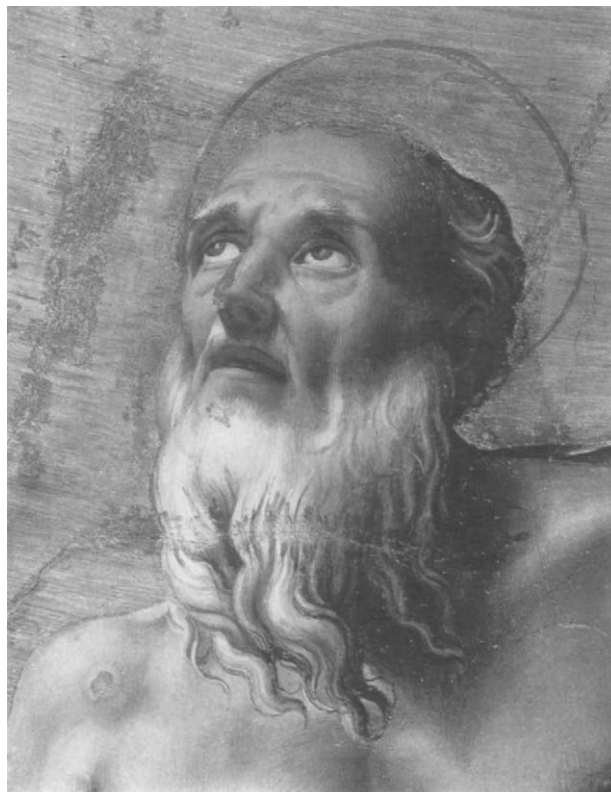


Figure 25-1. Detail of plate 21. Agnolo Bronzino, *Head of St. Jerome*, ca. 1540–41. Vault fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Figure 25-2. Detail of catalogue number 23



favor, Craig Hugh Smyth unreasonably omitted the Uffizi sheet from the oeuvre of Bronzino in his monographic treatments of the artist's drawings in 1955 and 1971. Janet Cox-Rearick, in contrast, upheld Berenson's attribution in 1971 and 1993, proposing the Uffizi sheet as Bronzino's preparatory study for the highly idealized kneeling figure of St. Jerome, frescoed in 1540–41, seen above the entrance on the west wall, in one of the four compartments of the vault in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (fig. 25-1; plate 19).³ Following Cox-Rearick's opinion, Bronzino's authorship of the Uffizi study has rightly not been questioned, and a few authors also endorsed her connection to the fresco,⁴ but Ettore Allegri and

Alessandro Cecchi in 1980 plainly doubted her suggestion that the Uffizi study was preparatory for the fresco.⁵ It is true that numerous differences of design exist in the drawing with respect to the final fresco in the vault of the Chapel (beyond the evident fact that these are bearded heads turned upward in a three-quarter view, facing left), and not unimportantly, these figures even seem to be of different anatomical types. Therefore, either the Uffizi study is not directly connected with Jerome in the Chapel fresco at all, as Allegri and Cecchi maintained, or it is one of the first drawings ever prepared by Bronzino for the figure, drawn before the Frankfurt *modello* (fig. 25-2; cat. no. 23). The present author is inclined toward

the former view, failing to see a connection between the Uffizi drawing and the Chapel fresco. For, in the Frankfurt *modello* (cat. no. 23), the underdrawing reveals a considerable pentimento around the head of Jerome, with one of the discarded ideas attempting to pose his head raised more upward and possibly turned in a profile view. In great contrast, this Uffizi study depicts the head of a frail, middle-aged, bearded man of very delicate features and of relatively placid expression. It is a much more naturalistic, portrait-like representation than are the depictions of St. Jerome in the Frankfurt *modello* and in the Chapel vault fresco (compare figs. 25-1 and 25-2). The frescoed figure of St. Jerome exhibits a Classical monumentality of form and communicates ascetic pathos. His heroic sculptural mass is tempered by an ascetic face expressing celestial rapture, as he directs his piercing gaze to heaven, with furrowed forehead, sunken cheeks, parted lips, and long beard softly blowing in the wind. In the fresco, his beard was made to appear especially monumental, in marked contrast to the Uffizi drawing.

Be that as it may, the present Uffizi head study is typical of Bronzino's drawing technique of the late 1530s to early 1540s.

The strokes of black chalk on the face are rubbed in to create seamlessly blended sfumato, which attains a nearly marmoreal effect, especially in the brows and underside of the nose, and a liquid quality in the gaze, but which are left boldly unblended in the hair and beard to create dynamic textural contrasts. It is characteristic of Bronzino's practice that he first sketched the shape of the head on the paper with delicately intermeshed short parallel strokes following the form of the cranium, while defining the anatomy of the neck with short strokes of parallel hatching and somewhat open cross-hatching. Extremely fine short strokes define almost every hair of the nearly tubular mustache and the unruly cropped beard.

CCB

- 1 Petrioli Tofani 1991, p. 243, no. 576 F.
- 2 Compare Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 599; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 62, no. 599; and Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 599.
- 3 Compare Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 19, fig. 5; and Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 102, 370, n. 19, fig. 56.
- 4 Baccheschi 1973, pp. 91–92, under no. 38; Cheney 1973, p. 166; McCorquodale 1981, p. 78; McCorquodale 2005, p. 90.
- 5 Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27 (“poco convincente”).

AGNOLO BRONZINO

26. *Standing Nude* (study for *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua*), ca. 1541–42

Black chalk on paper washed with mustard or pale yellow ocher, 16¹/₁₆ × 6¹/₄ in. (43 × 15.9 cm)

Watermark: crossed arrows with a star (Briquet 6292)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6704 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 152, no. 2187 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1911, p. 23, under no. xxvii; Clapp 1914, p. 49, n. 3, pp. 248–49, no. 6704; McComb 1928, p. 34, n. 3, p. 150, no. 6704; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 321, n. 3, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 601D (former no. 2187); Uffizi 1939, p. 13; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, pp. 103–4, room 14, no. 1-A; Smyth 1949, p. 195, n. 80; Rijksmuseum 1954, p. 85, no. 119; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, p. 58, no. 97; Smyth 1955, pp. 41–42, no. A3, fig. 117; Emiliani 1960, ill. p. 26; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, p. 468, n. 1, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 601D, vol. 3, fig. 981; Forlani Tempesti 1962, pp. 177–78, no. 38, ill.; Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 25–26, no. 15; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 384, no. A134; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 11, 16, 17, n. 48, fig. 11; Smyth 1971, pp. 5, 7, 33, 35–36, 45, 48, n. 9, pp. 54–55, nn. 22–24, fig. 5; Baccheschi 1973, p. 92, under no. 40; Cheney 1973, p. 165; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1975, pl. 53; Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27, no. 10 (10), ill.; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 87, no. 128; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 384, no. A134; McCorquodale 1981, p. 78, pl. 53; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 122–23, 231, 372, n. 47, pl. 22; Cecchi 1996, pp. 27, 35, ill. no. 33; Mendelsohn 2001, p. 115, n. 24; Perović 2001, pp. 9–10; Brock 2002, pp. 201, 334, n. 47, ill. p. 208; Tazartes 2003, pp. 124, 126, ill. p. 31; McCorquodale 2005, pl. 59; Pilliod 2006, p. 99; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, pp. 36–37, no. 16, ill.

Drawn from life, this magnificent large figure study in the Uffizi is among the best published of Bronzino's drawings, but it was first recognized as by the artist only in 1911, when Frederick Mortimer Clapp discarded the traditional attribution to Pontormo.¹ That attribution of the sheet had been recorded in the early inventories of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi² and had been accepted by Bernard Berenson in 1903. Berenson amended his opinion in 1938, in favor of Bronzino, as proposed by Clapp.³ The dating of the Uffizi drawing suggested by most recent scholars has ranged from a specific year, about 1541,⁴ to more open proposals, about 1540–41 (Janet Cox-Rearick in 1971 and 1981), and about 1540–46 (Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in 2008). The present author would date it to 1541, perhaps during the summer months,⁵ as the study was preparatory for the monumental youth seen from behind, who wears breeches and stands in the left foreground of *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* (plate 22). This lunette fresco depicting a double scene (based on Exodus 14:21–30) is on the south wall of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo—the right wall seen from the entrance—which was the first of the walls to be painted. It is precisely datable, given that the



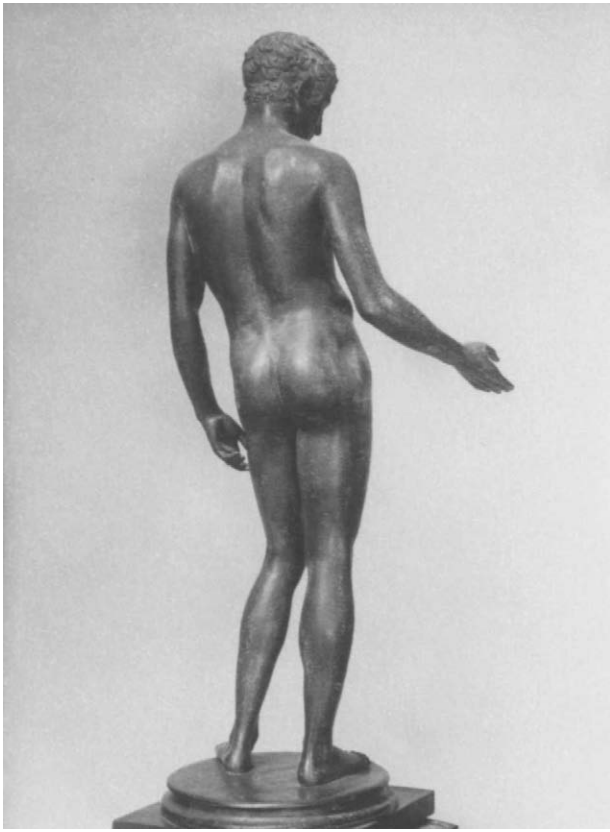


Figure 26-1. *Idolino*, Roman, 1st century A.D., after Greek original of 5th century B.C. Bronze. Museo Archeologico, Florence

inscription scratched on the marble doorframe by the *Brazen Serpent* fresco in the Chapel states: “On Tuesday on the 6th day of September [1541], the story of the pharaoh was begun; on the 30th day of March 1542, the story of pharaoh was finished.”⁶ The lower left of this lunette fresco was partially destroyed, and this area of loss includes the portion of the legs of the youth for which the Uffizi study was preparatory. The lunette is the only one in the Chapel of Eleonora that is on a wall uninterrupted by a window, door, or altarpiece, and it contains an important allusion to the new dynasty founded by the Medici conjugal couple, specifically to the birth of a male heir, Francesco, on March 25, 1541.⁷

In the present Uffizi drawing, the nude youth holds a large pillow—or perhaps it is a hat—on his head with his left hand and

makes a fist, or clutches something, with his right. Bronzino seems to have posed his nude model in a stance inspired by the *Idolino* now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (fig. 26-1), a Roman bronze copy of a Greek original that was excavated in the autumn of 1530 within the lands of the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro, where Bronzino was working for Duke Francesco Maria I della Rovere (1490–1538). The proposal of the *Idolino* as a source for Bronzino’s figure was first made by Craig Hugh Smyth in 1971,⁸ although Smyth did not account for the fact that the figure in the Uffizi drawing seems to exhibit many aspects that identify it as a live model. In any case, with respect to the Classical prototype, Bronzino greatly accentuated the contrapposto of the figure, while adding in the fresco a massive hat that is reminiscent of those worn by the male figures in Paolo Uccello’s mural of the *Deluge* in the “Chiostro Verde” in S. Maria Novella, Florence. The final pose of Bronzino’s figure in the fresco exudes a decorative and deliberately stylish artificiality.⁹ The drawing technique of the Uffizi study (with subtle parallel-hatching and cross-hatching, then selectively blended for a soft sfumato effect on the paper prepared with mustard or yellow ocher color) seems to emulate the surface of metal sculpture. Yet despite this surface refinement, numerous pentimenti are plainly evident, as for example in the interior of the left shoulder, the left torso and hip outline, the contours of the right arm, and the unfinished right hand. Bronzino left the paper on the verso of the sheet unprepared and blank.

CCB

- 1 Compare Clapp 1911, p. 23, under no. xxvii; and Clapp 1914, p. 49, n. 3, pp. 97, 248–49, no. 6704.
- 2 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, p. 37.
- 3 Compare Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 152, no. 2187; and Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 601D.
- 4 Smyth 1971, pp. 5, 53–54, nn. 23, 24; Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 87, no. 128.
- 5 Based on the inscriptions on the marble door frame, it appears that a little over two months passed between the completion of *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* (“la storia di faraone”; plate 22) on March 30, 1542, and the beginning of *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent* (“la storia della se[r]pe”; plate 24) on June 5, 1542, and this would have offered the opportunity for preparing the drawings of the following scene. This inscription is fully transcribed in Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 60.
- 6 “Martedì / A di 6 / di sette[m]bre [1541] comincio / la storia del / faraone / A di 30 di / marzo / 1542 fu fini/ta la storia / Di faraone.” Compare Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 26; and Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 60–62.
- 7 Cox-Rearick 1993; Edelstein 2001a, p. 235.
- 8 Smyth 1971, p. 5.
- 9 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 122.



ATTRIBUTED TO AGNOLO BRONZINO

27. Verso: *Study of Crossed Legs and Smaller Studies*, ca. 1541–42

27. Recto: see catalogue number 10

Black chalk, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (32.1 × 24.4 cm)

Annotated on recto at lower left in pen and black ink by an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand: "A. Bronzino."

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (C85)

PROVENANCE: Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London; his posthumous sale, Christie's, London, June 4–8, 1860 (Lugt 1953, n.p. [sale no. 25634]); acquired by the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, 1860

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cox-Rearick 1964b, pp. 376–77, pl. 9 (recto); Smyth 1971, p. 52, n. 21; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 39, under no. 11 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 107, 371, n. 24 (verso as ascribed to Alessandro Allori), fig. 62 (recto); Perović 2001, pp. 13–14, figs. 8 (recto), 9 (detail); Brock 2002, pp. 26, 329, n. 15, ill. p. 28 (recto); Tazartes 2003, p. 80, ill. p. 16 (recto)

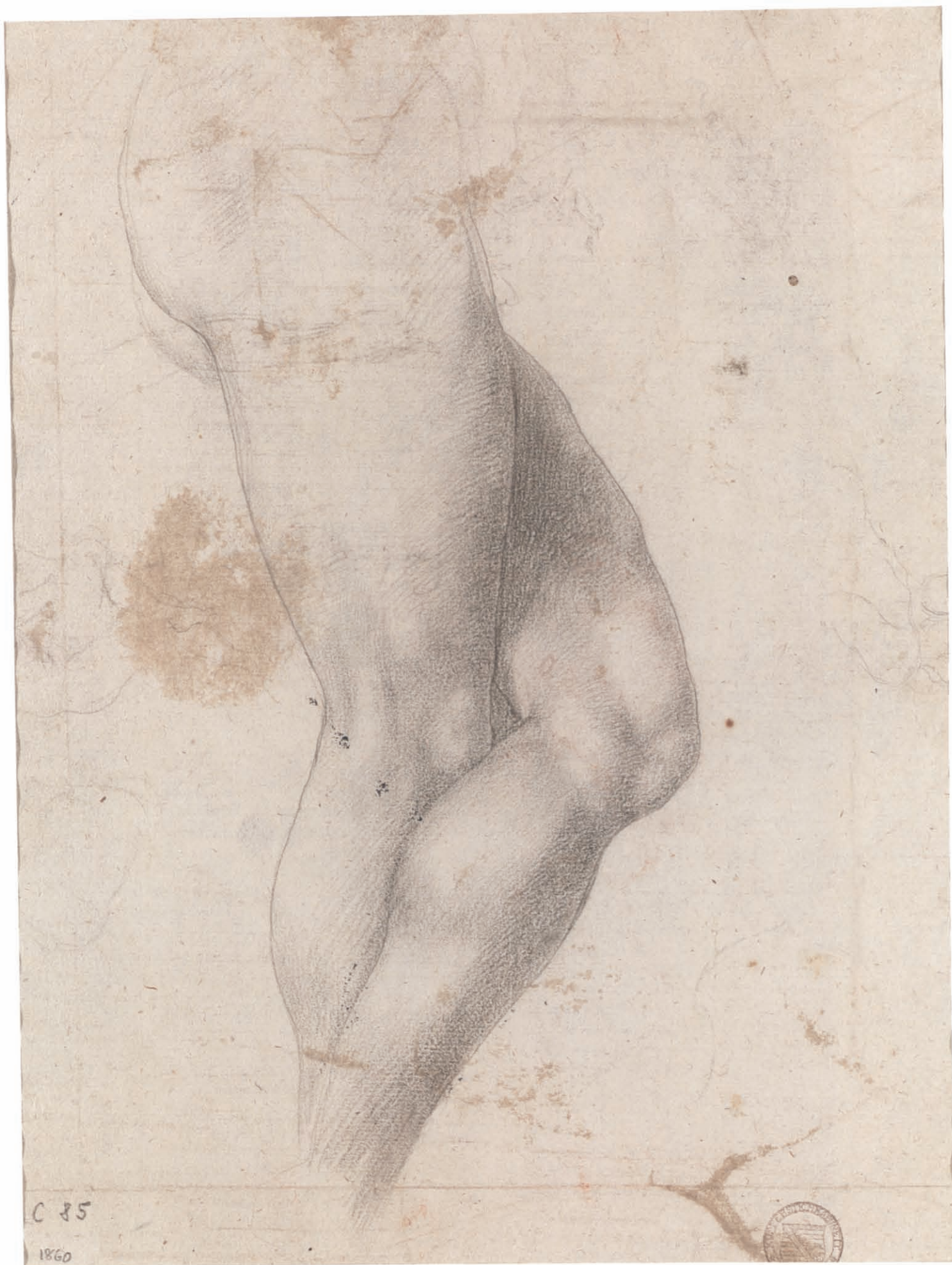
The tentative attribution to Bronzino of the drawing on the verso of the Dresden double-sided sheet is maintained here, as the well-accepted recto is correctly annotated in pen and black ink by an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand: "A. Bronzino." The more famous recto of the sheet is dated by Janet Cox-Rearick to the late 1530s in the present catalogue, and is discussed under catalogue number 10. Both sides of the Dresden sheet have suffered a number of abrasions and small losses to the support, which have been integrated by restorers, and it is clear from firsthand examination that the verso drawings have been overly cleaned. The main drawing on the verso side represents a very finished study for the buttocks and crossed legs of a standing male nude, rendered with stark chiaroscuro, but the modeling stops rather abruptly at the ankles of the figure, and the right foot is only summarily indicated. The standing pose with crossed legs of this male nude resembles that of the man stooped over, standing at the center in *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (plate 22), but there, the figure faces left rather than right, as in the Dresden verso. The drawing includes a few faintly visible pentimenti, especially along the pelvic region and buttocks of the figure, and is rendered in Bronzino's typical technique of the late 1530s and early 1540s, with few pentimenti

and rather disciplined parallel-hatching and cross-hatching, which is then selectively rubbed for a more continuous tonal effect. The drawing technique is of limpid graphic precision, and the tightly executed hatching follows the form. The most comparable sheets in terms of technique and style are the Uffizi study based on the *Idolino* (cat. no. 26) and the unconnected male nude study in Budapest (cat. no. 33). If the dating proposed by this compiler for the Uffizi "Idolino" study is correct, the Dresden verso drawing also most probably dates to about 1541, perhaps likewise during the summer months, although some caution is necessary.¹ The lunette fresco on the south wall of the Chapel is precisely datable, as the inscription scratched on the marble doorframe, below the *Brazen Serpent* at the entrance, states: "On Tuesday on the 6th day of September [1541], the story of the pharaoh was begun; on the 30th day of March 1542, the story of pharaoh was finished."² The verso of the Dresden sheet further depicts the faint motifs of a torso and a left leg facing left, as well as an arm and pointing hand facing right, together with other unclear sketches that the present author does not venture to identify. In 1993, Cox-Rearick attributed the verso drawing of the crossed legs to Bronzino's pupil and adoptive son, Alessandro Allori.³ The present author maintains that it may well be by Bronzino himself (it does not resemble Allori's sheets), and when this verso drawing is studied in the original, its quality of execution seems better than appears in photographs and in spite of the obvious issues of condition. CCB

¹ Based on the inscriptions on the marble doorframe, it appears that a little over two months passed between the completion of *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* ("la storia di faraone") on March 30, 1542, and the beginning of *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent* ("la storia della se[r]pe") on June 5, 1542, and this would have offered the opportunity for preparing the drawings of the following scene. This inscription is fully transcribed in Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 60.

² "Martedì / A di 6 / di sette[m]bre [1541] comincio / la storia del / faraone / A di 30 di / marzo / 1542 fu fini/ta la storia / Di faraone." Compare Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 26; and Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 60–62.

³ Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 371, n. 24.



C 85

1860



28. *Recto: Reclining Figures and Studies of an Arm and Hands for Moses Striking Water from the Rock, ca. 1542–43*

28. *Verso: Crossed Legs and Drapery Study for The Gathering of Manna, ca. 1542–43*

Recto: black chalk on buff paper (now darkened to light brown); squared in black chalk for transfer (squaring grid ruled on the basis of pin-pricked construction); verso: black chalk, 12³/₄ × 9⁷/₈ in. (32.4 × 25.1 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (10320 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]), vol. 1, as by "Allori Alessandro" [*Universali*, vol. 7, no. 9] (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Geisenheimer 1905, p. 107 (inv. no. incorrect) (as by Alessandro Allori); Smyth 1955, no. CI, pp. 73–74 (as not by Bronzino), figs. 136, 137; Simona Lecchini Giovannoni in Uffizi 1970, p. 20, no. 3 (as by Allori), fig. 3 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 13, n. 43 (recto); as a copy after Bronzino; Smyth 1971, pp. 10, 59, n. 56 (as not by Bronzino); Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 12 (as by Allori), fig. 1 (recto); Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, pp. 215–16, no. 2 (as a copy by Allori after a drawing by Bronzino, now lost), fig. 3 (recto); Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 134, 138, 374, nn. 59, 63, figs. 84, 89; Béguin 1996, p. 145, fig. 24; Cecchi 1996, p. 36; Petrioli Tofani 2002, p. 32, 36, n. 11; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, pp. 38–39, no. 17, ill.

As is typical of Bronzino's chalk drawings from the late 1530s and early 1540s, the chalk is applied here in parallel-hatched strokes for shadows, gradually also building up their tone with cross-hatching, slightly rubbing in the strokes for smooth gradations, and selectively going over the outlines with increasing pressure of the hand. In this respect, Bronzino's handling of the black chalk here is much like that in his earlier red-chalk studies (see cat. nos. 5, 6, 12–15). This Uffizi sheet may be considered to be among the most functional drawings produced by Bronzino for the Chapel of Eleonora project, as is indicated by the carefully constructed squaring grid from the pinpricks articulating the units (at 39–40 mm intervals).

Craig Hugh Smyth (1955, 1971) was the first to connect the recto drawings to the motif at lower left in Bronzino's lunette fresco of *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* (Exodus 17:6–7; plate 22), on the north wall in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, although he doubted the attribution to our artist.¹ Drawn from life, the study on the left portrays the nude models as of similar age and body type and in even lighting; they are workshop assistants (*garzoni*) posed in the artist's studio. The contours around the facial profile and shoulders of the upper figure were adjusted, from more round to more bony outlines, and similar types of pentimenti also occur along the lower figure's cranium, shoulders, and left bent arm.

The dish held by the upper figure also displays exploratory contours. Given the significant differences of design with respect to these motifs in the fresco, the left drawing on the Uffizi recto must be a preparatory study (not a copy), since the lighting was made starker and the figures more idealized in the fresco, and in addition, the youth at the bottom left in the drawing was transformed into a man of mature age in the fresco, of much broader anatomy, wearing a cap, thick beard, and tunic. Also studied from life, the drawing of a right arm in a tightly fitting sleeve with pointing hand, seen on the right in the recto, does not seem to have been used precisely in any of the Chapel of Eleonora frescoes, but the pictorial program includes many such gestures throughout. A faint and much smaller repetition of a hand pointing in the opposite direction is visible on the recto at the upper right. The recto drawings are more boldly rendered than some of the other studies associated with the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora (see cat. nos. 24, 26, 29), or the altarpiece (see cat. no. 30), and perhaps for this reason, they have been doubted.²

For a considerable time, in fact, this Uffizi sheet of drawings was thought to be by Alessandro Allori, Bronzino's pupil, as is noted in the early inventories of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi,³ and Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, a specialist of Allori's drawings, also affirmed the attribution of the sheet to that artist (1970, 1988, and 1991), following an earlier attribution by Hans Geisenheimer in 1905.⁴ She thought the studies to be copies by Allori after a drawing, now lost, by Bronzino for the frescoes.⁵ She unconvincingly adduced the comparison of the present sheet to another drawing by Allori in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (10204 F).⁶ Having hesitated in 1971, Janet Cox-Rearick convincingly attributed the present sheet to Bronzino in 1993.⁷ Simply too many changes of a creative nature exist with respect to the final fresco for the notion of Allori's authorship to be correct, and simply too many pentimenti appear on this Uffizi study for it to be a copy after another (lost) drawing; it is even less plausible that it is a copy after the fresco.

The verso of the Uffizi sheet renders along the upper border (with the sheet rotated 90 degrees) the quick sketch of crossed legs for a standing youth who wears a short tunic. Although crude, it is probably also autograph. The pose of these male legs is in mirror image to that in the Dresden verso study (cat. no. 27), but the legs





10320 F



Figure 28-1. Detail of plate 23. Agnolo Bronzino, Kneeling Figure in *The Gathering of Manna*, ca. 1542–43. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Figure 28-2. After Agnolo Bronzino, *Study of Kneeling Figure*, Codice Resta, fol. 48, no. 53/1. Black chalk, 16 × 10¹/₁₆ in. (40.7 × 25.5 cm) Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

are even closer in design to those of the man standing bent over at the center in *The Crossing of the Red Sea* fresco (plate 22), on the south wall of the Chapel. The main study at the center on the Uffizi verso represents a drapery study over a kneeling male figure intended as a study for the youth in the foreground of *The Gathering of Manna* fresco (fig. 28-1; plate 23). While the study at the upper border of the sheet's verso is much more boldly executed, the handling of both drawings nevertheless is consistent enough to indicate that they are both by the same artist. Related to the figure for which the present drapery study in the main part of the verso was intended is a drawing in the Codice Resta in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (fig. 28-2). It is published often as an autograph preparatory *modello* by Bronzino for the Chapel of Eleonora fresco, as was upheld by Janet Cox-Rearick⁸ and Elizabeth Pilliod,⁹ and more hesitantly by Giulio Bora.¹⁰ In this author's opinion, however, the Codice Resta drawing is a copy, as it is on paper that may originate later than the mid-sixteenth century and as it is in all its details almost exactly like the kneeling youth in the fresco,

down to the amphora on the head partially drawn in reserve. It also renders the same landscape features of the fresco.

CCB

- 1 This lunette is not dated in the inscription scratched on the marble doorframe by the fresco of *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent*, although it is certainly the one referred to there as completed: "On the 15th day . . . finished the story of the water," and thus the date for the fresco *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* convincingly has been thought to be in late 1542 or early 1543, about May 1543 at the latest. "A di 15 / fini la / storia d'acq/ua"; see Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 26; Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 60 (for the full transcription), p. 62 (for the dating).
- 2 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 13, n. 43.
- 3 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, p. 39.
- 4 Geisenheimer 1905, p. 107.
- 5 Compare Simona Lecchini Giovannoni in Uffizi 1970, p. 20, no. 3; Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 12; and Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, pp. 215–16, no. 2.
- 6 The sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi 10204 F) is discussed as a comparison by Simona Lecchini Giovannoni in Uffizi 1970, p. 47, no. 57, but not illustrated, and is again mentioned without illustration in Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 281, nos. 132, 133.
- 7 Compare Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 13, n. 43; and Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 134, 138, 374, nn. 59, 63.
- 8 Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 138, 374, n. 64, fig. 90.
- 9 Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 126, n. 49.
- 10 Bora 1978, no. 53/1, p. 48.

29. *Head of a Smiling Young Woman in Three-Quarter View (cartoon fragment for Moses Striking Water from the Rock), ca. 1542–43*

Charcoal and black chalk (with stumping), highlighted with white chalk, on off-white paper, silhouetted and glued onto secondary paper support; some outlines stylus-incised, and traces of framing outlines in brown ink by a later hand, 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.7 × 21.56 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (17)

PROVENANCE: Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), Florence (his collection albums, Musée du Louvre, Paris, vol. 2, fol. 5, as by Bronzino); his son, Francesco Saverio Baldinucci (1663–1738), Florence; acquired by the Musée du Louvre, 1806 (museum stamp; Lugt 1886)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reiset 1866, p. 33, no. 105; Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. II (1908), no. 1309; Voss 1928, p. 13, ill.; Musée de l'Orangerie 1935, p. 13, no. 17; Bacou 1955, p. 32, no. 78; Smyth 1955, pp. 42–43, no. A4, fig. 119; Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean in Musée du Louvre 1958, pp. 19–20, no. 13; Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean in Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe 1959, pp. 41–42, no. 16, pl. 16, front cover; Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 36); Pouncey 1964, p. 284; Musée du Louvre 1965, p. 57, no. 125, pl. 30; Françoise Viatte in Bacou and Viatte 1968, no. 45, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 18, n. 54, p. 20, n. 74, fig. 17; Smyth 1971, pp. 8–9, 58, n. 51, fig. 9; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 39, no. 11, ill. p. 40; Baccheschi 1973, p. 93, under no. 42; Cheney 1973, p. 165; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1975, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 53); Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27, no. 10 (12); Cox-Rearick 1981b, p. 20, n. 7, fig. 5; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 132, 373–74, n. 58, fig. 83; Béguin 1996, p. 130, fig. 7; Cecchi 1996, p. 36; Perović 2001, pp. 15–16, fig. 12; Brock 2002, pp. 201, 334, n. 45, ill. p. 207; Petrioli Tofani 2002, p. 32; Tazartes 2003, p. 128, ill. p. 32

Of elegiac beauty, this large drawing of a young woman's head, neck, and veil is the only extant cartoon for a painting by Bronzino, and it was apparently used directly for work on the fresco surface. The Louvre drawing has been recognized as by our artist since the time of its ownership by the great Florentine collector Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), and this attribution was also upheld in Frédéric Reiset's catalogue of 1866.¹ Still, the sheet was inexplicably omitted from Arthur McComb's monograph in 1928 and from all the editions of Bernard Berenson's *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (1903, 1938, and 1961).² As Craig Hugh Smyth was the first to note in 1971,³ this sheet is the fragment from a cartoon, or full-scale drawing, which served to transfer the outlines of the design for the figure of the blond young woman at the extreme left in Bronzino's *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* (fig. 29-1; at left in plate 23). This young woman is one of the people of Israel who witnessed the miracle on the rock at Horeb (Exodus 17:6–7). Bronzino probably produced the cartoon fragment about 1542–43, for the related fresco scene on the north wall of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo is datable to late 1542 or early 1543, about May 1543 at the latest.⁴ In the fresco, the woman's forehead is cropped at the left by the shaft of an illusionistically painted



Figure 29-1. Detail of plate 23. Agnolo Bronzino, *Head of a Young Israelite Woman in Moses Striking Water from the Rock*, ca. 1542–43. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

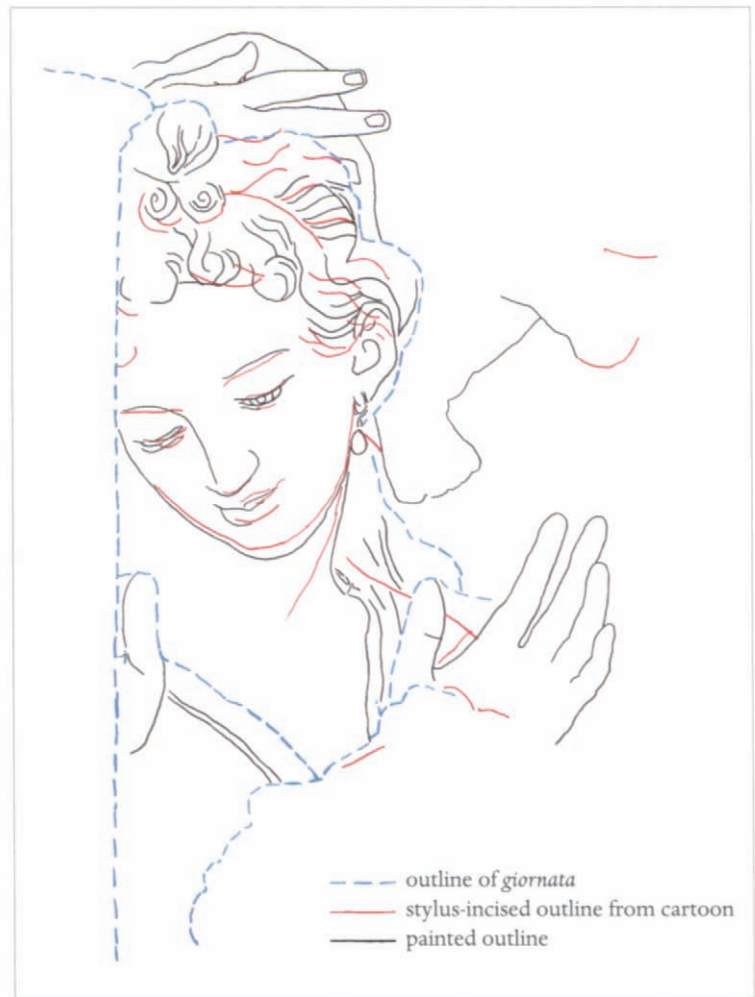
column, and the very soft modeling in the Louvre drawing has been translated with a slightly starker lighting effect. The technique of the present drawing has been described imprecisely in the literature. Firsthand examination reveals that the original paper was cut around the design of the veil at right and upper outlines of the young woman's head (to create a silhouette) and that it was glued by an early restorer onto a secondary paper support. A shadowy background around the woman's head was drawn by this, or another, early restorer on the replacement paper, and this "restored" background was rendered with hatched and stumped strokes in a grayer, grainier black chalk than the medium of Bronzino's original drawing. Accents in white chalk, which are in most passages very rubbed (to blend with the layers of charcoal





Figure 29-2. Raphael, *God The Father*, ca. 1508–9. Cartoon fragment silhouetted in the shape of a *giornata*. Black chalk and charcoal, outlines pricked for transfer 13¹/₁₆ × 14¹/₁₆ in. (34.8 × 37.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (3868)

Figure 29-3. Detail of plate 23. Agnolo Bronzino, *Head of a Young Israelite Woman in Moses Striking Water from the Rock*. Fresco. Reconstruction, in a scale of 1:4.55 with respect to the original, showing the outlines of the *giornate* (plaster patches) and the stylus incisions from the cartoon, with respect to the painted outlines (diagram by Rita Alzeni and Carmen C. Bambach)



and black chalk), are evident at left in the woman's forehead and the upper part of her cheek, on the eyelid at right, on the ear at right, and in both the left and right neck outlines. This use of white chalk for highlights is rather unusual for Bronzino. It is possible that these whites were added by a later hand to improve the appearance of the drawing (which exhibits some damage), as they do not entirely articulate passages of highlight as such and as in the area of the neck, the whites seem to mask some undesired drawn outlines. It is also possible, however, that the white-chalk highlights are autograph, given that it is known from sixteenth-century written sources that it was standard practice for artists to use *gesso da sarti* (tailors' white chalk) to draw the highlights in cartoons.⁵ For example, the use of tailors' white chalk in cartoons is stated in Raffaele Borghini's *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584), Giovanni Battista Armenini's *De veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna, 1586), as well as in Giorgio Vasari's contract and budget of 1572 for the frescoes of the dome of Florence Cathedral.⁶ In Bronzino's Louvre drawing, fine stylus-indented outlines are especially visible in the young woman's facial contours (for example, the cheek at left, the forehead, the tip of the nose, the parting lines of the lips). These fine incisions, which have been much flattened by the gluing down of the original support, now also appear abraded beyond the troughs of the lines, and, because of the pressure exerted on

the paper by the hand, the resulting marks can be confused as redrawing of the contours by a different hand than that of the artist.⁷ The stylus incisions are the result of a semi-mechanical means of transferring the design onto the working surface, and they accord entirely with the evidence of Bronzino's fresco-painting practice. His frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo and his later *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (see plates 20–24, 61) exhibit soft, schematic stylus incisions visible on the plaster surface with raking light; these were created as the cartoon drawn on paper was placed directly on the moist plaster, and the outlines of the design on paper were indented with a sharp point or stylus to transfer it (the *calco* technique).⁸

This author's close-up examination of the fresco surface, in the detail of the young woman's upper figure, confirms that she was painted by Bronzino with an arresting command of the fresco technique, over a perfectly smooth *intonaco* (surface plaster), in which the joints of the plaster are almost imperceptible to the touch (see fig. 29. 3 for a summary of the physical evidence).⁹ The portion in the fresco exactly corresponding with the design of the drawing was painted in a single *giornata* (a plaster patch that is equivalent to the painting done by the artist in one day's work), with carefully calibrated joints separating each of the plaster patches, while the immediately surrounding parts of the design,

such as the figure's bust and hands, were executed in two further *giornate*.¹⁰ The cropping of Bronzino's Louvre cartoon fragment, around the silhouette of the woman's head and down her veil at right, is that used for the *giornata*.¹¹ Fresco painters usually cut cartoons into pieces and transferred as much of the drawn design as they could paint in a short time before the plaster set and the process of carbonation occurred.¹² Analysis of the corresponding fresco surface, around the upper outlines of the woman's head and her veil at right, confirms that the seam of the *giornata* in the fresco exactly corresponds with the cut upper outline of the woman's head and her veil at right in the drawing. This type of cropping along the silhouette of a *giornata* identifies the rare cartoon fragments that were actually used for direct transfer onto the plaster for fresco painting (rather than transferred onto a "substitute cartoon"), and a few sixteenth-century examples exist, including Raphael's cartoon fragment for *God The Father* in the *Disputa* fresco (fig. 29-2), also in the Musée du Louvre.¹³

Although not indicated on Bronzino's Louvre cartoon fragment, the column cropping the woman's head at left in the fresco is on a further *giornata*, in which the shaft's painted outline perfectly conceals the joins of the plaster patches. On the woman's painted head, a small correction in a technique of *mezzo fresco* (half fresco, in which the pigments are applied once the plaster has set, though not completely dried) occurs on the tip of the nose; the cartoon outline was lowered by about two to three millimeters in the final painted outline (the photograph of this portion in raking light presents the evidence most clearly; see Bambach essay, fig. 4). In this passage of the fresco, the pigment was applied more thickly on the otherwise smooth surface, and not surprisingly, this specific detail in the Louvre cartoon fragment also exhibits *pentimenti*. In painting, Bronzino followed the rather soft stylus-incisions from the transfer of the Louvre cartoon fragment very closely, but he slightly reworked the design as he painted, for one can observe small shifts in the outlines (varying from 2 to 5 mm) on the fresco surface, between each stylus-incision and the outline that was finally painted. These adjustments can be seen clearly in the diagram illustrated here (fig. 29-3). Further observation of the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora demonstrates that Bronzino's fresco-painting technique had become impeccable by the time he turned to work on the north wall, and here, the seams of most of his *giornate* are disguised by the actual painted outlines of the figures.

This technical virtuosity also sets apart Bronzino's drawings from those of his contemporaries. Compared to other sixteenth-century cartoons that were actually used to transfer the design onto the fresco surface, Bronzino's Louvre cartoon fragment is drawn in an unusually finished, delicate technique, in which the charcoal and chalk applied with strokes of parallel-hatching and cross-hatching are then stumped flawlessly to create very soft, evenly graded modeling. The *sfumato* effects in the woman's face dynamically contrast with the somewhat rougher treatment of the black chalk in the hair and veil. This technique of refined, animated surface finish in the present work is due almost certainly to its probable function as a demonstration piece made by the artist to show the patron, in this case, Duchess Eleonora di Toledo. That Bronzino's patron expected to see cartoons also for the purpose of discussing and approving the designs drawn by the artist is precisely documented in the case of a commission from nearly twenty-five years later, the St. Lawrence frescoes intended for the church of S. Lorenzo, Florence.¹⁴ In that instance, Duke Cosimo I de' Medici wrote to Bronzino in a letter on February 11, 1565, to advise him to "begin producing the drawings of cartoons, so that we see them and resolve matters, because this decoration of the church is to be pleasing."¹⁵

CCB

- 1 Reiset 1866, p. 33, no. 105.
- 2 Pouncey 1964, p. 284, rightly chided Berenson for the omission.
- 3 Smyth 1971, pp. 9, 58, n. 51.
- 4 See Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 26; Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 60 (for the full transcription), 62 (for the dating).
- 5 Bambach 1999, pp. 54, 393, n. 127.
- 6 Borghini 1584, pp. 140–41; Armenini 1587, pp. 99–104; Vasari in Guasti 1857, p. 146.
- 7 As mistakenly stated in Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 374, n. 58.
- 8 As further discussed in Bambach 1999, pp. 256–57, 354–56.
- 9 Thanks to Antonio Natali, it was possible for me to examine this fresco cycle up close, from a tall ladder, with the advice of Rita Alzeni (who also produced a tracing on acetate of the detail), conservator of paintings, Galleria degli Uffizi (June 30, 2009).
- 10 As pointed out to the author by Rita Alzeni (June 30, 2009).
- 11 Bambach 1999, pp. 1–80, regarding this aspect, for examples, and related practices.
- 12 Plaster usually sets in about eight-to-ten hours, or one day's work.
- 13 Bambach 1999, pp. 69–72.
- 14 Originally, Duke Cosimo had apparently intended to have two frescoes with episodes from the Life of St. Lawrence painted in the nave of the church of S. Lorenzo, Florence, but only one, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, was executed (plate 61).
- 15 "Et però potete cominciare a farne i disegni su cartoni, acciò li vediamo et cene risolviamo, perchè ci sarà grato lornamento di quella chiesa." Bronzino's letter is transcribed in Gaye 1839–40, vol. 3, p. 166, doc. no. 153. Regarding this function of cartoons as works of presentation and demonstration for the Renaissance patron, see Bambach 1999, pp. 256–57.

30. *Head of a Young Woman (study for the Head of a Woman in The Lamentation)*, ca. 1543–45

Black chalk on off-white paper (now faded beige), glued onto secondary paper support, 6 × 6¹/₄ in. (15.2 × 16.6 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (10894 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 327, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 602; McComb 1928, p. 151, no. 10894 (as attributed to Raphael); Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 321, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 602; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, p. 468, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 602; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 19, n. 70, p. 20, fig. 21; Cheney 1973, p. 166; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1975, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 53); Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 87, no. 129; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 181, 265, 380, n. 57, fig. 124; Béguin 1996, p. 130, fig. 6; Cecchi 1996, p. 37, ill. no. 44; Perović 2001, pp. 8–9, 16–17, fig. 13; Brock 2002, pp. 185, 334, n. 14, ill. p. 188; Tazartes 2003, p. 33, ill. p. 34; Bergbauer 2007, pp. 35–36, fig. 9; Mottin 2007, pp. 66, 68, fig. 14a

This intimate study of a young woman with downcast eyes, soft aquiline features, and hair hidden by a tight-fitting housecap (or broad headband) was attributed to Raphael in the earliest inventories of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.¹ The sheet was identified by Janet Cox-Rearick (1971) as the sole surviving study connected to the altarpiece *The Lamentation* (plates 26, 52), painted for the east wall in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo after he had completed the fresco cycle in 1543. The woman is depicted prominently gesturing with her left hand at center in the composition (fig. 30-1). She was identified as Mary Cleophas by Cox-Rearick, and although the altarpiece exists in two versions, this ornately dressed figure remained essentially unchanged. The first version of the Eleonora altarpiece of *The Lamentation*, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (plate 26), was painted in a highly saturated, almost enamel-like chromatic scale in 1543–45 and has now been cleaned to its pristine original appearance.² As Giorgio Vasari's *Vita* of Bronzino tells, it was given away by Duke Cosimo I de' Medici as a present to Cardinal Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (1484–1550), minister of Charles V and a native of Besançon.³ The replacement, or second version of this painting, dating to about 1545–53 (it has been dated to 1553 by Cox-Rearick; plate 52), is of greatly more subdued chromatic scale and is still in situ in the Chapel.⁴ Although the surface is slightly rubbed, the style of the Uffizi drawing, with its fine, closely controlled strokes of parallel-hatching and cross-hatching, nevertheless accords well with Bronzino's manner of the early 1540s to mid-1540s and hence must correspond to the Besançon version of the altarpiece. In any case, she is ornately coiffed and dressed in the painting, and the formality of her attire greatly contrasts with the intimacy of the study. The underdrawing in the newly cleaned



Figure 30-1. Detail of plate 26. Agnolo Bronzino, *Head of a Young Woman in The Lamentation*, ca. 1543–45. Altarpiece, oil on wood. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (799.1.29)



Figure 30-2. Detail of plate 26. Agnolo Bronzino, infrared reflectography of underdrawing of head of a young woman in foreground of *The Lamentation*, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (799.1.29)



altarpiece in Besançon, revealed by means of infrared reflectography (fig. 30-2), indicates how this figure was transformed in the final painting into an idealized likeness, of sculpted, more Classical features; the tip of the nose was shortened, and the lips were thickened. As is evident in the pentimenti of the painted underlayers, the hair arrangement morphed from a closely cropped form into a wide and heavy-set wig with a tiara in the final painting, and the artist curiously struggled with the shape of the foreshortened ear at right, a problem of design that is not apparent in either the Uffizi study or the Besançon altarpiece (as finally painted).

The present Uffizi study and the Louvre cartoon fragment for *Moses Striking Water from the Rock* (cat. no. 29) are Bronzino's most accomplished drawings of the female head, and they provide an indirect testimony of what some of his portrait drawings after the female form may have resembled, as no female portrait drawings by him survive. This sheet was first recognized as by Bronzino by Bernard Berenson in 1903, and while Craig Hugh Smyth disputed

this attribution in 1955 (he also omitted this study from his 1971 monograph), it has been widely accepted by subsequent critics—including Iris Cheney and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani—after Cox-Rearick first pointed out the connection to the altarpiece. Because the face of the figure in the two paintings bears a certain resemblance to Bronzino's portraits of Eleonora di Toledo (see plate 30), she has been identified as an idealized portrait of the Duchess.⁵ To this author's eye, however, the Uffizi drawing seems somewhat improbably based on Eleonora herself, given the intimate informality of the bust-length study and lack of decorum (one would expect a certain aristocratic distance in a portrayal of the Duchess). The woman is seen in a close-up view, exhibiting a sensuous neckline and wearing a housecap or hairband, rather than a formal coiffure or wig. That this Uffizi sheet was intended as a portrait of Eleonora was also doubted by Iris Cheney in 1973, as well as by Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi in 1980.⁶

CCB

- 1 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in *Palazzo Strozzi* 1980, p. 87, no. 129.
- 2 Compare Baccheschi 1973, p. 93, no. 47; Tazartes 2003, pp. 136–37; and Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon 2007 (for the cleaning and new technical evidence).
- 3 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 233; and this fact is confirmed in the narrative of Borghini 1584, p. 536. On Granvelle's Chapel in Besançon, compare Pinette 1996; and Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon 2007.

- 4 The two lateral panels with St. John the Baptist and St. Cosmas were substituted with the Archangel Gabriel and the Annunciate Virgin (Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 233. On the two versions, compare Baccheschi 1973, pp. 99–100, no. 84; Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 60; and Tazartes 2003, pp. 150–53.
- 5 Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 264, followed by Edelstein 2001a, p. 237.
- 6 Cheney 1973, p. 166 (“I am dubious, however, of the suggestion that Uffizi 10894 [F] is a portrait of Eleonora da Toledo”); Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27 (“poco convincente”).

AGNOLO BRONZINO

31. *Study for the Head of a Woman in The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent, ca. 1542–43*

Black chalk, 4¾ × 5⅞ in. (12.1 × 13.7 cm)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles (2006.1-6)

PROVENANCE: Seligman's Book Shop, London (as Northern School, after the Antique), 1966; Timothy Clifford Collection, Manchester (his collection mark, lower right [not in Lugt]); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1989, no. 6; Beistegui Collection (his collection mark “JOB” [not in Lugt]); acquired by the French state for the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, 2004

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edinburgh Festival Society 1969, p. 8, no. 16, pl. 50; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 19, nn. 64, 65, fig. 13; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 39, under no. 11; Baccheschi 1973, p. 92, under no. 41; Cheney 1973, pp. 166, 171, n. 16; Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27 (as cautiously rejecting Bronzino's authorship); Candace Adelson in *Palazzo Vecchio* 1980, p. 56, under no. 82; Abbot Hall Art Gallery 1981, no. 25; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 129–30, 373, n. 56, fig. 80; Joannides 1994, pp. 238, 240, 241, 249, n. 20 (as by Francesco Salviati), fig. 14; Perović 2001, pp. 14–16, fig. 10; Dominique Cordellier in *Musée du Louvre* 2005, pp. 56–58, no. 24 (as by Bronzino), ill.

This small drawing was first identified by its former owner, Timothy Clifford. It was published by Janet Cox-Rearick as a study for the head of one of the women in the fresco of *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent* in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (fig. 31-1; plate 24).¹ In addition to noting the relationship of these two images, Cox-Rearick also suggested that the head might well derive from a Classical sculpture.

Occasional doubts have been expressed about the attribution, but the arguments in favor of Bronzino's authorship are quite clear. The pose is unusual and nearly identical in drawing and fresco. Similarly, the manner of rendering the eye is both highly specific and absolutely characteristic of Bronzino. Alternatively, the notion that the drawing might have been copied from the



Figure 31-1. Detail of plate 24. Agnolo Bronzino, Head of a Woman in the fresco *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent*, Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



fresco is disallowed by the much looser and differently formed curls of the hair. It is irrational to suppose that a copyist would have meticulously repeated the forms of the face and eye while disregarding the manner of showing the hair in the fresco.

Lastly, the execution of this small drawing compares well with studies such as the *Head of a Bearded Young Man in Profile Facing Right* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art from a few years later

(cat. no. 44), especially in the rather soft and complex rendering of the hair. Therefore, both the attribution to Bronzino and the drawing's place as a preparatory study for the fresco should be maintained.

GRG

1 Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 19, n. 64, fig. 13; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 129–30, 373, n. 56, fig. 80.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

32. *Study for Jealousy*, ca. 1545

Black chalk, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (16.2 × 11.9 cm)

Annotated on verso of mount, in pen and brown ink: "Lb (?) .57.64g."

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (88.GB.108)

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson Sr. (1665–1745), London (Lugt 2183); Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), London (Lugt 2364); Michel Gaud, Saint-Tropez; sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 20, 1987, no. 33; Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, Munich; acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Drawing in Florence* 1991, n.p. (under no. 5); George R. Goldner in Goldner and Hendrix 1992, pp. 32–33, no. 7, ill.; Mendelsohn 1992a, p. 166, n. 62; Mendelsohn 1992b, pp. 126–27, n. 49; Art Gallery of New South Wales 1999, p. 224, no. 104, ill. p. 132; Plazzotta and Keith 1999, p. 95, n. 20; Brock 2002, p. 227, ill.; Tazartes 2003, p. 140, ill. p. 48; Pilliod 2006, pp. 99, 110, 124, nn. 16, 17, fig. 2

This study was drawn in preparation for the figure of Jealousy at left in Bronzino's celebrated painting *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid* of about 1545 in the National Gallery, London (fig. 32-1;

plate 31). Undoubtedly using a studio model, Bronzino focused entirely on the hands and right arm of the figure, depicting them in both form and lighting almost precisely as they would appear in the painting. His economical method is evidenced best in the execution of the figure's left hand, in which the four fingers that appear in the painting are drawn with care, while the thumb is only briefly sketched. This is typical of the artist, who often chose to fully draw only those parts of a form that would be used in the final work.

The Getty drawing must have been made late in the process, since an X-ray of the painting reveals that the hands of the figure of Jealousy were first painted higher and in a more horizontal position (fig. 32-2). The draftsmanship, with firm outlines and meticulous shading, is characteristic of the artist at this stage of his career.

GRG

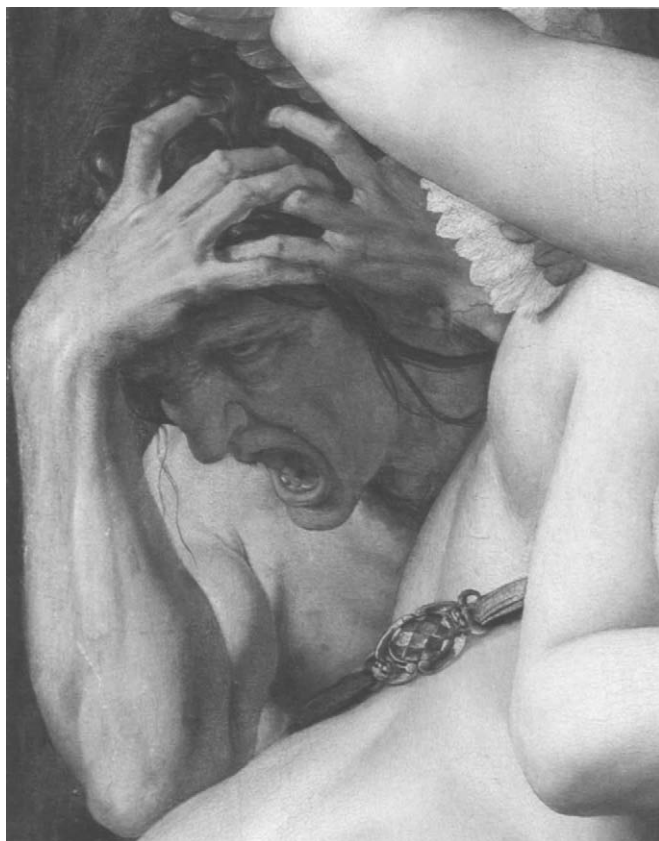


Figure 32-1. Detail of plate 31. Agnolo Bronzino, figure of Jealousy in *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1545. Oil on wood. National Gallery, London (NG 651)



Figure 32-2. Detail of plate 31. Agnolo Bronzino, X-ray of figure of Jealousy in *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1545. National Gallery, London (NG 651)



33. *Study of a Nude Man Standing from Behind*,
ca. 1540–48

Black chalk, 11⁵/₁₆ × 4⁵/₈ in. (28.7 × 11.7 cm)

Annotated on recto at lower right in pen and brown ink: “02”; inscribed on verso at top of sheet: “3” and at center in late 19th-century hand in pen and dark brown ink: “192.b” and below in black chalk: “Jacomo da pontormo”; at lower left: “152”

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Department of Drawings and Prints, Budapest (K.67.12)

PROVENANCE: Paul de Praun, Nuremberg, 1797; Esterházy Collection, ca. 1804 (without stamp); Országos Képtár (Hungarian National Gallery; later the Szépművészeti Múzeum), 1870 (museum stamp; Lugt 2000)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Muft 1797, p. 48, no. 1 (as by Pontormo); Frauenholz 1804, p. 10, no. 152 (as by Pontormo); Iván Fenyő in *Graphische Sammlung Albertina* 1967, pp. 24–25, no. 15; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 7, n. 2; Katrin Achilles-Syndram in *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* 1994, pp. 273–74, no. 115, ill.; Loránd Zentai in *Szépművészeti Múzeum* 1998, pp. 62–63, no. 22 (as by Alessandro Allori?), ill.; Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 126, n. 48, fig. 14

The technique of this figure study in Budapest seems to accord best with Bronzino’s style of the early 1540s, evident in the subtle handling of the black chalk, with firm, elegantly decorative outlines and softer, selectively rubbed parallel-hatching and cross-hatching in the modeling. Although the anatomical forms of the Budapest male nude are not idealized, the closest comparison for this sheet, in style and technique, is the Uffizi study of a man seen from the back (cat. no. 26), reprising the pose of the famous *Idolino* that Bronzino adopted for the youth standing at left in the *Crossing of the Red Sea* fresco, in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo. The Budapest study was attributed to Pontormo while in the Praun and Esterházy collections (considered a late work), and it was first given to Bronzino by Iván Fenyő in 1967.¹ The Bronzino attribution has been accepted by a number of authors, including Janet Cox-Rearick cautiously in 1971² and Elizabeth Pilliod in 2006,³ but it was rejected by Loránd Zentai in 1998 in favor of a tentative attribution to Alessandro Allori,⁴ which is unconvincing. Some comments about the damaged condition of this drawing seem necessary, given that the problematic state of preservation could be inadvertently confused for a lack of quality of execution. The verso was originally glued down on an album page and was carelessly torn off; thus, the lower parts of the sheet appear very skinned, which has compromised the drawing surface on the recto. Glue residues also disfigure the verso at the top, left, and right borders, and a broad band of discoloration occurs at the bottom border.

The subject of the Budapest drawing, which is left unaddressed in the literature, is among the most puzzling in Bronzino’s corpus, largely because the design cannot be connected precisely with any of our artist’s extant projects. The vigorous nude man of broad, although somewhat flaccid, anatomy is seen standing in a rear view (his arms are bent and one foot is crossed in front of the other), but most unusually, his head, which is inclined away from the viewer, is covered by a tightly fitting hood or shroud, with a rolled-up edge. The shape of the man’s ear at left appears to be discernible underneath the folds of the hood, and this may indicate that the hood is made of some thin material. A swag of cloth—perhaps part of this hood, or head-wrapping—falls apparently from the front of the man’s figure, forming a thick gathering that descends from his right hand. It is possible that this man is a captive, or a criminal, or an executioner, although none of these characterizations precisely explains his nudity and pose. Figures with hoods falling over their faces, although not nude, appear as mourners at left foreground in one of the last narrative scenes from the *Story of Joseph* tapestry series, now in Rome, woven by Jan Rost and his workshop (see plate 45). It is much debated whether the precise subject of the Rome tapestry is the *Burial of the Bones of Jacob* or the *Burial of the Bones of Joseph*.⁵ The document of resumé regarding the delivery of all the tapestries by September 27, 1553, calls it the *Burial of Jacob* (“n^o 20 V[n]o Panno della sepultura di Jacob”), and this seems, therefore, the correct title.⁶ The tapestry design by Bronzino must date to about 1550–53. Although the Budapest drawing seems to date to an earlier period in Bronzino’s oeuvre, its mysterious subject may also be a mourner, here drawn nude to study the anatomy, and with the shroud depicted to explore the fall of the cloth in structuring the pose.

CCB

1 See *Graphische Sammlung Albertina* 1967, pp. 24–25, no. 15.

2 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 7, n. 2.

3 Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 126, n. 48.

4 See *Szépművészeti Múzeum* 1998, pp. 62–63, no. 22.

5 On this tapestry (Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, O.D.P. 116), compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 390, no. 29, giving the latter title; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 46–48, giving the former title.

6 Document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 658, no. 256 (item no. 20). Additional archaeological evidence on the reverse of the Rome tapestry seems to confirm that the subject refers to Jacob (Lucia Meoni, oral communication, October 30, 2009).



34. *Allegorical Scene of Justice Liberating Innocence (modello for tapestry), ca. 1545–46*

Pen and dark brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache, over extensive black chalk underdrawing, on blue-gray paper, squared in black chalk, and framing outline at top border, 12¹/₁₆ × 8³/₄ in. (32.3 × 22.3 cm)

Annotated by Padre Sebastiano Resta on the mount, in pen and brown ink below the sheet: "Il Vasario . basta il nominarlo perche sia noto . La prima scuola / l'hebbe in Patria da Guglielmo Marzilla Francese, che dipinse nella Volta / del suo Duomo d'Arezzo . poi di Mich . Angelo Buonaruota . poi d'And.^o del Sarto . / fù universal Pittore, Scrittore, et Architetto. belle memorie lasciò in Patria p[er] la famiglia / sua."

Biblioteca Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan (F 261 inf. no. 65, fol. 61)

PROVENANCE: Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714), Milan and Rome; acquired in the early eighteenth century by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fubini 1955, pl. 61 (as by Giorgio Vasari); Heikamp 1968, p. 25, fig. 3; Heikamp 1969, pp. 34, 63, n. 4; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, c; Smyth 1971, pp. 26–27, 67, n. 136, Appendix 2, pp. 87–93, fig. 20; Baccheschi 1973, p. 96, under no. 57, ill. no. 57-1; Monbeig-Goguel 1976, pp. 33–34, 37, n. 6, fig. 2; Bora 1978, no. 65, p. 61, ill.; Bosch 1983, p. 76, fig. 6; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 113–14, vol. 2, p. 351, under no. 2, fig. 83; Mortari 1992, p. 189, under no. 105; Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 370, n. 16; Cecchi 1996, p. 46; Meoni 1998, pp. 162–65, under no. 20; Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art

2002, p. 520, under no. 61, fig. 225; Nadia Bastogi and Michela Piccolo in Palazzo Medici Riccardi 2008, pp. 99–103, no. 9; Lucia Meoni in Palazzo Pitti 2008, p. 49, under no. 2

Among the most historically important drawings by Bronzino, this sheet is pasted onto a page in a monumental volume of assembled drawings—the celebrated Codice Resta—now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. The album was compiled before 1706 by the great Milanese collector Sebastiano Resta, who titled it *Galleria Portatile* (Portable Museum).¹ Resta, however, erroneously attributed the Ambrosiana drawing to Bronzino's rival Giorgio Vasari, and even in 1955, Giorgio Fubini continued to accept this. It was not until 1968 that Detlef Heikamp² first rightly identified the sheet as Bronzino's elaborate preparatory *modello*, in reverse design orientation, for the tapestry *Justice Liberating Innocence* (plate 34).³ A technical report about the fragile Ambrosiana drawing was published in 2008, when it was restored,⁴ confirming that the drawing surface is somewhat abraded, that it exhibits small



Figure 34-1. Francesco Salviati, *Justice Avenging Innocence*, 1543–45. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, 13³/₁₆ × 8⁷/₈ in. (33.5 × 22.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (1366 F)



Figure 34-2. Copy after Agnolo Bronzino, *Justice Liberating Innocence*, 1546 (?). Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache, on blue paper, 12⁵/₈ × 8⁷/₁₆ in. (32.6 × 21.5 cm). British Museum (1943.III.3)



losses in the original support, and that it was drawn on manufactured blue paper (like cat. no. 35) rather than paper prepared with blue-gray color (as in cat. nos. 23, 24 recto).⁵ Both the degree of finish and the squaring of the composition indicate that it served as a *modello*, or demonstration drawing. Our artist executed the design with very finely delineated contours over extensive underdrawing in black chalk, then went over it with a fine pen and iron-gall ink, modeling with delicate, transparent brown washes. He probably produced the drawing in 1545–46,⁶ when the Medici tapestry manufactory in Florence was at its inception.

Duke Cosimo I de' Medici founded the *Arazzeria Medicea*, under his patronage, in Florence sometime in 1545,⁷ but the official contracts with the weavers that cemented the event were drafted only on October 20, 1546.⁸ *The Dovizia* (*Great Abundance*; plate 33) was among the first tapestries ever woven in Florence and was based on Bronzino's design and produced by Jan Rost and his workshop. The finished piece was formally delivered to the administration of the Medici wardrobe (*Guardaroba Medicea*) on December 8, 1545.⁹ The portiere *Justice Liberating Innocence*, to which the Ambrosiana drawing pertains, was the second tapestry woven from Bronzino's cartoons by Rost and his workshop and was consigned to the Medici wardrobe by April 22, 1546 (a dated document of delivery describes it; see plate 34).¹⁰ The tapestry was conceived as a pendant to a portiere *Spring* (plate 35), also based on a cartoon designed by Bronzino in 1545–46, which was delivered as a finished weaving less than a month later, on May 15, 1546.¹¹ The recently interpreted documents clarify beyond doubt that *Spring* was the pendant to the portiere *Justice Liberating Innocence*, contrary to the assertion by Erwin Panofsky, who incorrectly supposed that the famous London painting, *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid* (plate 31), was the pendant to *Justice Liberating Innocence*.¹² *The Dovizia*, *Justice*, and *Spring* represent Bronzino's and Rost's earliest tapestry productions for Duke Cosimo I. Craig Hugh Smyth, the first to regard the April 22, 1546 document as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition, convincingly dated the Ambrosiana drawing by Bronzino to late 1545 or early 1546.¹³ As Smyth noted, the composition reflects Bronzino's development of a more Italianate style of tapestry design, deviating from the naturalistic detail of Flemish taste, as is seen in the portiere *The Dovizia* (*Great Abundance*; plate 33). Although more precise, the drawing technique of the Ambrosiana sheet also is most closely comparable to the Krugier *modello* for the *Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* (cat. no. 41), intended for the Story of Joseph tapestries, as both drawings reveal a similar technique of white-gouache highlights, applied with fine strokes of cross-hatching and parallel-hatching.

The complex iconography of Bronzino's Ambrosiana composition is the product of a refined literary sensibility¹⁴ and offers layers of meaning that closely parallel those of the artist's most famous painting of 1544–45, the London *Allegory of Venus and Cupid* (plate 31), for which a preparatory study is included herein (cat. no. 32). The analogies of iconography in these compositions

are undeniable, as Panofsky first noticed,¹⁵ even if the London painting and the tapestry (to which the Ambrosiana drawing pertains) are not actual pendants. In the drawing, the powerful allegorical figure of Justice descends from above to rescue the supplicating seated figure of Innocence. Justice, the personification of a cardinal virtue, wears a fantastic, winged headdress resembling that of the god Mercury and Classical armor like that of the goddess Minerva. Her fluttering draperies indicate her heavenly descent. She firmly wields her long sword with her left hand and balances scales, her other attribute, in her right (her gesture is like that of the main protagonist in *The Descent of Christ into Limbo*; see plate 58),¹⁶ as she grasps the hand and arm of the pleading figure of Innocence. On the upper right, hovering above Innocence, is the winged bearded old man symbolizing Father Time (“volat irreparabile tempus”).¹⁷ He pulls back a veil to reveal the naked young woman of Grecian profile who personifies Truth. As in the National Gallery *Allegory of Venus and Cupid* (plate 31, see at upper right), the figure of Father Time is therefore envisioned as the instrument who unveils Truth, relating to the theme in Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* that Truth is the daughter of Time, which is based on the classical phrase (“Veritas filia temporis”).¹⁸ In the present drawing, the figure of Innocence is encircled by four animals, whose role in the composition has been much disputed. At right, Innocence leans back on a growling wolf, while at left emerge the ferocious figures (from the top down) of a snake, a lion, and a dog. The widely disseminated iconographic dictionary of the later sixteenth century, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, describes the Christian personification of Justice (“Giustizia retta”) in a manner that is consonant with Bronzino's portrayal and adds that she is usually flanked by a dog signifying friendship (“vn cane significativo dell'amicitia”) and a snake alluding to hatred (“vna serpe posta per l'odio”),¹⁹ both animals that are seen here, although in menacing poses.

Essentially following various of Ripa's definitions, Panofsky interpreted the four animals as symbols of evil—the lion (Fury), the snake (Perfidy), the dog (Envy), and the wolf (Greed).²⁰ In contrast, Bosch privileged the notions found in other, earlier sources (by authors closer to Bronzino's time and some current at the Medici court), attributing the symbolic union of the snake, wolf, lion, and dog to the Egyptian god Serapis, who, according to Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, the Roman grammarian and Neoplatonist philosopher who flourished about 430 A. D.), was the divinity of the Sun who controlled the movements of time.²¹ In Bosch's reading, the snake is an allegory for the concept of Time, while the other three animal heads symbolize the manifestations of Time past, present, and future.²² But this interpretation militates against the visual evidence, as the interaction of each of Bronzino's figures and animals is crafted with great visual clarity.²³ The snake, lion, and dog (at left), and the wolf (at right) are four distinct, equally prominent forms; more of each animal is portrayed than just the head, and each seems to perform an autonomous symbolic function, which amplifies the overall

content. At a more practical level, Bronzino's *Justice Liberating Innocence* represents a political allegory alluding to Duke Cosimo's dynastic ambitions and to his saving the city of Florence from the hateful tyranny of Duke Alessandro de' Medici (1510–1537), his predecessor and distant cousin who was murdered.²⁴ As Deborah Parker has noted, the poetic sensibility of this allegorical scene—with the threatening physical assault by animals on the fragile, lightly clad figure of Innocence, her rescue by a strong valorous woman, and the presence of Father Time—can be compared in a general way to the allegorical treatment in Bronzino's poem *Il Piato* (IV:172–213).²⁵ The work tells of the “fanciulla onesta” (honest girl), a figure clearly meant to personify Innocence and Christian Purity, who is unjustly assaulted by a rabid crowd but is set free by the old man with great wings (Father Time), to be carried aloft to heaven, “ove l'ordine tuo non si scompiglia” (where your order is never disturbed).²⁶ If studied closely, the variety and elegant mode of allegory in Bronzino's poetry can be seen to confirm the refinement and depth of his powers of *invenzione*, and for this reason, this author entirely doubts the proposal that Annibale Caro (or any other *letterato*) may have devised the program for Bronzino's *Justice Liberating Innocence*.²⁷

A spirited drawing in the Uffizi of *Justice Avenging Innocence*, done in pen and brown ink with wash by Bronzino's friendly rival Francesco Salviati (fig. 34-1), offers a close visual comparison to Bronzino's composition and undoubtedly influenced our artist.²⁸ It is entirely possible that the brilliant, although dilatory and inconstant Salviati was supposed to have designed the tapestry of this subject for the Medici tapestry manufactory but that he was supplanted in the project by the more efficient Bronzino, who could also rival his powers of pictorial invention.²⁹ During his time in Florence from 1543 to 1548, Salviati's main activity had been to produce tapestry cartoons for Duke Cosimo and to paint the frescoes in the Sala dell'Udienza of the Palazzo Vecchio (1543–45). Although both compositions contain dynamic main female figures, Salviati built a dramatic visual effect on the zigzag movement created by the personification of Justice flying from heaven above as she grasps the reluctant, kneeling Innocence below. Bronzino, in contrast, emphasized the compact sculptural quality of his figural arrangement. Two copies after Bronzino's Ambrosiana drawing exist, both in the British Museum; they are also done on blue paper and with the design oriented in the same direction. One of these sheets (British Museum 1895.9.15.559) was published by Smyth, who stated that “it might seem that Bronzino should be responsible” for it, but that the sketch was of weak quality and of overly calligraphic manner, which suggests that it must be by a pupil or assistant.³⁰ Smyth considered the other sheet (fig. 34-2) a faithful copy after Bronzino that is “somewhat pat and empty.”³¹ Catherine Monbeig-Goguel hesitated slightly about the quality of the Ambrosiana drawing, even as she fully accepted the attribution to Bronzino (“malgré une certaine raideur des contours”).³²

- 1 The first published record of the *Galleria Portatile* (the Codice Resta) being in the collection of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana dates from 1795–96. On Resta as a collector and on the Codice Resta, compare Bora 1978, no. 35 bis and pp. 11, 268; Warwick 2000; Warwick 2003; and Palazzo Medici Riccardi 2008.
- 2 Heikamp 1968, p. 25, fig. 3; Heikamp 1969, pp. 34, 63, n. 4; Smyth 1971, pp. 26–27, 67, n. 136.
- 3 On the tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 113–19; vol. 2, pp. 349–51, no. 2; Meoni 1998, p. 162, no. 20; and Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 518–20, no. 61, ill.; and Meoni in Palazzo Pitti 2008, pp. 49–51, no. 2.
- 4 See Palazzo Medici Riccardi 2008, esp. pp. 99–103.
- 5 This fact has often been mistaken in discussions of the Ambrosiana drawing by Bronzino.
- 6 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, c.
- 7 This is traditionally thought to have occurred soon after Duke Cosimo expressed his wishes to have such a tapestry manufactory in Florence (letter written to his agent Don Francesco di Toledo in Brussels on September 19, 1545; see Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 2–119, vol. 3, p. 509, no. 26 [for transcription]).
- 8 See Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 44–65, and for the fully transcribed documents, vol. 3, pp. 528–37, nos. 65, 66.
- 9 On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 348–49, no. 1, vol. 3, pp. 517–18, nos. 40, 41 (for the documents); Meoni 1998, pp. 158–61, no. 19; and Thomas P. Campbell in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 495–96.
- 10 “[V]n]a Portiera di seta et d[or]o i[n] quale è i[n]tessuta linnocentia co[n] piu animale et figur[e] da m.^{to} Jannj fia[m]mingo.” This document, “Ricordanze generali della guardaroba,” is fully transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 525, no. 56.
- 11 On this tapestry (Depositi Arazzi della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence, 1912-1925, no. 541), compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 351–52, no. 3, vol. 3, pp. 525–26, no. 56 (for the document); Meoni 1998, pp. 166–67, no. 21; Thomas P. Campbell in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 495–96; and Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 518–20, no. 61.
- 12 Adelson 1990, vol. 1, p. 115; contra Panofsky 1972, pp. 84–91.
- 13 Smyth 1971, pp. 26–27, 67, n. 136, Appendix 2, pp. 87–93.
- 14 Various interpretations have been attempted. Compare Panofsky 1972; Bosch 1983, pp. 76, 79, fig. 6; Cox-Rearick 1984; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 116–17; Parker 2000, pp. 145–48; and Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 518–20, no. 61.
- 15 Panofsky 1972, pp. 86–87, but who thought that these parallels meant that the two works were pendants.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- 17 Quoted above is Ripa 1611, p. 511. In the woven tapestry, the figure of Father Time would have his attribute of the hourglass added between his lower wing and the breast of Justice. The attribute of the hourglass is absent in the drawing.
- 18 Saxl 1936; Bosch 1983, p. 76.
- 19 Here consulted, Ripa 1611, p. 203, a book first published in Rome, in 1593, but the present passage has been overlooked (inter alia, Panofsky 1972).
- 20 Panofsky 1972, p. 84, n. 60, offering an interpretation, however, that is compounded from various passages in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (see “*Passione dell'Anima, Colerico, Rapina*”; hence, *Gula* is personified by a wolf, *Iracundia* by a lion, *Invidia* by a dog).
- 21 Bosch 1983.
- 22 Compare *ibid.*; and Adelson 1990, vol. 1, p. 116.
- 23 The details of iconography are clearer still in the woven tapestry (plate 34), for which the Ambrosiana drawing was preparatory.
- 24 Cox-Rearick 1984; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, p. 116.
- 25 Parker 2000, pp. 145–51.
- 26 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 143–47.
- 27 Contrary to Monbeig-Goguel 1976, p. 34.
- 28 This was first proposed in *ibid.*, pp. 33–37, and was accepted in Mortari 1992, p. 189, under no. 105, and Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 160–61. As Monbeig-Goguel convincingly argued, there can be little doubt that Bronzino relied on Salviati, rather than vice versa.
- 29 Professional intemperance may explain the reason Salviati designed only one of the twenty tapestries on the Story of Joseph, whereas Bronzino designed sixteen.
- 30 Compare Smyth 1971, pp. 67–68, n. 139; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 351, n. 7; and Meoni 1998, p. 162; and Lucia Meoni in Palazzo Pitti 2008, p. 49, under no. 2. The other copy in the British Museum is no. 1943.1113.3, here reproduced as Figure 34-2.
- 31 Compare Smyth 1955, p. 76; and Smyth 1971, pp. 67–68, n. 139.
- 32 Monbeig-Goguel 1976, pp. 33–34.

35. *Design for Half of a Border for the Story of Joseph Tapestries, ca. 1545–46*

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache, over lead point, on gray-blue paper, 14¹/₁₆ × 9⁷/₁₆ in. (37.7 × 24 cm)

Annotated at lower left in pen and brown ink, by a later hand: “41”

British Museum, London (Pp. 2-95)

PROVENANCE: Richard Payne Knight (1751–1824), London; bequeathed by him to the British Museum, London, 1824

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smyth 1955, pp. 48–49, no. A7a, fig. 123a; Heikamp 1968, pp. 22, 25, fig. 1; Heikamp 1969, pp. 35–36, 63, n. 15; Smyth 1971, pp. 24–25, 65, n. 119, figs. 18 (detail), 19; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, d (inv. no. given erroneously as 1909-6-12-177); Baccheschi 1973, p. 96, under no. 59, p. 98, ill. no. 59-74-1; Cheney 1973, pp. 168–69; Macandrew 1980, p. 16, under no. 128-1; McCorquodale 1981, pp. 101, 103, 112, pl. 63; Nicholas Turner in British Museum 1986, p. 165, no. 120, ill. p. 167; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, p. 163, n. 19, p. 164, fig. 103; Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 370, n. 16; Michiaki Koshikawa in National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo 1996, pp. 68–69, no. 20 (suppl., p. 19 [English translation]); Meoni 1998, pp. 124–27, ill.; McCorquodale 2005, p. 119, pl. 75

The Flemish weavers Jan Rost (flourished Brussels, 1535–died Florence, 1564) and Nicolas Karcher (died Mantua, 1562), who settled in Florence on August 28 and October 26, 1545, respectively,¹ were commissioned by Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici to produce the series of twenty tapestries on the Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50; Exodus 13:19; Joshua 24–32), to decorate the walls of the Sala dei Duecento (the “Sala del Consiglio dei Duecento” of the Florentine republic) of the Palazzo Vecchio from floor to ceiling, as was the custom in Northern Europe (see cat. nos. 35–43). Rost with his workshop wove nine of the tapestries, while Karcher and his shop wove eleven. The theme was intended to glorify Duke Cosimo and his rule of Tuscany; the betrayal of Joseph by his brothers and his glorious reinstatement in Egypt became transparent metaphors for the expulsion and return to power of the Medici family. The designs and cartoons for the Joseph tapestries were commissioned from three artists; Jacopo Pontormo designed three pieces, Francesco Salviati one, and Agnolo Bronzino the remaining sixteen. According to Giorgio Vasari, as Duke Cosimo became disappointed with Pontormo’s designs, he turned over the commission to Bronzino.² The finished tapestries were delivered to the *Guardaroba Medicea* between 1546 and 1553, as is recorded in a number of documents, and this evidence provides a general basis for dating the preparatory drawings. Broadly speaking, a first group of ten tapestries, including those designed by Pontormo and Salviati, was consigned by 1549³ and the remainder by 1553.⁴

This British Museum sheet probably dates to late 1545 or early 1546, perhaps before the contracts of October 20, 1546, which



Figure 35-1. Detail of plate 48. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, border of *Joseph Revealing Himself to His Brothers*, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 724)

already mention some tapestries of the Joseph series as underway.⁵ It presents the design for a border that in the final tapestry would have corresponded to its right portion (the weaving process is done in the reverse of the cartoon; see fig. 35-1). The design of the border in the study is in a considerably smaller scale (about 1:15) with respect to that of the woven Joseph tapestry borders; the height of the silhouetted drawing is about 37.7 centimeters, while the





Figure 35-2. Francesco Salviati, tapestry border design with the coat of arms of the Farnese family, 1530s or 1540s. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache on blue paper, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28.7 × 18.7 cm). Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (II 122)

vertical dimensions of the actual tapestry borders vary between 5.56 meters and 5.74 meters (see fig. 35-1).⁶ In its abundance of inventive ornament, the British Museum drawing can attest well to Vasari's brief words of praise for Bronzino's work as designer of tapestries.⁷ The ornamental borders of all twenty tapestries from the Story of Joseph series (now divided between the collections of the Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, and the Depositi Arazzi at the Palazzo Pitti and the Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence), not just those designed by Bronzino and his workshop,⁸ display a very closely similar composition, whether the pieces were woven early, or late, in the project. Therefore, essentially the same border (with some variations) occurs in the tapestries woven by Jan Rost and his workshop from the three designs attributed to Pontormo—*Jacob's Lament*, *The Temptation of Joseph*, and *Joseph Arresting Benjamin*—which were

underway between May 1546 and August 1553,⁹ as well as that woven by Nicolas Karcher and his shop from the one design provided by Francesco Salviati.¹⁰ The tapestry designed by Salviati is documented as having been consigned to the *Guardaroba Medicea* on May 16, 1548.¹¹ It seems that Bronzino was intending to design the borders of all the pieces from the very inception of the tapestry project, which also almost certainly indicates that he was seen as the main designer in the enterprise. He was meant to employ assistants to execute the cartoons from very early on as well, and this is confirmed by a document of petition of salary by Bronzino addressed to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, datable to October 26, 1545, requesting a monthly stipend of 20 *scudi* to paint the Joseph cartoons and to hire helpers, *garzoni* ("especially if one adds to this task, that of doing all the borders").¹²

Hans Geisenheimer was the first to link the British Museum study with Bronzino's designs for the Story of Joseph tapestry series.¹³ But without the benefit of a full overview of the documents that were first published by Candace Adelson in 1990, Geisenheimer and an early generation of scholars had assumed that the tapestries were first woven without borders,¹⁴ and moreover, that the borders were not designed by Bronzino but by his assistants, given that extant payments for the borders ("fregi"), from 1549 to 1553, were to Lorenzo di Bastiano Zucchetti and Alessandro Allori ("Sandrino di Tofano pittore").¹⁵ These are the only extant documents alluding to the execution of the designs of the tapestry borders, and they date from relatively late in the process.¹⁶ Based on the total sum of the documents for the project, however, it must be clarified that the assistants to Bronzino in executing the Joseph tapestry cartoons—and here, one must also add Raffaellino dal Colle to Zucchetti and Allori—do not begin to appear in the historical picture until after Bronzino's return from his trip to Rome, as stated in his letter of April 30, 1548.¹⁷ Moreover, Adelson's firsthand technical examination of the tapestries definitively put the other incorrect supposition to rest, for she demonstrated that the tapestries with their borders were woven more or less as one piece, as was Florentine practice at this time.¹⁸ Detailed scientific data, which has emerged since, during the most recent conservation of the Joseph tapestries in 2001–5, has indicated that often the vertical borders left and right were partly woven together with the main composition but that often horizontal borders top and bottom were woven separately and then sewn together with the main piece soon after.¹⁹ In any case, as Smyth was the first to point out,²⁰ the measurements of the Joseph tapestries recorded in the resumé document of July 15, 1549, by the *Guardaroba Medicea* are such that it indicates that the tapestries all included the borders.²¹

The British Museum drawing must have been among the first studies for the Joseph tapestry series done by Bronzino, and its fine style of outlining and general technique of wash-rendering evoke the design of the decorative ribs in the Frankfurt *modello* for the vault fresco in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (see cat. no. 23). Our artist rather unusually adopted for the British Museum

design a *carta azzurra* (as in cat. no. 34), a sheet of manufactured blue paper, in contrast to his use of buff-white paper, plain or coated with a gray-blue preparation (see cat. nos. 23, 24), and he exploited the paper as the subtle middle ground for a tonal scale of highly sculptural effects. His rival and friend Francesco Salviati also used this type of blue paper and a similar drawing technique for tapestry border designs in the 1530s and 1540s (fig. 35-2).²² Bronzino relied on the pen only to detail the outlines of forms and favored instead a looser, more painterly technique of drawing, an execution that is closer to the overall manner of painted tapestry cartoons in color. He modeled deep shadows exclusively with dark brown wash, while applying profuse quantities of white gouache to attain intense highlights. His invention portrays a richly ornate arrangement of human, animal, and garlanded botanical motifs, all superimposed in densely overlapping layers onto the structure of a fictive antique-style picture frame. It is articulated at its left end with a column resting on a tall podium. The garlands represent an array of fruits and vegetables, including at least two overly ripe figs. The strong erotic tone of these borders, which frame scenes frequently of charged sensual content, would not have been lost on the viewer of the Joseph tapestry series. The centers of the frame's horizontal arms are also punctuated, at top by the mask of a goat's head and at bottom by the mask of a grotesque fat man. The cornucopias of fruits and vegetables emanate from the top arm of the frame and meld at left with the upper body of a spewing dragon (none of the tapestries seem to depict this motif), while the monkey and long-beaked bird seated along the *intrado* of the frame's lower arm delightfully suggest the three-dimensional quality of this complex illusionistic frame. No less enchanting is the decorative conceit of the horned female and male herms bearing on their shoulders putti who reach out to eat the fruit below the languid female mask on the frame's left arm. The architectural motifs of the frame are barely visible underneath the sculptural weight of the ornament.

The woven borders of the Joseph tapestries present simplified variations on the design seen in the British Museum sheet, but the weavings at times also take great liberties with Bronzino's design, in reproducing a lower quality of detail and a less suggestive illusionistic effect of overlapping forms, between frame and main composition. The dimensions also vary a great deal. Since Bronzino's beloved pupil Allori and the mysterious Zucchetti collected payments for the decorative borders of the Joseph tapestries, it is not surprising that subsequent designs for tapestry borders done by Allori seem closely comparable to the British Museum drawing by Bronzino.²³

CCB

- 1 Compare Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 42, 50; and Meoni 2000. The present summary of the Story of Joseph tapestry series is based on Smyth 1971; Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 149–204, vol. 2, pp. 363–90; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 5–48; Adelson 1996a; Adelson 1996b; Thomas P. Campbell in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 483–505; Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 521–25, no. 62; and Meoni in Palazzo Pitti 2008.
- 2 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 234.
- 3 Resumé document of 1549 is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 579–81, no. 141.
- 4 Resumé document of 1553 is transcribed in *ibid.*, pp. 658–60, no. 256.
- 5 The individual contracts for the Story of Joseph tapestries, on behalf of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and Jan Rost, and on behalf of the duke and Nicholas Karcher, are fully transcribed in *ibid.*, pp. 528–37, nos. 65, 66.
- 6 The vertical measurements of the borders are given here for the shortest tapestry (*Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet*; plate 39) and for the tallest tapestry in the Joseph series (*Joseph Receiving Benjamin*, plate 51).
- 7 Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (text) (1987), p. 234 (“di quella perfezzione e bontà che sa chionche gli ha veduti”).
- 8 This point was made in Adelson 1990, vol. 1, p. 164, but giving the somewhat unsatisfactory explanation that the overall design “would be executed in Bronzino's shop to assure conformity.”
- 9 On these three tapestries (Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, O.D.P. 110, O.D.P. 111, and O.D.P. 109, respectively), compare *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 368–71, nos. 13, 14, pp. 382–84, no. 23; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 25–29, nos. 2, 3, pp. 43–46, no. 8.
- 10 On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 373–75, no. 17; Candace J. Adelson in Villa Medici 1998, pp. 297–99, no. 120; and Meoni 1998, pp. 132–33, no. 4, p. 475.
- 11 Document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 553, no. 97.
- 12 “Gli bisogna poter tenere, uno, & alle uolte più garzoni. che li aiutino, & massime che oltre allimpresa delle Storie seli aggiungne quella di tutti i Fregi.” The full document is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 512, no. 31.
- 13 Hans Geisenheimer made this discovery after his pioneering article on the Story of Joseph tapestries was published in 1909 (see Geisenheimer 1909), and his discovery was noted in an early oral communication to the Department of Drawings and Prints of the British Museum (recorded in Smyth 1955, p. 48, no. 47a; Smyth 1971, p. 65, n. 119).
- 14 Geisenheimer 1909, p. 143, n. 1.
- 15 The full extent of these documents was not known to Geisenheimer. Documents of payment to Alessandro Allori, for the borders of cartoons, date to July 31, 1549; April 1, 1549–July 5, 1550; and October 15, 1552–February 11, 1553. Documents of payment to Lorenzo di Bastiano Zucchetti, for the borders of cartoons, date to July 13, 1549, and April 1, 1549–July 5, 1550. See full transcriptions in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 562–638.
- 16 The reason for this document is probably that the assistants needed to be paid (to account for delegated labor), as it is clear that Bronzino had been designing borders much earlier than this.
- 17 See Appendix 2 for the full text of the letter. As Smyth 1971, p. 47, n. 7, has clarified, Bronzino's trip to Rome lasted only a short time, probably only two months.
- 18 Adelson 1990, vol. 1, pp. 66–67.
- 19 As pointed out by Costanza Albi, restorer, to the present author, especially regarding the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* (plate 42; oral communication, June 10, 2009).
- 20 Smyth 1971, pp. 24, 65–66, n. 122.
- 21 Document is fully transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 579–81, no. 141.
- 22 On these two designs for tapestry borders by Salviati, see Candace J. Adelson in Villa Medici 1998, pp. 284–87, nos. 113, 114.
- 23 As rightly remarked in Smyth 1955, p. 49.

AGNOLO BRONZINO

36. Verso: *Standing Peacock in a Grid*, ca. 1525–30, ca. 1540–49

ATTRIBUTED TO AGNOLO BRONZINO

36. Recto: *Half-Length Figure of a Boy with Arm Bent and Looking Up to the Right*, ca. 1540–49

Verso: red chalk, squared in red chalk, then charcoal or black chalk, on light brown (now darkened) paper; recto: black chalk or charcoal on light brown (darkened) paper, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.4 × 27.3 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6695 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 151, no. 2179 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1911, p. 22, no. xviii, no. 6695 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, p. 241, no. 6695 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 294, no. 2179 (as by Pontormo); Smyth 1955, pp. 62–63, no. A20, figs. 102, 103; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 493, no. 2179 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 383, no. A129; Heikamp 1968, p. 25 (verso), fig. 6; Heikamp 1969, pp. 36, 63, n. 17 (verso; medium incorrect); Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, f (recto); Smyth 1971, p. 67, n. 131; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 383, no. A129; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 365, n. 24, under no. 10; Meoni 1998, p. 128, under no. 1

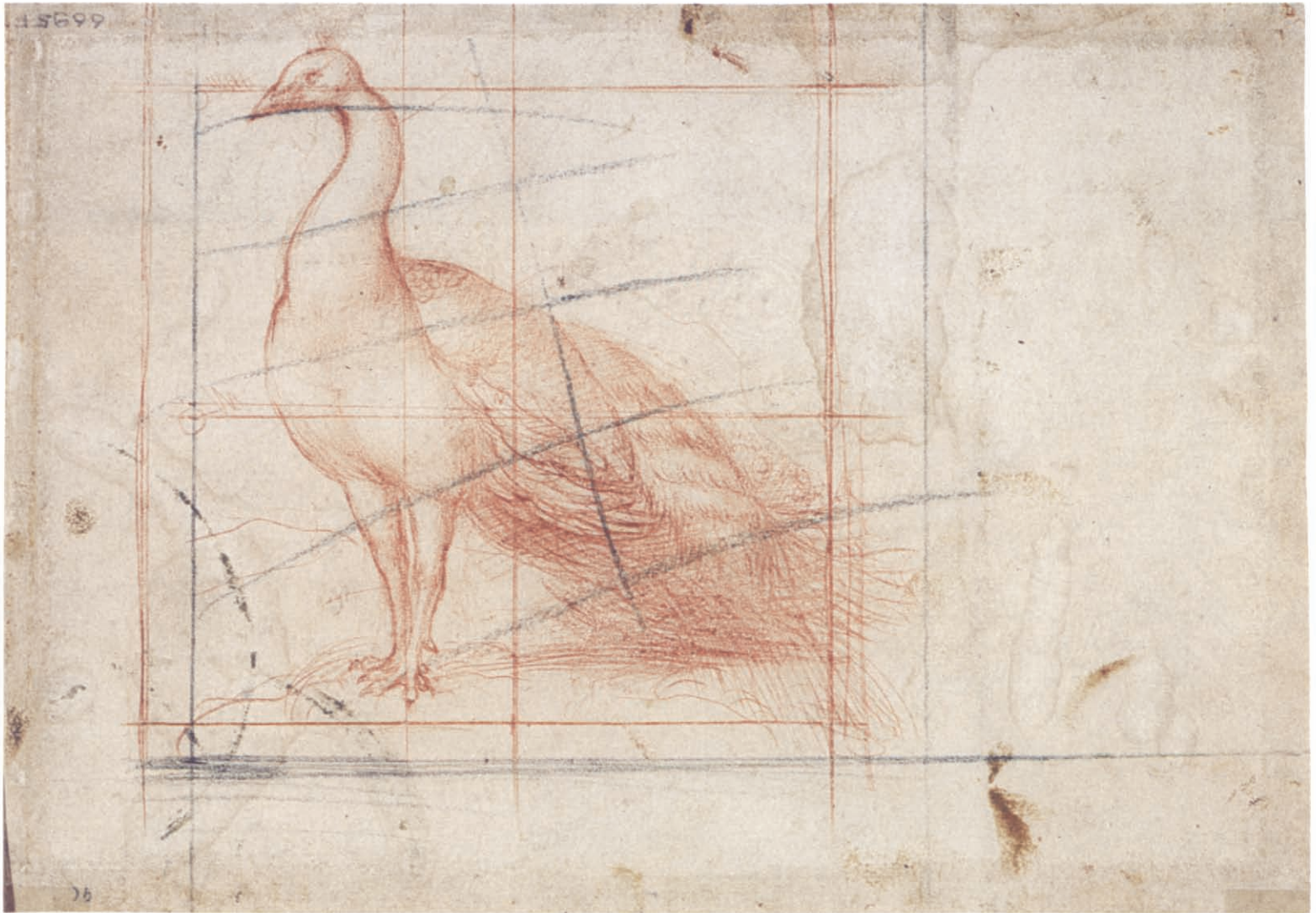
Somewhat disfigured by water stains, this double-sided sheet in the Uffizi has only a very slight sketch on the recto. It is difficult to attribute the recto of this sheet outright to Bronzino, especially because for a long time it was considered to be by Pontormo, until 1955, when Craig Hugh Smyth proposed Bronzino's authorship.¹ As the stump-like hand at right indicates, the summary sketch of the half-length figure of a youth appears to have been drawn from a mannequin, or possibly a sketchy clay model, rather than from a live model. Clearly done from nature, the study of the peacock on the verso may be considered to be the single surviving drawing of a live animal by Bronzino. It is a surprising fact, given our artist's obvious predilection for depicting dogs, cats, horses, camels, and birds of various species of birds in his frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo and the Story of Joseph tapestry designs. Later scholars have endorsed Smyth's attribution to Bronzino of the Uffizi double-sided sheet, primarily because of the motif on the verso, the peacock drawn in red chalk, which was identified as a preliminary design for a small motif in the portiere *The Dovizia* (*Great Abundance*) by Detlef Heikamp in 1968 and 1969.² The present author remains somewhat perplexed. The relationship of the red-chalk peacock study to the motif in the tapestry (fig. 36-1; plate 33), which was woven by Jan Rost and his workshop before December 8, 1545,³ was not known to Smyth in 1955 but was accepted by him in 1971.



Figure 36-1. Detail of plate 33, at center. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, peacock in *The Dovizia* (*Great Abundance*), 1545. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 540)

However, he rightly noted that the comparison between the drawing and tapestry motif is not exact.⁴ Further agreement regarding the attribution of the sheet to Bronzino was expressed by Janet Cox-Rearick in 1964, 1971, and 1981, Candace Adelson in 1990 (somewhat more reservedly), and Lucia Meoni in 1998. In contrast, Bernard Berenson—following Frederick Mortimer Clapp in 1911 and 1914—never abandoned the attribution to Pontormo in all three editions of his *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (1903, 1938, and 1961).

No less difficult are the dating of the Uffizi sheet and its relationship to Bronzino's oeuvre. Insisting on the Pontormo attribution of the slight sketch of the youth on the recto, Berenson and Clapp dated it to about 1525, around the time of Pontormo's paintings in the Capponi Chapel in S. Felicita, Florence,⁵ in which Bronzino assisted, executing at the very least the tondi of St. Mark and St. Matthew, if not all four saints on the roundels, as the present author believes.⁶ In attributing the Uffizi recto sketch to Bronzino, Smyth (1955) also settled for a similar dating, about 1526, thinking it not far from the time of the Capponi Chapel St. Matthew tondo (plate 2).⁷ Although Smyth noted that the youth portrayed on the recto is reminiscent of the main figure of the seated, sleeping Joseph in the tapestry *Joseph's Dream of the Sheaves of Grain* in Florence (fig. 36-2; plate 41),⁸ that similarity is to this author's eye not a close one, and Smyth did not mention the recto sketch in his monograph of Bronzino's drawings of 1971. Beyond the fact that both youths have their heads turned upward, the figure of the reclining Joseph in the tapestry is entirely different in pose from that of the erect figure in the recto of this Uffizi drawing. Nevertheless, if one were to accept that the drawing can be loosely connected



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with the early campaign of designs for the Joseph tapestry series, it would need to be dated to the very beginning of the project, in the mid- to late 1540s.⁹ The tapestry *Joseph's Dream of the Sheaves of Grain* is not inscribed with an allusion to Bronzino as designer. It was the first scene commencing the narrative of Joseph (Genesis 37:5), but was actually woven only by the time the execution of the series had more or less progressed halfway; the document of delivery dates to August 3, 1549.¹⁰ The weaver was Nicolas Karcher (and his workshop), and the tapestry was intended for the north end of the east wall of the Sala dei Duecento.¹¹ Janet Cox-Rearick in 1971 rightly doubted Smyth's proposal of 1955 regarding the connection of this sketch with the tapestry.¹² Candace Adelson noted the possibility that the sketch may be connected to the tapestry after all,¹³ but that it, like the peacock study on the verso, possibly may have been drawn at an earlier time and later adapted for the project.

This latter view seems the most convincing, for, the peacock on the verso is drawn with a very fine-pointed red chalk and was framed, squared, and crossed out by the artist with the same kind of charcoal or soft black chalk as that used on the recto for the sketch of the youth. It indicates, in the present author's opinion, that the artist used, reused, and discarded this drawing at different times. The finely, almost too tightly descriptive technique of handling the red chalk is in some respects similar to Bronzino's earlier drawing style (see especially cat. nos. 5, 6, 12–15) for one to consider redating it to the 1530s,¹⁴ while noting that it was by the 1530s that Bronzino seems to have abandoned the medium of red chalk. Although Detlef Heikamp¹⁵ first connected this verso study in red chalk of a peacock with the tiny motif in the background at center in the portiere *The Dovizia (Great Abundance)* (fig. 36-1),¹⁶ both are oriented in the same direction (which would be somewhat curious in a preliminary design for a tapestry); the tiny figure of the peacock in the tapestry casts a shadow on the ground, as is indicated in this drawing. The bird's overall pose differs also in the details. Heikamp also relied on the attribution of this drawing to Bronzino to affirm our artist's authorship of the tapestry design.¹⁷ The design of *The Dovizia* tapestry (at an early time, it was attributed to Salviati¹⁸), which had been Bronzino's trial piece, was woven by Jan Rost and his workshop before December 8, 1545.¹⁹ Smyth upheld the attribution to Bronzino of both tapestry and verso drawing but changed his mind in 1971 to indicate that the red chalk study was earlier.²⁰

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1 Smyth 1955, pp. 62–63, no. A20.

2 The endorsement of the Bronzino attribution regarding this sheet in Heikamp 1968, p. 25, fig. 6, and Heikamp 1969, pp. 36, 63, n. 17, only refers to the design of the peacock on the verso.

3 Documents are transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 517–18, nos. 40, 41.

4 See Smyth 1971, p. 67, n. 131, though still calling the tapestry by its less precise title of *Primavera (Spring)*. On the subject matter, see Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 348–49, no. 1.

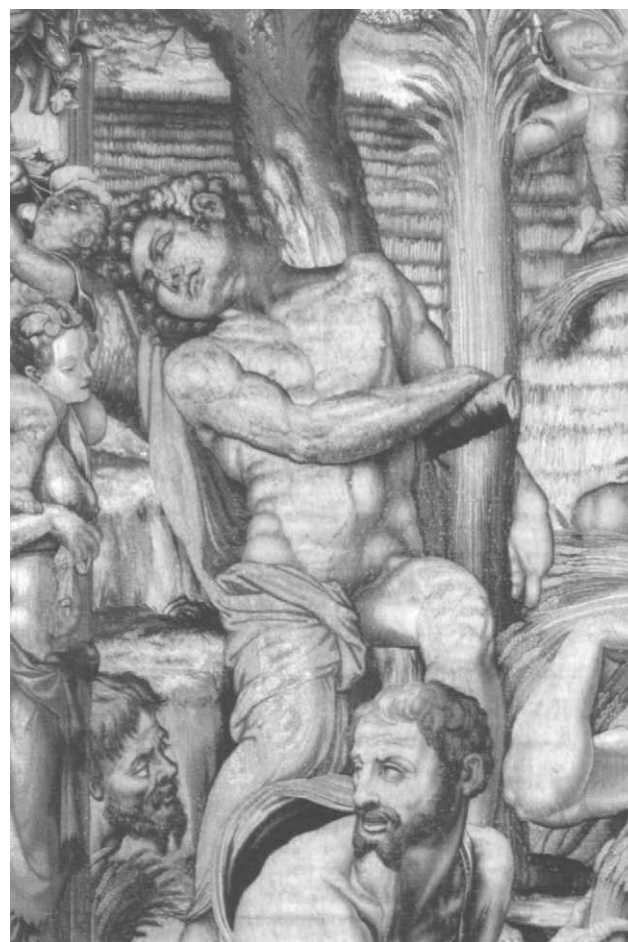


Figure 36-2. Detail of plate 41. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Sleeping Joseph in Joseph's Dream of the Sheaves of Grain*, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 730)

5 Compare Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 151, no. 2179; Clapp 1911, p. 22, no. xviii, no. 6695; and Clapp 1914, p. 241, no. 6695.

6 Compare Smyth 1949; Cox-Rearick 1956; Baccheschi 1973, p. 86, nos. 5, 6; and Tazartes 2003, pp. 78–79.

7 Smyth 1955, p. 63.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63. On the tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 364–65, no. 10; and Meoni 1998, pp. 128–29, no. 1.

9 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, f, dated it ca. 1546–48.

10 Document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 579–81, no. 141.

11 On this tapestry, compare *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 364–65, no. 10; and Meoni 1998, pp. 128–29, no. 1.

12 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, f.

13 Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 365, under no. 10.

14 Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 383, no. A129, compared this sheet to a compositional drawing by Bronzino of 1565, which is not convincing.

15 Heikamp 1968, p. 25, fig. 6.

16 On *The Dovizia* tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 348–49, no. 1, vol. 3, pp. 517–18, nos. 40, 41 (for the documents); Meoni 1998, pp. 158–61, no. 19; and Thomas P. Campbell in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 495–96.

17 Heikamp 1968, p. 25, fig. 6.

18 Viale Ferrero 1961, pp. 66–67.

19 Fully transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 517–18, nos. 40, 41.

20 Smyth 1971, p. 67, n. 131.



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37. *Group of Flying Angels Holding Stars, With Fragmentary Molding (fragment of modello for the tapestry Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars), ca. 1546–48*

Fine pointy black chalk with possible traces of brush and brown wash on buff paper (now darkened); toward right part, the paper was split into two fragments that have been rejoined, and overall surface was glued onto secondary paper support, 10⁷/₁₆ × 7⁷/₁₆ in. (26.5 × 18.6 cm) maximum

Annotated on recto at lower left corner, in pen and brown ink: "Da. no. 6.L. mo"

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (570 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793], vol. 1, as by "Bronzino Angiolo" [*Universali*, vol. 7, no. 7, "Una Corona di Angioletti aggruppati: Simile"]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 36; Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 597; Geisenheimer 1909, p. 143, n. 1, c; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 62, no. 597; Bibliothèque Nationale 1950, no. 427, ill. no. 24; Rijksmuseum 1954, pp. 85–86, no. 120; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, p. 58, no. 98; Smyth 1955, pp. 47–48, no. A7, fig. 123; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 114, no. 597; Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, p. 27, no. 17, fig. 9; Heikamp 1969, p. 63, n. 9 (as workshop of Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, g; Smyth 1971, pp. 21, 37–39, 48, n. 9, p. 64, n. 101, pp. 74–76, nn. 178, 180, 184, 185; Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 65; Macandrew 1980, p. 16, under no. 128-1; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, no. 132 and under no. 130; Candace Adelson in Palazzo Vecchio 1980, p. 54, under no. 81; McCorquodale 1981, p. 113; Monaci 1985, pp. 47, 49, fig. 31; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 366, n. 27, under no. 11, fig. 105; Petrioli Tofani 1991, pp. 240–41, no. 570 F, ill.; Meoni 1998, p. 130, under no. 2; McCorquodale 2005, p. 134; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Morgan Library & Museum 2008, pp. 40–41, no. 18, ill.

The second narrative scene in the Story of Joseph series is the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, based on the Old Testament (Genesis 37:9; plate 42).¹ This and the following two drawings (cat. nos. 38, 39) were preparatory studies for it; the tapestry was finely woven in wool, silk, and silver and gilded silver threads (in 8–9 threads per centimeter²) by Jan Rost and his workshop. It was restored in 2002–5. According to Candace Adelson's reconstruction of the tapestry series, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* was designed to hang partly over the door in the Sala dei Duecento that opens to the Ricetto leading to the Salone dei Cinquecento, at left center on the east wall.³ This portiere was woven as an inverted L-shape scene to fit around the original shape of the door in the Sala dei Duecento,⁴ which had a simple flat lintel and molding surround; it was devoid of a triangular pediment. The tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* exhibits a rectangular opening that measures 3.21 by 2.31 meters. The existing door on the east wall of the Sala, to which the tapestry corresponds, is probably in great part the product of Giorgio Vasari's remodeling in 1560–61 (done much after the weaving of Bronzino's tapestry), and it also displays a flat lintel.



Figure 37-1. Detail of plate 42. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 731)

The opening of this existing door measures 3.53 by 1.80 meters, not including the molding, which is 38 cm wide; with the surround, the total height of the door is 3.91 meters. Hence, one may note here that the overall proportions of this door today do not seem greatly different from those of the original door for which Bronzino produced his tapestry design. In Vasari's remodeling of the Sala in 1560–61, the two doors on the south wall were also redesigned, receiving triangular pediments. In 1872, long after the remodeling of the doors, the restorer, Cosimo Conti,⁵ added a rectangular portion with a cutout for the pediment in each of the two portieres (the other portiere was *The Selling of the Grain*), but the repositioning of the tapestries on the walls of the Sala in the nineteenth century no longer respected the original scheme. The nineteenth-century extensions on the two portieres were painted in color with gouache, watercolor, and ink wash over charcoal on woven cloth.⁶ The tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* is reproduced here with this addition by Conti in 1872, which was removed in 2002–5 during the course of restoration.⁷

The height of the present Uffizi sheet corresponds to a vertical dimension of about 1.73 meters in the tapestry woven by Rost,





Figure 37-2. Approximate reconstruction of the three drawing fragments intended for the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*. Here, the montage of cat. nos. 37, 38, 39 is laid over the reversed design of the tapestry to indicate the proportional placement of the drawing fragments (composed by Carmen C. Bambach with Chris Zichello)

making Bronzino's drawing on paper more than six times smaller (fig. 37-1).⁸ Most importantly, the drawing depicts along its bottom border the flat lintel with molding of the original door of the Sala dei Duecento (technical evidence from the recent restoration of 2002–5 confirms that exactly the same flat configuration is seen in the original, woven border around the opening in the tapestry). In the Uffizi sheet, several parallel outlines with modeling are interrupted by a small projection at the extreme right side of the bottom border, indicating perhaps the top of an engaged pilaster edged with a cornice. That these drawn outlines are Bronzino's reference to the actual molding in the architecture of the room rather than an idea for an illusionistic depiction within the tapestry is corroborated by the fact that the final tapestry entirely omits the entablature of the doorway seen in the drawing.

The document for the delivery of the completed tapestry to the *Guardaroba Medicea* is dated August 3, 1549 (“u[n]o Panno di seta et d[or]o il sole luna et le xij° stelle disegno d[e]l Bronzino”),⁹ which indicates that it belongs to the early group of woven Joseph tapestries and that the production and design of the cartoons by Bronzino must date much before this. Although Craig Hugh Smyth placed the related drawings in 1548,¹⁰ a date of about 1546–48 is probably preferable, as it is unlikely that the fastidiously precise Bronzino was making sketches and studies at the last moment before the commission was due. An earlier dating is indicated also by the delicate drawing technique and figural style seen here, which are closely evocative of the studies for the Moses fresco cycle and altarpiece in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (see cat. nos. 24, 28, 30). The three related studies in black chalk for the tapestry were exhibited together for the first time in 1980, with brief texts by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani.¹¹ Although Detlef Heikamp thought this sheet and its Uffizi companion (cat. no. 36) were by the workshop of Bronzino,¹² the attribution of both drawings to the master himself has been accepted by all subsequent authors, and it is further strengthened by the additional technical evidence that is discussed here.

All three fragments (cat. nos. 37, 38, 39) are of very similar drawing technique and paper (although in varied condition, as the paper of the two Uffizi fragments has somewhat darkened due to excessive light exposure),¹³ and it is most probable in the present author's opinion that they were originally all parts of the same *modello* drawing (fig. 37-2). While the present sheet does not add any archaeological evidence to prove this beyond being of homogeneous drawing style, the scale of the figures with respect to the other two fragments is in overall proportion to that of the tapestry composition. It is important to note with regard to the present Uffizi sheet that the strongly marked chain and laid lines of the modern backing paper (which contains a watermark) have impressed the original surface of this sheet, affecting its texture, but this is an issue of condition rather than original facture. The vertical dimension of this sheet is much larger than that of the related Uffizi fragment (cat. no. 38),¹⁴ and the original sheet could have been cut disproportionately. If the two Uffizi fragments were joined, a large vertical strip of paper

between their borders seems to be lacking. There can be little doubt, however, that the related Uffizi fragment seems to have been of one piece with the large Ashmolean sheet (see cat. nos. 38, 39). The motif of eleven intertwined flying angels holding stars in the present study corresponds to the upper right area of the final tapestry but in reverse design orientation (fig. 37-1); the artist took a small liberty here with regard to the biblical text, which does not mention putti holding stars but only says that “the sun, the moon, and eleven stars were bowing down to me.”¹⁵ Attributed since the time of Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni's inventory to Bronzino (before 1793), this study was first connected with the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* by Hans Geisenheimer in 1909.¹⁶ According to Smyth, who fully endorsed the attribution to Bronzino, the overall composition of the flying putti derives from the Vatican Logge frescoes by the Raphael workshop,¹⁷ while according to Adelson, the motif was based on the upper area of Michelangelo's fresco of the *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Cappella Paolina, Vatican Palace.¹⁸

CCB

- 1 I am thankful to Clarice Innocenti and Gianna Bacci for the opportunity of studying this tapestry in the restoration laboratory at the Salone delle Bandiere of the Palazzo Vecchio on May 28, 2009, and also for their permission to study the conservation report, no. G.R. 9486/VIII, now in the archives of the Laboratorio di Restauro, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence. New overall measurements of this tapestry are given here, 573 × 487 cm (maximum), with a 321 × 231 cm inset; report by Gianna Bacci, conservator in charge. On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 365–67, no. 11; and Meoni 1998, p. 130, no. 2. I am indebted to the architect in charge of the Palazzo Vecchio, Claudio Mastrodicasa, and his staff for access to the Sala dei Duecento and for taking measurements of the doors, as well as to Lucia Meoni in whose company I studied this evidence (October 30, 2009).
- 2 Meoni 1998, p. 130, no. 2.
- 3 Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 366; followed in Meoni 1998, p. 130, no. 2.
- 4 As was confirmed by the technical examination during the restoration of the tapestry in February 2002–May 2005, the borders around the door opening were woven; there is no evidence at all that the tapestry was ever cut to create these borders (oral communication to this author by Gianna Bacci, May 2009). *The Selling of the Grain* was woven as an inverted U-shape to accommodate the other door.
- 5 As pointed out to me by Lucia Meoni, who discovered the archival documents to this effect (oral communication, May 2009).
- 6 The painted addition on cloth, *Tela di gros*, for the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* measures 133 cm high at the left border, 88 cm high at the peak, 142 cm at the right border, and is 230 cm wide at the top border. The dimensions for the addition on painted cloth for *The Selling of the Grain* are 170 cm high at left border, 186 cm high at the peak, 190 cm at right border, 258 cm wide at the cornice, 204 cm wide at the bottom.
- 7 The original inverted “L-shape” of the tapestry is now again evident, and all the borders exhibit a newly added *cimosà* in black silk (following the original practice). A new photograph with an overall view of the tapestry after restoration, however, is not available.
- 8 The present Uffizi sheet is 26.5 cm high.
- 9 Fully transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 580, under doc. no. 141. The document of resumé for the delivery of the tapestry is dated September 27, 1553 (Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 658, doc. no. 256).
- 10 Smyth 1971, p. 35, in discussing the Ashmolean sheet (cat. no. 39).
- 11 In Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, nos. 130–32.
- 12 Compare Heikamp 1969, p. 63, n. 9; and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi, p. 88, under no. 132.
- 13 Smyth 1971, pp. 37–39, 75, n. 180; Monaci 1985, p. 49, under fig. 31. I am indebted to Chris Zichello for his assistance in designing the reconstruction reproduced as Figure 37-2.
- 14 The vertical dimension of the sheet in the Uffizi (cat. no. 37) is 26.5 cm, and that of the sheet in the Uffizi (cat. no. 38) is 19.2 cm.
- 15 Book of Genesis 37:9.
- 16 Geisenheimer 1909, p. 143, n. 1, c.
- 17 Smyth 1971, p. 73, n. 173.
- 18 Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 366.

38. *The Sun (Apollo), Moon (Diana), and Scorpio Pay Homage to Joseph (fragment of modello for the tapestry Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars), ca. 1546–48*

Fine pointy black chalk with traces of a squaring grid and the circles done with compass, on buff (darkened) paper, with a fill in the paper toward right by a restorer, glued onto secondary paper support, 7⁷/₁₆ × 12⁷/₁₆ in. (19.2 × 31.6 cm) maximum, cropped lower left corner

Watermark: partly legible, a circle with possibly a crossbow

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6357 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793], vol. 1, as by “Bronzino Angiolo” [*Universali*, vol. 7, no. 1]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 600; Geisenheimer 1909, p. 143, n. 1, c; Gamba 1918, no. 7, ill.; McComb 1928, pp. 148–49, no. 6357; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 62, no. 600; Rijksmuseum 1954, p. 86, no. 121; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, pp. 58–59, no. 99; Smyth 1955, no. A6, pp. 36, 46–47, fig. 122; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 115, no. 600; Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 26–27, no. 16, fig. 10; Heikamp 1969, p. 63, n. 9 (as workshop of Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, h; Smyth 1971, pp. 21, 37–39, 48, n. 9, p. 64, n. 101, pp. 74–76, nn. 180, 185, fig. 34; Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 65, p. 97, ill. no. 65-1; Cheney 1973, p. 169; Macandrew 1980, p. 16, under no. 128-1; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, no. 131 and under no. 130; Candace Adelson in Palazzo Vecchio 1980, p. 54, under no. 81; McCorquodale 1981, p. 113; Monaci 1985, pp. 47, 52, fig. 33; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 366, n. 27, under no. 11, fig. 106; Meoni 1998, p. 130, under no. 2; McCorquodale 2005, p. 134

This, together with the *Group of Flying Angels Holding Stars* and the lower register depicting *Joseph with Jacob and His Brothers* (cat. nos. 37 and 39), comprise preparatory studies for the same tapestry, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* (see plate 42; and fig. 37-2, for a reconstruction). The tapestry was to be

the second episode in the series destined for the east wall (based on Genesis 37:9), to the left and over the door, in the Sala dei Duecento (for additional historical details, see cat. no. 37).¹ The present study portrays Joseph at right, a seated nude youth of lithe body, although of great physical beauty, who moves his legs rapidly and gestures in great agitation.² He is startled by the reverence shown to him by the divine figures to his left. At lower center are the circles indicating the crescent of the Moon, within which kneels the goddess Diana in profile with an arrow and a scorpion by her side, alluding to the astrological sign of Scorpio; the woven tapestry renders her in a metallic light—primarily in blue, gray, beige, and white colors—but omits her crustacean. At upper left is the figure of a youth in profile, crowned by laurels³ and kneeling reverently with one sharply bent knee. Of Classical beauty, he is Apollo, who personifies the Sun; in the tapestry, the rays in the aureole behind him are woven prominently in silver and gilded silver threads. Behind Apollo at left, a head that personifies Leo has been said to exist, although no such detail seems visible to this author’s eye in the drawing or in the tapestry.⁴ Datable to 1546–48,⁵ the study (in reverse orientation) was intended for the upper left quadrant of the tapestry, a detail that measures 1.21 meters in height, that is, more than six times the size of the drawing (fig. 38-1).⁶ This upper register in the tapestry is rendered as if it were a vision of radiant light; thus, the technique of very soft rendering in the drawing—with no emphatic outlines or strokes and slight rather even modeling—is meant to emulate the ethereal quality of the divine



Figure 38-1. Detail of plate 42. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 731)



apparition. This is especially true of the forms of the startled Joseph at right.

The horizontal measurement of this Uffizi sheet with respect to the companion Ashmolean sheet (cat. no. 39) is very close, although not exact (31.6 cm, compared to 33.1 cm), and the difference of 1.5 centimeters is due to cropping. The lower border of the present sheet exhibits toward the right an irregular-shaped excision, or hole, which does not seem accidental and which measures about 2.25 by 8.9 centimeters (maximum). Although of different contour, it appears to have accommodated the stub (2.4 cm by 7.2 cm) seen along the upper right border of the Ashmolean sheet.⁷ One must imagine that the hole in the Uffizi sheet was probably trimmed out (as it is larger than the stub in the Ashmolean drawing) and that the lower borders of the Uffizi and Ashmolean sheets were also somewhat cropped, to account for the loss of a horizontal strip of the paper of a little over 1.5 centimeters high, for it is clear that both drawing fragments were originally part of the same larger sheet (compare cat. nos. 38 and 39 as well as the reconstruction, fig. 37-2). The lower portion of the circular moon image (cat. no. 38) seems to appear at the upper border of the Ashmolean sheet (cat. no. 39), obscured partly by the outline of the head of one of Joseph's brothers.⁸ The other portion of the Ashmolean sheet possibly exhibits the remainder of the watermark, seen in the

Uffizi drawing at the center of the lower border (45 mm wide); at present, the Ashmolean sheet is glued onto the mount. While Detlef Heikamp is the only author in recent times who has attributed the two Uffizi drawings (cat. nos. 37 and 38) to the workshop of Bronzino,⁹ the physical relationship of this drawing to the Ashmolean fragment proves that his view is entirely unwarranted. Although the drawing surface in the present sheet is rubbed in a few passages, it nevertheless is evident that this carefully executed study is done with the precise parallel-hatching and rubbed-in sfumato that are typical of Bronzino's style of the late 1540s.

CCB

- 1 Compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 365–67, no. 11; and Meoni 1998, p. 130, no. 2.
- 2 Pointed out in Smyth 1971, p. 37. I am greatly indebted to Lucia Meoni for a discussion of the iconography of the upper register of this tapestry (oral communication, May 2009); and my study of the tapestry in the restoration laboratory at the Salone delle Bandiere of the Palazzo Vecchio was invaluabley aided by Clarice Innocenti and Gianna Bacci.
- 3 Although very impressionistically drawn in the Uffizi study, the crown of laurels on Apollo is especially evident in the woven tapestry.
- 4 Contrary to the point made by Smyth 1971, p. 37.
- 5 Smyth 1971, p. 35, dated this sheet to ca. 1548.
- 6 The equivalent dimension in the drawing is 19.2 cm (height).
- 7 Smyth 1971, pp. 74–75, n. 180.
- 8 As mentioned in *ibid.*, p. 75, n. 180.
- 9 Compare Heikamp 1969, p. 63, n. 9; and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, under no. 130.

39. *Joseph with Jacob and His Brothers* (fragment of modello for the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*), ca. 1546–48

Black chalk, traces of squaring in black chalk on off-white paper glued onto secondary paper support; the original drawing surface by the artist includes a small stub of paper along the upper border, 18³/₁₆ × 13¹/₁₆ in. (46.2 × 33.1 cm), and without the stub, 17¹/₄ × 13¹/₁₆ in. (43.8 × 33.1 cm); the sheet exhibits an addition of a separate strip of paper at the top (3.5 cm high), as a reinforcement of the original support; the maximum dimensions of the sheet with this added strip, 18⁸/₁₆ × 13¹/₁₆ in. (47.2 × 33.1 cm)

Annotated on verso of mount in a sixteenth-century hand: "del Bronzino" Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (WA 1961.11)

PROVENANCE: possibly Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), Florence;¹ Colnaghi, London; acquired from Colnaghi by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1961

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ashmolean Museum 1961, p. 58, pl. xiv; K. Andrews 1964, p. 160, pl. 29; Heikamp 1969, pp. 35, 63, n. 10, fig. 2; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, i; Monbeig-Goguel 1971, pp. 15, 83, pl. xiv; Smyth 1971, pp. 35–39, 73, n. 173, pp. 74–75, n. 180, fig. 33; Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 65, p. 97, ill. no. 65-2; Cheney 1973, p. 169; Macandrew 1980, pp. 15–17, no. 128-1, pl. x; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, no. 130, ill.; Candace Adelson in Palazzo Vecchio 1980, p. 54, under no. 81; McCorquodale 1981, pp. 103, 113–14, pl. 65; Monaci 1985, p. 49, under fig. 31; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 366, under no. 11, fig. 107; Cox-Rearick 1992, p. 244, n. 28, p. 245, fig. 22; Meoni 1998, p. 130, under no. 2; McCorquodale 2005, pp. 122, 134, pl. 78

First published by the Ashmolean Museum in 1961 and then by Keith Andrews in 1964, this is the most fully rendered and detailed of the three preparatory studies for the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, which was to be the second episode in the series destined for the east wall of the Sala dei Duecento in the Palazzo Vecchio (see plate 42; cat. nos. 37, 38; and the reconstruction in fig. 37-2).² The detail in this drawing in the Ashmolean relates to the lower left quadrant in the final tapestry in reverse design orientation. The height of the portion of the design represented here corresponds to about 2.92 meters in the tapestry, which is, therefore, more than six times the size of the drawing (fig. 39-1).³ The greater level of detail and more sculptural quality of rendering of the Ashmolean sheet with respect to the related drawing fragments (cat. nos. 37, 38) are owed to the fact that in the sense of the biblical narrative, this is the real part of the scene, while the others represent a visionary dream above. The figural group in the Ashmolean sheet exhibits a few changes with respect to the tapestry. The youth at extreme upper left in the drawing has curly hair, which became straight hair in the tapestry; toward the upper right in the drawing, the youth's gracefully raised hand curves at the wrist, while it is straighter and much more angular in the tapestry; the anatomical shape of the upturned head

in *profil perdu* directly behind the elderly Jacob toward the left in the drawing was almost entirely changed in the tapestry.

In the Ashmolean sheet, the lower portion of the circular moon image that appears in the related Uffizi fragment (cat. no. 38) is represented behind the head of the youth at upper left (one of Joseph's brothers), definitively proving that both drawings are fragments of the same sheet or composition. At the center of the Ashmolean drawing, the young Joseph, of Apollonian beauty and



Figure 39-1. Detail of plate 42, before restoration. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 731)





Figure 39-2. Aristotile da Sangallo after Michelangelo, *The Bathers in the Battle of Cascina*, ca. 1542. Oil on wood, 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 51 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (76.4 × 130.2 cm). Collection of the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall, Norfolk

clad in an elegantly knotted tunic, stands in profile facing left and leaning forward in a Michelangelesque pose that reveals the powerful musculature of his back. He points upward, as if to explain his dream to the seated elderly Jacob in the left foreground, who stoops over his staff with crossed arms and legs. The two interlocutors are surrounded by Joseph's brothers in various guises of atten-

tion and inattention to the story being told. Joseph, therefore, appears twice in the composition of the tapestry, once in the upper register as part of the vision and again in the lower register as part of the narrative. The compact grouping of the muscular figures in this lower register is reminiscent of the central scene of the bathers in Michelangelo's monumental *Battle of Cascina*

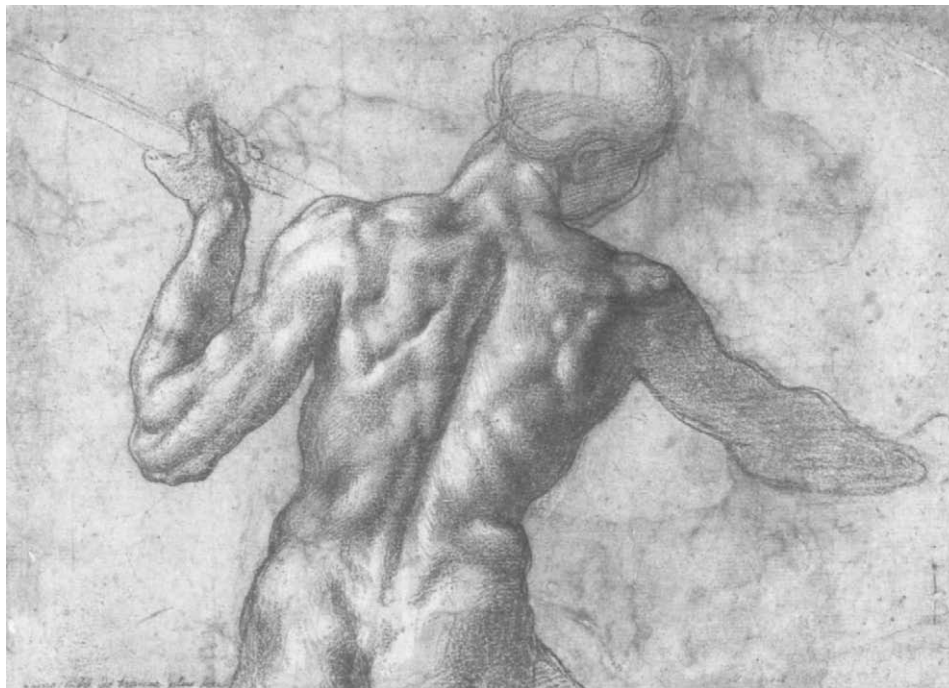


Figure 39-3. Michelangelo, *Study of Male Nude*, ca. 1504. Black chalk highlighted with white gouache, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 × 19.6 cm). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (123 verso)

cartoon, prepared about 1504–8, which is recorded in a grisaille painting in oil on wood at Holkham Hall, by Aristotile da Sangallo (1481–1561); Sangallo's panel was presented as a gift to King Francis I of France (fig. 39-2).⁴ This general interest in Michelangelo's *Bathers* (Sangallo produced his copy at Vasari's instance) closely coincides with the moment of Bronzino's most intense work on the Joseph tapestries. The technique of at least one of Michelangelo's studies for the *Bathers* (fig. 39-3) may be favorably compared to that of Bronzino's Ashmolean drawing. The fine, controlled handling of the black chalk to a high finish throughout Bronzino's complex Ashmolean composition reveals his powers as a draftsman at their height, while emulating the ideal of Michelangelo.

The Ashmolean drawing displays delicate nuances of tone in the modeling (the chalk is applied with finely intermeshed parallel-hatching and cross-hatching that follow the form, and these strokes seem selectively rubbed to unify shadows) and outlines of extraordinary vigor, with a few pentimenti. It has been dated to 1548,⁵ although a more open dating about 1546–48 seems preferable. The drawing has been called a *cartonetto*⁶ for the approval of the patron (the term *modello*, in the sense of demonstration piece, is perhaps more accurate). The precise relationship of the Ashmolean

sheet and the second Uffizi fragment here exhibited (cat. no. 38)⁷ can best be illustrated in the reconstruction here reproduced as Figure 37-2. The stub at upper left in the Ashmolean sheet is not in the same shape as the hole in Uffizi 6357 F (cat. no. 38). All three related drawing fragments (cat. nos. 37, 38, 39) are in a similar proportional scale with respect to the final tapestry (a little more than a sixth smaller than the final work). The high degree of definition in the forms of the Ashmolean *modello* accords with the fact that it renders the main foreground elements in the composition.

CCB

- 1 As pointed out in Macandrew 1980, pp. 16–17, a fragment of the early mat of this drawing (Archives, Department of Drawings, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) is annotated in a script that is similar to that on mats of drawings belonging to Filippo Baldinucci's collection. This observation is considered speculative by the present keepers of the Ashmolean Museum. I am indebted to Catherine Whistler and Karine Sauvignon for checking data on my behalf.
- 2 Compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 365–67, no. 11; and Meoni 1998, p. 130, no. 2.
- 3 The height of the Ashmolean drawing is 46.2 cm, without the added strip at the top.
- 4 On Aristotile da Sangallo's Holkham Hall panel, see Ghisetti Giavarina 1990, p. 34, no. 2.
- 5 Smyth 1971, p. 35.
- 6 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, under no. 130.
- 7 Compare also Smyth 1971, p. 37; and Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, under no. 130.

ATTRIBUTED TO AGNOLO BRONZINO

40. *Seated Female Nude Seen from the Back*, ca. 1545–50

Black chalk, 10½ × 7¾ in. (26.7 × 19.3 cm)

Annotated on recto at lower left, in pen and dark brown ink, almost certainly in the hand of Filippo Baldinucci: "Bronzino vecchio"; annotated on verso in pen and dark brown ink by a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand: "Angelo Brōzino"

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6358 F)

PROVENANCE: Possibly Leopoldo de' Medici (dry stamp); Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 37; McComb 1928, p. 149, no. 6358; Rijksmuseum 1954, pp. 86–87, no. 122; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, pp. 59–60, no. 100; Smyth 1955, pp. 80–81, no. CII (as a copy after Bronzino, probably after a drawing, although such a drawing is not identified), fig. 149; Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 27–28, no. 18; Smyth 1971, p. 78, n. 209 (as a copy after Bronzino)

This beautiful, although partially damaged study in black chalk is one of the phantom drawings in the Bronzino corpus, as it is little discussed. It was considered a Bronzinesque copy by Craig Hugh Smyth in 1955 and 1971, but the attribution to our artist has been accepted otherwise, including by Anna Forlani Tempesti in

1963, an opinion with which the present author wholly concurs; the heading "attributed to" is maintained here for the sake of caution. The woman's figural type is reminiscent of the *belle donne* (beautiful women) in the work of Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540). Her head is articulated with fine softness as are her unfinished arms and hands; the faint outlines of her right arm are visible at upper left. Pentimento outlines are generally evident on the upper part of her figure; the drawing surface on the lower half of the sheet is too severely abraded (particularly the feet) for definitive conclusions about the quality of handling of the chalk there, and the sheet is also marred by oil stains. These problems of condition should not be confused with weak draftsmanship.

The eminent early art historian and collector Filippo Baldinucci almost surely authored the inscription at lower left on the recto that reads "Bronzino vecchio" (the elder Bronzino) to distinguish the artist from Alessandro Allori, that is, "Bronzino giovane" (Allori was adopted by our artist). Baldinucci probably annotated the sheet during his work of cataloguing and reorganizing the Uffizi collections for Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, whose dry

stamp the sheet also exhibits.¹ More important still than this is the annotation on the verso of the sheet, “Angelo Brōzino,” the ductus of which is datable to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.² The fact of these very early annotations is unusual³ and speaks strongly in favor of the attribution of the sheet to Bronzino, because they seem to derive from directly transmitted knowledge rather than from conclusions, based on connoisseurship. It should be emphasized here that Baldinucci’s eye for attributions was often imprecise (abundant mistaken annotations by him are found on the early mounts of drawings) and that the connoisseurship of Bronzino’s drawings—in a meditated, historical sense—occurred largely after 1950.

In this author’s opinion, the anatomical type of the seated female figure closely evokes that of the nude protagonists in Bronzino’s portiere *Primavera* (*Spring*; plate 35), and his tapestry *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar’s Wife* (plate 43). Much as in the drawing, these female types in the tapestries have elegantly braided coiffures, open mouths with quivering lips, high waists, broad hips, and curving thighs. The portiere *Primavera* (*Spring*) was woven as a pendant to the *Justice Liberating Innocence* (plate 34; for Bronzino’s preliminary *modello*, see cat. no. 34) by Jan Rost and his workshop. It was based on a cartoon designed by Bronzino in 1545–46, and was delivered as a finished tapestry less than a month later than the *Justice*, on May 15, 1546.⁴ The tapestry *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar’s Wife* (plate 43) was woven by Nicolas Karcher and his workshop, and it comprised the sixth narrative scene in the Joseph series, delivered as a finished piece to the *Guardaroba Medicea* on August 3, 1549.⁵ A ruined, patched, and redrawn *modello* for this tapestry, done in black chalk and in reverse design orientation, is preserved in Christ Church (see fig. 6 in Cox-Rearick essay, p. 28), and although it was attributed to Bronzino by Craig Hugh Smyth in 1971, followed by James Byam Shaw in 1976,⁶ the present author hesitates to accept that Bronzino had much to do with it, given the tight handling and inept anatomy of the limbs. In any case, the contrapposto stance of the female figure in the present study is typical in Bronzino’s work and particularly recalls that of the seated man in the left foreground in the tapestry *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, whose design by Bronzino is datable to about 1546–48 (see plate 42; and cat. nos. 37–39, for the preliminary studies). The present Uffizi study can be dated loosely between the mid- and the late 1540s, based on the documents regarding the tapestries, and this is independently confirmed by the drawing technique, which closely resembles that of the three studies for *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars* (cat. nos. 37–39). Among the unconnected drawings securely by Bronzino, the present study is especially comparable to the beautiful, although fragile *Christ for a Flagellation* (fig. 40-1),⁷ in the treatment of the black chalk, with a soft modeling technique of great tonal nuances and very delicate contours. The handling of the lower parts of the figure also resembles the verso study on the Dresden sheet (cat. no. 27).

CCB



Figure 40-1. Agnolo Bronzino, *Christ for a Flagellation*, ca. 1540–45. Black chalk, 9 × 5¹/₁₆ in. (22.9 × 14.5 cm) maximum silhouetted. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6532 F)

- 1 The dry stamp of Cardinal Leopoldo was noted by Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, p. 27, no. 18.
- 2 Smyth 1955, pp. 80–81, no. c11, and Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, p. 27, no. 18, also rightly insisted on the importance of these annotations for the attribution of the sheet to Bronzino.
- 3 These are the earliest annotated attributions to Bronzino on a sheet of his drawings that is known to the present author.
- 4 On the tapestry *Primavera*, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 351–52, no. 3, vol. 3, pp. 525–26, no. 56 (for the document); Meoni 1998, pp. 166–67, no. 21; Thomas P. Campbell in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 495–96; and Lucia Meoni in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 518–20.
- 5 On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 371, no. 15, vol. 3, pp. 579–81, 659, doc. nos. 141, 256 (item no. 6); and Meoni 1998, p. 131, no. 3.
- 6 This sheet (Christ Church, Oxford, 1840) is not exhibited here because of its extremely damaged condition. Compare Smyth 1971, pp. 39–40, fig. 37; and Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 69, no. 131 (not illustrated).
- 7 The sheet, which is silhouetted around the figure of Christ, is too fragile for exhibition, and was most recently published in Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 126, n. 47, fig. 13. See Appendix 1 in this catalogue, List A, no. 2.



Antonio Vecchio



41. *The Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt*
(*modello for tapestry*), ca. 1546–53

Pen and brown ink, brush with brown, yellow-brown, and purple-mauve wash, highlighted with white gouache, over black chalk, on mauve prepared paper (the original drawing surface is comprised of three sheets with overlapping seams, two main sheets and a fragment at upper right border), 31⁷/₁₆ × 20¹⁵/₁₆ in. (69.5 × 53.2 cm)

Jan Krugier and Marie-Anne Krugier-Poniatowski Collection, Geneva (JK 5378)

PROVENANCE: Galerie Samuel, London; Paul Aysford Methuen (1886–1974), 4th Baron Methuen, ca. 1925; Methuen Collection, Corsham Court, Wiltshire; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1996, no. 10; acquired by Jan Krugier and Marie-Anne Krugier-Poniatowski, 2000

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Candace Adelson in Palazzo Vecchio 1980, p. 62, under no. 96; McCorquodale 1981, p. 103, pl. 72; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 387, under no. 26, fig. 120; Matthias Weniger in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1999, pp. 58–59, no. 22, ill.; Weniger in Peggy Guggenheim Collection 1999, pp. 76–77, no. 31, ill.; Weniger in Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza 2000, pp. 82–83, no. 26, ill.; Weniger in Musée Jacquemart-André 2002, pp. 80–81, no. 28, ill.; McCorquodale 2005, p. 122, pl. 85; Pilliod 2006, pp. 99, 110, 122, 124, n. 19, fig. 4; Weniger in Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung 2007, pp. 84–85, no. 34, ill.

This *modello* (demonstration drawing) in the Krugier Collection was intended for the tapestry *The Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* (plate 47) but is not inscribed to indicate that Bronzino was its designer; others of the Joseph tapestries exhibit our artist's monogram.¹ It represents the seventeenth scene in the Story of Joseph, based on the biblical narrative (Genesis 46:29): "Joseph made ready his chariot and went up to meet his father Israel in Goshen. He presented himself to him, fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while." Like all the autograph drawings for the Joseph tapestries, the Krugier *modello* is in reverse design orientation, and its details are very close to the final tapestry. In the foreground, the elderly Jacob at left embraces Joseph kneeling at right; both are surrounded by a crowd of celebrating people in exotic dress who are part of the caravan of Jacob, his sons, and their families. In the background are at least two great festival chariots drawn by camels. The dating of the Krugier *modello* is more vexed than may appear at first, and it is here therefore left somewhat open, as about 1546–53. The document of consignment of the related tapestry to the *Guardaroba Medicea* is dated September 27, 1553 ("n° 17. V[n]o Panno della venuta di Jacob i[n] egypto"), providing a reasonable *ante quem* date for the drawing, and the same document names Nicolas Karcher (and workshop) as the author of the weaving.² However, at least to this author's eye, the Krugier *modello*'s figural style, together with its fine technique of drawing, especially evident in the white gouache highlights applied sometimes with minute parallel-hatching and cross-hatching, brings it closer to the Ambrosiana *modello* of *Justice Liberating Innocence* (cat. no. 34), which is datable to 1545–46,

based on the related documents. It thus may not be ruled out that the Krugier *modello* was also produced during the earliest years of the Medici tapestry manufactory, but that the related tapestry was woven closer to 1550–53. According to Candace Adelson's reconstruction, the tapestry *The Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* was designed to hang third from the left, on the north wall of the Sala dei Duecento in the Palazzo Vecchio.³

The large, delicately rendered Krugier *modello* has been studied by scholars in the original only very infrequently and is not often publicly exhibited. Unlike the other two large *modelli* for the Joseph tapestries (cat. nos. 42, 43), the Krugier *modello* is not drawn on the surface of a single sheet. Here, the drawing surface was constructed much as was done for large Renaissance cartoons, consisting of two rectangular sheets glued together lengthwise, with one border overlapping the other and a further fragment glued vertically at top right. The two large sheets measure respectively about 35.7 by 53.2 cm, and 36.7 by 53.2 cm (including the overlapping seam underneath), with the border of the top sheet resting over the border of the bottom sheet.⁴

The Krugier *modello* entered the Bronzino literature relatively belatedly. Michael Hirst first connected it with the tapestry in Florence in 1967 in an unpublished note,⁵ and it is therefore absent from the major monographic studies on Bronzino's drawings by Craig Hugh Smyth (1955 and 1971). The *modello* is replete with exquisite, precisely delineated lighting effects, which are evident despite the greatly abraded drawing surface (this work has undergone extensive restoration).⁶ The technique of brown washes and stark white gouache highlights on paper prepared with color and the clearly expository style of drawing are precisely comparable to those of the *modello* of *Justice Liberating Innocence* (cat. no. 34); the document of delivery of the completed *Justice* tapestry is dated April 22, 1546.⁷ The looser treatment of the brown washes over a copious layer of black-chalk underdrawing in the Krugier *modello* also compares to the Berlin *modello* for the tapestry *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt* (see cat. no. 42; plate 44), woven by Jan Rost and his workshop, consigned to the *Guardaroba Medicea* on August 21, 1553.⁸ These stylistic comparisons, therefore, clarify that Bronzino maintained a consistent mode of drawing that worked for the benefit of the assistants and artisans who were to translate his designs.

CCB

- 1 On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 386–87, no. 26; and Meoni 1998, p. 140, no. 9.
- 2 Document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 659, under no. 256.
- 3 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 386–87, no. 26.
- 4 On these construction techniques, see Bambach 1999, pp. 39–51.
- 5 As is recorded in a letter by Cristiana Romalli, Department of Old Master Drawings, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 1996 (see Matthias Weniger in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1999, p. 58, no. 22).
- 6 Most recently, in 1997, by Véronique Strasser, Geneva.
- 7 Document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 525, no. 56.
- 8 Document is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 656, no. 253.



42. *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt (modello for tapestry)*, ca. 1550–53

Brush and brown wash, highlighted with gouache of warm cream hue over black chalk, squared in black chalk (at 2.7 cm intervals), on paper now considerably darkened, 24⁹/₁₆ × 19¹³/₁₆ in. (62.4 × 50.4 cm original drawing surface; 63.3 × 51.7 cm including yellow-ocher painted border)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Sammlungen für Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, Berlin (KdZ 28077)

PROVENANCE: Schinkel-Beuth Collection (formed from the collections of Karl Friedrich Schinkel [1781–1841] and Christian Peter Beuth [1781–1853]), Schinkels Museum (housed in the former Academy of Architecture), Berlin, 1844–73; Nationalgalerie, Berlin (transferred to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, East Berlin); Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1992

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Geisenheimer 1909, p. 145, n. 4 (as a copy by Alessandro Allori after a cartoon by Bronzino); Heikamp 1969, pp. 35, 63, n. 13, fig. 3; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, l; Smyth 1971, pp. 40–41, 76, n. 193 (as not by Bronzino; done by two hands, most probably by Raffaellino dal Colle and Allori); Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 68, ill. no. 68-1; Monaci 1985, p. 47; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 388, under no. 27, fig. 121; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 46, under no. 9; Matthias Weniger in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1999, p. 58, under no. 22, fig. 22a; Weniger in Peggy Guggenheim Collection 1999, p. 76, under no. 31, fig. 31a; Weniger in Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza 2000, p. 82, under no. 26, fig. 26a; Weniger in Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung 2007, p. 84, n. 2

The *modello* of *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt* is drawn on a single sheet of paper, whose original size apparently conformed to the largest standard format of manufactured paper in early sixteenth-century Italy, the “*foglio imperiale*” (measuring about 72.6–30 × 50.8 cm, before cutting). First attributed to Bronzino in 1969 by Detlef Heikamp,¹ this complex composition provides significant visual evidence for evaluating more fully the range of execution in our artist’s large-scale drawings. He first sketched a very extensive underdrawing rather freely with a fine, grainy black chalk, then worked up parts of the design more definitively in black chalk and in layer on layer of pale brown wash, while leaving other parts of the design only indicated in black chalk. The drawing technique demonstrates a masterful command of the device of atmospheric perspective, for Bronzino attained an overall airiness of space in this composition, extending from the foreground to the distant background. This atmospheric control of tone is not often seen in his drawings, as few of them include a landscape setting for the figures.

The monumental foreground figures are worked to a luminous, sculptural finish, with deeply graded shadows in dark brown washes and intense cream-color gouache highlights, while the more smoky forms in the middle ground and background, done with pale washes or just plain black chalk, gradually dissolve into the color of the paper. As Heikamp was the first to note, the large Berlin sheet served as a squared preparatory *modello* for the

tapestry *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt* (plate 44),² the eighteenth scene in the narration of the Joseph cycle, which was woven by Jan Rost and his workshop. It is one of the three final Joseph tapestries presumably delivered by Rost to the *Guardaroba Medicea* on August 21, 1553, although it is there not specifically described by subject (“ricordo come q[uest]o di uenne da m.^{ro} Janni rost arazziere tre panni d[or]o della sala”).³ Soon afterward, it appears mentioned in the Journal among the tapestries consigned by Rost to the *Guardaroba Medicea* by September 27, 1553 (“n^o 18. V[n]o Panno q[ua]n[do] faraone accetta Jacob nel regno”).⁴ Given the documented context, the Berlin *modello* can be dated to about 1550–53,⁵ if one considers that the artist was collecting a monthly salary for the Joseph tapestry cartoons until the end of the project and that the documents of delivery of the tapestry are dated August 21 and September 27, 1553.⁶ The tapestry *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt* is inscribed “BRŌ. FLO” (Bronzinus Florentinus) on the pedestal of the left border, which also bears the rebus of Rost on the lower edge of the border at the far right.

The composition of the Berlin *modello* and the signed tapestry (plate 44) conflates two episodes from the Story of Joseph: Joseph bringing his five brothers to the pharaoh who grants them permission to live in Goshen (Genesis 47:1–6) and Jacob being presented to Pharaoh (Genesis 47:7–10).⁷ In the Berlin drawing (and in reverse design in the tapestry), the pharaoh stands at upper left, crowned like a king and clad in Classical armor, with Joseph by his immediate side seen from behind; the pharaoh points out for the aged, stooping Jacob, the lands and towns around Goshen, seen at upper right. The main part of the composition is dedicated to the group of magnificent female figures in the foreground. These onlookers are the family of Joseph’s brothers who came from Canaan, “with their flocks and herds and all that they possess.”⁸ According to Candace Adelson’s reconstruction, the tapestry *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt* was intended to hang fourth from the left, on the north wall of the Sala dei Duecento in the Palazzo Vecchio.⁹ Bronzino’s composition unmistakably would have been interpreted by his audience as an emblem of the full authority conferred by Emperor Charles V (embodied here by the pharaoh) to Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici (Joseph) over all of Tuscany and the city of Florence, represented allegorically by the lands of Goshen.¹⁰

The original support of the Berlin drawing has suffered losses, which have been restored sensitively.¹¹ As this is a work that was inaccessible for a long time—during a critical period after World War II until the reunification of the Berlin Museums in 1992—the original has rarely been studied by specialists. Although the attribution to Bronzino was discarded by Craig Hugh Smyth in





Figure 42-1. Detail of catalogue number 42

1971 on the basis of a photograph (he thought unconvincingly that two hands were at work on the drawing),¹² it should be emphasized that the final tapestry has Bronzino's signature and that the technique in the Berlin drawing seems homogeneous, from the very layers of black-chalk underdrawing to the modeling on top with washes. Given that numerous parts of the design seem, in fact, indecipherable and incomplete without the delicate wash rendering, it can be concluded safely that this wash modeling is a structural element of the design, not an addition by another hand. The drawing also displays similarities to passages in the ruined Uffizi *modello* (see fig. 6 in Cox-Rearick essay, p. 28) for *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet* (plate 39), which Smyth particularly defended as by our artist.¹³ Only the style of the Berlin drawing is looser. The Uffizi *modello* and tapestry *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet* are from a few years earlier. The tapestry *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet* was woven as an exemplar, soon after the drafting of the October 20, 1546, contracts with the weavers,¹⁴ and was delivered as a finished work on July 15, 1549.¹⁵ If the documentary and visual evidence is thus considered as a whole, it seems impossible to deny, with good reason, Bronzino's authorship of the Berlin tapestry

modello. Not only is this an exploratory drawing filled with spirited pentimenti (figs. 42-1, 42-2), but it also displays nuances of light and atmosphere throughout the composition, as well as suggestive, vigorous, and free contours, especially in the background figures. None of it, therefore, could one impute to an assistant, or two assistants, for the free-flowing sketchiness could not have been authored by someone other than the designer of the scene.

The attribution of the Berlin *modello* to Bronzino himself was rejected in 1909 by Hans Geisenheimer, who considered it a copy by Alessandro Allori after Bronzino's cartoon.¹⁶ In discarding Bronzino's attribution in 1971, Craig Hugh Smyth (who, as he stated, knew the sheet only from a photograph) inexplicably considered the Berlin *modello* a joint product executed by Raffaellino dal Colle and Alessandro Allori. However, at the time of the production of the last tapestry cartoons of the Joseph series, Allori (who was born in 1535) was barely eighteen years old, and moreover, Allori only appears in the documents as collecting payment for the borders of the tapestry cartoons (he is named there, "Sandrino di Tofano pittore"¹⁷). Present knowledge of Allori's drawings is such (especially with regard to his preparatory sheets for tapestries) that this can permit the definitive statement that the Berlin *modello* cannot be by him. Not unreasonably, therefore, the sheet was omitted from the monograph on Allori published by Simona Lecchini Giovannoni in 1991. In contrast, Raffaellino dal Colle (ca. 1490/95–1566)¹⁸—a native of a town near Sansepolcro whom Bronzino met at Pesaro in 1530–32, while working for Duke Francesco Maria I della Rovere at the Villa Imperiale, and whom he desired to hire as an assistant in producing the *Joseph* tapestry cartoons—was described by Bronzino as a "good man and most able" in a letter to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici on April 30, 1548.¹⁹ Duke Cosimo granted Bronzino's request for the *maestro* Raffaellino dal Colle, as is confirmed in a letter by Cristiano Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio on May 5, 1548.²⁰ According to a document of 1551, Raffaellino stayed with Bronzino for two years, five months, and twenty-five days.²¹ But it should be emphasized here that he is described in the Joseph tapestry documents, even in the late documents of 1551–52, as salaried under Bronzino, and only as "a *maestro* employed to work on the cartoons of the tapestries,"²² not as a designer. The beautifully atmospheric tonal rendering of the Berlin *modello* seems much too accomplished for Raffaellino dal Colle's hand, and in contrast to what is seen here, the drawings that can be securely attributed to this artist often represent figures of awkward anatomy and stilted gestures.²³ CCB

- 1 See Bambach 1999, pp. 33–54, 364, on the standard sizes of early Italian papers; and Heikamp 1969, pp. 35, 63, n. 13, on the attribution.
- 2 On this tapestry, compare Heikamp 1969, pp. 35, 63, n. 13; Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 387–88, no. 27; and Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 44–47, no. 9.
- 3 Document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 656, no. 253.
- 4 Document is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 658, no. 256.
- 5 The accounts of payment for the project of the Story of Joseph tapestries indicate that Bronzino collected a salary for executing cartoons until February 1553 (or February 1554 in the modern-style calendar). See document transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 649, under no. 246.

Figure 42-2. Detail of catalogue number 42



- 6 Compare Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 46, under no. 9; and Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 658, no. 256.
- 7 Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 388.
- 8 Quoted from Genesis 47:1.
- 9 Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 387–88, no. 27.
- 10 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 159–60.
- 11 An early archival photograph of Bronzino's Berlin *modello* drawing in the object file of the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (pointed out to me by Hein-Thomas Schulze Altcapenberg, curator of the collection), records the numerous losses to the original support that have now been sensitively restored with a thin made-up lining; especially severe losses occurred along the left border, (a hole) toward the right of the center, and at the center of the right border, while other smaller mended losses exist throughout the top and bottom borders.
- 12 Smyth 1971, pp. 40–41.
- 13 On the sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 15721 F), compare Smyth 1971, pp. 21–22, 64, n. 104, figs. 16, 17, upholding the attribution to Bronzino first proposed by Detlef Heikamp (1969, p. 35). This opinion is also maintained in Monaci 1985, pp. 47, 49, 51, fig. 32; more tentatively in Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 7, n. 3 (“à Bronzino et à Allori”), p. 8, n. 4, e; Baccheschi 1973, p. 96, under no. 59. Simona Lecchini Giovannoni in Uffizi 1970, p. 19, no. 1, published this Uffizi *modello* (15721 F) as “workshop of Bronzino,” attributing it to Alessandro Allori (“una delle prime esercitazioni del giovanissimo Alessandro”). Allori would have been only around ten years old, given Smyth's new, correct reading of the documents, and was not such a prodigy. Geisenheimer 1909, p. 143, n. 1, a, and McComb 1928, p. 166, also attributed this Uffizi sheet to Allori, as a copy after the cartoon by Bronzino. This Uffizi

modello (15721 F) is not exhibited here as it is in ruined condition and is too fragile. See Appendix 1, List A, no. 3, in this publication.

- 14 On this tapestry, compare Smyth 1971, pp. 21–22, 64, n. 104, pp. 94–96; and Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 372–73, no. 16.
- 15 Document mentioning this tapestry (“Panno simile d[e]l Bronzino det[t]o la prigionia di Josef”) is fully transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 579, no. 141.
- 16 Geisenheimer 1909, p. 145, n. 4: “una copia di questo cartone si trova nel Museo di Berlino tra i disegni di Al. Allori.”
- 17 See the documents of payment to Alessandro Allori for the borders of cartoons (July 31, 1549; April 1, 1549–July 5, 1550; October 15, 1552–February 11, 1553).
- 18 On this artist and documentary evidence, compare Saporì 1974–76; Dal Poggetto 1983; and Droghini 2001.
- 19 “Raffaello da Borgo, huomo da bene et valentissimo,” as Bronzino stated, also mentioning Raffaellino dal Colle as “maestro.” This letter of April 30, 1548, is today in the Fondation Custodia—Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (6830) (reported in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 550–51, no. 93, as whereabouts unknown); transcribed in Gaye 1839–40, vol. 2, pp. 368–69, doc. no. 258. See Appendix 2 in this catalogue for the full text.
- 20 Fully transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 551, no. 94.
- 21 Documents of payment to Raffaellino dal Colle date from May 15, 1548, to October 17, 1551 (Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 564–65, no. 122, pp. 596–97, no. 174, pp. 611–14, no. 187).
- 22 “M:^{ro} Agniolo dj Cosimo detto b[r]onzino pittore ... p[er] m:^{ro} raffaello di michelagniolo dal b[or]gho pit[tore] tenutolo a lauorare li cartonj p[er] li pannj de la storia dj Josef . . . ;” transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 613, under no. 187.
- 23 Compare Saporì 1974–76; Dal Poggetto 1983; and Droghini 2001.

43. *Joseph Receiving Benjamin (modello for tapestry)*, ca. 1550–53

Brush with brown and gray-brown wash, highlighted with white gouache, over extensive black chalk and ruled construction, paper washed gray-brown, glued onto secondary paper support; the lead white highlights partly oxidized; framing outlines in dark brown ink, 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{13}{16}$ in. (67.7 × 27.4 cm) maximum (sheet with irregular borders)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (103II F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 26 (as by Alessandro Allori); Geisenheimer 1909, p. 147, n. 2 (as by Allori after the cartoon for the tapestry); McComb 1928, p. 167, under no. 11 (as by Allori after the tapestry); Smyth 1955, pp. 49–51, no. A8, figs. 125, 126 (detail); Heikamp 1969, p. 63, n. 9 (as by workshop of Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 7, n. 3, p. 8, n. 4, k (as by Bronzino, and completed by Raffaellino dal Colle); Smyth 1971, pp. 32–35, 72, nn. 159, 160, 162, figs. 31, 32 (detail); Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 67, p. 97, ill. no. 67-1; Cheney 1973, p. 169; Candace Adelson in Palazzo Vecchio 1980, p. 60, under no. 90 (inv. no. incorrect); Monaci 1985, pp. 47, 52 (as by Bronzino?), fig. 35; Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 76, under no. 32 (as by Bronzino and Francesco Salviati); Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 379–80, under no. 20, fig. 115

Documents establish that the tapestry *Joseph Receiving Benjamin* (plate 51) was woven by Nicolas Karcher and his workshop,¹ between February 6, 1550, and September 27, 1553.² It fully reflects the style of the later Joseph tapestries that were consigned to the *Guardaroba Medicea*, compositions of restrained color with figures of overpowering proportions compressed in space. The tapestry began the second half of the Joseph cycle and apparently was meant to be hung at the far left of the west wall in the Sala dei Duecento.³ This *modello* in the Uffizi, together with the Krugier *Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt* and the Berlin *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt* (cat. nos. 41, 42), are the three largest intact surviving drawings by Bronzino for the Joseph series, but the present work does not photograph to the best advantage. Although larger vertically and narrower, the Uffizi *Joseph Receiving Benjamin*, like the Berlin *modello*, is also drawn on a single sheet of paper, whose original size apparently conformed to the largest standard format of manufactured paper in early sixteenth-century Italy, the “*foglio imperiale*” (measuring about 72.6–30 × 50.8 cm, before cutting). The Uffizi *Joseph Receiving Benjamin* is much more finished than the Berlin *modello* and was executed in a rare, extremely painterly monochromatic technique in wash and gouache that attains a great range of tone and subtlety, over a copious amount of underdrawing in black chalk, which is evident throughout the composition (see figs. 43-1, 43-2). The painterly medium of gouache and wash resembles to a surprising extent that of tapestry cartoons (such cartoons were executed by the designer in color, to guide the artisans precisely in

doing the weaving⁴), but here it is used in monochrome. A greater flexibility of practice almost certainly accompanied the production of the cartoons for the Story of Joseph tapestry series, given that they were being woven in the same city where they were being designed. Moreover, as time became especially short with regard to the production of the last consignment of tapestries in 1550–53, even the task of adding color to detailed designs, in smaller scale than the cartoons, was probably delegated to assistants. To judge based on its degree of development, the monochromatic Uffizi brush drawing must have been the last design done by the master himself for this particular composition, before the enlarged cartoon was produced in color. The brush drawing is apparently executed in a scale that is about 1:7 with respect to the final tapestry *Joseph Receiving Benjamin* (plate 51).⁵

The composition refers to the passage in which Joseph recognizes his brother Benjamin and orders his servants to make a feast: “Bring the men into the house and slaughter an animal and make ready, for the men are to dine with me at noon” (Genesis 43:16). It is dedicated to the main narrative moment when Joseph’s brothers bow their heads to pay homage to him, and Joseph recognizes Benjamin (Genesis 43: 26–30), a none too veiled allusion to the homage that was due to Cosimo I de’ Medici as Duke of Florence. Here, as occurs frequently in Bronzino’s compositions, the main subject of the biblical narrative, Joseph embracing the kneeling Benjamin (who is seen from the back), is displaced to the middle ground, while the secondary figures of Joseph’s brothers populate the foreground, where they kneel in homage as they bring offerings to Joseph. The lower right corner of the tapestry is inscribed “Br.º F. F.” (for “Bronzino Fiorentino Fece,”⁶ plate 51), offering major evidence for the attribution of the design and the Uffizi brush drawing. The latter exhibits signs that it was a much-used working drawing; the surface exhibits abrasions, creases, and multiple small losses.

It cannot possibly be a copy, given the extensive evidence of reworked pentimenti in the black-chalk underdrawing. For example, the right hand of Benjamin pointed downward (almost touching the head of the basket carrier), while in the final brush outline and in the tapestry, that hand is raised. Benjamin’s left leg was also at a different angle, while the brother closest to Benjamin was originally drawn in a much lower position (see figs. 43-1, 43-2).⁷ The Uffizi brush drawing differs from the tapestry not only in that it is in reverse but also in the details of the faces of the brothers situated at left and right (their faces seem more grotesque in the tapestry), the disposition of the folds in Benjamin’s drapery (the cloth falls less naturally over the forms in the tapestry), and the outlines of the stepped platform (the perspective is less credible in the tapestry).



In summarizing the somewhat mixed attribution history of this large working drawing, it also must be stated that the evidence of its technique and function, as discussed above, has been overlooked significantly. The early inventories of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi all describe the present drawing as by Bronzino's pupil Alessandro Allori,⁸ and it traditionally came to be considered a copy after Bronzino's cartoon for the tapestry.⁹ Hans Geisenheimer in 1909 and Arthur McComb in 1928 explicitly attributed the drawing to Allori. Craig Hugh Smyth reattributed it to Bronzino in 1955 (and 1971), adducing rightly that the drawing is filled with pentimenti and that it differs in numerous small details of design from the woven tapestry.¹⁰ Detlef Heikamp continued to consider the sheet as by Bronzino's workshop,¹¹ while Edi Baccheschi sat on the fence in 1973.¹² A lesser degree of conviction was expressed by Lucia Monaci in 1985.¹³ Janet Cox-Rearick (1971) thought the drawing was partly completed by Raffaellino dal Colle,¹⁴ and Graham Smith more implausibly suggested that it was by Francesco Salviati and reworked by Bronzino (1988).¹⁵

CCB

- 1 On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 378–80, no. 20; and Meoni 1998, pp. 135–36, no. 6.
- 2 The relevant document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 256–60, no. 256, item no. 11.
- 3 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 379.
- 4 Compare Meoni 2000, p. 234; and Thomas P. Campbell in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002, pp. 3–6. On cartoons, see Bambach 1999, and on the standard sizes of early Italian paper, pp. 33–54, 364.
- 5 I am indebted to Maurizio Boni, who prepared a full-scale tracing on acetate from the Uffizi drawing; and to Clarice Innocenti, Gianna Bacci, and their team of conservators in the tapestry restoration laboratory at the Sala delle Bandiere of the Palazzo Vecchio, who enabled me to take a series of internal measurements to demonstrate this point. The internal figural scene in the Uffizi drawing without borders is about 65 cm high (with borders it is 67.7 cm), while the exactly corresponding dimension in the tapestry without borders is about 4.58 meters high.
- 6 Adelson 1990, vol. 2, p. 378.
- 7 See also Smyth 1971, pp. 32, 72, n. 160.
- 8 Ferri 1890, p. 26.
- 9 Monaci 1985, p. 52.
- 10 See Smyth 1955, pp. 49–51, no. A8; and Smyth 1971, pp. 32–35, 72, nn. 159, 160, with a different account of the drawing technique than is discussed here.
- 11 Heikamp 1969, p. 63, n. 9.
- 12 Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 67.
- 13 Monaci 1985, p. 52.
- 14 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, k: "l'auteur pense ici que ce dessin pourrait avoir été achevé par Raffaellino del Colle."
- 15 Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 76, under no. 32.



Figure 43-1. Detail of catalogue number 43

Opposite: Figure
43-2. Detail of
catalogue number 43



AGNOLO BRONZINO

44. *Head of a Bearded Young Man in Profile Facing Right*, ca. 1550–53

Black chalk on light brown paper, 8¼ × 6¼ in. (21 × 15.8 cm).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2001 (2001.504)

PROVENANCE: Achille de Clemente (1874–1940), Florence (Lugt 521a); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 11, 2001, no. 2 (as by Giuliano Bugiardini); Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, Munich; acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001

This previously unknown drawing first appeared at Sotheby's with a tentative attribution to Giuliano Bugiardini,¹ but it has little to do with his few drawings or paintings. The firm, elegant description of outline and soft, textural modeling of shaded areas like the hair fully conform to Bronzino's technique at around 1550. Indeed, the purity of profile and facial rendering is a hallmark of his Classical and rather *Ingriste* conception of form.

When this drawing is seen alongside a sheet such as the *Study of a Left Leg and Drapery* (cat. no. 45), it is clear that they are from the same hand and close in date, the differences resulting from the less fully satisfactory condition of the present work, in which the paper has darkened and has been rubbed somewhat.

As with the *Study of a Left Leg and Drapery*, there is no certain connection between this drawing and a resultant finished work, although parallels can be found in the paintings and tapestries Bronzino designed during this period, such as the *St. John the Baptist* from the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, now in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles (plate 25), and the figure looking up to the right in the tapestry *Joseph Receiving Benjamin*, a work that is documented as being finished on September 27, 1553 (fig. 44-1; plate 51).²

GRG

¹ Sotheby's, London, sale cat., July 11, 2001, no. 2.

² See Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 378–80, no. 20; Meoni 1998, pp. 135–36, no. 6.



Figure 44-1. Detail of plate 51. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, figure looking up to the right in *Joseph Receiving Benjamin*, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 725)



45. *Study of a Left Leg and Drapery, ca. 1549–53*

Black chalk, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 in. (39.1 × 25.4 cm)

Annotated on recto at upper right, in pen and brown ink, by a scribe from ca. 1600: “di michel angelo / Bonarotta”; on verso at center, in pen and brown ink: “Michelangelo”

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Promised Gift of David M. Tobey, and Purchase, several members of The Chairman’s Council Gifts and the Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 2006 (2006.449)

PROVENANCE: Private Collection, Belgium; W. M. Brady and Co., New York; acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Carmen C. Bambach in “Recent Acquisitions” 2007, p. 21, ill.

This recently discovered drawing was first attributed to Bronzino by Philippe Costamagna,¹ and that view has gained general acceptance. Although showing only a leg, the sheet appears to be complete and is exceptionally well preserved. It exemplifies Bronzino’s technique around 1550, with firm, highly refined outlines and subtly graduated shading. The old attribution to Michelangelo inscribed on the recto is fully understandable, as Bronzino’s draftsmanship here owes a great deal to Michelangelo’s highly finished presentation drawings.

It is likely that this work was drawn from a studio model in preparation for a painting or tapestry. Similarly depicted legs appear in the figure of Joseph in the tapestry of *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar’s Wife*, a work that is documented as being finished on August 3, 1549 (fig. 45-1; plate 43),² and in the figure of Christ in the painted *Resurrection* in the Guadagni Chapel, SS. Annunziata, Florence, of 1549–52 (plate 59).

GRG

¹ Oral communication to W. M. Brady and Co., New York, summer 2006.

² See Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 371–72, no. 15.



Figure 45-1. Detail of plate 43. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, figure of Joseph in *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar’s Wife*, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 729)



AGNOLO BRONZINO

46. Recto: *Right Hand of a Man (study for The Lamentation)*, ca. 1545–52

46. Verso: *Four Heads and a Nude Figure Seen from the Rear*, ca. 1545–52

Recto: black chalk; verso: pen and brown ink, 2¹/₁₆ × 6 in. (7.5 × 15.3 cm)

Annotated on verso, along the bottom of the sheet, right of center, in pen and brown ink: "S.F. n:o 2" (i.e., the second item in the section "Scuola Fiorentina")

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (92.GB.40)

PROVENANCE: Zaccaria Sagredo (1653–1729), Venice; by descent in the Sagredo family; Jean-Jacques de Boissieu (1736–1810), Lyons; Maurice Marignane (b. 1879), Paris (his mark, bottom right; Lugt 1872); Hubert Marignane; Private Collection, Munich; Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, Munich; acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Palais des Congrès 1966, p. 18, no. 4 (as by an early sixteenth-century Florentine artist), pl. III; Goldner 1990, figs. 1, 2; *Drawing in Florence* 1991, no. 5, ill.; Nichols 1992, p. 45, n. 25; [George R. Goldner] in "Acquisitions" 1993, p. 133, no. 51, ill.; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1993, p. 12, no. 17; Royal Academy of Arts 1993, p. 21, no. 9; Béguin 1996, pp. 144–45, 149, n. 39, p. 150, n. 43, figs. 23, 25; Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, pp. 18–20, no. 8, ill.; Bergbauer 2007, pp. 36–37, fig. 12

This sheet was first published by the present author as a work of Bronzino.¹ The recto is comparable in form and position to the figure of Joseph of Arimathea in *The Lamentation* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (fig. 46-1; plate 26). The precision of technique and combination of firm outlines and subtly graduated modeling are typical of Bronzino's draftsmanship. In addition, the fine parallel hatching at and below the wrist is found throughout our artist's work.

Subsequently, it was observed by Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta that the hand is copied,² with minor modification in position, from the right hand of Michelangelo's *Giuliano de' Medici*, the marble sculpture in the New Sacristy, S. Lorenzo, Florence (see cat. no. 18; fig. 18-1). Whether based on the sculpted hand or on a drawing for it, this is surely correct. At the same time, it in no sense invalidates the attribution to Bronzino or the connection to the Besançon *Lamentation*.

The verso is executed in a loose pen style that is not found among the securely attributed drawings of Bronzino. On the other hand, the facial types are not unlike his, as is the form of the nude seen from the back. It also has been observed by Sylvie Béguin³ that the profile study compares closely with the image of



Figure 46-1. Detail of plate 26. Agnolo Bronzino, Joseph of Arimathea in *The Lamentation*, ca. 1543–45. Oil on wood. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon



Figure 46-2. Detail of plate 26. Agnolo Bronzino, infrared reflectogram of the head of the Magdalen, in *The Lamentation*, ca. 1543–45. Oil on wood. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon



46r



46v

the Magdalen in *The Lamentation* seen in infrared reflectography (fig. 46-2). It should be added that the groupings of several heads as found on the verso appear in *The Lamentation* and in several of the tapestries in the Joseph series (plates 36–51).

Given these various arguments, a strong case exists to maintain the attribution to Bronzino, especially as no alternative idea has been put forward. However, as there are no other free pen sketches by him with which to compare the verso, a certain hesitation is appropriate.

GRG

- 1 Goldner 1990, figs. 1, 2.
- 2 Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, p. 18.
- 3 Béguin 1996, p. 145 and fig. 28.

47. *Standing Male Nude in Three-Quarter-Length Seen from the Rear*, ca. 1545–60

Black chalk, 11 × 6³/₈ in. (27.9 × 16.9 cm)

Watermark: *Agnus Dei* inscribed within two circles (closest to Briquet no. 58, Rome, ca. 1531–35)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6589 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 146, no. 2088 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, pp. 170–71, no. 6589; McComb 1928, p. 149, no. 6589 (as possibly by Bronzino); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 286, no. 2088 (as by Pontormo); Rijksmuseum 1954, pp. 84–85, no. 118; Luisa Marcucci in Uffizi 1954, pp. 57–58, no. 96; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 478, no. 2088 (as by Pontormo); Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 24–25, no. 13, fig. 11; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 376, no. A89 (as circle of Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 376, no. A89 (as circle of Bronzino)

This study of a standing nude youth, seen in a dynamic three-quarter view from behind, leaning on what is apparently a ledge in a sinuous, flowing pose, is among a group of drawings from about 1545–60 that can be attributed with some confidence to Bronzino but that are reminiscent most particularly of Pontormo's mature figural style at the moment of the older artist's work on the now destroyed frescoes in S. Lorenzo (on which Bronzino assisted Pontormo and which Bronzino completed at Pontormo's

death in 1557). The present Uffizi sheet was first classified as by Pontormo in early inventories of the Grand Ducal collections,¹ and the early history of varied attributions reflects the fact that this study is not effortlessly attributable; the drawings of Pontormo and Bronzino in the 1540s and 1550s present much contested ground. Although Frederick Mortimer Clapp, distinguished early scholar of Pontormo's drawings, first suggested Bronzino's authorship in 1914, and art historians such as Luisa Marcucci and Anna Forlani Tempesti were won over by Clapp's proposal with relative degrees of certainty, Bernard Berenson continued to uphold his 1903 attribution to Pontormo in the 1938 and 1961 editions of his *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*. Janet Cox-Rearick in 1981 cautiously preferred to catalogue the sheet as by the circle of Bronzino, but noticing its stylistic closeness to autograph works by our artist.² Discarded and partly erased pentimenti outlines are evident along the contours of the figure's left shoulder, lower back, and buttocks. The soft black chalk was applied at first with light pressure, and the internal modeling was worked up gradually with hatched strokes, one intermeshed with the other (also with some rubbing in of the strokes) to create depth of tone; the parallel-hatching often curves to follow the form, while the leg at lower right is shaded with somewhat open cross-hatching. The final contours of the figure were reinforced and again reworked heavily by the artist with the pointy chalk to create an outline that is both sharp and tonal in effect. The technique of very regular parallel-hatching is not usual for Pontormo but is used by our artist and prominently in the present drawing. The background next to the contour of



Figure 47-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for The Deluge*, ca. 1550–56. Black chalk, 10¹/₂ × 15³/₈ in. (26.6 × 40.2 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6754 F recto)



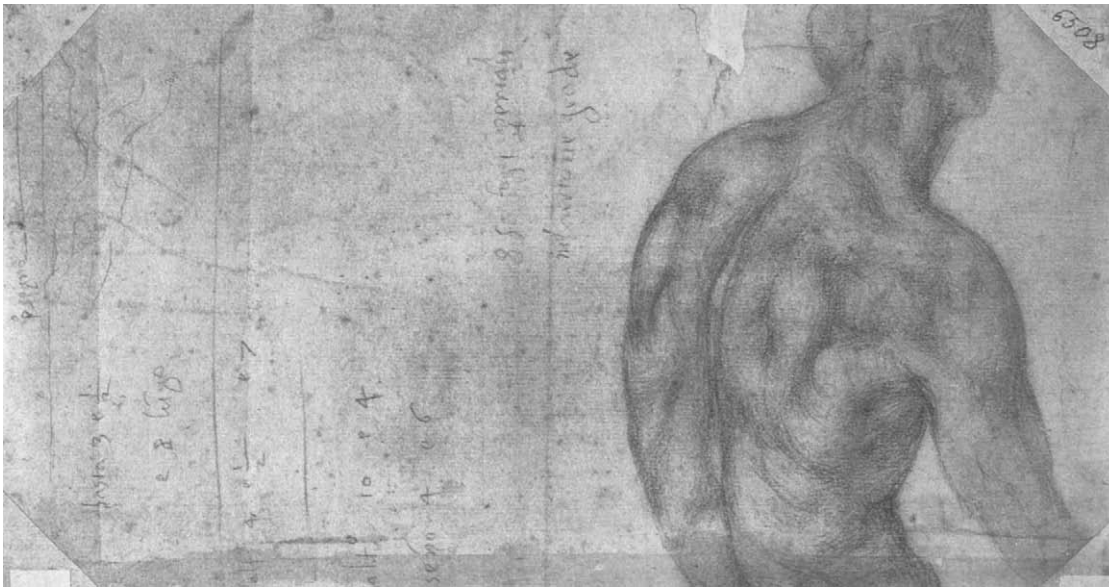


Figure 47-2. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Nude Study*, ca. 1550–56. Black chalk, 5½ × 10¾ in. (14 × 27 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6508 F verso)

the elbow, belly, and upper leg is hatched with horizontal, nearly pitch-straight lines, and this contrasts with the technique in the extended right arm, in which the parallel strokes strictly follow the curvature of the various muscles.

Especially Pontormesque is the S-like pose of the man's figure with bent shoulders and hips and belly thrust forward, which became a type, and his somewhat rubbery bodily proportions also evoke those of many figures in Pontormo's poignantly expressive studies for the S. Lorenzo frescoes (as, for example, the group in the *Study for The Deluge*, fig. 47-1).³ Alessandro Allori adopted the pose seen in the present sheet for a figure in his painting *The Pearl Fishermen* and in a related preliminary study from about 1570, but Allori's male figure is seated and is a mirror-image of the design seen here.⁴ The present drawing may be compared to the bound Christ for a Flagellation in the Uffizi (see fig. 40-1), convincingly accepted to be by Bronzino and similarly on thin paper⁵ as well as to the study of a Herculean nude that follows here (cat. no. 48). It is to be distinguished, however, from that of another, much weaker figure drawing also in black chalk (Uffizi 6607 F, Florence), of eccentric anatomical conception, with agitated, dark outlines and sfumato rendering, attributed by Clapp to Pontormo and by Janet Cox-Rearick to a follower of Bronzino.⁶ Regarding the latter study, still housed in the Uffizi folders of Bronzinos (like the present sheet), the similarity of style seems in the end superficial, as the conception of the figure in the present study is, in contrast, anatomically correct and of imposing sculptural presence, done on fine, thin paper. In comparison to many of Pontormo's chalk drawings from the 1540s and 1550s, the present Uffizi study retains a soft although palpably defined sculptural quality of form (evident in the rubbed, relief-like interior modeling), a polished degree of finish, a nervous fineness of outline, a stylized roundedness of individual muscles, and a greater overall naturalism of anatomical structure and detail. These qualities all seem unique to Bronzino, and one may demonstrate the point most readily by comparing the present drawing to a double-sided sheet by Pontormo portraying on the

verso a boldly sketched male nude in a very similar pose, together with his notes about the dimensions of the S. Lorenzo frescoes and cartoons (fig. 47-2); the recto contains autograph sketches by Pontormo for the destroyed fresco of *Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law*, originally in the choir of S. Lorenzo.⁷ In contrast to Bronzino's sheets, and this drawing in particular, the freer sketchiness of Pontormo's technique of modeling and outlining the figure (the contours in Pontormo's late studies are often like soft, thick bands of open, impressionistic lines), and his more distorted anatomical proportions, are all also evident in another back view of a nude (Uffizi 6576 F verso, Florence).⁸ These stylistic aspects, in fact, further identify a sheet in the British Museum as by Pontormo, intended for the *Benediction of the Seed of Noah* (see fig. 48-3), as Cox-Rearick proposed in 1992; its previous attribution to Bronzino is not convincing.⁹

CCB

- 1 Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, p. 24.
- 2 Janet Cox-Rearick fully endorses the attribution to Bronzino of the present sheet.
- 3 On the sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi 6754 F recto), see Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 340, no. 375, vol. 2, fig. 359.
- 4 See the muscular seated male nude at upper right in Allori's painting the *Pearl Fishermen* (Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence), and the related preliminary study in black chalk (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984.56.75). The picture, signed "ALESSANDRO ALLORI DI BRONZINO," is illustrated and discussed in Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 288, no. 29, pls. 60, 63.
- 5 The sheet (fig. 40-1), which is silhouetted around the figure of Christ, is too fragile for exhibition, and was most recently published as by Bronzino in Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 126, n. 47, fig. 13. Clapp 1914, p. 136, thought it by Bronzino, while Cox-Rearick (1964a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A67; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A67) catalogued it as circle of Bronzino. See Appendix 1, List A.
- 6 In my opinion the sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 6607 F; nude male standing figure facing to the left, black chalk, 41.2 × 25.8 cm, on heavy laid paper), is by another artist in the circle of Pontormo than Bronzino. Compare Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 377, no. A96.
- 7 On the sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, 6508 F, recto and verso), see Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 330, no. 355 (recto), vol. 2, fig. 341, and pp. 342–43, no. 380 (verso), vol. 2, fig. 363a.
- 8 On the sheet, see Cox-Rearick 1981a, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 357-8, no. 346b, vol. 2, fig. 331b.
- 9 This sheet (British Museum, London, 1974-4-6-36) was attributed to Bronzino by Nicholas Turner (see British Museum 1986, p. 168, no. 121); the present author fully endorses the attribution to Pontormo proposed in Cox-Rearick 1992.

48. *Standing Male Nude in Three-Quarter Length Seen from the Rear, ca. 1550–60*

Black chalk, 11 × 8⁷/₁₆ in. (27.9 × 21.5 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6606 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 929)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 147, no. 2105 (as by Pontormo); Gamba 1912, no. 24 (as by Pontormo), ill.; Clapp 1914, p. 181, no. 6606 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 287, no. 2105 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 481, no. 2105 (as by Pontormo); K. Andrews 1964, pp. 158, 160, n. 8, pl. 23a; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 297, no. 330 (as by Pontormo); K. Andrews 1966, p. 581; Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 17; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 297, no. 330 (as by Pontormo), Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415-2, no. A95a (as by Bronzino), vol. 2, fig. 393b

Keith Andrews first suggested in 1964 and 1966 that this study in the Uffizi should be attributed to Bronzino,¹ an opinion that was endorsed by Anna Forlani Tempesti in 1967 and Janet Cox-Rearick in 1981. The attribution to Bronzino is accepted here, albeit with some modification, as the sheet rightly belongs in the penumbra of drawings whose attribution is much debated between Pontormo (corresponding to his style during the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s²) and Bronzino. The early history of this Uffizi sheet particularly reflects the state of these vexed questions of connoisseurship, for usually it has been published as by Pontormo. It was omitted from Craig Hugh Smyth's 1971 monograph on Bronzino as a draftsman. A judicious critic of the problem, Cox-Rearick, first published the drawing in 1964 as by Pontormo,³ dating it to about 1532–34 and accepting Carlo Gamba's proposal that it was somehow connected with Pontormo's *Nudes Playing Calcio*, the unexecuted fresco at Poggio a Caiano recorded in a compositional study by Pontormo (Uffizi 13861 F, Florence) of about 1532–34. But in 1981, Cox-Rearick came to agree with Andrews and Forlani Tempesti regarding the attribution of the present sheet to Bronzino.⁴ In characterizing the stylistic differences between the two artists, one may compare the study here attributed to Bronzino to a well accepted study in red chalk by Pontormo in the Uffizi (fig. 48-1), a nude youth seen from behind possibly intended for the *Three Graces*, from around 1535–36.⁵ This is the period in Pontormo's work to which the present sheet was usually compared by scholars upholding the Pontormo attribution. In contrast, however, and to emphasize first a general stylistic difference, Bronzino's drawings and paintings from the late 1530s and early 1540s onward strove ever closer to a Michelangelesque ideal. The impressive musculature of the figure in this Uffizi drawing is deeply reminiscent of Michelangelo's preliminary

studies and the unfinished *Giorno (Day)* in the Medici Chapel ("New Sacristy") of S. Lorenzo, a marble that the great master began carving after 1531–33. To this author's eye, the present Uffizi sheet dates from after 1550, reflecting Bronzino's experience of designing the complex, densely peopled Story of Joseph tapestries while looking forward to the ponderous Michelangelism of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* fresco, begun in 1564, in the Church of S. Lorenzo (plate 61). The figural type is particularly comparable to the man kneeling at right foreground in the tapestry *Joseph Receiving Benjamin* (fig. 48-2; plate 51),⁶ woven by Nicolas Karcher and workshop between February 6, 1550, and September 27, 1553.⁷ While Bronzino's admiration for Michelangelo was expressed often in his work as artist and poet (see Bronzino's two poems "O stupor di natura, Angelo eletto" and "Come l'alto Michele Angel con forte"⁸), Pontormo's securely autograph drawings and paintings evidence the influence from the great master to a much lesser extent. The powerful anatomy and the handling of the soft black chalk in the present sheet resemble the later study of the seated male nude (cat. no. 58), intended for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* fresco, but in the present case, the anatomy is delicately naturalistic in its dimpled adiposity rather than statuary.

Bronzino's general figural vocabulary remained in some sense deeply indebted to Pontormo's studies in black chalk for the frescoes in the choir of S. Lorenzo (ca. 1546–56; destroyed 1742). The present sheet is more loosely drawn than the other figural study also rescued from the penumbra of Pontormo's workshop and here accepted as by Bronzino (cat. no. 47), but the anatomical modeling is similarly defined and polished, only the rendering here is more diffused and impressionistic, with the strokes of the chalk more smoothly rubbed in, while contours are not as hard and fine. In any event, Bronzino's nudes of powerful and stylized muscularity (cat. nos. 58–60) contrast greatly with Pontormo's youth (fig. 48-1) of slender, naturalistic proportions. Bronzino's tendency as a draftsman was to contain form within marked outlines, at times insistently so (one may notice here the reworked quality of the left arm and torso contour that become a continuous band of deep shadow at the edges of form), and to define sculptural form while rubbing the chalk strokes of the interior modeling into soft, nearly sfumato effects. Most of Bronzino's nudes also do not seem to stray as far away from realistic anatomy as Pontormo's drawings tend to do, especially after the 1530s. While resembling Bronzino's treatment of the back in the present study, the modeling of the woman kneeling in the foreground in the study for *The Benediction of the Seed of Noah* (fig. 48-3), which the present author agrees is by Pontormo rather than by Bronzino as is sometimes suggested,⁹ precisely displays this more distorted anatomy.

CCB

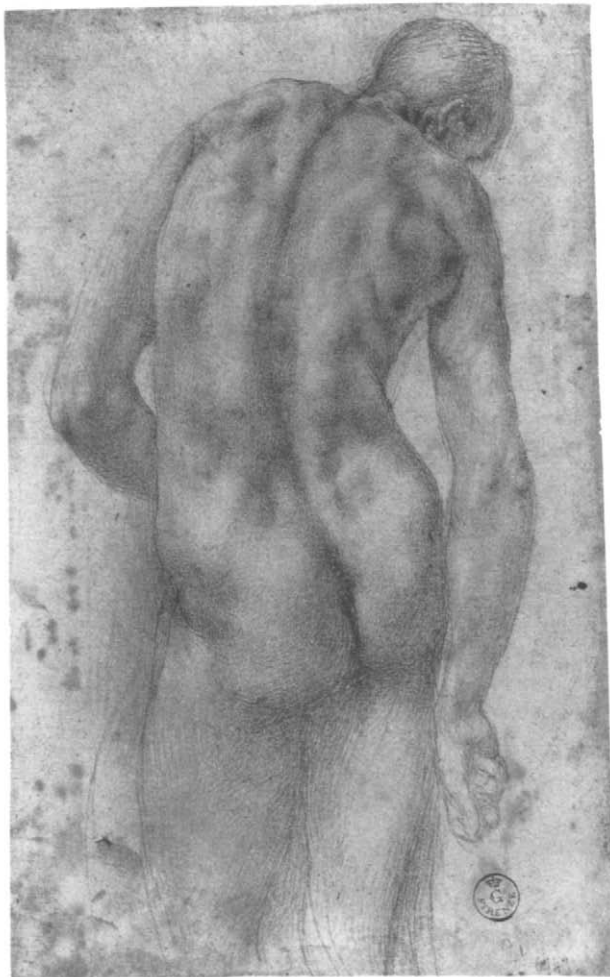


Figure 48-1. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study of a Nude Youth*, ca. 1535–36. Red chalk, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29.2 × 20.7 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6747 F)

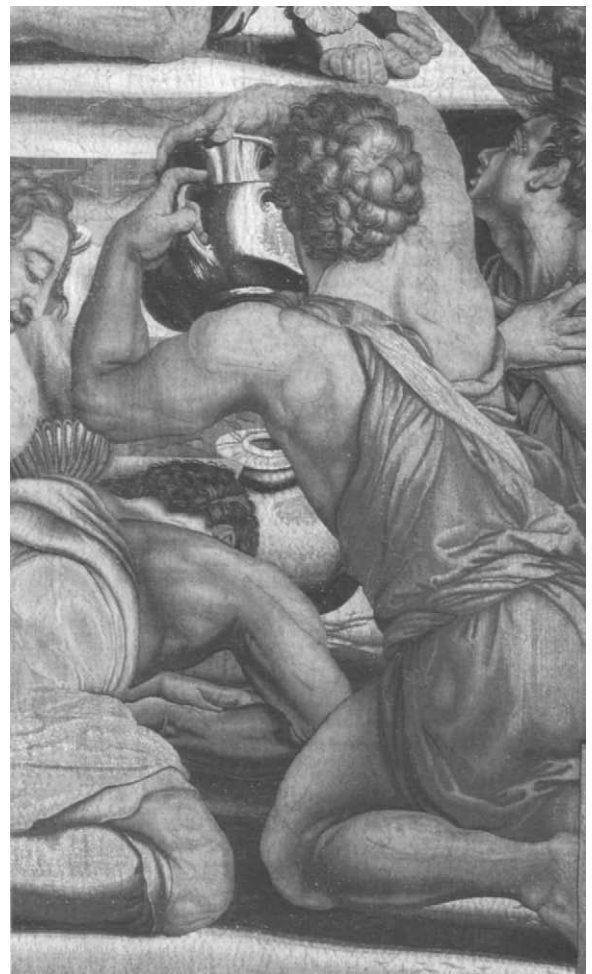


Figure 48-2. Detail of plate 51. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Man kneeling at right foreground in Joseph Receiving Benjamin*, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads. Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 725)



Figure 48-3. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Study for The Benediction of the Seed of Noah*, 1546–56. Black chalk, 10¾ × 16¼ in. (26.9 × 41.2 cm). British Museum, London (1974-4-6-36)

- 1 K. Andrews 1964, p. 158; K. Andrews 1966, p. 581.
- 2 When attributed to Pontormo, the present sheet has been most often dated to the 1530s, although Clapp (1914, p. 181) put it ca. 1542.
- 3 Compare Cox-Rearick 1981a, p. 297, no. 330: as by Pontormo, and Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 415-2, no. A95a: as by Bronzino.
- 4 On the preparatory sheet for the *Nudes Playing Calcio*, see Cox-Rearick 1981a, pp. 285–86, no. 307.
- 5 On this sheet (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 6747 F), see *ibid.*, p. 293, no. 322; and Carlo Falciani in Uffizi 1996b, pp. 155–58, no. VIII.4.
- 6 On this tapestry, compare Adelson 1990, vol. 2, pp. 378–80, no. 20; and Meoni 1998, pp. 135–36, no. 6.

- 7 The relevant document is transcribed in Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 658–60, no. 256 (item no. 11).
- 8 See Bronzino's poems in praise of Michelangelo in Parker 2000, pp. 91–93, 182, nos. 205, 206.
- 9 The convincing attribution of this sheet to Pontormo and the identification of the subject matter were first proposed in Cox-Rearick 1992. The previous attribution to Bronzino (due to Noël Annesley and Francis Russell) was endorsed by Nicholas Turner in British Museum 1986, p. 168, no. 121.



AGNOLO BRONZINO

49. *The Annunciate Virgin*, 1563–64

Black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. (33.7 × 14.6 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (13846 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 29–30, no. 21, fig. 14; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 21–22, fig. 23; Smyth 1971, pp. 19, 45, 64, n. 97, p. 79, n. 212 (as after Bronzino); Cheney 1973, p. 166 (as after Bronzino); Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27 (as circle of Bronzino); Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, no. 133; Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, pp. 70–71, no. 29, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 186, 381, n. 66, fig. 129

This is the final and only surviving study for *The Annunciate Virgin* painted by Bronzino in 1563–64 to replace the now lost figure of St. Cosmas to the right of *The Lamentation* in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 49-1; plate 52). Despite the fact that the image is squared for transfer, doubts have been expressed by Craig Hugh Smyth about the attribution to Bronzino on account of the noticeably dry quality of execution.¹

Graham Smith noted a number of differences between drawing and painting.² The Virgin is shown younger and with longer fingers in the painting, where she also looks in a more downward direction. The lectern is less angled and closer to the Virgin in the painting, and the pages of the book are flattened. Although each is relatively minor, in the aggregate these changes argue persuasively for Bronzino's authorship. The admittedly dry execution may result from the drawing coming after a sequence of freer studies and having been made for a rather somber image.

GRG

1 Smyth 1971, pp. 19, 45, 64, n. 97, pp. 78–79, n. 212.

2 Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 70.



Figure 49-1. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Annunciate Virgin*, right wing, 1563–64. Oil on wood. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (see also plate 54)



50. *Modello for The Resurrection, ca. 1548–52*

Brush with gray and brown washes, highlighted with white gouache (now partly oxidized), pen and dark brown ink, over black chalk (with some additions by early restorers), 28 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (72.5 × 48.9 cm) (maximum arch shape; on three glued pieces of paper constructed with overlapping seams)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (I3843 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890, p. 37; Schulze 1911, p. VIII; McComb 1928, p. 151 (as not by Bronzino; copy after the painting); Chiapelli 1930, p. 292; Smyth 1955, pp. 51–52, no. A9, fig. 127; Forlani Tempesti 1962, p. 178, no. 39, ill.; Anna Forlani Tempesti in Uffizi 1963, pp. 28–29, no. 19, fig. 13; K. Andrews 1964, p. 160; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, m; Smyth 1971, pp. 39, 41–42, 77, n. 197 (as by Bronzino, assisted by Raffaellino dal Colle), fig. 38; Baccheschi 1973, p. 101, under no. 95; Cheney 1973, p. 169; Schaefer 1976, p. 40; Hall 1979, p. 44, n. 15, pl. 102; Cox-Rearick 1992, p. 244, n. 35; Englander 1999, pp. 43, 44, fig. 29; Brock 2002, pp. 277, 336, n. 52, ill. p. 276; Tazartes 2003, pp. 53–54, ill.; Pilliod 2006, pp. 99, 110, 111, 122, 124, n. 20, fig. 5

Executed in a complex blending of several media, this highly finished drawing was made in connection with the altarpiece of *The Resurrection*, commissioned from Bronzino for the Guadagni Chapel, SS. Annunziata, Florence, in 1548 and completed in 1552 (plate 59). The drawing clearly is earlier than the painting, which departs from it in a number of details.¹ They include the changed head at the right margin, the reduction from two to one head at the left margin, and the visible presence of the left foot of the soldier fleeing to the left in the painting. In addition, one of the angels above Christ and to his left is posed somewhat differently, and the pattern of light and shadow varies in a number of places. Lastly, the figure of Christ seems somewhat younger and a bit less muscular in the altarpiece.

On account of these differences, it is generally posited that the drawing served as a *modello* that was built up into the final cartoon for the painting. It may well have served this purpose, but given the changes between drawing and painting, it may additionally have been made for the patrons' approval. In either case, this is perhaps the most complete of all Bronzino's drawings, which despite some damage and slight retouching, demonstrates his masterful command of diverse media.

While Craig Hugh Smyth (1971) thought the Uffizi *modello* to be a collaboration between Bronzino and Raffaellino dal Colle, to these authors, there is no evidence whatsoever of that fact.² Rather, attentive observation of the drawing during its most

recent conservation³ reveals that the severe losses in the original support (especially prominent at the lower corners) were made up with patches of paper by an early restorer, who then harmonized the additions by toning in the pasted paper extensively with brush and a gray-greenish wash in diagonal, parallel-hatching of short strokes. These strokes attempt to imitate Bronzino's original manner of hatching within the drawing. The same early restorer also attempted to harmonize the passages in Bronzino's original drawing surface near the made-up losses of paper with gray-greenish hatching. The retouching is easily distinguished, because of the gray-greenish hue of the wash and thicker strokes. It is extremely limited within the original drawing surface.

Bronzino's original hatching, in contrast, is done with much finer strokes, with wash of a cool, purely gray hue. The redrawn patches of paper from the early restoration were removed from the drawing during the most recent treatment.⁴ Hence, there is no issue of collaborative authorship in this work, as the Uffizi drawing is homogeneous and the product of one hand, Bronzino's, with small passages of retouching by an early restorer.

The recent conservation of the drawing, which permitted more attentive study, revealed that underneath the layers of dark brown ink washes, there is the head of at least one figure, seen to the right of Christ's lower left leg, within the mouth of the cave. Finally, a little-known painting by Raffaellino dal Colle reproduces very closely Bronzino's monumental design of Christ in the Uffizi *modello* and altarpiece of *The Resurrection*. It represents *Christ the Redeemer with Angels and Signs of the Passion* (Oratorio del Corpus Domini, Urbania) and in contrast, displays a weaker sense of anatomical proportions and little subtlety in the interior modeling.⁵ The comparison of this securely autograph painting by Raffaellino dal Colle to the present Uffizi *modello*, with its superbly refined tonal modeling and proportion, removes any doubt that the drawing is by Bronzino.

GRG and CCB

1 Smyth 1971, pp. 39, 41–42.

2 In his text, Smyth is quite definitive about the joint collaboration on the drawing by Bronzino and Raffaellino dal Colle, while in the caption to the illustration, he states "by Bronzino assisted (Raffaellino dal Colle?)."

3 The Uffizi *modello* was restored by Maurizio Boni, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, in 2008–9.

4 The removed early patches of paper are conserved in the archival object file at the Uffizi.

5 This painting by Raffaellino dal Colle is illustrated and discussed by Paolo dal Poggetto in Palazzo del Duca, Senigallia 2004, pp. 375–77, no. x.5.



51. *Reclining Male Nude (study for The Resurrection)*, ca. 1548–52

Black chalk (the central figure has been reinforced at a later date with graphite, particularly evident along the contours of the torso, shoulders, and arms), 10¹/₁₆ × 15¹/₁₆ in. (27.2 × 40.1 cm)

Inscribed on recto in lower left corner, in pen and brown ink: "J.C.R." [Sir J. C. Robinson, Lugt 1433]; the old mount bore the annotation in pen and ink: "Michelangelo Buonarota"

Watermark: A crown surmounted by a five-point star (Briquet 4833; Lucca, 1549)

Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (I.2.O.17 [3.4.O.134])

PROVENANCE: Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), London (his mark lower left; Lugt 2364); his sale, A. C. de Poggi, London, May 26, 1794, and following days; Sir John Charles Robinson (1824–1913), London; his sale, Christie's, London, May 13, 1902, lot 218; acquired at that sale through Thomas Agnew & Sons by Isabella Stewart Gardner, founder of the museum in 1903 (recto lower right and verso lower left, stamped in blue ink, "ISG," in an oval)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hadley 1968, pp. 22–23, no. 10, ill.; Smyth 1971, pp. 43–44, 78, n. 206 (as workshop copy); Kramer 1972, p. 68, ill. nos. 4-1 (detail), 4-2; Hadley 1981, pp. 66–67, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1992, p. 244, n. 37; Goldfarb 1995, p. 79, ill. p. 81; Hall 1999, pp. 243, 316, n. 105; Brock 2002, pp. 281, 327, 336, n. 60, p. 338, n. 61, ill. p. 280; Pilliod 2006, pp. 95–96, 103, 123, n. 4, fig. 1

The Resurrection in the Guadagni Chapel, SS. Annunziata (fig. 51-1; plate 59). The attribution and connection to the painting were first proposed by Sydney J. Freedberg,¹ a view that only Craig Hugh Smyth has contested.² He regarded it as uncharacteristic in handling and of insufficient quality to be the work of Bronzino.

Several points convincingly argue the case for Bronzino. As is true in a number of other instances, Bronzino drew only those parts of the figure that would appear in the altarpiece. Furthermore, there are a number of changes between this study and the figure as shown in the Uffizi *modello* (cat. no. 50). Here, the figure is visibly younger, beardless, and not especially muscular. He is also lacking in drapery, which appears in the *modello* and is elaborated in the altarpiece. Lastly, the position of the fingers of his right hand is altered.

The firm, refined outlines that one comes to expect of Bronzino are present, although hardened somewhat by much later reinforcement in graphite.³ The fine interior shading is typical of the artist and still resonates despite some rubbing.

GRG

Drawn from a studio model, this is a preparatory study for the figure reclining and looking up at Christ in the altarpiece of

¹ See Hadley 1968, p. 22.

² Smyth 1971, pp. 43–44.

³ This was noted by Hilliard Goldfarb in an unpublished study of the drawing.

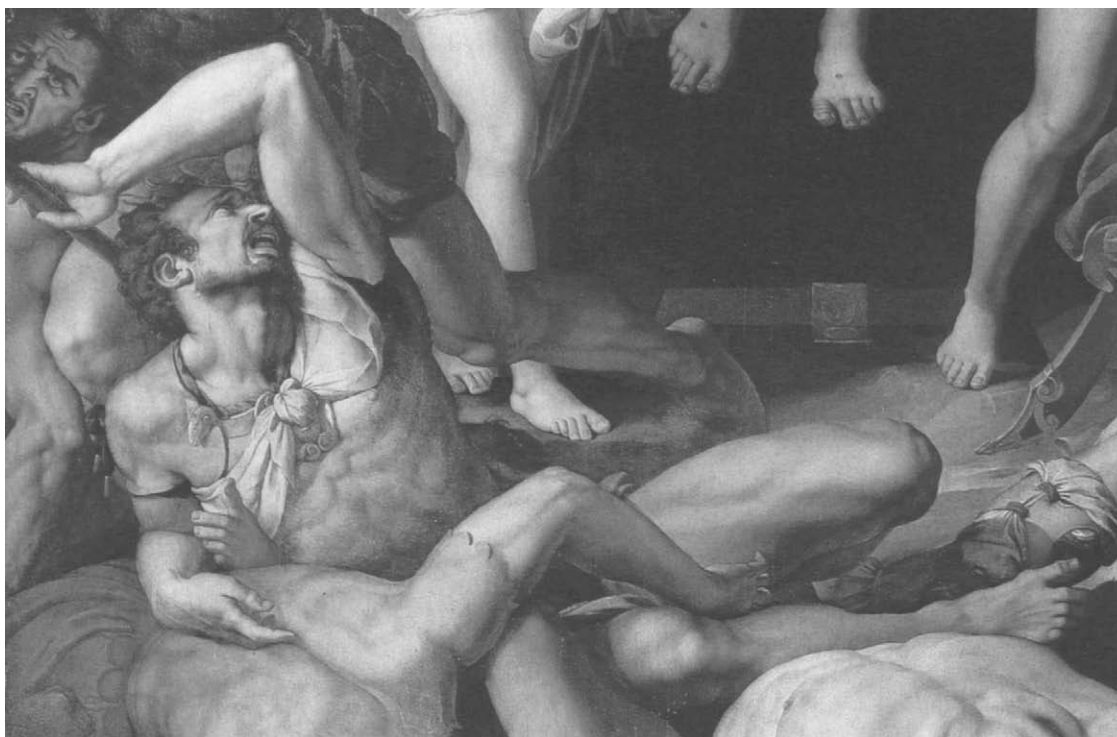


Figure 51-1. Detail of plate 59. Agnolo Bronzino, figure reclining and looking up at Christ in the altarpiece *The Resurrection*, 1552. Oil on wood. Guadagni Chapel, SS. Annunziata, Florence



52. *Crawling Male Nude, ca. 1548–52*

Black and brown chalk, 8³/₁₆ × 14³/₁₆ in. (22.6 × 36.5 cm)

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (C 1967-390)

PROVENANCE: Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, before 1763 (Album Ca 9; detached before 1945)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schaefer 1976, pp. 40–42, n. 7, pl. 10; Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 12; Larry J. Feinberg in Allen Memorial Art Museum 1991, p. 80, n. 1, under no. 12; Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 216, under no. 4; Cox-Rearick 1992, p. 244, n. 37; Paul Joannides in National Gallery of Art, Washington 1996, p. 182, under no. 61, fig. 103; Beate Reifenscheid in Saarland Museum 1997, pp. 120–21, no. 28, ill.; Englander 1999, p. 30, n. 16; Wolfgang Holler in Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden 2007, p. 92, ill.

AFTER AGNOLO BRONZINO (ALESSANDRO ALLORI?)

53. *Crawling Male Nude, after ca. 1548–52*

Soft black chalk, 9³/₁₆ × 15⁵/₁₆ in. (23.3 × 38.9 cm)

Annotated on recto at upper left corner, in pen and ink in an old hand: “Daniel da Volterra”

Royal Library, Windsor Castle (RL 0447)

PROVENANCE: Possibly King Charles II (r. 1660–85); British Royal Collection, by 1810

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 201, no. 143, pl. 34 (as by Bronzino); Smyth 1955, pp. 77–78, no. c6 (as a copy, probably after a drawing by Bronzino), fig. 144; Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 8, n. 4, n (as by Bronzino); Smyth 1971, p. 44 (as a copy, probably after a drawing by Bronzino); Queen’s Gallery 1972, pp. 46–47, no. 94 (as by Bronzino); Schaefer 1976, pp. 40–42, n. 8, pl. 11; Hall 1979, p. 151; Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 12 (as by Allori), fig. 1a; Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 216, no. 4 (as by Allori), fig. 5; Cox-Rearick 1992, p. 244, n. 37 (as by Bronzino); Pilliod 1992c, pp. 728–29, no. 4 (as by Bronzino); Paul Joannides in National Gallery of Art, Washington 1996, pp. 182–83, no. 61 (as by Bronzino?), ill.; Beate Reifenscheid in Saarland Museum 1997, p. 120, under no. 28; Art Gallery of New South Wales 1999, p. 220, no. 17 (as by Bronzino); Englander 1999, p. 30, n. 16; Marshall 1999, pp. 27, 31 (as by Bronzino), fig. 14

In 1552, Bronzino completed and signed his altarpiece showing *The Descent of Christ into Limbo* for the Zanchini Chapel in S. Croce, which was recently cleaned and is now reinstalled in the Museo dell’Opera di S. Croce (plate 58).

The only surviving drawing for this painting is one from the pair of studies in Dresden and Windsor. They are drawn in the same medium, are of similar scale, and both depict the crawling soldier at the foot of Christ (fig. 52-1). The original of the two sheets, the one in Dresden, was certainly drawn from a studio model, as it shows the entire figure, although only the upper half appears in the altarpiece.

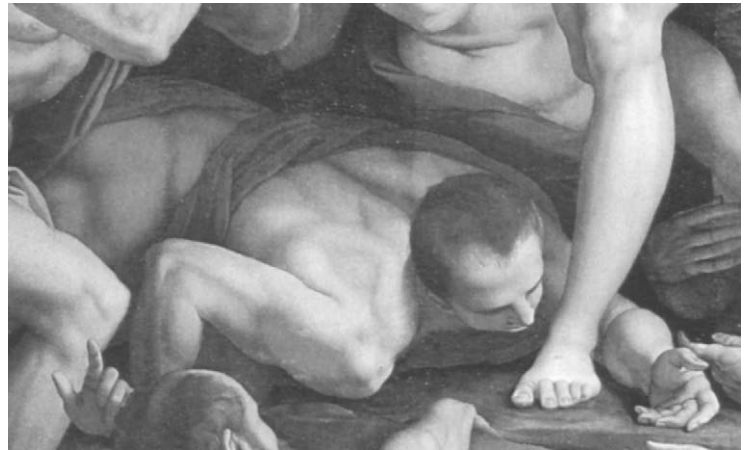


Figure 52-1. Detail of plate 58. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Descent of Christ into Limbo*, 1552. Oil on wood. Museo dell’Opera di S. Croce, Florence

The Windsor drawing became known first and was published as autograph Bronzino by A. E. Popham.¹ It was subsequently rejected by Craig Hugh Smyth² on account of its quality and manner of execution, and regarded as the work of Alessandro Allori by Simona Lecchini Giovannoni.³ Alternatively, Scott Schaefer identified the Dresden drawing as the original version by Bronzino and considered the Windsor version a copy.⁴ Finally, Elizabeth Pilliod⁵ and Paul Joannides⁶ have allowed that both drawings may be by Bronzino himself.

The possibility of Bronzino’s authorship of both drawings seems illogical and inconsistent with his and contemporary practice. To be sure, there are very slight differences between the two, but they are so close to one another as to make a second authentic version unnecessary. Furthermore, the artist would probably have later drawn a final, squared version and then a cartoon, in either of which drawings he could have introduced very minor alterations.

Schaefer has made a compelling case for the superiority of the Dresden study, which is finer in outline, in shading, and in details such as the left hand.⁷ Equally, it has meaningful pentimenti, whereas the Windsor sheet has erasures that seem to be corrections made by a copyist. The Windsor drawing does seem very likely to be the work of Allori, copying Bronzino’s original in Dresden.

GRG

1 Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 201, no. 143.

2 Smyth 1955, no. c6, pp. 77–78, fig. 144; Smyth 1971, p. 44.

3 Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 12, fig. 1a; and Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 216, no. 4.

4 Schaefer 1976, pp. 39–43, pl. 10 (Dresden), pl. 11 (Windsor). In Schaefer’s article, the Dresden drawing is quoted as that at Windsor and vice-versa, while the illustrations of the two versions have the correct captions.

5 Pilliod 1992c, pp. 728–29.

6 Paul Joannides in National Gallery of Art, Washington 1996, p. 182, no. 61 (Windsor drawing, with discussion of Dresden drawing).

7 Schaefer 1976.



52



53

AGNOLO BRONZINO

54. *Head of a Young Man*, ca. 1550–55

Black chalk, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ in. (13.7 × 10.3 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (90.GB.29)

PROVENANCE: Private Collection; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1989, no. 64; Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London; acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990

BIBLIOGRAPHY: [George R. Goldner] in "Acquisitions" 1991, p. 156, no. 44, ill.; Rowlands 1996, pp. 184, 187, fig. 22b; Nicholas Turner and Carol Plazzotta in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, pp. 16–17, no. 7, ill.; Brock 2002, pp. 144, 332, n. 82, ill. p. 146; Perović 2001, pp. 16–17, fig. 14; Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, pp. 299–300, no. 155, ill.; Tazartes 2003, pp. 38, 170, ill.

This meticulously executed drawing only came to light in London, at a Sotheby's sale in 1989,¹ where it was correctly attributed to Bronzino and recognized as a preparatory study for the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (plate 56). X-ray and other technical examination of the painting reveal that it went through several stages of execution.² In the first of these, the sitter was shown bareheaded and with an antique-styled suit of armor, visible underneath the collar and shoulder outline (fig. 54-1). The Getty drawing clearly was made in connection with this first version, in which the features of the face and hair are conceived in a somewhat idealized and Roman manner. It also shows a bit more breadth in the cheeks and more pronounced irises, the latter conveying a starker expressive quality than is found in the final painting.

This is one of only three surviving drawings by Bronzino securely identifiable as portraits, so caution is necessary in generalizing about his methodology. It has been suggested that this work was made from life, but the classicized features and small scale tend to argue that it was developed from a more naturalistic study. Both painting and drawing fit well into Bronzino's work of 1550–55.

GRG

¹ Sotheby's, London, sale cat., July 3, 1989, no. 64.

² Rowlands 1996, pp. 181–88, no. 22.



Figure 54-1. Detail of plate 56. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man*, X-ray of first version. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (collaboration The J. Paul Getty Museum and Kansas City)



55. *Modello for The Virtues and Blessings of Matrimony Expelling the Vices and Ills, ca. 1565*

Black chalk, brush, and very pale-brown wash, squared for enlargement, 15¹/₁₆ × 12¹/₈ in. (39.9 × 30.8 cm)

Annotated: "Michel Angelo Buonarruoti," corrected on mat below to "Originale di Giacomo da Pontormo" in the hand of the "illiterate connoisseur."¹ "198" in red chalk lower "R" on the drawing. "No. 48" on the mat above

Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford 1340 (JBS 132)

PROVENANCE: General John Guise; Christ Church, Oxford, since 1765

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bottari and Ticozzi 1822, pp. 216–19, no. 62 (letter from Vincenzo Borghini to Bronzino, 1565); Smyth 1955, pp. 58–59, no. A15a; Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 404, under no. A260; Pillsbury 1970, p. 83, n. 9; Monbeig-Goguel 1971, pp. 15, 89, fig. 10; Smyth 1971, pp. 78–79, n. 212; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, vol. 1, p. 42, under no. 12; Baccheschi 1973, p. 98, under no. 64; Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 69, no. 132, vol. 2, pl. 88; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 88, no. 134, ill.; McCorquodale 1981, p. 149, pl. 104; Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 72, under no. 30; Mendelsohn 1992a, p. 158, fig. 12; Cecchi 1996, p. 68; Pilliod 2001, pp. 166–67, 200–201, 267, n. 99; Brock 2002, pp. 235–36, 335, n. 71; McCorquodale 2005, p. 167, pl. 120; Gründler 2008, pp. 197–98, n. 118

First recognized as by Bronzino by Philip Pouncey among still uncatalogued drawings at Christ Church,² this and the following drawing (cat. no. 56) were both made as preparatory studies for two

of the three paintings executed by Bronzino for the temporary celebratory decorations in honor of the marriage of Francesco de' Medici to Johanna of Austria in December 1565.³ They were hung in front of the Palazzo Ricasoli, near the Ponte della Carraia in Florence. The iconographical scheme devoted to Matrimony was devised by the humanist Vincenzo Borghini in a letter to Cosimo in April 1565 and was elaborated with the collaboration of Giorgio Vasari; their preparatory drawing for the facade decorations is in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 55-1). Bronzino's three paintings were shown on the lower level, whereas two others by Alessandro Allori and perhaps Leonardo della Sciorina were situated above. Like most such ephemeral decorations, none of these five paintings survives.

The elaborate compositions, with many figures closely spaced and in high animation, as well as the multiplicity of complex poses, exemplify the high *maniera* of a part of Bronzino's last major works. In finished form, this tendency may be seen best in *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (plate 61). Equally, the powerfully Michelangelesque figure style is an idiom he used for these large, grand compositions. The draftsmanship, with firm continuous outlines and subtle tonal shading, is also present in the three large studies for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (cat. nos. 58–60).

GRG

- 1 On the "illiterate connoisseur," see Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, pp. 14–15.
- 2 See Smyth 1955, p. 58, no. A15a.
- 3 A thorough discussion of the program is found in Pillsbury 1970.

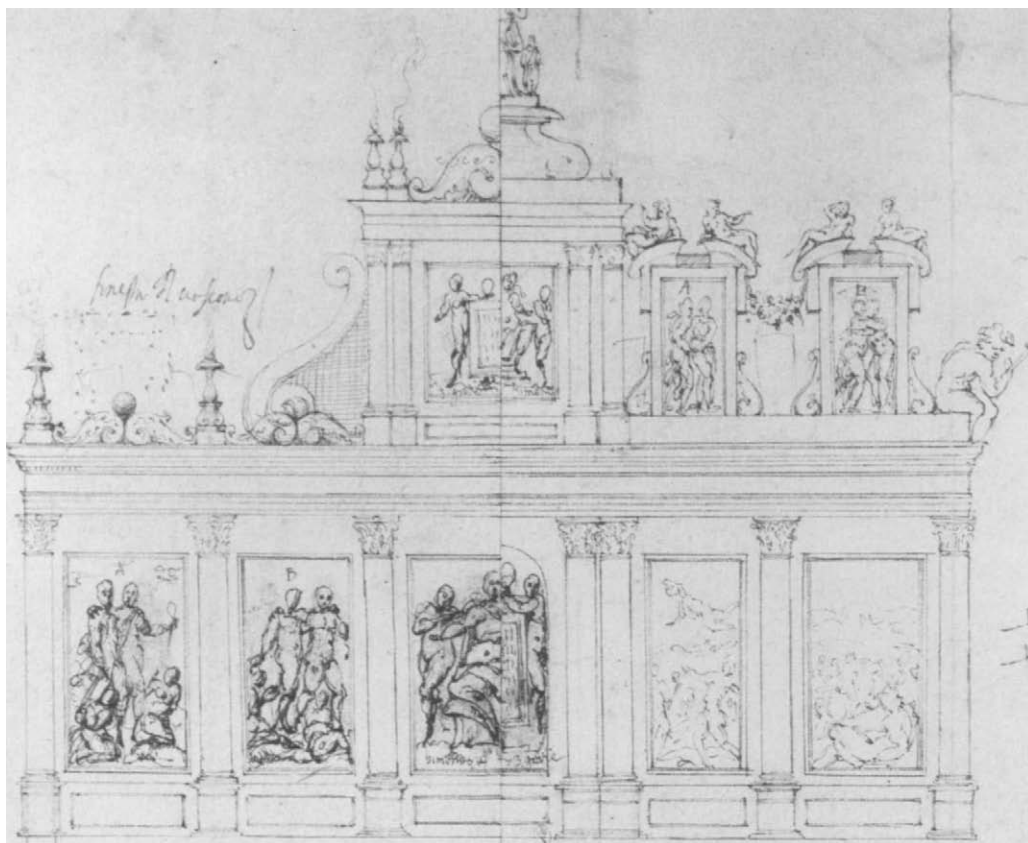


Figure 55-1. Giorgio Vasari, with additions by Vincenzo Borghini, *Study for Temporary Facade on the Palazzo Ricasoli*, 1565. Pen and brown ink over black chalk, glued onto secondary support, 7¹/₂ × 9¹/₈ in. (19 × 23.2 cm). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (11082)



56. *Modello for The Preparation of the Marriage Bed, ca. 1565*

Black chalk, reworked with pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, squared in black chalk, 15³/₄ × 12³/₁₆ in. (40 × 31.3 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (953)

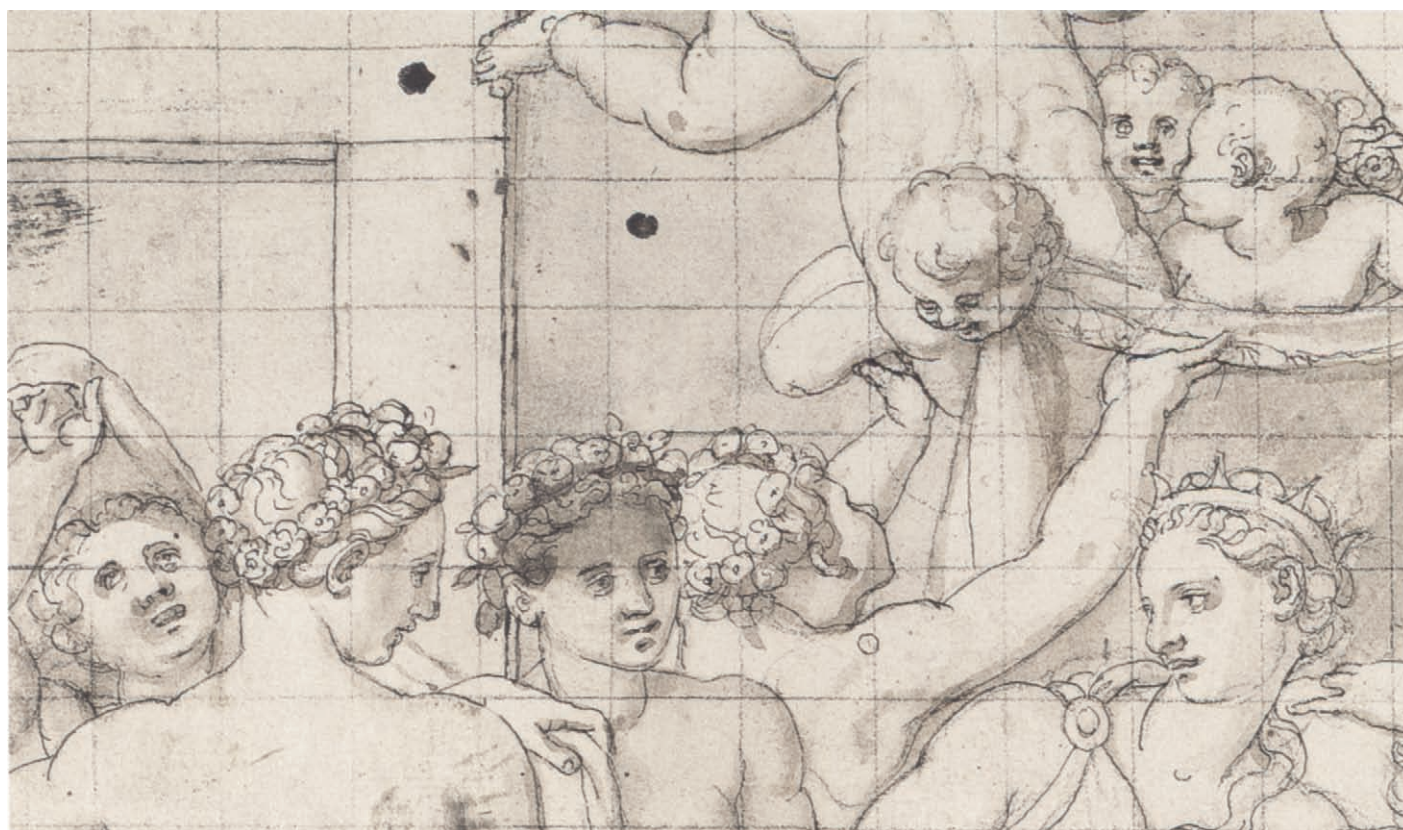
PROVENANCE: Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), Florence (his collection albums, Musée du Louvre, Paris, vol. 1, fol. 162, as by Pontormo); his son, Francesco Saverio Baldinucci (1663–1738), Florence; acquired by the Musée du Louvre, 1806 (museum stamp; Lugt 1886)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bottari and Ticozzi 1822, pp. 216–19, no. 62 (letter from Vincenzo Borghini to Bronzino, 1565); Voss 1913, p. 309, fig. 12; Clapp 1914, p. 304, no. 953 (as a copy after Bronzino); Voss 1920, vol. 1, p. 216, fig. 71; McComb 1928, pp. 152–53, no. 953; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 64, no. 605E (as a copy after Bronzino); Bacou 1955, p. 32, no. 79; Smyth 1955, pp. 57–58, no. A15, fig. 130; Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean in Musée du Louvre 1958, p. 20, under no. 13; Roseline Bacou and Jacob Bean in *Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe* 1959, pp. 41–42, under no. 16; Emiliani 1960, p. 89, under no. 604/12 (erroneously as inv. 593); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 117, no. 605E (as School of Bronzino, probably by Allori); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 383, under no. A129, p. 404, no. A260; Haraszti-Takács 1968, n.p. (under no. 2); Pillsbury 1970, pp. 79, 83, nn. 8, 9, fig. 5; Smyth 1971, pp. 78–79, n. 212; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, pp. 39, 42, no. 12, ill.; Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 69, under no. 132; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in *Palazzo Strozzi* 1980, p. 88, under no. 134; Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 383, under no. A129, p. 404, no. A260; McCorquodale 1981, p. 149, pl. 105; Graham Smith in *Detroit Institute of Arts* 1988, p. 72, under no. 30; Goldner 1990, p. 262; Cecchi 1996, p. 68; Voss and Pelzel 1997, p. 177, fig. 71; Brock 2002, pp. 235, 335, n. 71; McCorquodale 2005, p. 167, pl. 121; Gründler 2008, pp. 197–98, no. 118

The Louvre drawing for the celebrations of the marriage of Francesco de' Medici to Johanna of Austria is comparable to the related sheet in Christ Church (cat. no. 55) in all but one respect. Unlike that work, here the clear chalk outlines have been gone over in pen and ink. The effect of this reinforcement is to lessen the subtlety of line and expression, especially noticeable in some of the faces. It is, therefore, likely that the pen work is by another hand, as has been suggested before on occasion.¹

GRG

¹ Pillsbury 1970, p. 83, nn. 8, 9.



56 detail



AGNOLO BRONZINO

57. *Head of a Man*, ca. 1550–55

Black chalk, 14³/₈ × 9¹/₂ in. (36.4 × 24.2 cm)

Annotated on verso of mount: "S. Pietro" and "C.11"

Private Collection

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London (his stamp at lower left [Lugt 2445]); Prince Hans Furstenberg-Beaumesnil, Paris (his mark at lower right)

Although once part of the Thomas Lawrence Collection, this drawing was unknown since then until its attribution was first established by the present author. The distinctive manner of delineating the eyes and eyelids, the economical use of chalk strokes, and the clarity of outlining of the far side of the face are all characteristic of Bronzino. The rendering of the eyes in particular is closely comparable to the study in black chalk for one of the central figures in the *The Lamentation* (cat. no. 30). Also typical of the artist is the fine parallel hatching of the shaded areas of the neck and throat. The somewhat greater breadth of execution when compared with examples like the above-mentioned Uffizi study suggests a later date, past mid-century.

The drawing is clearly a study from life, and the casualness of the pose and dress suggests that the subject was well known to Bronzino. Janet Cox-Rearick has suggested that it may represent one of the circle of intelligentsia in Florence with whom Bronzino was friendly. At the same time, it is altogether different from the three surviving drawings made as preparatory studies for painted portraits (cat. nos. 17, 18, 54) in its freedom of execution. It might possibly be the first step in developing a painted portrait, and it bears some similarity to the *Portrait of Pierantonio Bandini* (fig. 57-1). However, it is more likely that Bronzino used this rather informal study as the basis for a figure in one of his narrative paintings, such as the figure of St. Peter carrying a cross at the upper right of *The Descent of Christ into Limbo* of 1552 (fig. 57-2). It is perhaps more than a coincidence that an inscription on the verso in a seventeenth-century hand identifies the figure as St. Peter. The rendering of certain details of the neck, beard, and shading is quite similar, as is the overall type, but there are also some differences in the position of the head. Whether drawn in connection with this figure or not, this is surely the type of use to which this study was put.

GRG



Figure 57-1. Agnolo Bronzino, detail of *Portrait of Pierantonio Bandini*, ca. 1550–55. Oil on wood, 42 × 32¹/₂ in. (106.7 × 82.5 cm). National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (3717)



Figure 57-2. Detail of plate 58. Agnolo Bronzino, St. Peter carrying a cross in the upper right of *The Descent of Christ into Limbo*, 1552. Oil on wood. Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce, Florence



AGNOLO BRONZINO

58. *Seated Male Nude (study for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*)*, ca. 1565–69

Black chalk, glued onto secondary support, 13 × 18³/₁₆ in. (33 × 46.2 cm)
(maximum sheet, corners cropped)

Annotated on recto, at lower right, in graphite script, by a late 19th or 20th century collector: "Angelo Bronzino"

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Promised Gift of Leon D. and Debra R. Black, and Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2005 (2005.354)

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1975, no. 16, pl. 8; John and Alice Steiner, Larchmont, New York; by descent in the Steiner family; Katrin Bellingier, Kunsthandel, Munich; acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles R. Saumarez-Smith in *Fogg Art Museum* 1977, pp. 29, 31, no. 3, ill. p. 28; Olszewski 1981, pp. 34–35, no. 10, ill.; Robin Thorne Ptacek and Alfred Moir in *Yale University Art Gallery* 1986, pp. 32–33, no. 8, ill.; Graham Smith in *Detroit Institute of Arts* 1988, p. 72, under no. 30; Larry J. Feinberg in *Allen Memorial Art Museum* 1991, pp. 80–81, no. 12, ill.; William M. Griswold in *Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1994, p. 29, no. 23, ill. p. 164; Janet Cox-Rearick in *Art Institute of Chicago* 2002, p. 303, under no. 158; Carmen C. Bambach in "Recent Acquisitions" 2006, p. 31, ill.; Bambach 2007, pp. 82, 92, n. 41

This is the earliest of the three surviving drawings for Bronzino's fresco of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* in the main aisle of S. Lorenzo (fig. 58-1; plate 61). The study shows the massive nude in

an elaborately contorted pose, based ultimately on the precedents of Michelangelo and Roman sculpture. The imposing placement and sculptural presence of the figure dominate the right side of the large and complex fresco.

To some observers, the subject has been understood as a river god, presumably the Tiber, but in fact he has qualities of both a living observer and a giant statue set in front of the drama beyond. In technique as well as form, Bronzino emphasized this duality. The relatively broad handling is characteristic of his late drawings and lends this figure a degree of naturalism, while the Michelangelesque musculature and athletic pose give him a dynamic feeling of monumental force.

There was possibly a further study made after this one, since there are changes between it and the fresco. It is also not squared, unlike the Louvre and Uffizi studies (cat. nos. 59 and 60), which are much closer to the final fresco. The most important alteration is the urn in the fresco, which replaces and is positioned differently from the sphere held under the left arm of the figure in the drawing. In addition, the head is turned a bit more sharply and the hair described more conventionally than in the study. In general, the drawing is more expressive and formally cohesive than the fresco that resulted from it.

GRG



Figure 58-1. Detail of plate 61.
Agnolo Bronzino, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1565–69. Fresco.
S. Lorenzo, Florence



59. *Standing Male Nude with Back Turned* (study for *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*), ca. 1565–69

Black chalk, squared in black chalk, glued onto secondary paper support, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.8 × 21.6 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (10900 F)

PROVENANCE: Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris (Lugt 2959); Cabinet du Roi, from 1671 (manuscript inventory, “dessin non collé ni doré, dit du rebut”); (museum stamp; Lugt 1886)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 21, n. 82; Monbeig-Goguel 1971, pp. 15, 89, fig. II; Smyth 1971, pp. 44–45, 78, n. 210, fig. 40; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, p. 42, no. 13, ill.; Cheney 1973, pp. 166, 169; Roseline Bacou and Françoise Viatte in Musée du Louvre 1975, pp. 36–37, no. 13, ill.; Christie’s, London, sale cat., December 9, 1975, under no. 16; Charles R. Saumarez-Smith in Fogg Art Museum 1977, p. 29, under no. 3; Olszewski 1981, pp. 34–35, under no. 10; Robin Thorne Ptaček and Alfred Moir in Yale University Art Gallery 1986, p. 32, n. 1, under no. 8; Waźbiński 1987, vol. 1, pp. 199–200, n. 13, vol. 2, fig. 76; Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 72, under no. 30; Larry J. Feinberg in Allen Memorial Art Museum 1991, p. 80, under no. 12; Cox-Rearick 1991, p. 46, ill. no. 16; Cecchi 1996, pp. 77–78; Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, p. 303, no. 158, ill. (as Bronzino or Alessandro Allori); Brock 2002, pp. 316, 338, n. 23, ill.; Tazartes 2003, p. 196

First attributed to Bronzino by Craig Hugh Smyth, this is a characteristic and fine example of a highly finished late figure drawing.¹ The study is squared and was used with minor changes for the figure at the extreme left (fig. 59-1) of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (plate 61). The only differences between drawing and fresco are the additions of a small beard and a bit of drapery.

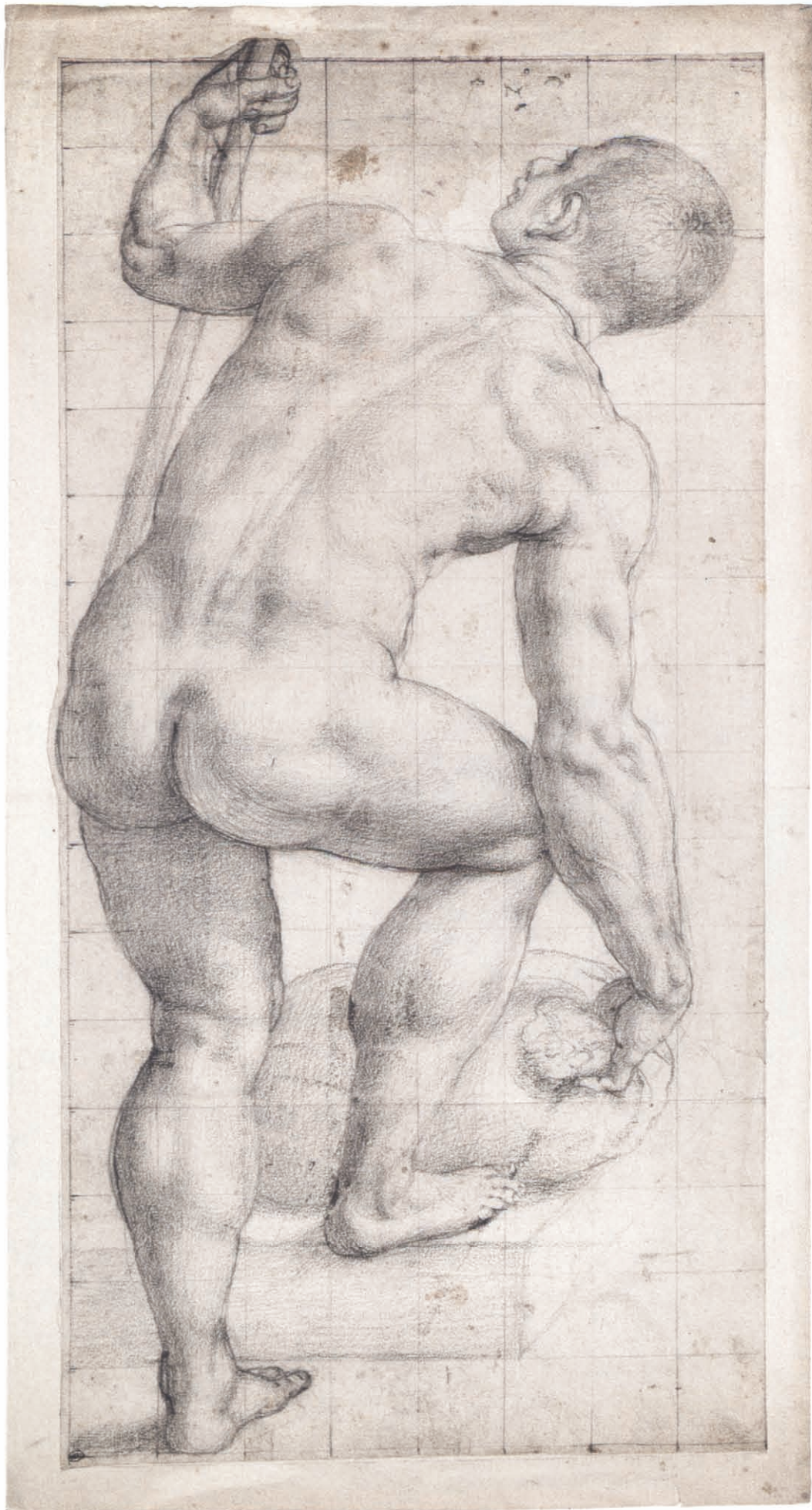
The technique employed by Bronzino for this and the similar drawing in the Uffizi for the same project (cat. no. 60) is more precise and less broad in manner than for the *Seated Male Nude* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 58). This difference results in part from the fact that the Louvre and Uffizi studies represent the last design stage before work on the fresco began, whereas much more change was involved before the Metropolitan Museum’s drawing was translated into a painted image. In addition, the Louvre and Uffizi drawings represent living actors in a dramatic narrative, whereas the Metropolitan Museum’s figure is conceptually between real observer and fictive marble sculpture.

GRG

¹ See Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, p. 303, no. 158, suggesting a possible attribution of this and the Uffizi drawing (10220 F) to Alessandro Allori, a view she no longer holds.



Figure 59-1. Detail of plate 61. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1565–69. Fresco. S. Lorenzo, Florence



60. *Kneeling Male Nude (study for The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence)*, ca. 1565–69

Soft black chalk, squared in black chalk, with some reinforcements in pen and brown ink (upper and lower outlines of the arm at left), 18¼ × 9¾ in. (46.4 × 23.3 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (10220 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 21, n. 82; Smyth 1971, pp. 45, 78, n. 211 (as by an assistant or pupil of Bronzino); Schaefer 1976, p. 40; Charles R. Saumarez-Smith in Fogg Art Museum 1977, p. 29, under no. 3; Burijisuton Bijutsukan 1982, no. 20, ill.; State Hermitage Museum 1982, pp. 27–28, no. 28, ill.; Muze'on Yisra'el 1984, no. 21, ill.; Robin Thorne Ptacek and Alfred Moir in Yale University Art Gallery 1986, p. 32, n. 1, under no. 8; Wazbiński 1987, vol. 1, pp. 199–200, n. 14; Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, pp. 72–73, no. 30 (as by Bronzino), ill.; Larry J. Feinberg in Allen Memorial Art Museum 1991, p. 80, n. 1, under no. 12; Cecchi 1996, pp. 77–78; Janet Cox-Rearick in Art Institute of Chicago 2002, p. 303, under no. 158 (as by Bronzino or Alessandro Allori); Brock 2002, pp. 318, 338, n. 28, ill. p. 319; Tazartes 2003, p. 196, ill. p. 71

This powerful image is the final preparatory study for the figure kneeling below the grill (fig. 60-1) in *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (plate 61). There are no changes of consequence between the drawing, which is squared for transfer, and the painted figure.

Traditionally attributed to Alessandro Allori, the attribution to Bronzino was first proposed by Janet Cox-Rearick in 1971.¹ Nevertheless, doubts about the attribution have been professed recurrently. Most fully expressed by Craig Hugh Smyth,² they essentially rest on a perceived qualitative inferiority to the Louvre study (cat. no. 59) for the same fresco. In fact, they are closely similar in technique and quality of execution, as was correctly observed by Graham Smith.³ The Uffizi drawing suffers in the comparison, but this is perhaps a result of the rather unattractive pose and expressive character of the figure, not its execution. Carmen Bambach has noted that the outlines along the right arm have been strengthened somewhat with a pen, which lends a certain harshness and inconsistency to the impression the drawing makes. Although the work is not among his finest, there is no legitimate reason to doubt its attribution to Bronzino.

G R G

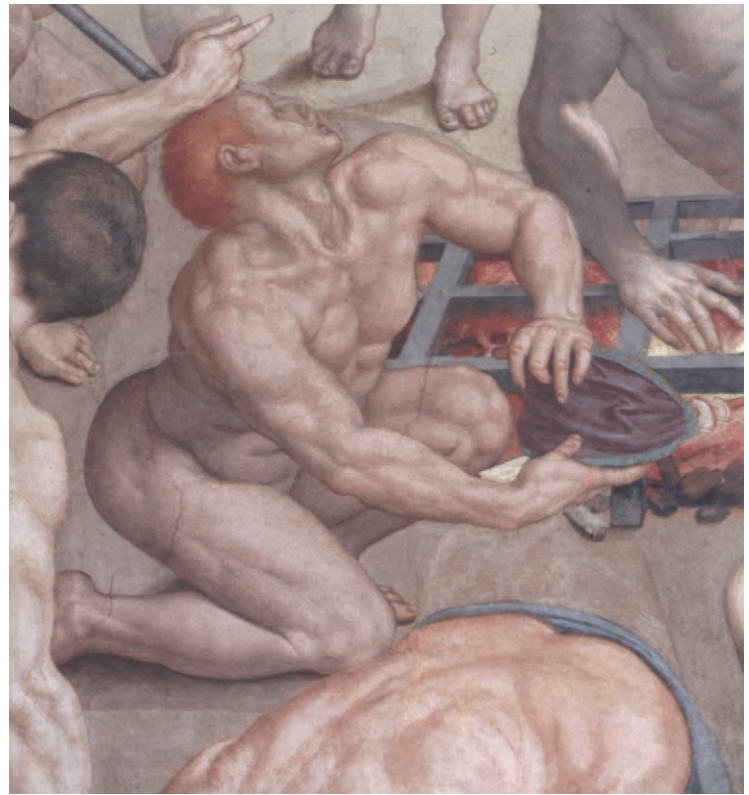


Figure 60-1. Detail of plate 61. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1565–69. Fresco. S. Lorenzo, Florence

1 Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 21, n. 82.

2 Smyth 1971, pp. 45, 78, n. 211.

3 Graham Smith in Detroit Institute of Arts 1988, p. 72.



Small circular stamp or seal in the bottom right corner, containing illegible text or a logo.

FLORENTINE ARTIST, 3RD QUARTER OF THE
16TH CENTURY

61. *Copies after Figures at the Left in The Crossing
of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua*

Black chalk, brush and brown wash, slightly highlighted with white chalk,
on dark blue-gray paper, $12\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in. (31.6 × 25.5 cm) maximum
(arched top)

Annotated on mat below, in the hand of Anton Maria Zanetti (1680–1767):
“di Francesco Salviatti”

Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (0170 JBS 133)

PROVENANCE: General John Guise; Christ Church, Oxford, since 1765

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bell 1914, p. 84, no. E. 18 (as by Francesco Salviatti);
Smyth 1955, p. 74, c2a (as a copy after Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, II,
13, nn. 38–41, p. 14 (as by Bronzino), fig. 7; Smyth 1971, pp. 19, 63–64, nn. 93,
94, 96 (as by Alessandro Allori); Baccheschi 1973, p. 92, under no. 40, ill.
no. 40-2; Cheney 1973, p. 166 (as not unlikely by Allori); Byam Shaw 1976,
vol. 1, pp. 69–70, no. 133 (as by Bronzino or Allori), vol. 2, pl. 107; Allegri
and Cecchi 1980, p. 27 (as cautiously rejecting Bronzino’s authorship);
Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 87, under no. 128;
McCorquodale 1981, p. 82 (as not by Bronzino; probably by Allori); Cox-
Rearick 1987a, p. 53, n. 28 (as by Allori); Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 20,
n. 13; Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 40, n. 25 (as not by Allori); Edelstein
1995, p. 409, n. 22; Edelstein 2001b, p. 162, n. 7 (as attributed to Allori);
Tazartes 2003, p. 126; Dominique Cordellier in Musée du Louvre 2005,
pp. 56, 58, n. 2, under no. 24 (as by Bronzino); Pilliod 2006, pp. III, 116–22,
126–27, nn. 54–56, 58, 63 (as by Bronzino), fig. 16

FLORENTINE ARTIST, 3RD QUARTER OF THE
16TH CENTURY

62. *Copies after Figures at the Right in The Crossing
of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua*

Black chalk, brush and brown wash, slightly heightened with white chalk,
on dark blue-gray paper, $12\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ in. (31.2 × 25 cm) (arched top)

Annotated on the mat below, in the hand of Anton Maria Zanetti
(1680–1767): “di Francesco Salviatti”; on verso, in red chalk: “B^o”

Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (1142 JBS 134)

PROVENANCE: General John Guise; Christ Church, Oxford, since 1765

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smyth 1955, p. 74, c2b (as a copy after Bronzino); Cox-
Rearick 1971, pp. 8, II, nn. 38–41, p. 14 (as by Bronzino); Smyth 1971, pp. 19,
63–64, nn. 93, 96 (as by Alessandro Allori); Baccheschi 1973, p. 92, under
no. 40, ill. no. 40-2; Cheney 1973, p. 166 (as not unlikely by Allori); Byam
Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 70, no. 134 (as by Bronzino or Allori), vol. 2, pl. 108;
Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 27 (as cautiously rejecting Bronzino’s authorship);
Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in Palazzo Strozzi 1980, p. 87, under no. 128;
McCorquodale 1981, p. 82 (as not by Bronzino; probably by Allori); Cox-
Rearick 1987a, p. 53, n. 28 (as by Allori); Lecchini Giovannoni 1988, p. 20,
n. 13; Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 40, n. 25 (as not by Allori); Edelstein 1995,
p. 409, n. 22; Edelstein 2001b, p. 162, n. 7 (as attributed to Allori); Tazartes
2003, p. 126; Pilliod 2006, pp. III, 116–22, 126–27, nn. 54–56, 58, 63 (as by
Bronzino), fig. 17

These two drawings are fragments cut from what was origi-
nally the same large sheet depicting Bronzino’s original com-
position of *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua*,
the lunette fresco in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo (plate 22).
There can be no doubt that the Christ Church fragments were
intended as one composition, since the handle of the water basin
in the front of the lefthand scene appears in severed fragmentary
form in the other scene.

These studies are obviously related to the fresco decorations
of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, but the precise nature of the
relationship has been the subject of much dispute. The third
component of this complex mixture is a print by Hieronymus Cock
(fig. 61-1) that largely echoes the Christ Church studies. Janet Cox-
Rearick initially believed the latter to be preparatory to the fresco,¹
but she has since abandoned this view, although it was recently
reasserted by Elizabeth Pilliod.² James Byam Shaw has made a
persuasive case against Bronzino’s authorship,³ noting that the
drawings are much closer to the Cock print and therefore are
likely to be studies for it. In addition to a similarity in the overall
disposition of forms, the print shares the significant similarity in
detail of the two women to the left of the large man seen from
behind at the left side of the print, a detail found on the opposite
side of the fresco. Furthermore, he noted the use of uncharacteris-
tic white-chalk highlights here in place of Bronzino’s favored
medium of white gouache for such heightening.

It should be added that there are no comparable drawings in
Bronzino’s known oeuvre and that the loose outlining and jumble
of expressive lines elsewhere are entirely atypical of his manner.
Similarly, the failure to define all but the most prominent figures
in space is not what one might expect of Bronzino and sharply sets
these drawings apart from the fresco and its maker.

The alternative attribution that has been advanced by Craig
Hugh Smyth,⁴ Philip Pouncey,⁵ and others is that of Alessandro
Allori. The tendency toward linear elaboration and classicizing
heads does recall that artist’s work, but features such as the
tonal use of wash and facial details are not quite in accord with
what we see in his many compositional studies. It is noteworthy
that the attribution to Allori is rejected in the only monograph
devoted to him.⁶

Under the circumstances, it is good to remember that Bronzino
had other assistants who are documented as being active partici-
pants on important projects but whose work is unknown to us.
These include Leonardo dalla Sciorina, who according to Mellini
and Vasari worked on the paintings for the wedding celebrations



Figure 61-1. Hieronymus Cock, engraving (in reverse) after Agnolo Bronzino, *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua* (plate 22). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (7120)

for Francesco de' Medici and Johanna of Austria in 1565.⁷ In fact, the complexity of form and composition in the Christ Church drawings argues for a date in the 1560s and finds its closest parallels in the work of Bronzino's younger contemporaries of that decade, one of whom might well be the author, not in the frescoes of the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo.

GRG

1 Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 11, 13–14.

2 Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 116–22.

3 Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, pp. 69–70, nos. 133, 134.

4 Smyth 1971, p. 19.

5 Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 70, mentions that Philip Pouncey, Christel Thiem, and Keith Andrews support the attribution to Allori.

6 Lecchini Giovannoni 1991, p. 40, n. 25.

7 Pillsbury 1970, pp. 79–82.





PAINTINGS AND TAPESTRIES



Plate 1. Agnolo Bronzino, *St. Mark*, ca. 1525–28.
Oil on wood, diam. approx. 30 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (77 cm).
Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita, Florence



Plate 2. Agnolo Bronzino, *St. Matthew*, ca. 1525–28.
Oil on wood, diam. approx. 30 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (77 cm).
Capponi Chapel, S. Felicita, Florence



Plate 3. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John*, ca. 1525–28. Oil on wood, 39¾ × 31⅛ in. (101 × 79 cm). National Gallery of Art (Kress Collection), Washington, D.C. (1939.1.387)



Plate 4. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Jerome, St. Francis, and Two Angels*, ca. 1525–28. Oil on wood, 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (72 × 60 cm).
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence



Plate 5. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Lorenzo Lenzi*, ca. 1527–28. Oil on wood, 38⁹/₁₆ × 28³/₄ in. (98 × 73 cm). Civiche Raccolte d'Arte del Castello Sforzesco, Milan



Plate 6. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Pietà with St. Mary Magdalen* (the Cambi Pietà), ca. 1529. Oil on wood, 45¼ × 43¼ in. (115 × 110 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (from Church of S. Trinita) (8545)



Plate 7. Agnolo Bronzino, *Pygmalion and Galatea*, ca. 1529–30. Oil on wood, 31⁷/₈ × 24³/₄ in. (81 × 63 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence



Plate 8. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Contest of Apollo and Marsyas*, ca. 1530–32. Oil on canvas (transferred from wood), 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 46 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (48 × 119 cm).
State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (rē 250)





Plate 9. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Guidobaldo II della Rovere*, 1532. Oil on wood, 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 33 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (114 × 86 cm). Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence



Plate 10. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man with a Lute*, ca. 1532–34. Oil on wood, 37 × 31½ in. (94 × 79 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1575)



Plate 11. Agnolo Bronzino, *St. Sebastian*, ca. 1532–35. Oil on wood, 34¼ × 30¾ in. (87 × 77 cm). Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (64 [1985.2])



Plate 12. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici as Orpheus*, ca. 1538–40. Oil on wood, 37 × 30 1/8 in. (94 × 76.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (1950-86-1)



Plate 13. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Ugolino Martelli*, ca. 1536–37. Oil on wood, 40³/₁₆ × 33⁷/₁₆ in. (102 × 85 cm). Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin



Plate 14. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1534–38. Oil on wood, 37 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (95.6 × 74.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.16)



Plate 15. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Bartolomeo Panciatichi*, ca. 1540–41. Oil on wood, 41 × 33⁷/₁₆ in. (104 × 85 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (741)



Plate 16. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Lucrezia Panciatichi*, ca. 1540. Oil on wood, $40\frac{1}{8} \times 33\frac{7}{16}$ in. (102 × 85 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (736)



Plate 17. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Holy Family with St. John* (the Panciatichi *Holy Family*), ca. 1540–41. Oil on wood, 46 × 36⁷/₈ in. (117 × 93 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (8377)



Plate 18. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth and St. John (The Hertford Madonna)*, ca. 1541–43. Oil on wood, 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (102 × 81 cm). National Gallery, London (NG5280)



Plate 19. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, ca. 1538–40. Oil on wood, 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (65.3 × 46.7 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (161)



Plate 20. Agnolo Bronzino, Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, general view from entrance showing the vault, walls, and the second version of the altarpiece of *The Lamentation* and altar wings (see plates 52–54). Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 21. Agnolo Bronzino, *Vault with Four Saints*, ca. 1540–41. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 22. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Crossing of the Red Sea and Moses Appointing Joshua*, ca. 1541–42. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 23. Agnolo Bronzino, *Moses Striking Water from the Rock and The Gathering of Manna*, ca. 1542–43. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 24. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Adoration of the Brazen Serpent*, ca. 1542–43. Fresco. Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 25. Agnolo Bronzino, *St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1543–45, left wing for the intended first version of the altarpiece in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo. Oil on wood, 57½ × 20½ in. (146.1 × 52.1 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (73.PB.70)



Plate 26. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Lamentation*, the intended first version of the altarpiece, ca. 1543–45. Oil on wood, 105½ × 68⅞ in. (268 × 173 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (799.1.29)



Plate 27. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici*, ca. 1543. Oil on wood, 29 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (74 × 58 cm). Tribuna, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Deposit 28)



Plate 28. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Bia, Natural Daughter of Cosimo I de' Medici*, ca. 1542. Oil on wood, 24¹/₁₆ × 18⁷/₈ in. (63 × 48 cm). Tribuna, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1472)



Plate 29. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Giovanni I de' Medici*, ca. 1544–45. Oil on wood, $22\frac{1}{16} \times 17\frac{1}{16}$ in. (58 × 45.6 cm). Tribuna, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1475)



Plate 30. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Eleonora di Toledo with Her Son Giovanni I de' Medici*, ca. 1544–45. Oil on wood, 45¼ × 37¾ in. (115 × 96 cm). Tribuna, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (748)



Plate 31. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1545. Oil on wood, 57½ × 45¾ in. (146.1 × 116.2 cm). National Gallery, London (NG 651)



Plate 32. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John*, ca. 1545–46. Oil on wood, 48 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 39 in. (124 × 99 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna



Plate 33. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *The Dovizia (Great Abundance)*, delivered as a finished piece on December 8, 1545. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 95 1/4 x 57 1/2 in. (242 x 146 cm). Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 540)



Plate 34. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Justice Liberating Innocence*, delivered as a finished piece on April 22, 1546. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 97¼ × 66⅞ in. (247 × 170 cm). Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 539)



Plate 35. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Primavera (Spring)*, delivered as a finished piece on May 15, 1546. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 92½ × 66⅞ in. (235 × 168 cm). Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 541)



Plate 36. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Selling The Grain*, delivered as a finished piece on August 16, 1547. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 224 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 178 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (570 × 453 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 727) (photograph taken before restoration)



Plate 37. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Taking Simeon Hostage*, delivered as a finished piece September 15, 1547. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 216⁹/₁₆ × 102³/₈ in. (550 × 260 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 117)



Plate 38. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Sold by His Brothers*, delivered as a finished piece between October 1, 1548 and July 15, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 222⁷/₁₆ × 197⁵/₁₆ in. (565 × 502 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 115)



Plate 39. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet*, delivered as a finished piece on July 15, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 217 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 174 in. (552 × 442 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 118)



Plate 40. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *The Banquet of Joseph For His Brothers*, dated 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 222 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 203 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (565 × 516 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 113)



Plate 41. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph's Dream of the Sheaves of Grain*, delivered as a finished piece on August 3, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 224¹/₁₆ × 116⁵/₁₆ in. (571 × 295.5 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 730)



Plate 42. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Recounting His Dream of the Sun, Moon, and Stars*, delivered as a finished piece on August 3, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 225 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 191 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (573 × 487 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 731) (photograph taken before restoration)

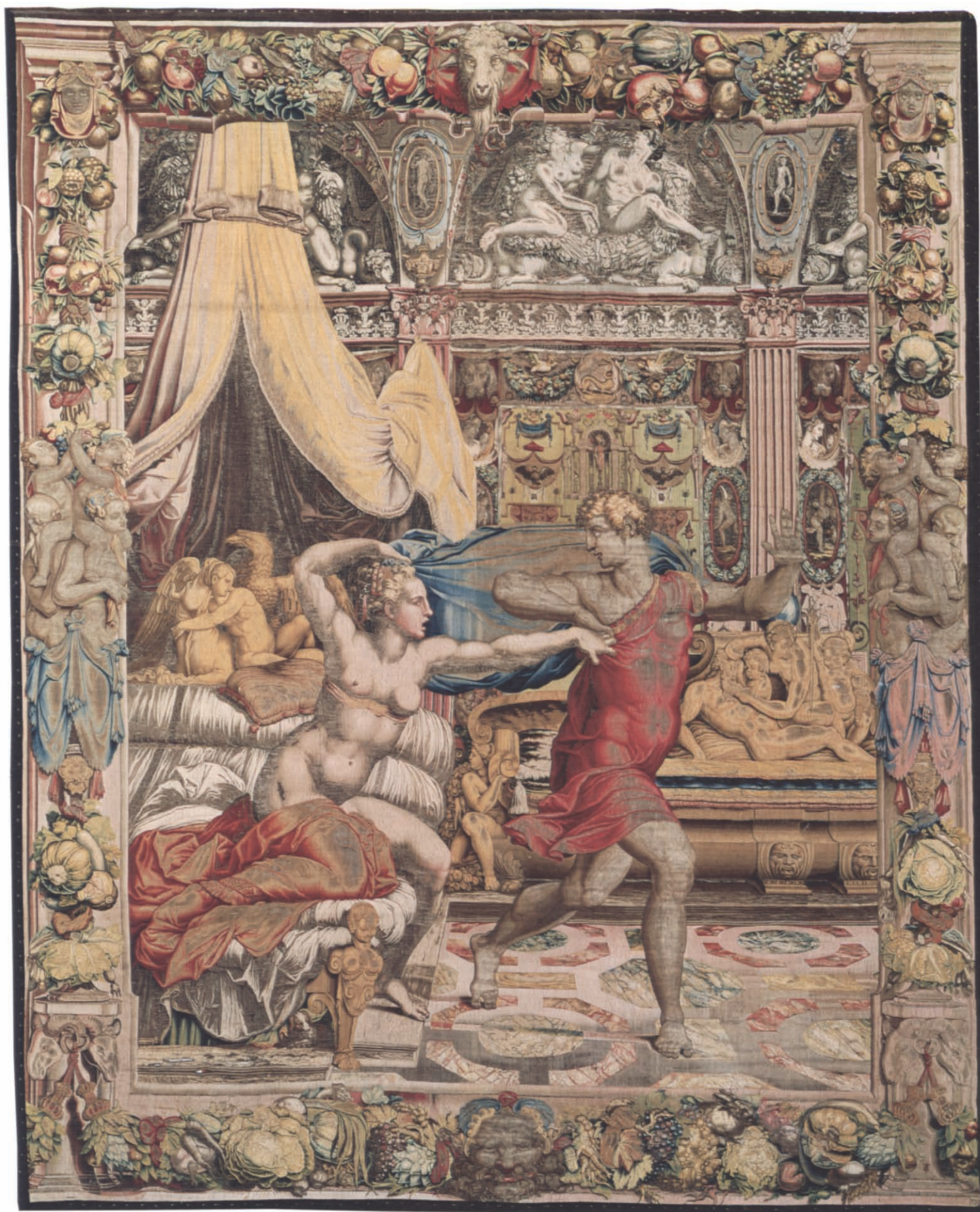


Plate 43. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife*, delivered as a finished piece on August 3, 1549. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 226 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 182 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (575 × 464 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 729)



Plate 44. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Pharaoh Receiving Jacob into Egypt*, delivered as a finished piece on August 21, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 222 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 159 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (565 × 406 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 112)



Plate 45. Jan Rost and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *The Burial of the Bones of Jacob* delivered as a finished piece on August 21, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 222⁷/₁₆ × 106³/₁₆ in. (565 × 270 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 116)



Plate 46. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph's Cup Found in Benjamin's Sack*, delivered as a finished piece September 27, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 222⁷/₁₆ × 204³/₄ in. (565 × 520 cm). Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome (O.D.P. 114)



Plate 47. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Meeting of Joseph and Jacob in Egypt*, delivered as a finished piece on September 27, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 224³/₁₆ × 180⁵/₁₆ in. (570 × 458 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 723)



Plate 48. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Revealing Himself To His Brothers*, delivered as a finished piece on September 27, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 218 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 177 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (556 × 450 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912–25 no. 724)



Plate 49. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Judah Asking for the Freedom of Benjamin*, delivered as a finished piece on September 27, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 218⁷/₈ × 111⁷/₁₆ in. (556 × 283 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912-25 no. 726)



Plate 50. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph*, delivered as a finished piece on September 27, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 228 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 174 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (581 × 443 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912–25 no. 732)



Plate 51. Nicolas Karcher and workshop after design by Agnolo Bronzino, *Joseph Receiving Benjamin*, delivered as a finished piece on September 27, 1553. Tapestry of wool, silk, silver threads, and gilded silver threads, 226 × 118 1/8 in. (574 × 300 cm). Palazzo Vecchio, Salone delle Bandiere, Laboratorio di Restauro, Florence (IA 1912–25 no. 725)



Plate 52. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Lamentation*, ca. 1545–53. Second version of the altarpiece. Oil on wood, 95 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (243 × 174 cm). Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (740)



Plate 53. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Archangel Gabriel*, left wing of altarpiece, ca. 1563–64. Oil on wood, 61 × 22 in. (155 × 56 cm). Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 54. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Annunciate Virgin*, right wing of altarpiece, ca. 1563–64. Oil on wood, 61 × 22 in. (155 × 56 cm). Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Plate 55. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Ludovico Capponi*, ca. 1548–1553. Oil on wood, 45 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (116 × 85 cm). Frick Collection, New York (1915.1.19)



Plate 56. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1550–55. Oil on wood, 33³/₄ × 27 in. (85.73 × 68.58 cm). William Rockhill Nelson Trust, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (49-28)



Plate 57. Agnolo Bronzino, *Allegory of Venus, Cupid, and Jealousy*, ca. 1550. Oil on wood, 75 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 55 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (192 × 142 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (163)



Plate 58. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Descent of Christ into Limbo*, signed and dated 1552. Oil on wood, 174 ½ × 114 ½ in. (443 × 291 cm). Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce, Florence (from the Zanchini Chapel, Church of S. Croce)



Plate 59. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Resurrection*, signed and dated 1552. Altarpiece, oil on wood, 445 × 280 cm. Guadagni Chapel, Church of SS. Annunziata, Florence



Plate 60. Agnolo Bronzino, *Noli me tangere*, signed and dated 1561. Oil on wood, 113³/₄ × 76³/₈ in. (289 × 194 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (130)



Plate 61. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, signed, 1565–69. Fresco. Church of S. Lorenzo, Florence



Plate 62. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Deposition of Christ (or Pietà)*, ca. 1568–69. Oil on wood, 82 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (210 × 85 cm). Church of S. Croce, Florence

APPENDIX 1

Drawings not in the present publication or the exhibition it accompanies

List A comprises drawings that are unanimously considered as by Bronzino by the authors of this publication but that could not be shown in the accompanying exhibition.

List B is a group of drawings whose attribution to Bronzino seems reasonable but that have given rise to dispute. Any other known drawing in a museum or private collection or on the art market that has been said to be by Bronzino but that is not represented on these two lists is either thought to be dubious or is rejected by the authors herein.

LIST A: DRAWINGS BY BRONZINO

1. *Noli me Tangere with a Kneeling Nun as a Donor, Set in a Landscape with Two Buildings*, ca. 1528

Black chalk, squared and partially indented for transfer, $14\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in. (37.8 × 27.2 cm)

Present whereabouts unknown

PROVENANCE: Giuseppe Vallardi (stamp recto; Lugt 1223); F. Dublini; Libreria Antiquaria Hoepli, Milan; Armando Neerman, London

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clifford 1975, fig. 54; *Old Master Drawings* 1975, no. 3, ill.; Cox-Rearick 1981c, pl. 36, figs. 1, 2, 4 (details); Cecchi 1996, p. 12; Pilliod 2001, p. 245, n. 15

This drawing (fig. 2 in Cox-Rearick essay) was preparatory for Bronzino's tabernacle with a lost fresco of the *Noli me Tangere* in the garden of the convent of the Poverine in Caldine, near Florence, described by Vasari (see Cox-Rearick essay in this publication, pp. 21–33). It came to light when it was owned by the dealer Armando Neerman, who exhibited it in London in 1975, the last known record of the sheet.

2. *Christ for a Flagellation*, ca. 1540–45

Black chalk, $9 \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ in. (22.9 × 14.5 cm) maximum silhouetted

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (6532 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793]) (museum stamp; Lugt 930)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berenson 1903, vol. 2, p. 142, no. 2035 (as by Pontormo); Clapp 1914, p. 136; McComb 1928, p. 149; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 281, no. 2035 (as by Pontormo); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 470, no. 2035 (as by Pontormo); Cox-Rearick 1964a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A67 (as by circle of Bronzino); Cox-Rearick 1981a, vol. 1, p. 371, no. A67 (as by circle of Bronzino); Pilliod 2006, pp. 111, 126, n. 47, fig. 13

This sheet (fig. 40-1) is in a condition too fragile for travel.

3. *Joseph in Prison and Pharaoh's Banquet* (tapestry modello), ca. 1546–49

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with white gouache over black chalk on yellow-brown paper, $22\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$ in. (58 × 42.5 cm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (15721 F)

PROVENANCE: Houses of Medici and Lorraine, Florence (Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario dei disegni*, MS 102, n.d. [before 1793])

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Geisenheimer 1909, p. 143, n. 1, a (as by Alessandro Allori after the cartoon for the tapestry); McComb 1928, p. 166 (as by Allori after the tapestry); Smyth 1955, pp. 43–46, no. A5, figs. 120, 121 (detail); Heikamp 1969, pp. 35, 63, n. 9, fig. 1; Simona Lecchini Giovannoni in Uffizi 1970, p. 19, no. 1 (as by workshop of Bronzino, very probably by Allori); Cox-Rearick 1971, p. 7, n. 3; Smyth 1971, pp. 21–23, 40, 64, n. 104, figs. 16, 17 (detail); Baccheschi 1973, p. 96, under no. 59; Monaci 1985, pp. 47, 49, 51, fig. 32; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 32–33, under no. 4

This sheet (fig. 6 in Cox-Rearick essay) is in a condition too fragile for travel.

LIST B: DRAWINGS ATTRIBUTED TO BRONZINO

1. *Study for Joseph Fleeing Potiphar's Wife*, ca. 1545–49

Black chalk, 24 × 15 in. (60.8 × 38 cm)

Christ Church, Oxford (1840)

PROVENANCE: Filippo Baldinucci, Florence; General John Guise (1682/83–1765), Winterbourne and London

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smyth 1971, pp. 39–40, 76, nn. 188, 191 (as by Bronzino), fig. 37; Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, p. 69, no. 131 (as by Bronzino); Meoni 1998, p. 131, under no. 3 (as by Bronzino)

This drawing (fig. 7 in Cox-Rearick essay) is in very damaged condition and is heavily reworked by a later hand.

2. *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, 1540s

Pen and brown ink, 9 ³/₄ × 6 ³/₈ in. (24.8 × 16.1 cm)

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (2249)

PROVENANCE: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (manuscript inventory, 1802–4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schulze 1911, p. XIII, under no. 39, p. 8 (as by Bronzino); Schweitzer 1918, p. 46 (as by Bronzino); McComb 1928, p. 60; Smyth 1955, pp. 54a–56, no. 113 (as by Bronzino), fig. 110; Emiliani 1960, n.p. (under commentary for pl. 61) (as by Bronzino); K. Andrews 1964, pp. 159, 160, n. 14 (as by Bronzino), pl. 28a; Degenhart 1967, p. 13 (as by Bronzino); Forlani Tempesti 1967, p. 85, n. 14; Annegrit Schmitt in Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich 1967, p. 54, no. 16 (as by Bronzino), pl. 24; Smyth 1971, p. 48, n. 11 (as by Bronzino)

This sheet (fig. 2 in Bambach essay) is in very damaged condition.

3. *Portrait of Stefano Colonna*, ca. 1546

Black chalk, 6 ³/₄ × 5 ¹/₈ in. (17.1 × 13.1 cm)

Art market, London

PROVENANCE: Henry Reveley (1737–1798), Great Britain and Alicante, Spain (his mark; Lugt 1356); Hugh Reveley (1772–1851); Hugh John Reveley; his sale, Sotheby's, London, April 21, 1884 (as by Leonardo da Vinci); Private Collection, Paris

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Art Treasures Exhibition* 1876, p. 179, no. 870 (as "His own Portrait" by Leonardo da Vinci); Costamagna ca. 2006

APPENDIX 2

Carmen C. Bambach

A Letter by Bronzino to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici,
written on April 30, 1548

Pen and brown ink, 11½ × 7¾ in. (29.3 × 18.8 cm)

Watermark: Angel (Briquet 613), Florence, ca. 1529

PROVENANCE: Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato, vol. 387, fol. 273; Frédéric Gentili di Giuseppe (d. 1940), Paris; by descent, in his family; Libreria Antiquaria Hoepli, Milan; sale, Nicolas Rauch, Geneva, April 23–24, 1956, no. 40; acquired at that sale by Théodore Tausky for Frits Lugt; Frits Lugt (1884–1970), The Hague and Paris; Fondation Custodia—Frits Lugt Collection, Paris

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaye 1839–40, vol. 2, pp. 368–69, doc. no. CCLVIII; Patzak 1908, p. 17, and notes, p. 8, n. 71 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Geisenheimer 1909, p. 142, n. 3 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Schaeffer 1911, p. 61 (citing Gaye 1839–40); McComb 1928, p. 22 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Emiliani 1960, pp. 74, 77–78 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Smyth 1971, pp. 28–29, 47, n. 7, 68, n. 142 (citing Gaye 1839–40); McCorquodale 1981, pp. 99, 115; Kristeller 1983, p. 338 (with correct location); Institut Néerlandais 1984, p. 82, no. VII (with correct location); Adelson 1990, vol. 3, pp. 550–51, doc. no. 93 (as whereabouts unknown; citing Gaye 1839–40); Cox-Rearick 1993, p. 369, n. 7 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 18 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Meoni 1998, p. 474 (citing Gaye 1839–40); Pilliod 2006, p. 124, n. 23 (with correct location)

The letter by Bronzino illustrated here, newly transcribed and translated, has often been presumed lost according to the literature. The contents pertain to the production of the Story of Joseph tapestry series and have not been transcribed in full from the original since Gaye's anthology of 1839–40.¹ The "Raffaello / dal Borgo" in question, whom Bronzino desired to hire to help him, is Raffaello dal Colle (Raffaellino dal Colle; ca. 1490/95–1566), who was born in the vicinity of the town of Borgo Sansepolcro.

It is clear from this letter that the master tapestry weavers were demanding that Bronzino produce his cartoons for the Story of Joseph series more quickly than he was, and they may have even suggested that he needed assistants to help him. The letter is also significant for the evidence it provides of Bronzino's brief trip to Rome. Although his stay there may have lasted no more than a couple of months (perhaps much less than that), it brought him face to face with the remains of Classical antiquity and the works by the great masters of the High Renaissance, especially Michelangelo. In this letter, Bronzino also alludes to his earlier work in 1530–32 for the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria I della Rovere; 1490–1538), presumably in Pesaro, where he met Raffaellino dal Colle, whom he now desired to employ.

This letter seems to have disappeared from the Archivio di Stato, Florence, before May 1890.²

1 I am indebted to Mária van Berge-Gerbaud, director of the Fondation Custodia—Frits Lugt Collection, Paris, and to Hans Buijs, its curator, for providing information about provenance and bibliography regarding this letter; and to Alessandra Baroni for helping me refine this translation.

2 See Adelson 1990, vol. 3, p. 551, doc. no. 93. As is explained by Adelson, a note exists at the beginning of the volume that originally contained this letter (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato, vol. 387), recording the page with the letter (folio 273) as missing; the placement of the missing letter, and the order of it within the correspondence of April 30, 1548, can be deduced from the fact that a small piece of the upper left corner with the letter B remains as a stub in the original binding.

no adi 30

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J. S. & Excell^{mo} s^{mo} mio unico & ossequ^{mo}

mercoledì sera. che fummo alli xxvij d'Aprile tornai da Roma & se io
sono forse torciato più, che l'ouuto n'è stato causa il tristo tempo, che
come sa V. E. è durato sempre da che ci partimmo, ma certo
mi pare hauer speso molto utilmente il tempo, & credo, che molto
mi douera giouare, & preche io speso qualche uolta doue hauer gratia
di parlare a V. E. mi resterebbe allora a dare a quella alcuno ragguaglio
di quello ch'io ho uoluto la qualcosa hauer fatto subito uenendo a visitare
& baciare la santiss^a manu di V. S. J. S. ^{mo} come inuero fino di qua fo'
con tutto il cuore mio, ma per essermi dattorno tutti questi mastri di
panni con pregarmi, ch'io solliciti, non ho uoluto, indugiare pure
un giorno a non mi poter all'opra incominciata: & per che di qua
hauer hauer commissioni per poter sollicitare più questa impresa
che da me stesso non potrei, che io togliessi alcuni mastri che mi
aiutassino: scrissi auanti ch'io mi partissi di Firenze a un Raffaele
dal Borgo huomo da bene & ualentiss^o col quale camorai insieme gia
per il Duca d'Urbino, & egli mi promissi uenire alla tornata mia
da Roma hora mi trouo una sur la quale mi dice che io gli auuisi
mia resolutione per che ha qualche altro partito preche non mi uolere
bbe pigliare altra impresa senza mia licenzia del che parlai col s^{mo} maide
dono, & egli mi disse che inanzi che si mandassi per lui me uolera
commissione da V. E. per tanto prego quella, che si degni mandare
sua resolutione, accio che questo huomo da bene non si tenga ucellato
da me che certo lo stimo assai, & quando V. E. hauer uoluto li sue uisite
son certo, che l'hauer molto caro a suoi seruitij, & egli certo desidera
seruire V. E. alla cui buona gratia humilmente baciò li mani & fin
di qua fortunentia, che nostro s^{mo} J. S. sempre Ci. Felicitati come fo'
Di Firenze alli ~~xxij~~ d'Aprile del Lxviij per il di V. S. J. S. ^{mo}

humil^e s^{mo}

J. Bronzino

Transcription:

adi 30 / [1]548

Ill[ustrissi]mo & Eccell[entissi]mo s[igno]r mio unico &
osser[vantissi]mo

[V]enerdi sera che fummo alli xxvij d'Aprile tornai da Roma & se
io / sono forse tardato piu, chel douuto n' é stato causa il tristo
tempo, che / come sa V[ostra] E[ccellenza] é durato sempre da che
ci partimmo, ma certo / mi pare hauere speso molto utilmente il
tempo, & credo, che molto / mi douerra giouare, & perche io spero
qualche uolta douer hauere gratia / di parlare á V[ostra] E[ccellenza],
mi riserberò allora á dare a quella alcuno ragguag[i]o / di quello
ch'io ho ueduto la qualcosa harei fatta subito uenendo á visitare &
baciare la santiss[im]a mano di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] Ill[ustrissi]ma
come in uero fino di qua fo' / con tutto il cuore mio, ma per essermi
dattorno tutti questi maestri de / panni con pregarmi, ch'io solleciti,
non ho uoluto, indugiare pure / un giorno a non mi porre all'opera
incominciata: & per che digia / haueno hauuta commessione per
potere sollecitare piu questa impresa / che da me stesso non poteuo,
che io toglessi alcuni maestri che mi aiutassino: scrissi auanti ch'io
mi partissi di Firenze á un Raffaello / dal Borgo huomo da bene &
ualentiss[im]o col quale lauorai insieme gia / per il Duca d'Urbino, &
egli mi promesse uenire alla tornata mia / da roma hora mi trouo
una sua [lettera] la quale mi dice che io gl'auuisi / mia resolutione
per che ha qualche altro partito per le mani ne uorre/bbe pigl[i]are
altra impresa senza mia licenzia del che parlai col s[igno]r Maior/
domo, & egli mi disse che inanzi che si mandassi per lui ne uoleua /
commessione da V[ostra] E[ccellenza] per tanto prego quella, che si
degni mandare / sua resolutione, accio che questo huomo da bene
non si tenga uccellato / da mé che certo lo stimo assai, & quando
V[ostra] E[ccellenza] hara uedute le sue uirtu / son certo, che l'hara
molto caro á suoi seruitij, & egli certo desidera / seruire V[ostra]
E[ccellenza] alla cui buona gratia humilmente bacio le mani & fin /
di qua fo reuerentia, che nostro s[igno]re Iddio sempre la Felicitá
come fá.

Di Firenze alli xxx d'Aprile del xlvij per il di V[ostra] S[ignoria]
Ill[ustrissi]ma /
humil s[ervito]re /

Il Bronzino

Translation:

On the 30th day 1548

Most Illustrious and my Most Excellent Lord, most attentively

Last Friday evening, which was the 27th of April, I returned from
Rome. And if I perhaps have been delayed longer than I should,
it has been on account of the gloomy weather, which, as Your
Excellency knows, has lasted since we left. But it certainly seems to
me that I have spent the time very usefully, and, I believe, this has
benefited me greatly. And because I hope sometime to have the
favor [granted] of speaking to Your Excellency, I will permit myself
to giving [You] something of a report of what I have seen, which I
would have done immediately, on coming to kiss the holiest hand
of Your Most Illustrious Excellency, as I am always used to doing
with all my heart. But because all these master tapestry weavers are
around me, pleading and nagging me (I have not wanted to waste
a day without doing the work that has been started), I have already
had the commission to involve some masters to help me in this
enterprise, as I could not do it alone: Before I left Florence, I wrote
to a certain Raffaello from Borgo [Sansepolcro], a good man and
most accomplished, with whom I had already worked for the Duke
of Urbino, and he promised me to come on my return from Rome.
Now, I find one of his letters, which says that I should communicate
my decision to him, because he would not like to take on another
job (without my permission), and, therefore, this was an issue regard-
ing which I spoke with the master Majordomo. And he said that
rather than sending for him, he wanted to receive an authorization
from Your Excellency. Therefore, I pray You to send Your decision,
so that this good man does not consider himself cheated by me, for
I certainly esteem him. And when Your Excellency has recognized
his virtues, I am sure that he will seem very dear because of his
services. And he [Raffaello] certainly wishes to serve Your Excellency
in whose good graces, I kiss Your hands, and from here I pay rever-
ence to You, that our Lord God always grant [You] happiness as
He [always] does.

From Florence, on the 30th of April of the 48th [1548], the humble
servant of Your Most Illustrious Excellency,

Bronzino

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