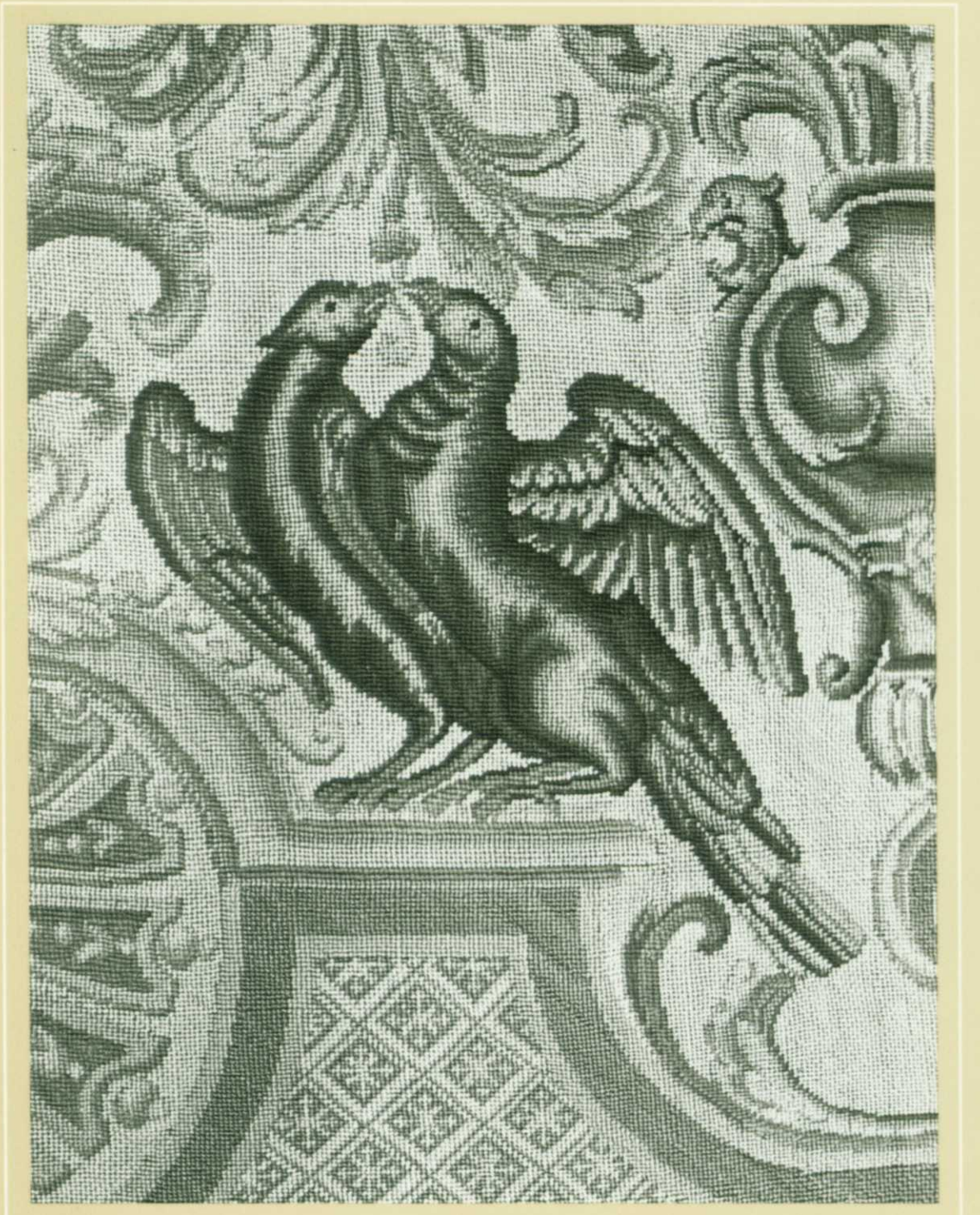
The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 20/1992



The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 20/1992

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Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal first appeared in 1974, the year the new Getty Museum opened in its present quarters, a reconstructed Roman villa. The *Journal* was an inexpensively produced paperback edited by Jiří Frel, with articles on Greek and Roman antiquities. The introduction, signed in a shaky hand, was by J. Paul Getty himself, who had less than two years to live.

In 1984 after ten years of growth and improvement under the editorship of Burton Fredericksen, Gillian Wilson, and Jiří Frel, the *Journal* was ready for a new look. With hard covers and a handsomer layout, it carried an illustrated supplement on acquisitions that ran to eighty-six pages and contained 392 items, with an introduction by the new director. The revamping of the *Journal* was a sign of the times. The Getty Museum had recently gotten the use of enormously increased purchase funds from the Getty Trust's endowment, acquisitions had become our most prominent activity, and the collections were growing at an astonishing rate. We wanted to publish our purchases promptly, and the acquisitions supplement gave me the chance to describe each year the changing shape of the collection. Since 1984 the *Journal,* guided by Deborah Gribbon, has attracted more substantial and diverse articles. With this issue, eighteen years after the first, we have included an index. My introduction to the acquisitions supplement has grown into a kind of annual report covering the year's activities as well as the collections, while the listing of acquisitions has gradually become shorter, reflecting the slackened pace of our purchases in an increasingly inflated art market.

This year my introduction moves to the front of the *Journal,* where it now seems more at home. Of course we still include a substantial acquisitions section (which begins on page 139).

THE COLLECTIONS

Acquisitions were fewer in 1991 than in any year in the past decade, but they were not a bit less important than in past years. Indeed, some were among our greatest purchases ever: an impressive Hellenistic portrait; a group of previously unknown Italian Renaissance drawings; two paintings of the first magnitude; and photographs by Alfred Stieglitz that came to us from the Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe. Building the collection remains vitally important for the Getty Museum, which is still young. Increasingly, however, the Museum is becoming known not simply for its spectacular purchases but for the services it offers its visitors. Visitors came in large numbers in 1991: 412,000, only slightly fewer than in 1990, the year we bought van Gogh's *Irises.* Special programs for the public became more adventurous. And we were very much occupied with the new museum in Brentwood on which construction had finally begun.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES has been building a collection of Cycladic sculptures and vessels for the past six years, and in 1991 added a group of important objects formerly in the Erlenmeyer collection. These include a number of thin-walled terracotta and marble vessels of extraordinary refinement, created with tools of the most primitive kind. Many were shapes that had not previously been represented in the collection. The star purchase of 1991 was an over-life-size Greek portrait head. Given its monumental scale, it must represent an important man, perhaps a local ruler somewhere in Alexander's former kingdom.

Among the other significant acquisitions made by this department was an Egyptian mummy of the Roman period, complete and intact. We do not normally collect Egyptian art, but since we have a fine group of mummy portraits, this example will show

the public how these vivid portraits were originally used.

The Department of Manuscripts added several important miniatures to its collection, which includes not only complete illuminated books but also a substantial number of cuttings from manuscripts. The most important was a decorated initial with the *Conversion of Saint Paul,* the work of someone very close to Pisanello, the great court artist of the early fourteenth century. It is a tour de force of painting technique and composition, and in its lively detail and brilliant color it epitomizes the courtly luxury of the International Style. Other acquisitions included three miniatures from a copy of *The Consolation of Philosophy* illuminated in the second half of the fifteenth century by one of the finest painters of the time, the so-called Coëtivy Master. The *Consolation* was a major text, second only to the Bible in popularity in the later Middle Ages, and these miniatures are full of delight: blond in tonality, fresh and clear in color, and charming in their depiction of court costumes.

The Department of Paintings succeeded in adding two pictures of cardinal importance. No greater oil sketch by Rubens was still in private hands than *The Miracles of Saint Francis of Paola,* the model for an altarpiece that was planned but never executed. It shows Saint Francis, watched by the king and his court, as he levitates; below, a group of the faithful whom he has healed of all kinds of afflictions are testimony to his miraculous powers. The picture is the essence of the High Baroque in the emotional fervor that seems to give energy to its design. It has become one of the small number of Rubens's major paintings in this country. The same can be said of the very large *View of the Grand Canal* by Canaletto, which is one of the few major paintings by this artist to be found in a North American collection. The picture gives a prospect stretching from the far-distant Bacino di San Marco to the animated foreground, the Campo Santa Maria Zobenigo and the Grand Canal. Evidently the prime version of a composition that Canaletto and his studio often repeated, it adds a masterful view-painting to our collection.

For The Department of Drawings, 1991 was another significant year, the year, above all, in which a group of seven hitherto-unknown Quattrocento drawings were added to the collection. They included a double-sided sheet by Filippino Lippi, one of the greatest acquisitions we have ever made. Originally part of a sketchbook, this is a drawing of notable freshness and strength, in which the metalpoint technique, difficult to handle, is used with particular delicacy. There is also a tiny, forceful allegory of *Fortitude* that is a rare drawing by Giovanni Bellini; a Carpaccio; and several other late-fifteenth-century Venetian drawings of great rarity and beauty.

A number of splendid late-sixteenth-century drawings were added to a collection that is now especially strong in works of this period. A new Veronese costume study, an especially powerful Taddeo Zuccaro *Conversion of Saint Paul,* an ardent *Nativity* by Francesco Vanni, and a quirky *Soldier with a Leopard* by Jacopo Ligozzi, are particularly worthy of note. Some of the finest purchases were of works by Mannerist artists outside Italy, including a brilliant sheet, *The Destruction of Pharoah's Army* and other scenes from Genesis, by Etienne Delaune, and a ravishing drawing of *The Toilet of Venus* by Joseph Heintz the Elder, the finest drawing by the artist to appear in many years.

Two especially fine French drawings were added. Claude Lorrain's *Landscape in Latium* is an unfamiliar subject for this master, an atmospheric view of the hills to the north of Rome that includes laborers who give the drawing its nineteenth-century flavor. And we bought another study by Ingres for the great portrait of *Madame Moitessier* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., for which we already have a life-size head.

The Department of Decorative Arts acquired objects from its entire chronological period. The earliest, dating from the middle of the seventeenth century, represents a remarkable survival: ten panels with gilded grounds with polychrome paintings representing the Virtues, together with a large range of decorative motifs. They were clearly intended for a room of the utmost splendor and are close in style to those at Vaux-le-Vicomte, the masterpiece of Louis Le Vau and Charles Le Brun. They do not constitute an entire room, but they will make a spectacular addition to the large gallery in the new museum in Brentwood in which we intend to exhibit our late-seventeenth-century decorative arts.

Dating from the middle of the eighteenth century is a splendid console table closely associated with the designs of Contant d'Ivry, of a type that our collection has always lacked. And there were several important acquisitions from the Neoclassical period, especially a pair of armchairs by Georges Jacob.

The Department of Sculpture and Works of Art made two important purchases. The most remarkable was certainly a large ivory cup made in

1631 by the prominent Coburg ivory carver Marcus Heiden, one of the greatest masters of his exacting trade, who is famous for having made a large trove of carved ivory pieces now in the Museo degli Argenti in Florence. The cup is one of the earliest and fullest realizations of the Baroque style in carved and turned ivory, as is especially apparent in the chubby putti who play instruments with such wholehearted enthusiasm.

The department's other acquisition is also a kind of applied sculpture, the large figure of Saint Joseph with the infant Jesus, produced in the royal porcelain factory of Charles of Bourbon soon after its transfer from Capodimonte in Naples to Buen Retiro in Madrid in 1759. This factory produced many of the most spectacular eighteenth-century porcelain figures, and this is one of the most beautiful of the particular type that was its specialty. The design can be attributed to Giuseppe San Martino, a sculptor of some reputation; the piece is sensitively modeled and has an unusual intensity of color.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS made several major acquisitions, a number by gift and one in particular by purchase. The gifts included a significant event, the acquisition of a group of 268 drawings by Sir John Herschel, a pioneer of photography. These were made with the camera lucida, a draftsman's aid that allowed pictures projected through a prism to be copied onto the flat surface of a page. The drawings date from several decades before the discovery of photography and continue through the 1860s. Because of Herschel's central place in the history of the medium, they are a valuable adjunct to the study of the origins of photography.

The most important event of the year was the acquisition of thirteen photographs by Alfred Stieglitz from the Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe. Studies of Rebecca Strand, Dorothy True, and one cloud study dedicated to O'Keeffe form one part of this group; the majority of the photographs, however, show O'Keeffe herself. Made during the years of their intimate association, these prints were bequeathed to O'Keeffe and preserved by her until her death. They are among the most affecting portraits ever made, the record of a complex relationship, and as I write this they are the core of an exhibition that proves that their power is undiminished some seventy years after their creation.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

For many years, more than two-thirds of our visitors have been seeing the Getty Museum for the first time. Being a prime attraction for tourists in Los Angeles gives us the chance to reach an audience from all over the world, many of whom are not regular museumgoers. We can count on that audience year after year. We have been disappointed, however, by the fact that so much of the vast population in and around Los Angeles has little awareness of the Getty Museum and that the proportion of regular repeat visitors is smaller than it is for most museums. In 1991 we persisted in our various attempts to make the Museum known to new audiences, especially Latinos. And through exhibitions, publicity, and new kinds of special events, we tried to encourage repeat visits by local residents. Since the Getty Museum still concentrates on showing its permanent collection, the fact that it has no program of large exhibitions is a disadvantage in building an audience in competition with other cultural institutions that recruit their public more aggressively and promote constantly changing events. We do not need a much larger audience—we are at capacity most of the time—but we would like to create a more diverse one, drawn from local communities. By introducing new activities and distributing a strikingly redesigned *Calendar,* we expect to see the makeup of our audience change further.

This was the Museum's eighteenth year in the Villa building, which has naturally begun to require major repairs. Underground pipes for the climate-control system were replaced at considerable expense, a thankless but necessary job. More visible to the public is a campaign to replace hundreds of trees and replant large areas with drought-tolerant species, and another to repaint exterior walls and restore the most deteriorated decorative murals.

As the Museum advanced toward middle age in 1991, plans for a second museum in Brentwood were largely complete. As the "design development" phase ended, our work was directed mostly at gallery lighting, one of the most critical parts of the entire project. Paul Marantz of the lighting firm of Fisher, Marantz, Renfro, and Stone of New York joined Richard Meier's group of consultants and quickly refined the design with the use of lighting models and complex computer graphics. The public parking garage at the bottom of the site was well along in construction, and preparations began for the immense excavation necessary for the foundation work for the entire Center

complex at the top of the hill.

There was an undramatic but important change in the administration of the Museum in 1991. Deborah Gribbon assumed the title of Associate Director and Chief Curator, thus becoming directly responsible for the curatorial departments, conservation, collections support, and education. Barbara Whitney's title became Associate Director for Administration and Public Affairs, reflecting her added responsibility for Public Information as well as all other aspects of the administration of the Museum. A great deal of the Museum's success in the past eight years is due to the leadership of these two accomplished people.

No year since 1983 has been without some major reinstallation or other, including 1991. The large Baroque paintings gallery was reopened with red damask in place of the deteriorated dark green fabric, baseboards and doorframes were stripped to their oak finish, lighting was improved, and the collection was completely rearranged, both here and in the adjoining corridor gallery. This has always been our least satisfactory gallery, having awkward proportions and lacking daylight. (Happily these pictures are destined for skylit galleries of better proportions in Brentwood.) In addition, the Cycladic gallery on the first floor opened at the end of the year.

Four exhibitions of illuminated manuscripts allowed the public to look at our collection from different vantage points. *A Thousand Years of the Bible: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* was arranged in collaboration with the UCLA Research Library's Department of Special Collections, which put on a concurrent show of printed Bibles. Special publicity was aimed to good effect at Spanish-speaking audiences, groups in particular, and the free brochure was available in a Spanish edition. *The Apocalypse and Other Visions in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* explored secular and religious visionary tales in twenty-six examples from our collection. *Monasteries and Manuscripts* treated the roles played by monks in the writing, making, and reading of books. *French Illumination of the Later Middle Ages* drew on some of our greatest material, including the work of such illuminators as Fouquet, Bourdichon, and the Boucicaut Master.

Since it grows by a factor of perhaps ten percent a year, the Getty's collection of drawings provides its curator with more and more chances to make interesting small exhibitions. There were four in 1991, all of which marked a debut for one or more new acquisitions: *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century French Drawings, Florentine Drawings, Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Northern European Drawings,* and our first purely thematic exhibition, *Drawings of the Nude.* The *Florentine Drawings* show coincided with a special installation in the paintings galleries, organized around the Pontormo portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici. It included the *Portrait of a Man* by Pontormo's pupil Bronzino, now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, and our preparatory drawing for it, as well as three of our five Pontormo drawings. Nearby was the newly restored *Abduction of Proserpine* by Alessandro Allori, a huge Florentine panel of 1570 that had long been in storage.

Four exhibitions of photographs attracted a great deal of public attention. The first, *Neither Speech Nor Language: Photography and the Written Word,* demonstrated ways in which language has been incorporated into pictures ever since the invention of photography. Our holdings of August Sander's work are the largest outside Germany; *August Sander: Faces of the German People* gave the public the first chance to see a selection of these great portraits. *Lisette Model: Daring to See* was a selection of Model's pungent pictures from the 1930s and '40s of fringe characters and street life. Last year's acquisition of 247 examples of Eugène Atget's work provided most of the material for *Atget's Magical Analysis: Photographs, 1915–1927,* haunting scenes of the streets and parks of Paris between the wars.

Several small didactic exhibitions were held in spaces adjacent to the galleries. We are experimenting with various formats in these shows, in particular with the use of staff members and volunteers as live interpreters. *L'Arte del Vasaio: The Italian Renaissance Potter's Art* showed how maiolica was made, decorated, and used. A local potter, Toby Schreiber, made several vases for the show, and a videotape showed her at work. *Preserving the Past* was devoted to what our antiquities conservators do, and why, and how. Visitors were invited to try their hand at piecing together vase fragments, watch a tape of conservators at work, and see how the objects in the collection are protected from earthquakes. *Innocent Bystander: The Restoration of Orazio Gentileschi's "Madonna and Child"* showed how a painting in the National Gallery of Romania that was gravely damaged by shrapnel was treated at the Getty Museum with dramatically good results.

Temporary exhibitions induce repeat visits by the Los Angeles public; so too, we hope, do the educational activities we have begun to offer for families. Saturday-morning programs have taken a regular place in our program, and in 1991 we provided the

first of a series of "game boxes" containing family activities for the galleries. We hope that children who visit with school groups will give their parents a reason to come to the Museum, so we now give each child a printed invitation that allows families to return at any time without first making a reservation.

Local visitors were drawn by four programs in the series *Selected Shorts,* public readings of short stories by well-known actors. These were put together by the New York organization Symphony Space and broadcast on KCRW, the local FM station that cosponsored the event. Since *Selected Shorts* programs are a huge success on National Public Radio, we hope that the rebroadcast of our series will make a national audience more aware of the Getty Museum and its activities.

Two productions of *Shipwreck,* a theater piece adapted from a novel by Julian Barnes, were held in the Atrium in partnership with the Mark Taper Forum. Since the piece is based on the famous painting by Gericault, the experiment seemed justified both for educational reasons and for purposes of reaching a broader local audience. We were happy with the result and have plans for more collaborations of this kind.

The summer concert series, a perennial sellout, was devoted to Mozart, commemorating the bicentennial of his death in 1791. The programs stressed the unfamiliar: *Hausmusik,* occasional pieces commissioned by his patrons, unusual ensembles, and the like.

Several symposia were held at the Getty Museum in 1991. One dealt with aspects of the history and status of photography, *Photography: Object/Idea/Theory.* In this two-day event, leading historians, critics, and artists dealt with a diverse list of topics in the history and theory of the medium. Together with the Getty Conservation Institute, the Museum sponsored an international symposium on *Ancient and Historic Metals.* Approximately 120 people, mostly conservators and conservation scientists, heard papers on many aspects of metallurgy, techniques of manufacture, deterioration, and treatment.

Through the Museum's program for guest scholars, in its thirteenth year in 1991, we provide a group of colleagues with a period of study at the Museum and in the library at the Getty Center in Santa Monica. Participants are invited who might contribute something valuable to the literature through such an opportunity and in the process make life more interesting for the staff at the Museum. There are always unexpected benefits on both sides. Our guests in 1991 were Sebastien Dudok van Heel of the Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam; Robert Guy of the Art Museum, Princeton University; Francis Haskell of Oxford University; William B. Jordan of Dallas, Texas; Philippe Néagu of the Musée d'Orsay, Paris; Anthony Radcliffe of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Luigi Spezzaferro of the University of Rome; Margret Stuffmann of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; and Iouna Zeck and her colleague Tamara Rappe of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Guest conservators normally stay for briefer periods and work on short-term projects with the conservators, or conduct demonstrations. In 1991 the Museum labs and studios played host to Maryan Ainsworth of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Elizabeth Lunning of the Menil Collection, Houston; Anne Cartier-Bresson of the Atelier de Restauration des Photographies de la Ville de Paris; Dan Kushel of the State University College at Buffalo; Paul Mitchell from London; and Pierre Ramond of the École Boulle and the University of Paris I and Paris IV Sorbonne.

In 1991 the Getty Museum continued its unusually large production of books. Another in our series of catalogues of the permanent collection appeared, a volume in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* devoted to our South Italian vases. Our extensive collection of Parthian coins was published in partnership with the American Numismatic Society. The proceedings of three symposia appeared in print, *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World, Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture,* and *Photography: Discovery and Invention.* Among books published mainly for the proverbial "intelligent layman" we produced in 1991 a monograph on Alma Tadema's *Spring* as part of the Getty Museum Studies on Art series. We also published an illustrated glossary of technical terms entitled *Looking at Photographs* in partnership with the British Museum. Finally, our popular *Handbook of the Collections,* which runs through editions and printings with gratifying speed, came out in a new edition.

One of the happy events of the year was the return of an object from our collection to the place of its origin. In 1981 the Museum had been given a lead tablet with an extensive inscription in archaic Greek, and we had invited several scholars to decipher it. The task was difficult but, in the end, was successfully completed: the text proved to be a *lex sacra* from the sanctuary of Selinunte in Sicily, one of the most important finds for the history of Greek religion in many years. We believed that it belonged in Italy, so we brought it to the attention of the Italian authorities

and returned it to the State. This gesture was meant as a step toward a more constructive relationship with Italy and was made in concert with similar steps we are taking with Greece. If our restraint in purchasing material can be matched by a willingness of other countries to consider making long-term loans of archaeological material to us, then the Getty and other museums may be able to take a different view of some important material on the market. We were encouraged about this possibility as 1991 came to an end.

Apart from the normal coming and going, the staff had several losses in 1991. A much-admired preparator, Craig Moon, died of AIDS after a long battle and was mourned by everybody who knew him. And Minnie Batch, a senior member of the security staff since 1974, retired in robust health and was given the party of the year.

Just what a remarkable staff we have was made obvious in December, when an exhibition called *Flipside*, containing works of art by Museum employees, took up every inch of the ground-floor corridor. The Museum runs on such creative energy, and I am thankful for it.

JOHN WALSH
DIRECTOR

Cenni di Francesco, the Gianfigliazzi, and the Church of Santa Trinita in Florence

Carl Brandon Strehlke

In 1896 an American tourist in Florence could purchase Elvira Grifi's new guide to the city, *Saunterings in Florence,* at Successor B. Seeber's bookstore on the via Tornabuoni.[1] Signora Grifi was a modest *cicerone*, but her book had a no-nonsense practicality that Yankee visitors would find reassuringly fulfilled its stated aim "to make a visit to Florence more pleasant and instructive."[2] What it did was keep its readers informed about the state of Florentine monuments. Concerning the Vallombrosan church of Santa Trinita just up the street from Seeber's and nearest the *pensioni* most frequented by the Anglo-American crowd, one learned:

> In 1884 a radical restoration was begun in order to give to this building its old style of Italian ogival Architecture of the XIVth century. The late professor *Castellazzi* began the work and it is hoped that we shall some day see the splendid result of a restoration which will honor both the artists and those who ordered it.
>
> The Architect *Del Moro* (who finished the façade for the Duomo) is continuing the work of Professor Castellazzi. To the restoration of the paintings have been appointed the well-known modern artists *Conti* and *Burchi.* The works were begun under the patronage of the Government, of the Curate Don Camillo Orsini and of different families having chapels in the Church.
>
> The transept and the choir are closed now to the public and changes may be made during the restorations. We give description of the church as it was in 1894.[3]

Among the families then "having chapels in the Church" were the Lotteringhi Della Stufa, headed by Marchese Ferdinando, who owned the large altarpiece by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (fig. 1), now in the J. Paul Getty Museum. He was a descendant of the extinct Gianfigliazzi family that had founded the first chapel to the right of the entrance, dedicated to Saint Benedict. In 1889, Ferdinando paid for the chapel's renovation. Evidence suggests that he also had the altarpiece restored and his coat of arms painted on the predella (fig. 10) in preparation for installation in the chapel.

Being a late Trecento Florentine painting, the Getty Museum altarpiece would have lent a sense of authenticity to plans to re-create a Gothic atmosphere for Santa Trinita. Neo-Gothic tabernacles had at one point been envisioned for the altars (fig. 11). The official review board contested this fake medieval look, and, instead, actual late Gothic altarpieces were procured from the storerooms of the Gallerie Fiorentine. This tardy change in plan for the Saint Benedict chapel precluded destroying its Baroque aspect, and, therefore, the Della Stufas' picture was not needed. Ironically, the painting would have provided a faithful re-creation of the chapel's first appearance, because it certainly adorned the original altar.

A reconstruction of the commission of Cenni di Francesco's altarpiece in the J. Paul Getty Museum offers a look into the world of church patronage in Trecento Florence and particularly the relationship of an economically and politically powerful family, the Gianfigliazzi, with its neighborhood church, the Abbey of Santa Trinita. The family's long connection with the church as overseers of its building program, as patrons of its altars, and as monks, abbots, and generals of the Vallombrosan order, finds significant resonance in the iconography of the altarpiece. Even the Gianfigliazzi's less savory reputation as usurers, celebrated in Dante's *Inferno*, is alluded to in one of the predella scenes. But if the family tried to expunge this last legacy by commissioning the altarpiece, the size, subject, and style of the Getty Museum's picture leave no doubt about the patrons' status. The altarpiece reflects the artistic tastes of Florence's leading families in this period, and, therefore, is a good gauge of the ambitious image that the Gianfigliazzi wished to pro-

ject. The frescoes adorning the chapel's walls (figs. 6, 8), also by Cenni di Francesco, manifest the preoccupation of the monastic community with penitence. The choice of subjects for the frescoes—Saint Benedict castigating himself and the last Communion of Saint Mary Magdalene—can be demonstrated to have been influenced by a not-so-distant scandal in the life of the Blessed Giovanni Dalle Celle, a former abbot, and its repercussions in Florentine society. In the following pages I shall address these issues, but after first tracing the more recent history of the Getty Museum's altarpiece, that which concerns the Seicento rebuilding of the Saint Benedict chapel and its subsequent restoration in the Ottocento.

Before it became fashionable in the late nineteenth century to strip Tuscan churches of the encrustation of the ages in order to bring them back to some imagined medieval or Renaissance glory, Santa Trinita was celebrated as an intact example of Florentine Counter-Reformation and Baroque art and architecture. Its systematic transformation in the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century was as radical as the restoration that Signora Grifi described as in progress in 1896.

This earlier rebuilding and decoration can be charted in two contemporary guidebooks. In *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza*, published in 1591, Francesco Bocchi lauded Bernardo Buontalenti's new facade.[4] At the time, the architect's designs for the interior and conventual buildings were nearing completion. A little over eighty years later, Giovanni Cinelli issued a revision of Bocchi's text in which he updated the entry on Santa Trinita. His annotations accompany the visitor through a completely changed structure.[5]

In the interim between the two publications, the church's medieval and Renaissance past had been effectively negated. Buontalenti had built a new facade, rearranged the presbytery, and reworked the conventual buildings. In 1594, Giovanni Caccini redesigned a small chapel in the transept to house a venerated relic of Saint John Gualbert that in 1586 had been ceremoniously translated from the monastery of San Michele at Passignano.[6] The improvement provided an excuse for redoing the other chapels.

In 1603, Caccini undertook for Piero di Pandolfo Strozzi the modernization of the oldest chapel, the first on the left as one entered, which was dedicated to Saint Lucy. (This was the original Strozzi chapel and should not be confused with the more famous fifteenth-century sepulcher chapel of Palla Strozzi in the sacristy.) Most renovations followed Caccini's basic scheme. Colored marbles or *pietra serena* articulated new classicizing architectural forms. Canvas paintings replaced many of the gold-ground altarpieces, and the late Gothic frescoes were either whitewashed or destroyed. The pointed arches of the side chapels and nave were filled in to give a consistent look to the church as a whole. Important architects like Ludovico Cigoli and Gherardo Silvani worked on the chapels, and the church became a showcase for paintings by Passignano, Matteo Rosselli, Empoli, and Giovanni da San Giovanni.

By the mid-nineteenth century, little remained from the church's pre-sixteenth-century years. Napoleonic pilferage and the suppression of the convents carried off Cimabue's *Maestà* and the great altarpieces in Palla Strozzi's chapel: Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* and Fra Angelico's *Deposition*.[7] Lorenzo Monaco's *Annunciation* could be seen in the Bartolini Salimbeni chapel, although the frescoes were whitewashed, and Desiderio da Settignano's polychromed sculpture of the Magdalene stood in a Baroque tabernacle (fig. 2) near the main entrance. Baldovinetti's frescoes in the choir had escaped the seventeenth-century destructions (probably because they contained portraits of the Medici), but in the eighteenth century new choir stalls were built over them. One of the positivist aims of the 1880s restoration was to have been the revelation of these frescoes, but, except for the vaulting, they too were discovered to have been mostly destroyed.

Only the Sassetti chapel with its famous fresco cycle by Ghirlandaio and tombs by Giuliano da San Gallo had escaped relatively undisturbed. The exterior fresco had been whitewashed, and Ghirlandaio's altarpiece had been replaced in 1743 by Vittorio Barbieri's marble *Pietà*.[8] It was, however, a committee that came in 1879 to report on the state and possible restoration of the frescoes that gave impetus to the brutal attempt to rediscover the rest of the church's Renaissance past.[9]

In 1881, the curate Don Camillo Orsini issued a pamphlet with an appeal to restore the church to its "primitivo splendore."[10] The restorer Gaetano Bianchi, famous for his repainting of Giotto's Bardi chapel in Santa Croce, proposed a radical intervention, including the elimination of the high altar and presbytery, the opening up of the Gothic windows in the nave and choir, the removal of the Baroque additions to the side chapels, and the uncovering of the Trecento

FIGURE 1

Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (Italian, active 1369/70–1415). *Altarpiece with the Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* with, as a central pinnacle, *The Virgin and Child and Saint Anthony Abbot and a Bishop Saint,* attributed to the Master of the Lazzaroni Madonna (Italian, active last quarter of the fourteenth century). Tempera and tooled gold on poplar panels. Overall, H: 355.8 cm (140 in.); W: 233 cm (91¾ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.PB.31.

FIGURE 2

Photograph by the Stablimento Brogi of the interior facade of Santa Trinita, Florence, as it was before 1883. On the right, the Foraboschi altar, built in 1682 and containing *Mary Magdalene* by Desiderio da Settignano (Italian, 1428–1464); ca. 1455; polychromed wood. On the left, the Sernigi altar, built in 1552 with marble fragments, by Benedetto Rovezzano (Italian, 1474–ca. 1552) and containing *Christ Resurrected and Saints Dionysius Areopagiticus and Sebastian* by Francesco Brina (Italian, before 1540–1586); 1552; tempera on panel. Photo: Art Resource, New York.

pointed entrance arches and any surviving fresco decoration. He also suggested that the two altars on the interior facade, one containing Desiderio da Settignano's *Mary Magdalene* and the other by Benedetto da Rovezzano (fig. 2), be removed.

Most of Bianchi's proposals were embodied in the project conceived by Giuseppe Castellazzi, the Venetian-born architect who was director of the Accademia in Florence. He was appointed head restorer in 1884. From the wrecker's mallet he would have saved only the Usimbardi chapel, designed by Cigoli. In addition, Castellazzi's drawings call for elaborate Neo-Gothic tabernacles in each chapel (fig. 11).[11]

Protests were almost immediately voiced.[12] Pleading that the church be left alone, the critic Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle soon joined the chorus of disapproval, and the architect Giovanni Poggi, who was a member of the Sotto-Commissione di Vigilanza alla Commissione Conservatrice, thought much the same.[13] His official position brought about modifications to the plan, and some of the Baroque "fittings" were saved. Not all, however: in 1894, Buontalenti's presbytery stairway was removed to Santo Stefano al Ponte.

It had been Don Camillo's idea to have the patrons of the chapels pay for their restoration. He took care of the spiritual needs of a rich parish that could well afford to support the curate's architectural ambitions. On February 2, 1887, a subscription was circulated in which the aristocratic group declared their intention to underwrite the costs. One had not waited: Marchese Bartolini Salimbeni, curious about what a few scratches in the whitewashed walls promised in his family's ancient burial chapel, had grown impatient and in 1885 had independently hired Augusto Burchi to uncover and restore Lorenzo Monaco's frescoes.[14]

The Gianfigliazzi or Saint Benedict chapel presented some problems. Marchese Ferdinando Lotteringhi Della Stufa agreed to underwrite its restoration, and he probably thought that his large polyptych by Cenni di Francesco (fig. 1) could adorn the altar, but two factors thwarted his plans. One was a much-venerated cross (fig. 3), and the other was an official

decision in favor of retaining the Baroque architecture.

The importance of the crucifix is described in an entry, dated the summer of 1657, in a *ricordanza* about the church, in which it is stated that the cross came from a *campagnia dei Bianchi.*[15] These *compagnie,* named for their white vestments, carried crosses in penitential processions; the crosses were later donated to churches. Examples exist in Santissima Annunziata, San Michele Visdomini, and Santo Spirito.[16] The association of the Santa Trinita cross with the *Bianchi* has been doubted, but even so, many ex-votos attest to the popularity of the cross among pious Florentines. In 1903, writing after the completion of the Santa Trinita renovations, Alessandro Cocchi commented on the long tradition of devotion the cross enjoyed.[17] This is likely the reason that it was not removed from the Saint Benedict chapel. However, in the Seicento the cross replaced the Getty Museum's altarpiece.

The cross was translated to the chapel in 1631 at the request of one Vincenzo Gianfigliazzi, who had taken over the patronage and in 1630 rebuilt the chapel. An apt description of the new architecture was written by the eighteenth-century antiquarian Giuseppe Richa: "The chapel of the Gianfigliazzi, the first on the right from the entrance, which in 1470 was arranged with pilasters in *pietra serena,* rather strange in the capitals, above which a coursing of the same stone is wrapped, and here a Crucifix, believed to have been of the Bianchi, is conserved."[18] (The 1470 date is either a mistake on Richa's part or, more likely, a misprint.) "Assai bizzari" were the words used by Richa to characterize the seventeenth-century architectural additions to the chapel. The monks who oversaw the work in the 1630s would have agreed. If one is to judge from the way that a seventeenth-century abbot, Averardo Niccolini, discussed Vincenzo Gianfigliazzi in a manuscript history of Santa Trinita, the troubled story of the monastery's dealings with this demanding patron still preoccupied the monks many years later.[19]

Niccolini slandered Vincenzo by announcing that he was not of the direct line of the Gianfigliazzi and claiming that no one could remember how he had acquired *ius patronato.* He criticized the new architecture, claiming that the original plan had not been respected and that what had been built had cost too much and did not improve the chapel's appearance. He detailed the damages that had occurred. Careless workmen injured Desiderio da Settignano's statue of Mary Magdalene, which was at that time on the Cerbini's altar on the interior facade next to the Saint Benedict chapel. The statue had to be moved.[20]

FIGURE 3

Florentine School. *Crucifix,* ca. 1400. Painted wood, 134 x 215 cm (52 3/4 x 84 5/8 in.). Florence, Santa Trinita. Gianfigliazzi altar, as it appears today. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

The Vallombrosans had expected a great deal from Gianfigliazzi. After the chapel was renovated, they agreed to his request to have the famous cross translated there. The crucifix had first been in the chapel of Saint Paul and then in the Davizzi chapel, where the damaged statue of the Magdalene was temporarily kept. It was placed in Vincenzo Gianfigliazzi's chapel on May Day 1631. Averardo thought that he should have been satisfied, but acquisition of the venerated cross seems only to have whetted Gianfigliazzi's appetite. He subsequently convinced the monks to take up his side in a legal battle that in Niccolini's time was still raging. Finally noting that the chapel had not been endowed, Niccolini concludes that there is little hope: "He [Vincenzo Gianfigliazzi] promised great things, but now that he is dead, and did not leave us anything in life, one does not hope for much else."[21]

Vincenzo Gianfigliazzi's architectural improve-

FIGURE 4

Photograph by the Stablimento Brogi showing the Gianfigliazzi chapel during renovation, before 1889. Photo: Art Resource, New York.

FIGURE 5

View of the pointed entrance arch with the fresco by Cenni di Francesco. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali e Architettonici, Florence.

ments were not distinguished, nor did they approximate the quality of the other seventeenth-century chapels. The architect has never been identified, but it may well have been Gianfigliazzi himself.[22] Late-nineteenth-century critics were no kinder about the appearance of the chapel than Niccolini had been when it was new or than Richa had been in the eighteenth century.

In 1885 the restorer Giuseppe Castellazzi proposed that the chapel be stripped of its *pietra serena* detailing. He urged that the heavy coursing, or what Niccolini had called a "cornicione" that cut the chapel's height in two, along with the vaulting and original arched entrance, be opened up and the balustrade removed. Castellazzi imagined that the destruction of this chapel and two others would yield him enough carved stone to construct three new chapels in the convent.[23]

The official response to Castellazzi's report was issued by the Sotto-Commissione di Vigilanza and written by Emilio Marcucci. It derided ideas for new chapels and took up the important position that the Gianfigliazzi chapel and the others in the nave should be preserved as they were.[24] A compromise was worked out. The Seicento architecture of the Gianfigliazzi and Strozzi chapels was to be respected. Res-

toration began soon after (fig. 4). Only the ogival entrance arches (fig. 5) were opened up and balustrades removed. In the Gianfigliazzi chapel, two late Gothic frescoes and a group of figures were found and restored by Augusto Burchi: in an arched niche that served the family as sepulcher, *Bishop Maximinus Officiating at the Communion of Saint Mary Magdalene* (figs. 6–7); in the underarch of the entrance, figures of saints in medallions; and, on the exterior above the arch, *Saint Benedict in the Wilderness Castigating Himself* (figs. 5, 8).

The restoration was completed in 1889 and commemorated by an inscription carved in marble beneath the altar: *Ferdinandus de. Lothargingiis. Angeli/ et Aloysiae. Guicciardiniae. filius. patr./ flor. eques. et. marchio. montisdoli/ comes. sancti. Januarii. a. campo. leonis/ abbas. commendatorius. sacellum/ hoc. Gianfiliatiae. gentis. ad. maiorem/ dei. gloriam. et. in honorem. sancti/ benedicti. instaurandum. curavit./ anno. salutis. MD CCC LXXXIX.*[25]

The coats of arms painted on the predella of Cenni di Francesco's altarpiece in the J. Paul Getty Museum are those of all three families mentioned in Marchese Ferdinando Lotteringhi Della Stufa's inscription: on the left, the lion rampant belongs to the Gianfigliazzi family (fig. 9);[26] on the right, a shield is parted per pale (fig. 10); it shows the Guicciardini and Lotteringhi Della Stufa *stemme.*[27]

The coats of arms are not original to the painting. It is likely that they were applied in anticipation of an eventual installation of the altarpiece in the Saint Benedict chapel; otherwise, there would have been no reason to display the same combination of arms. The Gianfigliazzi are in the place of honor, on the left, but to the right of the main scene, because the family founded the chapel. Their arms are, in fact, prominently displayed above the exterior entrance arch (figs. 5, 8). The two other arms of the Guicciardini and Lotteringhi Della Stufa family are peculiar to Ferdinando, who in the inscription honored both parents.

Giuseppe Castellazzi's original proposal to adorn the church with Neo-Gothic altarpieces (fig. 11) was never realized, but the transformation of so many Baroque altars necessitated finding substitutions. In 1890, three Gothic altarpieces were put on deposit in the church. They decorated chapels in the nave: on the Compagni altar, Bicci di Lorenzo's *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints and Donors;*[28] on the Davanzati altar, Neri di Bicci's *Annunciation with the Expulsion from Paradise;*[29] and, on the Sercialli altar, the same artist's *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Andrew, Catherine of Alexandria, Lucy, and Nicholas.*[30] Mariotto

FIGURE 6

Cenni di Francesco. *Bishop Maximinus Officiating at the Communion of Mary Magdalene,* 1390s. Fresco. Florence, Santa Trinita, Gianfigliazzi chapel. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

FIGURE 7

Sinopia, uncovered in 1967, of Cenni di Francesco's fresco (fig. 6). Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

FIGURE 8

Cenni di Francesco. *Saint Benedict in the Wilderness Castigating Himself* and the coat of arms of the Gianfigliazzi family, 1390s. Fresco and polychromed stone. Florence, Santa Trinita, exterior wall of the Gianfigliazzi chapel. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

FIGURE 9

The coat of arms of the Gianfigliazzi family on the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 10

The coat of arms of the Lotteringhi Della Stufa family impaled with the coat of arms of the Guicciardini family (detail of fig. 1).

di Nardo's *Trinity and Four Saints* was found in the storeroom of the Uffizi. It was placed on the high altar in 1897 because it depicted the Trinity, to which the church was dedicated and which was the subject of the painting by Alessio Baldovinetti, originally on the altar and now in the Accademia.[31] However, minimal renovation of the Saint Benedict chapel waylaid any plan to place Marchese Ferdinando Della Stufa's altarpiece in it. The cross was kept instead. The altarpiece was sold by a grandnephew, the present Marchese Della Stufa's father, sometime shortly after the First World War.[32] Before that, it had been kept in the family palace in Piazza San Lorenzo.[33]

The altarpiece has been restored. An old photograph (fig. 12) shows the painting with the present lacunae in the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin in the central predella painted in. These are probably retouchings from the 1880s and may have been done by Augusto Burchi, the restorer of the frescoes in the Gianfigliazzi chapel. He studied with Gaetano Bianchi and, like his master whose assistant he was in the restoration of Giotto's Bardi chapel in Santa Croce, Burchi was a proponent of re-creating missing parts.[34] This method was much contested by experts like Giovan Battista Cavacaselle and the members of the Sotto-Commissione, who supported the work of Cosimo Conti, a less radical restorer.[35] Marchese Bartolini Salimbeni was in the opposing camp and had employed Burchi to uncover and repaint the lacunae in Lorenzo Monaco's frescoes in his chapel.[36] Ferdinando Della Stufa followed Bartolini Salimbeni's lead and probably had Burchi work on the altarpiece, too.

The central pinnacle, which would have shown the Crucifixion or the Blessing Redeemer, is missing. A small panel showing the Virgin and Child with Saint Anthony Abbot and a bishop saint served as a replacement. Although contemporary with the altarpiece, this painting is by another artist and originally was an independent work.[37] Its addition to the Cenni di Francesco is reminiscent of what occasionally happened in late-nineteenth-century Florence when large altarpieces were composed out of fragments from different sources.[38]

Historical reasons undoubtedly prompted Marchese Ferdinando to restore the Getty Museum altarpiece and to adorn it with the coats of arms of some of Florence's most illustrious families in order for it to be installed in Santa Trinita. Ferdinando's papers do not survive, but the genealogy of the Gianfigliazzi and Lotteringhi Della Stufa families and the iconography of the altarpiece suggest that it was originally executed

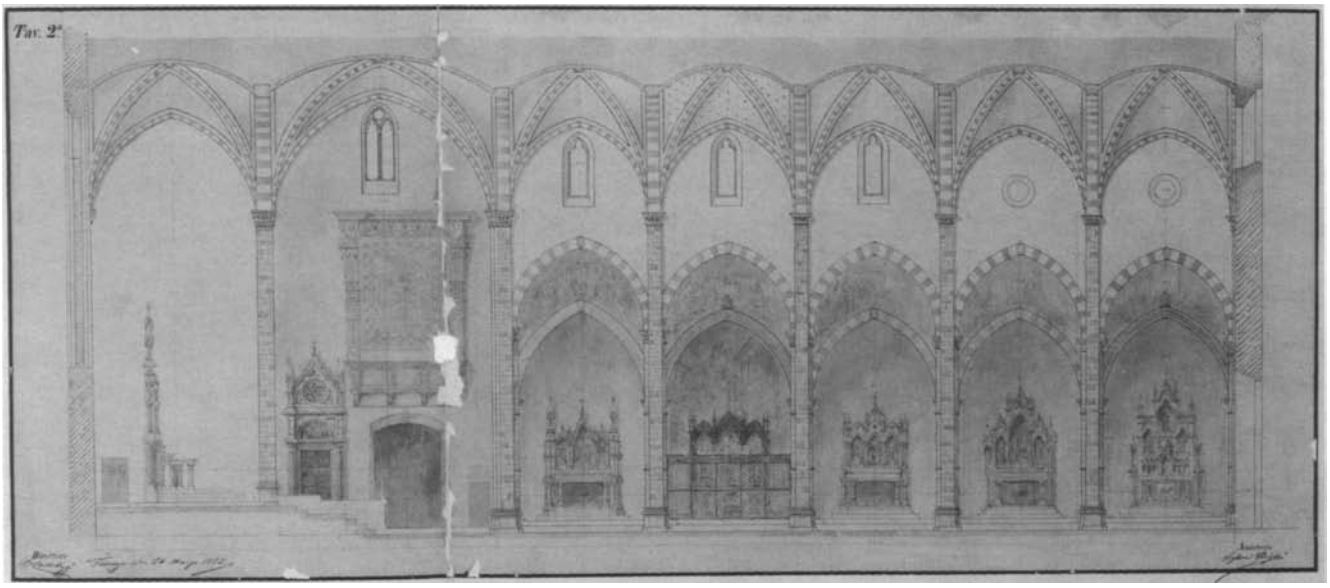

FIGURE 11

Giuseppe Castellazzi (Italian, active Florence, died 1887). *Architectural Rendering Showing Proposal for the Restoration of Santa Trinita,* signed and dated May 26, 1885. Colored drawing. The Gianfigliazzi chapel is on the far right. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali e Storici, Archivio Disegni, Florence.

for the Saint Benedict chapel, which must have constituted Cenni di Francesco's most important Florentine commission: indeed, both the surviving frescoes and the altarpiece are by him. The early histories of the chapel, the altarpiece, and the Gianfigliazzi family are intimately connected.

Santa Trinita was a Vallombrosan abbey. During the second half of the fourteenth century, the church was rebuilt on a plan that included side altars along the nave and in the transept. The building program was financed by the endowment of private burial chapels. The building of the church was overseen by the abbot and chapter and by a lay committee of *operai,* or overseers, who consisted of men from the neighborhood. Many appointees came from the same families that had *ius patronato.*

The monks had taken chances by constructing several chapels before they found funding. Wanting to finish the rebuilding program, they frequently issued appeals to patrons to fulfill their financial promises or to parishioners to take on the patronage of chapels.[39] The Saint Benedict chapel may have been built before the Gianfigliazzi had been secured for it. It is known that in 1362 the foundations of the contiguous chapel, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, were laid.[40] This

FIGURE 12

The Dormition of the Virgin, from the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1) before 1970 restoration, showing the ca. late 1880s retouchings here attributed to Augusto Burchi (Italian, 1853–1913). Photo: Marco Grassi.

FIGURE 13

Domenico Ghirlandaio (Italian, 1449–1494). *The Miracle of the Resurrected Child,* 1483–86. Detail of the fresco, before restoration, showing the facade of Santa Trinita and the Gianfigliazzi properties to its left. Florence, Santa Trinita, Sassetti chapel. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

work had been paid for by the Davizzi family. Its close proximity to the Saint Benedict chapel might mean that the latter had already been built or was being built at the same time. In any case, the monks seem to have been responsible for building the Benedict chapel, and the Gianfigliazzi received it a few years later. However, the origins of the Gianfigliazzi patronage date to the Black Death.

The houses of the Gianfigliazzi abutted Santa Trinita to the left (fig. 13) and extended to the river.[41] It was natural that this proximity would result in the endowment of a chapel. This wish was expressed by Giovanni Gianfigliazzi in a will drawn up by Ser Ciallo di Ser Dino during the plague of 1348. He left fifty gold florins for this purpose, and obliged his heirs to provide another two hundred gold florins.

Whether his notary Ser Ciallo pointed Giovanni in that direction is not known. Giovanni probably died in the Black Death; Ser Ciallo, on the other hand, enjoyed good health. He survived the plague and lived for another fifteen years without ever seeing his client's last wishes fulfilled. Perhaps frustration about the lack of progress on the Gianfigliazzi chapel influenced a clause in his will, drawn up in July 1363, in which Ser Ciallo left all his worldly goods to Santa Trinita, provided that within six months of his death a chapel dedicated to Saint Luke be constructed.[42] Six months was a little unrealistic, but the chapel was finished and even decorated with pictures shortly before January 11, 1367. This meant that Ser Ciallo's chapel was finished long before the one that Giovanni Gianfigliazzi had envisioned in 1348.

A document of January 8, 1366 (new style) drawn up in the church itself helps explain some of the reasons for the Gianfigliazzi' delay.[43] Giovanni's immediate male heirs, Rosso, Giannozzo, and Matteo,

had all died, making it difficult for the family to decide how to fulfill the obligation to which his will bound them. His widow, Sandra, and two sons, Rosso and Giannozzo, had already provided two hundred gold florins, but the decision about the rest of the chapel's financing fell to two grandsons, Stoldo (or Bertoldo), a son of Matteo, and Gherardo, a son of Rosso. They designated property in the neighborhood of Santo Stefano a Petriolo to finance and maintain the chapel. Probably at some point thereafter the already-built Saint Benedict chapel was given over to the Gianfigliazzi.

The chapel may have been assigned to the Gianfigliazzi in or soon after 1366, but it is not clear when it was decorated. The style of the frescoes and the altarpiece would argue for a later date. The will of the *nobilis vir* Rosso di Rosso di Giovanni Gianfigliazzi (and therefore a grandson to the original legator), dated June 23, 1379, was witnessed by Biagio, the abbot of Santa Trinita. It contains a request to be buried in the church ("corpus autem suum seppelleri volens in ecclesia S. Trinitatis de Flor.") but does not make specific reference to the chapel, implying that it had not yet been decided what chapel to assign the family or that the chapel was not ready for burials.[44] Another *libro di ricordanze* covering the years from 1387 to 1405 is lost, but important notices were transcribed by Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi in 1670. It can be gleaned that in 1388 Gherard Gianfigliazzi and the heirs of his cousin Stoldo, or Bertoldo, Matteo's son, had still not paid up their share of the costs, and each had to contribute a third.[45]

The Gianfigliazzi's relationship with Santa Trinita was a longstanding one: a family member had been a general of the Vallombrosan order in the early Trecento.[46] All branches of the Gianfigliazzi were connected with the church. They were not always of the same line established by Giovanni, but they all lived in the general vicinity and might be considered a sort of *consorteria*.[47] A Gianfigliazzi coat of arms still on the right side of the church's facade, which was not touched by Buontalenti's construction, was probably put up after the chapel was assigned to the family.

Account books kept by Don Lorenzo di Guidotto in the early 1360s attest to the very personal nature of interchanges between the family and monastery. In February and March 1362 (new style), a Mona Elisabetta sent over her son, Bertoldo; on another occasion she sent a *fante* to deliver linens that she had sewn.[48] The following year, her other son, Don Simone, who had become a monk there, said his first mass. It was considered an event, as the abbot gave a dinner.[49] A Gianfigliazzi was obviously special, because other young monks' activities are not recorded. A master of grammar was hired for Don Simone, and candles were purchased to light the room for their tutorials.[50] His mother occasionally sent food to him and the monks.[51] The boy fell sick, and the abbot ordered fowl brought for him, "perchè gravava nella infermitia."[52] When the disease claimed his life on Sunday, July 9, 1363, a funeral feast was prepared.[53] The accounts bespeak the monastery's concern. Don Lorenzo paid for the doctor Piero di Galluzzo, who attended him during the last six days and nights; for the apothecary who provided spices to prepare the body; and, of course, for the gravediggers.[54] The monastery even reimbursed Mona Elisabetta for her expenses because, during the last days of the illness, the concerned mother nursed her son at home, where, in fact, Don Simone died.[55]

Contacts on a more official level continued well into the next century. Gianfigliazzi occupied positions on the committee of overseers. From 1395 to 1397, the head of the building program was a family member, Messer Rinaldo di Giannozzo, knight. He and his fellow *operai* were enjoined by the abbot to "stringere a pagare e far murare e compiere edifici di Cappelle e di Mura della Chiesa."[56] When Rinaldo's term ended in 1397, Francesco degli Spini took over, but the Gianfigliazzi were represented by Rinaldo's son Antonio, who sat on the new board.[57] Ser Nigi, who wrote the agreement of January 1366 about the financing of the Gianfigliazzi chapel, also sat on this board. Even though Rinaldo and Antonio were only cousins—and rather distant ones—of the Giovanni Gianfigliazzi who founded the chapel in 1348, it is most likely that during this decade and during these terms in office, the chapel's decoration was brought to completion.

Payments found in an early-fifteenth-century account book, kept by the abbot Don Guasppare Buonamici, and mostly recording masses and funerary costs, show that by 1406 (new style) the chapel was in use. On March 7 the abbot received a "drapo e panno" for the burial of Donna Niccolosa, mother of Rosso and Bongianni Gianfigliazzi.[58] A year later, on August 7, the *fante* of Messer Jacopo Gianfigliazzi brought money to pay for the costs of the mass for their feast of Saint Lawrence ("per fare la loro festa di San Lorenzo").[59] Bongianni sent additional funds on August 22.[60] On September 17, Jacopo di Bongianni was buried. His body was brought from Poggibonsi, where he had been *podestà*.[61] These events probably

indicate that the chapel's decoration was finished, certainly if not by the time of Mona Niccolosa's burial, at least in time for the feast of Saint Lawrence in 1407, which fell on August 10. Similar expense books no longer exist for the last two decades of the fourteenth century, so it cannot be determined if there was activity in the chapel before 1405.

If in 1400 the chapel had still not been frescoed and fitted with an altarpiece, the family probably would not have waited much after that year to fulfill their obligations, because in May a member of the family, Bernardo Gianfigliazzi, was elected general of the Vallombrosan order and on December 22 was invested as abbot of Vallombrosa. He seems to have been the son of Bertoldo and his wife, Elisabetta Acciaiuoli, and, therefore, a brother of the ill-fated Don Simone.[62] These events would have hurried things along. Bernardo's attachment to the church was such that when he died in Florence on March 30, 1422, his family requested burial in Santa Trinita "per loro chonsolatione e honore."[63]

An interesting document of 1415 refers to the decorations of the Gianfigliazzi chapel: in Piera degli Scali's will of May 27, 1415, it is stipulated that her family's chapel, dedicated to Saint Bartholomew, should be equal or superior in beauty to the chapels dedicated to saints Lucy and Benedict.[64] The document specifically cites the altarpieces, frescoes, and screen. One might think that Piera's will refers to recent events, but such is not the case, because the Saint Lucy chapel that belonged to the Strozzi family was finished in 1340 and contained frescoes by Puccio di Simone that date around the same time. The screen, or *graticola,* had the inscribed date of 1340, a definite terminus ante quem for the Strozzi chapel's pictorial decoration.[65] A terminus post quem for the Saint Benedict chapel's decoration is January 1366, when the Gianfigliazzi donated land to the monastery to settle Giovanni's plague year testament, and an extreme terminus is May 1415.

The Gianfigliazzi' interest in the chapel continued to the mid-fifteenth century. On November 14, 1463, Madonna Lena, widow of a Gherardo Gianfigliazzi, gave money for the "existing" chapel but stated that if her late husband's brother Bongianni obtained the rights to a new chapel, then the money should go to it.[66] In February 1464 (new style), Bongianni obtained patronage of the high altar, which over the next two decades he had decorated by Alessio Baldovinetti. Besides his widow's donation, Gherardo had also stipulated that a fund be set up for religious offices in the Saint Benedict chapel. In 1465, actually after the family had secured the high altar, Bongianni arranged for the Merchants' Court, or *Mercanzia,* to maintain a *podere,* or plot of farmland, for this purpose.[67] The income it yielded would fund the chapel. The *Mercanzia* managed to donate 102 lire annually from 1471 to 1485, the year that the income was assigned to the high altar.[68]

Other branches of the family kept an interest in the Saint Benedict chapel. In 1492, Donna Nanna, wife of Bartolomeo Gianfigliazzi, donated decorated vestments and altar furnishings, all bearing the family arms.[69]

The earliest descriptions of the church or the works it contains ignore the chapel.[70] An inventory of 1484 describes Gianfigliazzi vestments and missals that were stored in the sacristy but does not describe the chapel itself.[71] More detailed inventories of the sacristy date to the seventeenth century and are therefore of little use.[72] The account of the apostolic visit of Binnarino to Santa Trinita, completed on June 7, 1575, is summary. The prelate visited Santa Felicita and Santo Stefano al Ponte on the same day. He described those churches in detail. By the time he reached Santa Trinita, he was tired. Except for the high altar and the relics, Binnarino confined himself to listing some of the altars. He did not record any works of art nor did he even mention the Saint Benedict chapel.[73] The first histories of the Gianfigliazzi chapel all postdate Vincenzo Gianfigliazzi's intervention in 1630 and the translation of the cross there in 1631. No mention of an altarpiece can be found in any guidebook or more detailed description of the church, such as those written in about 1661 by Averardo Niccolini and in 1740 by Benigno Davanzati.[74] The earliest *sepoltuario* describing the church is dated 1614 and therefore before Vincenzo's changes, but its author, Dal Foresta, limits himself to the arms and the sepulcher monument.[75] Therefore, it is likely that the cross took the place of an altarpiece.

The altarpiece may have gone to some other part of the monastery. Neri di Bicci's *Assumption of the Virgin* from the Spini chapel was sent to the sacristy in 1720. When Vittorio Barbieri's *Pietà* was put on the Sassetti altar, the Ghirlandaio *Adoration* was also brought to the sacristy. Even earlier, Fra Angelico's *Deposition* in the sacristy was taken from its altar and installed over the door that led to the convent.[76] Another altarpiece, Bicci di Lorenzo's *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints Anthony Abbot, John Gualbert, John the Baptist, and Catherine of Alexandria*

from the Compagni chapel was removed in the eighteenth century, but what happened to it before it emerged on the art market in the nineteenth century is not known.[77] No record can be found of what Vittorio Gianfigliazzi did with the altarpiece, but at some point it came into the possession of the family. Other examples exist of altarpieces returning to the descendants of the original patrons, but in most cases this return was made in the early 1800s, during the Napoleonic suppressions and/or after the deconsecration or destruction of the church.[78]

The probable passage of the Getty Museum's painting from the Gianfigliazzi family to the Lotteringhi Della Stufa can be explained on genealogical grounds. The Gianfigliazzi name became extinct in the eighteenth century with the death of the last male heir, the canon Leonardo Dante Gianfigliazzi.[79] There were several women in whom the line continued. After the death of Maria Teresa Gondi, daughter of Giovanni Battista Gianfigliazzi, in 1797, two other married female descendants, Maria Fontebuoni and Elisabetta Verdi, fought a battle against a distant male relative for primogeniture rights to the Gianfigliazzi inheritance.[80]

The Della Stufa and the Gianfigliazzi intermarried twice. Maria Teresa Gondi's aunt, Caterina, daughter of Orazio Gianfigliazzi, had in 1696 married Sigismondo Lotteringhi Della Stufa. Sigismondo and Caterina were great-great-grandparents of Marchese Ferdinando, who had the altarpiece and the chapel restored in the late 1880s. In addition, his grandmother was Agnese, daughter of Giovanni Fontebuoni and the same Maria Gianfigliazzi involved in the primogeniture fight in 1800.[81] She had inherited one of the Gianfigliazzi palaces on the Lungarno.[82] It is likely that from this palace the altarpiece came into the possession of the Lotteringhi Della Stufa family by way of Agnese.

The identity of the Getty Museum painting (figs. 1, 14–18, 26–29) with the one that would have originally adorned the Gianfigliazzi chapel can be made independently on iconographic grounds. There are twenty-four saints represented in the lateral panels.[83] The presence of Saint Zenobius in the right wing (fig. 28) confirms a Florentine provenance as he is a patron of the city. In the left wing (fig. 26) Saint John Gualbert is shown holding his crutch. He was the founder of the Vallombrosan order and is therefore an appropriate choice for an altarpiece in a Vallombrosan church. The

FIGURE 14

Saint Benedict Exorcising a Devil from a Stone Slab, from the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 15

The Baptism of Christ, from the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 16

The Dormition of the Virgin, from the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 17

Saint Anthony Abbot Tormented by Devils, from the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 18

Saint Lawrence Liberating a Soul from Purgatory, from the predella of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

early-fifteenth-century general of the order Bernardo Gianfigliazzi was renowned for his devotion to John Gualbert. He imitated him in the humility of his clothing and was noted in Florence for always carrying a similar crutch when he went around the city.[84]

Four saints are depicted in the predella stories; from left to right: Benedict, John the Baptist, Anthony Abbot, and Lawrence. The titular of the chapel is Benedict. The founder of the chapel is Giovanni Gianfigliazzi, and even though it was decorated long after his death, his name saint John the Baptist appears in the place of honor to the left of the main scene, and the Baptism of Christ (fig. 15) is appropriately depicted in the predella. On the opposite side stands his other name saint, John the Evangelist. However, he is not represented in the predella. Instead, there is a scene of Saint Anthony Abbot being tormented by devils (fig. 17). This saint, with an abbot's pastoral staff and miter, is depicted in the second row of saints behind John the Evangelist. His presence in the predella relates to his role as the founder of monasticism, which would be appropriate in a chapel dedicated to Saint Benedict. The scene showing Anthony's torment corresponds to the fresco on the external arch of the chapel (fig. 8) in which Benedict, the founder of Western monasticism, is shown castigating himself in the brier bush. Each scene depicts an episode in which the monk has been offered and overcome temptation.

Another, but less likely, reason for including Anthony in the predella is that he is the name saint of Antonio di Messer Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi, who sat on the board of the church's overseers from 1397 to 1399.[85] If in these years Antonio oversaw the completion of the chapel, then the presence of the saint may have been a reference to his role.

The scene chosen to represent Benedict (fig. 14) is equally meaningful: it shows him exorcising a devil who prevented a group of Benedictine monks from removing a stone slab for construction of a monastery. It is unusual to include this scene in a predella. Not a major episode in the saint's life, it is more adapted to an extensive cycle. It appears in Spinello Aretino's frescoes in the sacristry of San Miniato al Monte, which were executed sometime around 1385 when Benedetto degli Alberti bequeathed funds for their completion.[86] The San Miniato cycle comprises fifteen scenes from the saint's life, and so the story is not accorded particular prominence. The selection of this subject for the predella must have meant that the episode had a special significance for Santa Trinita. Given the long delays in finishing the chapel and the monks' continual pleas to speed up the church's construction, both the monastic community and the Gianfigliazzi, a family of *operai,* must have sympathized with the frustrations Saint Benedict's monks encountered in removing a stone slab.

An important piece of evidence for identifying the Getty Museum altarpiece as the one commissioned by the Gianfigliazzi is the above-mentioned record of two payments made to the abbot Guasppare in 1407 by Messer Jacopo and Bongianni Gianfigliazzi to celebrate "la loro festa di San Lorenzo."[87] The chapel was dedicated to Saint Benedict, but the family kept the feast of Saint Lawrence. Averardo Niccolini also records this tradition.[88] Lawrence was not a family name, but devotion to the saint is explained by the chapel's function as a place of masses of suffrage for the souls of Gianfigliazzi dead.

The predella panel shows Lawrence liberating a soul from the pains of Purgatory (fig. 18). A rather annoyed devil releases this soul into the hand of Lawrence. He emerges naked, but his destiny will be the same as two others who are shown entering an open door from which shine rays of golden light. Another soul, dressed in white and praying at the feet of Lawrence, may be a donor portrait.

The scene is extremely rare in art. Besides the Getty Museum predella, a few examples are found in Tuscan painting of the late Trecento and early Quattrocento.[89] About 1430/35, Bicci di Lorenzo also painted the subject for the bakers' guild, or *Arte de' Fornai,* in the predella of a tabernacle dedicated to their patron Saint Lawrence.[90] An earlier predella by Lorenzo di Niccolò, with a full cycle of Saint Lawrence's legend, is preserved in the Brooklyn Museum and includes this scene (fig. 19).[91] A fragmentary fresco by Cenni di Francesco (fig. 20) decorated a side chapel in the church of San Lorenzo of Vicchio a Rimaggio, just outside Florence, and an earlier, fragmentary fresco of about 1366 by the Master of Barberino can be found in San Lorenzo in Signa.[92]

Jacobus de Voragine does not mention Lawrence's ability to liberate souls from Purgatory, nor, more importantly, is Lawrence cited in this context in the *Divina commedia.*[93] Lawrence's eighteenth-century hagiographer for the *Acta sanctorum* knew of only a single undated *passio* in which the legend is narrated.[94] The fresco at Vicchio di Rimaggio closely follows some version of this text, which relates how Saint Lawrence was granted the privilege of freeing a soul from Purgatory every Friday. The souls thus released

FIGURE 19

Lorenzo di Niccolò (Italian, documented 1391–1412). *Saint Lawrence Liberating Souls from Purgatory,* 1390s. Predella panel. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art.

were dressed by angels and became whiter than snow ("ecce levita quindam splendidior, niveque candidor").[95] The fresco includes the angels and shows the purified souls gaining entrance to Paradise, where Saint Peter has opened the door for them.

It is hard to account for the preference for this Purgatory myth in Florence. For example, in the popular *Legenda aurea,* Jacobus de Voragine relates the tale of Saint Patrick's well. A story of liberation from Purgatory, it was represented in a fresco, dated 1346, in Todi.[96] As for Lawrence, he was more celebrated for having interceded on behalf of the soul of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry than for his ability to release souls from Purgatory. The Emperor Henry episode is also told in the *Legenda aurea*[97] and is depicted in the predella of Orcagna's famous 1357 altarpiece in the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella, and it also appears in the Lorenzo di Niccolò predella in Brooklyn.[98]

In Cenni di Francesco's predella scene (fig. 18), the figure being tortured on the wheel in the upper right holds a moneybag, and three other moneybags can be seen between the two devils in the center. The moneybag is a symbol of the avaricious and usurers: usurers can be recognized by their moneybags in the hell of the Last Judgment frescoed on the entrance wall of Giotto's Arena chapel. Judas is also depicted there as having hung himself with the strings of his purse.[99] Likewise, the personification of the vice of Envy, which afflicted the avaricious, tightly clutches her purse.[100] The Arena chapel was built to expiate the sins of a famous usurer, Enrico Scrovegni. He appears in Dante's *Inferno,* where several of his other companions, all usurers, are Florentines. Their immense suffering has distorted their features, but Dante can identify their family names by the coats of arms painted on the purses hanging from their necks. One of these is described "In una borsa gialla vidi azzurro,/ che d'un leone avea faccia e contegno" (*Inferno* 17.59–60). These are the Gianfigliazzi arms. Dante may be referring to one Catello (or Catellano) Gianfigliazzi, a banker active in Avignon, whose estate was posthumously confiscated on charges of usury.[101] The family did not easily shake this accusation. Jacopo della Luna, an early Trecento commentator on Dante, called them "grandissimi usurarii."[102]

The depiction of Saint Lawrence liberating souls from Purgatory, and particularly a Purgatory where usurers are to be found, might have been a means of expunging this reputation. Lawrence was well known for his charity. To prevent the Church's treasure from falling into the hands of the pagan Decius, he had

FIGURE 20

Cenni di Francesco. *Saint Lawrence Liberating Souls from Purgatory,* 1390s. Fresco. Vicchio a Rimaggio (Florence), San Lorenzo. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

FIGURE 21

Cenni di Francesco. *Two Prophets,* 1390s. Fresco. Vicchio a Rimaggio (Florence), San Lorenzo. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

distributed it to the poor of Rome. According to the *Legenda aurea,* he gathered together "the poor, the halt, the blind, and presented them before Decius in the Sallustian palace, saying: 'Behold, the treasure thou seekest is an everlasting one, which never wanes but waxes, being given to each and being found in all, for the hands of these have borne it off and stored it in Heaven!'"[103] The antiphon chanted at vespers on the eve of his feast also refers to his charity: "Laurentius bonum opus operatus qui per signum crucis caecos illuminavit, et thesauros Ecclesiae dedit pauperibus."[104] A *manuale* for the monks of Santa Trinita dated 1412 contains an addition at the end of the texts used for the saint's feast day. It appeals to Lawrence for protection from fire, and this could only be a reference to his efficacy in liberating souls from the refining flames of Purgatory.[105]

While the altarpiece's imagery can be related to the Gianfigliazzi family, it is also part of a chapel that fits into the larger program of the church and specifically of the entrance end of the church. On the other side of the nave, directly opposite the Saint Benedict chapel, is the Saint Lucy chapel that was under Strozzi patronage. It had been completed in 1340. This chapel did not lose its Baroque decor during the 1880s, but the restorations did uncover a Trecento fresco (fig. 22) that was detached and brought to the sacristy. It was originally in the niche of the Strozzi sepulcher monument. Vasari, who reported the artist's name, Puccio di Simone, also described the subject of the chapel's now-lost altarpiece;[106] it was a Coronation of the Virgin. Thus, the decoration of the Gianfigliazzi chapel mirrored in two important aspects that of the much older Strozzi chapel facing it: both were adorned with altarpieces of the Coronation of the Virgin and with niche frescoes showing a subject from the legend of the penitent Mary Magdalene.

In the fresco of the Gianfigliazzi chapel there is a banderole around the kneeling communicant Mary Magdalene, who is shown with hair grown long in penitence (fig. 6). The inscription reads: "Ne desperetis vos qui peccare soletis exemplo que meo vos reparate (corde parate) Deo."[107] Its intent is to inspire remorse and hold out the promise of forgiveness for those who are contrite. The absolution from sin and the act of forgiveness were important parts of the Vallombrosan tradition. The most famous story about their founder, John Gualbert, relates that he forgave his brother's assassin. The scene was depicted on the

FIGURE 22

Puccio di Simone (Italian, active 1335–1360). *Noli Me Tangere,* ca. 1340. Florence, Santa Trinita, Strozzi chapel. Photograph ca. 1888, showing fresco still in loco with restorations by Augusto Burchi. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Florence.

entrance arch of the Compagni chapel in Santa Trinita.[108] The fresco on the entrance arch of the Gianfigliazzi chapel also suggests that temptation can be overcome. The episode depicted concerns Saint Benedict. Gregory the Great relates that Benedict had been tempted by an image of a woman he had remembered:

> He then noticed a thick patch of nettles and briers next to him. Throwing his garment aside he flung himself into the sharp thorns and stinging nettles. There he rolled and tossed until his whole body was in pain and covered with blood. Yet, once he had conquered pleasure through suffering, his torn and bleeding skin served to drain the poison of temptation from his body. Before long the pain that was burning his whole body had put out the fires of evil in his heart. It was by exchanging these two fires that he gained the victory over sin.[109]

Thus, both Mary Magdalene and Benedict symbolize victory over sin through penitence and castigation.

Saint Benedict's castigation of carnal desires may have been selected for the entrance arch of the chapel in reference to an episode in the life of the monastery's former abbot, the blessed Giovanni Dalle Celle, who died in 1396.[110] He probably was still alive when the chapel was being decorated and certainly when its decoration was being planned. Forty-nine years before, he had caused a great scandal, and his life ever after was one of penitence. The actual details are not known, but apparently the outrage occurred when he had sexual intercourse with a woman he brought into the convent. The charge was grave. After Giovanni confessed, the general of the Vallombrosan order quickly decided upon a punishment. Chaining the abbot to an ox-driven cart, he had him conducted to the fortress of Pitiano near Vallombrosa and imprisoned for a year with only bread and water for nourishment. Giovanni's remorse was considered sincere, and

he was later reinstalled as abbot. However, he soon retired to a hermitage from which he kept up a lively correspondence.[111] A letter he sent to his successor, Don Simone Bencini, warns him of the dangers of the flesh and familiarity with women. He admonishes him to severely punish monks guilty of such transgressions: "And let it be known that among the many dangers of desire I especially want you to fight against one of them, in fact, to drive it out as it is a sweetly ancient magic potion. In this context it is easy to see that the cultivation of friendships with women, even if they are intelligent, [is not permissible]."[112] The fresco could not be a better warning or exemplum of the dangers of carnal desire. In a monastery where the memory of what had happened to the former abbot was still alive, this representation must have had special immediacy.

The first half of the scene depicts Benedict reading a book. In Gregory the Great's life of Saint Benedict, a raven appears to the saint and reminds him of a woman he knew; a book is not known to be part of the legend. Here it suggests that Benedict's reading brought on his temptation. This was a common late medieval theme. In Dante's *Inferno* (5.127–38), Francesca da Rimini and Paolo Malatesta admit that their downfall came about during their shared reading of the romance of Lancelot. It is unlikely that Benedict would have been reading knightly romances in the wilderness. More likely, Benedict's reading and subsequent self-castigation might refer to the attractions of classical learning. Giovanni Dalle Celle had also been tempted by the classics and had even translated Cicero.[113]

Carnal desire might have distracted Benedict from religious reading, but on another level the fresco might be seen as a generic association of this episode in Benedict's life with the need for monks to guard against the attractions of classical learning. One is reminded of another legend that gained popularity in the late Trecento, the story of Jerome's castigation by Christ for being more attached to Cicero and Plato than to the scriptures.[114] Giovanni Dalle Celle had written to the followers of Giovanni Colombini in Siena, who were the Gesuati, or the self-styled devotees or *Poverelli* of Saint Jerome, urging them to emulate their fourth-century patron when they did penitence. He admonishes them to beware of classical authors: "fuga dai libri de' pagani."[115] Unlike other representations of the Benedict scene—such as the one that Spinello Aretino painted for San Miniato al Monte, which closely follows Gregory the Great's text and its reference to a raven tempting Benedict—here the monk's self-punishment comes about as a direct result of his reading.[116]

The Strozzi and Gianfigliazzi chapels are at the entrance to Santa Trinita, and the presence of Mary Magdalene in the sepulcher niches of both chapels may relate to traditions of veneration in the entrance zone of the church. This fact may also account for the original placement of Desiderio da Settignano's polychromed wood *Mary Magdalene* in the Lotti chapel next to the main entrance (fig. 2). Donatello's famous statue of Mary Magdalene was likewise at the entrance of the Baptistery. The saint's act of penitence was one that all who entered the church were encouraged to emulate.[117]

The lost altarpiece depicting the Coronation of the Virgin that was once in the Strozzi chapel predetermined the subject of the Gianfigliazzi altarpiece; however, one cannot guess how it related in composition to the later painting. The Puccio di Simone probably reflected the composition of Giotto's *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Baroncelli chapel of Santa Croce or Bernardo Daddi's altarpiece from Santa Maria Novella, now in the Accademia.[118]

The Getty Museum painting closely relates to a series of large altarpieces of the same subject that became popular with powerful Florentine patrons in the 1370s. The Gianfigliazzi need only have looked at what their neighbors were commissioning in order to give the artist an idea of what they wanted. Many of these works follow the format of the Bernardo Daddi, but the model to which the patrons more immediately aspired was Jacopo di Cione's polyptych (now, except for the predella, in the National Gallery, London) for the high altar of San Pier Maggiore. It was commissioned by the Albizzi family, the leading political force in Florence at the time. Payment documents exist for the years 1370/71.[119] Soon after, Jacopo repeated the same composition in a tabernacle (fig. 23) for the guildhall of the Zecca, or Mint, in 1372/73.[120] It shows the Virgin and Christ enthroned against a rich textile background. Because the tabernacle is composed of a single section, the saints are depicted below the throne, whereas most other Coronations, including the Cenni di Francesco, imitate the Daddi polyptych, in which music-making angels play at the foot of the throne.[121]

Close in date to the altarpiece for the Zecca is a large polyptych by Giovanni del Biondo, now in the

FIGURE 23

Jacopo di Cione (Italian, documented 1365–1400). *The Coronation of the Virgin,* 1372/73. Panel. Originally in the Florentine Zecca. Florence, Accademia. Photo: Alinari, courtesy Art Resource, New York.

cathedral of Fiesole.[122] It bears the arms of the Alberti, who were the great arbiters of oligarchic Florentine taste at the end of the Trecento, and is therefore a good example of how the subject and the same basic composition became a means of expressing social position.[123]

The Alberti family's interest in commissioning an altarpiece of the Coronation may have originated with the tabernacle made for the Zecca, because an Alberti, Bartolomeo di Caroccio, was an official of the Zecca in the same year that the altarpiece was commissioned, and for this reason his family's coat of arms appears in the predella. Another official whose arms also appear there was a parishioner of Santa Trinita, Davanzato di Giovanni Davanzati. His son Antonio was an *operario* of Santa Trinita in 1397, the same year as Antonio di Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi.[124] Davanzato was also a correspondent of Giovanni Dalle Celle's.

Actually, two years before the Alberti commissioned the altarpiece now in Fiesole, another member of a family from the neighborhood of Santa Trinita succumbed to the elitist attractions of this composition: in 1372, Giuliano di Gero degli Spini, prior of the church of Santa Maria in Peretola, ordered a similar polyptych, also from Giovanni del Biondo.[125] The Spini family was closely involved in the board of overseers of Santa Trinita and lived directly across the square from the Gianfigliazzi.[126]

Variants of the altarpiece can be found in the work of almost any Florentine artist working in the latter part of the Trecento. The composition was still popular in 1401, when three artists, Spinello Aretino, Niccolò Gerini, and Lorenzo di Niccolò, finished a polyptych for the high altar of Santa Felicita, now in the Accademia.[127] The central panel of that altarpiece, created under the abbess Lorenza de' Mozzi, is derived from Jacopo di Cione's altarpiece in the Zecca. Lorenzo di Niccolò adapted the same composition for his high altarpiece for the Silvestrine church of San Marco, brought to Cortona in 1444 when the church was handed over to the Dominican Observants, and for his altarpiece dated 1410, now in the Medici Chapel of Santa Croce.[128] Examples like Giovanni dal Ponte's altarpiece for the Monte della Pietà, now in the Accademia, show that the composition's influence continued for the next few decades.[129]

Like many of the others, Cenni di Francesco's altarpiece reflects the original Daddi composition quite closely. It shows the Virgin with her arms folded and her head bowed in reverence. Christ crowns her

FIGURE 24

Cenni di Francesco. *The Massacre of the Innocents,* 1410. Fresco. San Francesco, Volterra. Photo: Alinari, courtesy Art Resource, New York.

with the same conical headdress. The richness of her garments and of the throne's coverings is emphasized. This is the formula adopted by Jacopo di Cione. From Jacopo's *Coronation* for the Zecca, Cenni copied the three-quarter-length prophets holding scrolls in the pinnacles. It is a motif that gained a certain currency in the latter part of the Trecento, particularly for the painting of the entrance arches of chapels. In Santa Croce, Agnolo Gaddi used it in the Castellani chapel, which dates from 1385/90. The choir was under the *ius patronato* of the Alberti. Cennino Cennini employed the motif in a chapel of the transept of San Lucchese in Poggibonsi, dated 1388, and Cenni di Francesco used it similarly at Vicchio a Rimaggio (fig. 21).

Cenni di Francesco's altarpiece was placed in a chapel in which he also frescoed the entrance arch, the sepulchral niche, and possibly even the walls. Archival evidence about the patronage of the chapel suggests a date in the last decade of the Trecento. Boskovits first recognized the frescoes to be by Cenni di Francesco, but he dated them about 1410/15, and therefore after Cenni's largest surviving fresco cycle, the *Legenda crucis* in San Francesco in Volterra, which is dated 1410 (fig. 24).[130]

The dating of Cenni di Francesco's work is not easy because of a certain conformity of style throughout his career. Even though there are not many documented works, enough do exist to give a good idea of

FIGURE 25

Cenni di Francesco and the Master of the Lazzaroni Madonna. *The Virgin and Child Enthroned and Surrounded by the Virtues,* 1393. Fresco, Palazzo Comunale, San Miniato al Tedesco. Photo: Alinari, courtesy Art Resource, New York.

FIGURE 26

Saints, left lateral panel of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

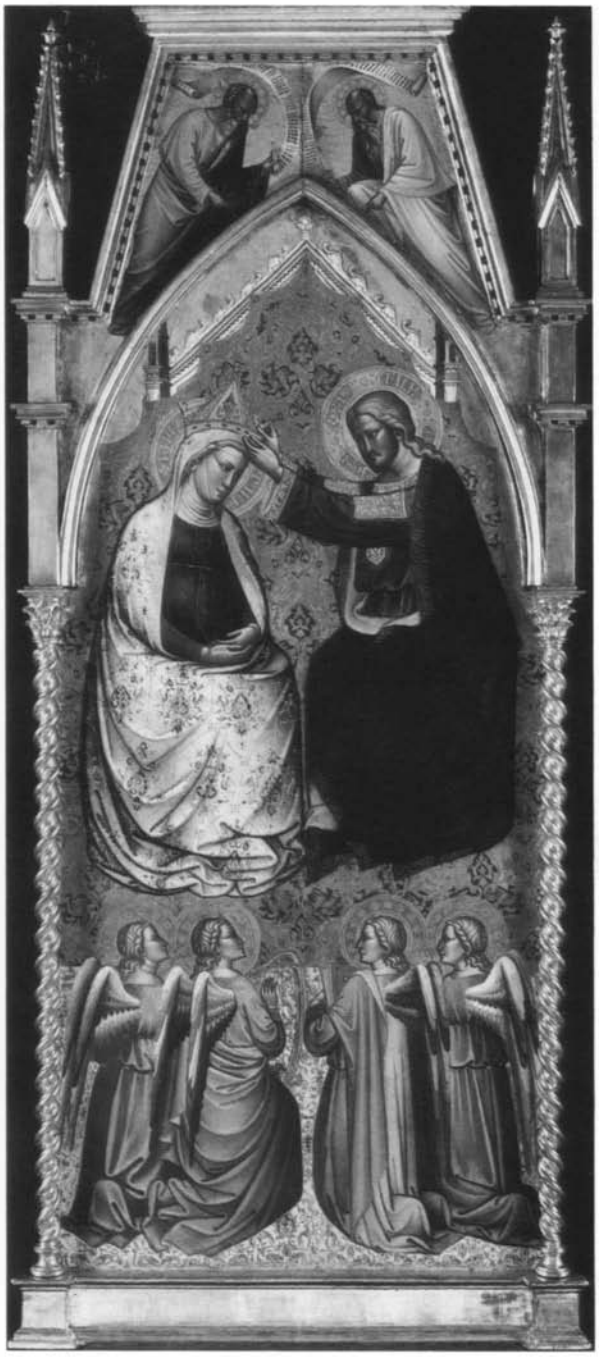

FIGURE 27

The Coronation of the Virgin, central section of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 28

Saints, right lateral panel of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

FIGURE 29

The Annunciate Virgin, right pinnacle of Cenni di Francesco's polyptych (detail of fig. 1).

each period of production. In addition to the 1410 Volterra frescoes, they are: *Saint Jerome in His Study* (1411) in the Museo Diocesano of San Miniato al Tedesco; a polyptych (1408) in the Pinacoteca of Volterra; a triptych in San Giusto in Montalbino near Montespertoli (1400); *The Virgin and Child Enthroned and Surrounded by the Virtues* (1393) (fig. 25); a fresco in the Palazzo Comunale of San Miniato al Tedesco; *The Nativity and Adoration of the Magi* (1383), a fresco in San Donato in Polverosa in Florence; and, if one accepts Boskovits's attribution, an altarpiece in San Cristofano a Perticaia near Rignano sull'Arno (1370).

The dating of the altarpiece to the 1390s accords stylistically with the dated fresco in San Miniato al Monte. One might say that it is Cenni at his "fullest" moment in that the figures are modeled with a sense of volume that becomes attenuated in later work like the Volterra cycle. The frescoes in the Gianfigliazzi chapel should not be separated in time from the altarpiece. The study of the cast-off habit of Saint Benedict in the entrance arch fresco (fig. 8) mirrors Cenni's treatment of drapery in the altarpiece, particularly in the bunched folds of the Virgin's costume (fig. 27) or the flowing sleeve of Benedict's habit (fig. 26). While the grandiose architecture of the scene of Saint Benedict castigating himself seems to be a painted model of what the monks of Santa Trinita planned for their new church and conventual buildings, the detailing of the structure behind the bell tower reflects forms found in the porch where the Annunciate Virgin sits (fig. 29) and in the buildings depicted in the predella scene dedicated to Saint Benedict.

The altarpiece and frescoes together are not only contemporaneous works of Cenni di Francesco but were born together in order to fulfill the artistic and religious functions of a private chapel and a monastic community. They constitute an important episode in the history of late Trecento patronage in Santa Trinita.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASF: Archivio di Stato, Florence.

ASF, *Conventi soppressi:* ASF, *Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal Governo Francese.*

BNCF: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

Boskovits: M. Boskovits, *La pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del rinascimento* (Florence, 1975).

Davanzati: Don Benigo Davanzati, *Istoria della Venerabile Basilica della Santissima Trinita di Firenze* (Florence, 1740). Manuscript, Archivio del Convento di Santa Trinita, Florence.

Ginori Lisci: L. Ginori Lisci, *I palazzi di Firenze nella storia e nell'arte,* 2 vols. (Florence, 1972).

Kaftal: G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952).

Maddalena: *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano,* exh. cat., ed. M. Mosco (Milan, 1986).

Niccolini: *Libro cartaceo scritto circa la metà del secolo XVII da D. Averardo Niccolini Abate di S. Trinita contentente notizie* [. . .] (Florence, ca. 1661), Manuscript ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 135.

Offner and Steinweg: R. Offner and K. Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting,* sec. 4, vol. 4: *Giovanni del Biondo,* 2 pts. (New York, 1967–69).

Santa Trinita: La chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze, ed. G. Marchini and E. Micheletti (Florence, 1987).

NOTES

1. E. Grifi. *Saunterings in Florence: A New Artistic and Practical Handbook for English and American Tourists* (Florence, 1896).
2. Ibid., p. v.
3. Ibid., p. 316.
4. F. Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza* (Florence, 1591), p. 90–94.
5. *Le bellezze della città di Firenza dove a pieno di pitture di scultura di Sacri Templi, dei Palazzi, i più notabili artifizi, e più preziosi si contengono scritte già da M. Francesco Bocchi ed ora da M. Giovanni Cinelli ampliate, ed accresciute* (Florence, 1677), pp. 184–94.
6. A contemporary description of the ceremony is published in *Santa Trinita,* doc. 9, pp. 391–93.
7. They were brought to the Accademia in 1810. See inventory, doc. 18 in *Santa Trinita,* p. 397, in which they are described as "mediocre." The Angelico is now in the Museo di San Marco and the Cimabue and Gentile da Fabriano in the Uffizi.
8. These problems were remedied. In a lecture given in 1892 at the Circolo Artistico Fiorentino, Diego Martelli announced Cosimo Conti's exciting discovery of Ghirlandaio's fresco on the exterior arch of the chapel. Martelli, "La pittura del Quattrocento a Firenze," in *Scritti d'arte,* ed. A. Boschetto (Florence, 1952), p. 178–79.

   In 1890, Barbieri's *Pietà* was removed to the sacristy and a copy of Ghirlandaio's painting was placed on the altar. The original, kept in the sacristy, was returned in 1920. See M. Maffioli in *Santa Trinita,* pp. 69–70.
9. The archival records of the nineteenth-century restoration at the ASF *(Prefettura di Firenze,* 1896, *filza* 64/1 and 64/2, *Belle arti, chiesa di S. Trinita*) were destroyed by the flood of the Arno

in 1966. I was denied access to the records of the Archivio della Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali e Architettonici (Fondo A208, Santa Trinita). This and the documents in the Archivio Centrale di Stato, Rome, and the Archivio Storico dell'Opificio di Pietre Dure are discussed by M. Dezzi Bardeschi, "La storia tradita. Guida ai monumenti infedeli d'Italia. La chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze," *L'architettura* 27 (1981), pp. 720–25, and J. Saalman, *The Church of Santa Trinita in Florence* (New York, 1966), p. 5, nn. 24–28.

The most important contemporary published reports were: L. Del Moro, E. Marcucci, G. Milanesi, and G. Poggi, *Intorno al progetto di restauro della Chiesa di Santa Trinita presentato dal Prof. Comm. Giuseppe Castellazzi. Relazione della sottocommissione di vigilanza alla commissione consultativa conservatrice di Belle Arti per la provincia di Firenze* (Florence, 1885); E. Marcucci, *Intorno al progetto di restauro alla chiesa di S. Trinita presentato dal prof. Giuseppe Castellazzi. Relazione* (Florence, 1885); G. Castellazzi, *La basilica di S. Trinita, i suoi tempi ed il progetto del suo restauro* (Florence, 1887).

The following new guides were subsequently issued: F. Tarani, *Cenni storici e artistici della Chiesa di S. Trinita e suo restauro* (Florence, 1897; 2nd ed., Florence, 1898), and P. Franchesini, *Del restauro del tempio di Santa Trinita a Firenze* (Florence, 1898).

10. Don Camillo Orsini, *La chiesa di S. Trinita e le sue condizioni attuali* (Florence, 1881).
11. Also see color pls. 39–41 in *Santa Trinita,* p. 64.
12. The first horrified reactions came from England, where articles were published in the *Times* and *Athenaeum* even before Castellazzi consigned his drawings. The articles date to late September and early October 1883. See Dezzi Bardeschi (note 9), p. 720.
13. Maffioli in *Santa Trinita,* p. 69.
14. In early 1886 he published a letter of protest after Emilio Marcucci, Inspector of Excavations and Monuments, suspended this unauthorized restoration. Bartolini Salimbeni Vivai, "I restauri del tempio di Santa Trinita in Firenze," letter dated Dec. 18, 1885, printed in a supplement to *Il nuovo osservatore fiorentino* 27 (Jan. 3, 1886), pp. 1–4.
15. "This devotion can be made visiting the chapel and altar called the Pietà, as it has a very long tradition and fame in the abovementioned church of Santa Trinita from one of the companies of the Bianchi who from all different places and parts of Florence came around the years of our Lord 1400 in time of the Black Death, singing in the wake of the Crucifix the pious oration *Stabat Mater . . .* " ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 53, *Ricordanze* (begun May 7, 1629), c. 170 recto. This and all subsequent translations by author.
16. On the Santa Trinita cross, the *Bianchi,* and their other crosses, see the summary by M. G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto in *Santa Trinita,* pp. 209, 359, nn. 4–7, and M. Lisner, *Holzkreuzifixe in Florenz und in der Toskana von der Zeit um 1300 bis zum frühen Cinquecento* (Munich, 1970), pp. 38–39, 45, n. 64.
17. A. Cocchi, *Le chiese di Firenze dal secolo IV at secolo XX* (Florence, 1903), p. 171.
18. G. Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne' suoi quartieri,* vol. 3 (Florence, 1775), p. 162.
19. Niccolini, cc. 94 verso–95 verso, 140 recto.
20. As if this were not enough, the abbot then launched into a complicated story, explaining that while Vincenzo was building a "scrittorio," a sort of *studiolo* or private libary, in his house, which flanked the church, he managed to obtain a great quantity of timber from the monks and then forced them to open up a window so that he could pass the material directly into his palace.

    As for the statue of Mary Magdalene, it may have been commissioned according to a bequest made in 1450 by Madonna Caterina, wife of Ferdinando Lotti. Following Vasari, scholars have often said that it was completed by Benedetto de Maiano. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori italiani,* ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence, 1878–85), vol. 3, p. 111. See Castellazzi (note 9), p. 62; C. Kennedy, *The Magdalene and Sculptures in Relief by Desiderio da Settignano and His Associates* in Studies in the History and Criticism of Sculpture 4 (Northampton, Mass., 1929); I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano* (Milan, 1962), pp. 188–93; and M. Ciatti in *Maddalena,* pp. 51–52.

    The Cerbini altar was demolished. In 1682, the statue was installed in a Baroque altar built by Don Ridolfo Foraboschi on the left side (facing the high altar) of the entrance. Figure 2 is a previously unpublished record of its appearance before the late-nineteenth-century restoration. In 1883, it was removed to the Spini chapel, the last on the left as one enters.
21. Niccolini, c. 95 verso.
22. The architect of the chapel is unknown. The Paatzes had claimed that it was in the manner of Gherardo Silvani. See W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz,* vol. 5 (Frankfurt, 1953), p. 284.
23. See Del Moro et al. (note 9), pp. 30–31.
24. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
25. "Ferdinando son of Angelo Lotteringhi and of Luisa Guicciardini, Florentine Patrician, Knight, and Marquis, Count of Montedoglio, Commendatory Abbot of Saint Januarius at Campo Leone, took care of the restoration of this chapel of the Gianfigliazzi family for the greater glory of God and in honor of Saint Benedict, the year of the Lord, 1889."

    According to Ferdinando's descendant, the nonagenarian Marchese Alessandro Della Stufa, Ferdinando wanted to pursue a military career and therefore took a commission in the Austrian army. His father, Angelo, made him come back to Florence in 1856. However, he spent much of the rest of his life in the Netherlands. He never married; after his death the line passed to his first cousin, who was the present marchese's grandfather. I thank Alessandro Della Stufa for this information, and wish him well. He told me of his hope to live to at least 1998 because he is the last member of his family, and that year will mark one thousand years of recorded history for the Lotteringhi Della Stufa in Italy. I also thank Marchese Bernardo Pianetti, Dottore Alberto Brini, and Signora Camilla Napoleone Mazzei for help in tracing recent Della Stufa family history.
26. The Gianfigliazzi coat of arms is "D'oro, al leone d'azzuro armato e lampassato di rosso." G. B. Di Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti,* vol. 1 (Pisa, 1886), p. 474.
27. The Lotteringhi Della Stufa coat of arms is "D'argento alla croce latina di rosso, sostenuta da due leoni controrampanti d'oro," or argent, two lioncels combatant beneath a cross gules. Ibid., vol. 2 (1888), p. 34. The Guicciardini arms are "D'azzuro a tre corni da caccia, di nero, ornati d'oro porti in fascia, sospesi a mezzo di un cordone d'oro, uno sopra l'altro." Ibid., vol. 1 (1886), p. 514.
28. Gallerie Fiorentine, inv. 1890, no. 3272. Commissioned sometime after 1430 by Paolo di Bernardo de' Gangalandi for his family chapel in the oratory of San Firenze. W. Cohn, "Notizie storiche intorno ad alcune tavole fiorentine del '300 e '400," *Rivista d'arte* 31 (1956), pp. 57–59.

29. From the Museo di Santa Apollonia. See B. Santi in *Santa Trinita,* p. 140.
30. Gallerie Fiorentine, inv. 1890, no. 611. Commissioned ca. 1481 for the sacristy of San Niccolò Oltr'arno by Andrea Quartesi. Cohn (note 28), pp. 59–61.
31. Gallerie Fiorentine, inv. 1890, no. 3454. Considering that it was commissioned by Niccolò di Roberto Davanzati in 1416, a member of a family connected with Santa Trinita, and that it represents the Trinity, the painting may originally have come from the church. T. A. Nocioni, *La basilica di S. Trinita in Firenze* (Florence, 1980), p. 63.
32. Marchese Alessandro Della Stufa remembers it as being in the family palace up through the First World War. It was sold to Donna Eugenia Ruspoli, an American (*née* Berry), who formed her collection after her marriage to Don Enrico Ruspoli in 1902. According to an interview with her American-born niece and heir, Princess Maria Theresa Droutzkoy, conducted by Burton Fredericksen in 1984, Donna Eugenia continued to acquire paintings until about 1933. The collection was kept in Rome at no. 56 Fontanella Borghese and at the former Orsini Castle in Nemi. It was moved for a brief period to New York in 1928 and then permanently in 1948. The Getty Museum purchased the painting in 1971 through French and Co. from Princess Droutzkoy.
33. The palace is now owned by the heirs of Vincenzo and Marcella Trabellesi. It was also sold between the two world wars. See Ginori Lisci, pp. 337–40.
34. On Burchi, see F. Calvo, "Augusto Burchi," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani,* vol. 15 (Rome, 1972), pp. 401–2. On Bianchi's methods of restoration, see A. Conti, *Storia del restauro e della conservazione delle opere d'arte* (Milan, 1988), pp. 261–73.
35. On Cavalcaselle's theories, see ibid., pp. 280–97.
36. See Bartolini Salimbeni's letter (note 14), in which he is highly critical of the official choice of Cosimo Conti as a restorer. He did not like the way Conti treated the fresco on the exterior facade of the chapel, saying that he took away all of the ultramarine. For illustrations of Burchi's restoration of the Lorenzo Monaco, see O. Sirén, *Don Lorenzo Monaco* (Strasburg, 1905), pls. 43–46.
37. Tempera and tooled gold on poplar panel, 71.1 x 33.7 cm (28 x 13¼ in.). It was conserved in 1990 by Elisabeth Mention. According to the Museum's files, Miklós Boskovits (verbally) attributed this to the Master of the Lazzaroni Madonna, a minor Florentine artist active at the end of the fourteenth century. He is discussed by Boskovits, pp. 239–40, n. 169. By coincidence, he executed the personifications of the virtues in Cenni's fresco for the Palazzo Comunale of San Miniato al Tedesco, dated 1393 (fig. 25).
38. The most renowned example is the high altarpiece in Santa Croce, which was assembled in 1869/70 in the same spirit that motivated the first restoration proposals for Santa Trinita: a desire to re-create the church's Gothic past. See Offner and Steinweg, pt. 1, p. 58, pl. XV. On nineteenth-century Santa Croce, see M. G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto et al., *Santa Croce nell'800* (Florence, 1986).
39. See documents cited in notes 56 and 57 and also the communal decrees cited by E. Borsook in *The Mural Painters of Tuscany from Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto,* 2nd ed. revised and enlarged (Oxford, 1980), p. xix, n. 1, and C. Botto, "Note e documenti sulla chiesa di S. Trinita in Firenze," *Rivista d'arte* 20 (1938), pp. 10–12.

    The Chapter of Santa Trinita issued an appeal on November 1, 1371, calling for a patron for the high altar. The arms of the family that funded it would be placed on the arch above. ASF, *Diplomatico,* Santa Trinita, *ad annum.* The high altar actually did not receive a patron until 1464 (new style), when a Gianfigliazzi, Bongianni, obtained the rights to it.
40. N. Vasaturo in *Santa Trinita,* pp. 10, 344–45, n. 55, suggests that work proceeded on the chapels of Saints Benedict and John the Baptist at the same time between June 3 and October 4, 1362, when the foundations were laid by one Maestro Stefano. He cites an account book (ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 45, *Ricordi e spese [1359–1363],* cc. 59 verso). However, the documents speak only of the Davizzi chapel. Interestingly, the Davizzi arms were only placed there in 1388, twenty-six years after the work on the foundations.
41. On the Gianfigliazzi palaces on Lungarno Corsini, nos. 2, 4, see Ginori Lisci, pp. 137–46, entries nos. 6–7. The Gianfigliazzi bought these properties in the mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the Trecento their houses extended from the left side of Santa Trinita to the corner of the Lungarno. In November and December 1410, river flooding severely damaged them. See BNCF, *Poligrafo Galgani* 949. They and the church's facade were depicted as they were in the 1480s by Ghirlandaio in a fresco (fig. 13) in the Sassetti chapel. *Ricordanze* and account books that document building in the church often identify the left side of the church as being the Gianfigliazzi side. For example, the erection of a pilaster in 1397 between the fourth and fifth chapels was identified as "dal lato del Palagio de' Gianfigliazzi." ASF, *Carte strozziane,* 2nd ser. 76, p. 368. That same year, the account book (ibid.) mentions the building of a "Loggia de' Gianfigliazzi."
42. N. Vasaturo in *Santa Trinita,* pp. 10, 344, nn. 56–59, with reference to ASF, *Diplomatico S. Trinita,* Jan. 3, 1363, Jan. 19, 1364, Jan. 10–12, 1367, and ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 45, *Ricordi e spese (1359–1363),* c. 88 recto.
43. ASF, *Diplomatico,* Santa Trinita, Jan. 8, 1366. Transcribed in an eighteenth-century hand in ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 224, no. 222, doc. 92, cc. 263–69. The document was first discussed by Botto (note 39), pp. 14–16.

    The genealogical tree found in ASF, *Raccolta Sebregondi* 2573a, records the date of Giovanni's death as 1365. I have not been able to find other references to his death date, but this seems to be a mistake: the wording of the 1366 document suggests that he had been dead for some time and, in fact, all three of his sons were dead by that date. Unfortunately, Ser Ciallo's notarial documents do not survive, so Giovanni's original will cannot be consulted.
44. ASF, *Notarile antecosimiano* 6177, Dionisio di Nigio del fu Ser Giovanni di Tuccio, cc. 123 recto–125 verso.
45. AFS, *Carte strozziane,* 2nd ser., no. 76, p. 359. "Gherardo Gianfigliazzi de' dare per la Cappella e il terzo di Fiorini 200 cioè Fiorini 63 Soldi 23. L'eredi di Stoldo Gianfigliazzi debbono dare gli altra parte della cappella il terzo di Fiorini 200, cioè Fiorini 63 Soldi 23."
46. Don Niccolò I Gianfigliazzi, general of the order from 1316 to 1320. See P. Lugano, *L'Italia benedetta* (Rome, 1929), p. 371.
47. An interesting visual record of an extended family is found in a tabernacle by Giovanni del Biondo in the church of San Felice a Ema. It was commissioned in 1387 by a member of a family that had a chapel in Santa Trinita, Bonacchorio Compagni. Kneeling in devotion to the right of the Virgin are Bonacchorio and eight adult male family members and to the left are seven female members. The large number suggests that some of them were not members of Bonacchorio's immediate

family or household. The inscription in fact says that the painting was commissioned "pro remedio dell'anima sua e de' suoi." F. Antal, *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background* (London, 1947), fig. 68b.

48. ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 45, *Ricordi e spese (1359–1363)*, c. 53 recto (Feb. 8, 1362) and 54 recto (Mar. 1, 1362). Mona Elisabetta was probably the Elisabetta, born Acciaiuoli, who was married to a Bertoldo Gianfigliazzi. See the genealogical charts in ASF, *Manoscritti,* 597/1, *Carte Pucci* sc. VI, 21, and *Raccolta Sebregondi* 2573a. Both charts are incomplete. This family was not of the same line as the Giovanni who left money in 1348 for the chapel in Santa Trinita.
49. ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 45, *Ricordi e spese (1359–1363)*, c. 65 verso.
50. Ibid., c. 72 verso.
51. Ibid., c. 75 verso.
52. Ibid., c. 88 verso, also 89 verso.
53. Ibid., c. 89 verso.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. ASF, *Carte strozziane,* 2nd ser., no. 76, p. 361.
57. Ibid., p. 362.
58. AFS, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 10, *Entrate e uscite (1405–1425)*, c. 3 verso. In a *Giornale* for the same years, there are interesting references to Bongianni Gianfigliazzi selling textiles to the monastery. AFS, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 128, *Giornale,* c. 50 recto. Apparently he was in partnership with Bartolomeo Bartolini of the family who had property across the square from Santa Trinita and the Gianfigliazzi houses. Ibid., c. 55 verso. The Bartolini's chapel dedicated to the Annunciate Virgin would be completed by Lorenzo Monaco in the next decade. Bartolomeo and his brother Salimbene made a donation for masses to be said there on April 11, 1406. See Davanzati, pp. 268–74.
59. AFS, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 10, *Entrate e uscite (1405–1425)*, c. 9 verso.
60. Ibid., c. 11 recto.
61. Ibid., c. 40 verso.
62. On his investment as abbot, see ASF, *Diplomatico, Vallombrosa,* Dec. 22, 1400. He had previously been abbot of San Michele at Passignano.

    The genealogy of the Abbot Bernardo is not clear, but Donna Elisabetta and Bertoldo Gianfigliazzi did have a son of that name. He is the only Trecento member of the family with that name found in the genealogies of the *Carte Pucci,* cited in note 48.
63. AFS, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 46, *Giornale,* c. 37 recto. The abbot ordered a special dinner for the many dignitaries who stayed over in the monastery ("tutti nostri prelati dell'ordine e molti monaci e conversi"). It was prepared by Don Giorgio and consisted of fresh and salted fish, capers, apples, oranges, and spices.
64. "La cappella degli Scali et sita esta in dicta ecclesia sancte Trinitatis et construatur est fiat in ipsa cappella altare cum tabula et omnibus necessariis ad ipsum altare ac etiam claudatur ipsa cappella graticulis fiendis et pingatur tota ipsa cappella et omnia et singula fiant que requiruntur ad perfectionem ipsius cappella et ita et taliter quod ipsa cappella sit equalis cappelle vulgariter appellata La Cappella degli Strozzi vel cappelle vulgariter appellata La Cappella de Gianfigliazzi site in dicta ecclesia et habeat seu contineat in se altare tabulam pitturas graticolas et omnia et singula aliaque et qualia habent seu tenens ad presens una ex dictiis alis duabus cappellis exceptis quoad pictam tam dicte cappelle quam tabule dicti altaris istoriis que non sint nec esse debeant illem, et que sunt in aliqua dictarum aliarum duarum cappellarum se sint et esse debeant istorie sancti Bartolomei sint tamen et esse debeant dicta istoria picta et ornata pulchre et perfecte bonis et pulchris figuris et picturis equalibus vel melioribus et pulchrioribus illisque sunt in dictis aliis duabus cappellis . . . " ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 224, no. 22, cc. 371 recto–372 recto.

    The Scali properties were in the piazza Santa Trinita, where the Buondelmonte palace is today. Ginori Lisci, vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 133–36c.
65. C. De Benedictis in *Maddalena,* no. 48, pp. 139–40, and idem, in *Santa Trinita,* p. 99.
66. Botto (note 39), p. 16, n. 1, citing ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 224, no. 47, c. 22 recto.
67. ASF, *Carte strozziane,* 2nd ser., no. 50.I.III, p. 56.
68. Niccolini, cc. 95 recto–95 verso and Davanzati, p. 214.
69. See A. Guidotti in *Santa Trinita,* p. 380, n. 62, who cites ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 75, c. 44 recto.
70. Albertini's guide of 1510 passes it by. His description of the church is succinct: "In Sancta Trinita. La chiesa di Sancta Trinita tucta in volta con musivo antiquo et picture excellenti. La cappella de' Saxetti con sua tavola di Domenico G. Appresso la sacrestia, nella quale è una tavola di Fra Philip. et una di Gentileino da Fabriano. Lascio stare le picture di Paolo Uccelli fra le porte allato a Sancta Maria Magd. incominciata da Desiderio." F. Albertini, *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della città di Firenze* (Florence, 1510; repr., ed. G. Milanesi, C. Guasti, and C. Milanesi [Florence, 1863]), p. 14. The Paolo Uccello has only recently been identified. See L. Bellosi in *Pittura di luce, Giovanni di Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento* (Milan, 1990), pp. 21–24, fig. 10.

    Vasari (note 20) makes scattered references to works of art in the church but ignores the Saint Benedict chapel. His references to medieval and early Renaissance paintings are: Cimabue's *Maestà* (vol. 1, p. 250; now in the Uffizi); an Annunciation by Duccio (vol. 1, p. 656; lost); Puccio di Simone's frescoes in the Strozzi chapel (vol. 1, p. 402); a fresco of an Annunciation—"molto bello"—by Spinello Aretino (vol. 1, p. 679; lost; or perhaps *The Annunciation* on the exterior of the Spini chapel by Neri di Bicci; but also see Spinello Aretino's fresco discovered under the Lorenzo Monaco frescoes in the Bartolini chapel. See C. De Benedictis, "Su un affresco di Spinello Aretino vicende di una commitenza," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri,* vol. 1 [Milan, 1984], pp. 55–59); Giovanni da Ponte's frescoes in the Scali chapel (vol. 1, p. 633); Lorenzo Monaco in the Ardinghelli chapel (vol. 2, p. 19, actually an altarpiece by Giovanni Toscani; see A. Padoa Rizzo, "Sul politico della Capella Ardinghelli in Santa Trinita di Giovanni Toscani," *Antichità viva* 21 [1982], pp. 5–10); Lorenzo Monaco in the Bartolini chapel (vol. 2, p. 21); Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* in Palla Strozzi's chapel (vol. 3, p. 6); a painting—"tavola"—of an Annunciation by Domenico di Bartolo (vol. 2, p. 44; lost or misidentified; see C. B. Strehlke in *Painting in Renaissance Siena* [New York, 1988], pp. 249, 252); Neri di Bicci in the Spini chapel (vol. 2, p. 60); Alessio Baldovinetti in the choir (vol. 2, pp. 592–95); and Andrea Castagno (vol. 2, p. 670; lost).
71. These objects might also be for the high altar. See doc. 3, dated Mar. 22, 1484 (new style) in *Santa Trinita,* pp. 389–90. It is a transcription of ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 75, *Libro della Sagrestia di Santa Trinita segnato R (1442–1494)*. Other earlier inventories are lost. See A. Guidotti in ibid., p. 380, n. 58.

72. See doc. 15 in *Santa Trinita*, pp. 394–96, in which an inventory of Mar. 15, 1670 (new style) is transcribed. Each chapel's sacristy objects are specifically inventoried. There is another, earlier inventory of 1658 in the same *Libro*: ASF, *Conventi soppressi* 89, no. 82, *Libro di fondazioni di cappelle ed altro*, c. 47 recto. On the Strozzi sacristy in the early eighteenth century, see A. M. Biscioni, *Sepoltuario*, ASF, *Manoscritti* 626, pp. 250–53.
73. Archivio Arcivescovile, Florence, ZI.IV.6, *Visita apostolica*, Binnarino da Camerino (1575–76), cc. 49 recto–51 recto. He describes the high altar and the altar of the Holy Cross and then lists altars dedicated to the Annunciation, Saint Mary Magdalene, Saint Dionysius, the Pietà, Saint Bernard, the Crucifixion, Saint Catherine, Saint John Gualbert, the Assumption, Saint Luke, and Saint Francis.
74. Niccolini, cc. 94 verso–95 recto, and 140 recto. Davanzanti, pp. 18–19, 214–15.
75. "Capella ultima di questa nave acanto la porta che risponde in su la piazza della famiglia de Gianfigliazzi con Archa di Marmo e monumenti no. dua della stessa famiglia et arme nel Archo e fuora nella strada similmente de Gianfigliazzi. Intitolata In San Benedetto." ASF, *Manoscritti* 628, *Sepoltuari*, c. 973. I thank Lucia Meoni for information about this manuscript.
76. On the Strozzi sacristy ca. 1720, see A. M. Biscioni, *Sepolutario*, ASF, *Manoscritti* 626, pp. 250–53.
77. The Compagni altarpiece was in loco at least until 1758. In the early nineteenth century a painting by Francesco Corsi had replaced it. It first reappears in the collection of the dealer Francesco Lombardi (active in the third quarter of the nineteenth century) and was sold by his heirs to Lord Crawford. Lord Lee of Fareham subsequently donated it to Westminster Abbey. According to Buhler, Westminster Abbey's records state that it was sold by the heirs of the Compagni family. B. Lynes Buhler, "Bicci di Lorenzo's 'lost' Compagni Polyptych," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 102 (1983), pp. 208–14, esp. p. 210. It was in loco at least until 1758. C. Frosinini, "Il trittico Compagni," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini* (Florence, 1984), pp. 227–83, esp. p. 227.

    The Neri di Bicci is in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (n. 3716). It was commissioned in 1452/53 for Giovanni and Salvestro Spini and removed to the sacristy in 1720. It seems to have first reappeared in the Alexander Baker collection, where it was described by Waagen in 1854. M. Laskin, Jr., and M. Pantazzi, *Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa: European and American Paintings, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts* (Ottawa, 1987), pp. 207–9.

    The length of each of the two altarpieces almost equals the length of the Getty Museum altarpiece.
78. Such was the case with two paintings that were in the Rucellai chapel of the nearby Vallombrosan church of San Pancrazio. The church was deconsecrated in 1808 and turned into a tobacco factory. Only the Rucellai chapel was saved, but the important paintings in it went back to the family: a polyptych by a follower of Bernardo Daddi is now in the Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans. See F. R. Shapely, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian Schools XIII–XV Century* (New York, 1966), pp. 28–29. A painting by Filippino Lippi is in the National Gallery, London. See M. Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools* (London, 1961), pp. 285–86, esp. p. 286, n. 10.

    It has not been noted that the putti decorating the Quattrocento frame that was taken off the Daddesque triptych sometime before its sale to the Kress collection were painted by Giovanni di Piamonte, who executed the murals in the Sacro Sepolcro in the Rucellai chapel in 1467. See illustration in R. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, sec. 3, vol. 4 (New York, 1934), p. 48, pl. XXI. On Giovanni di Piamonte, see L. Bellosi, "Giovanni di Piamonte e gli affreschi di Piero ad Arezzo," *Prospettiva* 50 (1987; printed April 1989), pp. 15–35.
79. ASF, *Carte Ceramelli Pappiani* 2341.
80. *Decisione degl'illustriss. Signori Orazio Fenzi Relatore e Ranieri Bernardi in Florentina Praetens. Primogeniture seu libertatis Bonorum XI Februarii MDCCC nella causa fra le due sigg. sorelle Gianfigliazzi Maria ne' Fontebuoni ed Elisabetta ne' Verdi da una ed il Nobile Sig. Vincenzo Landucci dell'altra parte* (Florence, 1800).
81. ASF, *Carte Ceramelli Pappiani* 4518.
82. Ginori Lisci, p. 140.
83. Their haloes are inscribed with their identities. From left to right in the left wing: SCS MICHAEL ANGOLI, SCS BENEDITUS AB(), SCS IHOANES BAT()S(), SCS AMBROSISU(), ()CS ZENOBI(), S() MARGERITA V(), SCS STEFANUS MAR, ()S PETRUS APOST(), SCS IACOPUS APOST(), SCA APOLONIA VIRGI(), SCS ANDREAS. From left to right in the right wing: SCS IHOANES EVANGE(), SCS LAURENTINUS MA(), SCS IULIANUS MA(), SCS BERNARDUS, SCS N()CHOLA(), SCS ANTONIUS ABA(), SCA LUCIA VIRGN(), SCS IHOANES GUAB(), S() KATERINA VIRG(), SCA MARIA MADALGI(), SCA AGNESIA VIRGIN(). I thank Kelly Pask for kindly transcribing these inscriptions.
84. Niccolini, cc. 215 verso–216 recto.
85. See note 57.
86. Kaftal, fig. 166.
87. See notes 59 and 60.
88. Niccolini, cc. 94 verso–95 recto: "Già i Gianfigliazzi tener questa Cappella intitolata in S. Benedetto e vi faceva anco la festa di S. Lorenzo e per tal festa danno uno scudo."
89. Kaftal, col. 620. There is also a late Trecento Umbrian fresco in the church of San Lorenzo in Orvieto.
90. Illustrated in *Gli Uffizi, Catalogo generale*, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1980), inv. 471, p. 165.
91. This may have been the predella to his altarpiece, dated 1412, in the church of San Lorenzo a Colline, near Impruneta (Photo Alinari neg. no. 44087). Adelheid Gealt unjustifiably rejects the attribution of this predella to Lorenzo di Niccolò. Idem, *Lorenzo di Niccolò* (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1979), p. 154.
92. A frescoed arch with two prophets in the spandrels (fig. 21) seems to be part of the same complex as does a painting, now on a Baroque altar on the opposite wall. The frescoes and altarpiece were attributed to Cenni di Francesco by M. Boskovits, "Ein Vorläufer der spätgotischen Malerei in Florenz: Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 31 (1968), pp. 287, 292, n. 31.

    The altarpiece is divided in two parts. The upper part shows the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saints Anthony Abbot, Nicholas of Bari, Donato, and Margaret. The lower part has five saints: Francis of Assisi, Andrew, Peter, Lawrence, and a female saint holding a cross. In the Saint Lawrence scene, Saint Nicholas of Bari is shown protecting two donors, a father and son. Since the same saint is in the place of honor next to the Virgin in the altarpiece, he is probably the name saint of one of the donors.

    Boskovits considered the small Saint Francis cycle that was

found in a niche below the frescoed arch to be contemporaneous with the two prophets also by Cenni di Francesco, but it seems to date later. I thank Lucia Meoni for sharing her views with me.

On the fresco in Signa, see A. Tartuferi, "Appunti tardogotici fiorentini: Niccolò di Tommaso, il Maestro di Barberino e Lorenzo di Bicci," *Paragone* 36, no. 425 (July 1985), pp. 3–16, figs. 8, 10.

93. Beatrice uses him as an *exemplum fortitudinis* in Paradiso 4.83: "Se fosse stato lor volere intero/Come tenne Lorenzo in su la grada . . ."
94. It is the *Passio S. Laurentii martyris & aliorum sanctorum*, a manuscript from the monastery of Saint Maximus in Trier. See J. Pinio in *Acta sanctorum*, Aug., vol. 2 (Antwerp, 1735), sec. 52–53, pp. 495–96.
95. Ibid., p. 496.
96. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, translated and adapted from the Latin by G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York, 1969), pp. 192–95. For the fresco in San Francesco, Todi, see M. Castrichini, ed., *Dal Purgatorio di S. Patrizio alla Città Celeste a proposito di un affresco del 1346 ritrovato a Todi* (Todi, 1985).
97. Ibid., pp. 444–45.
98. Kaftal, figs. 706, 716.
99. See U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Program of the Arena Chapel," in *Critical Studies in Art History: Giotto and the Arena Chapel Frescoes*, ed. J. Stubblebine (London, 1969), pp. 186–87, fig. 76.
100. Ibid., fig. 59. On the connection between avarice and envy, see S. Pfeiffenberger, *The Iconology of Giotto's Virtues and Vices at Padua* (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1966), p. V:46.
101. See R. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, Italian ed. (8 vol., 1956–65), vol. 4, pp. 196–97 and vol. 6, pp. 656–57; F. P. Lusio, "Su le tracce di un usuraio fiorentino del secolo XII," *Archivio storico italiano* 42 (1908), pp. 3–44; A. d'Adario, "Gianfigliazzi" and "Gianfigliazzi, Catello," *Enciclopedia dantesco*, vol. 3 (1971), p. 153.
102. Ibid. The family's association with money continued in 1406: one Amario Gianfigliazzi minted coinage for Pope Urban. BNCF, A. M. Biscioni, *Alberi di famiglie*, Magliabecchiano 26, no. 112, c. 30.
103. Voragine (note 96), p. 440.
104. The antiphon is standard and is found, for example, in an early Quattrocento breviary from Santa Trinita in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, *Conventi soppressi* 456, c. 347. In the few breviaries from Santa Trinita that I have been able to consult, the August 10 feast of Saint Lawrence constituted a major celebration for the monastic community. For ceremonies in Santa Trinita and an inventory of the Trecento and early Quattrocento liturgical manuscripts, see D. D. Davidson, "The Iconology of the Santa Trinita Sacristy, 1418–1435: A Study of the Private and Public Functions of Religious Art in the Early Quattrocento," *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975), pp. 315–34.
105. BNCF, *Conventi soppressi, da ordinare, Manuale*, no. 12, c. 107 verso.
106. Vasari (note 20) vol. 1, p. 105, and for a discussion of Puccio di Simone, in De Benedictis in *Santa Trinita*, pp. 99–100.
107. A Dugento painting of the penitent Magadalene from the church of Santissima Annunziata and now in the Accademia in Florence shows the saint holding a scroll with the same inscription. M. Mosco in *Maddalena*, no. 2, pp. 43–45, color pl. p. 43. The presence of this inscription in the Santa Trinita fresco suggests that the penitent woman is not Mary of Egypt as she is sometimes identified. See Kaftal, col. 724, no. 5.
108. The subject is also found in an altarpiece by Giovanni del Biondo showing the saint and four scenes from his life, now in Santa Croce, but originally in the Vallombrosan monastery of San Salvi. Offner and Steinweg, pt. 2, pp. 11–16, pl. 1. It is also the subject of a large painting by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (formerly attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò) in the Metropolitan Museum. This painting's provenance is unknown, but it must also have come from a Vallombrosan church. On the attribution, see E. Fahy, "On Lorenzo di Niccolò," *Apollo* 108 (1978), p. 376 and fig. 1.
109. Saint Gregory the Great, *The Dialogues*, trans. O. J. Zimmerman (New York, 1959), p. 60.
110. T. Nocioni, "Giovanni Delle Celle," *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1965), cols. 657–60.
111. *Lettere*, ed. B. Sorio (Rome, 1845).
112. "Et licet inter multa pericula sitis, contra unum ipsorum specialiter desidero vos pugnare, immo fugere velut antiquum et dulce venenum, videlicet frequentem amicitiam mulierum, etiam si sensatae sint . . ." Quoted in E. Lucchesi, "Sta Caterina e le sue relazioni coi monaci di Vallombrosa," *Memorie domenicane* 65 (1948), p. 209. See P. Cividali, "Il beato Giovanni delle Celle," *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 5, 12 (Rome, 1907), app. 2, letter 1.
113. G. Dalle Celle, *Volgaramento inedito di alcuni scritti di Cicerone e di Seneca fatto per Giovanni Dalle Celle* (Genoa, 1825).
114. E. F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, 1985), esp. pp. 3–7, and on Jerome's popularity with the Italian humanists because of his learning, see chap. 4. However, Coluccio Salutati wrote concerning this: "But what of the dream? And the fact that St. Jerome had been beaten by angels for reading Cicero and Plato? And that he had sworn an oath: 'Lord, if ever again I possess worldly books, if ever again I read them, I shall have denied you?'" Quoted in ibid., p. 6.
115. Ibid., p. 73. *Collazione dell'abate Isaac e lettere del beato Don Giovanni Dalle Celle Monaco Vallombrosano e d'altri* (Florence, 1720), letter 26, pp. 80–95.
116. For the Spinello, see Kaftal, fig. 162.
117. See M. G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto in *Santa Trinita*, pp. 230, 362, n. 63, who emphasizes the penitential significance of locating the Magdalene to the left of the entrance. However, the statue originally seems to have been to the right. The entrance area of the church in general might be considered penitential.
118. On the history of the Coronation of the Virgin in Florentine painting, see R. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: The Fourteenth Century*, sec. 3, vol. 5 (New York, 1947), pp. 243–50.
119. D. Bomford et al., *Art in the Making: Italian Paintings before 1400*, p. 156, illus. fig. 112, color pl. 142.
120. R. Offner and K. Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: The Fourteenth Century*, sec. 4, vol. 3: *Jacopo di Cione* (New York, 1965), pp. 88–93, pl. VI.
121. On the angels in the Getty Museum altarpiece, see H. M. Brown, "Catalogus: A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter, Part I," *Imago Musicae* (1984), pp. 228–29.
122. Dated 1373/74. Offner and Steinweg, pt. 1, pp. 125–28, pl. XXIX.
123. On the Alberti family's patronage, see *Il Paradiso in Pian di Ripoli*, ed. Mina Gregori and G. Rocchi (Florence, 1985).
124. See note 57.
125. Present whereabouts unknown, formerly in the Cook Collec-

tion, Richmond. See Offner and Steinweg, pt. 1, pp. 120–21, fig. XXVII.

126. Ginori Lisci, no. 4, pp. 127–32.
127. Boskovits, pl. 162.
128. Cortona, Palazzo Casali, Oct. 11–Nov. 9, 1986. *Il politico di Lorenzo di Niccolò della chiesa di S. Domenico in Cortona dopo il restauro*, exh. cat., ed. A. M. Maetzke (Cortona, 1986) and Fahy (note 108), fig. 5.
129. *Gli Uffizi* (note 90), p. 304.
130. Boskovits, p. 287. On the other hand, the Getty Museum altarpiece was first published by R. Offner as Cionesque (note 118), p. 247. He later called it the Rohoncz Master, named after a painting belonging to the Thyssen-Borenmisza and then kept at Schloß Rohoncz. See *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: A Legacy of Attributions*, ed. H. Maginnis (New York, 1981), p. 52, fig. 118. F. Zeri first recognized Cenni's authorship. "La Mostra 'Arte in Valdelsa' a Certaldo," *Bollettino d'arte* 48 (1963), p. 255. M. Boskovits (pp. 289–90) dated the altarpiece 1385–90.

The Boeotian Origin of an Unusual Geometric Vase

BARBARA BOHEN

In the Getty Museum is a roundel of ceramic on which stand three modeled horses (figs. 1a–b). The horses, while not masterpieces of the sculptor's art, have been executed with a certain facility. They stand in a row, with thick, sturdy legs, long necks, and tails hanging down to the surface of the lid. The head of each is a tube with slight prominences for the eyes and with small ears set on either side of a low crop. A Saint Andrew's cross across the face of each represents a harness.[1]

A close look reveals that this object is a vessel lid that somehow became separated from its container. The curious style of the horses—facile but without great coroplastic artistry—appears to be the work of a craftsperson more used to turning a vessel foot or shaping a handle than to fashioning zoomorphic forms.

The object belongs to the category of ancient Greek vases known as horse pyxides.[2] The form was invented by potters in the city of Athens around 900 B.C. and survived for over 250 years. Many pyxides have been found in Attic burials.[3] Over 160 are known, most of them dating to the mid-eighth century. From the style and the number of horses, it can be determined that the Getty piece also dates from that time, namely, the late Geometric 1b period.[4]

The attachment of sculpted horses to the lid of a vessel is a somewhat curious phenomenon. The practice brings to mind the zoomorphic handles of certain Near Eastern vessels executed in bronze. Yet a horse on a pyxis was almost certainly not conceived as a decorative handle, for on the earliest horse pyxides the horse is placed on the lid in addition to the usual knob.[5] Moreover, if the horse was meant to serve as a handle, practical considerations would have limited it to a single figure, thus creating a more manageable grip for the lid. Yet some pyxis lids have an unwieldy team of as many as four horses. The horse must be an emblem, an embellishment, or both. The most frequently depicted figural motif from early in the Geometric period, the horse always held particular significance for the Greeks. Teams of horses drawing chariots are often depicted on the oversized Geometric vases that were used as burial markers in Attic cemeteries.[6]

The Getty Museum pyxis lid lacks a bowl but is otherwise a fine, well-preserved example of its class and is exceptional in several respects. Unusual is the low-pitched lid, the wide flat knob, and the absence of any zones of ornamentation. The lid is smaller in diameter than is usual with a three-horse pyxis, and its horses occupy the entire upper surface of the lid rather than the traditional central portion.

While such divergences might normally cast doubt on the authenticity of a horse pyxis, the Getty Museum pyxis is indisputably ancient. It is simply not an *Attic* horse pyxis. It comes from a tiny group of horse pyxides that were manufactured outside the confines of Attica, primarily in Boeotia, a district lying to the northeast of Attica. While in classical times Boeotia was a district distinct from Attica, during the Geometric period Attic influences, demonstrated by the close affinity of ceramic styles, extended up into the southern reaches of Boeotia. Rather than Athens, the intermediaries in relaying the horse pyxis to Boeotia may have been districts of eastern Attica with better sea access to the region. From Laurion, for example, comes the same kind of full-profiled pyxis (with stolid, heavy-limbed horses) as the pyxides produced in Boeotia. The free style of the draftsmanship is also similar to that found on Boeotian pyxides.[7]

The unusual character of the Getty Museum lid permits us to determine not only the approximate area of its origin but possibly the actual burial mound from which it came. In 1970 the Greek archaeological service excavated an important burial mound at the site of Kamilovrysi, about thirty kilometers to the east of the city of Thebes in Boeotia. The site yielded the richest cache of graves of this period to have come from Boeotia.[8] On analogy with contemporary finds from Athens, it was probably the family burial plot of a well-to-do Boeotian clan. Although there were signs

FIGURE 1a

Lid of a horse pyxis. Greek Geometric, ca. 750 B.C. H: 11.2 cm (4.4 in.); W: 20.9 cm (8.2 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.217.

FIGURE 1b

Three-quarter view.

that the mound had been disturbed in earlier times, it still contained some fairly intact Geometric burials. In one of these burials was a horse pyxis that is almost a twin to the one in the Getty Museum (fig. 2).[9]

The Getty Museum and Kamilovrysi pyxides must have originated from a single workshop and may even be the work of a single hand.[10] Since the Kamilovrysi pyxis has its bowl intact, it allows us to see what the missing lower part of the Getty Museum vessel may have looked like. The bowl is a low round container with a full contoured profile curving in strongly to a narrow ring base. It is decorated with a zone of hatched meander and, on its underside, a quatrefoil with cross-hatched triangles between the arms. While the pyxis is almost certainly Late Geometric, its bowl profile and decorative scheme reflect the Attic Middle Geometric vessels that were its prototypes.[11] The lower zone of concentric circles is a touch added by the local Boeotian artist. (The Attic potter would have preferred a zone of dogtooth motif here.)[12]

It was during the classic phase of the horse pyxis, the Middle Geometric period, that the vessel was adopted from Attica together with the favored decorative motif, the meander zone. The Kamilovrysi and Getty Museum pyxides must be dated soon after, probably between 760 and 750 B.C. Thereafter, as Boeotian potters developed their own highly individual style, their pyxides diverged from Attic prototypes and were increasingly decorated with typical Boeotian motifs, such as the attached vertical column of multiple zigzags or a file of birds.

The Kamilovrysi pyxis came from the principal burial at the heart of the large tumulus in which other, later burials had then been interred. The deceased, a woman, lay on her back, surrounded by a variety of fine objects, some of which were undoubtedly her personal possessions: a carved sealstone in the shape of a frog, a necklace of paste beads with three scarabs, a curious bracelet with a spiral band, bronze dress pins to secure garments at each shoulder, and various rings that still adorned the fingers of the well-preserved skeleton; on one shoulder lay a gold repoussé band. Four small bronze animal statuettes may once have been contained in a wooden pyxis of which only traces remained. Appearing in the same context as a well-dated Atticizing pyxis, these latter provided welcome evidence for the dating of the Late Geometric small-scale sculpture.

The woman's grave is the richest Geometric burial to have come to light so far in Boeotia, and one of the richest in Greece. In addition, the burial contained

FIGURE 2

The horse pyxis from the Kamilovrysi burial mound. Drawing by the author.

the usual complement of ceramic vessels, among them a second horse pyxis that deserves particular mention. Its lid had been removed to the side, and for nearly three thousand years the hand of the deceased had been positioned as if reaching inside the bowl. We can assume this vessel once contained some element considered essential for life beyond the grave, perhaps food, which has occasionally been found in Geometric burial vases.

We know far more about the Geometric period than we once did. The age that put the finishing touches to the poetry of Homer was far from primitive.[13] Rhythm, harmony, and proportion were all well established as aesthetic principles by this time. Before the end of the period there is clear evidence of the influence of the advanced civilizations of the Near East, such as the use of ivory and orientalizing decorative motifs. Burials like the Kamilovrysi tumulus, with its rich complement of vessels and jewelry, have helped in our reassessment of a period once called without hesitation a Dark Age. It is from such a burial, perhaps even this burial, that the Getty Museum horse pyxis originated.[14]

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NOTES

1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.217. The clay is beige, the glaze brownish black, lighter where thin. The lid is reconstituted from seven fragments, with a small restoration in gypsum behind the central and right-hand horses. The horses are intact. The lid is low pitched with a central wide flat knob 3.4 cm (1 3/8 in.) in diameter. There are two pairs of tie holes piercing the rim on both sides of the lid. Under the outside legs of the right horse are five scratches in the surface of the lid, which were made before the glaze was applied to the lid. (Compare B. Bohen, "Attic Geometric Pyxis" [Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1979], p. 203 and n. 64; J. Fink, "Büchse und Pferde," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1966, pp. 483–88.) The lid is glazed overall except for the knob and four reserved bands at the rim and patches between the forelegs of the horses. The manes, chests, forequarters, and spines of the horses are decorated with parallel striations.
2. B. Bohen, *Die Geometrischen Pyxiden; Kerameikos* 13 (Berlin and New York, 1988), pp. 8–12, 41–76, and for a list of most extant horse pyxides and fragments, pp. 143–49; R. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh-Century Well in the Agora,* published in *Hesperia,* supp. 2 (1939).
3. For contexts of the pyxis, see Bohen (note 2), pp. 5–6.
4. For classification, see J. N. Coldstream, *Green Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) pp. 330–31.
5. The earliest seems to be a globular pyxis from the Agora Boot grave: P 19240, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), p. 290, pl. 67; also Bohen (note 2), p. 45, fig. 9. The horse is not preserved.
6. On the interpretation of the horse on the pyxis lid, see Bohen (note 2), pp. 10–12.
7. E.g., Heidelberg G54, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* 3 (1966), p. 41, pls. 41–42; *Münzen und Medaillen* 16 (1956), p. 19, no. 60, probably also from a southern or eastern Attic workshop. Compare also in Prague, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica* 1 (1970), p. 100, figs. 1–2. For Boeotian style, see Bohen (note 2), p. 10 and nn. 54, 132.
8. The site was excavated by Dr. Theodoros Spyropoulos; see *Archaiologikon Deltion* 26 (1971), chron., pp. 215–17, pls. 187–88; *Archaeological Reports* (1973–74), p. 19. The Kamilovrysi finds should now be in the repository in Thebes.
9. *Archaiologikon Deltion* (note 8), pl. 188 center, left.
10. On the possibilities for discerning horse pyxis workshops, see Bohen (note 2), pp. 46–77.
11. On contemporary Attic examples the sidewall is straighter, and the metopal decorative scheme replaces the old-fashioned meander (see Coldstream [note 4], p. 203).
12. For the Boeotian Geometric style, see A. Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik Böotiens* (Berne, 1976), esp. pp. 96–100.
13. Writing had recently been reintroduced, and some of the earliest writing that has survived appears to be poetry. J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977), pp. 296–98, fig. 95a; A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 351, fig. 111.
14. In this same burial were the remains of yet another pyxis, a fragmentary bowl decorated with meander. No lid was found for it. While pyxides are occasionally placed in burials without a lid, the close resemblance between the Getty Museum and Kamilovrysi pyxides makes it quite possible that the Getty Museum lid once graced this lidless bowl found in the Kamilovrysi tumulus.

Francesco Guardi and the Conti del Nord: A New Drawing

KELLY PASK

During the last years of his life, Francesco Guardi (1712–1793) frequently recorded contemporary events in his native city of Venice in single paintings or drawings or sometimes in a series of works. With subjects ranging from a highly important papal visit to elaborate wedding festivities or the first hot-air balloon ascent in the city,[1] Guardi's paintings and drawings are important visual documents of historical and cultural events and curiosities in eighteenth-century Venice. Yet questions still remain unanswered regarding the verisimilitude of these works, as evidenced by a drawing of a *Theatrical Performance* (fig. 1) by Guardi that has recently come to light.[2] The sheet may be associated with a group of paintings and drawings in which Guardi recorded the lavish festivities surrounding a well-documented visit of Russian nobility to Venice in 1782.

In the newly discovered drawing, an assortment of seated and standing figures attend a theatrical performance. The spectators are garbed in formal dress, as indicated by the full skirts and elaborate hairstyles worn by the women and the long jackets of the men. The figures are not identifiable as individuals but are the generic, summarily rendered figure types, or *macchiette,* typical of Guardi. The members of the audience face a stage taking up the entire wall at the far end of the room, upon which stand three performers, their costumes identifying them as actors in a commedia dell'arte performance. The room is of medium size, with a vaulted ceiling and two doorways capped by triangular pediments. There are three windows along the right wall of the room, and decorative fabric hung upon the left. An ornamental valance with a scalloped edge hangs along the upper edge of the walls, and from it is suspended a series of circular lamps along the right wall, with two additional lamps lightly indicated along the left wall. The chamber's size and decoration seem to be those of a formal salon in a private residence rather than a public building.

The Getty *Theatrical Performance* is drawn in pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk. Guardi used chalk to first sketch in the proportions of the room and stage and to supply details of the figures' placement, some of which he altered with pen and ink. The wash is used in three shades of brown, allowing for a wide range of variations of tone and creating a vibrant, luminous effect. Various elements of the design, most notably in sections of the vaulted ceiling, are only lightly brushed in. The loose and flickering pen work in the drawing points to a date of after 1780, when the lines in Guardi's drawings take on a tremulous quality, perhaps due to the artist's old age.[3]

Another drawing by Guardi (fig. 2), formerly in a British collection and now in a private collection in Switzerland, shows a similar type of performance taking place in what must be the same location as that in the new drawing.[4] The Swiss drawing is remarkably similar to the Getty sheet in style, with the same loosely worked pen strokes characteristic of Guardi's late works. More importantly, Guardi here shows a vaulted chamber decorated with lamps and ceremonial draperies extremely close in type to those in the Getty drawing. However, the view is from the opposite direction, so that the series of doors and windows appears on the left rather than the right side of the room. Partly because this drawing is slightly wider than the newly discovered sheet, the chamber depicted is longer, allowing for the addition of a large portal, not seen in the Getty drawing, at the extreme left of the composition. However, while the overall view has been extended, the size of the spectators has been diminished, giving a greater sense of grandeur to the scene. Most interesting is the stage apparatus at the far end of the chamber, which has been raised a good distance from the floor and made much narrower. Unlike the stage area on the Getty sheet, the stage area in this drawing takes up only the central portion of the end wall, bringing the three performers in close proximity to one another. The small size of the stage

FIGURE 1

Francesco Guardi (Italian, 1712–1793). *A Theatrical Performance,* 1782. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, 27.4 x 38.5 cm (10 13/16 x 15 1/8 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.GG.51.

and its raised position led James Byam Shaw to describe the drawing as *A Puppet Show* when cataloguing it,[5] and the stage does have the appearance of a marionette stand of the era. However, the scale of the three figures is the same as that of the spectators below, implying that they are not puppets or marionettes, which would normally be of much smaller size. In addition, the actors wear the same costumes as in the Getty drawing and are certainly the same characters in a commedia dell'arte performance. This last suggests Guardi may have been unsure of the details of his subject and drew two alternate versions of the same event.

On the basis of style and subject matter, the drawing in the Swiss collection was tentatively linked by Byam Shaw to another drawing by Guardi (fig. 3), in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.[6] In this drawing, a crowd of people are shown seated and standing in a vast room decorated in roughly the same manner as in the drawings now in Malibu and Switzerland. In the Hermitage drawing, Guardi shows lamps and banner-like cloths hanging from a scalloped valance along the upper edge of the three walls, recalling the similarly decorated rooms in the two drawings previously discussed. At the far end of the chamber, a large opening framed in great swags of a dark curtain leads to a brief glimpse of another vaulted room, decorated in what appears to be a similar fashion. Several dozen people are seated around an immense table upon which Guardi has summarily indicated food and dinnerware. Behind the seated figures and around the outer perimeter of the room stand numerous men and women, most of whom have their backs turned to the viewer, while four musicians stand in the far right corner of the room and seem to be entertaining the crowd. The drawing would appear to depict a formal occasion,

FIGURE 2

Francesco Guardi. *A Puppet Show,* 1782. Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 28 x 43.5 cm (11 x 17 in.). Switzerland, private collection.

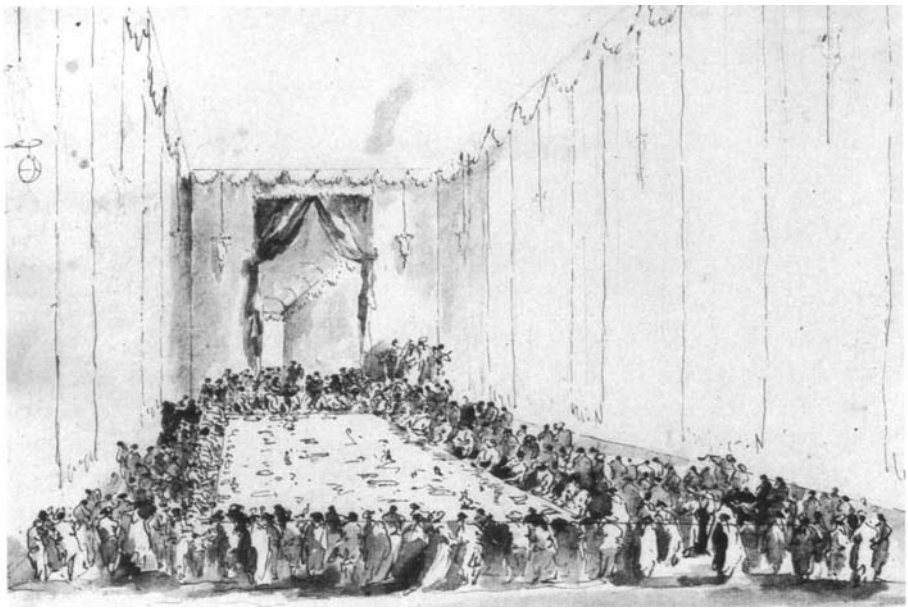

FIGURE 3

Francesco Guardi. *Banquet in Honor of the Conti del Nord,* 1782. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, 27.2 x 39.9 cm (10 3/4 x 15 3/4 in.). St. Petersburg, Hermitage 11840.

given the processional nature of the standing figures, the impressively massive table, and the grand scale of the chamber itself. The style of the Hermitage drawing is also consistent with the style of the drawings in the Getty Museum and in Switzerland, although it exhibits an even greater sense of immediacy and was likely drawn very quickly, so that the form of the ceiling, for example, is indicated solely by two faint lines.

These three drawings can be grouped together,

FIGURE 4

After Jean-Louis Voille (French, 1744–ca. 1796). *Portrait of Paul Petrovitch,* ca. 1790. Oil on canvas, 71.3 x 56.9 cm (28 1/2 x 22 3/4 in.). Washington, D.C., Hillwood Museum.

FIGURE 5

Attributed to Johann Baptist Lampi (Italian, 1751–1830). *Portrait of Maria Feodorovna,* ca. 1794. Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 57.5 cm (29 x 23 in.). Washington, D.C., Hillwood Museum.

given that they all exhibit a similar handling of ink and wash, a style characteristic of Guardi's draftsmanship during the 1780s. They are also closely related in terms of the type and size of the paper and the scale of the figures and architecture. Most importantly, the similarities of their subject matter provide the strongest support for their linkage, since all focus upon festive occasions set in lavishly decorated interior spaces. This last is especially noteworthy, since the vast majority of Guardi's paintings and drawings—the views (*vedute*) of Venice and its environs and the imaginary landscapes (*capricci*) so well known today—are of exterior scenes.

The drawing in St. Petersburg is one of a secure group of several drawings and paintings by Guardi long associated with a particular event, to which the Getty and Swiss sheets may now be added. All relate to the visit of the Grand Duke Paul (Pavel) Petrovitch of Russia, and his second wife, Maria Feodorovna (figs. 4–5), to Venice in January of 1782. Born in 1754, Paul was the eldest son of Catherine II, better known as Catherine the Great, the German-born empress of Russia. The relationship between mother and son was an uneasy one, as she considered him incompetent and unworthy to be her successor, while he was embittered toward Catherine because of her usurpation of the crown from his father (Peter III), and from himself.[7] Paul seemed to have some apprehension about the trip due to his mistrust of Catherine, who had encouraged the couple to embark on their voyage.[8] Traveling as the "Conti del Nord"—although the pseudonym hardly seems necessary, given the very public nature of their trip—Petrovich and Feodorovna stopped in Venice during a leg of their European tour, which included visits to Vienna, Dresden, and Paris. They were well received by heads of state and public alike; in Paris, for example, the couple was admired for their extensive knowledge of the arts.[9] Their stay in Venice, between January 18 and 25, was no doubt scheduled to coincide with the city's famous Carnival season in order to add to the festivity of the visit. There they took part in a wide range of activities

scheduled in their honor.

A precise description of the events surrounding the visit of Paul Petrovitch and Maria Feodorovna to Venice can be pieced together from several written sources. One of these is an extremely descriptive letter written by an observer of many of the festivities, the Comtesse Justine Wynne Graefin von Rosenberg-Orsini, and sent to her brother in London.[10] Dated February 12, 1782, and published soon after the grand ducal visit, this lengthy letter describes the count and countess and their activities in great detail. The comtesse's candid opinion of Petrovitch was that he seemed "more serious in his appearance than in his manner . . . and more courteous than philosophical."[11] Not surprisingly—given the great expense lavished on the visit—the comtesse gave much emphasis to the richness of costumes and decorations she observed. A second source of information concerning the festivities surrounding the visit of the Conti del Nord is provided by the letters written by another eyewitness, Luigi Ballarini.[12] He writes about the extensive preparations made before the guests' arrival, the "indescribable" confusion associated with them, and the costs involved. He also describes the events themselves in varying degrees of detail.[13]

The subject of the drawing in St. Petersburg (fig. 3) has been identified as the Conti del Nord's attendance at a banquet on January 24, near the end of their week in Venice.[14] The written records indicate that a dinner for one hundred guests was held in the Casino dei Filarmonici of the Procuratie Nuove, one of the long arms flanking the Piazza San Marco, opposite the Procuratie Vecchie. The banquet followed a day and evening of spectacular public events staged in the Piazza San Marco, including a parade of decorated carriages and culminating in the illumination of the architecture surrounding the entire piazza.

As with the St. Petersburg sheet, the precise event recorded by Guardi in the Malibu drawing—and perhaps on the sheet in Switzerland as well—can be identified as a performance mentioned by both the Comtesse Orsini and Luigi Ballarini. In her description of the events on January 21, 1782, Orsini reports that the duke and duchess attended a commedia dell'arte performance late in the day, after they had already visited the city's shipping yard, or Arsenale. Unfortunately, the comtesse gives few precise details as to the location or exact nature of the performance, perhaps because she was not present at this particular outing. She does mention that the principal characters in the performance were Arlecchino and Pantalone. In

FIGURE 6

Detail of figure 1.

a letter of January 25, 1782, Ballarini states that on Monday the twenty-first, the royal couple "la sera amarono di sentir l'arlecchin Sacchi, che con una commedia di *Truffaldin ladro, condannato alla galera* li divertì al sommo grado."[15] Here we are given the name of the actor playing Harlequin, that is, Antonio Sacchi, and the title of the performance itself, "Truffaldino the thief, condemned to prison." Sacchi was in fact the most famous comedic actor in eighteenth-century Italy and was described by Carlo Goldoni as being extremely lively, with a brilliant imagination.[16] Truffaldino was a specific type of Harlequin with a particularly clever personality (*truffa,* "crafty one") and was a character popularized by Sacchi, who by 1782 was nearing the end of his illustrious career.

During the eighteenth century as in earlier eras, commedia dell'arte performances were staged by companies in which an actor normally specialized in a specific character whose personality would be well known to the viewers and who would be easily identifiable by his or her costume.[17] In the Getty drawing (fig. 6), Truffaldino stands on the right side of the stage carrying the Harlequin's ever-present baton, while in the center the character of Pantalone sports the long, pointed beard for which he is famous. At the left side of the stage is another popular character of the commedia dell'arte known as the Doctor, who wears a large, floppy hat as his trademark. Similarly, in the drawing in the Swiss collection, Pantalone can be easily identified by his pointed beard and the Doctor by his large dark hat, while Truffaldino is somewhat more difficult to discern.

While the identification of the performance

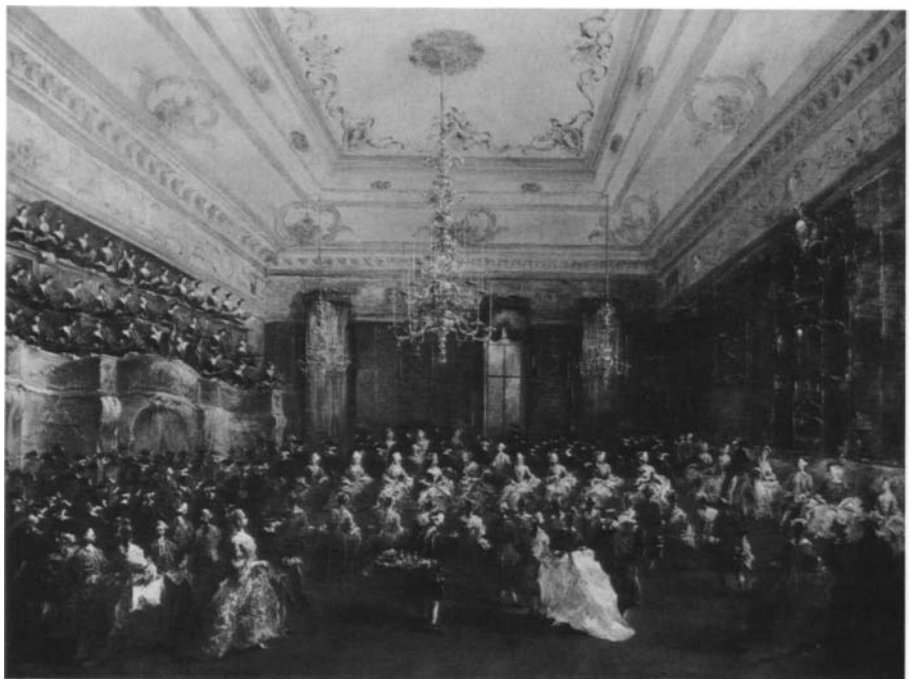

FIGURE 7

Francesco Guardi. *The Gala Concert in the Sala dei Filarmonici,* 1782. Oil on canvas, 67.7 x 90.5 cm (26 5/8 x 35 5/8 in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek 8574.

depicted by Guardi in the drawings now in Malibu and Switzerland is almost certain, the location of the event is not so clear. When Byam Shaw first published the drawing now in the Swiss collection, the fenestration and portals of the chamber led him to suggest that the event occurred in a temporary structure set up against an outer wall of a palazzo.[18] This, however, does not seem likely, since the walls and vault of the chamber seem very permanent, as Byam Shaw observed in his later description of the site, which has thereafter been most often described—because of its vaulted ceiling and somewhat residential air[19]—as the grand *salone* of a palazzo. The chamber does not, of course, have the appearance of any type of Venetian public theater of the era, such as the Teatro San Samuele or the Teatro San Luca, where the vast majority of commedia dell'arte performances were staged in the eighteenth century.[20] Given the close similarities between the chamber in the Getty drawing and the one in the drawing in the Hermitage, which records a banquet in the Casino dei Filarmonici, it is tempting to suggest that the commedia dell'arte performance took place in another room in the same building.

It is probable that Guardi intended to produce a painting based upon one or the other of the two drawings of the commedia dell'arte performance, yet none is known to have been made by the artist. Six paintings of various other events honoring the Conti del Nord have been documented, among which the best known is *The Gala Concert in the Sala dei Filarmonici* (fig. 7) in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.[21] In this dazzling display of color and flickering brushwork, Guardi shows the royal couple in attendance at a concert on January 20 at which eighty orphan girls performed. A large preparatory drawing, recently rediscovered, for the Munich painting is in the Royal Museum, Canterbury.[22] A dinner and ball held on January 22 at the Teatro San Benedetto was the subject of another painting in this series, now in a private collection in Switzerland.[23] A third painting showing the January 24 parade of decorated carriages is also known and is in a private collection in Venice.[24] The measurements of the paintings in Munich, Switzerland, and Venice correspond almost exactly, and the compositions and coloring of the two interior scenes beautifully complement one another. Three other paintings, the current locations of which are unknown, have also been documented. Among these is a painting last seen on the art market in Paris in 1923 depicting the banquet scene represented in the Hermitage drawing discussed above.[25]

Of the six known paintings, three are of interior settings and three are of exterior scenes, indicating that the series was meant to document both the private and public aspects of the grand ducal visit. Presumably Guardi did not complete a painting of the commedia dell'arte performance, perhaps because it was one of the less spectacular of the many events or because his drawings did not faithfully record the performance itself.[26]

No documents regarding the commission of the series have thus far come to light. It seems probable that the works were ordered on behalf of the Venetian state as a visual record of the visit. Guardi received such a commission during the visit of Pope Pius VI in May 1782, and he completed a series of drawings and paintings recording the various public appearances of the pope.[27] Documents show that the papal series was commissioned by Pietro Edwards, the inspector-general of the Venetian public collections, and Francis Haskell has suggested that the series devoted to the visit of the Conti del Nord was also commissioned for the state by Edwards. This seems likely, although Edwards would later come to criticize Guardi's apparent lack of ability to faithfully record what was before him, as a letter published by Haskell indicates.[28]

Guardi's paintings and drawings together with the written descriptions are not the only records of the visit of the duke and duchess. As has been noted, the Venetian populace was very much interested in the festivities, some of which were public in nature and took place in the major piazze of the city, so it is not surprising that there was a further call for literary accounts and visual reminders of the visit.[29] The latter includes several paintings by Gabriel Bella now in the Palazzo Querini Stampalia, Venice, part of a larger series by the artist chronicling Venetian life in the late eighteenth century.[30] Among these is a rather mundane painting of the concert in the Sala dei Filarmonici—the same event depicted by Guardi in the Munich painting—which would seem to indicate that the Venetian state desired a more journalistic, if less skillful, record of these important events. The various celebrations in the Piazza San Marco were recorded in a series of five large engravings executed by Antonio Baratti and published soon after the royal visit.[31]

Guardi's paintings and drawings, while perhaps not adhering strictly to the actualities of their subjects, remain the greatest and most evocative reminders of the Russian visitors' week in Venice. One of several such series carried out during Guardi's last years, these works not only document actual events but also bring to mind the closing of the Venetian golden age as the eighteenth century, and Guardi's own life, drew to an end.

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NOTES

1. The basic reference for the paintings of Guardi is A. Morassi, *Guardi: I dipinti,* 2 vols. (Venice, 1973), and for his drawn *oeuvre,* J. Byam Shaw, *The Drawings of Francesco Guardi* (London, 1951) and A. Morassi, *Guardi: Tutti i disegni* (Venice, 1975). For the drawings and paintings associated with the papal visit, see also R. Watson, "Guardi and the Visit of Pius VI to Venice in 1782," *National Gallery of Art Report and Studies in the History of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1968), pp. 114–31. Four drawings in the Museo Correr, Venice, associated with the wedding of the Duke of Polignac are discussed by Morassi, *Disegni,* pp. 133–34, nos. 315–18. The balloon ascent is recorded in a drawing in a British private collection (Morassi, *Disegni,* pp. 132–33, no. 312) and a painting in Berlin (Morassi, *Dipinti,* p. 369, no. 310).
2. Prior to its acquisition by the Getty Museum in 1989, the drawing was briefly exhibited in London, for which see *European Drawings,* exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 39. The drawing is lightly foxed but in very good condition overall.
3. As noted by Byam Shaw (note 1), p. 36. He points out (pp. 37–38) that Guardi's late drawings can also be identified by the extremely high coiffeurs worn by the women, a hairstyle popular in the 1780s.
4. For which see Byam Shaw (note 1), p. 69, no. 42, and Morassi, *Disegni* (note 1), p. 114, no. 201. Morassi noted stylistic similarities between this sheet and the Hermitage drawing discussed below but did not pursue the connection further, nor did he include the drawing in his section on the Conti del Nord.
5. The drawing was first published by J. Byam Shaw, "Francesco Guardi," *Old Master Drawings* 9 (Dec. 1934), p. 50, while in the collection of Frederick Cavendish-Bentinck, London, and was exhibited as a *Puppet Theatre* in *Drawings by Old Masters,* exh. cat. (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1953), no. 177. For comparison, see a typical marionette stand of the era in a drawing of a *Puppet Theatre* by Giandomenico Tiepolo currently on the art market in London and illustrated in J. Stock, *Disegni veneti di collezioni inglesi,* exh. cat. (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 1980), no. 101.
6. Byam Shaw (note 1), p. 69. On the Hermitage drawing, see also Morassi, *Disegni* (note 1), p. 124, no. 267.
7. Among the many references on Catherine II are I. Grey, *Catherine the Great: Autocrat and Empress of All Russia* (London, 1961); P. Dukes, *Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility* (Cambridge, 1967); R. E. Jones, *The Emancipation of the Russian Nobility, 1762–1785* (Princeton, 1973). For Paul I in particular, see K. Waliszewski, *Le fils de la Grande Catherine: Paul Ier, empereur de Russie* (Paris, 1912).

8. In 1783, soon after her son's European tour, Catherine in fact moved Paul from the center of government in St. Petersburg to a small court in Gatchina. Paul eventually succeeded Catherine upon her death in 1796 and was emperor of Russia as Paul I until 1801, when he was deposed by his son Alexander and later assassinated.
9. For the royal couple's stop in Paris, see P. Ennès, "The Visit of the Comte and Comtesse du Nord to the Sèvres Manufactory," *Apollo* 129, no. 325 (March 1989), pp. 150–56.
10. *Del soggiorno de' Conti del Nord in Venezia nel Gennaio MDCCLXXXII. Lettera di Madama la Contessa Vedova degli Orsini di Rosenberg al Signor Riccardo Wynne, suo fratello, a Londra* (Vicenza, 1782). That the letter was published in both French and Italian soon after the events described testifies to the importance of, and public interest in, the visit.
11. Ibid., p. 21.
12. Ballarini was the chief administrator to Daniele Andrea Dolfin, ambassador to the courts of France and Vienna. Six volumes of Ballarini's letters to Dolfin are conserved in the Museo Civico Correr, Venice. Portions of Ballarini's *epistolario* were published by P. Molmenti, *Epistolari veneziani del secolo XVIII* (Palermo, 1914), pp. 60–81.
13. Ibid., p. 63.
14. M. Dobroklonsky, *Dessins des maîtres anciens,* exh. cat. (Hermitage, Leningrad, 1927), no. 25. See also Byam Shaw (note 1), p. 69, under no. 42, and Morassi, *Disegni* (note 1), p. 124, no. 267. The banquet is mentioned by both the Comtesse Orsini (note 10), p. 43, and Ballarini, in Molmenti (note 12), p. 76–77. See also an account based primarily on Ballarini's letters by A. Pilot, *Feste e spettacoli per l'arrivo dei Conti del Nord a Venezia nel 1782* (Venice, 1914), p. 55–56.
15. Molmenti (note 12), p. 69. Ballarini did not mention where the commedia dell'arte performance took place.
16. C. Goldoni, *Memorie* (Turin, 1967), pp. 184–85.
17. The literature on the commedia dell'arte and its characters is extensive. See, among others, M. Apollonio, *Storia della commedia dell'arte* (Florence, 1982); C. Beaumont, *The History of Harlequin* (London, 1926); N. Pepe, *Pantalone: Storia di una maschera e di un attore* (Venice, 1981).
18. Byam Shaw (note 1), p. 69, no. 42.
19. The scene in the drawing in the Swiss collection was said to take place in a "large hall . . . in a palace or villa" by Byam Shaw (note 1), p. 69, no. 42, and in "der Halle eines Palastes oder einer Villa" by E. Hüttinger when the sheet was exhibited in 1958 (*Sammlung Emil G. Bührle,* exh. cat. [Kunsthaus, Zurich, 1958], no. 92). The site in the Getty drawing was described as a "palazzo" when it was exhibited in London (see note 2).
20. For these theaters, see N. Mangini, *I teatri del Venezia* (Venice, 1974), pp. 110–31. The location of Teatro San Luca given by A. Pilot (note 14), p. 30, for the commedia dell'arte performance in question derives from the notion that Sacchi's company, of which he was the *capo,* was based there. It is not corroborated by any of the written or visual documents.
21. For the six paintings, see Morassi, *Dipinti* (note 1), pp. 182–84; 357–58, nos. 255–61. For the Munich painting, see also B. L. Brown and A. K. Wheelock, Jr., *Masterworks from Munich: Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century Paintings from the Alte Pinakothek,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., and Cincinnati, 1988–89), pp. 60–62, no. 8, and R. Kultzen, *Francesco Guardi in der Alten Pinakothek München* (Munich, 1967), p. 52.
22. For which see J. Byam Shaw, "Some Guardi Drawings Rediscovered," *Master Drawings* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 3–5, and J. Stock, *Guardi, Tiepolo and Canaletto from the Royal Museum, Canterbury and Elsewhere,* exh. cat. (Royal Museum, Canterbury, 1985), pp. 10–11, no. 3.
23. *Dinner and Ball at San Benedetto in Honor of the Conti del Nord,* oil on canvas, 67 x 91 cm (26 3/8 x 35 13/16 in.), private collection, Switzerland. See Morassi, *Dipinti* (note 1), p. 357, no. 255, as formerly in the Parravicini collection, Paris. See also M. Azzi Visentini, "Un Guardi ritrovato," *Arte Veneta* 39 (1985), pp. 178–79.
24. *Parade of Allegorical Carriages in Piazza San Marco,* oil on canvas, 67 x 91 cm (26 3/8 x 35 13/16 in.), Vittorio Cini collection, Venice. Another version of the Cini picture is in a private collection in Milan. See Morassi, *Dipinti* (note 1), pp. 357–58, nos. 257–58. Two preparatory ink-and-wash drawings of this subject are known: Cleveland, Museum of Art, inv. 55.164, 29.5 x 36.8 cm (11 5/8 x 14 1/2 in); and Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 17 883, 41.5 x 72 cm (16 5/16 x 28 3/8 in.). Of these, the smaller and more cursorily drawn study in Cleveland seems to precede the larger, more detailed drawing in Berlin. See Morassi, *Disegni* (note 1), p. 124, nos. 265–66, for these drawings.
25. *Banquet in the Sala dei Filarmonici; Bull-Baiting in the Piazza San Marco; Regatta on the Grand Canal,* for which see Morassi, *Dipinti* (note 1), p. 358, nos. 259–61. In addition to the Hermitage drawing for the banquet scene discussed above, three preparatory studies are known for figures in the bull-baiting scene: two are in the Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, and a third is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 11.66.12. For these drawings, see Morassi, *Disegni* (note 1), pp. 124–25, nos. 268–70, and J. Bean and W. Griswold, *Eighteenth-Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1990), p. 113, no. 95.
26. Another hypothesis is that Guardi did not attend and thus had to invent the setting for the two drawings, making them less desirable as documentation.
27. For this series, see Morassi, *Dipinti* (note 1), pp. 354–57, nos. 243–54; Morassi, *Disegni* (note 1), pp. 125–26, nos. 271–76; Watson (note 1).
28. F. Haskell, "Francesco Guardi as *Vedutista* and Some of His Patrons," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960), p. 260, n. 22. That Edwards commissioned the series is taken up without question by Morassi and other scholars. The letter, from Edwards to Antonio Canova in 1804, appears in Haskell, p. 276.
29. Among the written sources is a long poem entitled *Lode poetica per la venuta degli incliti viaggiatori del Nord seguita in questa eccelsa veneta Metropoli nel diciottesimo giorno di gennaio del nuovo anno 1782* by an anonymous writer and published by A. Pilot (note 14), pp. 14ff.
30. For Bella's series of paintings, see B. Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste veneziane* (Florence, 1961), with pp. 314–21 referring specifically to his paintings of the Conti del Nord.
31. The series, entitled *Feste e spettacoli allestiti in piazza San Marco in onore dei conti del Nord* was published in 1782. Examples exist in the Museo Correr, Venice, and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica. See also G. Lorenzetti, *Le feste e le maschere veneziane,* exh. cat. (Ca' Rezzonico, Venice, 1937), no. 6.

Beyond the Frame: Marginal Figures and Historiated Initials in the Getty Apocalypse

Suzanne Lewis

The English Gothic Apocalypse offers striking evidence of a radical transformation of medieval reading into an increasingly more visual experience of looking at images. In illustrated manuscripts containing long cycles of illustrations, sometimes numbering a hundred or more, pictures assume a dominant role in the reader's perception of Saint John's visions that comprise Revelation, the last canonical book of the medieval Bible. Because the large, painted or semi-transparent tinted drawings appear above a half-page of text, they claim a position of precedence in the hierarchy of the reader's perceptions. In the new thirteenth-century layout the framed image commands the reader's attention before the text is read, thus conditioning and even determining how its message is to be perceived and understood.

The Getty Apocalypse,[1] as it uniquely expands this wealth of pictorial material beyond the frame into the margins and historiated initials, constitutes a singular example of the new English Gothic book-type. Probably produced in London in the 1260s, the manuscript contains forty-one folios, 32 by 22.4 cm (12½ x 9 in.), impressive in scale but still comfortably held in the hands. As in most thirteenth-century Apocalypse manuscripts, the illustrations occupy the upper half of each page, with the text disposed in two columns below (see fig. 1). As in its sister manuscript in the British Library,[2] the commentary or gloss is distinctively written out in red ink to distinguish it from the text. Because the manuscript represents a very sophisticated exemplification of the genre, its framed miniatures have deservedly received a generous share of attention in the scholarly literature on the Gothic Apocalypse. Little, however, has been written about the extraordinary images that form an ancillary but powerful pictorial component of the illuminated manuscript—the marginal figures of Saint John and the historiated initials.[3] The following observations will attempt to remedy this long neglect, for, in its dramatic expansion of the author's presence beyond the frame as well as its full panoply of figured initials introducing each glossed text, the Getty manuscript stands alone among thirteenth-century English illuminated Apocalypses.

Because my interest lies in exploring how these newly expanded images engender the reader's comprehension and absorption of the text, I shall focus primarily on the strategies of text-image relationships. I intend to show *how* the marginal images in the Getty Apocalypse engage the reader in interpretive and mnemonic processes. However, it will soon become apparent that the kinds of complex responses to the text and commentaries suggested in the ensuing analyses might seem beyond the linguistic or theological competence of even the best-trained artists employed in the large urban workshops of thirteenth-century England and that the text-image strategies I am proposing might best be ascribed to someone more appropriately characterized as the "designer of the book." I would propose that we are dealing throughout with a sophisticated and complex manuscript production in which the pictorial program of marginal figures and historiated initials was very probably dictated for the artists in the form of verbal or written instructions (later erased or cut away by the binder) or as rough sketches that were later erased or obliterated upon completion of the painted images.[4] As Jonathan Alexander has remarked, our only evidence is the end product, the manuscript itself, in which the artist's efforts would have been meant to conceal the traces of their praxis.[5] We are left with the book as it was intended for the medieval reader. It is our present task to ask ourselves how the manuscript's ancillary images might have affected the processes of reading and comprehension.

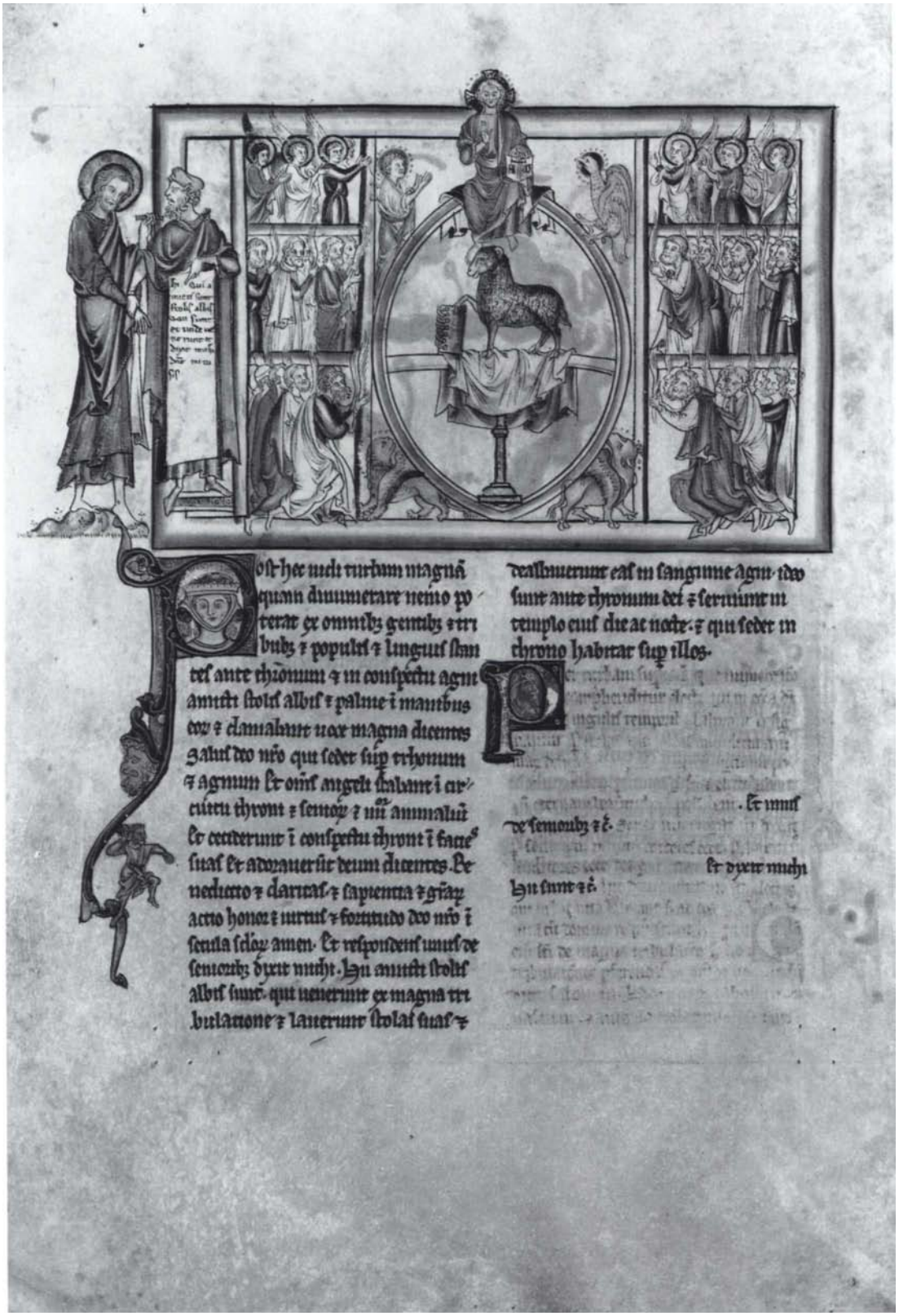

FIGURE 1

The Adoration of the Lamb (Rev. 7:9–15). Apocalypse. London (?), England, ca. 1260. Tinted line drawing on vellum 32 x 22.4 cm (12½ x 9 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig III 1; 83.MC.72. Fol. 9v.

FIGURE 2a

The Harvest of the Earth (Rev. 14:14–16). Fol. 29.

FIGURE 2b

Man Pointing to His Eye (detail of fig. 2a).

FIGURE 3

The Woman in the Sun (Rev. 12:3–6). Fol. 20.

THE MARGINAL PRESENCE OF SAINT JOHN

In the graphic unfolding of the narrative as direct discourse, Saint John is almost always visibly present as both author and protagonist. He functions as a link between the reader and divine revelation. His stance and gestures register reactions ranging from awestruck terror to joy, as he is commanded, comforted, warned, admonished, and reassured by angels and finally by the Lord himself.

In the thirteenth-century manuscripts the visions of the Apocalypse become more fully accessible to the reader's optical perception as the illustrations respond with unprecedented sensitivity to John's authorial presence. Each time John sees or hears something, his perceptual experience is graphically plotted out in full detail. We see him shielding his eyes from the blinding brilliance of his visions (fig. 12a) or listening with his ear pressed against a small opening in the frame (fig. 5). In a sequence of unfolding perceptions, the reader sees John's voice speaking, just as the author sees the voices speaking to him. In the Getty manuscript, not only does John serve as a visionary conduit for the reader's perception, but small figures in the initials frequently also mimic the words "Et vidi." Beneath the representation of the Harvest (fig. 2a), for example, a figure leans on his staff (fig. 2b), cupping his ear and pointing to his eye as he gazes up at the seer witnessing the vision within the frame. Similarly, on folio 23 when John registers his apprehension on seeing the Beast emerge from the sea by protectively wrapping himself more tightly within his mantle, a small figure in the initial below claps his hand to his forehead in a gesture of anguished surprise.

The author-seer is represented not only when his presence is required as a protagonist by the text but also as a preceptor whose visible reactions guide the reader's perception and understanding of the illustrated visions. For example, he is literally "bowled over" by the woman's flight through the frame as she seeks refuge from the dragon (fig. 3). As he gestures and reacts to what he sees and hears, John is miming a pictorial gloss on his own text. He often serves as a bracketing device to close off the narrative action as it unfolds across the open pages. Indeed, the bracketing marginal figures sometimes literally mimic the actions

FIGURE 4

The Witnesses Preaching (Rev. 11:3–6). Fol. 16v.

FIGURE 5

The Massacre of the Witnesses (Rev. 11:7–8). Fol. 17.

and gestures of the protagonists within the frame, as in the representation of the Witnesses (fig. 4), where John echoes the stance of the preaching figure on the left by enveloping his arms within his mantle. On the facing page (fig. 5) he bends over as a counterfoil to the bestial Antichrist who massacres the Witnesses, not only riveting the reader's attention on the gruesome act but also alerting the viewer to a whole series of binary oppositions at work within the frame: the Antichrist first raises and then lowers his scimitar, thus bringing the upright figures of the Witnesses to their recumbent positions as martyrs on the right,

FIGURE 6

The Fourth Horseman (Rev. 6:7–8). Fol. 7v.

FIGURE 7

Saint John on Patmos (Rev. 1:9–11). Fol. 2.

signaling that, with the rising up of evil, the good shall fall.

In the Getty Apocalypse, John frequently witnesses the apocalyptic events as a spectator physically isolated from the vision. Standing outside the frame, he shares a place in the corporeal world of the reader, a space clearly distinguishable from the spiritual, timeless realm within the frame. Drawing the reader's attention not only to the arcane nature of John's visions but also to the barrier separating the two worlds, he is frequently obliged to peer through a small opening or window in the frame (see figs. 10a and 17a). By virtue of his extraordinary ability to move from one realm to the other by shifting his position back and forth,

FIGURE 8

Saint John's Arrival on Patmos. Fol. 1v.

within and outside the frame, John becomes a powerful medium through whom the reader can "see" and experience his visions. Sometimes the transition is spelled out in more direct graphic terms, as, for example, when the Elder is shown literally pulling John into the framed space (fig. 1), or in the vision of the Fourth Horseman (fig. 6), where the eagle flies through an opening in the frame toward the startled Evangelist, confronting and even challenging his liminal position.

In the Getty Apocalypse John's marginal existence is further characterized as a pilgrimage, signaled by his staff or walking stick. As a pilgrim, he will guide the reader on an imaginary journey; after witnessing the destruction of the wicked on earth, he will finally reach the Heavenly Jerusalem. John's visions are carefully characterized as unfolding on two distinctively different levels of human experience, exterior and interior. His experiences as voyager, exile, and pilgrim are registered as exterior in character, that is, they happen on a purely physical or perceptual level as he makes his way on a fictive journey into a realm outside or beyond mundane existence. Many other thirteenth-century manuscripts enclose their texts within an outer "frame" or context comprising a pictorial cycle of the Life of Saint John that both precedes and follows the illustrated Apocalypse. In this sense the manuscript's first Apocalypse image of the seer sleeping on the island (fig. 7) can be perceived as an ongoing part of a seamless narrative. His exile on Patmos becomes a timeless moment within the chronological unfolding of the saint's biography in which it is difficult to tell where one narrative ends and the other begins. Discontinuity can be recognized only by a shift of narrative voice from the third to the first person in the text. Signaling the transition from an outer to an inner world, the departure of an earthly messenger in the person of the boatman who delivered John into exile precedes the arrival of the angel (see fig. 8). By the same token, the physical transition from one place to another serves as a spatial metaphor for John's journey from the visible world into a realm in which he becomes a spectator of the invisible. On the last surviving page of the Getty manuscript, the seer is still sitting on a rock, his island of exile or refuge, outside the frame, watching the battle that leads to the Defeat of the Beast (fig. 9).

John's liminal position outside the frame constitutes another kind of spatial metaphor for temporal distance, as the reader is reminded that the events described in the text are remembered from the author's past experience, the dream-vision on Patmos. The constant reiteration of the seer's presence offers the reader not only a personification of the human powers of vision and prophecy but also an exemplification of a prodigious memory constantly stimulated by sense

FIGURE 9

The Defeat of the Beast (Rev. 19:20–21). Fol. 41v.

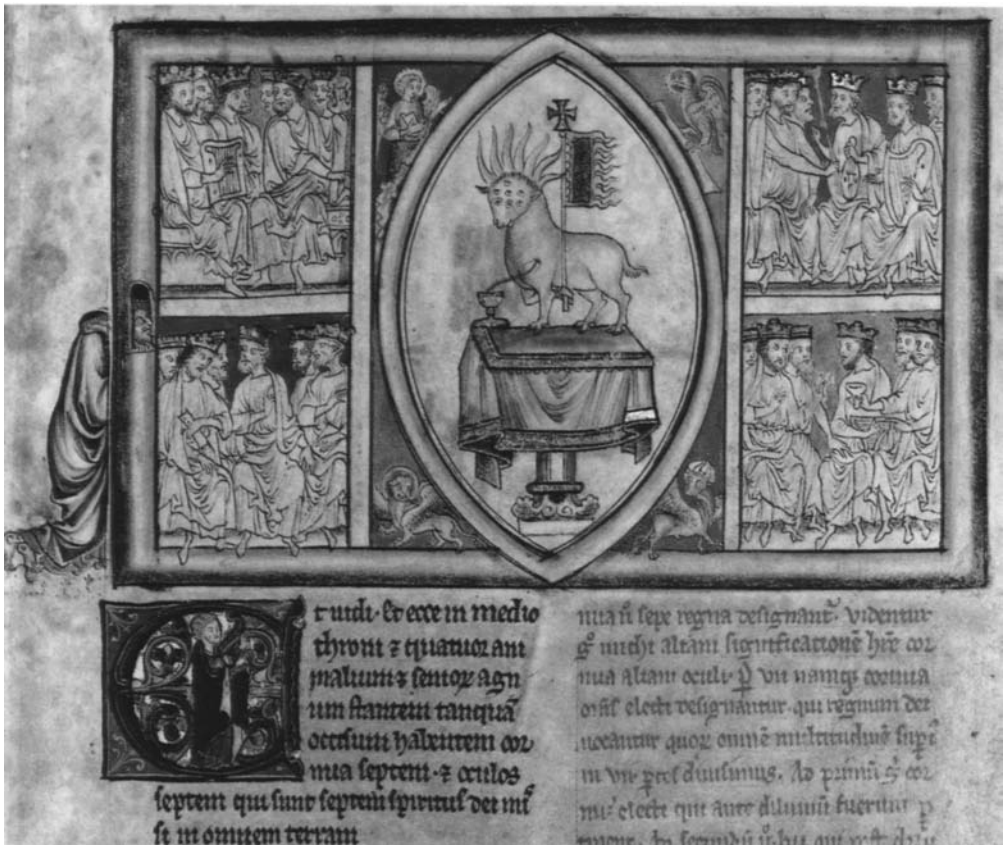

FIGURE 10a

The Vision of the Lamb (Rev. 5:6). Fol. 5.

FIGURE 10b

Man Pointing Upward (detail of fig. 10a).

FIGURE 11

Saint John Preaching (historiated initial). Fol. 2.

perception. We are invited to pass through the mirror of the narrator's memory into the remembered world of his vision.[6] By the same token, the reader's desire to fix the purport of John's visions within his or her own memory is promoted by the mnemonic power of the images. As prescribed in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* the late classical work on the art of memory that circulated most widely throughout the Middle Ages, the memory is stimulated by images that are intensely charged with emotion.[7] The marginal portrayal of John visibly reacting to his visions with a wide range of affective gestures opens the door to the reader's memory.[8]

THE HISTORIATED INITIALS

The Getty manuscript is the only extant thirteenth-century illuminated Apocalypse that contains a full set of large (four- to six-line) historiated initials marking the transition between the half-page framed miniatures and the text.[9] Other English Gothic versions initiate their texts with small (two-line) blue or red flourished versals.[10] One of the most striking features of the initials in the Getty Apocalypse is their variety. Although many appear to be purely ornamental or playful, others engage the reader in cognitive strategies involving the recognition of familiar representations drawn from the Calendar, Bestiary, fables, and the Apocalypse text itself. Like the large framed miniatures accompanied by Saint John visibly reacting to their extraordinary content, many of the historiated initials also engage the reader in interpretive and mnemonic responses to the text.

On the simplest perceptual level, the liminal world between vision and text is inhabited by a number of historiated initials in which the interpolated figures extend and expand the kinds of miming performance executed by the extramural figures of John. For example, as the seer looks through the window in the frame on folio 5 (fig. 10a), a small figure stands amidst the foliate branches of the historiated initial ("Et vidi") below (fig. 10b), pointing to the Lamb within the upper frame and thus riveting the reader's gaze upon the sacred image. Similarly, while the marginal figure of John looks up at the Woman in the Sun disappearing into the clouds (fig. 3), a small figure within the historiated initial ("Et visum") leans on his staff, chin in hand, as he contemplates the Rescue of the Child within the framed miniature above, thus triangulating the reader's attention on the central vision. At the beginning of the Apocalypse text the large opening initial (fig. 11) reveals John in the guise of a preacher, admonishing his readers to read and listen to the prophetic words inscribed on his scroll from Revelation 1:3, "Beatus qui legit et audivit verba prophetiae" (Blessed is he who reads and listens to the prophetic words). This passage is omitted in the Getty text,[11] so that the historiated initial fills a textual

FIGURE 12a

The Fourth Vial (Rev. 16:8–9). Fol. 33.

FIGURE 12b

Men Shielding Their Eyes (detail of fig. 12a).

lacuna addressing the reader. While one of the figures seated before John obediently reads from an open book, another member of his audience turns away, covering his ears, probably in reference to the hostile reception of the Evangelist's preaching at Ephesus, again linking the beginning of the Apocalypse text to the enframing *vita.*[12] On another level, the authorial figure is literally embedded in the text ("Et vidi") on folio 14v, where the nimbed John, chin in hand, contemplates the text. Elsewhere figures point to their eyes (fig. 2b) or ears, enacting the first words of the narrative "Et vidi" or "Et audivi." On folio 39v a tonsured scribe obeys the angel's command to John to write, "Et dicit mihi scribe."

In some cases, the inhabitants of the historiated initials register empathetic responses to the text, as on folio 14, where a woman tears her hair in reaction to the dire pronouncement of Revelation 9:12: "That was the first of the woes; there are two more to come." Similarly, a tonsured figure rings bells in a church tower to celebrate the opening of the celestial temple in 11:19. Other initials are historiated with narrative actions from the illustrated vision itself, such as the additional figures shielding themselves from the scorching sun produced by the pouring of the Fourth Vial (figs. 12a–b), or the harlot holding both a drinking horn and another vessel on folio 36v to stress the dual nature of her perfidious inebriation: "I saw the woman drunk from the blood of saints and from the blood of martyrs," thus providing a seamless continuity between text and image. In one instance, the presence of David harping in the historiated initial introducing the verses on the New Song forms a consonant voice with the Harpers on the Sea of Glass (15:2–4) in the accompanying illustration and is aligned with the identification of the song as that of "Moses" in the text three lines below.[13] In another instance on folio 38 (fig. 13a), while the millstone is clearly visible in the framed representation of the angel casting it into the sea, the historiated initial (fig. 13b) visually reifies the significance of its loss in human terms ("Never again . . . will the sound of the mill be heard" [18:22]) by representing a man grinding grain next to the words "lapidem quasi molarum" in the adjacent text.

Responding to the distinctive mutation of the multitude worshiping the Lamb on Mount Sion into lambs in the illustration for 14:1 (fig. 14a),[14] two small shepherds appear in the historiated initial (fig. 14b). However, in contrast to the animals within the framed miniature, whose gazes are fixed upon the Lamb, the shepherds turn away from John's vision to witness the appearance of the Star of Bethlehem announcing the Birth of Christ. Thus both images, large and small, can be seen to have a Christological focus, reinforcing the interpretation given in the accompanying commentary that the Lamb indeed reveals Christ.[15] The image within the historiated initial looks backward in time to the left, while within the framed miniature John turns the reader-viewer's eye to the future, as he gazes to the right in the direction of the flow of the Revelation text, "Et vidi et ecce agnus."

Images from other, nonbiblical sources can be seen to migrate into the manuscript's initials to illuminate the significance of the framed miniatures. In the historiated initial introducing the text for the Seventh Trumpet (fig. 15b), a stork bending his long neck to feed draws attention to the text by elegantly mimicking the prostrations of the Elders who "touched the ground with their foreheads worshiping God" (fig. 15a). However, the presence of the fox announces the quotation of an Aesopian fable widely circulated as an exemplum in thirteenth-century sermons as well as in contemporary marginalia, such as the bas-de-page vignette in the Rutland Psalter.[16] The moralizing tale makes an oblique but ironic reference to the idea of ultimate reward promoted in the Apocalypse text ("the time has come . . . for all who worship you, great or small, to be rewarded"), for the stork, earlier deprived of a dinner consisting of soup served in a flat plate by his trickster-host, the fox, now enjoys a meal from a tall narrow vessel from which only he can eat, leaving the selfish fox to consider his just deserts.[17] In the Rutland Psalter the pictorial vignette of the stork and fox appears beneath the text of Psalm 31 ("Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates"), where it visually exemplifies the unveiling of deception.

In a few cases, the historiated initials in the Apocalypse draw the reader's attention to the commentary. Responding to the exegete's declaration that the angels holding seven vials signify a "great mystery,"[18] the historiated initial on folio 30 (fig. 16) stages a demonstrative microdrama in which drapery is being pulled away from one of the inverted vials to reveal an upright chalice on a vested altar, visually defining the "great mystery" as the sacrament of the Eucharist. The spatial relationship of the "great sign" *(signum magnum)* suspended on the right above the chalice *(magna misteria)* also echoes their sequential order of appearance in the text, thus enabling the image to serve as a mnemonic device for the reader who wishes to commit the texts to memory.[19]

FIGURE 13a

The Angel Casting the Millstone into the Sea (Rev. 18:21–24). Fol. 38.

FIGURE 13b

Man Grinding Grain (detail of fig. 13a).

FIGURE 14a

The Lamb on Mount Sion (Rev. 14:1). Fol. 26.

FIGURE 14b

Shepherds Gazing at the Star of Bethlehem (detail of fig. 14a).

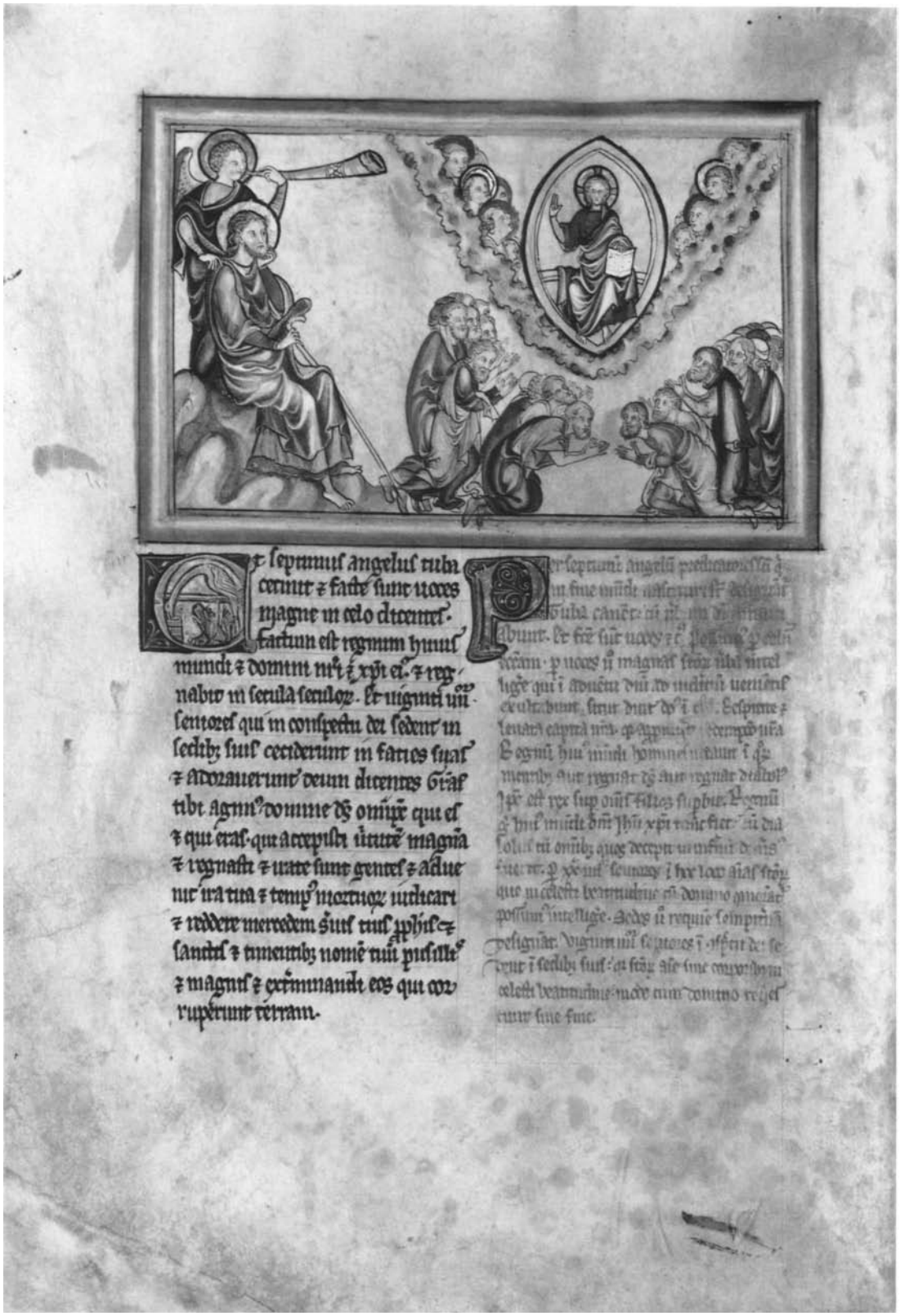

FIGURE 15a

The Seventh Trumpet (Rev. 11:15–18). Fol. 18v.

FIGURE 15b

The Stork and the Fox (detail of fig. 15a).

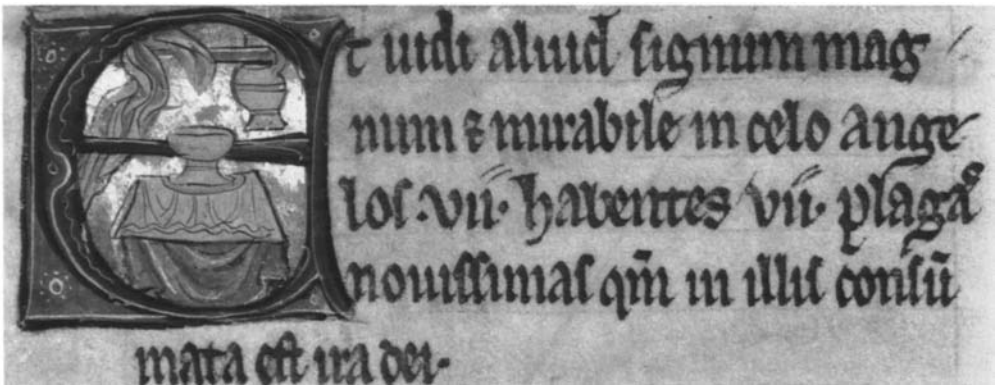

FIGURE 16

Chalice and Inverted Vial (historiated initial). Fol. 30.

Another, albeit circuitous, link with the gloss is given in the historiated initial for 5:7–12 (fig. 17b), beneath the framed representation of the Lamb taking the Book (fig. 17a). An elephant stands in the upper lobe of the letter *E,* while in the lower space a small white animal resembling a lamb crouches on a high columnar pedestal at the lower left, next to two wrestling men and another man pulling off his tunic to enter the fray. In the medieval Bestiary the elephant is identified with Christ as the savior of humankind: "[The elephant] is our Lord Jesus Christ; since he is greater than all, he is made the smallest of all because he humbled himself."[20] In the Getty Apocalypse the elephant's juxtaposition with the lamb within the initial as well as with the Christological Lamb in the framed miniature suggests a similar metaphorical function in a new context. The placement of the elephant and lamb in the upper and lower lobes of the letter serves to situate them in heavenly and earthly spheres, the latter characterized by the two wrestling men who exemplify human discord.[21] The elegantly silhouetted image of the elephant within the curvature of the letter *E* further guides the reader's attention to the initial word by its linking with the name of the animal *(elephantus),* starting within the same initial letter.[22] However, the insignificance of the word "Et" on which the reader is invited to find a mnemonic cue reminds us of the way in which the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poet Philippe de Thaon presented his Bestiary as a memory-book, for the verses accompanying each of its "pictures" advise the reader to remember the meaning of the text as a whole: "Aiez en remembrance, ceo est signifiance."[23]

Following another strategy, the body of a fallen eagle within the initial *E* accompanying the penultimate miniature in the Getty manuscript (fig. 18a) perhaps offers a link not only to the representation of the Battle Against the Beast within the frame but also to

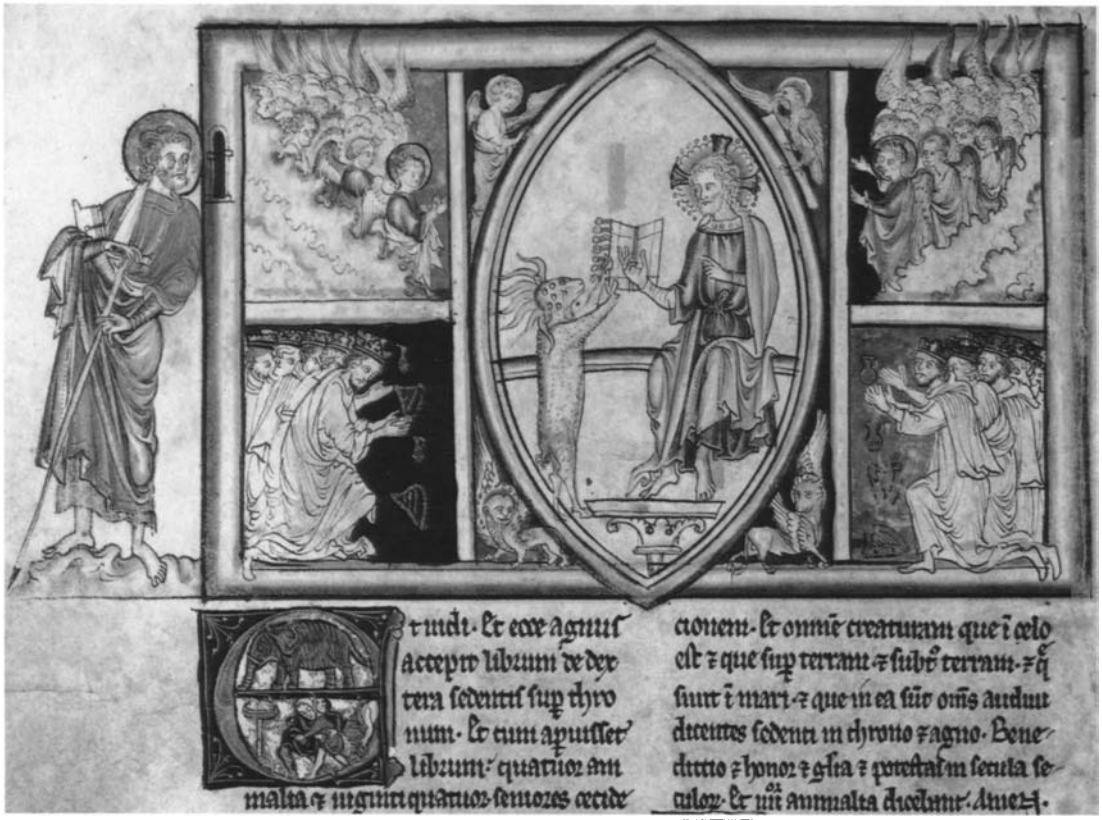

FIGURE 17a

The Lamb Taking the Book (Rev. 5:7–14). Fol. 5v.

FIGURE 17b

Elephant and Lamb (detail of fig. 17a).

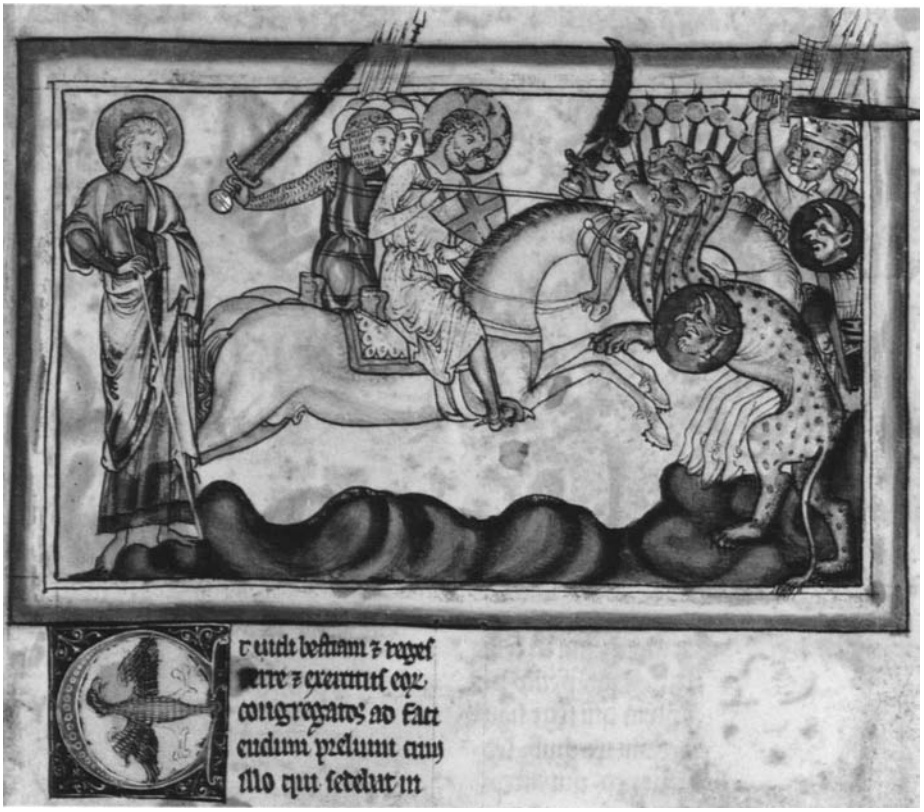

FIGURE 18a

The Battle Against the Beast (Rev. 19:19). Fol. 41.

FIGURE 18b

Fallen Eagle (detail of fig. 18a).

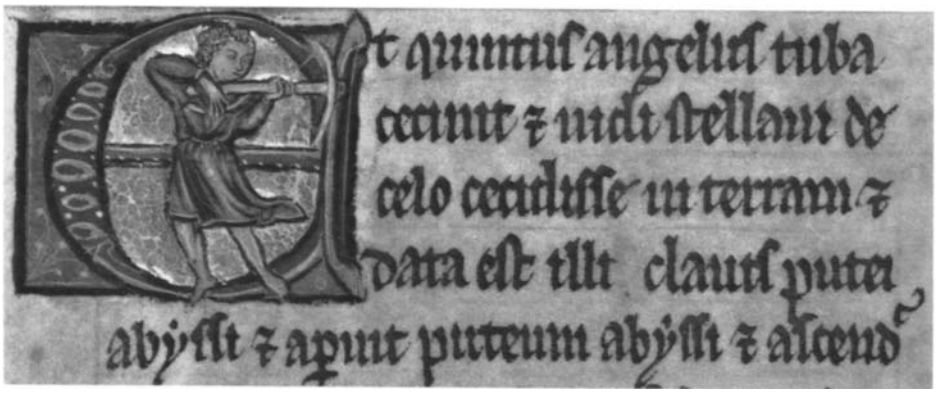

FIGURE 19

Man Shooting Crossbow at the Text (historiated initial). Fol. 13v.

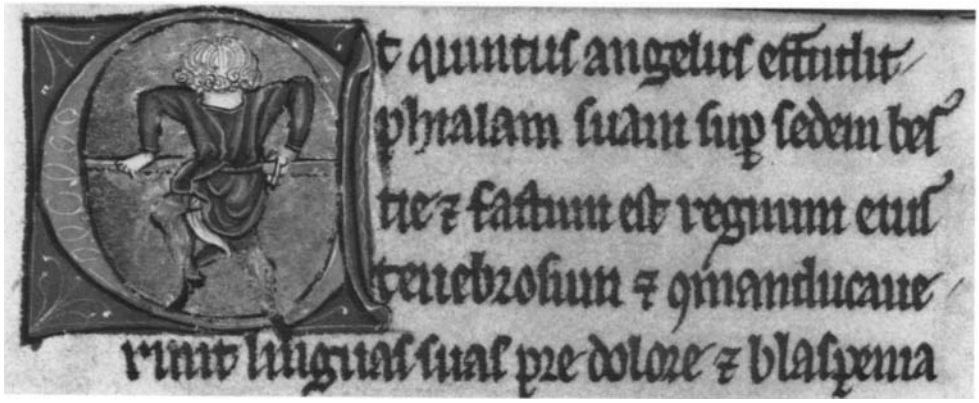

FIGURE 20

Dorsal Figure Attempting to Escape from the Text (historiated initial). Fol. 33v.

the aura of apocalyptic speculation that surrounded the momentous events of the thirteenth century outside the book. The imperial eagle with splayed claws (fig. 18b) can be recognized as the unmistakable emblem of the charismatic but fallen Frederick II (d. 1250).[24] Since visual logic would dictate that the eagle's spread wings should normally form the horizontal bar of the letter *E,* in which case it could perhaps be recognized as Saint John's symbol, there can be no doubt that the eagle image has been "troped" in the Getty initial to signify one of the text's "reges terre" toward which its turned body points. The titanic Church-State struggle between papacy and emperor was waged on one level by a barrage of abusive epithets.[25] Among the most explicit invocations of apocalyptic rhetoric was Gregory IX's characterization of the Hohenstaufen emperor as the Beast who rose from the sea to persecute the Church. Following the pope's second excommunication of Frederick II in 1239, he issued a letter entitled *Ascendit de mari bestia* to the archbishop of Canterbury in which he declared "the beast filled with the names of blasphemy has risen up from the sea . . . this beast is Frederick called emperor."[26] When the Getty Apocalypse was produced in the 1260s, the savage vendetta against the last of the Hohenstaufen rulers continued with prophecies concerning Manfred and hopes for the emergence of a third Frederick, among which was a tract entitled *Veniet aquila:* "An eagle with one head . . . will come"[27] Within the framed miniature John stands over the toppled imperial emblem as guarantor of the ultimate triumphant outcome of the struggle. Hence the fallen Hohenstaufen eagle embedded within this initial for the text "Et vidi bestiam" can be seen to invoke a contemporary eschatological interpretation of the Battle against the Beast, represented in the framed minia-

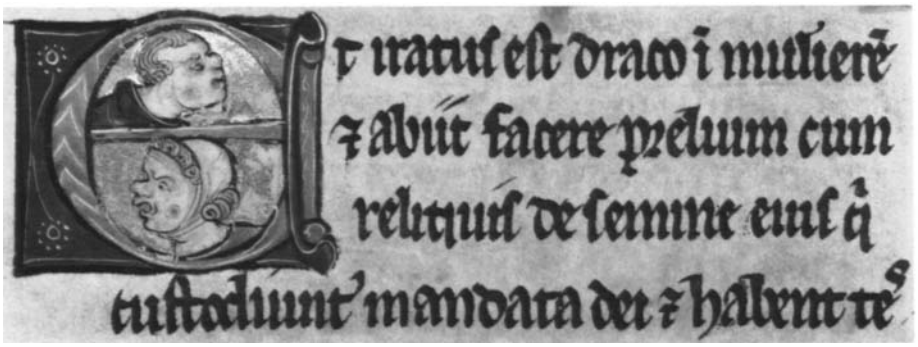

FIGURE 21

Grimacing Heads Exemplifying Anger (historiated initial). Fol. 22v.

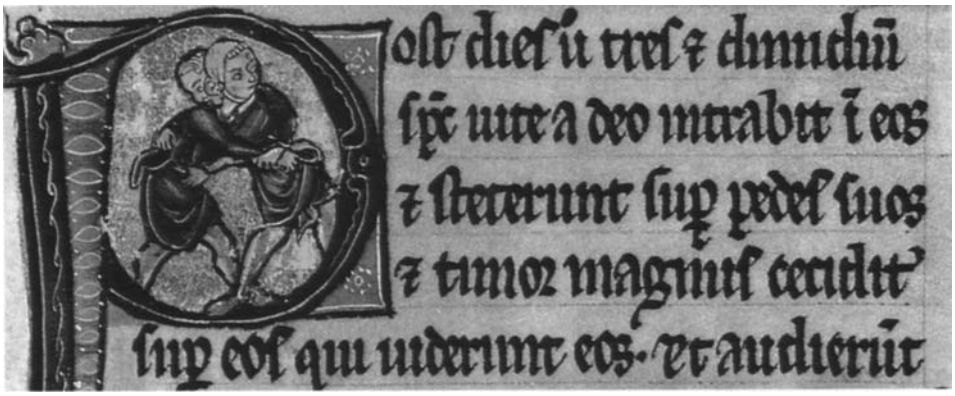

FIGURE 22

Wrestlers (historiated initial). Fol. 18.

ture above, as the ongoing struggle of the Church against the imperial ambitions of the thirteenth-century German emperors.

While the majority of the Getty's historiated initials resonate sympathetically if not empathetically with John's visions, his words come under occasional attack by hostile figures throwing stones or shooting arrows at the adjacent text. But in each case the object of the attack constitutes a verbal target worthy of destruction, such as the "star fallen from heaven opening the pit of the abyss" being shot at by a man with a crossbow (fig. 19).[28] Thus, the initials, in all their rich permutations, continue to tell the reader how to respond to the vision, whether it be represented in image or text. Another example (fig. 20) shows a dorsal figure hoisting himself up by grasping the horizontal bar of the *E* in an attempt literally to escape from the text passage describing the "empire plunged into darkness" and "men biting their tongues for pain," as the angel pours the Fifth Vial.

Beyond the kinds of miming and interpretive strategies we have discussed thus far is a category of mnemonic images in which words rather than actions or ideas are literally mimed *(imagines verborum)*.[29] On folio 22v (fig. 21), for example, the historiated initial contains two caricatured profile heads grimacing in anger and turned in opposite directions to cue the reader's memory to the key word *iratus* in the adjacent text. The image has been pulled out of context to denote a generic meaning of "anger" in human discourse, quite independent of its reference to the dragon's rage in Revelation 12:17. In a similar instance on folio 18 (fig. 22), we see two wrestlers struggling against one another, graphically referencing the word *dimidium* in the first line of the text, thus denoting "halved" or "divided" and connoting a sense of fight

FIGURE 23

Man and Woman Struggling (historiated initial). Fol. 10v.

FIGURE 24

Sower (historiated initial). Fol. 27.

or struggle unrelated to the text. The image of the grappling men works at odds with the pair of recumbent dead witnesses within the framed miniature above them, but the contextual rupture with Revelation 11:11 ("After three-and-a-half days God breathed life into them and they stood up") further serves to fix a salient word of the text ("Post diebus tres et *dimidium*") in the reader's memory.

More frequently the Getty initials constitute rebus-like images that pun visually on certain words or themes in the text, engaging in a mnemonic pictorial strategy similar to that encountered in the Cuerdon Psalter of around 1270 in which each psalm has an initial that "pictures" significant words of the text.[30] It is interesting to note that in the case of the Cuerdon Psalter, as perhaps with the Getty Apocalypse as well, a Latin text is apparently intended for memorization by a lay reader.[31] Such images are not iconographical, nor do they illustrate or explain the content of a particular text, but instead serve to make each page memorable and remind the reader that the text contains matter to be committed to memory. A striking instance of the rebus-like punning strategy occurs in the Getty Apocalypse on folio 10v (fig. 23), where we see a woman pushing and pulling at a man who is protesting and struggling against her, a memorable image not only because the woman literally has the upper hand but also because the pair appear to have no logical relationship to the adjacent text. However, as the man looks and gestures toward the word *thuribulum* (censer), the reader soon realizes the intended pun, *turbulum,* whose lexical denotation of anger, exasperation, or disturbance is graphically mimed in unexpected and even parodic gendered terms by the figures in the initial.[32]

In the Getty manuscript the initials become a kind of "living alphabet," vivid images easily fixed in the reader's memory. Thus the Apocalypse text deal-

FIGURE 25

Man Warming Himself Before a Fire (historiated initial). Fol. 21v.

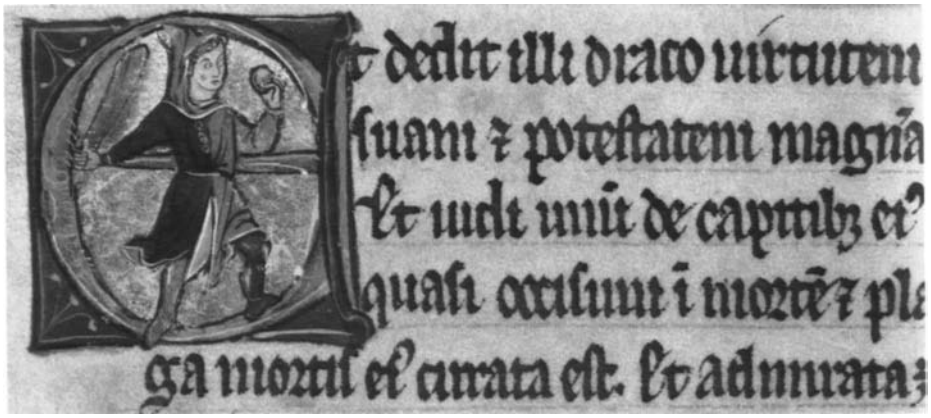

FIGURE 26

A Fool (historiated initial). Fol. 23v.

ing with the Eternal Gospel (14:6–7) is introduced by a figure sowing grain (fig. 24) from the Calendar iconography for October in contemporary Psalters.[33] The sower's punning strategy draws the reader's eye to the word *evangelium* (gospel) in the third line of the adjacent text by pictorially miming the word *evagandus* (spreading or scattering). Although such simple mnemonic puns are still readily accessible to the modern reader, some of the pictorial puzzles in the Getty manuscript do not lend themselves to easy solution and upon recovery seem forced or strained to modern readers unaccustomed to the playful lexical convolutions so frequently encountered in medieval discourse. Such a "difficult" case might be seen in the initial on folio 21v (fig. 25)[34] in which the medieval reader would have encountered the familiar figure of a man warming himself before a fire from the Calendar representation for the month of February. As the figure pokes the fire and lifts one foot to be warmed, he creates a directional line of action that focuses on the word *persecu-tus* which breaks at that point, alerting the reader to the pun intended by his pointing gestures, since *perscrutus* can denote "poking about." In this oblique but not untypical medieval way, a key word can be fixed in the reader's memory by the image.

Another instance of this type appears to occur in the familiar but contextually enigmatic representation of the Fool holding the club and round bread as identifying attributes on folio 23v (fig. 26).[35] In the context of Revelation 13:2, in which the Dragon hands over his power to the Beast, the God-denying Fool from Psalms 13 and 52 seems to make no sense but serves instead as a rebus-like mnemonic image refer-

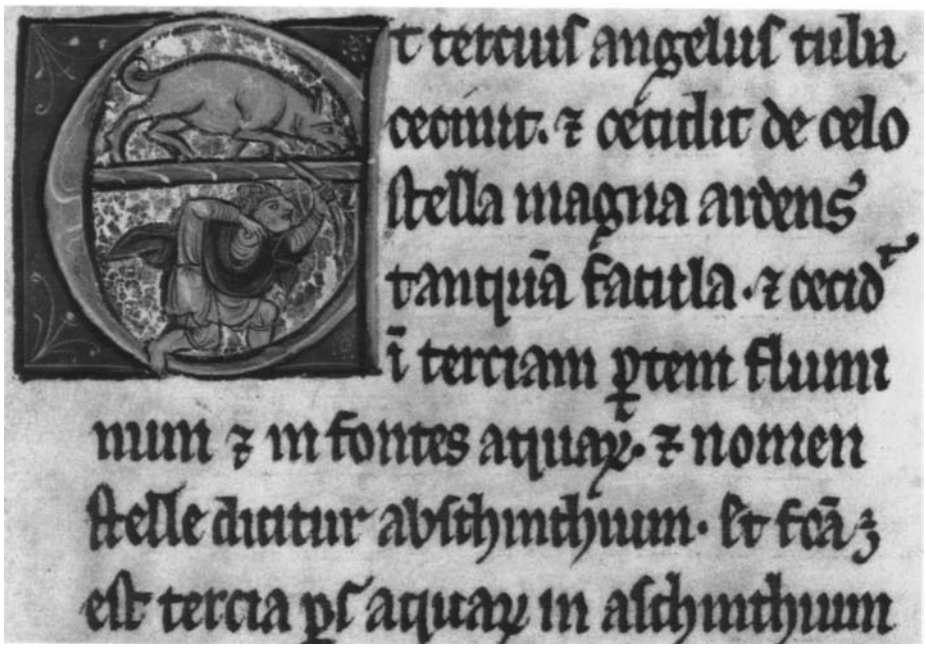

FIGURE 27

Boar and Archer (historiated initial). Fol. 12.

encing the word *virtutem* at the end of the first line of text and to which the figure's glance and gestures are directed. By virtue of his bicolored tunic, which is an unusual attribute in the thirteenth century,[36] the Fool's *varietatem* or varicolored attire fixes the word *virtutem* in the reader's mind by means of a visual pun.

Our last examples—on folios 8v, 12, and 13v (see figs. 19 and 27)—form a related group of figures engaged in shooting arrows. All are taking aim, that is, *telum conlineare* or *telo petere.* The key word here is *telo* (arrow or missile), which sounds like or rhymes with *celo/celum,* which occurs in all three texts adjacent to the bowmen: Revelation 6:14 ("et celum recessit") on folio 8v, where a man standing in the left margin aims an arrow at the line in which the word occurs; 8:10 ("et cecidit de celo stella") on folio 12, where the text is introduced by an historiated initial (fig. 27) in which a boar and hunter converge on the line containing the word *celo*; and 9:1 ("et vidi stellam de celo cecidisse") on folio 13v (fig. 19), where a hunter aims at an analogous lexical quarry in the adjacent text. In the last example, the inclusion of the boar in the image on folio 12 (fig. 27) would seem to reference another mnemonic target. In the same way that Hugh of St. Cher's *ursus* was intended to call up *umbra* in the psalm text because the two words start with the same initial letter,[37] the image of the boar in the Getty Apocalypse might remind the reader of *absinthium,* a salient word that occurs twice in the text, by recalling the image of *aper* (wild boar).

By virtue not only of its framed miniatures but also of its historiated initials and marginal figures of Saint John, the Getty manuscript offers one of the most revealing glimpses into the medieval charisma of the thirteenth-century English illuminated Apocalypse. It was the act of looking at pictured visions that gave such books their value and power. The manuscript's images served not only as a record of things seen and a present object of sight but also provided the viewer-reader with optical instructions for the acts of looking, reading, and remembering in the perception and absorption of the book. In a sense, the illuminated Apocalypse was perceived and used by medieval readers as an instrument of salvific power. In all their pictorial complexity, the images in the Getty Apocalypse reveal a profound belief in vision as an active principle, a belief in the power of images to embody more than simple representations of text.

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NOTES

1. Acc. no. 83.MC.72. Formerly Dyson Perrins Ms. 10, the manuscript was acquired from H. P. Kraus by the Ludwig collection (Ms. III.1) in 1975. Comprising forty-one folios (32 x 22.4 cm [12½ x 9 in.]), the manuscript has lost its last five folios. The Latin Apocalypse text is preceded by a prologue ("Piissimi Caesari . . .") and is accompanied by an abbreviated Berengaudus commentary in rubric, ending with Revelation 19. Two half-page illustrations from the Life of John (fols. 1–1v) survive from what was probably an original series of eight miniatures, followed by eighty Apocalypse illustrations (fols. 2–41v); ten illustrations have been lost from the end of the manuscript. See M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Latin, MS 10 in the Collection of Dyson Perrins* (Oxford, 1927); G. Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968), pp. 103–21, 124, 131, 139–42; H. P. Kraus, *Monumenta Codicum Manu Scriptorum: An Exhibition Catalogue of Manuscripts* (New York, 1974), pp. 48–51, no. 20; idem, *In Retrospect: A Catalogue of 100 Outstanding Manuscripts Sold in the Last Four Decades by H. P. Kraus* (New York, 1978), pp. 82–85, no. 27; A. von Euw and J. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig,* vol. 1 (Cologne, 1979), pp. 191–98; R. Emmerson and S. Lewis, "Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations, ca. 800–1500, II," *Traditio* 41 (1985), p. 392, no. 80; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250–1285* (London, 1988), pp. 98–100, no. 124.
2. British Library Ms. Add. 35166 also survives in an incomplete state, comprising thirty-eight folios (28.8 x 22 cm [11 5/16 x 8 11/16 in.]); eighteen folios have been lost. See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum, 1894–1899* (London, 1901), p. 194; P. Brieger and P. Verdier, *Art and the Courts: France and England from 1259 to 1328* (Ottawa, 1972), pp. 91–92, no. 20; Emmerson and Lewis (note 1), pp. 385–86, no. 67; Morgan (note 1), pp. 100–101, no. 125.
3. While the marginal representations of Saint John have been perceptively commented upon in another context by G. Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination, II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968), pp. 106–8, the historiated initials in the Getty Apocalypse have passed unnoticed. The last plate in the James facsimile (note 1) reproduces sixteen of the initials without comment.
4. On the practice of providing written notes for the illuminator, see S. Berger and P. Durrieu, "Les notes pour l'enlumineur dans les manuscrits du moyen âge," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 3 (1893), pp. 1–30. For a recent discussion of this and other practices, see A. Stones, "Indications écrites et modèles picturaux, guides aux peintres de manuscrits enluminés aux environs de 1300," *Artistes, artisans et productions artistiques au Moyen Age,* vol. 3, ed. X. Barral i Altet (Paris, 1990), pp. 321–49. Preliminary marginal drawings first appear in the early thirteenth century, but examples are fairly rare. Most recently J. J. G. Alexander, "Preliminary Marginal Drawings in Medieval Manuscripts," *Artistes, artisans et production artistique,* vol. 3, pp. 307–19, lists fifty-three examples, extending the earlier number compiled by H. Martin, "Les ésquisses des miniatures," *Revue archéologique* 4 (1904), pp. 17–45. Examples occurring in English Gothic Apocalypse manuscripts will be discussed in my book currently in preparation.
5. Alexander (note 4), p. 307.
6. On the author as a repository of memory, see D. Howard, *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 137 and 149.
7. Martianus Capella [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* ed. and trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 215–21, III.36–37. On the widespread medieval use and commentaries on this text, see J. O. Ward, "From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica," Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric,* ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 25–67. See also F. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 51–104; M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 71–74, 122–23, 154–55; and J. B. Friedman, "Les images mnémotechniques dans les manuscrits de l'époque gothique," *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale,* ed. B. Roy and P. Zumthor (Montreal, 1985), pp. 169–83.
8. For a further discussion of the mnemonic functions of Apocalypse illustration, see S. Lewis, "The English Gothic Illustrated Apocalypse, *Lectio divina,* and the Art of Memory," *Word and Image* 7 (1991), pp. 1–32.
9. Executed in fully painted colors with gold grounds, the historiated and decorated initials in the Getty Apocalypse closely resemble those in contemporary English Bibles and Psalters, such as those in the Sidney Bible, ca. 1260–70 (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Ms. 96); see Morgan (note 1), pp. 169–70, no. 168.
10. The only exception is offered by Add. 35166, a manuscript closely related to the Getty Apocalypse (see note 2), in which the initials are also large (four lines) and fully painted in colors and gold. Unlike the Getty's fully historiated letters, however, the initials are decorated exclusively with ornamental patterns.
11. Here, the Getty text is irregular, omitting verses 2–8 so that 1:1 is followed by verses 9–10 and the same radically abbreviated version of Revelation 2–3 that appears in the Metz group. On the family of Apocalypse manuscripts headed by Metz, see P. Klein, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie: Der englischen Bilderapokalypsen der Frühgotik und MS Douce 180* (Graz, 1984), pp. 161–62.
12. A similar contrast between blindness and insight occurs on folio 9v (fig. 1), where the wimple-framed face of a woman gazes at the reader, while, below, a caricatured profile head in a Jew's pointed cap turns away from the text; his face as well as a figure below him who is hurling a stone at the text are both obscured in a shadow created by a dark wash covering the drawings.
13. The Douce Apocalypse (Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 180, p. 59) seems to offer the only other instance in which this kind of reference is made, but here a horned Moses is seated within the framed miniature, holding the Tablets of the Law.
14. In most of the manuscripts within the Westminster group related to the Getty Apocalypse, the worshipers have been transformed into lambs; see Klein (note 11), pp. 126–28.
15. "Agnus itaque Christum demonstrat." Although the extension of such exegetical functions to figural initials has rarely been commented upon, similarly significant content has been persuasively demonstrated in a number of twelfth-century examples by T. A. Heslop, "Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of Its Mysteries," *Art History* 9 (1986), pp. 1–11.
16. British Library Ms. Add. 62925, fol. 34. See L. M. Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illustration," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957), p. 104 and figs. 8–9. The fable of the Fox and Stork is appended to one of Jacques de Vitry's sermons delivered to merchants; see T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890), p. 71, no. CLXV. In addition to that in the Rutland Psalter, illustrations of the fable appear in Douce

Ms. 5, fol. 35; Douce Ms. 6, fol. 92; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. 45, fols. 104 and 147; Ms. 85, fols. 50v, 52; Ms. 104, fols. 82 and 210v. See also L. M. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 17 and figs. 174–81. The fable also occurs in earlier English medieval carvings; see K. Varty, *Reynard the Fox: A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art* (Leicester, 1967), pp. 95 and 99–100.

17. H. Oesterley, *Romulus: Die Paraphrasen des Phaedrus und die Aesopische Fabel im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1870), p. 59, no. II.14. The fable of the Fox and Stork was illustrated in Latin Romulus-Aesop manuscripts as early as the eleventh century in the Codex Vossianus (fol. 203); see A. Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1947), p. 3 and pl. 34; G. Thiele, *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop* (Leiden, 1905), p. 61, pl. 18.
18. "Ita et hic antequam ad septem angelorum phialas habentium narrationem veniat . . . ut indicat magna mysteria in eorum visione contineri."
19. On Hugh of St. Victor's advice on the mnemonic utility of the location of words and images on the manuscript page, see Carruthers (note 7), pp. 9, 263–64 et passim.
20. G. C. Druce, "The Elephant in Medieval Legend and Art," *Archaeological Journal* 76 (1919), p. 7, based on the thirteenth-century Bestiary text in British Library, Ms. Harley 3244, under the heading, "De elephante jumentorum rege." See also F. McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960), p. 116. L. Randall, "An Elephant in the Litany: Further Thoughts on an English Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery (D.102)," in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy,* ed. W. B. Clark and M. T. McMunn (Philadelphia, 1989), p. 110 and fig. 7.9, discusses an analogous liminal appearance of the elephant occurring as a line-ending in the Windmill Psalter, where it points its trunk at the opening words of the canticle *Te Deum* (Morgan Ms. M.102, fol. 162).
21. On the representation of "Discord," see S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 228–29.
22. For a discussion of a similar but more complex mnemonic use of common initial letters, see Carruthers (note 7), pp. 128–29, who analyzes Hugh of St. Cher's use of *ursus* to evoke *umbra* in his commentary on Psalm 22:4 ("in medio umbrae mortis").
23. As pointed out by Carruthers (note 7), pp. 126–27. On Philippe de Thaon's Bestiary, see McCulloch (note 20), pp. 47–54. For an excellent but more general discussion, see B. Rowland, "The Art of Memory and the Bestiary," in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages* (note 20), pp. 12–25.
24. Frederick received the imperial golden eagle from Philippe Auguste in 1214 after his defeated rival Otto IV of Brunswick had left it lying on the battlefield at Bouvines; see Lewis (note 21), p. 256.
25. B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Tradition in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), pp. 168–72. The best general study of this literature is F. Graefe, *Die Publizistik in der letzten Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs II* (Heidelberg, 1909); also H. M. Schaller, "Endzeit-Erwartung und Antichrist-Vorstellungen in der Politik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel,* vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1972), pp. 924–47.
26. McGinn (note 25), pp. 173–74, translated from J. Huillard-Bréholles, *Diplomatica Friderici Secundi,* V/1 (Paris, 1857), p. 327.
27. McGinn (note 25), p. 178, quoted from O. Holder-Egger, "Italienische Prophetien des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv* 15 (1890), pp. 165–68; see M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 311–12; B. Töpfer, *Das kommende Reich des Friedens* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 169–70, 172–73; R. E. Lerner, "Medieval Prophecy and Religious Dissent," *Past and Present* 72 (1976), pp. 15 and 21, nn. 38 and 53.
28. Similarly, on folio 12 (fig. 27), a boar and hunter with bow and arrow converge toward the text describing "the great burning star" falling from heaven at the sound of the Third Trumpet. On folio 25v, a dorsal figure is poised to hurl a large stone at the beast being adored in the framed miniature above.
29. On medieval memory systems involving memory for words and *imagines verborum,* see Carruthers (note 7), pp. 226–27.
30. Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. M.756, probably made in Oxford, ca. 1270; see Morgan (note 1), vol. 2, pp. 157–59, no. 162. For an analysis of the rebus-like historiated initials in the Cuerdon Psalter and their function in a medieval memory system, see Carruthers (note 7), pp. 227–28, 245–47 and figs. 10–13.
31. On folio 10v, a layman and woman, presumably the first owners of the book, are represented kneeling in adoration of the Virgin and Child enthroned; see Morgan (note 1), fig. 312. Elsewhere in Cuerdon's historiated initials, Dominican figures appear frequently, suggesting that a preaching friar had an advisory role in the design of the book.
32. The topos of the "woman on top" has been a potent, if often humorous, image of unthinkable disorder. For a discussion of sex-role reversal in preindustrial Europe, see N. Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 124–51.
33. On the iconography of the Labors of the Months, see J. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art* (Princeton, 1938); R. Tuve, *Seasons and Months* (Cambridge, 1974); J. Le Sénécal, "Les occupations des mois dans l'iconographie du Moyen Age," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 35 (1921–23), pp. 9–218; E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 67–78.
34. Here the text for 12:13–14 is illustrated by a framed representation of the Woman in the Sun being given eagle's wings to effect her flight from the Dragon.
35. On the iconography of the Fool, see D. J. Gifford, "Iconographical Notes Towards a Definition of the Medieval Fool," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), pp. 336–38; H. Meier, "Die Figur des Narren in der christlichen Ikonographie des Mittelalters," *Das Münster* 8 (1955), pp. 1–5; V. Osteneck, "Narr Tor," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* vol. 3 (Rome-Freiburg, 1971), cols. 314–16.
36. A fool similarly attired in a bicolored costume appears in the commentary illustration for the Fourth Vial in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse; see S. Lewis, *"Tractatus adversus Judaeos* in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), pp. 562–63 and fig. 25.

Pontormo and Bronzino at the Certosa

Elizabeth Pilliod

Although Bronzino's training by Pontormo has always been considered of crucial importance in the biographies of both artists, the exact nature of this training remains unclear. In part this mirrors the state of our art-historical knowledge of the early decades of the sixteenth century, for while the medieval and early Renaissance practices of master and apprentice are recorded by Cennino Cennini in *The Craftsman's Handbook,*[1] our information is rather limited about the early sixteenth century, in which the strict bottega system described by Cennini apparently began to relax and movements were under way that would lead to the formation of academies of art.[2]

According to the traditional system, at a fairly young age, between eleven and fifteen, an aspiring artist would become apprenticed to a master, remaining in the workshop, or bottega, for approximately six years. After first mastering such simple tasks as grinding colors or preparing the surface to be painted, the young artist then graduated to less pedestrian exercises, learning to draw by copying images from pattern books, medals, small models of clay or plaster, and the master's own drawings, all of which constituted valuable shop tools. At some point, the young pupil may have been charged with the relatively simple portions of his master's work, perhaps painting uncomplicated areas, such as backgrounds or passages of drapery, leaving the master to complete the most difficult parts, including faces, gestures, and the human figure. Or in a multipart commission, while the master executed the centerpiece that would command most of the viewer's attention, a student might have been given responsibility for a painting that was relatively small or less visible. Therefore the commission itself was the product of the collaborative effort of both artists, although scholarship has tended to concentrate authorship in one name alone.[3]

It is this pivotal aspect of the relationship between master and pupil that is represented in a drawing by Jacopo da Pontormo (1494–1557) recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 1). The sketch is a study from life of a reclining youth, perhaps one of Pontormo's own apprentices, executed in black chalk on paper.[4] As no background is indicated for the figure, only the model's position indicates the floor or platform on which he posed. The figure is propped up, his back perhaps supported, although the source of that support is invisible. There is as well some ambiguity about the artist's vantage point: it is difficult to say whether Pontormo was somewhat above or directly across from his model. Only the upcast eyes suggest that Pontormo was looking down at his subject; however, since the eyes have been redrawn, their precise position remains ambiguous.

Nicholas Turner was the first to propose Pontormo as the author of the sketch and its relationship to a specific painting, *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in the Certosa at Galluzzo, just outside the city of Florence (fig. 2).[5] The mural of Saint Lawrence was painted in a lunette at the end of the corridor leading from the church to the main cloister of the monastery of the Carthusians, not by Pontormo himself, but by his premier pupil, Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572). According to the account given by Vasari in the *Vite,* at the outbreak of the plague in 1522 Pontormo departed Florence and escaped to the relative peace and safety of the Certosa, taking with him only Bronzino.[6] While some of Pontormo's contemporaries thought him a highly private and unsociable man, he was, however, particularly solicitous of Bronzino. He showed his affection not only by taking this favorite disciple with him to the Certosa (a pattern repeated in later years with other commissions) but also by introducing a portrait of Bronzino as a boy into one of the panels he painted for the decoration of Pierfrancesco Borgherini's bedroom.[7] The mutual affection of the two artists is mentioned several times by Vasari, who declares that Pontormo loved Bronzino as if he were

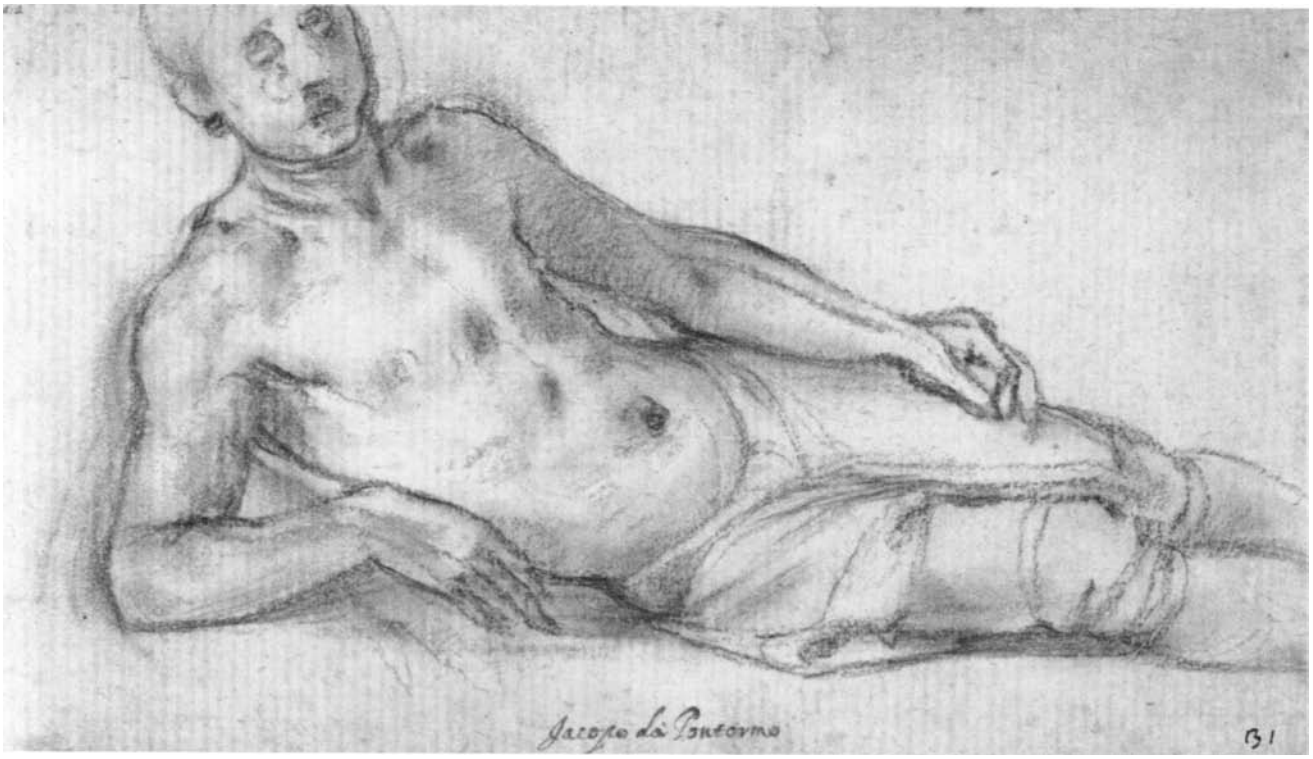

FIGURE 1

Jacopo da Pontormo (Italian, 1494–1557). *Study for a Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence,* 1525. Black chalk with traces of white heightening on paper, 15.8 x 27.5 cm (6 3/16 x 10 13/16 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 90.GA.22.

his son and that Bronzino was so kind to Pontormo that the irascible older painter was forced to love him.[8] In later years, Bronzino amply demonstrated his gratitude for Pontormo's love and assistance by looking after his aging master, attempting to provide Pontormo with some amusement and decent meals, sometimes even against Pontormo's own wishes.[9]

While at the Certosa, Pontormo painted in fresco in the arches of the main courtyard five scenes from the Passion of Christ.[10] The work was conducted over several years, beginning early in 1523 and certainly concluding by the end of 1527.[11] After describing these paintings in some detail, Vasari adds that "while his master was working on the above-mentioned works at the Certosa, Bronzino . . . did—without ever having seen painting with oils—on the wall above the door of the cloister that enters the church, inside above an arch, a nude Saint Lawrence on the grill. . . . "[12] On the other side of the same lunette, facing the great cloister, Bronzino also painted a fresco, "una Pietà con due angeli," or a Man of Sorrows, a devotional image of the dead Christ supported by angels and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion (fig. 3).[13] Vasari furthermore states that among Bronzino's maiden efforts the *Saint Lawrence* "pleased [Pontormo] infinitely."[14] It is now possible to give fairly precise dates for both of these paintings. A record has been found that shows a payment to Bronzino in June of 1524 for his finished *Pietà* and another payment for the colors for the *Saint Lawrence* in November 1525.[15] Since the second notice refers only to the purchase of colors "to paint" the *Saint Lawrence,* we may conclude the *Saint Lawrence* was begun in 1525 but probably finished in 1526.

While the *Saint Lawrence* and the *Pietà* were not strictly part of Pontormo's Passion cycle, they are not utterly divorced from its theme. The *Pietà,* which is painted on the lunette above the door that faces the cloister where Pontormo's frescoes were located, represents an iconic vision of the suffering Christ, whose historical suffering is the theme of Pontormo's nearby Passion scenes. The *Saint Lawrence* on the interior surface of the same lunette is another image of self-sacrifice, that of a martyr saint who is willing to give up his own life for his faith. The early Roman Saint Lawrence, whose torture for his faith was to be

FIGURE 2

Agnolo Bronzino (Italian, 1503–1572). *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, 1525–26. Oil and gesso. Galluzzo, Florence, Certosa. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie. This photograph was taken around the time of World War II.

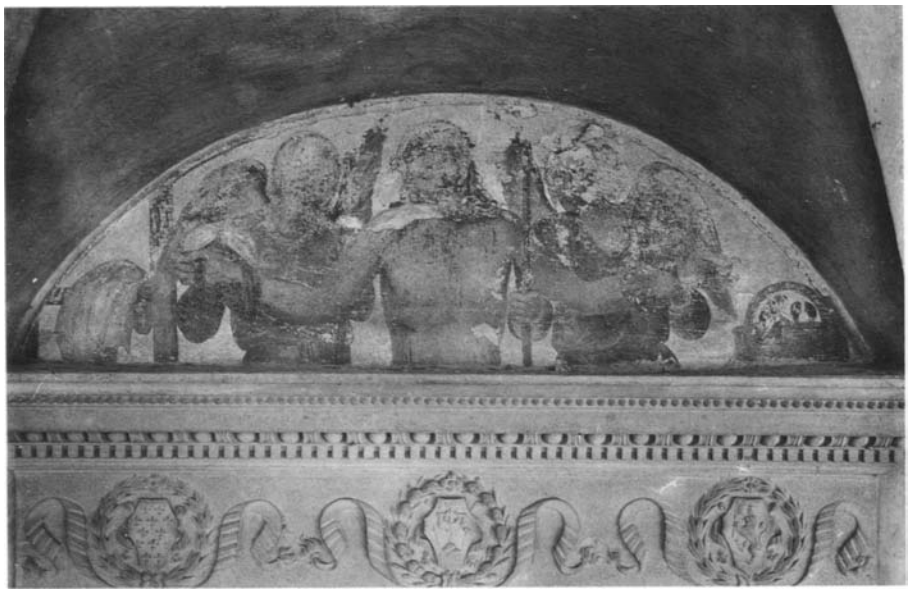

FIGURE 3

Agnolo Bronzino. *The Pietà*, 1524. Fresco. Galluzzo, Florence, Certosa. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

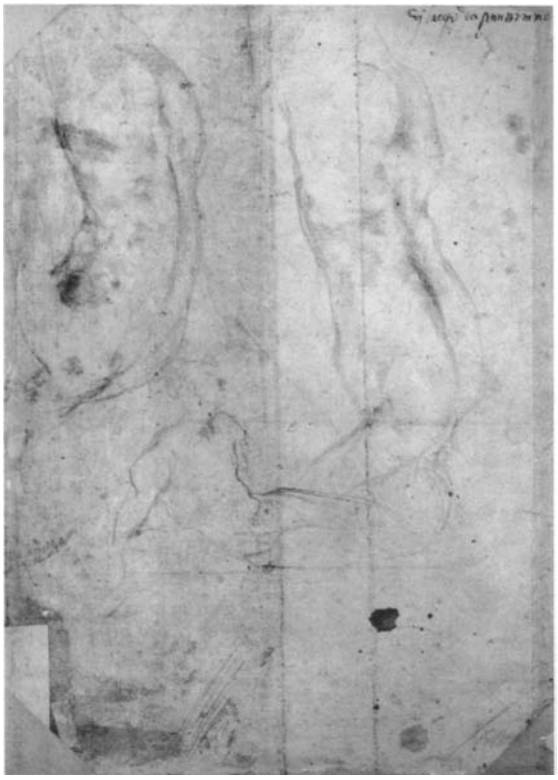

FIGURE 4

Pontormo. Studies for *The Way to Calvary* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence,* ca. 1525. Black chalk with traces of white heightening and red chalk on paper, 24.3 x 36.1 cm (9 9/16 x 14 3/16 in.). Florence, Uffizi 6529F verso. Photo: Fototeca Berenson.

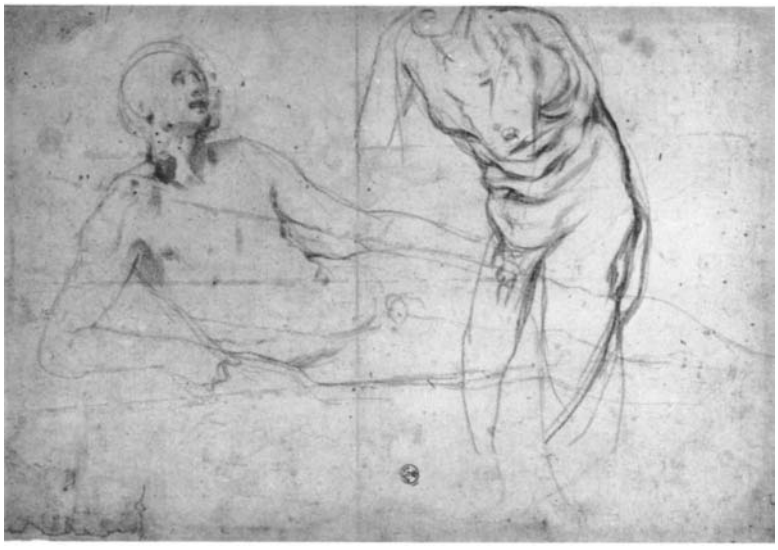

FIGURE 5

Pontormo. Studies for *The Way to Calvary* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence,* ca. 1525. Red chalk on paper, 24.3 x 36.1 cm (9 9/16 x 14 3/16 in.). Florence, Uffizi 6529F recto. Photo: Fototeca Berenson.

roasted on a sizzling-hot gridiron, was the titular saint of the church at the Certosa, called San Lorenzo al Monte. The gridiron was often shown as the attribute of Saint Lawrence, or he was depicted prone on one as in the Certosa painting. Mocking his tormenters, Lawrence was said to have remarked, "Assasti unam partem, gira et aliam et manducca," or "This side is done enough; turn me over so I'll be well done." Although Saint Lawrence survived this torture, he was subsequently executed. In Bronzino's rendition, the palm and crown of martyrdom are bestowed upon Lawrence by the putto descending from above.

Although Vasari said the two lunettes at the Certosa gave a hint of Bronzino's coming greatness,[16] both paintings are now in such lamentable condition as to frustrate attempts to judge the quality of Bronzino's early efforts.[17] The earlier painting is virtually illegible, its surface eroded and pitted; it is much clearer in the photograph than in reality (fig. 3). More grievous is the situation of the *Saint Lawrence* (fig. 2), which is undoubtedly altered in appearance.[18] Two comments in Vasari's description may begin to explain the repainting the image has undergone. First, Vasari described the saint as a nude Saint Lawrence, which it clearly no longer is.[19] The later addition of drapery presumably tempered the image for subsequent Counter-Reformation audiences, who were wary of the capacity of images of nudity to generate lascivious thoughts.[20] Second, Vasari mentioned that the *Saint Lawrence* was painted in "olio sul muro," in contrast to the *Pietà,* which was "a fresco."[21] If it is recalled that Vasari introduced this painting by saying he had never painted before in oils, we must assume that Vasari made the distinctions between media deliberately and that the *Saint Lawrence* was executed with some mixture of oil. Painted in a medium much less resilient than that of true fresco, Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence* was certainly doomed to erode. So poor is the condition of its companion *Pietà* that we must assume that both surfaces of the arch have suffered greatly over the years. Still, despite the repainting of the *Saint Lawrence,* the essential lines describing the form of the reclining saint remain those of Bronzino, as their close correspondence with Pontormo's drawing demonstrates.

Only Craig Hugh Smyth has studied the early paintings of Bronzino, attempting to chart the artist's development, including his rather mysterious initial training before entering Pontormo's workshop. According to the sources, Bronzino studied first for two years with an anonymous painter and then for an unspecified time with Raffaellino del Garbo (1466–1524).[22] Smyth perceived some similarities between Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence* and figures in paintings by Raffaellino del Garbo.[23] He rightly compared the old-fashioned aspects of the *Saint Lawrence* and the *Man of Sorrows* to works by del Garbo and to the tradition of late-fifteenth-century painting in general.[24] Yet the instability of Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence,* Smyth proposed, might have been evidence of Bronzino's attempt to change his style by abandoning the earth-bound hunks of flesh that inhabited del Garbo's pictures in order to approximate instead the effects of levitation that Pontormo was experimenting with in the Certosa Passion frescoes, which of course stood before the apprentice painter as examples of Pontormo's radically new style.

Bronzino's painted version of Pontormo's figure drawing is not entirely successful (see figs. 1–2). In Bronzino's painting, the figure's hips tip up toward the picture plane rather than recede slightly, thus consigning him to an uncomfortable, two-dimensional position on a grill whose receding orthogonals nonetheless establish the figure's three-dimensional existence. As Smyth pointed out, this may have been Bronzino's attempt to capture an effect found in Pontormo's own paintings at the Certosa: an impression of actual weight and position for the figure that is simultaneously contradicted by a sense of weightlessness and the dislocation of space. These effects were first achieved by Pontormo in his own Certosa paintings, but they certainly eluded his student. Yet some details of the master's drawing were successfully replicated by Bronzino in his *Saint Lawrence.* These details include the contour of Lawrence's right fore- and upper-arm and the triangular void between the arm and his rib cage; the outline of the hip where it descends to the floor or grill; the line of the left shoulder and arm and the space between it and the torso; and, finally, the rhomboid-shaped left hand, ready to grasp the palm offered by the putto. Comparison shows that in painting the *Saint Lawrence* Bronzino followed Pontormo's sketch closely, copying faithfully many of its anatomical details but failing to capture its complicated spatial organization and the ambiguity of the relationship between figure and ground. That so many of the outlines and details in the drawing recur in Bronzino's painting suggests that the Getty sketch should be considered among the final ideas for the painting. Such a conclusion is strengthened by comparison with two other sketches by Pontormo for the *Saint Lawrence.*

With the discovery of the sheet now in the Getty

Museum, we now have a third study by Pontormo for Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence.* Two other drawings have been known to scholars and are preserved in the Uffizi (figs. 4–5).[25] These are abstract figure studies, probably drawn from the artist's imagination, a composite "idea" of the figure whose purpose was to establish its general position. Although these drawings, which appear on the recto and verso of a single sheet, are undoubtedly for the same figure, in style they are utterly different from the Getty sketch. In the Getty drawing Pontormo has gone over the form several times, blurring the outlines, building up the form with soft, broad strokes of black chalk, and using the paper's texture to add substance to the form. This bold, broad approach is not found in the two other studies. In these, the reclining figure of Saint Lawrence is very lightly drawn, Pontormo evidently using a red chalk sharpened to such a fine point that the line approaches the thinness of a pen point in some areas. He has created the form almost exclusively through the use of delicate external contour lines, with little or none of the internal modeling found in the Getty example. Furthermore, unessential parts are simply left out: for instance, in both earlier versions the figure is incomplete, lacking lower legs and feet; in the case of one of the two studies (fig. 4), Pontormo did not even finish the arms and hands. There is a slight difference in the heads: on the recto (fig. 5) Pontormo drew a skull-like head; on the verso (fig. 4) an idealized youthful profile with a tuft of hair springing from the forehead. Yet neither head approaches the huge-eyed innocence of the Getty Saint Lawrence, whose head is almost identical with that of the model in several of Pontormo's contemporary studies, for instance, the *Penitent Saint Jerome* (fig. 6).[26] Unfortunately, Bronzino returned to the less expressive profile view found in the Uffizi drawings when he came to produce the painting.

The two Uffizi drawings appear on both sides of a sheet containing other studies by Pontormo for one of his own paintings at the Certosa, the *Way to Calvary* fresco for the monk's cloister (fig. 7) that was part of the Passion cycle. The relationship of the sketches for figures in the *Way to Calvary* fresco to the sketches on the same sheet for Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence* is complicated. On the verso (fig. 4), executed in black chalk with some white heightening, are two studies for nude torsos that seem to be related to figures on the left side of Pontormo's *Way to Calvary.*[27] After drawing the two large figures, Pontormo then turned the sheet around and, now using red chalk, drew the

FIGURE 6

Pontormo. *Study for the Penitent Saint Jerome,* ca. 1525–26. Red chalk over faint black chalk, squared in red chalk on paper, 26.6 x 19.9 cm (10½ x 7 13/16 in.). Florence, Uffizi 441F recto. Photo: Fototeca Berenson.

much smaller sketch for the *Saint Lawrence* over the two large nudes. There can be no doubt that the red chalk study is one of the early ideas for Bronzino's painting. It is a small, quick sketch with little detail in the figure itself, yet it establishes the relationship of the figure to the grill. Two lines define the form of the grill: one can be seen at the bottom of the figure; the other, which delineates one of the bars of the grill, is visible in the triangular area created by the bent arm of Lawrence.

On the recto (fig. 5) of this same fascinating sheet, there is another red chalk study for a figure in Pontormo's *Way to Calvary.* This figure study was for the man bent over, who stares out at the viewer as he carries the end of the cross.[28] It is, however, another sketch for the Saint Lawrence that dominates the recto. The figure is similar to the tiny Saint Lawrence on the verso but with more detail, and there is some

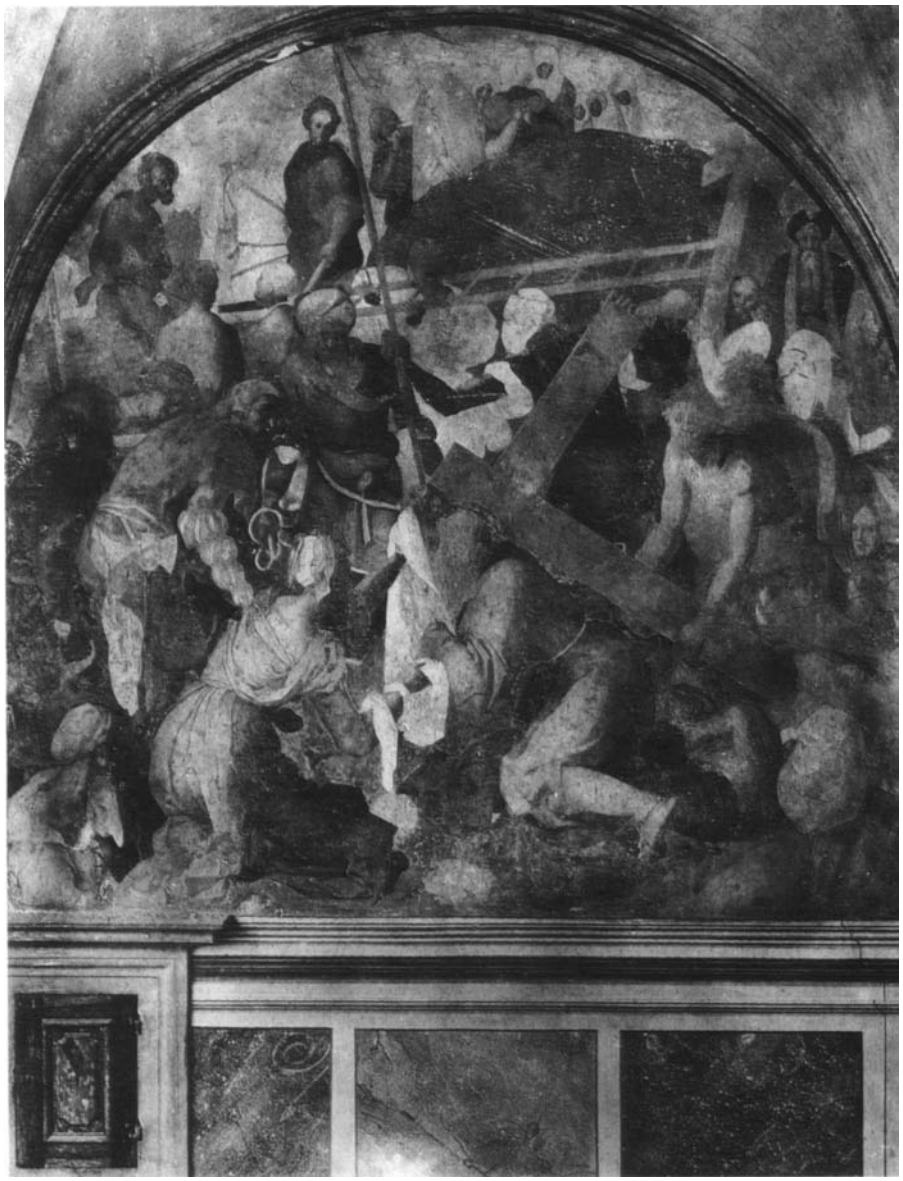

FIGURE 7

Pontormo. *The Way to Calvary,* 1525–26. Fresco. Galluzzo, Florence, Certosa. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

internal modeling of the neck and shoulders. Here Pontormo has drawn the Lawrence several times larger than he did on the verso and has dispensed with the grill. While the smaller drawing on the verso provided the general composition, on the recto Pontormo studied the figure itself a bit more, apparently a step preparatory to the detailed study from life preserved in the Getty drawing. The figure of Saint Lawrence is centered on the Uffizi sheet and was the primary sketch on the recto; the lines describing the legs of the standing figure clearly were drawn over the figure of Saint Lawrence. The figure of the saint comfortably fills the horizontal field, while the man holding the end of the cross is consigned to the right half of the paper. The position of this second figure was established in reference to the boundaries of the new vertical field that was created when the sheet was folded at the center. (The vertical line visible at Lawrence's pelvis is this fold line.) Therefore, the man studied for the *Way to Calvary* was added after the figure of the saint was drawn and the sheet folded.

The evidence provided by this single sheet is quite interesting. On the verso, the figure of Saint Lawrence was drawn over figures for the *Way to Calvary;* on the recto, the man for the *Way to Calvary* fresco was drawn over Saint Lawrence. This indicates that Pontormo was simultaneously considering the two compositions. If, as this sheet demonstrates, he was sketching them at the same moment, this may suggest that the *Way to Calvary* fresco is fairly close in date to his pupil's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence.* As Bronzino's painting can now be securely dated 1525–26, this provides a compelling argument for dating the *Way to Calvary* to about the same time.

Setting the date of Pontormo's *Way to Calvary* fresco at about 1525–26 requires a reexamination of the chronology of all of Pontormo's Passion cycle frescoes. Recent scholarship has assumed that all five frescoes in the great cloister were painted between 1523 and 1524.[29] But is such rapid production likely, given Pontormo's habit of making numerous studies for every figure, constantly revising his compositions, and insisting on working without reliance on assistants? In fact, in her analysis of the Certosa cycle, Janet Cox-Rearick has observed that Pontormo's paintings differ in style and therefore may be divided into two groups. One group, whose style she has typified as "self-conscious experimentation" characterized by "broken forms and calculated spatial inversions," was certainly the first to be painted. She listed *The Agony in the Garden, Christ before Pilate,* and *The Resurrection* among these paintings.[30] As there is a payment to Pontormo in April of 1524 for work completed in the cloister since February of 1523, some or all of these earlier frescoes were completed between 1523 and 1524.[31] In the subsequent period covered by payments to Pontormo (1524 to late 1526, when he moved back to Florence), Pontormo probably worked on the second group of paintings, *The Way to Calvary, The Nailing to the Cross* (unexecuted), and *The Pietà.* As Cox-Rearick noted, the style of this second set of frescoes is quite different from that of the first three, their "rhythmic unity" anticipating Pontormo's paintings for the Capponi Chapel at Santa Felicita.[32] If the execution of the Passion cycle frescoes were to be spread out over several years rather than concentrated within a fifteen-month period, a more reasonable length of time would be allotted to the marked evolution of style Cox-Rearick and other scholars have perceived. The new date of 1525–26 proposed here for Pontormo's *Way to Calvary* would allow for just such an evolution. Hence, Pontormo's drawing for Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence* at the Certosa has important implications for the chronology of Pontormo's own work at the Certosa.

Pontormo's drawing has perhaps even more important implications for our understanding of his method, if it may be termed such, in training Bronzino. It appears that Pontormo first devised the overall composition for the *Saint Lawrence* without the need of any real model, in sketches such as those in the Uffizi (figs. 4–5). Then he supplied Bronzino with the Getty life-study (fig. 1) of a similarly posed figure, which Bronzino copied faithfully in some details. However, the pose of Bronzino's painted *Saint Lawrence* (see fig. 2) is different and, as we have observed, less successful than the pose of the body in the Getty sketch. Does this mean that Bronzino was on his own in adapting Pontormo's sketches to the final format? That we are not simply missing some additional sketches by Pontormo for the final step in the progression from sketches to painting is suggested not only by the awkward way Bronzino's Lawrence reclines on the gridiron but also by the fact that in all three of the extant sketches by Pontormo (figs. 1, 4, and 5), Pontormo did not include the lower legs or feet of the saint. It is precisely the legs and feet in Bronzino's painting that are the most clumsily done, demonstrating the young artist's lack of assurance at this stage of his career. In later commissions, Pontormo may have provided more detailed models for his pupil, or Bronzino may have simply improved

rapidly, but for the *Saint Lawrence* at the Certosa the extant sketches reveal just how difficult Bronzino's first lessons with Pontormo must have been.

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NOTES

For their assistance and advice I wish to express my gratitude to Caterina Chiarelli, George R. Goldner, Kelly Pask, Graham Smith, and Carolyn Smyth. The present article is part of a larger study of the artistic and familial relationships among Jacopo da Pontormo, Agnolo Bronzino, and Alessandro Allori, in which training and collaboration will be the focus. I am most grateful to Harvard University for my appointment as a Fellow for 1991–92 to the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence, where this article was written.

1. C. Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook, "Il Libro dell'Arte,"* trans. D. V. Thompson, Jr. (New York, 1960).
2. For comparisons with the system described by Cennini and discussions of the formation and purposes of academies of art, consult N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art* (New York, 1973); C. Goldstein, "Vasari and the Florentine Accademia del Disegno," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975), pp. 145–52; S. Rossi, *Dalle botteghe alle accademie* (Milan, 1980); Z. Waźbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento, Idea e istituzione*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1987); and K. Barzman, "Perception, Knowledge, and the Theory of *Disegno* in Sixteenth-Century Florence," in L. J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo,* exh. cat. (Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oct. 14–Dec. 1, 1991 [Seattle and London, 1991], pp. 37–48.
3. Two recent discussions of possible collaborations among established artists are: J. Cox-Rearick, "From Bandinelli to Bronzino: The Genesis of the *Lamentation* for the Chapel of Eleanora di Toledo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 33, no. 1 (1989), pp. 37–84; and G. Smith in A. Petrioli Tofani and G. Smith, *Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Drawings from the Uffizi,* exh. cat. (Detroit Institute of Arts, Oct. 16, 1988–Jan. 8, 1989 [New York and Oxford, 1988]), cat. no. 32, pp. 76–77.
4. The drawing measures 6 3/16 x 10 13/16 in. (15.8 x 27.5 cm). Traces of white heightening appear on the right forearm of the figure. Three inscriptions in pen and ink are visible on the recto: *Jacopo da Pontormo* appears in a seventeenth-century hand at bottom center; the number *31* is written in the lower right corner (a record of the drawing's presence in some as-yet-unidentified collection); and in the upper left corner are the letters *ala*, for which no meaning has yet been found. The verso contains neither drawing nor writing.
5. Nicholas Turner was the first to recognize the artist and subject of the drawing when it initially appeared on the art market. I am grateful to him for his generosity in discussing with me this drawing, as well as a number of other Pontormo issues.
6. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. P. Barocchi and R. Bettarini, text, vol. 5 (Florence, 1984), pp. 319–22 (hereafter Vasari). Vasari specifies that the quiet, silence, and solitude of the Certosa appealed to Pontormo because they were qualities found in his own nature.
7. For Vasari's statement about the portrait of Bronzino as the boy in contemporary attire seated on the steps in the panel of *Joseph in Egypt,* now in the National Gallery in London, see Vasari, vol. 5, p. 317. While scholars' suggestions for the date of this commission differ, it would seem that the bedroom decorations, which were to commemorate a marriage, should be dated around the year of the wedding in question, or about 1515. For a suggestion that this portrait was only one of Vasari's fictions, see. P. Barolsky, *Why Mona Lisa Smiles* (University Park, 1991), pp. 69–70.
8. Vasari, vol. 5, p. 334, and vol. 6, p. 231.
9. For a complete discussion of Bronzino's relationship with his master, as well as that of Bronzino with his own pupil, Alessandro Allori, see E. Pilliod, "Bronzino's Household," *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (Feb. 1992), pp. 92–100.
10. The payments to Pontormo for the Passion cycle frescoes and his separate painting of *The Supper at Emmaus* (dated 1525, for the *foresteria*), were first discovered and transcribed by F. M. Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo: His Life and Work* (New Haven and London, 1916), pp. 276–79. While Clapp failed to take into account the Florentine calendar and so thought Pontormo received his first payment in 1522 (actually 1523), his presentation of the documents remains the most useful. For a complete discussion of the drawings and paintings, as well as the bibliography, consult J. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo*, rev. ed. (New York, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 213–30, with accompanying illustrations in vol. 2 (hereafter Cox-Rearick). For an addition to the drawings for the commission, see L. M. Giles, "*Christ before Pilate:* A Major Composition Study by Pontormo," *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991), pp. 22–40. For the placement of the Passion frescoes, which were detached and removed from their original locations, convincing arguments were proposed by G. Smith in "On the Original Arrangement of Pontormo's Passion Cycle," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1979), pp. 61–64. For an iconographical study, see. P. Beckers, "Die Passionsfresken Pontormos für die Certosa del Galuzzo" (Ph.D. diss., Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, 1985). For a modern survey of the art at the Certosa, see C. Chiarelli and G. Leoncini, *La Certosa del Galluzzo a Firenze* (Milan, 1982). A recent comprehensive publication of documents for the works of art at the Certosa is C. Chiarelli, *Le attività artistiche e il patrimonio librario della Certosa di Firenze,* 2 vols. (Salzburg, 1984). Chiarelli has vetted and transcribed all the extant manuscripts regarding the Certosa, retranscribing the payments to Pontormo and transcribing for the first time those to Bronzino. While extremely useful, these volumes are flawed in many respects. Essential bibliography is omitted, such as the article by Smith on the placement of the frescoes and that of I. L. Moreno on the same subject ("Pontormo's Passion Cycle at the Certosa del Galluzzo," *The Art Bulletin* 63 [1981], pp. 308–12), as well as a relevant exchange of letters. It should also be noted that Craig Hugh Smyth's last name is consistently misspelled as "Smith," not only in this book but also in the earlier volume by Chiarelli and Leoncini. Furthermore, there are material misstatements of fact and serious errors which detract from the

positive contributions these volumes might have made. In the text, Chiarelli states that according to the documents Bronzino received a payment for his *Pietà* in 1525, whereas the transcription of the relevant document clearly states that this occurred in 1524 (cf. vol. 1, p. 101, and vol. 2, pp. 273, 348). Hence the reader remains confused as to which year is the proper year for Bronzino's *Pietà*. As this is a matter of importance for the present study, I have accurately transcribed in note 15 below the payments to Bronzino for the *Pietà* and the *Saint Lawrence*. Also see note 11 below, in which I have transcribed a payment relating to Bronzino's activity at the Certosa that Chiarelli missed.

11. In addition to a painting that was never executed, Pontormo's other works for the Certosa included *The Supper at Emmaus* dated 1525, now in the Uffizi, and two lost paintings: a *Nativity* and a portrait of one of the monks. Pontormo received payments from February 4, 1523, to November 27, 1527. Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, p. 213, interpreted a payment of April 10, 1524, as recording the end of Pontormo's work on the Passion cycle frescoes, assigning the rest of the payments through 1527 to *The Supper at Emmaus* (for which a specific payment from 1525 appears in the monastery's documents) and the lost works by Pontormo for the Certosa. However, as shall become apparent in the following discussion, Pontormo was in fact still working on at least one of the Passion cycle frescoes in 1525. As Clapp (note 10), p. 44, noted, an entry for flour and chickens sent to Pontormo in Florence on December 6, 1526, suggests that Pontormo had moved back into the city sometime before. This, considered in relation to the payments in the monastery's books to Bronzino for painting miniatures in a *libro di canto,* or book of plainsong, which extend over the period from November 1, 1524, to August or October 1526, may suggest that Pontormo and Bronzino stayed at the Certosa until the autumn of 1526. Although mentioned by Clapp, the payments to Bronzino for the *libro di canto* are transcribed for the first time in Chiarelli (note 10), vol. 2, pp. 275, 349–51. However, we must add the following payment dated November 1, 1525, which Chiarelli missed: Archivio di Stato, Florence (hereafter abbreviated ASF), *Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal Governo Francese,* Convent 51 (S. Lorenzo al Galluzzo detto la Certosa), vol. 16 (*Giornale "L"*) 1524–32, fol. 23 recto: "Speze di vivere de' dare per cassa ducati uno lire 4 soldi 18 sono per libbre 4 di specie per lo convento e per unce [sic] 2 di arzuro [sic] fino per miniare uno libro di canto grande, como [sic] in quaderno di cassa a carte 78 . . . ducati 1 lire 4 soldi 18 denari—." I wish to thank Gino Corti for reviewing this document as well as all others cited in this article. This *libro di canto* remains unidentified or lost.
12. Vasari, vol. 5, p. 322: "Bronzino intanto, cioè mentre il suo maestro faceva le sopradette opere nella Certosa . . . fece, senza aver mai più veduto colorire a olio, in sul muro sopra la porta del chiostro che va in chiesa, dentro sopra un arco, un S. Lorenzo ignudo in sulla grata . . . " The *Saint Lawrence* is found in a lunette above a door at one end of the barrel-vaulted corridor connecting the church with the great cloister. The fresco facing it in the lunette above the door to the church is reproduced in Chiarelli and Leoncini (note 10), fig. 244. See note 18 below for remarks on this fresco.
13. Vasari, vol. 6, p. 231.
14. Vasari, vol. 5, p. 322.
15. Scholars had proposed dates ranging from 1522 to 1524. A few examples will suffice. In C. McCorquodale, *Bronzino* (New York, 1981) p. 16, the date is given as ca. 1523; C. H. Smyth, "Bronzino Studies" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1955), p. 94, proposed 1522–24, early within that range; and in Cox-Rearick, p. 218, the range 1523–24 is proposed. Payments for both paintings were discovered by Chiarelli but inaccurately transcribed. They are transcribed anew here. One payment for each is found in ASF, *Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal Governo Francese,* Convento 51 (S. Lorenzo al Galluzzo detto la Certosa), vol. 40, *Quaderno di Cassa "F"* (1520–31), fols. 67 right and 78 right. On fol. 67 recto there is a payment for the *Pietà:* "[June 19, 1524] A spese ditte lire sei dati a Angelino dipintore per conto dela Piatà [sic] che è sopra la porta del claustro che va nel claustrino." The second payment, on fol. 78 right, is for the colors for the *Saint Lawrence;* it appears among a list of payments for November 5, 1525: "A spese dicte lire v [i.e., 5] portò Angello dipintore per comprare colori per dipingire [sic] S. Laurenzio."

    A cross-reference to the *Pietà* payment appears in the *Giornale* for the same period, but on June 18, 1524. See *Giornale "L"* (note 11), fol. 5 recto: "E più ducati uno lire quatro pagamo Angello dipinctore per uno [sic] Pietà fece sopra la porta de lo claustro . . ." Since Bronzino was just purchasing colors for the painting, and he continued to work for the monks until late in 1526, it is likely that the *Saint Lawrence* was painted from 1525 to 1526.
16. Vasari, vol. 5, p. 332, and vol. 6, p. 231.
17. As shall become apparent, only the essential outlines of the forms remain, while it is difficult to assess with any assurance the original state of the colors, modeling of the figure, or character of the surfaces.
18. Chiarelli states that the *Saint Lawrence* is covered by a heavy layer of repainting executed by Giovanni Bertazzoni in the mid-1800s. See Chiarelli (note 10), vol. 1, p. 101. However, I was horrified to discover that more repainting, relatively recently executed, has still further obscured one of Bronzino's first paintings. In the course of preparing this article I noticed that two different versions of the *Saint Lawrence* are available in photographs taken since World War II. They have been carefully compared with the present state of the *Saint Lawrence,* and efforts are under way to investigate the reasons for what appears to have been an undocumented restoration campaign. The photograph here published as figure 2 dates from around World War II and is negative no. 91308 of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie of Florence. This is the well-known image of Bronzino's saint that has appeared in: E. Baccheschi, *L'opera completa del Bronzino* (Milano, 1973), fig. 2; C. H. Smyth, "The Earliest Works of Bronzino," *The Art Bulletin* 31 (1949), fig. 1; and McCorquodale (note 15), fig. 7. This earlier photograph preserves much of the original form of Bronzino's reclining saint.

    However, the more recent photograph published here as figure 8 (negative no. 348527, which was published only in the books by Chiarelli and by Chiarelli and Leoncini cited in note 10) represents the current state of the painting. It is evidence that Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence* has been crudely repainted, with the result that the fresco now looks much less like a Bronzino than the image preserved in the older photograph. Unfortunately, this represents the visible state of the fresco at the time of this writing. A few of the ugly details that have been added to this already damaged work must be recorded: Lawrence's drapery now has visible and illogical folds that conform to his thighs like the loincloth on a Duecento Christ; the left wing of the putto now ends in a point (formerly rounded); the putto's hair conforms to his head like a bathing-

FIGURE 8

Current state of *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence.* Galluzzo, Florence, Certosa. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

cap (formerly, ringlets sprang from his forehead, temple, and the nape of his neck); and the putto's face is altered in its proportions and now has eyes that glow with an eerie white.

19. The present contours of the loincloth deviate from the actual form of the body beneath. Also, there are some discrepancies in modern descriptions of this loincloth that suggest several repaintings. H. Schulze, *Die Werke Angelo Bronzinos* (Strassburg, 1911), p. 7, "[Saint Lawrence] mit rotem Mantel"; while A. McComb, *Agnolo Bronzino, His Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 51, "a brownish-yellow loin cloth." Today the drapery is orange-yellow.
20. In fact it seems more than probable that the unidentified artist who painted a late-sixteenth-century style *Saint Lawrence Distributing Alms* in the lunette facing Bronzino's painting is responsible for some parts of earlier repaintings of the Bronzino, particularly the uncomfortable profile of Lawrence, with a high hairline and pinched features. The fanciful suggestion that Bronzino also painted this second Saint Lawrence was proposed by G. Bacchi, *La Certosa di Firenze* (Florence, 1930), p. 122. It must be dismissed not only on stylistic grounds and for want of any mention in the monastery's documents but also because the composition, with a reclining figure in the lower right corner, presupposes the influence of late-sixteenth-century compositional types.
21. Vasari, vol. 5, p. 322, and vol. 6, p. 231.
22. See R. Borghini, *Il riposo,* ed. M. Rosci, vol. 1 (Milan, 1967), pp. 533–34; and Vasari, vol. 4, p. 119.
23. Smyth (note 18), pp. 187–88.
24. Smyth ascribed the figure type and anatomy to del Garbo's influence on Bronzino, going on to observe: "But the instability of the *Saint Lawrence* is not really like Raffaellino, or Carli, or Bronzino's own matter-of-fact balance in the *Man of Sorrows* of the other lunette." Instead, Smyth suggested, it might be due to Bronzino's attempt to emulate Pontormo's style. See Smyth (note 18), p. 188.
25. Uffizi 6529F recto and verso. This sheet contains other studies by Pontormo for his fresco in the Certosa courtyard of *The Way to Golgotha* on both recto and verso, first associated with the *Saint Lawrence* by Cox-Rearick. See Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, cat. nos. 198, 202 (pp. 218 and 220). She was incorrect, however, in initially assigning Uffizi 6658F verso to Bronzino as "the pupil's weaker attempt to work out the pose for himself," in Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, p. 218, and cat. no. A121 (pp. 381–82). The pose, which is quite different, recalls the reclining figures of the New Sacristy. As Cox-Rearick now agrees, it is later sixteenth century in style, and an attribution to Girolamo Macchietti proposed by Keith Andrews and recorded on the mat of the drawing seems more credible. For her willing assistance in procuring photographs of figures 4 and 5, I wish to especially thank Lucia Monici Moran.
26. This drawing is Uffizi 441F recto. See Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, cat. no. 287 (pp. 268–89). For the other related studies, see Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, pp. 266–69. The resulting painting, *The Penitent Saint Jerome* in the Landesgalerie at Hanover, may possibly be closer in date to the Certosa frescoes than has been thought. In fact, Jerome's pose is similar to that used by Pontormo for the figure at the far left in the *Way to Calvary* fresco at the Certosa (Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, p. 266), which should be dated ca. 1525.
27. Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, cat. no. 202 (p. 220), with the association with Veronica or the figures above Veronica on the left side of the fresco.
28. Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, cat. no. 198 (p. 218). An earlier study for the same figure is Uffizi 6643F verso. See Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, cat. no. 197 (pp. 217–18). As Cox-Rearick explains, since the figure on Uffizi 6529F recto contains the version found in 6643F verso as well as that used in the final fresco, almost assuredly 6643F was the earlier study and 6529F followed it.

29. Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, 213.
30. Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, p. 216. Cox-Rearick divides the frescoes into these two groups but feels that all work on the great cloister was performed in 1523–24.
31. The payment of April 10, 1524, was not necessarily a terminal payment to Pontormo for his work on the cloister (Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, p. 213). It is simply a statement that Pontormo was to receive nine payments totaling thirty ducats for his work in the cloister for the period from February 4, 1523 [Florentine style 1522] to April 10, 1524. As he continued to be paid at about the same rate after this payment, there is no reason to suppose from the payment record alone that he had finished his work in the cloister.
32. Cox-Rearick, vol. 1, p. 216.

Two Embroidered Hangings in the Style of Daniel Marot

ANNE RATZKI-KRAATZ

In 1985, the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired two embroidered bed hangings (figs. 1–2) out of a set of four, with a splendid decor *à grotesques* in the characteristic French manner of the 1680s.[1] The two panels are in good to excellent condition, with generally bright colors that bring out with great clarity the rich and varied ornamentation of their design. Few of these costly embroidered furnishings have come down to us intact. They provide us with a rare opportunity to appreciate firsthand the elaborateness of French interior decoration at a time when ornamental panels were of special importance. And they constitute, for the scholar, an area of investigation in which many avenues remain to be fully explored.

The combination of a formal, almost pompous arrangement around a faintly erotic portrayal of Venus and Cupid in the central medallions is instantly recognizable as late-seventeenth-century French. Though the panels may well have been embroidered somewhere else, the design bears so many similarities to the work of the French *ornemaniste* Daniel Marot (1661–1752) as to make it very likely that it in fact originated in his atelier, if it was not actually drawn by his own hand.[2]

After a description of the panels, the Marotesque elements in their design will be reviewed, followed by a short account of what is known about amateur and professional embroidery in France at the time. Finally, the differences between the two hangings will be analyzed.

There is no particular color scheme in the panels, as nearly all of the colors in the spectrum are used. The background is uniformly cream, however, and the border is largely blue and yellow. The border is treated as if it were a carved frame, with scallop-shell motifs between leafy scrolls and *cul-de-lampes* placed horizontally, toward the inside of the field. (For a similar border on a woven tapestry, see figs. 3 and 6.)

The central core of the composition is a small oval medallion enclosing figures of Venus and Cupid sitting in the blue heavens atop billowing clouds. It may be assumed that this is an allusion to the month of April with which the goddess was associated.[3] Around that central element of relatively small proportions, ornamental motifs are arranged according to a design scheme that may be read either vertically or horizontally. On the horizontal plane the two sides are mirror images of one another; on the vertical one, the composition may be divided into four major areas of interest. These will be described in detail below, but for the moment it may be useful to stress the following point, obvious as it might appear: the design of the panels, although typical of its period (the late 1680s) and thus not exactly original in regard to the choice of elements, bears the unmistakable mark of an accomplished artist of that particular era. Indeed, the artist has made use of what may be termed the standard items of the seventeenth-century designer's trade—sphinxes, vases, and baskets of flowers, birds of exotic plumage, herms, foliated scrolls, and garlands—with great skill. The result produces in the contemporary viewer a sense of comfortable recognition and of delighted surprise at the cleverness with which the various elements have been combined.

Starting at the bottom and going up along each side is, first, a formal vase with ear-shaped handles surmounted by eagle heads; from the vase issues a ripe pomegranate, set amidst opulent foliage (fig. 4). Above, a sphinx with powerful-looking lion's paws rests sideways on a bar of strapwork (fig. 20). Her head is crowned with a feathered headdress; one large pearl hangs from her ear. There is a wide band around her elongated neck and a breastplate on her chest, which, somewhat unusually, does not show any evidence of femininity. The trappings on her back, decorated with strapwork and star-like elements, are weighted with heavy tassels. Above, on a tapered ped-

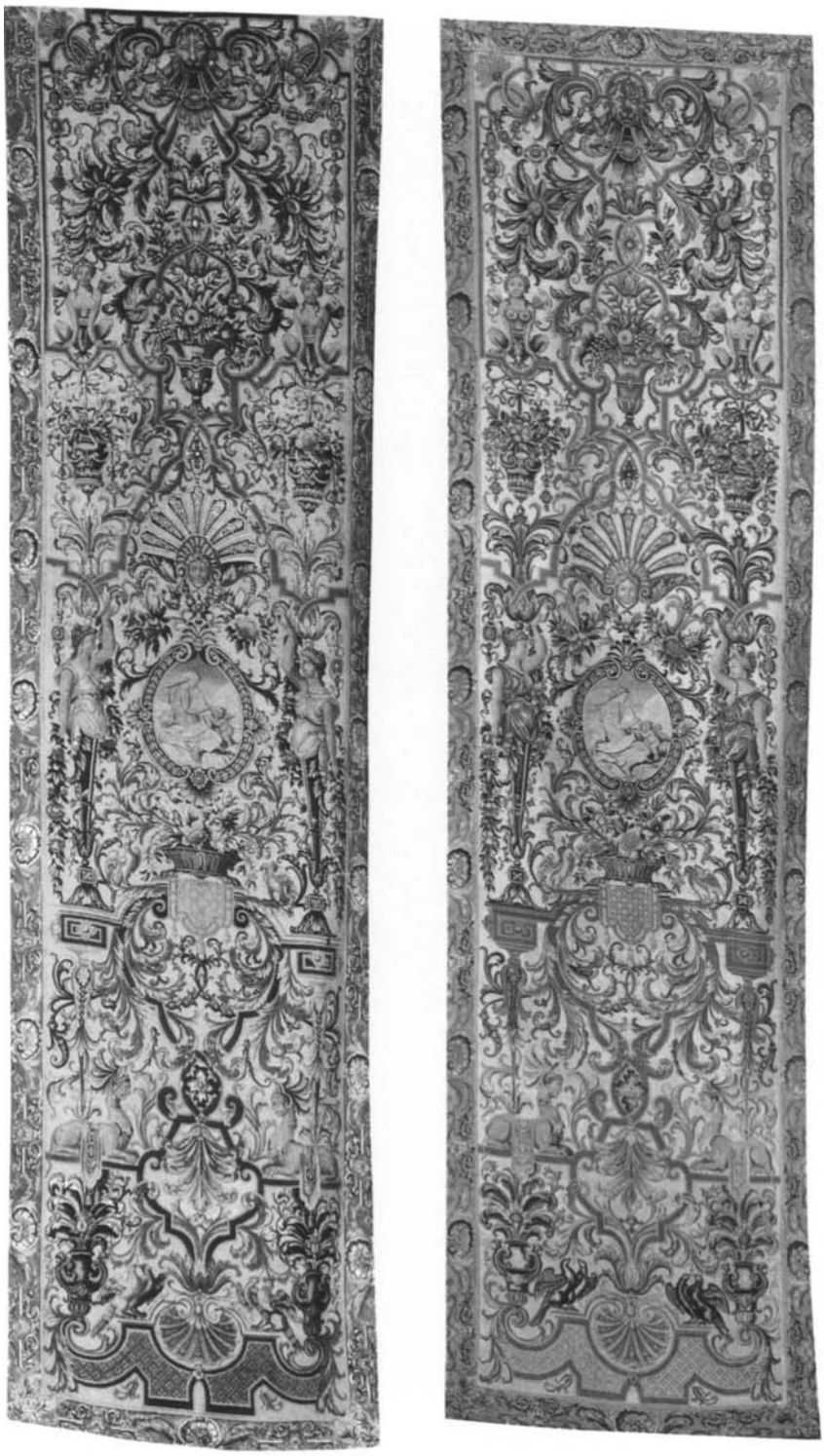

FIGURE 1

Design by Daniel Marot (?) (French, 1661–1752). Bed hanging (Panel 1), ca. 1690. Linen embroidered with silk and wool, 330.7 x 91.4 cm (11 ft. x 3 ft.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.DD.266.1.

FIGURE 2

Design by Daniel Marot (?). Bed hanging (Panel 2), ca. 1690. Linen embroidered with silk and wool, 330.7 x 91.4 cm (11 ft. x 3 ft.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.DD.266.2.

FIGURE 3

Apollo and the Muses. Aubusson tapestry, second half of the seventeenth century. Orléans, Hôtel de la Préfecture. Compare this detail of the lower border to the panel border in figure 5.

estal, a female herm turned slightly to the side is dressed in a Grecian-style tunic baring one breast (fig. 5). One extended arm holds acanthus leaves and strapwork. This in turn gives way to a flower arrangement displayed in a hanging vase or urn (fig. 6). Immediately above is the squatting figure of a paradoxically benevolent-looking harpy with prominent breasts and butterfly wings (fig. 7). This constitutes the crowning element of the longitudinal decor, as the first vase described is its foundation.

Two elements stretch across the composition at the foot and top, linking the two vertical parts of the decor. The bottom one is a cartouche in the shape of a console filled with quatrefoil motifs with a large scalloped shell at its center (fig. 2). The cartouche serves the purpose of giving the tall composition a firm anchoring point. This particular architectural device is seemingly a constant of seventeenth-century French decoration: however fanciful-looking individual elements may be, they are rarely positioned in an improbable or precarious way. The top element of the panel consists of a lion's head at the center of a lobed cartouche, from which is suspended a stone-studded chainlink necklace; two foliated scrolls curving inward over the heads of the harpies underneath support the stem of a blooming sunflower. This leafy canopy effectively rounds off the design in an airy manner that does not compete with the anchoring element at the bottom.

Horizontally, the four major areas of ornament are as follows, from the bottom up (see fig. 2): first, between the two vases are a pair of exotic, long-tailed birds sitting atop the quatrefoil cartouche; next, the two sphinxes and foliage, up to the candelabra-like pedestal supporting the herms; third, the central medallion, situated above a shallow silver basin resting on lion's paws and overflowing with blossoms, on either side of which is a pigeon. Under this vessel, a lobed *lambrequin* with three hanging tassels is treated in a double quatrefoil motif recalling that of the bottom cartouche. Garlands of opulent flowers frame the medallion, which is surmounted by a small cupola decorated with radiating elements; at the center is the head of a woman wearing a plumed headdress, with twisted strands of hair tied in a knot under her chin. Finally, the last divisible area of the design is that of the two butterfly-winged harpies above the hanging flower urns, which are linked in the center by an elongated footed vase, banded around the center, and filled like a cornucopia with grapes, apples, lemons, cher-

FIGURE 4

Panel 2: godrooned vase with ripe pomegranate.

FIGURE 5

Panel 2: herm and detail of the border.

FIGURE 6

Panel 2: flowers in a basin.

FIGURE 7

Panel 2: female figure with butterfly wings.

ries, and pomegranates.

Another constant of French ornamental design, and one particularly obvious here, is the multipurpose approach of the decor, not only as a whole but also in each of its separate parts or ensemble of parts. It is easy to conceive how each of the four main horizontal areas of the design could be used separately on an object of smaller or larger scale in a variety of materials—marquetry patterns for furniture, silver engraving, chair or stool covers, or stucco work—and still constitute a perfect whole.[4]

What is eminently successful here is that the potential individual life of each of these main motifs, whether as horizontal or vertical ensembles, is in no way detrimental to the cohesiveness of the whole. Instead, the composition manages to fulfill the requirements of dynamic progression and fleshed-out contours that the architectural and sculptural criteria of the Baroque demanded. At the same time, this composition retains the clarity of line and relative impersonality that must be present if ornamental objects are to successfully serve their decorative purpose without upstaging their surroundings.

Trying to establish the authorship of such an ornamental scheme is always a difficult task in the absence of any corresponding authenticated drawing or print. It is all the more so when the individual elements of the ornamental scheme closely conform to the style of a particular place and time, as is the case here. However, because the panel may indeed be said to reflect with great accuracy late-seventeenth-century French style, it is in the manner in which its components are used, rather than in the components themselves, that one can attempt to detect a personal touch. In France today, the tendency would probably be to ascribe such a panel *à grotesques* to the designer Jean Bérain. Indeed, Bérain is credited, in a recent article, with having reintroduced *grotesque* ornament into the mainstream of European design.[5]

It could be argued that the taste for *grotesque* decors never actually fell out of favor in Europe between the time of its rediscovery and interpretation by Raphael early in the sixteenth century until its last manifestation in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that only in the seventeenth century, under the influence of Jean Bérain, did *grotesque* decors acquire a worth of their own, instead of serving as mere supports for *la grande peinture.* Some fifty years earlier, that tendency was already beginning to be felt, however, notably in the panels painted around 1640 by Noël Quillerier in Madame la Maréchale de la Meilleraye's *cabinet* in the Hôtel de l'Arsenal (fig. 8). There we find the plumed sphinxes, the parakeets, and the heavy garlands held by caryatids that are present in our panels, albeit with a different aesthetic approach.[6]

FIGURE 8

Noël Quillerier (French, 1594–1669). Painted *grotesque* paneling in the cabinet of Madame la Maréchale de la Meilleraye, Hôtel de l'Arsenal, Paris, ca. 1640. Detail showing a sphinx on a ledge, with plumed headdress and trappings, a parakeet at her side, above a female caryatid holding a garland of fruit and flowers. Compare the jeweled ornament hanging from her hand with the one in figure 5, next to the head of the herm.

The manner used here seems to bear greater resemblance to the work of Daniel Marot than to that of Bérain. In particular, Marot seems to have favored a narrower format than did Bérain when working on tall compositions (figs. 9–11). The proportions of the panels on his well-known designs for beds always seem to equal half the size of the *fond-de-lit* or backpiece of the *lits de parade* themselves, or approximately the dimensions of the embroidery, i.e., 85 to 90 centimeters (33 1/2 to 35 7/16 in.).[7]

While drawing on a similar decorative vocabu-

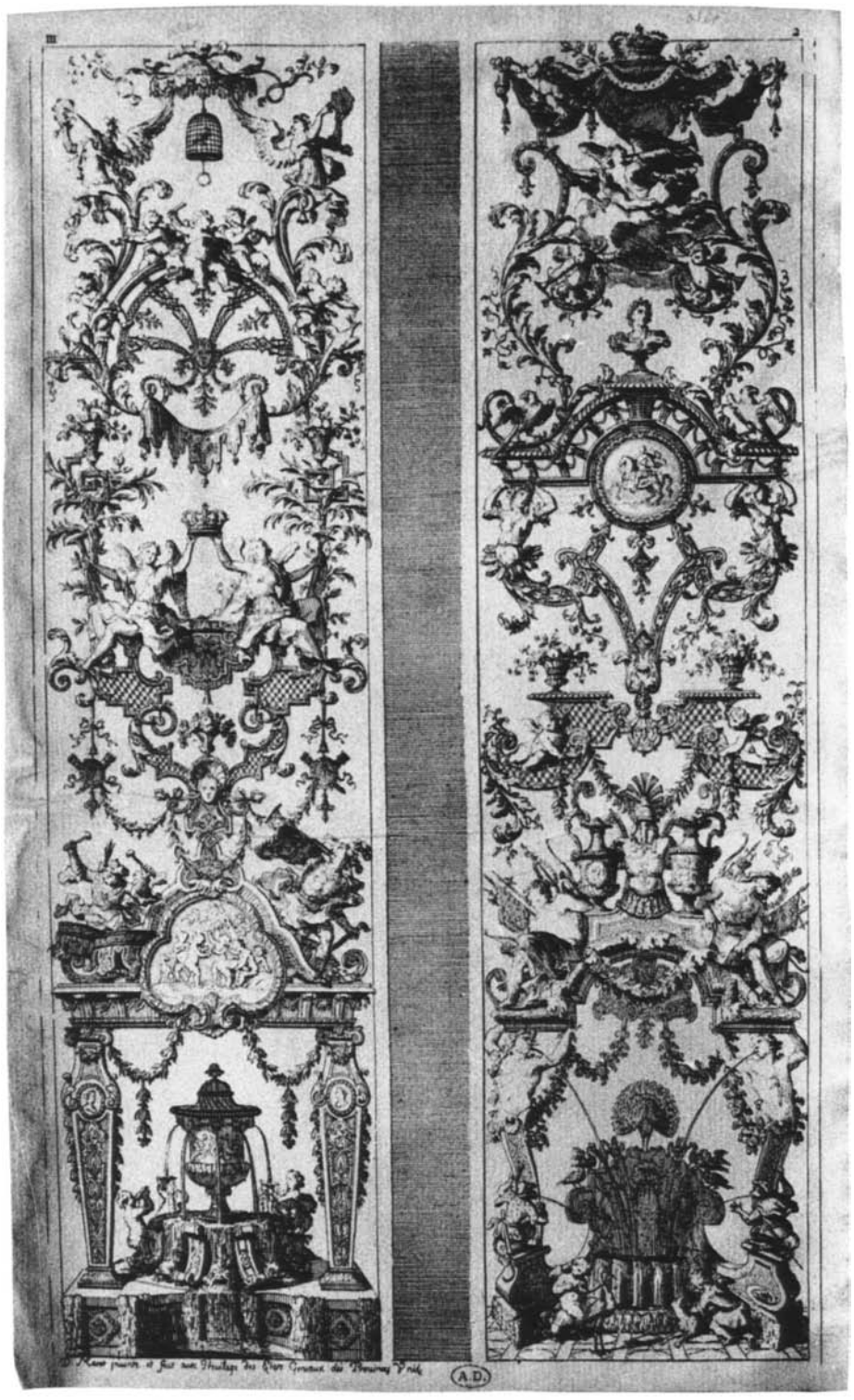

FIGURE 9

Daniel Marot. Design for two *grotesque* ornament panels from the Netherlands, ca. 1712. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Albums Maciet. The divisibility of Marot's designs into independent groups of elements is well exemplified here.

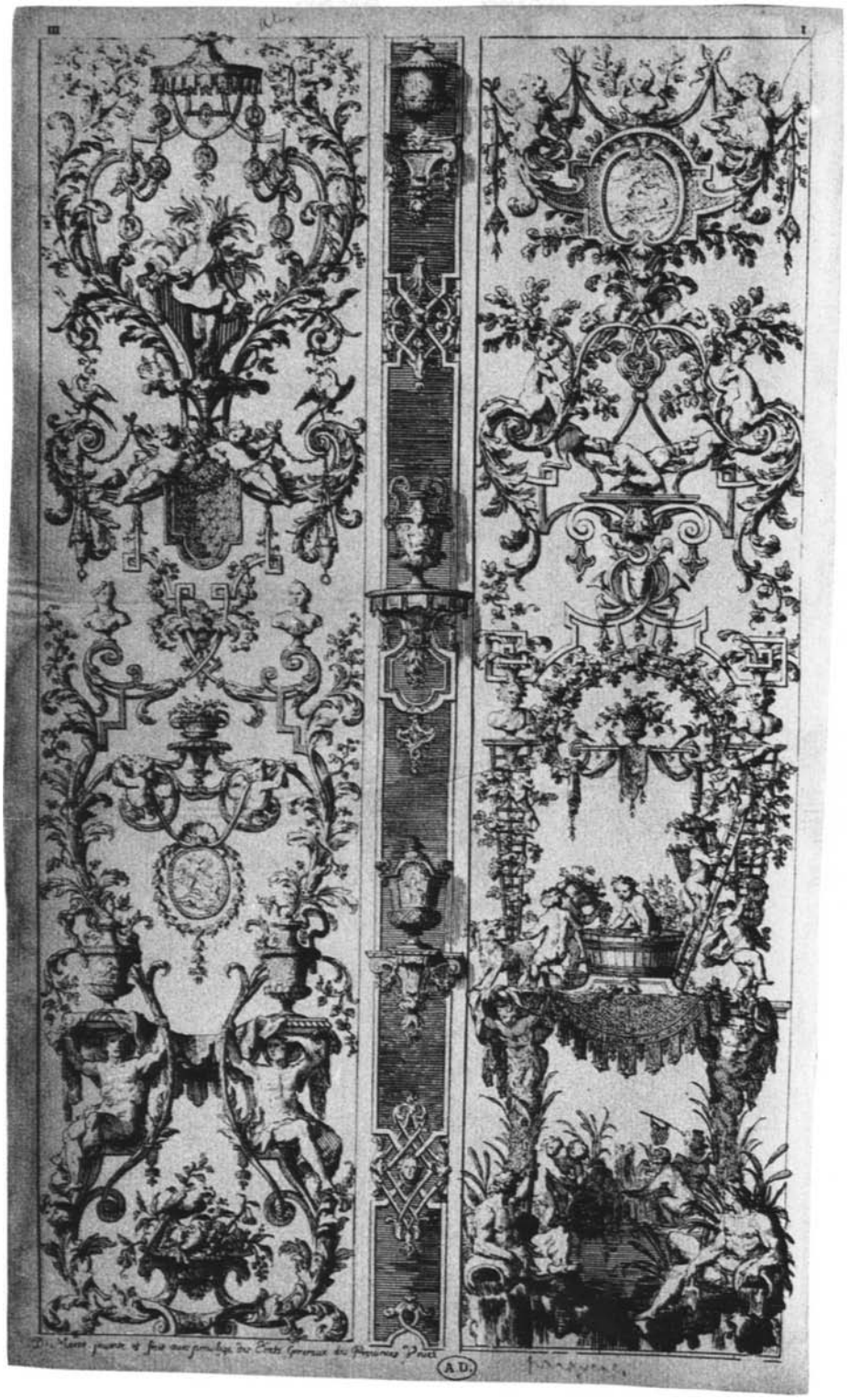

FIGURE 10

Daniel Marot. Two decorative panels *à grotesques* from the Netherlands, ca. 1712. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Albums Maciet.

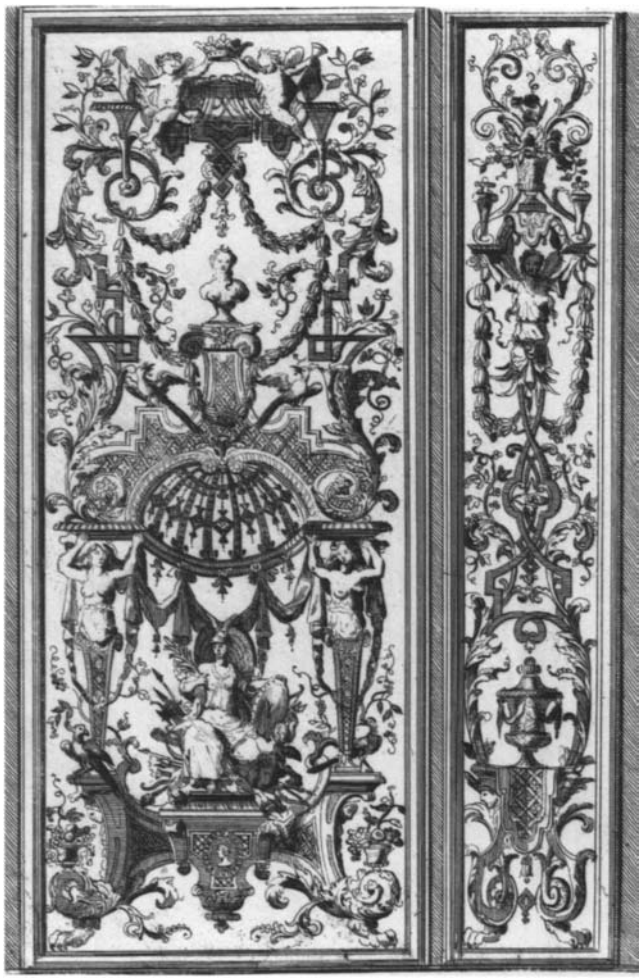

FIGURE 11

Daniel Marot. Two decorative panels from the Netherlands, ca. 1712. Author's collection. Many of the elements on the Museum's embroidered panels are also present here: the sensual-looking female herms, the butterfly-winged women's torsos, the urns, and the tasseled *lambrequin*.

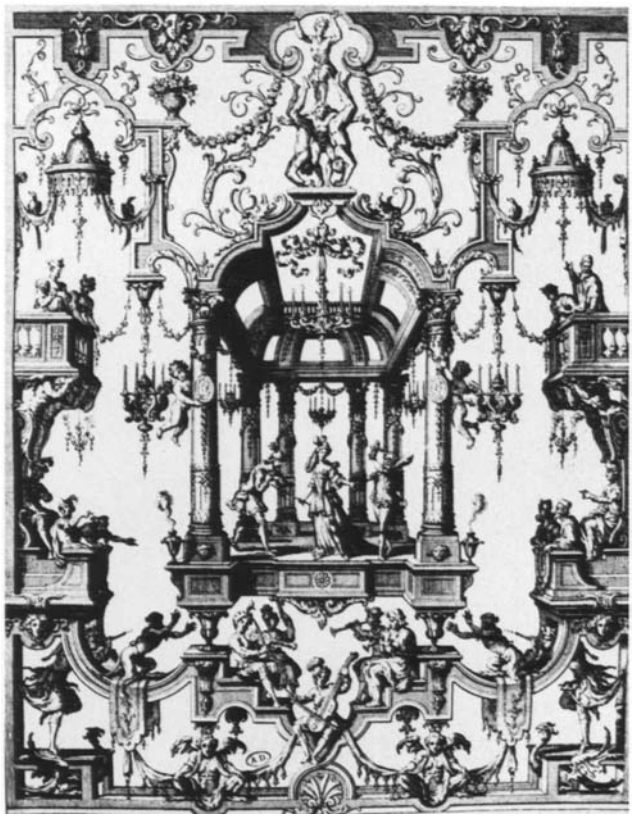

FIGURE 12

Jean Bérain (French, 1640–1711). Design for *grotesque* ornament panel depicting a theatrical subject. France, ca. 1690. Copy executed by Jeremias Wolf, Augsburg, ca. 1720. Paris, Bibliothèque des Art Décoratifs, Albums Maciet.

lary for his compositions, Bérain developed an aesthetic system, as evidenced in his engravings, that deployed itself on three levels rather than four or more, as was often the case with Marot. Indeed, Bérain achieved a theatrical perspective—front stage, center stage, backstage—within the framework of a rectangle whose short side is roughly equal to two-thirds of the long one (fig. 12). Bérain's experience with the theater, with movable decors, with costumes for *fêtes,* parades, and ballets, is reflected in his incomparable ability to suggest movement in his figures—how often do they extend one foot, as if ready to step forward and act their part—and his flimsy architectural structures look as if they could be pushed away by a single stagehand. Indeed, he makes certain that there is enough room for his figures to move, taking the point of view of the spectator in a play who must view the actors from a distance. In that respect, Jean Bérain's dynamic, nonritualistic, nonsymbolic approach probably constitutes the foundation on which the wittier, but also perhaps shallower, style of eighteenth-century France was built.

Daniel Marot, on the other hand, was a pure product of the Baroque, revised and tempered though he may have been by his French schooling. His compositions are heavier and fuller, far more sensual than those of Bérain. Unless made specifically for the theater, they do not show an interest in perspective. Instead, they are on a flat plane, each element positioned above the other, with relatively little breathing space in-between. A characteristic feature of Daniel Marot's designs is his predilection for rather heavy-looking vases. These he places more often than not on a ledge from which hangs a three-cornered, tasseled *lambrequin.* While not sufficient in itself to identify designs by Marot, the presence of such elements, as is the case here, is enough to differentiate his designs from Bérain's. Marot produced numerous designs for smaller objects, notably for the silversmith, and he was clearly interested in antique-inspired shapes for vases and urns. He worked closely with Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer, the most renowned artist of his time for rendering fruit and flowers.[8] It was a perfect combination of talents: one drew vases, the other filled them. Bérain instead treats vases and flowers sketchily, never giving them nearly so prominent a place. Indeed, his vases are almost always in the shape of an inverted cone from which tendrils coil out snakily, in the Boulle manner.

To illustrate the argument in favor of an attribution to Daniel Marot or his atelier, a number of engravings by the artist are shown here (see figs. 9–11) for comparative purposes. The themes treated are different, of course, and the designs are necessarily less stiff than designs rendered in embroidery. Nevertheless, the aesthetic approach used is quite similar to that of the embroidered panels. Indeed, the main features of the Marot style are present in both. The choice of decorative motifs, the composition in divisible groups of elements, their ladder-like disposition, one element on top of the other, on a flat and even plane, all add up to an eminently recognizable Marotesque production.[9] Although Daniel Marot's prints are dated 1712, we know that they probably appeared at least two decades earlier; in fact, several of his designs are datable to the 1690s.[10]

The intended function of the embroidered panels appears to have been to furnish a bed. Two other panels are known to exist.[11] They are exactly like the Getty panels save for the central medallion, which depicts Jupiter.[12] They would presumably have served as inner and outer *bonne-grâces* or side curtains. Their narrow width makes it unlikely that they were meant as *entre-fenêtres,* not to mention the fact the central medallion figures would then have faced each other instead of looking in the same direction.

In the absence of a coat of arms or any other indication of provenance, it is virtually impossible to trace such an object to its original owner. One can, on the other hand, establish with tolerable certainty that the embroidered panels did not belong to a member of the French royal family. The royal inventories and accounts for the period up to 1731 show one single entry for plain petit-point embroidery, that is, without gold or silver. The item was clearly of little account, as it was not inventoried alone but in a lot that included a whole crocodile skin and a large stuffed turtle.[13]

Embroidery, as performed by a member of the guild of master embroiderers, almost always implied the use of gold or silver thread, as their statutes indicate[14] and their inventories frequently confirm.[15] No other European court of the period seems to have been as obsessed with gold as that of Versailles. The word comes back relentlessly in the accounts, as when, in 1683, embroiderers were paid an unspecified amount for "6 aunes ½ de broderie sur or fond d'or imitant un brocart d'or et d'argent."[16] Even during the terrible winter of 1693, a M. Jovain complained from Versailles to his supplier in Lyons that "l'or . . . surdoré

FIGURE 13

L. Chevignard, after a seventeenth-century engraving. *Madame de Maintenon at Saint-Cyr Surrounded by Young Boarders at Their Embroidery,* ca. 1900. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Albums Maciet.

que vous m'avez envoyé n'est pas assez surdoré," and he demanded that higher-quality gold thread be sent up to the Gobelins.[17]

Simple wool-and-silk "tapestry" embroidery was not "du ressort des Brodeurs," as Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin disdainfully stated, as late as 1770, in his *Art du brodeur.* Nevertheless, he went on to explain how tapestry embroidery was done, adding that it is very easy work and that many religious communities are engaged in it.[18] Daniel Cronström, in his letters written when he was the Swedish envoy to Paris, indicated that ladies were competent enough to work at "tapisseries de gros-point." In fact, it was Jean Bérain's wife to whom Conström entrusted the making of a sample chair cover for Madame Piper's bedroom for "il n'y a qu'elle qui les puisse d'abord bien exécuter."[19] It is known that professional male embroiderers were employed in the ateliers of both Saint-Joseph and Saint-Cyr to work on the heavy gold and silver ornaments produced there.[20] However, *point de Saint-Cyr,* as it is still known in France today, is a form of petit point embroidered in wool and silk or all wool that may have actually been originally worked on by the young boarders themselves.

A nineteenth-century interpretation of a seventeenth-century engraving shows Madame de Maintenon at Saint-Cyr, seated at an embroidery table, surrounded by girls using a variety of embroidery frames (fig. 13). One of them, a drum- or bolster-like device, is frequently depicted in

FIGURE 14

Nicolas de Larmessin the Elder (French, b. 1640). From the series *Les metiers,* ca. 1685. Engraving. Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. The dress of the *tapissière* is composed of embroidery panels.

seventeenth-century engravings of genre scenes, indicating that it was in common use among ladies of the aristocracy. Rather large pieces can be made on such a frame, since the foundation canvas is rolled up inside and unrolled as the design progresses. However, in spite of the reputation still enjoyed by *point de Saint-Cyr,* no record exists, to our knowledge, of payments received there at any time for embroidered pieces of that type. There was an embroidery mistress at Saint-Cyr, and Madame de Maintenon "avait toujours un morceau d'ouvrage à la main," as the illustration indicates. Yet she seems to have discouraged the production of anything but the most sober articles by ordering "point d'ouvrages exquis et d'un trop grand dessin."[21]

Upholsterers and their wives or female employees seem in fact to have been the main professional producers of this type of embroidery. One of the engravings in the famous series by Nicolas de Larmessin shows a *tapissière* engaged in embroidering upholstery pieces, with a basket of wool skeins and a box of silk spools at her feet (fig. 14). As the rules and regulations of their guild stipulated, master upholsterers were required to stretch the fabrics or canvases on a frame when embroidering or appliquéing flowers, galloons, or *découpures* (that is, fabric cutouts) to avoid puckering. This is evidence that embroidery was an important activity with them.

Upholsterers were also producing their own designs if one was not provided by their customer. The statutes clearly indicate as much, stating that "en faisant leur dessin soit en manière d'architecture à fleurs ou ornemens, fleurs naturelles ou dessein de la Chine . . . ou figures, oiseaux, grotesques," they must match the designs of the various lengths of fabrics involved.[22] Some upholsterers no doubt availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase already-drawn patterns sold in the marketplace. On April 1, 1689, for example, an advertisement placed in the *Livre de commode* issued by Nicolas de Blégny (also known as Abraham du Pradel) offered for sale "quantité de beaux patrons . . . peints sur du carton et de la toille."[23] In a later issue, dated May 1, 1689, "un grand lit de tapisserie à petit point" is also offered for sale along with a matching table rug, twelve high-backed chairs, and eight folding stools, all for an unspecified but of course advantageous price.[24]

The contribution of master upholsterers to the embroidery field remains largely unknown and deserves further study.[25] Another point deserves to be stressed here, and that is the relative paucity of seventeenth-century petit-point embroidery examples that have survived in France. It would seem as if embroidered hangings, often in the French style, were actually more prevalent in England than in France. A number kept in English houses have been published.[26] A recent article indicates that "the floral hangings of the state bed at Chandon in Surrey are virtually indistinguishable from contemporary French needlework."[27] Certainly in the case of petit point there can be no difference in the actual handling of the technique, which is not the case with couching or direct stitching. However, there can be vast discrepancies in rendering the design, even between two pieces of the same pattern, as will be discussed below. But for the moment, let us suggest that our embroidered hangings could just as well have been made in England as in France. Indeed, as is well known, Marot's taste,

FIGURE 15

Panel 1: central medallion with figures of Venus and Cupid.

FIGURE 16

Panel 2: central medallion with figures of Venus and Cupid.

while unmistakably French, found greater favor and more numerous practical applications in Holland and England than in France. As is so often the case, the adoption of a particular fashion in a foreign land comes when it is on the wane in its country of origin. Marot fled to Holland in 1684, just before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Had he remained in France to the end of the century, his Italianate Baroque vision, reminiscent of Le Brun's heavy hand but without the latter's genius,[28] would have been considered too rich for the more austere tastes of the elderly king and his severe companion, Madame de Maintenon.

The two hangings in the Getty Museum were clearly embroidered by two different artisans, possibly at two different, though not necessarily far distant, periods. What appears to be the older panel (Panel 1) shows a fair degree of fading. The conservation report (see Appendix) has revealed that the top border of Panel 1 was removed at an unknown date and added to Panel 2, so that the two could match in length. Panel 2, whose colors are considerably brighter, was also finished off with contemporary, but separately made, borders added to the three sides. The panel being found to be short, the clever solution hit upon by the embroiderer consisted in shortening Panel 1 by removing its border while lengthening Panel 2 by adding it on rather than working in a top border whose proportions would have had to be different from those of the rest of the borders in order to match the dimensions of Panel 2.

Interestingly enough, the two matching panels with a figure of Jupiter, both in the Cleveland Museum of Art, possess the same feature, that is, one is without a border while the other panel border appears to have been added on. The measurements of the two Getty Museum panels are quite similar, notwithstanding the fact that Panel 2 possesses an extra border on top. However, the canvas used for the brighter panel is finer, having four additional warp and two additional weft threads per square centimeter.[29] It is rather unlikely that a professional workshop would have used two different grades of canvas for the same pattern at the same time, especially as it would

FIGURE 17

Panel 1: lower vase and pair of exotic birds.

FIGURE 18

Panel 2: vase and birds. Note the different treatment of the quatrefoil motif.

have involved rescaling the cartoon entirely. From what we know about the division of skills in trades such as weaving, lacemaking, and embroidery, designs were either drawn or converted into proper cartoons by professional artists rather than by the tradesmen or craftswomen themselves. In this particular case, rescaling the design would have entailed additional expenditures of time and money; there would be no reason to rescale, as the original cartoon or model was copied onto oiled tracing paper, that paper, and not the drawing itself, being subsequently pricked to allow the passage of the powder marking the contours of the design; the dots deposited onto the canvas in the process were then joined in a continuous line in pencil or ink, much as is done with any embroidery pattern today.

The main differences in rendering the elements of the design reside in the shading and in the treatment of the various faces. Above all, the portrayals of the central medallion figures are markedly different. Venus and Cupid are treated in a conventional manner that cannot be traced to any particular painter, although the goddess has the look of having been modeled after a real person rather than copied from an engraving. On Panel 1, the older-looking panel (fig. 15), Venus appears coarse and plump, as does Cupid; the flesh tones are much browner, and the cloth falling around the goddess' hips is a shapeless mass. By contrast, the medallion in Panel 2, the newer-looking panel (fig. 16), is obviously done by a specialist in "testes et chairs," or heads and flesh tones. The weavers at the Gobelins royal manufactory, for example, were divided into categories, some being especially good at flowers, others at landscapes, yet others excelling in the human face,[30] and this may have been the case for embroiderers as well.

At first it seemed possible that the second panel had been repainted; the deeper shading of the elements on the panel (for example, the difference between the two lower vases in figures 17 and 18), as well as the sometimes harsh colors (the two birds on the bottom cross-bar), seemed to indicate as much. And indeed, the practice of repainting tapestries, and presumably embroideries as well, was widespread in the seventeenth century. The existence within the upholsterers' guild of a category of specialists in paint-

ing over damaged tapestries can be traced back at least to 1636. These specialists were called *rentrayeurs* and their art *rentraiture*. Not only did they repaint, they sometimes introduced "des choses très différentes," or even made over faces in needlework. All was done with such art that their work was impossible to detect.[31]

However, the technical report (see Appendix) contains absolutely no evidence of repainting or repairing; quite the contrary, in fact, though the report does point to the use of barberry root in only one of the panels as opposed to both, which may or may not be significant. More importantly, there is evidence that bright colors are by no means a proof of repaints or repairs. A case in point is the embroidered bed now at Versailles, admittedly of much later date (ca. 1750). During a thorough examination of the bed, it was noticed that areas embroidered in pink and/or red thread seemed exceedingly vivid, even harsh. Yet there was no evidence whatsoever on the reverse side of those specific areas of reinsertions or repaints; neither were there any traces of glue or other felting agents. Moreover, a number of other pieces, of yet later date, added on to lengthen the bed's coverlet, included motifs embroidered in the very same shade of bright, almost orange-red. All of this points to the use of high-quality dyes and mordants.

In a manual apparently drawn up for the Gobelins ateliers entitled *Principes de teinture colorée,*[32] skein-shaped samples are hand-colored on one page, while on the other the dye components required to achieve each specific color are listed. Each row of samples begins with the lightest shade and ends with the darkest. There are numerous indications concerning the resistance to fading of each color, some being described as far less solid than others. Besides cochineal, the essential component in any red dye bath, crushed sorrel leaves were apparently used extensively, and it would seem that the greater the quantity that was used, the more long-lasting the shades of red.

As for the wool thread that makes up the greater part of the embroidery in the panels in the Getty Museum, the dyestuff analysis (see Appendix) shows that the reds and pinks in both panels were obtained from brazilwood. *L'instruction générale pour la teinture des laines et manufactures de laine de toutes couleurs, et pour la culture des drogues qu'on y emploie,* or the rules and regulations governing dyestuff components for wool, published in Paris in 1671,[33] specifically forbid the use of brazilwood to obtain reds in wool dyeing. The regulations insist on that particular point, arguing that brazilwood does not produce fast reds and adding that, as it is imported, it causes prejudice to the French trade in dyestuff obtained from madder. Such insistence is obviously proof that brazilwood was in fact used rather frequently. The document also makes the interesting point that upholsterers were allowed to dye their own wools whenever there was no master dyer in the area who could do so; failing to observe the same regulations would result in heavy fines.

The reason for the marked difference in style of execution and color preservation between the two panels is therefore unknown. However, there can be little doubt that one panel was made before the other. It need not actually be the older-, cruder-looking one, since high-quality dyes and skilled workmanship were in fact rather routinely applied to the manufacture of such objects in the Gobelins manufactory and elsewhere at the time of Louis XIV. Could Panel 2, the newer-looking, finer one, have originated in a professional workshop, while Panel 1 was copied later on, with a less skillful hand rendering the figures and faces and using dyes of lower quality, containing less mordant? (This could have been done by the owner of the bed, who wanted to replace the damaged original.) Certainly Panel 2 is generally better drawn, its elements more accurately detailed than Panel 1's. (Note for example how powerful and muscular-looking are the sphinxes' paws [fig. 20], much closer in this way to contemporary depictions in stucco, mural, or tapestry [fig. 19]; the contours of the figures on Panel 1 [fig. 21] are softer, less precisely delineated.) Following this line of reasoning, Panel 1—having been made on a coarser grade of canvas—would of necessity have been longer than Panel 2, hence the removal of its top border and its addition to Panel 2 to match the two lengths.

Whatever happened, it seems inconceivable that the two panels should have been made at exactly the same time; indeed, no customer of the day would have failed to notice the difference in execution between the two, or accepted it. The use of a different grade of canvas, making it necessary to rescale the entire cartoon, constitutes yet another argument in favor of this theory. It is more than likely that one of the panels was made sometime later than the other, though not necessarily much later, possibly to replace damaged elements, as mentioned above.

The technical report (see Appendix) states that the reds in the two bed hangings seem to come from the same batch of dyestuff, thus suggesting similar

FIGURE 19

Tapestry *à grotesques* from Beauvais, ca. 1680. Detail of the top center. Aix-en-Provence, Musée des Tapisseries. Notice how life-like is the body of each sphinx sitting on top of its canopy. In this respect the figures are similar to the sphinxes on Panel 2. There is also a winged harpy in the center. The tapestry is said to be after Bérain.

FIGURE 20

Panel 2: plumed sphinx.

FIGURE 21

Panel 1: plumed sphinx. Compare with Panel 2 (left), on which the sphinx's paws and hindquarters are better proportioned and more realistic.

FIGURE 22

Embroidered bed, French or Italian, ca. 1750. Chambre du Dauphin, Musée National du Château de Versailles et des Trianons. Detail showing petit-point embroidered outer hangings, ca. 1700, with foliate scrolls and flower basket.

dates of production. In itself, this is no proof of the absolute comtemporaneity of production, inasmuch as the composition of dyestuffs was strictly regulated, and major modifications in components or proportions were not introduced until the end of the eighteenth century. But whether the panels were made two years or two decades apart, the coupling of aesthetic and historic investigations with technical ones will help establish dating with a fair degree of certainty. More work needs to be done in this field; in particular, the various rules and regulations governing dyestuff components in the different countries involved in textile production could yield useful information concerning the place of origin.

As to possible ownership of the hangings, we have already stated that it is nearly impossible to determine it. Nevertheless, one might be allowed to engage in a bit of historical speculation, based on the admittedly scant evidence provided by the bed at Versailles mentioned above. Indeed, the Versailles piece bears some relevance to the Getty Museum panels beyond the vividness of its reds and pinks. Two of the outer *bonne-grâces,* embroidered in silk petit point, present a related decorative scheme (fig. 22). The strapwork and foliate scrolls are in a similar vein to those on the panels and obviously date back to an earlier period (ca. 1700) than the rest of the bed. The Versailles bed was originally in the Château de Bevilliers-Breteuil, situated some twenty-five kilometers south of Paris. It is said to have belonged to the marquise du Châtelet, the celebrated scientist and woman of letters, also known for her long liaison with Voltaire. Madame du Châtelet had received it, according to the records, from her cousin, the marquise de Créquy. The Créquy family once owned several sets of embroidered hangings representing the elements and the seasons, with central figures probably after Le Brun;[34] these were produced in the 1680s. It is tempting as a result to link such a celebrated family with the possession of other panels like the Getty's, for its members evidently had developed early on a taste for embroidered furnishings. But unless one were to find documented evidence to that effect in the Breteuil family papers,[35] the provenence of the Getty panels will have to remain the subject of conjecture.

There are few of these basically unaltered petit-point panels in existence today, at least in France. Their presence in the J. Paul Getty Museum is therefore important, because they are a particularly representative example of a type of French decorative concept that had considerable influence abroad. They fit admirably well in the range of objects from the era of Louis XIV assembled at the Museum. Indeed, it is fair to say that with the addition of such pieces, presumably of relatively less exalted provenance, visitors to the collection are offered as accurate a vision of the French style of the period—be it the regal, the aristocratic, or the merely well-to-do—as is available anywhere outside of France.

Anne Ratzki-Kraatz is a historian specializing in the economic and aesthetic history of textiles and laces. Her most recent book is Catalogue des dentelles du Musée National de la Renaissance/ Château d'Ecouen *(1992).*

NOTES

1. Acc. nos. 85.DD.266.1–2; *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), "Acquisitions 1985," p. 242, no. 189.
2. For numerous reproductions of Daniel Marot's designs and corresponding, or similar, pieces, some dated to the 1690s, see P. M. Johnston, ed., *Courts and Colonies: The William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America,* exh. cat. (New York and Pittsburgh, 1988).
3. In the series of Gobelins tapestries entitled *Les mois arabesques,* each month is symbolized by a specific god. Venus represents the month of April. An inscription at the top of the corresponding tapestry reads *Apriles sub tutela veneris.* See J. Guiffrey, *Histoire et description des tapisseries du Garde-Meuble* (Paris, n.d.), p. 107.
4. Good examples of such an approach are the two sphinxes sitting atop strapwork on either side of a large shell above the door leading into the queen's apartments at the head of the staircase known as "l'Escalier de la Reine" in Versailles. These were executed in stucco by Pierre Le Gros and Bernard Massou in 1681, but they have the appearance of having been lifted from a print or drawing. Similarly, the longitudinal elements could easily be transferred to a tapestry border without their proportions having to be even slightly altered.
5. H. Coutts, "Hangings for a Royal Closet," *Country Life,* Oct. 13, 1988 pp. 232–33. The author reproduces two hangings and a corresponding design, attributed to Daniel Marot, bearing stylistic similarities to the Getty Museum embroideries. The same drawing is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue mentioned in note 1, as are two painted panels made for Montagu House also after designs by Marot (p. 104 [fig. 22] and p. 106 [fig. 24]).
6. For examples of the early use of such ornamental systems in private Parisian houses, see D. Lavalle, "Plafonds et grands decors peints dans les hôtels du Marais au XVII^{e} siècle," in *Le Marais, mythe et réalité,* exh. cat. (Paris, 1987), pp. 179–96.
7. French square-fronted beds *à la Duchesse* always measured between five and five-and-a-half *pieds* (one *pied* equals approximately 35 centimeters [13 3/4 in.]) across. See figures 11–13 showing the corresponding scale on engravings for bed designs, ca. 1690, by Gabriel-Androuet Du Cerceau, in A. Ratzki-Kraatz "A French Lit de Parade 'à la Duchesse'" in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), pp. 91–92.
8. See Johnston (note 2) p. 105, caption for figure 22.
9. Figure 9 constitutes a telling example of the divisibility concept in Marot's work. The top element in the left-hand panel—showing a birdcage, two winged figures playing the tambourine, and three cherubs with musical instruments—is reproduced almost exactly on the Delft tile shown in Johnston (note 2), cat. 166. The right-hand panel's central motif of a royal rider under a moulded architrave supported by herms is nearly the same as that on the Delft tile reproduced on the cover of *Courts and Colonies,* as well as on p. 195 (cat. 165). See R. Baarsen, "The Court Style in Holland," in the same catalogue, p. 32.
10. These designs have been identified by Jackson-Stops (note 2), cat. 21, pp. 102–3. See also M. D. Ozinga, *Daniel Marot. De Schepper van den Hoolandschen Lodwijk XIV-Stijl* (Amsterdam, 1938). Interestingly enough, Daniel Marot's inspiration seems to have bloomed and withered in a very specific time, that is, he produced his best and most characteristic work between 1685 and 1715 and thereafter largely remained locked in that era without seemingly being able to convert to the new *Rocaille* style. See Johnston (note 2), p. 226–27.
11. Cleveland Museum, acc. no. 90.24.–25.
12. Jupiter symbolizes the month of July; see Guiffrey (note 3).
13. A.N. 01/3340–41, fol. 283. *Inventaire général des meubles de la Couronne,* 1732. The entry reads "morceaux de tapisserie de petit point."
14. For the statutes and regulations of the various Parisian guilds, including the embroiderers, see R. de Lespinasse, *Histoire générale de Paris. Les metiers et corporations de la Ville de Paris, 16^{e}–18^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1892), vol. 2, pp. 162–86.
15. An example, among others, of such an inventory is that of a Pierre Godrelon, Parisian embroiderer, whose stock was appraised by a fellow member of the guild and "brodeur ordinaire du Roy," M. de la Goye, on January 25, 1703. All items mentioned are embroidered in gold and silver. They include twenty-five large and six small monograms of the king, entirely worked in gold (A.N. MC series, ET/XX/418). The other inventories I have examined are all similar in their mention of gold and silver thread embroideries, at least for the period involved, i.e., the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.
16. A.N. 01/2984, file 6, fol. 43, "Menus-Plaisirs."
17. A.N. 01/2040, file A5, 1693, "Gobelins."
18. C. Germain de Saint-Aubin, "De la broderie en tapisserie," in *L'art du brodeur* (Paris, 1770), p. 26.
19. R. A. Weigert and C. Hernmark, *L'art en France et en Suède, 1693–1718* (Stockholm, 1964), p. 67.
20. R. A. Weigert, "La retraite de Mme. de Montespan," *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes du XVII^{e} siècle* (1949), pp. 16–18, 211–20; idem, "Un don de Louis XIV à la Cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Archives alsaciennes d'histoire de l'art* (1931), pp. 161–72.
21. T. Lavallée, *Mme. de Maintenon et la Maison Royale de Saint-Cyr* (Paris, 1862), p. 170.
22. *Statuts et reglemens des maîtres et marchands tapissiers* (Paris, 1730).
23. E. Fournier, ed., *Le livre commode des addresses de Paris pour 1692, par Abraham du Pradel (Nicolas de Blégny)* (Paris, 1878), p. 360.
24. Ibid., p. 368.
25. The author is preparing such a study for publication.
26. See notes 2 and 4. For the influence of French taste on English upholsterers, see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven, 1978), pp. 149–79.
27. See Jackson-Stops in Johnson (note 2), p. 49.
28. Unlike a number of other art historians, I see Marot as being far more influenced by artists such as Le Brun and Le Pautre, not to mention their Italian predecessors, than by Bérain, the similarity of their ornamental vocabulary notwithstanding.
29. Panel 1: 12 warp and 14 weft threads per square centimeter; Panel 2: 18 warp and 16 weft threads per square centimeter.
30. J. Guiffrey, "Les manufactures parisiennes de tapisseries au XVII^{e} siècle," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France,* vol. 19 (1892), pp. 267–72.
31. See note 18.
32. *Principes de teinture colorée, echantillons de soie des Gobelines,* ca. 1775, Bibliothèque Nationale.
33. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 16739, f. 142. This document will be published in extenso, with comments, by the present author.
34. E. A. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* vol. 2 (New York, 1985), pp. 665–76.
35. I wish to thank the marquise de Breteuil for giving me permission to examine her family records, a task I have not yet completed.

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Appendix

The Technical Examination of a Pair of Embroidered Panels

Sharon K. Shore, Linda A. Strauss,
Brian Considine, Arie Wallert

INTRODUCTION

The following technical information includes a description of the construction and execution of the panels, a dye analysis, a description of the condition of the panels and features of interest, and some concluding comments. This information was gathered during examinations by several consulting textile conservators working with the staff of the Department of Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

The authors would like to thank the following for permitting the use of information contained in their examination reports on these panels: Jane Hutchins (now at Tideview Conservation, Sooke, British Columbia, Canada), who contributed her report while at the Textile Conservation Center of the Museum of American Textile History; Kathy Francis and Dierdre Windsor of the Textile Conservation Center of the Museum of American Textile History; and Bruce Hutchinson of the Textile Conservation Laboratory of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Since the information from the conservators originated at different times and for different reasons, the collated information varies in content and specificity.

DESCRIPTION

The textiles are two panels of embroidery on plain-weave canvas that are approximately eleven feet (316.8 cm) in length by three feet (86.4 cm) in width. Though the overall shape of each panel is a long rectangle, both panels are skewed diagonally from the upper left corner to the lower right corner, leaving them slightly irregular in dimension. Panel 1 is one-half inch (1.3 cm) longer at the right border and is three-sixteenths of an inch (.5 cm) wider at the bottom than Panel 2 (see fig. 1).

In embroideries of this type, the skew is introduced by repeated pulling of the yarn in one direction. The diagonal skew in each panel resembles a distortion found in other historically significant textiles constructed of plain-weave canvas embroidered with needlepoint techniques. In fact, in the literature there is mention of a causal relationship

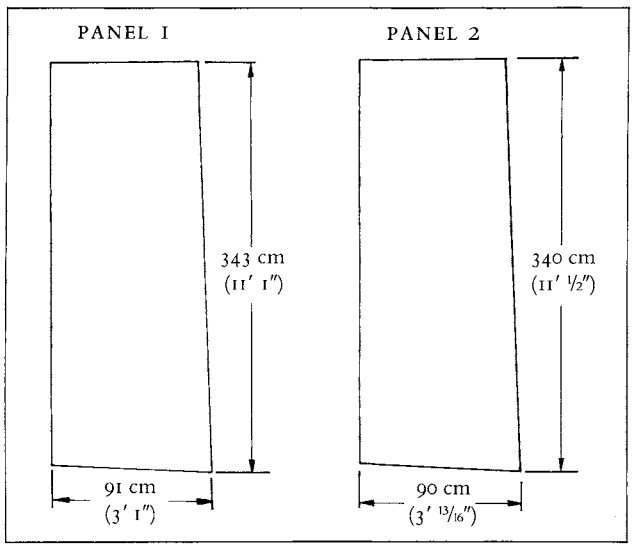

FIGURE 1

Shape and size of Panel 1 and Panel 2. Drawing by Timothy Seymour.

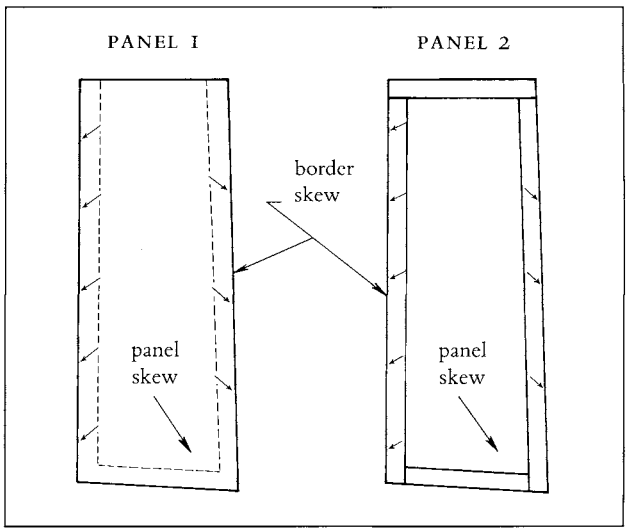

FIGURE 2

Location of borders of Panel 1 and Panel 2, showing distortion of shape because of skew. Drawing by Timothy Seymour.

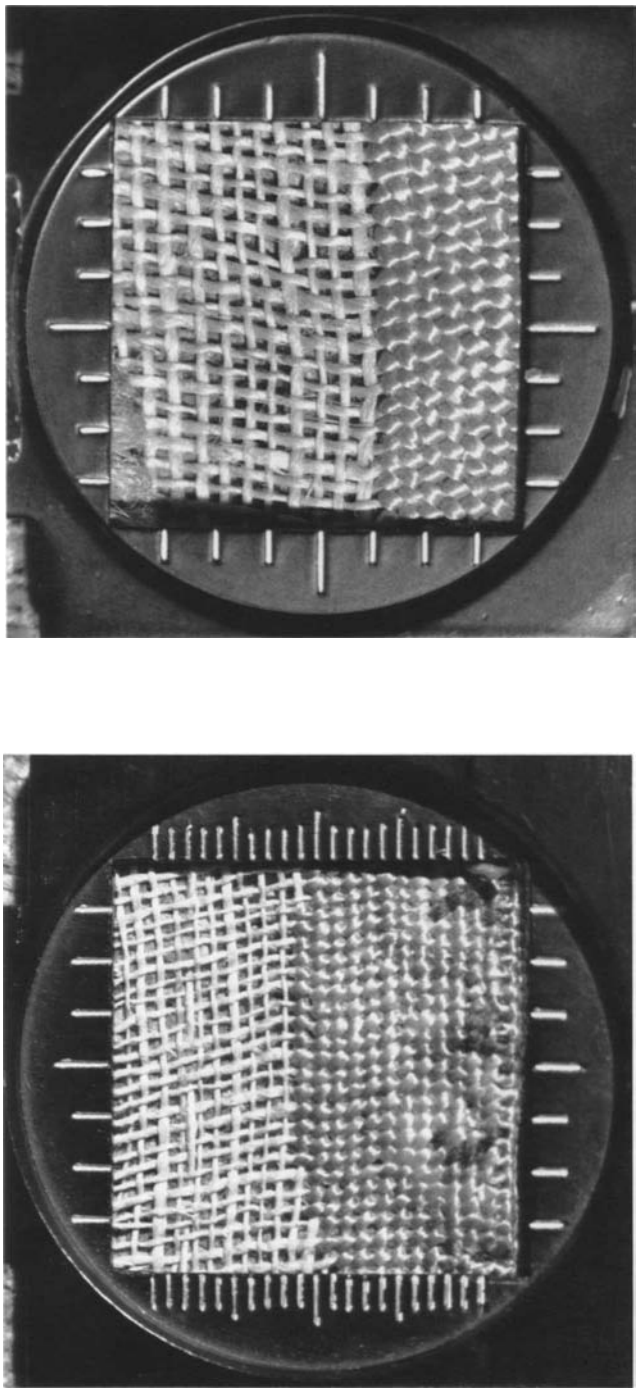

FIGURE 3

The difference in TPI is clearly visible in these photographs of Panel 1 (top) and Panel 2.

between the direction of skew and the repetitive pull of the hand executing the stitch.[1] The direction of the stitches and of the consequent skew can be influenced by the right- or left-handedness of the embroider and by the manner in which the embroidery is sewn (top to bottom or bottom to top) (see fig. 2).

The panels are embroidered on linen canvas. The canvas weave is plain, or tabby, with a variation in threads per inch (TPI) between Panel 1 and Panel 2. Panel 2 is made of a finer-weave linen canvas, with a higher warp and weft thread count (see fig. 3).

	PANEL 1	PANEL 2
Warp	18 TPI	22–24 TPI
Weft	18–22 TPI	24–28 TPI

Both panels were viewed from the reverse to determine the manner in which they were constructed. Panel 1 is embroidered on a single piece of canvas, including the border motifs. The top section containing the border motif was removed from Panel 1 sometime after the embroidery was finished. The resulting cut edge on the top of the panel has been finished by turning it to the reverse with a fold. Panel 2, on the other hand, is made of a central panel with borders sewn on separately, although the top border is not original to the panel.

Both panels have an unevenly cut, unembroidered margin of canvas at the outermost edges surrounding the embroidery. This margin has been folded to the reverse on all sides to finish the edges. In addition, Panel 2 has an unembroidered margin of canvas on the inside edges of the applied borders as well as on all four edges of the central section. The side and bottom strips of border canvas were joined to each other with vertical seams prior to their embroidery (see fig. 2). The embroidered borders were then joined to the central panel using an overcast stitch clearly visible from the obverse. The top edges of the borders have been cut through the yarns, leaving no unembroidered margins as found on the bottom edges. This suggests that the top edge was originally finished in the same manner as the bottom. No embroidery stitches span the seams joining the borders to the panel.

Both panels are coated with a starch on the reverse,[2] a common seventeenth- and eighteenth-century method of securing loose yarns. The absence of starch under the seam allowances on the reverse of Panel 2 indicates that the application of starch on that panel was carried out after the borders were joined to the central panel.

A plain-weave coarse linen lining entirely covers each panel on the reverse. Tufts of thread in a pattern that suggests the attachment of hanging rings are visible on the top edge of the lining at regular intervals, approximately three inches (7.6 cm) apart. At the time the panels were acquired

by the Museum, a modern plain-weave off-white cotton-cloth dust backing was removed from the reverse of each panel. The current support for display consists of horizontal Velcro bands sewn to the reverse top edge of the lining. Future plans call for mounting the panels on rigid supports.

The panels are worked in one primary needlepoint embroidery stitch, identified as petit point de panier.[3] It is made by repeating the same-slant stitch on the canvas obverse and alternating diagonal rows of horizontal, then vertical passes on the reverse. The embroiderer passes a yarn diagonally over one warp and one weft on the obverse and under two vertical warps on the reverse, repeating this stitch in a diagonal direction across the area of canvas to be filled in a specific color. The next row of stitches is made by again passing yarn diagonally over one warp and one weft on the obverse but under two horizontal wefts on the reverse (see fig. 4). The resulting pattern is of interlocking stitches, with the same slant on the obverse and a basketweave pattern on the reverse.

Needlework references reflect a lack of agreement on the names and the exact method of rendering needlepoint embroidery stitches. For example, a second reference for the general stitch category of petit point, also written in eighteenth-century France, describes a process involving two crossed slanted passages of yarn instead of one on the obverse.[4] Many American and English references for needlepoint embroidery describe stitches similar to petit point de panier that utilize one slanted passage of yarn on the obverse, but they differ widely concerning the passage of yarn on the reverse.[5]

In some areas of color on both panels, a second layer of petit point de panier stitches has been added over the first. Both layers of stitches follow the same direction but are worked in different tones and shades to achieve subtle gradations of color. This can be seen in the flesh tones of the figures, for example, in the areas where the use of multi-layered wool yarns creates a slightly raised texture. This contrasts noticeably with the smoother silk yarns used in the adjoining costume drapery. This layering technique is used more extensively on Panel 1. However, some of the finer details on Panel 2 are worked in two stitches not found on Panel 1. The eyes, mouths, and earrings are outlined with a variation of the stem stitch. Some of these details are then filled in with a satin stitch (see fig. 5).[6]

The embroidery yarns were identified by microscopic examination. They included both silk and wool fibers, each plied to form thicker yarns. The silk yarns are exclusively "Z" twist plied yarns, whereas the wool yarns include both "S" twist and "Z" twist yarns.

There are variations of color within single motifs on the panels which seem to indicate that colors which appear very different today originally matched but have since faded. For example, there are changes in the color of the yarn used for the blue-gray strapwork within each panel. This suggests the use of yarns from different dye lots within a motif.

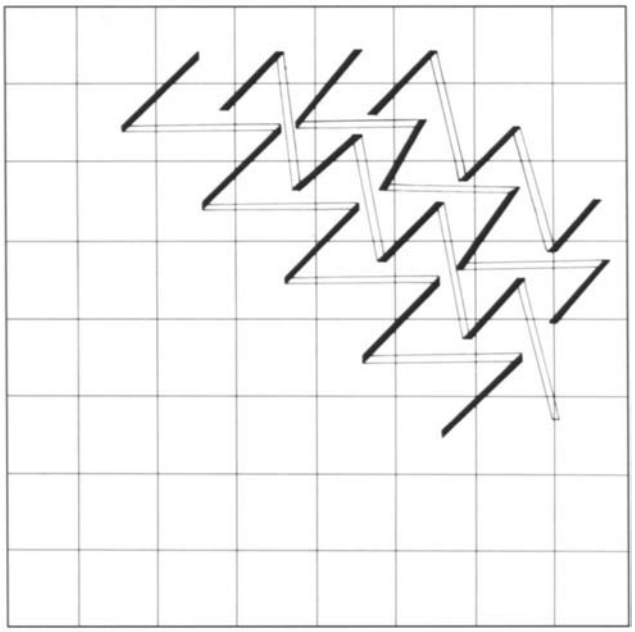

FIGURE 4

Stitch diagram of petit point de panier. Drawing by Timothy Seymour.

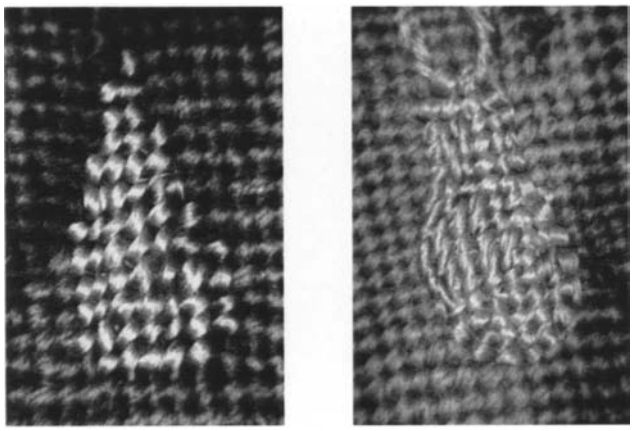

FIGURE 5

The differences in stitching can be seen in these two details of an earring from Panel 1 (left) and Panel 2.

There are, however, differences in the colors of given motifs between the two panels that could indicate that they were made in different workshops. The following is a list of some significant variations in color within comparable motifs on Panel 1 and Panel 2. It is interesting to note that the lighter, presumably more faded colors do not always occur in the same panel. In general, the pink, yellow, and tan colors are more faded in Panel 1 (identified as .1 in the list below).

A. The leaf and flower motif between the upper hanging vases
   .1 Bright salmon pink
   .2 Soft pink/tan
B. The floral motif above the female herms
   .1 Tan and blue
   .2 Purple red
C. The center flowers between the faces of the female herms
   .1 Pink left; tan right
   .2 Tan left; pink right
D. The *lambrequin*
   .1 Tan
   .2 Dark red
E. The tasseled drape over the sphinx
   .1 Dark red detailing
   .2 Pink
F. The birds near the bottom of the panel
   .1 Multiple colors on wings, relatively naturalistic colors on bodies
   .2 Single-color birds shaded in either blue, red, or green

DYE ANALYSIS

Arie Wallert of the Getty Conservation Institute compared the dyestuffs of like colors from the two panels. Additionally, he analyzed the dyestuff from a yellow found on Panel 1 that fluoresced in ultraviolet light. Initial separation of the colorants was done using thin layer chromatography followed by microchemical analysis to confirm the presence of, and further isolate, substances that are specific to a single dyestuff. The unpublished report by Dr. Wallert containing the analysis, details of the method, sample preparation, and the standards used, is available from the Museum.[7]

The results of Dr. Wallert's analysis are listed below. The dyestuffs of like colors were found to be identical in both panels. All of the dyes, including the fluorescent yellow, support the purported seventeenth-century French origin of the hangings.

Identification of Dyestuffs

THREAD COLOR	COMMON NAME	SCIENTIFIC NAME
Nonfluorescent yellow	"Dyer's broom" or "genêt"	*Genista tinctoria* L.
Fluorescent yellow	"Barberry root" or "épine vinette"	*Berberis vulgaris*
Orange	"Grain d'Avignon" or "Persian berries"	*Rhamnus cathartica* L.
Red	"Brazilwood" or "bois de Brésil"	*Caesalpina crista* L.
Pink	Brazilwood	*Caesalpina crista* L.
Purple-red	"Kermes/cochineal" or "grain d'Ecarlate"	*Coccoid* spp.
Blue	Natural indigo	*Indigofera tinctoria* L.
Deep purple	Natural indigo and brazilwood	*Caesalpina crista* L. *Indigofera tinctoria* L.

Further analysis is planned to identify colors not common to both panels, as well as to identify the mordants used in the dyeing. Madder (*Rubia tinctorum* L.), a red dyestuff typically used for prestigious textiles because it is more light-stable than brazilwood, was conspicuously absent from the samples taken for analysis. The red colors found were derived from scale insects similar to those used for cochineal dye and are common to both panels.

The sample of the fluorescent-yellow yarn was removed from a border section that is integral to the body of Panel 1, the only place where this color is found. The fluorescent yellow appears throughout the border, indicating that it was one of the original colors and not a later repair. It is doubtful that the fluorescent yellow originally differed greatly from the nonfluorescent yellows in ambient light (see fig. 6).

CONDITION

The condition of the pair of hangings is good. The panels are sound structurally except on Panel 1 along a line where the pink band of the border motif abuts the center panel. Because this straight line in the design follows one single warp in the canvas weave, additional strain has been placed on weft threads that were pulled tighter between two areas of embroidery. The resulting weakness has caused ten small splits presently found along the line. Previous repairs are visible in this area, but they are the only repairs that have been identified in either panel. The embroidery is in stable condition, with few pulled or broken yarns. Panel 1 has two

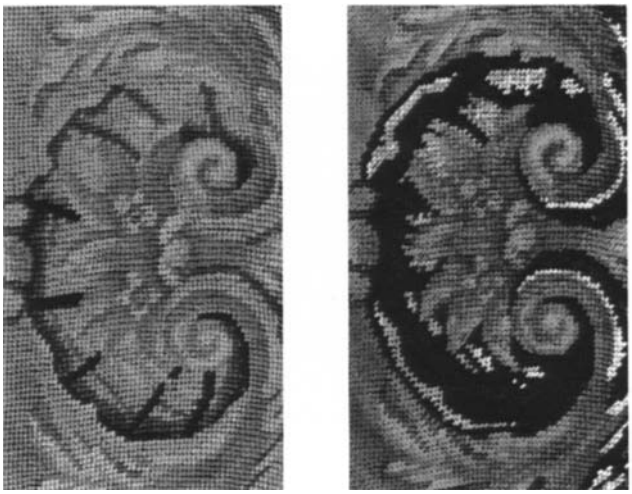

FIGURE 6

The fluorescent yellow on the panels, under normal (left) and ultraviolet light. The yellow is the light area that is prominent just inside the edge of the shell in the ultraviolet photograph on the right.

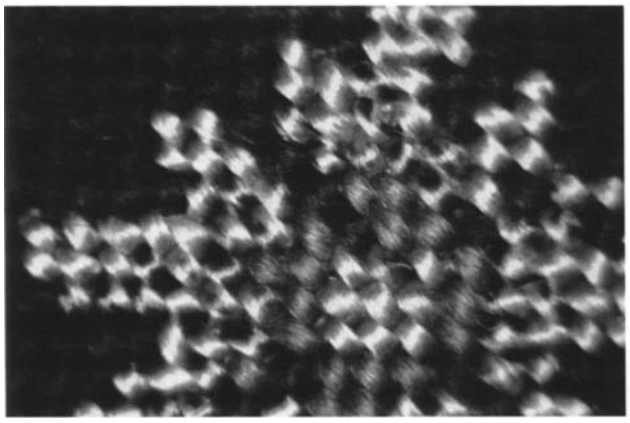

FIGURE 7

Photomicrograph of abraded area. The dark tufts between the stitches are bundles of broken fibers.

small losses through the textile on the left proper edge, approximately one-third of the panel's height from the bottom. Neither panel shows any evidence, in any form, of the application of paint or dye for repair. There is, however, some visible abrasion of the tops of the stitches, particularly at the edges of both panels. Some of the more faded and brittle upper fibers in the yarns have broken off, revealing the brighter yarns underneath. This surface wear can be seen without microscopy and accounts for some of the difference in color intensity between the brighter colors and the more faded colors (see fig. 7).

Although fading in both panels is uneven, Panel 2 generally has brighter colors than Panel 1.

Neither panel is heavily soiled, but both have some loose particulate matter and detached fibers overall on the obverse. Panel 2 has a few spots of unidentified encrusted material scattered throughout the lower half on the obverse. There is no obvious staining or evidence of dye bleeding onto adjacent fibers, insect infestation, or mold.

CONCLUSION

There are many indications that the top border on Panel 2 was originally the top border of Panel 1:

1. The thread count at the top border of Panel 2 matches that of Panel 1, not Panel 2.
2. The imagery and coloration of yarns used in the top border motif of Panel 2 precisely match those found in the border motifs of Panel 1.
3. The ultraviolet light fluorescence of the two hangings is markedly different, except for the top border of Panel 2 and the border motifs of Panel 1, which fluoresce identically.
4. The spin of the yarn on the top border of Panel 2 matches that of Panel 1.
5. There is a band of pink embroidery one-quarter to three eighths of an inch (.7–.9 cm) wide on the bottom and outside edges of Panel 1 and on the top edge on Panel 2. This pink band is not visible on Panel 2 because it is folded to the reverse to match the existing three borders, which do not have the pink band.

Both panels were examined at length under 8–16x magnification. There was no evidence of either the addition of paint or dye or of reembroidery. Added paint would sit on the fibers and be visible under magnification, whereas dye would be visible bleeding into adjacent fibers. There is no disruption to the canvas that would be visible after old yarns were pulled and replaced by new ones, nor is there evidence of the insertion of a new patch into the old canvas. This type of cosmetic restoration would not have been necessary, as the yarns are in stable condition despite some surface abrasion. Furthermore, the brighter yarns are distributed evenly throughout the textiles rather than concentrated in one area that might have been damaged or faded.

The evidence considered in this report supports a late-seventeenth-century date of fabrication. All of the dyes were readily available then, including the fluorescent yellow made from barberry root. The red brazilwood dye is slightly unusual but is identical in both panels. The linen canvases and coarse linings are also of a type used in this period. No machine stitching was found that might indicate a later date of manufacture or subsequent intervention.

Clearly there are inconsistencies, such as the type of stitch used, the gauge of the canvas, the use of a fluorescent

dye, the construction, and the treatment of the edges at the reverse. Our current understanding of the panels does not provide explanations for these differences. The panels could be the products of more than one workshop. It is also possible the embroiderers interpreted the cartoons with some freedom. The differences in the handling of repetitive motifs suggest that several people worked on each panel, in keeping with common workshop practices during this period. Changes of suppliers or stock could also account for discrepancies. Further study of the related pair of embroidered panels in the Cleveland Museum of Art, in conjunction with ongoing analysis of the Getty panels, is merited.

Sharon K. Shore is Director of Caring for Textiles (Los Angeles); Linda A. Strauss is Associate Conservator and Brian Considine is Conservator of Decorative Arts and Sculpture at the J. Paul Getty Museum; and Arie Wallert is Associate Scientist at the Scientific Program/Museum Services of the Getty Conservation Institute.

NOTES

1. S. B. Swan, *Plain and Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework, 1700–1850* (New York, 1977), p. 234: "Before the twentieth century the stitch was worked in horizontal rows, which often pulled the background badly out of shape." Idem, *A Winterthur Guide to American Needlework* (New York, 1976), p. 37:

   > During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most popular canvas-work stitches were called tent, cross, Irish, and Queen's. The tent, or ten, stitch has retained its original name. This simple stitch is worked diagonally from square to square of the canvas. . . . In those days, it was common to work the tent stitch in horizontal rows wherever possible, which, unfortunately, tended to stretch the work diagonally. . . . This sort of distortion also can result from improper blocking after the work is finished, or the stitches themselves can restretch the fabric with the passage of time. To prevent distortion in modern canvas work, the tent stitch is worked in diagonal rows.

2. F. Preusser, "Analysis Report," Getty Conservation Institute Scientific Department, Ref. No. 124-D-85, Mar. 13, 1986
3. Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Inventaire Général des Monuments et des Richesses Artistiques de la France, *Principes d'analyse scientifique: Tapisseries, méthode et vocabulaire* (Paris, 1971), pp. 48–49:

   > PETIT POINT. Point oblique, recouvrant un seul croisement du canevas, exécuté en rangées suivant les diagonales du canevas. Le petit point est généralement incliné à droite et il est exécuté en suivant des diagonales inclinées à gauche. Le point d'envers permet de préciser s'il s'agit d'un PETIT POINT DE PANIER : les points sont droits, alternativement verticaux et horizontaux, ou d'un PETIT POINT DIAGONAL : les points sont droits et forment des rangées obliques.

4. C. Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Art of the Embroiderer,* trans. N. Scheuer (Boston and Los Angeles, 1983), pp. 52–53:

   > *Gros point* is made by covering squarely two threads of the canvas [with stitches that are] at right angles [to each other]. . . . The entire length of the subject or background that one is embroidering is worked stich by stitch. The stitch is then repeated in the opposite direction . . . thus recrossing each stitch and filling all the holes of the canvas. . . . Petit point [covers one thread and] goes from corner to corner of the canvas [diagonally] . . . then it returns in the opposite direction, again from corner to corner to cover the first stitch. This gives almost the same effect [as the *gros point*] with the difference that petit point can better render various shapes. *Gros point* is used on fine canvas, petit point on heavy canvas.

   The description of gros point and petit point stitches differs significantly in this reference from all other references cited.
5. *The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design, Stitch Guide: A Study of the Stitches on the Embroidered Samplers in the Collection of the Cooper-Hewett Museum* (New York, 1984), p. 12:

   > Tent Stitch resembles back stitch because the longer float is on the back of the fabric and the shorter float is on the front. The stitch, always a counted one, produces a repetition of diagonal lines on the front of the fabric. From the front it is difficult to distinguish this stitch from half cross. . . . Tent stitch was frequently used on seventeenth-century English samplers. When applied to pictures and cushion covers the stitch covered the foundation fabric.

6. Ibid., p. 11: "Stem Stitch"; and p. 14: "Satin Stitch."
7. A. Wallert, "Pair of Embroidered Bed Hangings, Analysis of Dyestuffs," Getty Conservation Institute Scientific Program, Museum Support Section Memorandum, Nov. 12, 1991.

Fragonard in the Campo Vaccino: A New Landscape Drawing

Richard Rand

Fragonard's first trip to Italy, from 1756 to 1761, is an unusually well-documented period in a career on the whole characterized by a dearth of public and private comment. During this period he was a pensionnaire at the French Academy in Rome, and his movements and activities can be plausibly reconstructed on the basis of official letters, private journals, and most especially by the great number of drawings he made of the picturesque sites he visited and the famous works he admired.[1] It was during this period that he first developed his interest in landscape drawing and painting, initially under the encouragement of the Academy's director, Charles-Joseph Natoire, and later through his first important patron, the Abbé de Saint-Non. This aspect of his artistic production is best exemplified by the group of elaborate red-chalk drawings he made in the summer of 1760 in the gardens of the Villa d'Este and its environs at Tivoli.[2]

Fragonard's landscape drawings predating the Tivoli group are relatively scarce, and only a handful of views of Rome itself have been identified.[3] To these can now be added the masterful sheet acquired by the Getty Museum in 1990 (figs. 1a–b), which until recently was for all practical purposes unknown to scholars.[4] The drawing depicts the northeast corner of the Palatine Hill, with the gardens of the Villa Farnese visible above the embankment separating them from the Campo Vaccino, or Forum.[5] Fragonard took a position just to the left of the facade of Santa Maria Liberatrice (Antiqua), the shadow of which falls across the right foreground of the drawing. The corner of the cypress-lined promenade which formed a perimeter of the gardens dominates the composition, while one of architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's pavilions, overlooking the *Orti farnesiani* beyond, is visible at the extreme left. An engraving in Vasi's *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna,* published between 1747 and 1761, gives a clear sense of the site and its location in the Campo (fig. 2).[6]

The Getty composition is drawn in red chalk, a medium employed by Fragonard throughout his career but of which he was particularly fond during his first Italian period. The side and bottom edges of the paper appear to be intact, although it is apparent that the drawing has been slightly trimmed at the top edge, which is irregular and somewhat abruptly cuts off the peaks of the cypresses.[7] Upon close examination one is able to make out indications of a light preliminary sketch, in red chalk, in several of the clouds, in the sunlit area at the corner of the wall, and most distinctly above the pavilion at the left; here there is a visible pentimento about one and a half inches above the roof, suggesting Fragonard's first idea was to make the structure considerably taller. The artist then developed the composition by building forms out of contrasts of value, varying the pressure of his chalk and using the white of the paper to create subtle spatial distinctions. The extraordinarily fresh condition of the work demonstrates better than usual Fragonard's sensuous use of the chalk, particularly in the tangled masses of leaves in the right middle ground and in the convincing projection of the abutment of the wall. Fragonard used the blunt edge of his chalk to suggest shadow and texture, then turned to the sharp edge to create detail, such as the wonderfully calligraphic sculpture standing firmly at the corner of the wall near the center of the composition.

While the history of the drawing can be traced back only to the 1940s, the inscription in brown ink on the slab of stone at the lower right, *fragonard, Rome, 1759* (fig. 1b), establishes it as among the artist's earliest known landscapes. The handwriting is similar, although not identical, in style to that on other drawings by Fragonard from the period, such as the *View of the Hermit's Courtyard in the Colosseum,* inscribed and dated 1758 (figs. 3a–b).[8] Eunice Williams has attributed this inscription to Natoire, proposing that such sheets were among the drawings the director is known

FIGURE 1a

Jean-Honoré Fragonard (French, 1732–1806). *View of the Farnese Gardens, Rome,* 1759. Red chalk on laid paper, 33.5 x 47.6 cm (13 3/16 x 18 3/4 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 90.GB.138.

FIGURE 1b

Detail of inscription.

FIGURE 2

Giuseppe Vasi (Italian, 1710–1782). *La Chiesa di S. Maria Liberatrice.* Engraving from *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna,* vol. 3 (Rome, 1753), no. 35, pl. 54. Photo: Reference Collections of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities.

to have sent to the *Surintendant des bâtiments,* the Marquis de Marigny, in Paris for approval.[9] The highly finished Getty drawing is elaborate enough to have served as one of these "envois de Rome." Natoire seems to have first sent drawings by Fragonard (their subject matter was not identified) to Paris with his letter of May 3, 1758.[10] The following year Marigny expressed his pleasure with them, commenting that "On est très satisfait de ses desseins; ils sont purs, savans et corrects."[11]

Drawing from nature, particularly the live model, was one of the principal means of instruction at the French Academy, then located in the Palazzo Mancini. It was part of a rigorous program, including copying the works of antiquity and of the Renaissance and Baroque, that made a Roman sojourn such a rich and diverse, if sometimes intimidating, culmination to one's artistic training. Not as often acknowledged, however, is the important role given to landscape drawing as a necessary complement to the students' more academic studies. Excursions through the city and surrounding countryside had been avidly promoted at least since the directorship of Nicholas Vleughels from 1724 to 1737, when sketching *en plein air* was championed as an essential element of the search for the *beau idéal.*[12] Despite the precedent of seventeenth-century models like Claude Lorrain, such official promotion of landscape was relatively unusual at a time when a "servile" imitation of nature was considered beneath the dignity of France's aspiring painters. Nevertheless, due to Vleughels's early enthusiasm and, perhaps, the relative freedom from official supervision in Paris, French artists continued to draw and paint the landscape of Italy, so that by Fragonard's time such activity was accepted practice. Another important factor was the presence of the marine painter Claude-Joseph Vernet, who resided in Italy from 1734 to 1753, and who frequently painted and sketched in the open air. Vernet inspired a generation of expatriate painters and draftsmen, who took to

FIGURE 3a

Jean-Honoré Fragonard. *View of the Hermit's Courtyard in the Colosseum,* 1758. Red chalk on white antique laid paper, 36.8 x 26.7 cm (14½ x 10½ in.). Private collection.

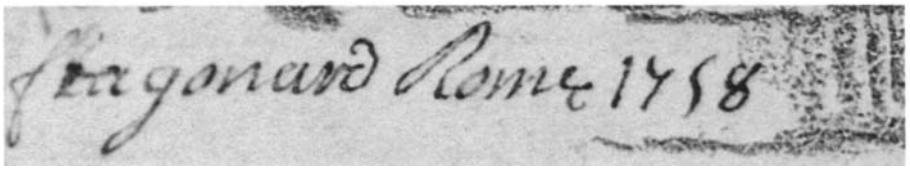

FIGURE 3b

Detail of inscription.

FIGURE 4

François Boucher (French, 1703–1770). *View of the Farnese Gardens,* ca. 1730. Black chalk on paper. Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale.

heart his belief that "the shortest and surest means [to artistic mastery] was to paint and draw after nature."[13] Vernet's international reputation, which eventually earned him a highly important commission from the French crown, was both the result of and a motivation for the increasing seriousness afforded landscape by academicians and critics alike during the second half of the century.[14]

One artist who took advantage of such advanced ideas at the French Academy was François Boucher, who resided in Rome from 1728 to 1731. Boucher made a number of landscape drawings while in Italy, working some of these up into finished paintings upon his return to Paris. In one example, made around 1730, he drew the same motif that Fragonard would draw twenty-nine years later, even if he viewed it from a more distant point and adorned it with characteristic Rococo staffage (fig. 4). Like the Fragonard sheet, Boucher's drawing is very elaborate and finished and was certainly completed in the studio rather than drawn *sur le motif.* Several years later, the artist used it as the starting point for the ravishing painting now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[15]

Natoire had also studied in Rome under Vleughels, and during his own directorship from 1752 to 1775 he continued to encourage his pensionnaires, including Fragonard, to sketch the sites of Rome. In a letter to Marigny written on July 17, 1759, Natoire concisely expressed his thoughts on this practice:

> J'ay fait, dans ses derniers tems, plusieurs desseins d'après des vûes aux environs de Rome qui me donnent envie, par leurs singularité, d'en peindre quelq'une. . . . Je regarde cette partie fort nécessaire dans l'études de nos jeunes élèves. Je les ancourage à ne pas la négliger en les prêchant d'exemple. . . . Mon seul et unique plaisir est de rassambler quelques dessains de bon maître et qui ne soyent pas de grande valeur, affin de pouvoir y atindre; ils servent à m'entretenir et à faire voir en même tems aux pensionnaires la routte que les habille artistes ont tenu pour se distinguer dans cet art, qui et si beau et si difficile à y parvenir.[16]

The sketching excursions that the director organized were intended in part to relieve the students' numbingly regulated life at the Palazzo Mancini. In the case of Fragonard, these diversions took on a more urgent purpose. By his own account the young artist was overwhelmed by the aesthetic riches of the city, and his slow progress worried his superiors in Paris, who had sent him to Italy with high hopes.[17] Evidently Natoire steered Fragonard to sketching in the open air, so that he might overcome his artistic paralysis through a rediscovery of nature. This strategy was

FIGURE 5

Charles Natoire (French, 1700–1777). *The Terrace of the Farnese Gardens on the Palatine Hill, with the City of Rome in the Distance,* 1759. Brown pen and ink, brown and gray wash with red and white heightening, on blue-gray paper, 29 x 47.1 cm (11 3/8 x 18 3/4 in.). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre 31.382.

evidently a success, for Fragonard was soon producing dozens of highly accomplished drawings, and in the fall of 1759 he finally completed his painted copy of Pietro da Cortona's *Saint Paul Restored to Sight* (Church of the Capuchins, Rome), which had been assigned to him more than a year and a half before.[18]

The great number of Natoire's own landscape drawings that survive from these years prove he taught by example as well as words. In 1755 the director acquired a small garden near the Campo Vaccino where he would take his students to draw.[19] Of his sketches dated to 1759, several depict the area around the Palatine Hill, including the Farnese gardens. The one illustrated here (fig. 5) centers its composition on the length of the tree-lined promenade captured by Fragonard from below.[20] As Boucher did earlier, Natoire enlivened the scene with a variety of figures and animals. Indeed, this area of the Campo Vaccino had long been popular among tourists and artists for its picturesque mingling of an overgrown Renaissance garden and ancient foundations.[21] François Deseine made just this point in his popular guidebook, first published in 1713: "Ce jardin est divisé en plusieurs compartimens, avec de grandes allées de Cyprès: on y découvre tout Rome: Sur le penchant vers le Vélabre, il y a plusieurs Voûtes & arcades de l'ancien Palais des Empereurs."[22] The Abbé de Saint-Non, who would soon have such a great impact on Fragonard's development as a landscape artist, visited the Forum shortly after his arrival in Rome in November of 1759. He also admired the gardens, writing in his journal, "[the Villa Farnese] est à peu près aussi mal entretenüe, quoique très jolie et dans une très belle situation; elle est construite sur les ruines de l'ancien Palais des Empereurs, en face du Temple de la Paix, et au milieu des Monumens d'antiquité les plus intéressans qui'il y ait à Rome."[23] In the Getty drawing Fragonard's dramatically low viewpoint underscores the uneasy balance between the flourishing and even unkempt garden above and the weathered and time-worn vaults and arcades only partially excavated below.

Such fascination with the ancient origins of the city underlay much artistic and philosophical commentary during the middle part of the century. The area of the Roman Forum was just beginning to be properly excavated (indeed, it was still essentially a "cow pasture"), and the excitement generated by new discoveries enlivened an intellectual atmosphere that Fragonard would have found it difficult to ignore. During this period Piranesi was at work on his great series of prints, *Vedute di Roma,* which were published in various groups over several decades and included several views of the area around the Palatine Hill.[24] Piranesi's studio was just across the Corso from the Palazzo Mancini, and it is reasonable to assume that Fragonard was well aware of the project while it was in progress. Moreover, the architectural painter Gian Paolo Pannini taught perspective at the French Academy, and his many and varied depictions of the Forum were certainly familiar to his students.[25]

The French painter most influenced by these Italian artists was Hubert Robert, who resided at the Academy along with Fragonard. Robert was already an accomplished landscape artist, with a reputation as a painter of architecture and ruins,[26] and his presence must have been a great source of encouragement for Fragonard. The two became fast friends, sometimes sketching together as they traveled around the city and its outskirts.[27] It is unlikely, however, that Robert's view of the Farnese gardens (fig. 6) was made on one of these joint excursions, even though it can be dated to the late 1750s.[28] Its viewpoint is considerably further back than the position assumed by Fragonard in the Getty drawing, and certain differences in details, such as the lack of statues on the wall of the promenade, indicate the two drawings record the site in different states of repair. In comparing them, one is struck by the relative accuracy with which Fragonard sought to depict the scene, as opposed to the exaggerated, even fantastic, composition designed by Robert. One would normally expect the opposite: Robert's topographical and landscape drawings are usually

FIGURE 6

Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *View of the Northeast Corner of the Palatine Hill, Seen from the Roman Forum,* ca. 1759. Red chalk on paper, 38 x 33 cm (15 x 13 in.). Valence, Musée des Beaux-Arts D.40. Photo: Photographie Bulloz 17813.

FIGURE 7

Jean-Honoré Fragonard. *The Ancient Theater at Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli,* 1760. Red chalk over black chalk on paper, 35.7 x 49.4 cm (14 x 19½ in.). Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts D. 2848.

characterized by their acute faithfulness to the subject, while Fragonard's generally take liberties with the motif, both in detail and feeling. In the Getty drawing Fragonard did indeed choose a low viewpoint that allowed him to create a bold and forceful composition, yet he was intent as well on carefully recording the crumbling substructure of the gardens and the overgrown character of its plantings. The startling exuberance that characterizes his mature landscape compositions is evident in nascent form here, especially in the soaring row of cypresses and the dark tangle of foliage at the right, but on the whole one senses Fragonard's desire to keep in firm control of the chalk, as if he were still exploring the potentialities of the medium.

Nevertheless, in its size, subject matter, and mastery of technique and composition, the Getty drawing anticipates by a full year the celebrated suite of landscape drawings produced at Tivoli in the summer of 1760.[29] A view such as *The Ancient Theater at Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli* (fig. 7), drawn soon after Fragonard and Saint-Non set up residence at the Villa d'Este, epitomizes the sophistication of draftsmanship Fragonard would attain with the encouragement of Saint-Non.[30] With the appearance of the drawing now in the Getty, the extraordinary accomplishment of the Tivoli views no longer seems so sudden, as they now take their logical place as the culmination of Fragonard's early interest in landscape sketching. When understood in relation to drawings by Boucher, Natoire, and Robert, the Getty sheet is important evidence of the active promotion of landscape sketching at the French Academy, itself a sign of the increasingly elevated status given the genre in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

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NOTES

I am grateful to Eunice Williams, Philip Conisbee, and especially Kelly Pask for their kind assistance in the preparation of this article.

1. The standard text is L. Guimbaud, *Saint-Non et Fragonard d'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1928). The rediscovery of a copy of Saint-Non's travel journal has greatly expanded our knowledge of Fragonard's Italian sojourn; see P. Rosenberg and B. Brejon de Lavergnée, *Saint-Non, Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759–1761* (Rome, 1986). The recent catalogue, *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma,* exh. cat. (Villa Medici, Rome, 1990–91), brings together a vast amount of material related to Fragonard's stay in Rome.
2. See M. Feuillet, *Les dessins d'Honoré Fragonard et de Hubert Robert des Bibliothèque et Musée de Besançon* (Paris, 1926).
3. A. Ananoff, *L'oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard* (Paris, 1961–70), vol. 1, p. 159, no. 368, pp. 163–64, no. 385, vol. 3, p. 88, no. 1440, p. 102, no. 1497a, vol. 4, p. 121, no. 2283.
4. The drawing first appeared in 1942 and was listed by Ananoff although he did not reproduce it (Ananoff [note 3], vol. 3, p. 98, no. 1483). It is catalogued in *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma* (note 1), p. 75, no. 26, although it was not exhibited. Provenance: sale, Nice, November 16, 1942, lot 75; sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 28, 1954, lot 69; sale, Fisher Gallery, Lucerne, June 15, 1956; sale Galerie Pierre-Yves Gabus, Geneva, December 3, 1988, lot 129; [art market, London].
5. For the history of the Villa Farnese, see H. Giess, "Studien zur Farnese-Villa am Palatin," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 13 (1971), pp. 179–230; D. R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 69–75.
6. G. Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna,* vol. 3 (Rome, 1753), no. 35, pl. 54.
7. There is a watermark at the center of the right side consisting of a fleur-de-lys within two concentric circles containing inverted horseshoes, or *c*'s, in the lower half. The paper is probably of Roman origin, of uncertain date; see E. Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hilversum, Holland, 1950). No. 1640, pl. 222, is similar but has the added motif of a crown above the circles. For other watermarks in Fragonard's drawings, see E. Williams, *Drawings by Fragonard in North American Collections,* exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 176–79.
8. See Williams (note 7), nos. 2 and 3. The capital and lower-case *r*'s in the inscription on the Getty drawings are different from those on the drawings discussed by Williams.
9. Ibid., p. 30.
10. See A. de Montaiglon and J. Guiffrey, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments* (Paris, 1887–1912), vol. 11, pp. 210–11.
11. Letter to Natoire, October 11, 1759, ibid., 11, p. 313.
12. B. Hercenberg, *Nicolas Vleughels, peintre et directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome, 1668–1737* (Paris, 1975), p. 19.
13. See P. Conisbee, *Claude-Joseph Vernet, 1714–1789,* exh. cat. (Greater London Council, 1976).
14. See I. J. Lochhead, *The Spectator and the Landscape in the Art of Diderot and His Contemporaries* (Ann Arbor, 1982), chap. 1, "Landscape and the Hierarchy of Genres."
15. See *François Boucher, 1703–1770,* exh. cat. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1986), pp. 151–54, no. 23.
16. Montaiglon and Guiffrey (note 10), vol. 10, pp. 259–60, letter 5327. On Natoire as a landscapist, see É. Dacier, "Natoire paysagiste," *Archives de l'art français,* 4th series, 8 (1916), pp. 230–42; A. Busiri Vici, "Paesistica romana di Charles Natoire," *Antichità viva,* no. 2 (1976), pp. 32–44. For Natoire's career as director of the French Academy, see H. Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1924), pp. 248–312.
17. One of Fragonard's early biographers, Alexandre Lenoir, quotes the artist as explaining his reaction to the art he saw in Rome: "L'énergie de Michel-Ange m'effrayait; j'éprouvais un sentiment que je ne pouvais rendre; en voyant les beautés de Raphaël, j'étais émus jusqu'aux larmes et le crayon me tombait des mains; enfin je restai quelque mois dans un état d'indolence que je n'étais pas le maître de surmonter, lorsque je m'attachai à l'étude des peintres qui me donnaient l'espérance de rivaliser un jour avec eux: c'est ainsi que Baroche, Pietre de Cortone, Solimène et Tiépolo fixèrent mon attention"; see Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne,* vol. 14 (Paris, 1816), p. 604. Marigny registered his disappointment with Fragonard's progress in a letter to Natoire, written July 31, 1758; see Montaiglon and Guiffrey (note 10), vol. 11, p. 216.
18. The painting (present whereabouts unknown) was delivered to Paris with Natoire's letter of October 24, 1759; see Montaiglon and Guiffrey (note 10), vol. 11, p. 317.
19. *Charles-Joseph Natoire,* exh. cat. (Troyes, Nimes, and Rome, 1977), pp. 102–3, 105, no. 74.
20. Busiri Vici (note 16), pp. 35–36.
21. Claude had made a large number of drawings in the Campo Vaccino in the previous century. See for example M. Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings,* vol. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), nos. 122, 123, 380, 381, 450r, and 452v.
22. F. Deseine, *Rome moderne, première ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices,* vol. 3 (Leiden, 1713), p. 804.
23. See Rosenberg and Brejon de Lavergnée (note 1), p. 156.
24. See J. Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (London, 1978), pls. 15, 26, and 100.
25. See for example, F. Arisi, *Gian Paolo Panini e i fasti della Roma del '700* (Rome, 1986), nos. 155, 229, 284, 289, 353, 376, 396.
26. He was referred to in 1754 as "Un jeune homme qui a du goût pour peindre l'architecture"; see V. Carlson, *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolors,* exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 18–19. The Abbé de Saint-Non, writing in 1759, referred to him as "jeune Peintre de la plus grande Espérance et du premier Talent dans le genre de l'Architecture et des Ruînes"; see Rosenberg and Brejon de Lavergnée (note 1), pp. 122–23.
27. One example is Robert's view of the Hermit's Courtyard at the Colosseum, which was apparently drawn at the same time as Fragonard's; see *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma* (note 1), pp. 58–60, cat. nos. 7–8.
28. M. Beau, *La collection des dessins d'Hubert Robert au Musée de Valence* (Lyons, 1968), no. 3.
29. The majority of these are now in the museum at Besançon; see Feuillet (note 2).
30. Saint-Non remarked in his journal: "Ce que ces ruines ont seul de plus intéressant, c'est de procurer aux Peintres et aux dessinateurs un grand nombre de points de vüe les plus picquans et les plus Pittoresques de Monde, et dont tout Tivoli est rempli, pour ainsi dire, à chaque pas que l'on y fait"; see Rosenberg and Brejon de Lavergnée (note 1), p. 160.

A Cutting Illuminated by the Illustratore (Ms. 13) and Bolognese Miniature Painting of the Middle of the Fourteenth Century

Jacky de Veer-Langezaal

In 1985 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired an illuminated cutting from a Bolognese manuscript. The cutting was offered to the Museum as a work by Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna. Ranee Katzenstein, however, recognized it as a work by an artist known to scholars as the "Illustratore," who was active during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and it was purchased as such. The newly acquired cutting by the Illustratore was thus published as Ms. 13 in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* in 1986.[1] It will be shown that this cutting, as well as some others elsewhere, comes from a manuscript of the *Digestum vetus* in the Gemeentemuseum in Roermond, the Netherlands. The attribution of these cuttings is important, because the illuminations in this manuscript in its original state were executed by the three major miniature painters working in Bologna around the middle of the fourteenth century, namely, the Illustratore, the so-called "Master of 1346," and Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna. The Roermond *Digestum vetus* is the only manuscript known to combine the talents of these three masters.[2] As it is one of the rare manuscripts containing miniatures by both the Illustratore and the Master of 1346 and initials by Niccolò, it provides a unique opportunity to compare their work and to point out the subtle but clear differences in their style and technique. As a result, the illuminations in this manuscript offer new insights into the collaborative practices of these artists and, moreover, into the earliest activities of Niccolò.

The J. Paul Getty Museum cutting is a vellum fragment measuring 14.7 by 7.7 cm (5 3/8 by 3 1/8 in.). On the side now mounted as the recto the Illustratore painted a miniature and an initial *U* (fig. 1). The miniature (10 by 6 cm [3 15/16 by 2 3/8 in.]) shows a lively and colorful harvesting scene. In the rocky landscape, vintagers are busy with cutting, carrying, and treading grapes; men are harvesting fruit from a tree, and a woman is milking a cow. The large female half-length figure in the initial (4 by 4 cm [1 1/2 by 1 1/2 in.]) looks to the right, focusing the reader's attention on the beginning of the text, which reads: "Usus fructus cum e[st ius] alienis rebus uten[di]." The Latin text comes from Justinian's *Digestum vetus.*[3] It is the beginning of Book 7, or more precisely, the beginning of the first Law mentioned in the first Title of the Digests (D.7.1.1), where it is stated that "Usufruct is the right to use and enjoy the things of another without impairing their substance."[4] The usual rubric is missing. The text is written in the Italian script known as *littera bononiensis.*[5] On the verso of the cutting the text begins with a red *lombarde* decorated with elaborate Italian pen work in blue (fig. 2). The fragment contains the Digests D.6.2.12 to D.6.2.12.7.[6] Since this precedes the Digests of Book 7, it appears that the present verso was originally situated on a recto in the manuscript, with the illuminated side on its verso. Moreover, the portions of white margin remaining on both sides and above the text and miniature suggest that the Getty fragment was originally at the top of a column.

This miniature appears to be cut from a Bolognese illuminated *Digestum vetus* manuscript kept in the Gemeentemuseum in Roermond, the Netherlands (inv. no. 1855).[7] The manuscript was written by two scribes, one for the text and one for the glosses. The scribe of the text mentioned his name in the colophon at the end of the *Digestum vetus* on folio 323rb. His name is Geminian of Modena, a member of the well-known Grasolfi family of scribes, notaries, and illuminators originating from Modena.[8] François Avril rightly noted that the same Geminian copied part of a Paris *Volumen parvum* (Ms. Lat. 14343). In fact, he copied the glosses of the Institutes and signed folio 78. In a Vatican *Decretum gratiani* (Ms. Vat. Lat. 2492), the name *Geminianus* appears in the colophon of the glosses on folio 272v.[9] The scribe of the glosses is John of Piciano. At the end of the first part of the glosses on folio 179rb, he wrote his name and the date 1340

FIGURE 1

The Illustratore (Italian [Bologna, act. ca. 1330–45]). *Harvesting Scene* (D.7), ca. 1341. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 14.7 x 7.7 cm (5 3/8 x 3 1/8 in.). Cutting from a manuscript of *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 13 (recto); 85.MS.213.

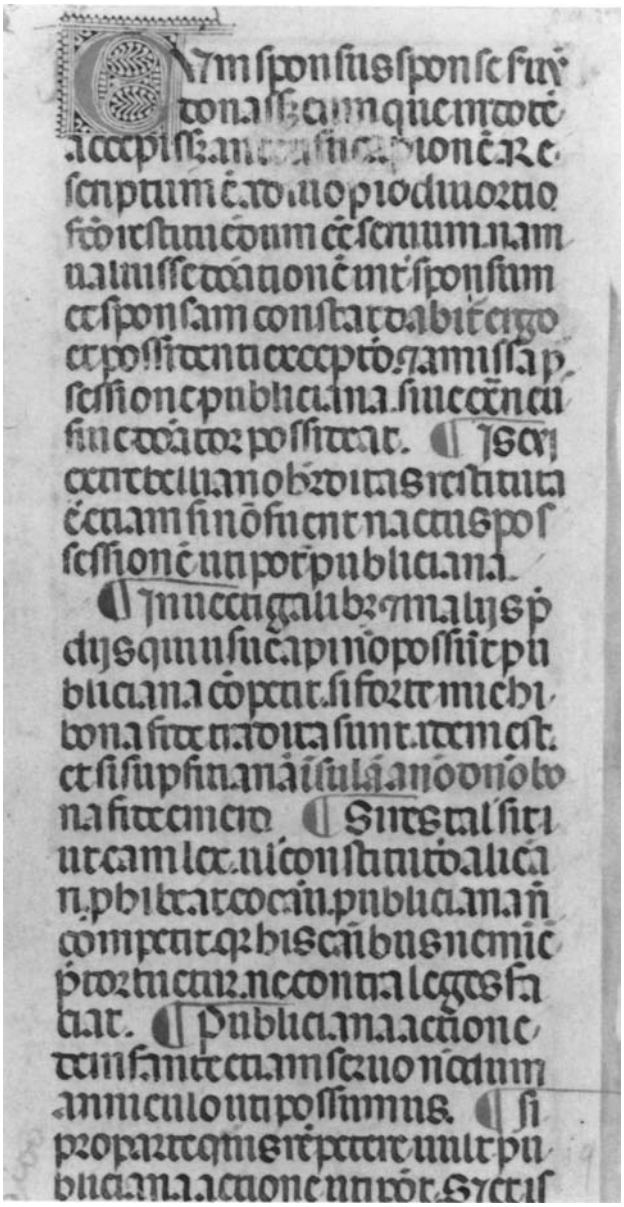

FIGURE 2

Italian (Bologna). *Text Fragment* (D.6.2.12–D.6.2.12.7), ca. 1340. Pen and blue, red, and brown ink on vellum, 14.7 x 7.7 cm (5 3/8 x 3 1/8 in.). Cutting from a manuscript of *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 13 (verso); 85.MS. 213.

and signed again at the end of the manuscript.[10] His activities as a scribe are also known from a manuscript with Decretals in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Angers (Ms. 378 [365]), dated 1343.[11]

The Roermond *Digestum vetus* is a model of what a Bolognese law manuscript looks like. Almost clean of additional notes by previous owners, the original layout has remained clear for us to see. The *mise en page* of illuminated Bolognese law manuscripts is characteristic, and the two scribes who copied this exemplar complied strictly with the rules laid down by the university. According to a system called *glossa cum textu incluso,* two columns of text are neatly enclosed by two columns of glosses (commentaries) written in a slightly smaller script. White margins separate the four columns from one another and spaciously surround the text block as a whole. The scribes tried to achieve an identical layout for each two facing folios, thus creating a clearly structured and symmetrical appearance for each page spread.[12] The textual hierarchy distinguishes between the different Parts, Books, Titles, Laws, and Paragraphs and is supported by an elaborate decorative program. Miniatures introduce the different Parts and Books, historiated and/or decorated initials indicate the beginning of each Title, and pen-work initials with pen flourishes in alternating red and blue mark the Laws. At the bottom level of the hierarchical system, the paragraph signs distinguish the different cases.

Thus, the Roermond *Digestum vetus* was richly illuminated, originally with twenty-five miniatures placed at the beginning of the Prologue and each of the twenty-four Books of the Digests, altogether some 270 initials illuminated with figural busts and pen-work initials scattered throughout the manuscript. Unfortunately, twenty-two miniatures and some initials were stolen from the manuscript, probably around 1900. They were bluntly cut out with a sharp knife, damaging many other folios as well.[13] Of the three remaining miniatures, the Illustratore executed the two on folios 17vb and 114ra.

The miniature by the Illustratore on folio 17vb (fig. 3) shows two children involved in a lawsuit. It is an illustration of one of the examples discussed in the first Title of Book 2 of the Digests, concerning "the jurisdiction of all judges."[14] The first Law states, among other matters, that a judge has the power to appoint guardians for a *pupillus* (underage child).[15]

The second miniature, on folio 114ra, decorates the opening of Book 6 (fig. 4), which deals with various sorts of "vindications."[16] Here the Illustratore

FIGURE 3

The Illustratore. *The Appointing of Tutors* (D.2), ca. 1341. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 10 x 6 cm (3 15/16 x 2 3/8 in.). From *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Roermond, Gemeentemuseum 1855, fol. 17vb.

FIGURE 4

The Illustratore. *The "Reivindicatio" of a Horse* (D.6), ca. 1341. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 11 x 6 cm (4 5/16 x 2 3/8 in.). From *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Roermond, Gemeentemuseum 1855, fol. 114ra.

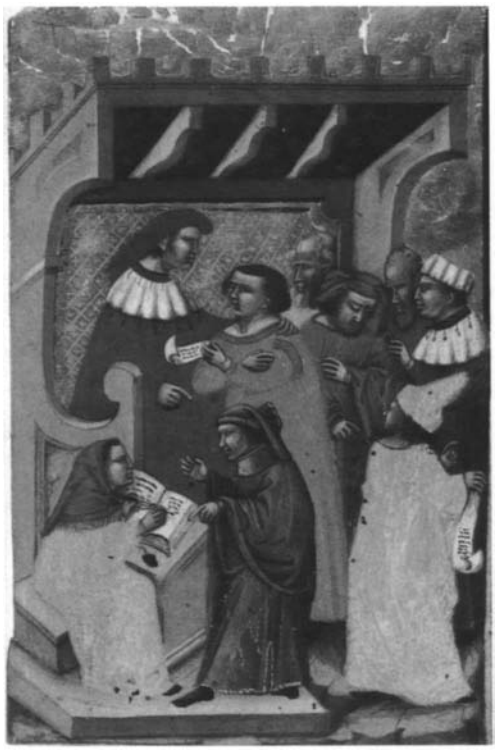

FIGURE 5

The Illustratore. *Legal Scene of Interrogations Before the Magistrate and Interrogatory Actions* (D.II), ca. 1341. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 10.3 x 6.5 cm (4 x 2½ in.). Cutting from a manuscript of *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet 18:215.

represented the *reivindicatio* of a horse.[17]

The Getty cutting fits perfectly in the *Digestum vetus,* both physically and stylistically. On folio 123vb, the entire text column, including the beginning of Book 7 of the Digests, has been cut out. The rubric of the first Title remains at the bottom of the first text column: "Usufruct and the way in which a man may exercise it."[18] Apart from some lines that were lost, the text on the cutting corresponds with the text that is lacking in the manuscript. Following the gap, the manuscript continues with D.7.1.3 on folio 124ra.[19] The interlineary brown pen decoration of the first lines of D.7.1.1 on the Getty cutting is identical to that on folios 17vb and 114ra, and the pen-work initial on the verso is of the same refinement as that elsewhere. Finally, the structure of the vellum supports the provenance of the cutting: the original flesh and hair sides of the Getty cutting correspond with those of folio 123 in the manuscript.

A second cutting illuminated by the Illustratore and originating from the Roermond *Digestum vetus* has been in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam since 1918 (inv. no. 18:215; fig. 5).[20] It was recently recognized as part of the manuscript, but its exact position remained unclear.[21] Close examination demonstrates that it belongs to the beginning of Book II (D.1.1) on folio 172rb.[22] The text on the verso of the cutting contains part of D.II.1.1 to D.II.1.4.1 that is missing in the manuscript.[23] On folio 172rb, a vertical strip of paint, belonging to the huge canopied bench, establishes the former position of the miniature exactly. The rubric of D.II.1 above the gap reads: "On interrogations before the magistrate and interrogatory actions."[24]

In the Amsterdam miniature, the Illustratore depicted a session in court. A compact group of people, consisting of a notary, a counselor, one or more witnesses, and the opposing party, surrounds the judge and his client, who offers him a petition.[25]

Both the Getty and Amsterdam cuttings (figs. 1 and 5) display close stylistic and technical similarities with the two miniatures by the Illustratore remaining in the Roermond manuscript (figs. 3–4). All four scenes are fitted in a vertical frame and have a burnished gold background. The same gray-brown rocky surface of the rural setting of the Getty cutting appears below the platform in the three courtroom scenes in Roermond and Amsterdam, with the same tufts of grass in the *reivindicatio* scene. Owing to the narrow format of the miniatures, the figures in each of the three courtroom scenes form a tight-knit group. In the sloping landscape of the harvesting scene, however, the peasants are harmoniously integrated in various layers in order to depict as many typical rural activities as possible.

Each figure plays an active and essential role in the scenes represented. The Illustratore rendered his many different "types" in lively and expressive attitudes and gestures. Old men, for instance, are characterized by their long and narrow faces, accentuated by a high bald forehead and a long forked beard. Particularly striking is the pose of the young vintager dressed in red in the Getty cutting (fig. 1), whose head tilts back at an extreme angle as he picks grapes. Also characteristic is the pose of the scribe or notary with his legs folded in the scene on folio 17vb (fig. 3). The figures are rather stocky and are dressed in colorful outfits. A variation of the same vivid palette used in the Getty cutting reappears in all scenes: the pink tunics of the old crouching vintager cutting grapes and the young one treading them below; the warm

FIGURE 6

The Illustratore. *Scenes of the Life of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary,* 1343/34. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 21.5 x 17.4 cm (8 7/16 x 6 7/8 in.). From *Bonifacius VIII, Decretales cum apparatu Johannis Andreae.* Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. A 24, fol. 1r.

FIGURE 7

The Illustratore. *Scenes of the Life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria,* 1343/44. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 18 x 17 cm (7 x 6 11/16 in.). From *Clemens V, Constitutiones cum apparatu Johannis Andreae.* Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. A 25, fol. 1r.

red dresses of the vintager seen from behind and the boy in the tree; the gray robe of the man reaching for the basket; the vintager in emerald green carrying the basket, and the woman in celestial blue. The clothes are convincingly modeled around the figures by means of soft contours and a subtle modulation of light and dark tones. The hand of the Illustratore, however, is most clearly recognized in the features and facial expressions of his figures. Their faces are rather broad, except for those of the old men. The foreheads and cheeks are modeled in peach-pink tones heightened with white and are contoured by gray-brown shades, which intensifies their rotund appearance. Brown lines and dark shades further outline the almond-shaped eyes and the noses, mouths, and jaws and accentuate the muscles of the figures' short thick necks. Due to the penetrating gaze of their deep-set eyes and their rather harsh-looking mouths with down-turned corners, the faces of his figures have intense and severe expressions.

The Illustratore was formerly known as "Pseudo-Niccolò," so-called by Lisette Ciaccio in 1907 in order to distinguish his work from that of the great illuminator of the second half of the Trecento, Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna (ca. 1325/30?–1403).[26] Roberto Longhi first called our artist the "Illustratore," thus stressing his originality and extreme narrative sense of everyday life in Bologna.[27] Giovanna Chiti, Francesca D'Arcais, and others have further supported and supplemented Longhi's findings on the Illustratore in their writings.[28]

The style of the Getty cutting and the three other miniatures by the Illustratore is typical of his late, mature works from around 1340 to 1343/44. The glosses of the Roermond *Digestum vetus* were copied in 1340, and I believe that the illuminations were added somewhat later. In style they closely resemble the illuminations in a number of other manuscripts

FIGURE 8

The Illustratore. *The Stoning of Saint Stephen,* ca. 1342. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 19 x 18.5 cm (7½ x 7¼ in.). From *Bonifacius VIII, Liber sextus decretalium cum apparatu Johannis Andreae.* Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. III.7.2, fol. 1r.

executed by the Illustratore during these later years. In order to justify the attribution of the Getty, Roermond, and Amsterdam miniatures, some striking examples will be compared here, followed by a brief discussion of the artist's earlier works.

Two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Padua with the *Decretales Bonifacii VIII* (Ms. A 24) and the *Constitutiones Clementis V* (Ms. A 25), both executed for Miklos Vásáry, Archbishop of Esztergom, are generally considered to be the Illustratore's last commission. They are dated 1343, and the decorations on folio 1r of the two manuscripts (figs. 6–7) were made in 1343/44.[29] These highly narrative and lively compositions, enriched by a wealth of sparkling colors, reveal the same intense and sophisticated style that is displayed in a more modest way in the Getty, Roermond, and Amsterdam miniatures. In both manuscripts, the contours and shades of the architectural elements, as well as the bodies, faces, and gracefully draped clothes of the figures, are very refined. The facial expressions have the same severe intensity, and certain "types" reappear in the Paduan manuscripts, such as the old men and the frontally posed men with their harsh gazes and accentuated neck muscles. The little naked boy in the lower right scene of the life of Saint Stephen in Ms. A 24 is reminiscent of the naked figure with the fluttering cape, trying to catch a bird, in the Roermond miniature on folio 17vb (fig. 3). Although they are not completely identical, their backs have the same prominent spines and their bent right legs and left feet are rendered alike. Also, the landscape in two scenes of Saint Catherine's life in Ms. A 25 looks the same as the landscape in the Getty fragment, with its grasses and its tree with long leaves.

Another late manuscript illuminated by the Illustratore is a *Liber sextus decretalium Bonifacii VIII* in the Sankt Florian Stiftsbibliothek in Austria (Ms. III.7.2), made for Albert II, Bishop of Passau, whose arms appear on folio 1r. The year of the bishop's death, 1342, forms the terminus ante quem for this manuscript.[30] In style, the large opening miniature on folio 1r (fig. 8) depicting *The Stoning of Saint Stephen* approaches that of the Getty, Roermond, and Amsterdam illuminations, as well as the Paduan scenes. In this emotional scene, the people brutally attacking Saint Stephen are rendered in a whirlwind of contorted movements and colors of alternating celestial blue, deep red, pink, emerald green, and gray. It is a typical Illustratore scene: colorful, highly narrative, and intensely moving. The elegant initials

FIGURE 9

The Illustratore. *On Penitence,* ca. 1335. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 12.7 x 19.5 cm (5 x 7 11/16 in.). From *Gratianus, Decretum cum apparatu Johannis Teutonici et Bartholomaei Brixiensis (glossa ordinaria).* Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1366, fol. 277r.

on the gold border decoration that together form the word *BONIFACIUS* refer to the author of the text.[31] The Illustratore most probably executed it shortly before 1342.

The *Decretales Gregorii IX* in the Vatican Library (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1389) were probably illuminated shortly before the Paduan manuscripts, around 1342.[32] The church officials in the miniatures, dressed in flamboyant vestments, possess a dignity and severity akin to that of the figures in the Roermond and Amsterdam scenes. The foliated borders around the miniature on folio 4r and in the margins of folios 3v and 4r are characteristic of the artist's later style. The playful and fantastic landscape scenes depicted in the marginal framework around the text columns, however, are more reminiscent of his earlier works from 1335 onward. In that year, he and a number of other artists

FIGURE 10

The Illustratore. *The Delegation of Heavenly and Worldly Powers* (Dist.), ca. 1340. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 19.5 x 19.8 cm (7 11/16 x 7 13/16 in.). From *Gratianus, Decretum cum glossa ordinaria.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23552, fol. 1r.

FIGURE 11

The Illustratore. *How a Dowry May Be Claimed After a Dissolved Marriage* (D.24.3.1), ca. 1340. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 17 x 20 cm (6 11/16 x 7 7/8 in.). From *Iustinianus, Infortiatum cum glossa accursiana.* Roermond, Gemeentemuseum 1857, fol. 1r.

collaborated with the Master of 1328 on the Vatican *Decretum Gratiani* (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1366; fig. 9).[33]

Another fine copy of the *Decretum Gratiani* in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Clm. 23552) has these border decorations on folios 1r, 199r, and 552r.[34] In the border beneath *The Delegation of Heavenly and Worldly Powers* at the opening of the *Distinctiones* on folio 1r (fig. 10), the white horse, the strange, swimming angel, and the finely rendered landscape look familiar. The style of the Munich manuscript comes very close to that of the Roermond, Getty, and Amsterdam miniatures, and it was therefore probably executed not long before 1340. This can also be said of the *Infortiatum* in the same Roermond library (inv. no. 1857). In particular, the figures on the half-page miniature at the beginning of D.24.3.1 (fig. 11) reveal the

FIGURE 12

The Illustratore. *The Rights of Serfs Working the Land* (D.38), ca. 1335. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 6 x 7.5 cm (5 1/8 x 6 11/16 in.). From *Iustinianus, Infortiatum cum glossa accursiana.* Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Ms. s.IV.2, fol. 283rb.

FIGURE 13

Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna (Italian [Bologna, act. ca. 1341–1403]). *Initial with Bust of a Woman,* ca. 1341. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum 2 x 2 cm (13/16 x 13/16 in.). From *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Roermond, Gemeentemuseum 1855, fol. 305v.

same elaborate style, whereas the other miniatures are rendered in a coarser and more hasty manner.[35]

The Illustratore's style was always very lively and expressive, with a strong narrative sense.[36] The solid and colorful compositions developed in an *Infortiatum* in Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana (Ms. s.IV.2) around 1333/35 (fig. 12), gradually became more complex and inventive in later works.[37] The rocky terrain and characteristic trees, with their clusters of long, varicolored green leaves and red cherries, recur throughout his works (fig. 1). His miniatures are populated by his specific figure "types," who became more intense and sophisticated in their actions and expressions as he matured.[38] Sometimes they become very elegant and almost "Gothic," as in the Paduan manuscripts from 1343, long thought to be his last works.

It seems the Paduan manuscripts A 24 and A 25 were not his final works after all, because a *Decretum Gratiani* in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire in Geneva (Ms. Lat. 60), which was lavishly decorated by the Master of 1346 around 1343–45, includes one miniature and initial by the Illustratore on folio 127vb at the beginning of Case 4. Conti suggested his presence in the manuscript in 1981, and Gaudenz Freuler recently reaffirmed it.[39] It is one of the rare manuscripts on which the Illustratore and Master of 1346 both worked.

Another such manuscript is the Roermond *Digestum vetus* under discussion. Although most of the miniatures and some initials were cut out, it is possible to determine on the basis of the surviving initials that the illuminations were divided evenly between the Illustratore and the Master of 1346, each artist being responsible for the decoration of a certain number of quires.

All illuminations in the Roermond *Digestum vetus* and on the two Amsterdam cuttings were formerly attributed to Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna, who is documented between 1353 and 1403.[40] In 1980, Elly Cassee reattributed the miniatures to Pseudo-Niccolò, whom she identified with Andrea da

FIGURE 14

The Master of 1346 (Italian [Bologna, act. ca. 1340–50]). *The Consignment of Civil Law* (D.Pr.), ca. 1341. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 7.5 x 6.5 cm (2 15/16 x 2 1/2 in.). From *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Roermond, Gemeentemuseum 1855, fol. 1ra.

FIGURE 15

The Master of 1346. *Legal Scene Representing Actions on Mandate and Counteractions* (D.17), ca. 1341. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 9.5 x 6.9 cm (3 3/4 x 2 3/4 in.). Cutting from a manuscript of *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet 18:214.

Bologna. She also discovered two initials by Niccolò in the *Digestum* on folios 223v and 305v (fig. 13).[41] I found six more initials by Niccolò: two on folio 53va, two on folio 54va, one on folio 217ra, and one on folio 226rb; Cassee and I first published them in an earlier study.[42] We made clear that the major illuminations in the *Digestum* were not by one but by two masters: the Illustratore and Andrea da Bologna; the latter I now prefer to call the Master of 1346,[43] following Conti, who derived his name from the *Statuti della Società dei Drappieri del 1346* in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna.[44]

The only miniature by the Master of 1346 left in the manuscript appears on folio 1ra. The somewhat damaged miniature (fig. 14) is at the beginning of Justinian's Prologue to the Digests, the so-called *Constitutio omnem.*[45] It shows the emperor Justinian frontally, enthroned in the middle of an architectural setting and surrounded by soldiers, studious dignitaries, and jurists. He is receiving parts of the new civil code from the compilers. Justinian is represented once more in the large historiated initial.[46]

There are two cuttings illuminated by the Master of 1346 from the same manuscript. One of the cuttings is in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 18:214), where, since 1918, it has formed a pair with the cutting by the Illustratore.[47] The miniature (fig. 15) represents a session in court, specifically concerning actions on mandate or counteractions.[48] Part of the rubricated title was left below the illumination: "Explicit liber.xvi. Incipit.xvii. manda [. . .]" The title continues in the Roermond *Digestum vetus* on folio 233va, beneath the cutout miniature at the beginning of Book 17: "[. . .] ti vel contra," after which the text begins with a large initial by the same master.[49]

The second fragment ascribed here for the first time as coming from the Roermond *Digestum vetus* and as being a work by the Master of 1346 is the other cutting offered for sale with Getty Ms. 13 at Sotheby's in 1926 (fig. 16).[50] Unfortunately, its present whereabouts are unknown. The part of the rubric left above

FIGURE 16

The Master of 1346. *A Magistrate Administering a Case on Mortgage* (D.20), ca. 1341. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11 x 6.5 cm (4 5/16 x 2 1/2 in.). Cutting from a manuscript of *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Present whereabouts unknown. Photo: Sale catalogue, Sotheby's, June 14, 1926, lot 123.

the miniature refers to the content of the beginning of Book 20.[51] The scene shows a magistrate, who administers a case on mortgage *(pignus* and *hypotheca)* at issue between two parties. In the Roermond manuscript, the opening of D.20 is missing on folio 273vb.[52]

A convincing division between the works by the Illustratore and the Master of 1346 was made by Conti in 1981.[53] The similarities and differences in style between the two masters are also obvious in the illuminations they executed for the Roermond manuscript (figs. 1, 3–5, and 14–16). Both artists share the same free and imaginative treatment of thematic material. Both interpret and visualize the subjects, taken directly from the text, in a detailed narrative way and as faithfully as possible, thus also providing a vivid record of Bolognese daily life. Their figures are rendered with the same lively and expressive attitudes and gestures, and both use an extensive palette of vivid colors. However, while the Illustratore employs warm hues of red, green, and blue and subtle contours in his later works, the Master of 1346 tends toward brighter colors and sharper contours. Certain details in the execution of platforms, rocky surfaces, and vegetation also differ, which the Master of 1346 rendered in a less refined and more schematic manner. They differ most, however, in the rendering of faces. Where the Illustratore used soft contours and dark shadows to accentuate certain features, the Master of 1346 outlined the neck, cheeks, forehead, and skin below the eyes, and the lips, mouth, and nose with sharp contours and small scratchy lines. Moreover, while the facial expressions of the Illustratore's figures are always intense and rather severe, the faces of the figures by the Master of 1346 in general look calm and friendly, an effect created mostly by the corners of their mouths, which are nearly always turned upward.

The Master of 1346 most likely began his career as a miniature painter in the immediate vicinity of the Illustratore shortly before 1340. Possibly among his first important enterprises were the two large miniatures on folios 3r (fig. 17) and 203r in the Vatican *Digestum vetus* (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1411) of around 1340.[54] The two scenes at the beginning of D.1 and D.12 on Justice and Commerce resemble those by the Illustratore in Ms. Vat. Lat. 1409. Comparison reveals that the Master of 1346 did his best to attune his style and imagery to that of his older colleague. The adoption of certain gestures and features more typical of the Illustratore types, here and in other manuscripts, can sometimes make it rather difficult to tell them apart.

This is the case with one miniature in the Vatican *Decretum gratiani* (Ms. Urb. Lat. 161) on folio 125va, which shows strong Illustratore features in the pope's face, with its sunken cheeks, and in the bust in the initial. Nevertheless, I believe the Master of 1346 executed this miniature, as well as most of the others, as we can see, for example, in the image on folio 1r (fig. 18), in which the pope has the same physiognomy that he has on folio 125va.[55] On the other hand, we

FIGURE 17

The Master of 1346. *Allergory of Justice and Law, with Justice and David Having Beheaded Goliath* (D. 1), ca. 1340. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 16 x 17 cm (6 5/16 x 6 11/16 in.). From *Iustinianus, Digestum vetus cum glossa accursiana.* Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1411, fol. 3r.

FIGURE 18

The Master of 1346. *The Delegation of Heavenly and Worldly Powers* (Dist.), ca. 1343/44. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum, 16 x 17.2 cm (6 5/16 x 6 3/4 in.). From *Gratianus, Decretum cum glossa ordinaria,* Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Urb. Lat. 161, fol. 1r.

FIGURE 19

Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna. *Gregory IX Granting an Audience* (Lib. II), 1353. Tempera, gold paint, and gold leaf on vellum. From *Johannes Andreae, Novella in Decretales (Lib. I–II)*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1456, fol. 179r.

saw that the Geneva *Decretum* (Ms. Lat. 60) does have one miniature on folio 127vb by the Illustratore among those by the Master of 1346, which confirms a collaboration between the two artists after 1343.[56] Certain faces in the large miniatures in the Vatican Library Missal (Ms. Cod. Cap. 63B), made for Cardinal Bertrand de Deux, also have Illustratore features, but here they are clearly executed by the Master of 1346.[57]

The stylistic development of the Master of 1346 suggests that these three manuscripts and the *Umbrae medici opera* by Galvano da Levanto (Ms. Vat. Lat. 2463) in the Vatican were illuminated between the years 1343 and 1345, after the Roermond manuscript and before his later manuscripts, such as *Metamorphoseon libri* by Apuleius (Ms. Vat. Lat. 2194), copied by Bartolomeo de Bartoli in 1345; Luca Manelli's *Compendium moralis philosophiae* (Ms. Lat. 6467) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; his *Statuti della Società dei Drappieri del 1346* (Ms. Cod. Min. 12) in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna; and Johannes Andrea's *Hieronimianum* (Ms. 273) in the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna, dated 1346 and 1347.[58] In these later works, the influence of the Illustratore has been fully integrated and his own personal style solidly affirmed.

The style of the Master of 1346, in turn, influenced the young Niccolò di Giacomo, who actually began to distinguish himself during the late 1340s with his contributions to the Kremsmünster Book of Hours (Ms. Cim. 4), written by Bartolomeo de Bartoli in 1349.[59] The figures in the miniatures have the same appearance, elegance, and refinement as those in Ms. Vat. Lat. 2194, especially the miniature on folio 1r. The stylistic transition from the Master of 1346 to Niccolò is even more striking in the large composition at the beginning of D.1. on folio 3r in the Paris

Digestum vetus (Ms. Lat. 14339), which I believe to be another early work by Niccolò from the late 1340s.[60] The intense movements; the handling of the drapery; the faces with long, slit-like eyes and open mouths, with carefully drawn lips; the older men with down-turned mouths and the young women with full cheeks are the same as in the Kremsmünster miniatures and in the illuminations in Ms. Vat. Lat. 1456 (fig. 19), which Niccolò signed and dated 1353 in the border around the miniature on folio 179r.[61]

There are still many problems to be studied and resolved regarding the relationships between the Illustratore, the Master of 1346, and Niccolò—their collaborations with one another and with other artists and their working methods.[62] Stylistically, the illuminations leave no doubt about the close ties that existed between the Illustratore—especially in his later works—and the Master of 1346, and between the latter and Niccolò. Because of their apparent uniformity in style and their complex relationships, the oeuvres of both the Illustratore and Master of 1346 were long considered to be either early works by Niccolò or later ones by his workshop. However, the pictorial tradition that was fully developed by the Illustratore in the late 1330s and early 1340s was continued by the Master of 1346 and in turn carried on by Niccolò and his followers into the second half of the Trecento.

The Roermond *Digestum vetus* is of great importance to our knowledge of the Bolognese art of illumination during the mid-fourteenth century for several reasons. Artistic contact between Niccolò and the Illustratore was previously regarded as almost impossible by Conti, as it was believed that Niccolò began his career in the late 1340s, while the Illustratore's latest works date from 1343/44.[63] The presence here of the eight initials by Niccolò, however, proves that he was already active at this early date, in 1341, working in a very refined style, together with the Master of 1346 and the Illustratore. Therefore, the Roermond *Digestum vetus* is unique in combining the talents of these three major miniature painters of the fully developed Trecento style; it is also the only extant manuscript in which Niccolò and the Illustratore can be linked.

Little is now known about workshop practice in Trecento Bologna and about who was responsible for delegating the tasks of the individual decorative programs. Both the ideas of smaller workshops and of looser federations or collaborations between independent masters with or without assistants seem plausible. I believe it was probably a combination of the two, dependent, perhaps, on the amount of work demanded or on the special wishes of a future patron. The Illustratore, for example, collaborated with a large number of other artists, and it seems improbable that they were all members of a single workshop.[64]

In the Roermond *Digestum vetus* the quires were evenly divided between the Illustratore and the Master of 1346, which suggests that they collaborated here as partners rather than as master and pupil. They were responsible for the miniatures and most of the initials, while the remaining initials were done by two assistants. One assistant painted initials in other manuscripts by the Illustratore; the other assistant was Niccolò, who added eight initials dispersed over four quires, perhaps as his first assignment.

It seems likely that the Master of 1346 and Niccolò both began their careers in the workshop of the Illustratore; it also seems likely that the direction of his workshop was taken over by the Master of 1346 after 1343–44. These must remain, for now, conjectures. What is certain is that the unique presence of illuminations by the Illustratore, the Master of 1346, and Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna in the Roermond *Digestum vetus*—the Getty Museum cutting being one of them—sheds new light on the study of fourteenth-century Bolognese illuminated manuscripts and the collaborative practices that produced them.

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NOTES

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1. See "Acquisitions 1985," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 206, no. 103. Before Ms. 13 was acquired by the Museum in 1985, it belonged to the Randall Collection in Montreal, Canada. Earlier, the cutting was offered for sale at Sotheby's, London, in 1926, together with another Bolognese cutting. Both were attributed to the School of Bologna of the fourteenth century (sale cat., Sotheby's, London, June 14,

1926, lots 122–23, pp. 34–35).

2. See E. Cassee and J. Langezaal, "Bolognese miniatuurkunst in Nederlands bezit," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 36 (1985), pp. 71–101, nos. I and III.
3. Roman civil law was codified by order of Emperor Justinian (emperor of the Roman empire from A.D. 527 to 565) in Constantinople during the years 528–34. The Bolognese jurist Irnerius (active ca. 1112–25) reintroduced Justinian's civil law in Bologna, adjusting it to the juridical standards and practices of his time. The Digests were distributed over fifty Books. They in turn were divided over three of the five volumes of the *Corpus iuris civilis,* namely the *Digestum vetus* (D.1–D.24.2), the *Infortiatum* (D.24.3–D.38), and the *Digestum novum* (D.39–D.50). The two remaining volumes are the *Codex* (C.1–C.9) and the *Volumen parvum* (with *Institutiones, Tres libri* (C.10–C.12), *Authenticum,* and *Libri feudorum.* See R. Feenstra, "Romeins recht en europese rechtswetenschap," *Inleidende opstellen over Romeins recht,* ed. J. E. Spruit (Zwolle, 1974), pp. 101–37.
4. The text of the whole Law of D.7.1.1 is: "Usus fructus cum est ius alienis rebus utendi fruendi salva rerum substantia." T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, "Digesta," *Corpus iuris civilis,* vol. 1 (Berlin, 1963), p. 126. See the English translation by A. Watson in T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, and A. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian* (Latin text edited by T. Mommsen with the aid of P. Krueger, English translation edited by A. Watson), vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1968).
5. During the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth, the Bolognese scribes developed the *littera bononiensis* or *littera rotunda* into an extremely uniform script, making it almost impossible to distinguish hands. See B. Pagnin, "La littera bononiensis, Studio paleografico," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 93, no. 2 (1933–34), pp. 1593–1665, and G. Orlandelli, "Ricerche sulla origine della 'littera bononiensis': Scritture documentarie bolognesi del sec. XII," *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano* 2 (Bologna, 1956–57), pp. 179–214.
6. D.6.2.12: "Cum sponsus sponsae servum donasset . . . Si pro parte quis rem petere vult, Publiciana actione uti potest. Sed etiam is, [. . .]" Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 126.
7. Three Bolognese *Corpus iuris civilis* manuscripts are kept in the Gemeentemuseum in Roermond: a *Digestum vetus* (inv. no. 1855), an *Infortiatum* (inv. no. 1857), and a *Volumen parvum* (inv. no. 1856). In my doctoral dissertation I discuss them in relation to the imagery in Bolognese law manuscripts from the first half of the fourteenth century. See J. Langezaal, "Een onderzoek naar geïllumineerde Bolognese 'Corpus Iuris civilis'—manuscripten, vervaardigd tussen 1250–1350," in *Middeleeuwse handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988. Verslag van de Groningse Codicologendagen 28–29 april 1988,* ed J. M. M. Hermans (Grave, 1989), pp. 239–44. For a description of the Roermond manuscripts, see Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), nos. I–IV.
8. He signed the text on folio 323r with "Explicit liber digesti ueteris de manu magistri geminiani: de mutina doctor in arte scribendi. Deo gratias. Amen. Amen etc." and further down "Doctor es humanus scribendi geminianus. Artis et archana monstrans non dogmata uana et in unum dominum." See Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), p. 73 n. 15. Frank Soetermeer has made an interesting study of the Grasolfi family, based on documents and manuscripts; see P. F. W. Soetermeer, "À propos d'une famille de copistes. Quelques remarques sur la librairie à Bologne aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles," *Studi medievali* 30, no. 1 (1989), pp. 426–78. On the Grasolfi, see pp. 457–78; on Geminian, see p. 460, no. 6.
9. On Ms. Lat. 14343 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, see F. Avril, ed., *Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne (VI^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)* (Paris, 1984), no. 65. See also G. I. Lieftinck, *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas, Catalogue paléographique des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, I. Les manuscrits d'origine étrangère (816–c. 1550)* (Amsterdam, 1964), text: pp. XXVI, 116; plates: nos. 388–91; Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), p. 73 no. 15; Soetermeer (note 8), pp. 463–64. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 2492 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, see S. Kuttner and R. Elze, *A Catalogue of Canon and Roman Law Manuscripts in the Vatican Library,* vol. 2, *Codices Vaticani Latini, 2300–2746,* Studi e testi 328 (Vatican City, 1987), pp. 61–62; Soetermeer (note 8), p. 470.
10. Fol. 179rb: "Fit et fiat. Sit semper laus et honor xpisto ihesu cuius omen omni sequor. Explicit prima pars apparatus ff. ueteris ad honorem beate marie uirginis. Ego Iohannes presbiter de piciano feci hoc opus anno domini m.ccc.xl. D'." Fol. 323rb: "Ego dompnus iohannes presbiter de piciano feci hoc opus."
11. In the colophon at the end on folio 325v, he signed both the text and glosses with "iohannes presbiter de piciano"; he completed it in "anno Domini millesimo ccc.xxxxiii. ind. xii. die ii. septembris" (1343). See Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), p. 73 nn. 15; p. 275; J. P. Gumbert, *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas, Catalogue paléographique des manuscrits en écriture latine portants des indications de date, II. Les manuscrits d'origine néerlandaise (XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècles) et Supplement au tome premier* (Leiden, 1988), p. 275; Soetermeer (note 8), p. 467 n. 219.
12. See G. Powitz, "Text und Kommentar im Buch des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert, Arbeitsgespräch* (Wolfenbüttel, 1978), pp. 37–38; A. Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis* (Ghent, 1979), pp. 11–15.
13. Notes in pencil in the two other Roermond manuscripts (inv. nos. 1856 and 1857) mention seven remaining miniatures. According to another note of May 21, 1905, five miniatures were left, two of which were since cut out. The twenty-two miniatures have been removed from folios 3ra, 41vb, 64ra, 92va, 123vb, 137va, 149va, 160vb, 172rb, 180ra, 198rb, 210rb, 218va, 226va, 233va, 247va, 258ra, 273vb, 282va, 296va, 305ra, and 316rb.
14. D.2.1: "Explicit liber.primus. Incipit.ii/ De iurisdictione omnium iudi/cium, R." (on fol. 17va).
15. D.2.1.1: "Ius dicentis officium latissimum est: nam et bonorum possessionem dare potest et in possessionem mittere, pupillis non habentibus tutores constituere, iudices ligitantibus dare." Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 46; Watson (note 4).
16. D.6.1.: "Incipit. liber. vi. de rei vendicatione. R.".
17. D.6.1.1.–D.6.1.1.2: "Post actiones, quae de universitate propositae sunt, subicitur actio singularum rerum petitiones. 1. Quae specialis in rem actio locum habet in omnibus rebus mobilibus, tam animalibus quam his quae anima earent, et in his quae solo continentur." Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 120.
18. "Explicit/ liber.vi. Incipit.vii. de usu fructu et quem/ admodum quis utatur et fruatur. R." (D.7.1). See Watson (note 4).
19. As only part of D.7.1.1 remains on the Getty fragment, the rest of it and all of D.7.1.2 were lost (see note 4). As a result of the gap, D.6.2.12 to D.6.2.13.1 on folio 123ra are missing as well. Most of this text remained on the cutting (see note 6). On folio 123ra is missing: D.6.2.12: "[Cum sponsus sponsae ser-

vum donasset—gratia haec actio.] Interdum quibusdam" (D.6.2.13.1).

20. Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), no. III, fig. 7.
21. Ibid., p. 81 n. 36.
22. The miniature (10.3 x 6.5 cm [4 x 2½ in.]) is slightly smaller than the whole cutting (10.5 x 6.8 cm [4⅛ x 2 11/16 in.]). The gap on folio 172 is 14.3 x 7 cm (5⅝ x 2¾ in.). The initial and the beginning of the text (D.1.1) were lost.
23. On folio 172rb, the beginning of D.11.1.1 is missing: ["Totiens heres in iure interrogandus est"], continuing on folio 172va: "ex qua parte heres sit, quotiens adversus eum actio instituitur et dubiat actor, qua ex parte is, cum quo agere velit, heres sit . . . litigatoribus sufficiunt ea" (D.11.1.1.1). On inv. no. 18:215, the text continues: "quae ab adversa parte expressa fuerint . . . populi Romani vel praesides provinc" (D.11.1.4.1). The text resumes with: ["iarum vel alios . . . si perperam confes"] (D.11.1.5). Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 181.
24. D.11.1: "Incipit liber.xi./ De interrogationibus in iure faciendis et de in/ terrogatoriis actionibus. Rubrica." Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 181; Watson (note 4).
25. According to D.11.1.1: "The heir should be interrogated before the magistrate about his share of the inheritance whenever an action is brought against him and the plaintiff is uncertain for which share the person wishes to sue his heir." See Watson (note 4) and note 23.
26. See L. Ciaccio, "Appunti intorno alla miniatura bolognese del secolo XIV; Pseudo-Nicolo e Nicolo di Giacomo," *L'arte* 10 (1907), pp. 105–15).
27. *Mostra della pittura bolognese del Trecento (Guida alla mostra),* exh. cat. (Bologna, 1950), with a preface by R. Longhi; idem, "La pittura del Trecento nell'Italia settentrionale," *Opere complete (Lavori in Valpadana)* 6 (Florence, 1973), pp. 3–90; idem, "Guida alla mostra della pittura bolognese del Trecento," *Opere complete* 6, pp. 155–87.
28. See G. Chiti, "L'attività dell'illustratore nella miniatura bolognese del Trecento" (tesi di laurea, unpub., Università di Firenze, 1965–66); F. D'Arcais, "L 'Illustratore' tra Bologna e Padova," *Arte veneta* 31 (1977), pp. 27–41; idem, "Le miniature del Riccardiano 1005 e del Braidense A.G.XII.2: due attribuzioni e alcuni problemi," *Storia dell'arte* 33 (1978), pp. 105–26; idem, "Un'aggiunta al catalogo dell' 'Illustratore,'" *La miniatura* 1 (1987), pp. 65–73.
29. In Ms. A 24 on fol. 145r and in Ms. A 25 on fol. 72r is written in the *explicit* of the glosses: "Iste liber est domini nicholay prepositus strigoniensis ungariis. Amen," preceded on folio 72r by "In anno.ccc.xliij." On these manuscripts, see A. Conti, *La miniatura bolognese. Scuole e botteghe, 1270–1340* (Bologna, 1981), pp. 89 n. 33, 92, 93 n. 42, 94.
30. Idem, pp. 89 n. 33, 90, pl. XVII.
31. The initials are of the same type as those below the opening miniature on fol. 6r in a *Liber sextus decretalium* in the Thüringische Landesbibliothek in Weimar, Germany (Ms. Fol. Max. 10), which the Illustratore illuminated somewhat earlier. See Conti (note 29), pls. XXX and XXXI–XXXII, and p. 95 n. 50.
32. Idem, pls. XXCIII–XXIX, and pp. 90 n. 36, 91, figs. 266, 275, 279; S. Kuttner and R. Elze, eds., *A Catalogue of Canon and Roman Law Manuscripts in the Vatican Library,* vol. 1: *Codices Vaticani Latini, 541–2299,* Studi e testi 322 (Vatican City, 1986), pp. 175–76.
33. Bolognese border decorations of the type found in this manuscript were frequently applied by the generation of miniature painters working in the so-called "Transitional" period, i.e., between ca. 1320–40, of whom the Master of 1328 is one of the most sophisticated. Besides Ms. Vat. Lat. 1366, he painted very attractive and exuberant borders in Ms. Lat. 14341 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and Ms. E.I.1 in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 1366, see A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani,* Studia Gratiana 16–18 (Rome, 1975); Conti (note 29), pp. 84 n. 19, 90, figs. 240, 267–70, 280; and Kuttner and Elze (note 32), pp. 141–42. On Paris Ms. Lat. 14341, see Avril (note 9), no. 64. On Turin Ms. E.I.1, see Conti (note 29), pp. 84 n. 20, 85, 91, tab. XXVI, figs. 233, 241–46, 249–51; P. de Winter, "Bolognese Miniatures at the Cleveland Museum," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, no. 8 (1983), pp. 314–51, 328, 348 n. 23, figs. 26–29.
34. Most of the illuminations are by the Illustratore. The remaining ones are by two miniaturists who also worked on Ms. Vat. Lat. 1366. See Melnikas (note 33); Conti (note 29), p. 91 n. 37. Noteworthy are some initials by the so-called "Master of B18" on folios 87–88 and 93 in Clm. 23552. For this artist, see J. de Veer-Langezaal, "Un calendario bolognese ad uso domenicano nella Pierpont Morgan Library di New York: un confronto stilistico," *Gli Ultramontani. Studi belgi e olandesi per il IX centenario dell'Alma Mater bolognese* (Bologna, 1990), pp. 19–34.
35. The Roermond *Infortiatum* was first mentioned by Elly Cassee in 1980. She attributed the illuminations to Andrea da Bologna. See E. Cassee, *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Bolognese Miniature Painting* (Florence, 1980), p. 117, fig. 120. On inv. no. 1857, see also Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), no. II, fig. 5; Langezaal (note 7), fig. 2 (f. 97vb).
36. The Illustratore most likely began his career as a miniature painter in the early 1330s. Francesca D'Arcais recently attributed to him the illuminations in a *Digestum novum* in the British Library, London (Add. Ms. 12023); she believes them to be some of his earliest works, dated around 1330. See D'Arcais (note 28). The Vatican Ms. Urb. Lat. 216 and the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* of Dante's *La divina commedia* in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (Ms. Ricc. 1005) form a link between the London manuscript and an *Infortiatum* in Cesena, discussed below. On Ms. Urb. Lat. 216, see Conti (note 29), pp. 87, 88 n. 30, fig. 263. In earlier days, Ms. Ricc. 1005 formed a whole with a manuscript of Dante's *Paradiso,* now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan (Ms. A,G.XII.2), which was illuminated by the Master of B18. See D'Arcais (note 28); Conti (note 29), pp. 85–86 nn. 26–27, 87–88, 91, figs. 255–59.
37. It was in reference to the illuminations in Ms. S.IV.2 that Longhi first spoke of the Illustratore. See note 27. On Ms. S.IV.2., see also D'Arcais (note 28); G. Dalli Regoli, "La miniatura," *Storia dell'arte italiana* 9A (1980), pp. 171–74 n. 32, figs. 193–95, 199; Conti (note 29), pp. 85, 87 n. 30, 88, 91, figs. 261–62.
38. This development can be followed in his works from around 1335 (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1366; fig. 9) onward. We may presume that the Illustratore illuminated the following Justinian manuscripts in the years between about 1335 and 1340: among others, a *Volumen parvum* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Ms. Lat. 14343), and a Vatican *Digestum vetus* (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1409), in both of which he collaborated with other artists. On Ms. Lat. 14343, see Avril (note 9), no. 65. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 1409, see Conti (note 29), pp. 14, 90, 91 n. 38, figs. 271–74; Kuttner and Elze (note 32), p. 204. In a Vatican *Volumen parvum* (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1436) and *Codex* (Ms. Vat. Lat. 1430), the

miniatures are all by his hand. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 1436, see Conti (note 29), pp. 85 n. 22, 92 n. 41, figs. 281–84; Kuttner and Elze (note 32), pp. 241–42. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 1430, see Dalli Regoli (note 37), pp. 167–69, 173, figs. 187–90, 196; Conti (note 29), pp. 88–89 n. 32, figs. 260, 264–65; Kuttner and Elze (note 32), pp. 231–32.

39. See Conti (note 29), pp. 93 n. 44, 94 n. 48, 95–96; G. Freuler, *'Manifestatori delle cose miracolose'. Arte italiana del '300 e '400 da collezioni in Svizzera e Liechtenstein,* exh. cat. (Lugano-Castagnola, Villa Favorita, Fondazione Thyssen-Bornemisza, 1991), no. 48.
40. R. van Marle, "Un quadro di Michelino da Besozzo. Due miniature di Nicolò da Bologna," *Cronache d'arte* 4 (1927), pp. 403–4; *Italiaansche kunst in Nederlandsch bezit,* exh. cat. (Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1934), p. 123, nos. 423–24; M. Smeets, "De Stadsbibliotheek van Roermond," *Maasgouw* 58 (1943), p. 61. For the documents on Niccolò, see F. Filippini and G. Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna, documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence, 1947), pp. 175–81.
41. See Cassee (note 35), pp. 113 and 117, figs. 111–12, 119–20.
42. See Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), pp. 74–75, fig. 1.
43. Idem, pp. 71–81.
44. This is Ms. Cod. Min. 12 (see Conti [note 29], p. 94 n. 46). For the Master of 1346, see A. Conti, "E. Cassee, The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Bolognese Miniature Painting, Florence, 1980," *Prospettiva* 24 (1981), pp. 72–82; idem (note 29), pp. 84–96.
45. On fols. 1 and 2. The title on folio 1ra: "Imperator. cesar. flavius. Iustinianus . . . Victor/ ac triumphator semper augustus. Theophilo et dorotheo/ viris illustribus et antecessoribus. Salutem. Rubrica." Due to lack of space, the rubric was added in the margin.
46. One would expect a large half-page miniature here, but owing to a mistake on the part of the scribe, only a little room was left for both the scene and rubric. See Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), p. 75, fig. 2; Langezaal (note 7), fig. 1.
47. See the description of inv. no. 18:215 above and fig. 5.
48. D.17.1. The contents of the represented scene can be found in D.17.1.1. See Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 247; Watson (note 4), vol. 2.
49. The missing text of D.16.3.31 on folio 233ra is on the verso: "[utrum latroni an mihi restituere . . . ut alii, non domino sua ipsius res]." Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 246. The size of the gap and the miniature is almost equal: 9.8 x 6.9 cm (3 7/8 x 2 11/16 in.) and 9.5 x 6.9 cm (3 3/4 x 2 3/4 in.), respectively. For a description, see Cassee and Langezaal (note 2), no. III, fig. 6.
50. See note 1. I am most grateful to Elisabeth Treip and Christopher de Hamel of the Department of Western Manuscripts of Sotheby's, London, for providing me with photographs of lot 123.
51. The whole rubric of D.20.1 is: "[De pignoribus] et hypothecis et qualiter ea contrahantur et de pactis eorum." The text fragment contains D.20.1.1: "Conventio generalis in pignore dando bonorum vel postea quasi [torum recepta est: in speciem autem alienae rei collata conventione, si non fuit]." From here on, the text continues in the Roermond *Digestum vetus* on folio 273vb.: "ei qui pignus dabat debita." Mommsen and Krueger (note 4), p. 294.
52. In the manuscript, the text of D.19.5.17.2 to D.19.5.19, part of which can probably be found on the verso of the cutting, is missing from folio 273ra. The text of D.19.5.26 to the middle of D.20.1.1 is missing from folio 273vb. The text of D.19.5.17.2 to D.19.5.19 reads: "Papianus libro octavo quaestionum scripsit: si rem tibi [inspiciendam dedi et dicas . . . Rogasti me, ut tibi nummos mutuos darem: ego cum non haberem,] dedi tibi rem vendendam." And D.19.5.26: "[Si tibi scyphos dedi . . . si non fuit]." For D.20, see note 51. The hole measures 24.5/23.5 x 9.5/8.5 cm (9 5/8/9 1/4 x 3 3/4/3 3/8 in.), whereas the cutting is probably approximately 15.8 x 7.7 cm (6 3/16 x 3 in.), that is, the miniature (11 x 6.5 cm [4 5/16 x 2 9/16 in.]) plus the initial (3.8 x 3.4 cm [1 1/2 x 1 5/16 in.]) plus two lines of text. See sale cat., Sotheby's (note 1), p. 35.
53. See Conti (note 44).
54. In Ms. Vat. Lat. 1411, most of the illuminations are by an artist who worked in a more archaic style. He collaborated with the Illustratore more often. See Cassee (note 35), pp. 26, 116, fig. 17; Conti (note 29), pp. 84 n. 19, 90, 94 n. 47, 96; idem, "Missal" (note 44), pp. 77, 79, 82 n. 32, fig. 5; Kuttner and Elze (note 32), pp. 206–7.
55. See Melnikas (note 33); Cassee (note 35), pp. 31, 55, 115, 117, figs. 27, 118; Conti (note 29), pp. 94 n. 49, 95 n. 50, 96 n. 56, figs. 276–77, 287.
56. See note 39.
57. See E. Cassee, "'Pseudo-Niccolò and the Cod. Cap. 63B in the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 39, n.s. 4 (1977), pp. 129–41; idem, "Illustratori Bolognesi del Trecento," in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica, atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana, Cortona, 26–28 maggio 1978* (Florence, 1979), pp. 395–418; idem (note 35); Conti, "Missal" (note 44); idem (note 29).
58. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 2463, see Conti (note 29), p. 95 n. 51. On Ms. Vat. Lat. 2194, see idem, pp. 92 n. 40, 95 n. 53, figs. 286, 288–93. On Ms. 273, see idem, p. 96 n. 55, figs. 294–300. On Ms. Cod. Min. 12, see note 44. On Ms. Lat. 6467, see Avril (note 9), no. 68.
59. In the border decoration on folio 11r is written: "Andreas me pinxit." See G. Schmidt, "'Andreas me pinxit,' frühe Miniaturen von Niccolò di Giacomo und Andrea de Bartoli in dem bologneser Offiziolo der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973), pp. 57–73; Cassee (note 35), pp. 24, 30, 47 n. 114, 51, 54, 68, 70, 115, figs. 38, 49, 62, 84; Conti (note 29), pp. 95 n. 52, 96.
60. The large miniature at the beginning of D.12 on folio 183r is more problematic. Although the physiognomy of most of the figures is typical of Niccolò, the execution of the miniature in general closely approaches the more schematic style of the Master of 1346. Avril suggested that both miniatures are by the Master of 1346. He detects the strong influence of Niccolò in the miniature on folio 3r and of the Illustratore in the scene on folio 183r. See Avril (note 9), no. 66.
61. See Cassee (note 35), pp. 22, 23, 25, 26 n. 65, 27, 28, 46, figs. 1, 8.
62. See Conti (note 29), pp. 95–96.
63. Ibid., p. 95.
64. See F. D'Arcais, "L'organizzazione del lavoro negli 'scriptoria' laici del primo trecento a Bologna," in *La miniatura italiana* (note 57), pp. 357–69; Conti (note 29), pp. 8–18.

Acquisitions/1991

Notes to the Reader

When possible in giving dimensions in the Acquisitions Supplement, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H: Height
W: Width
D: Depth
Diam: Diameter
L: Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers, and the lack of a semicolon before a sale in parentheses means that the object was sold from that person, dealer, or gallery.

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Antiquities

STONE

1. *Spherical Pyxis with Lid*
Early Cycladic II, ca. 2700–2300 B.C.
Marble, H (body and lid): 7.7 cm (3 in.); Diam (body): 11.7 cm (4⅝ in.); Diam (lid): 6.3 cm (2½ in.)
91.AA.32

The globular body of the container has a vertically perforated double lug for suspension on either side. A flat lid fits snugly into the mouth. There is some minor chipping on the rim of the vessel's mouth and on the edge of the lid.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 113); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Von der frühen Bildkunst der Kykladen," *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965), p. 63, pl. 18, no. 9; J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), p. 517, no. 346, ill. p. 332; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 113.

2

2. *Spool Pyxis with Lid*
Early Cycladic II, ca. 2700–2400 B.C.
Marble, H (body and lid): 4.94 cm (1⅞ in.); Diam (body): 4.94 cm (1⅞ in.); Diam (lid): 8.68 cm (3⅜ in.)
91.AA.65

3

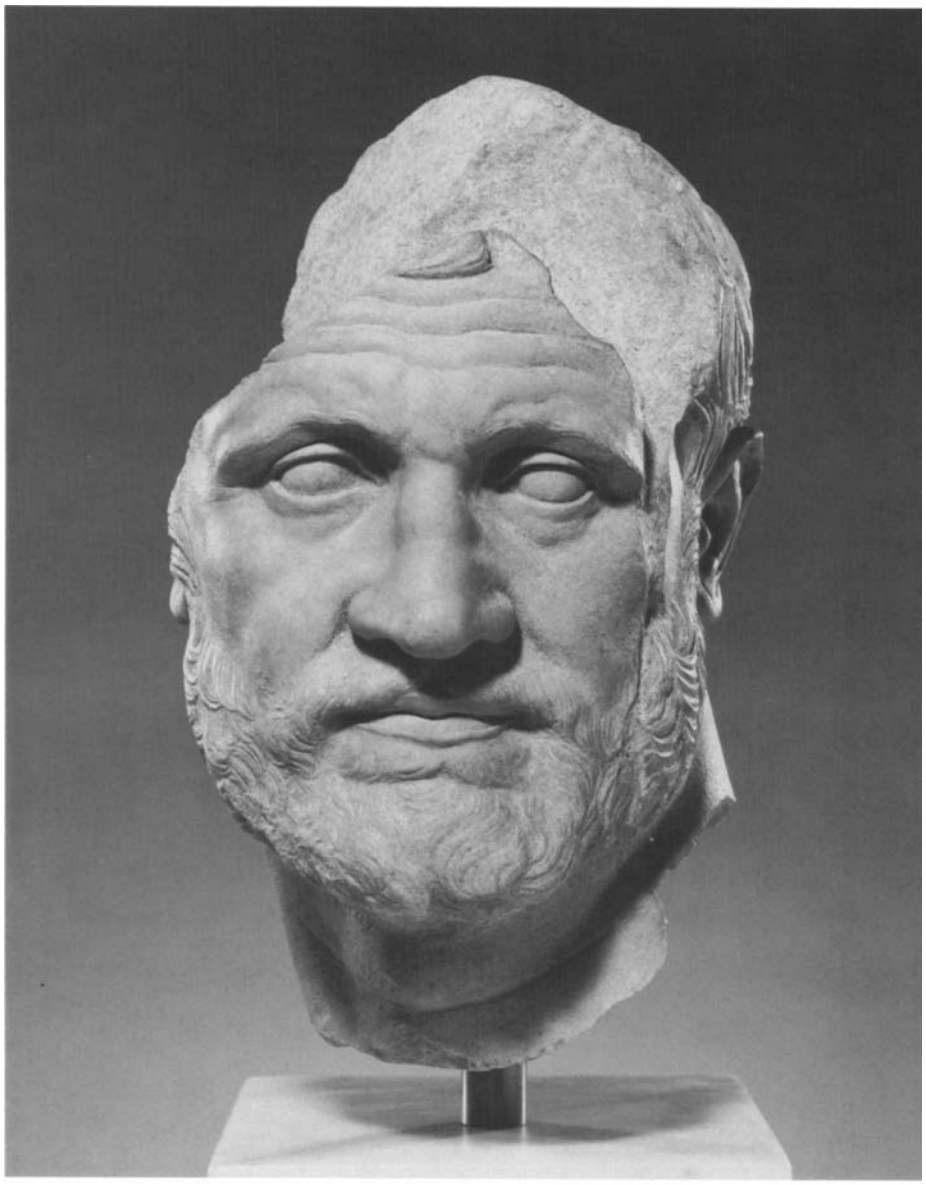
The vessel takes the form of a cylindrical spool with a broad projecting base and lid. The walls of the vessel above the base are decorated with horizontal incised lines. The smooth surfaces of the lid and base are both pierced with four holes that would have been threaded with string or cord to keep the container closed. Some losses along the edges of the lid and base have been reconstructed.

PROVENANCE: European art market, by exchange.

3. *Fragmentary Torso of a Kore*
East Greek, third quarter of the sixth century B.C.
Marble, H: 51.5 cm (20¼ in.)
91.AA.7

This fragmentary torso, dressed in a chiton and a himation, is preserved from a half-life-size statue of a kore, or standing maiden. Her left hand clasps a bird (head missing) to her chest, while her right arm is held down at her side. Both the simplified surfaces of the garments clinging to her rounded body and the manner in which she holds her dedication identify the sculpture as a product of an East Greek workshop. The pointed ends of four strands of the kore's hair are preserved on the back of her left shoulder. Approximately two-thirds of the figure survives.

PROVENANCE: European art market, by exchange.



4

4. *Portrait Head*
Greek, Hellenistic, mid-second century B.C.
Marble, H: 40.7 cm (16 in.); W: 25.0 cm (9⅞ in.)
91.AA.14

The intensity of the subject's gaze and the highly modulated surfaces indicate that this head is a portrait, although the identity of the subject is unknown. The over-life-size proportions suggest that he was a local ruler in one of the Hellenistic kingdoms created after the death of Alexander the Great. The lack of a diadem on the head, however, makes it unlikely that the sitter was a member of the royal family. Traces of drapery preserved on the back of the neck indicate that the figure was dressed in a himation. In antiquity the head was broken into two large fragments, and a large piece of the top of the head was lost.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BRONZE

5. *Geometric Fibula*
Greek, ninth–eighth century B.C.
Bronze, H: 3.8 cm (1½ in.); L: 7.6 cm (3 in.)
91.AC.20

Created from a single piece of bronze, this garment pin is embellished with the form of a small monkey perched atop the back of a horse. The fibula is in good condition, with one repaired break at the clasp.

PROVENANCE: New Jersey art market.

6. *Vessel*
Greek, fourth century B.C.
Bronze, H: 9.1 cm (3⅝ in.); Diam (body): 8.25 cm (3¼ in.)
91.AC.46

This diminutive thin-walled vessel has a single preserved handle with ivy leaf finials. Its surface is heavily patinated and part of the vessel wall is missing near the lower part of one handle root.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

7. *Fragmentary Relief*
Greek, late fourth–early third century B.C.
Bronze, H: 10.2 cm (4⅛ in.); L: 12.4 cm (5 in.)
91.AC.64

Represented on this relief are three figures: a bearded, balding man, identified as Sokrates, stands on the right before a figure of Eros, and a seated woman, who has been identified as either Aspasia or Diotima, sits on the left. Aspasia was the mistress of the Athenian general Perikles and a pupil of Sokrates; Diotima, a priestess from the town of Mantinea, was said by Plato to have been a teacher of Sokrates.

The composition survives in two other examples, both in the National Museum in Naples: a Hellenistic terracotta that decorated the handle of a situla and a bronze panel of the Roman period that was found attached to a wooden chest during excavations in Pompeii. This relief once functioned as a decorative panel for a rectangular object, perhaps a wooden casket.

PROVENANCE: European art market, by exchange.

7

8

TERRA-COTTA

8. *Protome in the Form of a Lion Head*
Greek, mid-seventh century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 7.6 cm (2 15/16 in.); Diam: 7.0 cm (2 3/4 in.)
91.AD.24

Constructed by pressing clay into a two-part mold, this protome was used either as the central ornament for a terra-cotta votive shield or as the decoration on the shoulder of a large terra-cotta vessel. The shoulder is pierced by six square holes for attachment to another object. The piece is intact with only a small chip missing on the flange.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 18); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Philister und Kreter, I," *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 137, pl. 37, no. 55; R. Hampe, *Kretische Löwenschale des siebten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft* (1969), pp. 16–19, pls. 9.1, 11.1, 12.1; F. Matz, *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1970), p. 112, E I, pl. 50b; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 18.

VASES: CYCLADIC

9. *Spherical Pyxis with Pedestal Foot of the Syros Type*
Early Bronze Age II, ca. 2700–2200 B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 12.8 cm (5 in.); W: 15.4 cm (6 in.)
91.AE.27

The hemispherical body of the vessel rests atop a bell-shaped foot. Originally, six vertically pierced lugs projected from the body; five are preserved. The two largest lugs are decorated with horizontal incisions. The pyxis is unbroken with some chips missing and minor surface abrasion.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 95); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), p. 531, no. 397, ill. p. 350; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 95.

10. *Bottle of the Kampos Style*
Early Bronze Age I–II, ca. 2800–2700 B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 9.7 cm (3 7/8 in.); Diam: 12.7 cm (5 in.)
91.AE.28

The body of this globular bottle is decorated with incised chevron patterns and vertical lines. The two tubular lugs on the shoulder were used to suspend the vessel from a string or cord. Some minor surface encrustation and a few small losses occur at the top of the mouth.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 99); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), p. 530, no. 393, ill. p. 349; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 99.

11

11. *Collared Jar of the Pelos Group*
Early Bronze Age I,
ca. 3000–2800 B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 14.8 cm (5 7/8 in.);
Diam: 14.6 cm (5 3/4 in.)
91.AE.29

The neck of the jar is decorated with two bands of zigzag decoration, the body with herringbone patterns incised between parallel lines. The lugs on the shoulder undoubtedly served to suspend the piece. The vessel is unbroken.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 100); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Philister und Kreter, I," *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 246, pl. 67, no. 46; M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Philister und Kreter, II," *Orientalia* 30 (1961), p. 287, pl. 62, no. 62; M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Von der frühen Bildkunst der Kykladen," *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965), p. 63, pl. 19, no. 3; J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), p. 526, no. 375, ill. p. 342; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 100.

12

12. *Cylindrical Pyxis and Cover of the Pelos Group*
Early Bronze Age I,
ca. 3000–2800 B.C.
Terra-cotta, total H: 13.2 cm (6 7/16 in.); Diam: 14.0 cm (5 1/2 in.)
91.AE.30

The exterior of the container is decorated with incised geometric designs: herringbone patterns separated by rows of parallel lines on the lid and zigzags on the body. The vessel is intact with some minor damage on the edges of the rims of both the body and the lid.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 103); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Von der frühen Bildkunst der Kykladen," *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965), p. 62, pl. 17, no. 5; J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 529–530, no. 391, ill. p. 348; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 103.

13

13. *Double-Kandila*
Early Bronze Age I,
ca. 3000–2800 B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 10.1 cm (4 in.);
W: 18.2 cm (7 3/16 in.); Diam: 8.9 cm (3 1/2 in.)
91.AE.31

The only known example of a terra-cotta double-kandila, this vessel is formed from a pair of footed and collared jars joined in the middle. The collars are incised with a herringbone pattern and the bodies with incised zigzags. A pattern of incised triangles fills the area between the two bodies, and grooves encircle the feet. Portions of both collars and of the joining segment are missing.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 104); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Philister und Kreter, I," *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 246, pl. 67, no. 44; M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Von der frühen Bildkunst der Kykladen," *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965), p. 63, pl. 19, no. 2; J. Thimme, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), p. 527, no. 380, ill. p. 344; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 104; *Art and Auctions* (October 1990), ill. p. 186.

VASES: DAEDALIC

14. *Plastic Vase*
Greek, from Crete, first half of the seventh century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 7.7 cm (3 in.);
W: 4.3 cm (1 5/8 in.)
91.AE.26

Taking the form of a standing female figure, this small vessel was used to hold perfume or scented oil. Apart from the missing tip of the nose and some minor surface encrustation, the vase is intact.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 21); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Matz, *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1970), p. 122, E I, pl. 50b; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 21.

14

VASES: ETRUSCAN

15. *Fragment of a Pontic Neck-Amphora*
Late sixth century B.C.
Attributed to the Paris Painter
Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 7.69 cm (3 in.)
91.AE.23

The fragment preserves part of the scene showing the Judgment of Paris. At the left, the upper bodies of the three goddesses face right toward the partial figure of either Paris or Hermes, who faces left. Some of the palmette decoration on the neck is also preserved.

PROVENANCE: Walter and Molly Bareiss collection; anonymous donation.

16. *Bucchero Chalice*
First half of the sixth century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 8.0 cm (3 3/16 in.); Diam (foot): 6.3 cm (2 3/8 in.); Diam (mouth): 12.5 cm (5 in.)
91.AE.43

The undecorated cup has slightly flaring sides and an offset toward the bottom of the wall. It is complete, with some repairs on the body and foot.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

17. *Bucchero Oinochoe*
First half of the sixth century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 18.1 cm (7 1/8 in.); Diam (foot): 6.4 cm (2 1/2 in.); Diam (body): 11.0 cm (4 5/16 in.)
91.AE.44

The pitcher is decorated on the shoulder with a pattern of relief tongues bordered above by a relief fillet and below by two raised bands. The handle is articulated with a vertical rib. The vessel is missing one piece in the shoulder zone, and a chip is gone from the foot.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

18. *Alabastron*
Late Etrusco-Corinthian, ca. 560–540 B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 18.5 cm (7 5/16 in.)
91.AE.42

The body of the oil container is decorated with seven friezes of stylized quadrupeds in profile. Five of the friezes have the animals to left; two depict them to right. The mouth is decorated with a rosette of twenty-two petals, the underside with a rosette of sixteen petals. One side of the alabastron is well preserved, but the other side has lost much of the painted decoration. The vessel is intact except for a few chips missing from the edges of the mouth.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

VASES: ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

19. *Fragment of an Epinetron*
Ca. 500–490 B.C.
Attributed to the Sappho Painter
Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 11.3 cm (4 1/2 in.)
91.AE.22

The patterned and figural decorations on the fragment consist of a series of overlapping scales; a double row of black-and-white checkerboard; a red-on-black zigzag; rays; and the front part of a quadriga composition showing the heads (manes in added red), chests, and forelegs of the horses. Preserved behind the heads of the horses is the remainder of a kalos inscription: KA]L[O]S.

PROVENANCE: Walter and Molly Bareiss collection; anonymous donation.

VASES: ATTIC RED-FIGURE

20. *Thirty Fragments of a Kalpis*
Ca. 440 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of Polygnotos, probably the Hector Painter [Bothmer]
Terra-cotta, various dimensions, from 3.13 cm to 22.0 cm (1 1/4 in. to 8 5/8 in.)
91.AE.41

The fragments join a fragmentary kalpis in the collection. On the shoulder, Thetis and the Nereids bring a new panoply of armor to Achilles (86.AE.235, ex-collection of Walter and Molly Bareiss). Two inscriptions are preserved on one large fragment (91.AE.41.28): KALOS and KALE. A partial kalos inscription is preserved on another fragment (91.AE.41.6): KAL[OS].

PROVENANCE: By donation.

21. *Lekythos*
Ca. 420–400 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of the Meidias Painter
Terra-cotta, H: 19.7 cm (7 3/4 in.)
91.AE.9

The body of the vase is decorated with a scene of the Garden of the Hesperides. At left, a torch-bearing Artemis emerges from behind a hill that partially obscures the deer-drawn cart in which she rides. Accompanied by a centaur, shown below, she advances toward the garden populated by the Daughters of the Evening. The vase is restored from fragments, with some surface damage confined beneath and adjacent to the handle.

PROVENANCE: Gillet collection; European art market, by exchange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Schefold, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich, 1988), p. 165, figs. 200a–c, listed as private collection, Lausanne.

22

22. *Lekythos*
Ca. 420–400 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of the Meidias Painter
Terra-cotta, H: 18.5 cm (7¼ in.)
91.AE.10

The body of the vase is decorated with the scene that is the prelude to the Trojan War, Helen and Paris' initial encounter inside the palace at Sparta. The goddess who inspired the encounter, Aphrodite, flies overhead in a biga drawn by two Erotes. A frieze of enclosed palmettes frames the scene above, and a band of left-hand meanders interrupted by dotted, checkered squares runs beneath the groundline. Under the handle, a delicate, asymmetrical floral complex rises from an acanthus-leaf base. The vessel is intact with most of the added white paint and relief decoration preserved. Only the gilding that once enhanced the relief work is missing.

PROVENANCE: Gillet collection; European art market, by exchange.

23. *Lekythos*
Ca. 420–400 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of the Meidias Painter
Terra-cotta, H: 12.5 cm (5 in.)
91.AE.8

On the body of the vessel, a young woman dressed in a peplos with a long overfall hands a double aulos to her similarly dressed companion, as a youthful Apollo looks on. The god, wreathed in laurel and wearing a himation, holds his laurel staff upright before him. A low table with a crumpled garment on its surface is next to the female on the left. A delicate floral complex is partially preserved below the handle. The mouth has been broken off into several pieces. The surface of the area beneath the handle is chipped.

PROVENANCE: European art market, by exchange.

VASES: SOUTH ITALIAN

24. *Cockleshell Aryballos*
Canosan, fourth–third century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 8.0 cm (3⅛ in.)
91.AE.19

The aryballos, or perfume container, takes the form of a cockleshell, its two halves made in a mold that was probably cast from a real mollusk. After firing, the entire vessel was coated with a white slip, then decorated with pastel polychromy. The upper portion of the base is pink, and the body is marked with alternating pink and light blue stripes. Both handles have been broken and reattached; the vessel is otherwise intact.

PROVENANCE: New Jersey art market.

25. *Cup*
Apulian, ca. 420–380 B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 6.5 cm (2⁹⁄₁₆ in.);
Diam (foot): 6.8 cm (2⅝ in.);
Diam (mouth): 13.0 cm (5⅛ in.)
91.AE.45

The black vessel is undecorated. There is some surface encrustation on one side, and a part of the foot has been reconstructed in plaster.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

26

VARIA

26. *Double-Headed Aryballos*
Greek, from Rhodes, mid-sixth century B.C.
Faience, H: 5.25 cm (2³⁄₁₆ in.);
D: 6.0 cm (2⅜ in.)
91.AI.25

On this oil container, the heads of a snarling lion and a female have been placed back to back, with the vessel's mouth emerging above the two heads. The original color of the faience was a bright turquoise blue, and traces of this remain in the eyes of both figures. Although the surface of the aryballos is heavily weathered, the vessel is intact.

PROVENANCE: Erlenmeyer collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 14); European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über griechische und altorientalische Tierkampfgruppen," *Antike Kunst* 1 (1958), p. 59, pl. 30, nos. 2–4; V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience: Miniature Scent Bottles and Related Objects from East Greece, 650–500 B.C.* (Warminster, 1978), pp. 130–31, no. 880; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1990, lot 14.

27. *Fragmentary Strigil*
Roman (?), first–second century A.D.
Iron, greatest preserved L: 13.9 cm (5⁷⁄₁₆ in.)
91.AI.49

The three heavily corroded fragments are part of a strigil, an implement used by athletes in antiquity to scrape oil and dirt from their bodies after exercising.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

28

28. *Mummy with Portrait*
Roman, from Egypt, mid-second century A.D.
Gilt, pigments, and wax on wood for portrait; linen fabric stiffened with animal glue or plaster, L: 175.2 cm (69 in.)
91.AP.6

This complete mummy preserves the portrait panel and the linen wrapping that encloses the body. The portrait depicts a beardless man. Gilt has been used for the wreath of laurel on his head, the background of the portrait, and the pattern of squares framing it on the painted linen wrapping. The linen shroud that wraps the body is painted orange and is decorated with stylized Egyptian motifs in gilt and shades of dark gray and white. The motifs include the "eyes of Horus"; two images of Horus in profile; Isis; an ibis; Osiris flanked by cobras; and a Horus standing frontally but with head in profile to right. Also painted on the mummy wrappings are two feet; the toes are gilt to suggest that they are encased with gold caplets. The name of the deceased is painted at the front outer edge of the feet: [HPAKLEI ḤQ[ ]E[ ]Q[] (letters above the dots are uncertain).

PROVENANCE: European art market; by exchange.

29. *Imitation Proto-Corinthian Aryballos*
Modern imitation, based on a Proto-Corinthian type of the seventh century B.C.
Terra-cotta, H: 10.4 cm (4⅛ in.); L: 14.2 cm (5⅝ in.); W: 6.5 cm (2½ in.)
91.AK.59

The vase takes the shape of a reclining leopard, its body articulated with dots. In style it imitates a Proto-Corinthian oil container of the seventh century B.C. One foreleg has been broken off and reattached.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

LAMPS

30. *Lamp with Portrait Medallion*
Roman, ca. 50–100 A.D.
Terra-cotta, L: 9.0 cm (3 9/16 in.)
91.AQ.47

Preserved in the medallion of the lamp is a portrait of a Flavian emperor with wreath, to right. The image is modeled after contemporary coin portraits. The lamp is intact.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

31. *Lamp*
Roman, first century A.D.
Terra-cotta, L: 12.8 cm (5 1/16 in.)
91.AQ.48

The shoulder and body are decorated with a molded pattern of raised dots or knobs, and there is an unpierced lug along one side. The piece is intact and retains some traces of red glaze.

PROVENANCE: By donation.

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1991

Fragmentary Relief
Modern imitation of a Greek relief of ca. 520–510 B.C.
Marble, H: 50.0 cm (19⅝ in.); W: 57.5 cm (22⅝ in.)
79.AA.1

Portrait Head of a Bearded Man
Roman, ca. 130 A.D.
Marble, H: 33.0 cm (13 in.); W: 23.0 cm (9 in.)
71.AA.286

Manuscripts

32

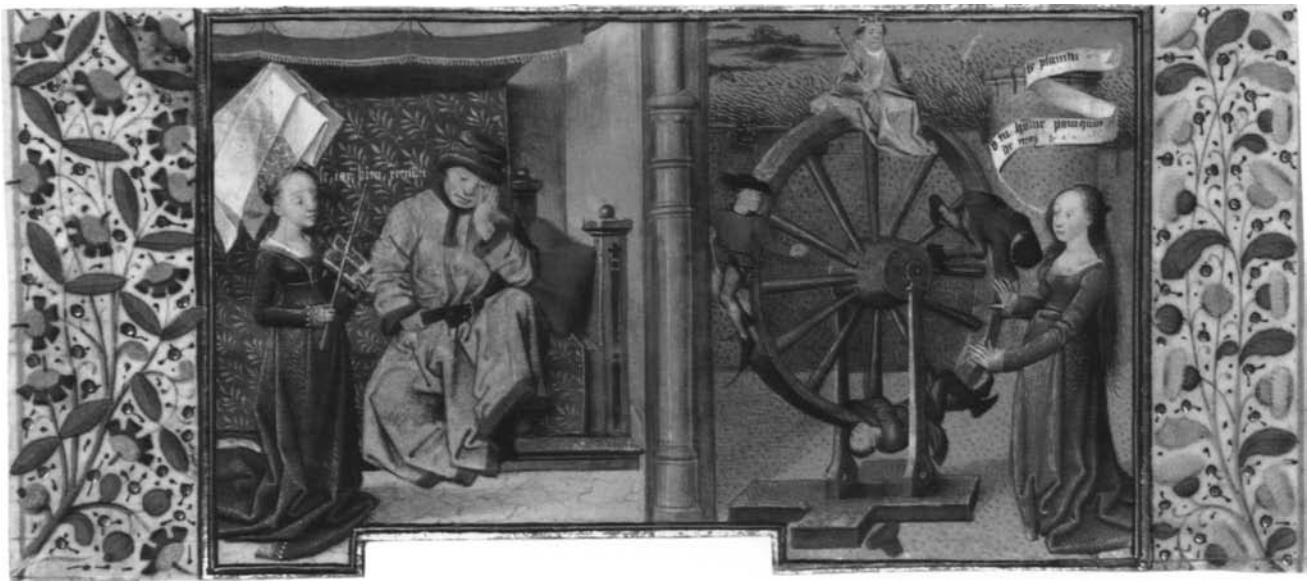
32. Historiated Initial *S* with what is probably *The Conversion of Saint Paul*
Cutting from a choir book
Illuminated by two artists, one an associate of Antonio di Puccio di Pisano (Pisanello)
Northern Italy, possibly Verona, ca. 1440–50
Vellum, 14.2 x 9.0 cm (5 9/16 x 3 9/16 in.). Latin text in Gothic liturgical script (*littera gothica rotunda*). One historiated initial.
Ms. 41; 91.MS.5

CONTENTS: The text on the verso is ". . . *es acceper* . . ." and ". . . *s[] lamp* . . ."

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany (sale, Christie's, London, December 11, 1990, lot 22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Degenhart, "Ludovico II. Gonzaga in einer Miniatur Pisanellos," *Pantheon* 30 (May 1972), pp. 193–210; G. Paccagnini, *Pisanello e il ciclo cavalleresco di Mantova* (Venice, 1972), p. 251.

33. *Philosophy Counseling Boethius* and *Fortune Turning the Wheel; Philosophy Presenting the Seven Liberal Arts to Boethius; Philosophy Instructing Boethius on the Role of God;* and five fragments of illuminated border
Three cuttings from Boethius, *La Consolation de Philosophie*
Illuminated by the Coëtivy Master (Henri de Vulcop?) (French, active third quarter of the fifteenth century)
Loire Valley, ca. 1460–70
Vellum, 7.4 x 16.9 cm (2 7/8 x 6 5/8 in.); 6.0 x 16.9 cm (2 3/8 x 6 5/8 in.); 7.0 x 16.9 cm (2 3/4 x 6 5/8 in.). When purchased, the second cutting had a single strip of border from the original manuscript added to its lower edge, and the first had a border made out of four pieces added to its upper edge. The strip from the second cutting, and two pieces from the first, have now been detached and put together to form what was originally the border of the lower half of the page that contained the third cutting. This measures 9.7 x 16.8 cm (3 13/16 x 6 5/8 in.); the width of the text block



33(.1)

on this illuminated and bordered page was 9.5 cm (3 3/4 in.). Two other pieces, measuring 1.9 x 3.8 cm (3/4 x 1 1/2 in.) and 3.8 x 3.5 cm (1 1/2 x 1 3/8 in.) apparently do not form part of the same border, and these are kept separately. Two gold bands, added at a later date to the bottom of cutting one and the top of cutting two, and measuring 0.3 x 4.0 cm (1/8 x 1 7/16 in.) and 0.3 x 5.4 cm (1/8 x 2 1/8 in.), are also kept separately. French text, in *batârde* script, on the verso of each cutting. Three miniatures and border decoration.
Ms. 42; 91.MS.11.1–.3

CONTENTS: Portions of the text of *La Consolation de Philosophie* appear in a single column of irregular justification on the verso of each miniature. Fragments of dialogue between Boethius and Philosophy appear on each of the miniatures, and each of the Seven Liberal Arts is identified on the second miniature.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; [Ratton and Ladrière, Paris, since 1985].

COMMENTARY: Originally these cuttings were mounted together on a single card, with their upper and lower edges overlapping approximately 1 mm. The appearance was of a single painting, and, with the reconstituted upper border to the first miniature (located above the other two) and the single strip below the second miniature (located at the bottom), this "painting" would have been bordered on all four sides. Remains of the original mount suggest that the miniatures were excised from their manuscript no later than the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

33(.2)

33(.3)

34

34. *The Temperate and the Intemperate*
Cutting from Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, Book 2
Illuminated by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book (Flemish, active ca. 1470–1515)
Bruges, ca. 1475–80
Vellum, 17.5 x 19.4 cm (6 13/16 x 7 9/16 in.). French text in Burgundian *batârde*. One miniature.
Ms. 43; 91.MS.81

CONTENTS: A portion of the text of Book 2 of the *Faits et dits mémorables* appears in two columns on the back of the miniature. The miniature was almost certainly removed from Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, Bruges, Groot Seminarie mss. 159/190, 158/189, and 157/188, before 1930.

PROVENANCE: [William Schab, New York]; to Lewis V. Randall, Montreal; to his widow; [to Dr. Jörn Günther, Hamburg, 1990].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue no. 1*, sale cat., William Schab, New York, 1930, no. 62; *Canada Collects: European paintings 1860–1960*, exh. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, 1960), no. 167, ill.; Bodo Brinkmann, *Der Brügger Meister des Dresdner Gebetbuches und sein Kreis* (unpublished D.Ph. dissertation, Freie University, Berlin, 1990), p. 111–113, 116–120. On the Bruges manuscript see Gruuthusemuseum, *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, Bruges, 1982, no. 97.

COMMENTARY: The same subject, in a related composition by the same artist, appears in a Valerius Maximus manuscript in Leipzig, Bibliothek der Karl-Marx-Universität (Ms. Rep. I 11b, fol. 2) (Friedrich Winkler, *Der Leipziger Valerius Maximus: Mit einer Einleitung über die Anfänge des Sittenbildes in den Niederlanden* [Leipzig, 1921], fig. 2a).

Paintings

35

35. CANALETTO
(Giovanni Antonio Canal)
Italian, 1697–1768
View of the Grand Canal: Santa Maria della Salute and the Dogana from Campo Santa Maria Zobenigo, early 1730s
Oil on canvas, 135.5 x 232.5 cm (53 1/4 x 91 1/4 in.)
91.PA.73

Canaletto's painting looks toward the opening of the Grand Canal into the Bacino di San Marco. On the left side are the bank of the *campo* and the Palazzo Pisani-Gritti. Across the canal, the facade of the Abbey of San Gregorio rises above a row of houses. The view of the opposite bank is dominated by the Church of Santa Maria della Salute. To the left of the church are the Seminario Patriarcale and the Dogana. The bell tower and dome of San Giorgio Maggiore can be seen rising above the Dogana. In the far distance, behind the gondolas and ships in the harbor, is the Riva degli Schiavoni.

The row of houses at right was demolished in the late nineteenth century to construct the Palazzo Genovese, but otherwise, the architecture depicted in Canaletto's view remains virtually the same today. It is nonetheless apparent that the artist has subtly adjusted the relationships of structures to better suit his composition. Far more than a simple architectural record, Canaletto's painting captures the grandeur of Venice at a specific moment in time, including the fleeting, magical qualities of light uniquely found there.

The *View of the Grand Canal* is usually considered the pendant to the *View of the Piazza San Marco Looking Southwest* (Cleveland Museum of Art).

The painting is the first and primary version of a composition that was repeated in at least fourteen smaller versions and copies. One version in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. 186), is by Bernardo Bellotto (see J. W. Goodison and G. H. Robertson, *Italian Schools*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Catalogue of Paintings, vol. 2 [Cambridge, 1967], pp. 14–15, pl. 24). Two reductions of the original were perhaps executed by Canaletto or by his workshop (see Constable and Links, 1989, vol. 2, p. 273, nos. 180a–aa).

PROVENANCE: The Earls of Craven, Combe Abbey, Warwickshire; Cornelia, Countess of Craven (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 29, 1961, lot 41); bought by Julius H. Weitzner; Robert Lehman collection, New York; [Newhouse Galleries, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain . . .* (London, 1854), vol. 3, p. 219; G. Berto and L. Puppi, *L'Opera completa del Canaletto*, Classici dell'arte Rizzoli, no. 18 (Milan, 1968), p. 102, no. 134A; S. Kozakiewicz, *Bernardo Bellotto*, trans. M. Whittall (London, 1972), vol. 2, p. 13; A. T. Lurie et al., *Cleveland Museum of Art: European Paintings of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cleveland, 1982), p. 318; A. Corboz, *Canaletto: Una Venezia immaginaria* (Milan, 1985), vol. 2, p. 634, no. P234; W. G. Constable, *Canaletto*, 2nd ed. rev. with supplement by J. G. Links (Oxford, 1989), vol. 1, pl. 38; vol. 2, p. 273, no. 180.

36

36. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
The Miracles of Saint Francis of Paola, 1627–28
Oil on wood panel, 97.5 x 77.0 cm (38 3/8 x 30 3/8 in.)
91.PB.50

Created as the model for an altarpiece that was never executed, this oil sketch represents the variety of miracles performed by Saint Francis of Paola (1416–1507). Rubens focuses on the most spectacular proof of Francis's sanctity, his levitation at Plessis-les-Tours, an event witnessed by Louis XI of France and his court, shown at left. In a dynamic stream of motion flowing from the foreground up the right side, the artist delineates the saint's miraculous cures, which included healing the insane, raising the dead, and restoring fertility, as well as curing the infirm, the lame, the deaf, and the blind.

The evolution of the composition can be traced through two prior oil sketches (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie [inv. 967] and Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen [inv. 74]). Several copies of the Munich sketch are known, including one in the Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna (inv. 647).

Held hypothesized that the work was commissioned by Marie de' Medici, whose fall from power would provide the reason why the altarpiece was never executed.

PROVENANCE: Guillaume van Hamme, Antwerp, to 1668 (?); Jacques Horremans, Antwerp, in 1678(?); James A. Morrison, London; Charles Morrison, Basildon Park; the Basildon Picture Settlement; Mrs. G. Dent-Brocklehurst, Sudeley Castle, Winchombe, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; [Howard G. Lepow and H. Shickman Gallery].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain . . .* (London, 1854), vol. 2, p. 263; M. Jaffé, "Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens 3," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), p. 436 and fig. 9; H. Vlieghe, *Saints*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 8 (London and New York, 1973), vol. 2, pp. 24–26, no. 103c, pl. 3; J. S. Held, "Zwei Rubensprobleme," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), pp. 46–53; idem, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 554–560, no. 407; vol. 2, pl. 396; M. Jaffé, *Rubens: Catalogo completo* (Milan, 1989), pp. 304–305, no. 905.

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1991

CANALETTO
(Giovanni Antonio Canal)
Italian, 1697–1768
View of the Dogana, Venice, 1744
Oil on canvas, 60.3 x 96.0 cm (23 3/4 x 37 3/4 in.). Signed and dated lower left: *Ant. Canal Fecit. MDCCXLIV.*
83.PA.13

Drawings

CENTRAL EUROPEAN

37

38

37. CIRCLE OF MARTIN SCHONGAUER
German, ca. 1450–1491
Standing Female Saint, ca. 1490
Pen and gray and black ink, over traces of black chalk, 24.0 x 19.1 cm (9 5/8 x 7 1/2 in.)
91.GA.55

This highly finished study of a single figure was probably made as a pattern or model. The ovoid face, downcast eyes, long, rounded neck, sculptural drapery folds, and complex vocabulary of hatching show a knowledge of Schongauer's prints such as *Saint Agnes* of around 1475 (M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* [Vienna, 1925], vol. 5, no. 67). In comparison to Schongauer, however, this artist displays a manner more extroverted and impassioned, as can be seen in the figure's somewhat contorted Gothic sway, the highly contrasting modeling of the drapery folds, and the streaming masses of hair. There are no other known drawings by this artist.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Zurich; Boston art market.

38. SWISS MASTER
Sixteenth century
Standing Landsknecht, ca. 1520–30
Pen and black ink, 19.5 x 15.6 cm (7 11/16 x 6 1/8 in.). Inscribed (verso): *Siegfried A. . . . 35/4. Germany* (?) in black ink.
91.GA.71

This example is drawn in a style that indicates the influence of Urs Graf (ca. 1485–1527/29) as well as that of Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484–1530) of Bern. The pose with the horizontal lance bisected by the sword is earlier encountered in Graf's drawing of 1514, *A Soldier* (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Amerbach-Kabinett, inv. U.XVI.51), while the details of the costume, as well as the manner in which the line tapers and swells, is reminiscent of Graf's woodcut, *Standard-Bearer of Lucerne* of 1521 (H. Koegler, *Hundert Tafeln aus dem Gesamtwerk des Urs Graf* [Basel, 1947], pl. 96, no. 637). The tightness and precision of this artist's style, coupled with his reliance on cross-hatching, suggests that he was a printmaker, but as yet no other works have been attributed to him.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany (probably); private collection, Amsterdam; Paris art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dessins anciens des écoles du nord, françaises et italiennes*, exh. cat. (Bob P. Haboldt and Co., Paris and New York, 1991), no. 20.

39 (recto)

39. HANS JACOB PLEPP
Swiss, ca. 1557/60–1597/98
Stained Glass Design with Two Coats of Arms (recto); *Study of a Helmet* (verso), ca. 1590–95
Pen and black and brown ink, gray wash, black chalk, 42.4 x 29.5 cm (16 11/16 x 11 5/8 in.). Inscribed (recto) *FIDES*, *SPES*, and *herr hauptman Johannes Schwaller/dieser zeit vogt zu Bächburg und Fr/Margeretha Ischarantin sein Ehege/mahelin* in brown ink at the bottom; color notations throughout; inscribed (verso): *In Basel gekauft für 1 1/2 fr in Juli 1858* in pink ink.
91.GG.69

40

Johannes Schwaller, a local governor, or "vogt," as the inscription mentions, and his wife, Margeretha Ischarant, were the patrons of this stained glass design. It owes its attractiveness to the lively coats of arms—particularly that of Ischarant with the rearing horse—and to the fancifully ornamental architectural framework. The left half of the drawing has been worked up completely in precise, often ruled, line work and sculptural washes, after which the artist schematically delineated the right-hand portion, which mirrors the configuration on the left. This is similar to other stained glass designs by Plepp, including several examples of the middle 1590s in the Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (P. L. Ganz, *Die Basler Glasmaler der Spätrenaissance und der Barockzeit* [Basel, 1966], pp. 76–77, 178–79, pls. 92, 95).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, United States (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1989, lot 288); Boston art market.

40. JOSEPH HEINTZ THE ELDER
Swiss, 1564–1609
The Toilet of Venus, 1594
Red and black chalk, 21.5 x 15.1 cm (8 1/2 x 5 15/16 in.). Signed and dated: *Joseph Heintz/1594* in black chalk at the bottom.
91.GB.66

Heintz shows his consummate mastery of the chalk medium to full advantage in this example, which integrates red and black chalk to create a flawless surface allure echoing that of his paintings. He appears to have made this not with a painting in mind but as a finished work of art. The present drawing, until recently known only through a copy by Heintz's pupil, Anton Gasser (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. HZ 4058), has been published and fully described by Zimmer (1988).

PROVENANCE: Possibly in the collection of Anton Gasser, Augsburg; E. S. Hyde, Cambridge, England (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 64); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Zimmer, *Joseph Heintz der Ältere: Zeichnungen und Dokumente* (Munich, 1988), p. 132, no. A48.

41

41. DANIEL LINDTMAYER
Swiss, 1552–ca. 1606/07
Design for a Marriage Window with the Seasons Spring and Summer, ca. 1595–1600
Pen and black ink, gray wash, pen and brown ink, with touches of black chalk, 39.7 x 29.7 cm (15 5/8 x 11 11/16 in.). Inscribed: *FRÜLING/ VER.* and *SOMER/AESTAS* in black ink in the arch at the top; *Virtuti om nia parent* in brown ink above the family crests; *Hans conradt von Rhorburg zu Delsberg* (?) */Anna von Rhorburg geborene Ifflingerin/von Granneck* in brown ink in the cartouche at the bottom; color notations in black chalk and brown ink throughout; *HJW* in ligature in brown ink (collection mark of the Basel glass painter Hans Jörg Wannewetch II [1611–1682]).
91.GG.1

The frame contains personifications of Spring on the left and Summer on the right. At the bottom left is a putto holding an anchor, signifying Hope, at right a putto lifting a broken column, representing Fortitude. The right-hand coat of arms, consisting of two burning stakes lodged in two hearts, is identical to that of the Brand family; their coat of arms appears in a stained glass window in the Schweitzerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich (P. Ganz, *Die Basler Glasmaler der Spätrenaissance und der Barockzeit* [Basel and Stuttgart, 1966], fig. 164). Stylistically and compositionally, the present example resembles Lindtmayer's *Design for a Window with the Arms of von Fulach and von Reischach* (London, British Museum, inv. 1913-9-24-I) (F. Thöne, *Daniel Lindtmayer* [Zurich, 1975], fig. 355).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 21, 1989, lot 34; New York art market.

42 (recto)

42 (verso)

42. ADAM ELSHEIMER
German, 1578–1610
Saint Agnes (recto); *Figure Studies* (verso), ca. 1605
Point of brush and brown ink, 10.0 x 7.5 cm (3 x 3 in.)
91.GA.2

The figure on the recto is Saint Agnes, who cradles a lamb with her right arm and grasps a palm branch with her left hand. The scale of the drawing corresponds to that of the series of tiny coppers by Elsheimer (National Trust [Petworth House]); Montpellier, Musée Fabre; K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer: Paintings, Drawings, Prints* [Oxford, 1977], cat. no. 17 A-I, pls. 55–63 and col. pl. 4), each showing one or a pair of saints or biblical figures standing in a landscape. The present drawing might have served as a study for a lost or unexecuted panel belonging to this group. The verso, with the athletic male nude at the bottom left and the distinctive use of the point of the brush to produce nervously swelling and tapering outlines, is comparable to two other sheets of figure studies by Elsheimer in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (invs. Kdz 4636 and 5024; Andrews nos. 34–35).

PROVENANCE: Ann Sutherland Harris, Pittsburgh.

DUTCH

43

43. KAREL VAN MANDER
Dutch, 1548–1606
Female Nude, ca. 1590
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and black chalk, 19.9 x 12.2 cm (7 13/16 x 4 13/16 in.)
91.GG.12

The artist first sketched the figure lightly in black chalk, next shaded it in tremulous passages of wash, and finally added the nervously swelling and tapering line work. The latter assumes a beauty of its own, highlighting the artist's brilliant use of the pen, just as the dramatically posed figure points up his mastery of the nude. This type of nude study is derived from the drawings of Goltzius such as *Parsimonia* (?) in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (inv. A 540; E. K. J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius* [Utrecht, 1961], vol. 1, no. K98). The broken line work and extensive use of wash here are consistent with other nude studies by van Mander, such as the signed example in the collection of the heirs of I. Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam (J. Giltay, ed., *Kabinet van Tekeningen: 16e en 17e eeuwse Hollandse en Vlaamse tekeningen uit een Amsterdamse verzameling*, exh. cat. [Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen and other locations, 1976–77], no. 86).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, London; London art market.

44. MAERTEN VAN HEEMSKERCK
Dutch, 1498–1574
Judith, 1560
Pen and brown ink over black chalk, incised for transfer, 19.9 x 25.3 cm (7 13/16 x 9 15/16 in.). Inscribed: *Judit* at the right by the artist in brown ink, *1560* at the middle of the left margin, and signed *Martinus van/Heemskerck/Inventor* in the lower left corner in brown ink; (verso): collection mark of R. P. Roupel (L. 2234) and inscribed: *Mac Gowan coll./Revelop/Kenick* in graphite.
91.GG.17

This is a newly discovered preparatory drawing for the series of prints of Good Women of the Old Testament, made after Heemskerck by an unknown engraver and praised by Vasari (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts* [Amsterdam, 1949–], vol. 8, nos. 476–81; G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, K. Clark and M. Sonino, eds. [New York, 1979], vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 1262). The latter's remark that the women wear "various costumes" takes note of the emphasis throughout the series upon the splendid and fanciful antique raiments worn by the heroines. The present drawing owes its impact to the intricate pen work in two tones of brown ink that articulates Judith's layered, bejeweled gown. In 1564, Heemskerck repeated the pose of the beheaded Holofernes in a series of prints devoted exclusively to the narrative of Judith (A. Dolders, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch. Netherlandish Artists. Philips Galle* [New York, 1987], vol. 56, number .016:8).

PROVENANCE: J. MacGowan, Edinburgh; R. P. Roupell, London; private collection, London; London art market.

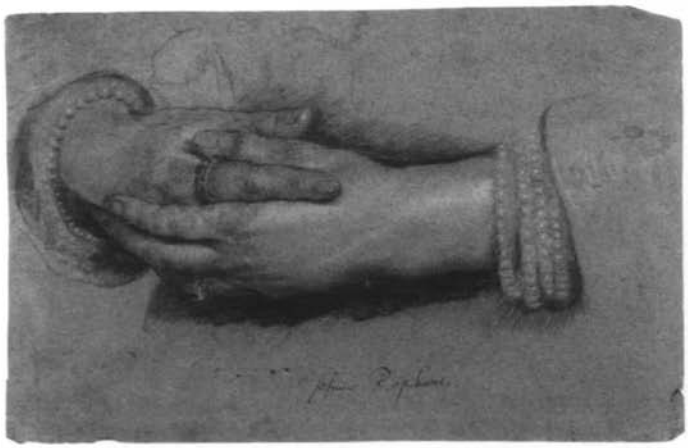
EXHIBITIONS: *European Drawings: Recent Acquisitions*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 44.

45. CORNELIS (CORNELIUS) JANSSENS (JONSON) VAN CEULEN
Dutch, 1593–1661/62
Study of a Woman's Hands, 1646
Black and white chalk on blue paper, 19.0 x 29.6 cm (7 1/2 x 11 5/8 in.). Inscribed: *jefrow Raphune* in brown ink at the bottom.
91.GB.57

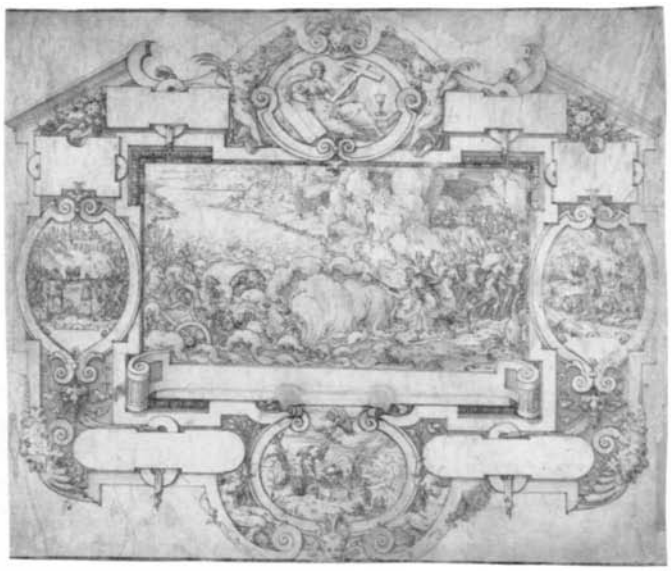
Janssens probably drew this study of a woman's folded hands from life, following it exactly in his painting, *Portrait of a Woman* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique), signed and dated 1646. In this, one of his few surviving drawings, Janssens renders the pose of the hands with profound sensitivity, simultaneously capturing delicate effects of light. He was surely acquainted with similar studies of hands by van Dyck, which he would have encountered during his early activity in England before moving permanently to Holland in 1643.

PROVENANCE: Dutch art market; London art market.

44



45



47

46 (recto)

46 (verso)

46. DIRK HELMBREKER
Dutch, 1633–1696
Studies of a Man Smoking and a Man Drinking (recto); *Studies of a Man Smoking, a Head, and Calligraphic Flourishes* (verso), ca. 1650–60
Red chalk, 16.1 x 18.3 cm (6 5/16 x 7 3/16 in.). Inscribed (verso): illegible inscription by the artist in red chalk.
91.GB.67

While Dutch drawings of the seventeenth century often lampoon tavern-dwellers, the scene on the recto of this drawing is unusual for the period because of its unexaggerated and observant rendering of their actions. The use of red chalk, the prevalence of diagonal parallel hatching, and the careful recording of the fall of light recall the style of Cornelis Bega, with whom Helmbreker, a fellow Haarlemer, traveled to Rome in 1653. Helmbreker's ultimately rougher, but more incisive and dynamic, delineation of the forms is echoed by the large, looping calligraphic sample on the verso. Only a handful of drawings by this artist survive.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; German art market; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Thomas Le Claire Kunsthandel 6: Meisterzeichnungen 1500–1900*, sale cat. (Hamburg, 1989), no. 28.

FRENCH

47. ETIENNE DELAUNE
French, ca. 1518–ca. 1583
The Destruction of Pharaoh's Army and Other Scenes within a Cartouche, ca. 1560–70
Pen and black and brown ink and gray wash on vellum, 25.9 x 31.0 cm (10 3/16 x 12 3/16 in.). Inscribed (verso): *Pharoan de* in graphite.
91.GG.76

Delaune's style was strongly influenced by the School of Fontainebleau. He is known chiefly as an engraver and designer of decorative objects. The extreme delicacy of the draftsmanship of this example is typical of Delaune, as seen in three designs for ceremonial cups by him in the Louvre (invs. RF 1086, 26.193, and 26.195), executed on vellum as is the present drawing. In this drawing, three Old Testament scenes and a personification of Faith surround the central section showing Moses unleashing the forces of the Red Sea to destroy Pharaoh's army, all enframed within an elaborate cartouche decorated with garlands, putti, grotesques, and strapwork. The drawing most likely served as a design for a commissioned object, perhaps a decorative plaque.

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1989, lot 101); London art market.

48

48. CLAUDE LORRAIN
French, 1600–1682
Landscape in Latium with Farm Laborers, ca. 1660–63
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and black chalk, 22.4 x 36.1 cm (8 13/16 x 14 1/4 in.). Collection marks of Sir Thomas Lawrence and William Esdaile in the lower left corner.
91.GG.70

This important and unusual late drawing by Claude has only recently come to light, having disappeared since the nineteenth century. Claude rarely accorded figures such importance within the landscape, and even less frequently depicted the rigors of everyday life with the fidelity here encountered. Deceptively simple and elemental in its formal structure, the drawing sets up a powerful contrast between the compelling foreground scene, articulated in pen and ink and wash, and the vast, empty vista of a mountain valley in the background, in which atmospheric perspective is evoked through broadly applied black chalk and dilute wash. Roethlisberger situates the sheet late in Claude's oeuvre, around 1660–63.

PROVENANCE: Brunet collection, France; Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Samuel Woodburn, London; William Esdaile, London (sale, Christie's, London, June 30, 1840, lot 38); Dr. Wellesley, England (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1866, lot 1016); private collection, Switzerland; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Roethlisberger, "More Drawings by Claude Lorrain," *Master Drawings* 28, no. 4 (1990), pp. 409, 415–19, 422, and 423–25.

49. JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES
French, 1780–1867
Study for the Dress and Hands of Madame Moitessier, 1851
Graphite on tracing paper, squared in black chalk, 35.5 x 16.8 cm (13 15/16 x 6 5/8 in.). Signed: *Ing* in graphite in the lower left corner; stamped: Ingres's atelier stamp in the lower right corner.
91.GG.79

Ingres made this as a preparatory study for the portrait of *Madame Moitessier Standing* in the Kress collection at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., dated 1851. Only lightly sketching in the head and shoulders, he concentrated instead upon establishing the positions of the arms and hands, which are shown supporting a shawl that encircles the form. This pose is carried over to the painting with little change, although there the sitter grasps a long strand of pearls in her right hand, echoing the fluid sweep of the shawl. In the

upper right of the drawing, Ingres has drawn the left hand twice, experimenting with the positioning of the fingers. The present example joins the Museum's other study for the Washington portrait, *Head of Madame Moitessier* (89.GD.50).

PROVENANCE: Ingres sale, 1867; Raimondo de Madrazo y Garreta; Comtesse de Béhague (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 29, 1921, lot 97); Villiers David, London; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1990, lot 138); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Ternois, *Ingres*, exh. cat. (Paris, Petit Palais, 1967–68), no. 247; *Nineteenth-Century French Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1990), no. 10.

49

ITALIAN

50

50. LAZZARO BASTIANI
Italian, active ca. 1459–1512
The Virgin Annunciate, ca. 1464–68
Brown ink and brown wash, 10.2 x 8.4 cm (4 x 3 5/16 in.). Inscribed (recto): *Luca d'Olanda* in brown ink at bottom; inscribed (verso): *on.° 8* and *novese* in brown ink.
91.GG.35

Lazzaro Bastiani worked mostly in Venice, where he was a close associate of Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna. This drawing likely dates from early in his career, and may have been made in preparation for a painting. The classical ornamentation on the cippus or pillar before which the Virgin kneels is characteristic of Bellini and his school, as is the draftsman's exquisite sensitivity to light and the overall meditative quality of the figure.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. W. Rearick, "Un disegno di Lazzaro Bastiani," *Prospettiva* 43 (October 1985), pp. 48–50; P. Scarpa, "A Venetian Seventeenth-Century Collection of Old Master Drawings," in W. Strauss and T. Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined* (New York, 1987), p. 385.

51

51. GIOVANNI BELLINI
Italian, ca. 1430–1516
Fortitude, ca. 1470
Pen and brown ink, 8.7 x 9.0 cm (3 7/16 x 3 1/2 in.). Inscribed (verso): *S. V. n:o 4* in brown ink.
91.GA.36

Fortitude, one of the four cardinal virtues, is shown here forcing apart the jaws of a lion in an act of great strength. The drawing was probably made in preparation for a painting, although none can be directly related to it. Among the small corpus of drawings most securely given to Giovanni Bellini, this sheet is extremely close stylistically to the *Pietà* study in the Louvre (inv. RF 1870) and to two drawings of standing saints in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (invs. N. 689, N. 1274).

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Scarpa, "A Venetian Seventeenth-Century Collection of Old Master Drawings," in W. Strauss and T. Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined* (New York, 1987), p. 386.

52

52. GIOVANNI BELLINI (attributed to)
Italian, ca. 1430–1516
Standing Turkish Man, ca. 1485
Pen and brown ink, 11.6 x 5.2 cm (4 9/16 x 2 1/16 in.)
91.GA.37

Seemingly exotic figures of this sort appear in several paintings by Gentile and/or Giovanni Bellini, most notably the Saint Mark cycle for the Scuola di San Marco in Venice, begun by Gentile and finished by Giovanni and his workshop. While no direct association has yet been made, this drawing may have been made in preparation for a painting with such exotic figures, a type of work which was in vogue after Gentile Bellini's visit from 1479–81 to the court of Mahomet II at Constantinople. Its style is similar to the drawings by Giovanni Bellini mentioned above in no. 51.

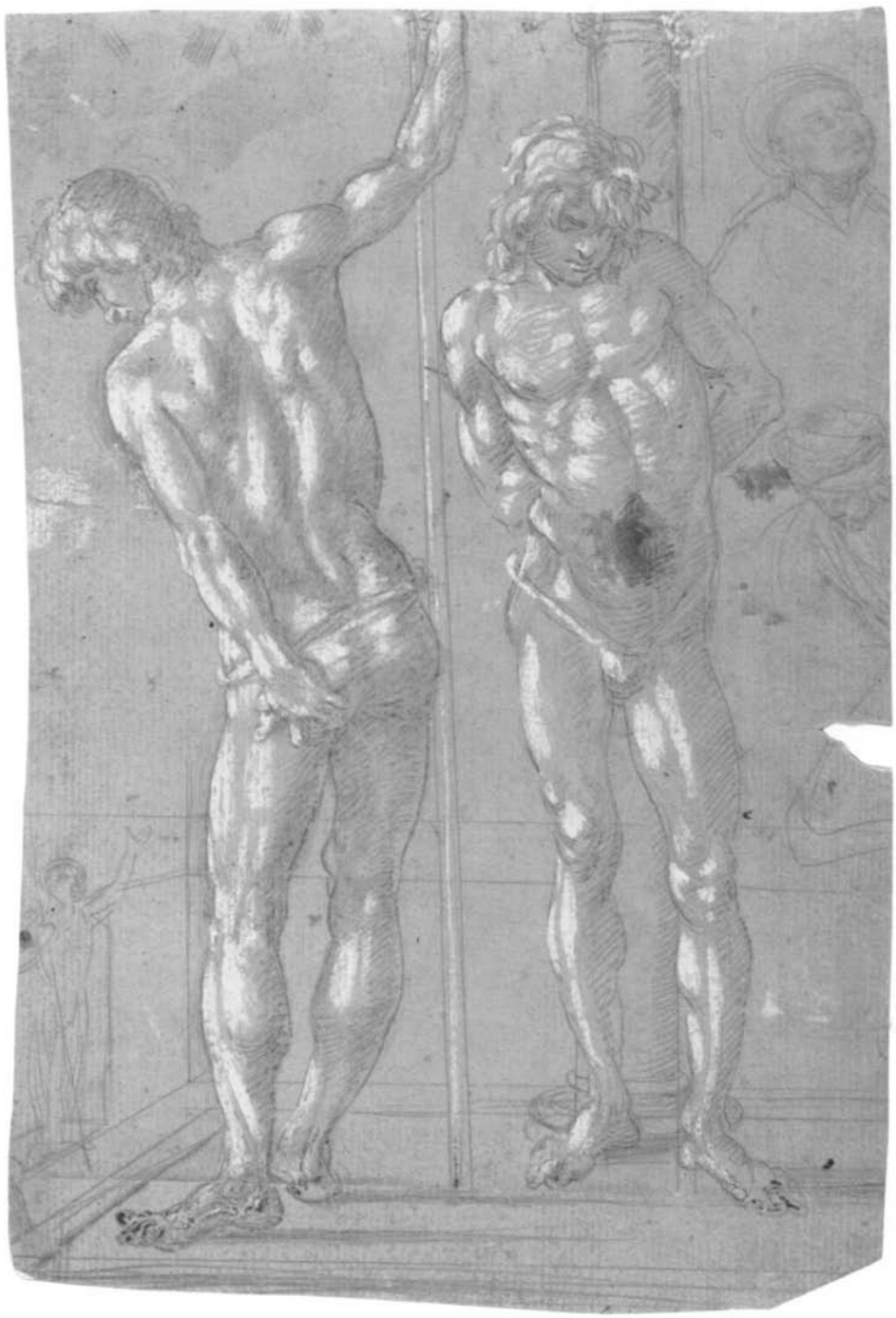
PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Scarpa, "A Venetian Seventeenth-Century Collection of Old Master Drawings," in W. Strauss and T. Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined* (New York, 1987), p. 387.

53 (recto)

53. FILIPPINO LIPPI
Italian, 1457/58–1504
Standing Saint (recto); *Studies of Christ at the Column, a Nude from Behind, and Various Figures* (verso), ca. 1490
Metalpoint with lead-white heightening on gray prepared paper, 27.1 x 17.4 cm (10 11/16 x 6 7/8 in.). Inscribed (recto): *S.V. n:o 44* at lower right in brown ink.
91.GG.33

This important double-sided sheet is a recent addition to the corpus of drawings by Filippino Lippi. The figures on both recto and verso are characteristic of those typically found in Filippino's paintings, although no direct connection to his painted works has been discovered. The recto of this drawing is very close to a double-sided sheet in the British Museum, London (inv. 1895-9-15-454) and to three further drawings in the



53 (verso)

Uffizi, Florence (invs. 171 E, 172 E, 205 E). Given these similarities, it is likely that all may have once formed part of the same sketchbook. On the verso, Filippino focused upon depicting the stances and musculature of two nearly nude standing figures, whose *contrapposto* poses are emphasized by the painstaking technique of metalpoint and white heightening, creating a remarkable chiaroscuro effect.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

54

54. CIRCLE OF LORENZO DI CREDI
Italian, 1459–1537
Standing Male Figure, ca. 1490
Metalpoint, white gouache heightening, and touches of black chalk on rose-colored prepared paper, 19.8 x 9.8 cm (7 7/8 x 3 7/8 in.). Inscribed: *245.* at upper left, *di Raffaelle d'Urbino* and *L* at upper right, and *duecento quaranta cinque* at lower right, all in brown ink; unknown collection mark in lower left corner.
91.GG.34

This sheet is characteristic of the type of drawing found throughout Florentine workshops in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, made in order to study the light and dark effects of drapery folds and to practice the difficult technique of drawing with a metalpoint on a prepared surface. While the artist is as yet unidentified, he seems to have worked in the circle of Lorenzo di Credi, who himself made numerous drapery studies derived from those of Leonardo da Vinci. A drawing by the same hand as that responsible for the present sheet, and probably depicting the same model, is in the Uffizi (inv. 257 E); it is currently attributed to Francesco Granacci.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

55

55. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO (attributed to)
Italian, 1459/60–1517/18
Standing Apostle, ca. 1495
Red chalk, 18.8 x 9.8 cm
(7 3/8 x 3 7/8 in.)
91.GB.39

Venetian red chalk drawings from this period are extremely rare. This drawing is close in form and spirit to various standing saints in altarpieces by Cima da Conegliano. Although the attribution of this sheet to him is uncertain, there are clear similarities between this figure, with its columnar morphology, regular drapery folds, and grave, hierarchical expression, and comparable figures in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) and *Saint John the Baptist with Saints Peter, Mark, Jerome, and Paul* (Venice, Madonna dell'Orto), among others. Cima da Conegliano was one of the leading Venetian artists of his day whose works indicate the influence of Giovanni Bellini and Antonello da Messina.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

56 (recto)

56. VITTORE CARPACCIO
Italian, ca. 1460–1526
God the Father (recto); *Standing Christ* (verso), ca. 1495–1500
Brush and gray wash with white gouache heightening and touches of black chalk underdrawing on blue prepared paper, 21.0 x 17.2 cm
(8 1/4 x 6 3/4 in.). Inscribed (recto): . . . *rolamo da Tervigi* in brown ink at the lower left edge.
91.GG.38

The recto of this sheet was made in preparation for the lunette of an altarpiece painted by Carpaccio and his assistants for the parish church at Grumello de' Zanchi, near Bergamo. A second painted version of the *God the Father* is in the Fondazione Cagnola, Gazzada. The standing figure on the verso is most likely an early study for Carpaccio's painting of *Christ with the Instruments of the Passion* (Museo Civico, Udine), signed and dated 1496. The technique of the verso, with the careful cross-hatching contrasting with the unfinished areas, is especially noteworthy.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

56 (verso)

57 (recto)

57 (verso)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Scarpa, "Disegni sconosciuti di Vettor Carpaccio," *Interpretazioni veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro* (Venice, 1984), pp. 134–35; idem, "A Venetian Seventeenth-Century Collection of Old Master Drawings," in W. Strauss and T. Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined* (New York, 1987), p. 391; idem, "Contributi a Vittore Carpaccio," *Arte Documento* 3 (October 1989), pp. 110–24.

57. FRA BARTOLOMMEO
(Baccio della Porta)
Italian, 1472–1517
Head of a Child, an Angel, and a Hand (recto); *Male Figure* (verso),
ca. 1510–15
Black and white chalk, 24.0 x 16.8 cm (9½ x 6⅝ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Fra . . .* (?) in graphite.
91.GB.54

Both recto and verso of this previously unpublished sheet contain studies characteristic of those made by Fra Bartolommeo in preparation for painted works, although the drawing cannot be connected precisely with any particular painting. However, the study of a child's head that dominates the recto, as well as the study of a hand below it, are close to those of the Christ child in a painting of *The Virgin and Saint Elizabeth with the Christ Child and the Infant Saint John* in the Cook collection. The study of a child is also similar to a drawing of the same subject in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, Braunschweig, wherein a child with much the same physiognomy as the present one is shown in profile, although facing in the opposite direction.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Zurich; Boston art market.

58

58. CORREGGIO
(Antonio Allegri)
Italian, ca. 1489/94–1534
Saint Matthew, ca. 1523
Red chalk, 12.0 x 11.0 cm (4 3/4 x 4 3/8 in.). Marked (recto): collection mark of Sir Peter Lely and an embossed stamp *SS* at lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *No 5*, *Ant:io da Corregio*, and *2.3* in brown ink.
91.GB.4

This drawing of Saint Matthew and an angel is most likely an early idea for one of the pendentives in San Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, which in its final state paired the Four Evangelists with the Doctors of the Church, in this case Saint Matthew with Saint Jerome. The drawing is close in style to sheets in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. 8570), and the British Museum, London (inv. 1953-12-12-1), both of which show the saints paired (M. di Giampaolo and A. Muzzi, *Correggio I: Disegni* [Turin, 1988], nos. 22–23). The extremely animated quality of the red chalk in the present drawing is particularly appealing.

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely, London; S. Schwarz, New York; John Gaines, Lexington; S. Abate, Boston; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. De Grazia, "Review: Mario di Giampaolo and Andrea Muzzi, *Correggio I: Disegni*," *Master Drawings* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 83–84, n. 6.

59

59. BAGNACAVALLO
(Bartolomeo Ramenghi)
Italian, 1484–1542
Christ and the Canaanite Woman, ca. 1530
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown and gray wash, 45.1 x 31.7 cm (17 3/4 x 12 1/2 in.). Inscribed (verso): *No. 62* in graphite.
91.GA.78

This large drawing was probably made in preparation for a painting, although none has yet been related to it. The drawing is typically Emilian in style; more specifically, it exhibits the thickly applied heightening and rapid pen work, combined with monumental figure types arranged in a frieze-like manner, characteristic of the Bolognese painter Bagnacavallo. The landscape background, however, also brings to mind the works of Ferrarese artists such as Dosso Dossi, Scarsellino, or Garofalo. The elaborate border on the drawing probably dates from the eighteenth century.

PROVENANCE: Probably private collection, Tuscany (eighteenth century); private collection (sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1986, lot 55); London art market.

60

60. SCHIAVONE
(Andrea Meldolla)
Italian, ca. 1515–1563
The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Saints and a Doge, ca. 1550–53
Pen and brown ink, gray wash, and white heightening, 27.4 x 31.8 cm (10 3/4 x 12 1/2 in.). Inscribed (recto): *Meldolla.* at lower left edge of mount in brown ink; inscribed (verso): *J. C. Robinson 11 dec 1858.* and *Meldolla* in brown ink.
91.GG.77

This drawing likely served as a *modello* for a votive painting of this subject commissioned by Doge Francesco Donato (reigned 1545–53) for the Sala del Collegio in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice. The painting was destroyed by fire in 1574 and replaced by another of the same subject painted by Tintoretto. In the drawing, Doge Donato kneels at the far left near the figure of Saint Mark, patron saint of Venice. The graceful, Parmigianesque figures are typical of Schiavone, while the composition is derived from Titian's *Pesaro Madonna* (Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari).

PROVENANCE: Sir J. C. Robinson, London; John Malcolm, Poltalloch; The Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy; Geoffrey Gathorne-Hardy; The Hon. Robert Gathorne-Hardy, Donnington Priory (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 28, 1976, lot 18); British Rail Pension Fund (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 14); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. C. Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings . . . of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.* (London, 1869), no. 408; D. von Hadeln, *Venezianische Zeichnungen der Spätrenaissance* (Berlin, 1926), p. 23, pl. 10; H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters* (London, 1944), p. 251, no. 1426; Y. Tan Bunzl et al., *Italian Sixteenth-Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat. (Scottish Arts Council, Edinburgh, 1969), no. 77; F. Richardson, *Andrea Schiavone* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 38, 122, no. 165; J. Stock, *Disegni veneti di collezioni inglesi*, exh. cat. (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 1980), no. 29.

61 (recto)

61 (verso)

61. TADDEO ZUCCARO
Italian, 1529–1566
Design for a Circular Dish (recto); *Figure Studies* (verso), ca. 1553–56
Pen and brown ink and brown wash over stylus underdrawing (recto); red and black chalk (verso), 26.3 x 36.2 cm (10 3/8 x 13 7/8 in.). Marked (recto and verso): collection mark of Sir Thomas Lawrence at lower right.
91.GG.58

The design for a dish or salver decorated with sea monsters and nymphs on the recto of this drawing appears in a more finished version in a sheet in the Staatliche Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf (inv. F. P. 160). The verso of the present drawing contains several impressively animated studies for the frescoes in the Mattei Chapel, Santa Maria della Consolazione, Rome, where Taddeo Zuccaro worked between 1553 and 1556. The seated female figure drawn twice by Taddeo on this sheet was made in preparation for the Sibyl at the left side of the chapel's lunette; she appears again in a drawing in the British Museum, London (inv. pp. 2-127). The head of a man in black chalk along the lower edge of the drawing is a study for a figure in the fresco of *Christ Washing the Feet of His Disciples*, while the striding figure at the right was made in preparation for a soldier in *The Betrayal of Christ*.

PROVENANCE: W. Y. Ottley, London (sale, T. Philipe, London, June 6, 1814, lot 1490); Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Samuel Woodburn, London; Sir Thomas Phillips, London; T. Fitzroy Fenwick, London; A. S. W. Rosenbach, New York; Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia; British Rail Pension Fund, London (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 11, 1990, lot 21); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro as a Draughtsman* (London, 1970), pp. 64–65; 139, under no. 27; pp. 201–2, no. 211; idem, "The Lawrence-Phillips-Rosenbach Zuccaro Album," *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1970), pp. 126–27.

62. TADDEO ZUCCARO
Italian, 1529–1566
The Conversion of Saint Paul, ca. 1560
Pen and brown ink, brown wash, black chalk, and lead-white heightening on blue paper, 26.2 x 39.6 cm (10 5/16 x 15 9/16 in.). Marked: at lower edge, partial collection mark and indecipherable inscription in brown ink.
91.GA.13

The decoration of the Frangipani chapel in San Marcello al Corso, Rome, occupied Taddeo Zuccaro from around 1557 until his death in 1566. This drawing is a preparatory study for the lower section of the altarpiece, best known through a replica in the Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome (G. Torselli, *La Galleria Doria* [Rome, 1969], p. 68, no. 96). There are several differences between the preparatory drawing and the final painting, most notably in the positioning of Saint Paul, indicating that Taddeo was still working out the details of the composition. The style of the drawing is consistent with others for the same commission, such as the study in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 67.188), for *Saint Paul Restoring Eutychus to Life*.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; private collection, Lugano; Munich art market; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Kunsthandel Bellinger: Master Drawings 1500–1900*, exh. cat. (Harari and Johns, Ltd., London, 1987), no. 3; E. J. Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat. (Milwaukee Art Museum and National Academy of Design, New York, 1989–90), p. 92, under no. 16; G. Goldner, "Review: *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*," *Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1067 (February 1992), p. 125.

62

63

63. GIORGIO VASARI
Italian, 1511–1574
Study for the Florence Cathedral Frescoes, ca. 1572
Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 41.2 x 21.8 x 10.0 cm (16 1/4 x 8 9/16 x 4 in.). Marked (recto): at lower right, unidentified collection mark *LF*; inscribed (verso): *edi - giorgio x Vasari de arezo* in brown ink.
91.GA.80

This multifigured drawing is one of only two compositional schemes by Vasari, the other being in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (inv. T. 56), for the frescoes in the dome of the cathedral of Florence. Vasari began the project in 1572, but upon his death in 1574 only the uppermost sections of the dome had been painted and the commission was turned over to Federico Zuccaro, who completed the decoration by 1579 using Vasari's drawings as a guide. The present drawing is a study for the frescoes in the north section (face 3) of the octagonal dome and shows several tiers of figures, culminating in the damned entering the mouth of hell, symbolized by the monstrous head in the lower right corner.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (?); private collection, Lugano; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *An Exhibition of Italian Old Master Drawings 1500–1800*, exh. cat. (Harari and Johns, Ltd., London, 1990), no. 14.

64

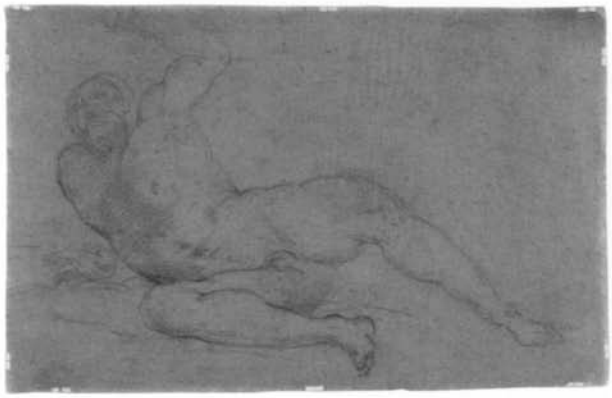
64. JACOPO LIGOZZI
Italian, 1547–1632
A Soldier with a Leopard, ca. 1575
Brush, pen and brown ink, tempera colors, and painted gold, 28.1 x 22.3 cm (11 1/16 x 8 3/4 in.). Inscribed: *AZAPPI/Sonno gli Soldati de Galera* at upper right and *Leopardo* at lower right by the artist in brown ink.
91.GG.53

This is one of twenty-six body color drawings by Ligozzi of Turkish figures, most accompanied by animals, twenty-one of which are in the Uffizi, Florence (A. Forlani, "Jacopo Ligozzi nel Gran Serraglio," *FMR* 1 [March 1982], pp. 72–103). These brilliantly colored drawings record their subjects with great exactitude and miniaturistic detail. They may have been made by Ligozzi specifically to display his talents as a draftsman to Grand Duke Francesco I of Florence, who employed Ligozzi to make detailed studies of the Medici zoological and botanical collections beginning in 1577.

PROVENANCE: Mrs. S. K. Legare, Washington, D.C. (sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1989, lot 10); London art market.

65 (recto)

66 (recto)



65 (verso)

66 (verso)

65. AGOSTINO CARRACCI
Italian, 1557–1602
Kneeling Figure (recto); *Reclining Figure* (verso), ca. 1582–85. Black chalk with white chalk heightening on blue paper (recto); black chalk on blue paper (verso), 42.1 x 26.8 cm (16 9/16 x 10 9/16 in.)
91.GB.68

Agostino Carracci traveled to Venice and Padua in 1582, where he carefully studied the works of the Venetian masters, ultimately producing engravings of paintings by Veronese, Tintoretto, and others. This drawing likely dates from this period and may be based upon works seen by Agostino in the Veneto. It has been suggested that the figure on the recto is based upon a spectator in Veronese's *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Padua, Santa Justina), while the reclining figure on the verso is as yet unconnected. The style is typically Venetian and is especially close to another sheet by Agostino showing *Cupid Fighting a Satyr* (sold at Christie's, London, July 3, 1990, lot 33), also from this period in the artist's career.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Zurich; Boston art market.

66. PAOLO VERONESE
(Paolo Caliari)
Italian, 1528–1588
Costume Studies for Oedipus Tyrannus (recto and verso), ca. 1584–85
Pen and brown ink and brown wash (recto); pen and brown ink (verso), 21.3 x 30.3 cm (8 3/8 x 11 15/16 in.).
Inscribed (recto): *Citadino di riputation, fatta/Donzela Serve*[n]*te, Una fia dela Reg*[in]*a fanciuletta, (?)65 L 405/403, L45, Un no*[n]*cio dela Citta/Fatto, un no*[n]*cio forestiero, Un no*[n]*cio dila Citta giovane, un Patro*[ne] *Vechio/Fatto, Une uomo nobile/Fato, Ellipo vechio/Creonte* in brown ink;

inscribed (verso): *Chreon*[n]*te di meza/etta* in brown ink and, in another hand, *Al Cl.mo Sig.or il Sig.or/Vettor Sor*[n]*zo mio. S. e. Patro*[ne]*/Oss.mo/Venetia/in frezzaria in Cale del Caro* and *C=995* in black ink; collection mark of Alcide Donnadieu.

91.GG.3

Veronese made these quickly rendered studies as costume designs for a production of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* that took place in March, 1585, as the inaugural performance at the Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza. A sheet similar to this one in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (inv. 415), is the only other drawing to document Veronese's involvement with the production of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Veronese contributed preliminary ideas for the performance to the costume designer, Giovanni Battista Maganza, who then made more elaborate drawings of single figures based on those in Veronese's drawings (R. Cocke, *Veronese's Drawings* [Ithaca, 1984], pp. 265–69). The inscriptions on the present sheet, which according to Cocke are probably by Maganza, not only identify the characters in the play but also indicate that the designs or perhaps the costumes themselves had been made (*fatto*).

PROVENANCE: Alcide Donnadieu, London; private collection, Buckinghamshire (sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1986, lot 30); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Stock, *Disegni veneti di collezione inglesi*, exh. cat. (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 1980), no. 31; S. Mason Rinaldi, "Veronese e Palladio: Studi di costume per *l'Edipo Tiranno*," *Per A. E. Popham* (Parma, 1981), pp. 75–81; R. Cocke, *Veronese's Drawings* (Ithaca, 1984), pp. 267–69, under nos. 113, 113v, 114, and 114v.

67

67. FRANCESCO VANNI
Italian, 1563–1610
The Nativity, ca. 1600
Red wash, black chalk, and white heightening, on a burnt sienna (?) prepared surface, squared in black chalk, 28.9 x 19.5 cm (11 3/8 x 7 11/16 in.). At lower left, collection mark of Pascalis inscribed with *176*.

91.GG.52

This previously unknown drawing by Francesco Vanni is among the most highly finished of his drawn oeuvre, exhibiting a rich working of ink, wash, and heightening upon a surface brushed with a burnt sienna-colored preparation. The composition itself is also extremely lively, containing details ranging from the crowd of heavenly beings to the naturalistic features of the stable. The drawing is related to two sheets in the Uffizi (invs. 4761 s, 4833 s), both showing the same elements as appear in the lower section of the present drawing, including the hayloft above the manger (P. A. Riedl, *Disegni di barocceschi senesi* [Florence, 1976], nos. 67–68). The drawing is also related to a painting of this subject in the Franciscan church of Salzburg, which features an angel in the upper section nearly identical to the one seen here (O. Kurz, "Francesco da Siena—Francesco Vanni," *Art in America* 32, no. 2 [April 1944], p. 89).

PROVENANCE: Pascalis, Marseille (sale, Marseille, December 20, 1869, lot 5); private collection, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 10, 1988, lot 209); London art market.

68 (recto)

68 (verso)

68. BERNARDO STROZZI
Italian, 1581–1644
Saint Francis (recto); *Studies of Saint Jerome, Saint Francis, and Two Right Hands* (verso), ca. 1610–20
Black chalk with white chalk heightening, 38.9 x 25.9 cm (15 5/16 x 10 3/16 in.). Inscribed (recto): *Prete Genovese* at the bottom left in brown ink; inscribed (verso): *P.G. n:o 41* in brown ink.
91.GB.40

This is a new addition to the small corpus of drawings by Bernardo Strozzi and is entirely characteristic of the artist's working method. The startlingly expressive study for the head of Saint Francis on the recto was made in preparation for the painting *Saint Francis Adoring the Cross* in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa (L. Mortari, *Bernardo Strozzi* [Rome, 1966], fig. 69). The studies on the verso can be connected to two paintings by Strozzi. The Saint Francis on the right side of the sheet and the study of a right hand holding a rosary bead at the lower left appear in *Saint Francis Leaning on the Cross*, also in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, while the more quickly drawn head and the hand below it on the left side of the page are close to the *Saint Jerome Reading* in the Accademia, Venice (L. Mortari, op. cit., figs. 15 and 198).

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; private collection, Lugano; Zurich art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Scarpa, "A Venetian Seventeenth-Century Collection of Old Master Drawings," in W. Strauss and T. Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined* (New York, 1987), p. 398.

69

69. VOLTERRANO
(Baldassare Franceschini)
Italian, 1611–1689
Truth Illuminating Human Blindness, ca. 1650
Red chalk with lead-white heightening, 46.5 x 36.5 cm (18 3/8 x 15 3/8 in.)
91.GB.51

This large drawing was made in preparation for a fresco Volterrano painted on the ceiling of a small chamber in the Palazzo della Gherardesca, Florence (A. Maoli, "Di alcuni affreschi sconosciuti di Baldassar Franceschini," *Rivista d'arte* 20 [1938], fig. 3). In the drawing Volterrano focused on the personification of Human Blindness, leaving the figure of Truth only lightly indicated and without the book she holds in the fresco. Volterrano typically made several drawings before embarking on a painting; the present drawing was preceded by a quick study for the figure of Blindness (current whereabouts unknown; sold at Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1980, lot 23).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; London art market.

70

70. FRANCESCO SOLIMENA
Italian, 1657–1747
Venus in the Forge of Vulcan, 1704
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown wash; lightly squared in black chalk, 21.0 x 14.2 cm (8 1/4 x 5 5/8 in.)
91.GG.72

Solimena was the leading Neapolitan painter during the first half of the eighteenth century. This drawing was made in preparation for a painting of this subject in the Getty Museum (84.PA.64) that is thought to have been painted for the Procurator Canale in Venice (N. Spinosa, *Pittura napoletana del Settecento, dal Barocco al Rococò* [Naples, 1986], p. 107, no. 26). The figure of Vulcan in the painting appears much the same as in the present drawing, while other elements, such as the placement of Cupid, have been somewhat altered from this study.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; Paris art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dessins anciens des écoles du nord, françaises et italiennes*, exh. cat. (Bob P. Haboldt and Co., Paris and New York, 1990–91), no. 32.

71

SPANISH

71. JUSEPE DE RIBERA
Spanish, 1591–1652
A Nobleman and His Page, ca. 1625–30
Brush and red ink; squared in pen and brown ink, 23.0 x 13.5 cm (9 1/16 x 5 5/16 in.). Inscribed (recto): *Joseyana* and *Joseph de Ribera fe. 1628* at the lower right edge in brown ink and with an unidentified collection mark in the lower right corner; marked (verso): collection mark of Kurt Meissner.
91.GA.56

Ribera made a number of capricious drawings that appear to be based upon the world around him, including the present sheet, which satirizes a pompous, beak-nosed noble and the wizened dwarf attending him. It is drawn in the rarely used medium of red ink, which lends further luminosity to Ribera's characteristically nervous, scintillating handling of line and wash. Although fully squared, the drawing does not appear to have been used in a further work of art.

PROVENANCE: Kurt Meissner, Zurich; British Rail Pension Fund, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 61); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*, exh. cat. (Kunsthaus, Zurich, and Kunsthalle, Bremen, 1967), no. 222; F. Forster-Hahn, *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Kurt Meissner*, exh. cat. (Stanford University Art Gallery, Detroit Institute of Arts, and Finch College Museum of Art, 1969–70), no. 88; J. Brown, "The Prints and Drawings of Ribera," in *Jusepe de Ribera*, exh. cat. (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1982), pp. 84–85; J. Stock, *Civilità del Seicento a Napoli*, exh. cat. (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, 1984), no. 3.64.

Decorative Arts

72 (one of a pair)

72. *Pair of Chairs* (Fauteuils)
French (Paris), ca. 1790–92
By Georges Jacob (1739–1814)
Painted beech and modern silk upholstery, 94.0 x 59.0 x 60.5 cm (3 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 11 1/2 in. x 1 ft. 11 3/4 in.). Each stamped: *G·IACOB* under the front seat rail.
91.DA.15.1–.2

The armchairs' design imaginatively combines many traditional decorative motifs such as pearl moldings, rosettes, stylized leaves, piasters, and stars on a novel shape that retains all the sophistication of Jacob's earlier, pre-Revolutionary work in the pure Neoclassical style. Their quality indicates that they were made for a wealthy and discriminating patron of advanced taste.

PROVENANCE: [Kraemer et Cie, Paris].

73

73. *Console Table*
French (Paris), ca. 1780
Painted walnut, 84.0 x 84.0 x 32.5 cm (2 ft. 9 in. x 2 ft. 9 in. x 1 ft. 3/4 in.)
91.DA.16

The design of this console table is after two drawings by Richard de Lalonde (1685–1765), now preserved in the Kunstbibliotek, Berlin (invs. HD2 3628, HD2 3629). They were subsequently engraved and published in a series of extremely influential design folios illustrating furniture and other objects in the Neoclassical style that was fashionable at that time. The original marble top is missing and will be replaced by a modern one.

PROVENANCE: [B. Fabre et Fils, Paris].

74. *Architectural Moldings* (four door frames, four arches, seven pilaster capitals, and eleven pieces of running molding)
French (Paris), ca. 1789
Painted oak, H (arch): 95.0 cm (3 ft. 1 3/8 in.) and various other measurements
91.DH.60.1–.26

These moldings were originally part of the *grand salon* in the Maison Hosten, which was designed by the architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806). The interiors were decorated by the foremost craftsmen and artists of the time in the most up-to-date Neoclassical style. The painted panels, doors, and plaster overdoors, which were also part of the *grand salon*, were purchased by the Museum in 1986. The panels are the work of the *frères* Rousseau, who had already executed a comparable room for Marie-Antoinette at the Château de Fontainebleau.

PROVENANCE: Maison Hosten, rue Saint Georges, Paris; Maison Carlhian, from 1925; [Robert Carlhian, Paris], Jean-Paul Carlhian, Boston, Mrs. Brigitte Carlhian, France, Mrs. Marguerite Carlhian, Spain.

74

75 (one of a pair)

75. *Pair of Lidded Vases*
Chinese and French (Paris), the porcelain ca. 1700, the mounts 1722–27
Hard-paste porcelain with silver mounts, 19.4 x 8.6 x 7.7 cm (7 5/8 in. x 3 3/8 in. x 3 in.)
91.DI.103.1–.2

These small white porcelain vases have been pierced and set in silver mounts by an unknown Parisian silversmith, who has thus transformed them into vessels meant to contain *pot-pourri*. The mounts bear the Paris discharge mark for the years 1722 to 1727.

PROVENANCE: Given by Madame Simone Steinitz.

76. *Ten Painted Panels*
French ([?] Vaux), ca. 1660
Painted and gilded oak, four panels 213.0 x 88.0 cm (7 ft. x 2 ft. 10 in.); four panels 120.0 x 80.4 cm (3 ft. 11 in. x 2 ft. 9 in.); overmantel 51.0 x 180.5 cm (1 ft. 8 1/2 in. x 5 ft. 11 1/2 in.); incomplete panel 205.25 x 49.5 cm (6 ft. 8 1/2 in. x 1 ft. 7 1/4 in.).
91.DH.18.1–.10

It is possible that the polychrome and gilded panels were once installed in the *Antichambre du Roi* at the Château of Vaux-le-Vicomte. This room, the ceiling

76 (one of ten panels)

of which was gilded by Paul Goujon de la Barronière in 1659–60, was designed by Charles le Brun for Nicolas Fouquet. Between 1764 and 1789 at least two-thirds of the painted paneling was removed from the *antichambre* to make room for large bookcases. One of the ten panels acquired by the Museum is of precisely the same design as a panel still installed in this room at Vaux.

PROVENANCE: (?) Nicolas Fouquet, Vaux-le-Vicomte; Felix Harbord, 1960s (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 15, 1990, lot 50); [Christopher Gibbs, London].

76 (one of ten panels)

77. *Console Table*
French (Paris), ca. 1750–55
Gilded oak with a modern marble slab, 92.1 x 174.6 x 70.5 cm (3 ft. 1/4 in. x 5 ft. 8 3/4 in. x 2 ft. 3 3/4 in.)
91.DA.21

The symmetrical, rather heavy style of this table is closely related to the work of the architect Contant d'Ivry (1698–1777); it can be compared to drawings and engravings of furniture that he designed for the duc d'Orléans at the Palais Royal and for Baron Bernstorff of Copenhagen.

PROVENANCE: The Barons Hastings, Melton Contable; 21st Baron, Sir Albert Edward Delaval, sold 1940 to the Duke of Westminster; Roger Gawn; [Jonathan Harris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. G. B. Pallot, *L'art du siège au XVIII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1987), p. 155.

77

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1991

Settee, Two Marquises, *and Six* Fauteuils
Frames: French, ca. 1920
Upholstery: Gobelins, ca. 1760
Gilded wood, wool, and silk tapestry, various dimensions
55.DA.6

Mirror
English, ca. 1900
Gilded wood, H: 239.0 cm (7 ft. 10 in.); W: 175.5 cm (5 ft. 2 1/2 in.)
68.DA.11

Table
French (Paris and Sèvres), ca. 1900
Oak veneered with tulipwood, soft-paste porcelain; with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 69.2 cm (2 ft. 3 1/4 in.); W: 33.5 cm (1 ft. 2 in.); D: 27.5 cm (10 7/8 in.). Table stamped: *Roussel* and *JME*. Porcelain painted with crossed L's.
70.DA.73

Table
French (Paris and Sèvres), ca. 1900
Mahogany set with a porcelain plaque; with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 72.8 cm (2 ft. 4 5/8 in.); W: 38.9 cm (1 ft. 3 1/4 in.); D: 34.7 cm (1 ft. 1 5/8 in.)
70.DA.76

Table
French (Paris and Sèvres), ca. 1830
Veneered with tulipwood, set with a porcelain plaque; with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 77.6 cm (2 ft. 6 in.); Diam: 35.8 cm (1 ft. 2 in.)
70.DA.77

Side Table
French (Paris), ca. 1900
Mahogany set with porcelain plaques; with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 88.9 cm (2 ft. 11 in.); W: 120.6 cm (3 ft. 11 1/2 in.); D: 46.1 cm (1 ft. 6 in.)
70.DA.78

Table
French (Paris), ca. 1880
Wood and porcelain; with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 67.4 cm (2 ft. 2 1/2 in); W: 55.3 cm (1 ft. 9 3/4 in.); D: 34.9 cm (1 ft. 1 3/4 in.). Stamped: *J.H. RIESENER* twice on the underside. Bears a metal tag stamped: *Hamilton Place Collection KPG.*
70.DA.86

Set of Six Wall Lights
French (Paris), ca. 1880
Gilded bronze, H: 104.1 cm (3 ft. 5 in.); W: 60.3 cm (1 ft. 11 3/4 in.); D: 23.8 cm (9 3/4 in.). One inscribed: *SIII*; the other inscribed: *VIII*.
78.DF.88.1-.4 and 78.DF.242.1-.2

Sofa
English, ca. 1735
Carved and gilded walnut; modern silk upholstery, H: 98.4 cm (3 ft. 2 3/4 in.); W: 144.8 cm (4 ft. 9 in.); D: 72.7 cm (2 ft. 4 3/4 in.)
78.DA.97

Side Table
French, ca. 1900
Gilded wood, H: 82.2 cm (2 ft. 8 3/8 in.); W: 131.8 cm (4 ft. 3 15/16 in.); D: 68.5 cm (2 ft. 3 in.)
78.DA.103

Table
English, ca. 1720
Gilded wood, H: 71.1 cm (2 ft. 4 in.); W: 76.3 cm (2 ft. 6 1/16 in.); D: 50.8 cm (1 ft. 8 in.)
78.DA.104

Center Table
French, ca. 1880
Gilded wood, H: 78.4 cm (2 ft. 5 5/16 in.); W: 134.5 cm (4 ft. 5 in.); D: 70.7 cm (2 ft. 6 5/16 in.)
78.DA.112

Commode
French (Paris), ca. 1725
Oak veneered with kingwood; with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 83.8 cm (2 ft. 9 in.); W: 147.9 cm (4 ft. 10 1/4 in.); D: 68.6 cm (2 ft. 3 in.)
78.DA.114

Pair of Mirrors
English (London) ca. 1860
Carved and gilded wood, H: 154.2 cm (5 ft.)
78.DH.241.1-.2

Commode
French (Paris), 1745–1749
Attributed to Jean Desforges (master 1739)
Oak veneered with rosewood, satinwood, and other woods; with gilt-bronze mounts; *brèche d'Alep* top, H: 82.5 cm (2 ft. 8 1/2 in.); W: 104.1 cm (3 ft. 5 in.); D: 49.5 cm (1 ft. 7 1/2 in.). Commode stamped: *DF*; the gilt-bronze mounts struck with crowned *C*'s.
79.DA.166

Set of King's Pattern Flatware
English (London), ca. 1780–1827
Various makers
Silver, various dimensions, numerous marks
78.DG.128

Set of Eight King's Pattern Dessert Knives and Forks
English (London), 1831–32
Silver, H: 21.5 cm (8 1/2 in.); W: 17.2 cm (7 in.). Maker's mark *W.C.* (probably for William Chawner), London, 1831–32.
78.DG.129

Pair of Sauce Pitchers
English (London), 1749–50
By John Swift (active 1728–1760)
Silver, H: 13.9 cm (5 7/8 in.); W: 19.6 cm (7 7/8 in.); D: 10.5 cm (4 1/8 in.). Engraved with an emblem; marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *O*, and maker's mark rubbed.
78.DG.131.1–.2

Mustard Pot
English (London), 1767
By John Langford and John Sibelle
Silver, H: 6.8 cm (2 11/16 in.); W: 7.8 cm (3 in.); D: 5.0 cm (2 in.). Engraved with a crest of a dog. Body marked with leopard's head crowned, lion passant, date letter *M*, and makers' marks *IL* and *IS* in quatrefoil. Lid marked with lion passant.
78.DG.133

Pair of Candlesticks
English (London), 1703
By John Barnard
Silver, H: 15.5 cm (6 1/4 in.); W: 11.2 cm (4 3/8 in.). Both engraved with initials *MB*. Both marked with date letter *g*, leopard's head erased, and British standard mark. Both stamped with maker's mark *BA*.
78.DG.134

Cake Basket
English (London), 1815–16
By William Bateman I
Silver, H: 25.5 cm (9 7/8 in.); W: 33.7 cm (13 1/4 in.); D: 28.1 cm (11 in.). Stamped with Sovereign's head, leopard's head crowned, lion passant, and date letter *U* for 1815–16; both handle and body stamped with maker's mark *WB* for William Bateman I.
78.DG.135

Cake Basket
English (London), 1741
By Peter Archambo
Silver, H: 23.5 cm (9 1/4 in.); W: 36.2 cm (14 1/4 in.); D: 31.2 cm (12 1/4 in.). Engraved with the arms of Gordon, for Cosmo, 3rd Duke of Richmond and Gordon (1721–1752). Marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *f* for 1741–42, and maker's mark *PA* for Peter Archambo.
78.DG.136

Pair of Sauce Pitchers
English (London), 1767–68
By George Hunter
Silver, H: 8.1 cm (3 1/8 in.); W: 12.3 cm (4 7/8 in.); D: 7.0 cm (2 3/4 in.). Stamped with a leopard's head crowned, lion passant, date letter *M*, and maker's mark *GH* for George Hunter. Each of the three feet is engraved with a *W*, *L*, or *A*.
78.DG.137.1–.2

Salver
English (London), 1821
By Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard
Silver-gilt, H: 8.4 cm (3 1/4 in.); Diam: 57.4 cm (1 ft. 10 1/2 in.). Engraved with the arms of Wimot-Horton impaling Boyce for Sir George Lewis Wilmot-Horton, 5th Baronet; motto reading: *QUOD VULT VALDE VULT*. Stamped with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, Sovereign's head, and date letter *F*.
78.DG.138

Covered Cup
Irish (Dublin), 1829
By James Fray
Silver, H: 33.0 cm (1 ft. 1 in.); W: 24.1 cm (9 1/2 in.); D: 13.6 cm (5 7/8 in.). Body engraved with an initial and baron's coronet and an inscription reading: *To the Earl & Countess of Erroll from Captain and Lady Agnes Byng. 7th September 1829*. Body marked with harp crowned, Sovereign's head, Hibernia figure, date letter *I*, and maker's mark *IF*. Lid marked with Sovereign's head.
78.DG.139

Shell-Shaped Basket
English (London), 1914–15
Silver-gilt, H: 24.0 cm (9 1/2 in.); W: 36.0 cm (2 ft. 2 1/4 in.); D: 27.0 cm (10 3/4 in.). Stamped with lion passant, leopard's head, and maker's mark *RFF*.
78.DG.141

Oval Basket
German (Hannau)
By the firm of Neresheimer
Silver-gilt, H: 11.2 cm (4 1/2 in.); W: 36.5 cm (1 ft. 2 3/8 in.); D: 21.0 cm (8 1/4 in.). Struck with English import mark for 1896.
78.DG.142

Pair of Three-Light Candelabra
English (London), 1870
By Robert Garrard
Silver-gilt, H: 57.0 cm (1 ft. 10 1/2 in.); W: 42.0 cm (1 ft. 4 1/2 in.); D: 15.0 cm (5 7/8 in.). All three marked with maker's mark of crowned *RG*, lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *P*, and Sovereign's head on the stick and socket. Each branch and two drip pans marked with maker's mark, lion passant, and Sovereign's head.
78.DG.143.1–.2

Dessert Bowl
English (London), 1958–59
By Asprey and Co., Ltd.
Silver-gilt, H: 13.8 cm (5 3/8 in.); W: 53.2 cm (1 ft. 9 in.); D: 32.3 cm (1 ft. 7/8 in). Stamped *ASPREY LONDON*; marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *C*, and maker's mark *A & Co. Ltd.*
78.DG.144

Pair of Candelabra
English (London), 1897–98
By Lambert
Silver-gilt, H: 62.3 cm (2 ft. 1/2 in.); W: 44.0 cm (1 ft. 5 1/4 in.). Stamped with maker's mark *LG*, *LAMBERT COVENTRY STREET*, lion passant, leopard's head erased, and date letter *B*.
78.DG.150.1–.2

Standing Cup
English (London), 1827–28
By Charles Fox
Silver-gilt, H: 27.5 cm (10 3/4 in); W: 26.5 cm (10 1/2 in.); D: 14.2 cm (5 5/8 in.). Engraved with crest twice. Marked with Sovereign's head, lion passant, leopard's head, date letter *M*, and maker's mark *CF* for Charles Fox.
78.DG.152

Creamer
English (London), 1956
By Garrard and Company, Ltd.
Silver, H: 13.9 cm (5 1/2 in.); W: 11.5 cm (4 1/2 in.); D: 7.2 cm (2 7/8 in.). Stamped: *GARRARD AND COMPANY LTD 112 REGENT STREET W.*, lion passant, leopard's head erased, date letter *A*, and maker's mark in trefoil.
78.DG.153

Four Toast Racks
English (Sheffield), 1959–60
By Garrard and Company, Ltd.
Silver, H: 10.0 cm (4 in.); W: 13.4 cm (5 1/4 in.); D: 6.0 cm (2 3/8 in.). Stamped with *GARRARD & COMPANY*, Sheffield crown, date letter *R*, and lion passant.
78.DG.155.1–.4

Cup and Cover
English (London), 1749
By Peter Archambo and Peter Meure
Silver-gilt, H: 13.0 cm (5 1/8 in.); W: 30.5 cm (1 ft.); D:16.6 cm (6 1/2 in.). Engraved with a coat of arms. Body and lid stamped with makers' marks *PA* and *PM* in quatrefoil, lion passant, leopard's head, and date letter *O*.
78.DG.156

Pair of Wine Coolers
English (London), 1906–7 and 1930
By Garrard and Company, Ltd.
Silver-gilt, H: 22.2 cm (8 3/4 in.); W: 61.0 cm (2 ft.); D: 47.5 cm (1 ft. 6 3/4 in.). Stamped: *GOLDSMITHS & SILVERSMITHS COMPANY 112 REGENT STREET W.* Marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, and date letter *L*. Both handles stamped with maker's mark in trefoil, lion passant, and leopard's head crowned.
78.DG.159.1–.2

Oval Wine Cooler
English (Sheffield), 1913–14
By Thomas Bradbury and Son
Silver-gilt, H: 27.9 cm (11 in.); W: 61.7 cm (2 ft. 1/4 in.); D: 39.5 cm (1 ft. 3 1/2 in.). Stamped with Sheffield crown, lion passant, and date letter *V*.
78.DG.160

Rosewater Dish
English (London), 1812
By Robert Garrard
Silver-gilt, H: 4.3 cm (1 3/4 in.); Diam: 58.1 cm (1 ft. 10 7/8 in.). Stamped with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, Sovereign's head, date letter *R*, and maker's mark *RG*. Paper price label on bottom.
78.DG.161

Pair of Salts
English (London), 1756
By David Hennell
Silver, H: 5.4 cm (2 1/8 in.); W: 9.8 cm (3 7/8 in.); D: 9.5 cm (3 3/4 in.). Stamped with maker's mark *D.H* and date letter *A*.
78.DG.162

Mustard Pot
English (London), 1828–29
By Richard Williams Atkins and William Nathaniel Somersall
Silver, H: 7.3 cm (2 7/8 in.); W: 10.6 cm (2 1/4 in.); D: 7.7 cm (3 in.). Body and lid marked with maker's mark *RA*, lion passant, and date letter *N*. Body only marked with leopard's head crowned.
78.DG.163

Mustard Pot
English (London), 1827
By Charles Fox
Silver, H: 6.9 cm (2 3/4 in.); W: 9.5 cm (3 3/4 in.); D: 7.5 cm (3 in.). Engraved with crest of a bird. Body and lid marked with lion passant, date letter *M*, and maker's mark *CF*. Body only marked with leopard's head erased and Sovereign's head.
78.DG.164

Mustard Pot
English (London), 1813
By Richard Sibley
Silver, H: 6.2 cm (2 3/8 in.); W: 10.4 cm (4 1/4 in.); D: 7.2 cm (2 7/8 in.). Engraved with crest of a dog. Body and lid marked with maker's mark *RS*, lion passant, and date letter *S*. Body only marked with leopard's head crowned and Sovereign's head.
78.DG.165

Castor
English (London), 1769
Silver, H: 16.4 cm (6 1/2 in.); Diam: 5.8 cm (2 1/4 in.). Body and lid stamped with makers' marks *ID.IM*, and lion passant. Body only marked with leopard's head crowned and date letter *o*; bottom with paper price label of £39.
78.DG.166

Castor
English (London), 1789 (possibly 1809)
By S. Davenport
Silver, H: 14.2 cm (5 5/8 in.); Diam: 6.1 cm (2 3/8 in.). Body and lid marked with maker's mark *SD* and lion passant. Body only marked with leopard's head crowned and date letter *O*.
78.DG.167

Castor
English (London), 1803
Silver, H: 15.3 cm (6 in.); Diam: 5.3 cm (2 1/8 in.). Body marked with maker's mark rubbed, lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *H*, and Sovereign's head. Lid marked with lion passant.
78.DG.168

Pair of Salvers
English (London), 1811
By William Bennett
Silver, H: 3.3 cm (1 5/16 in.); W: 29.1 cm (11 7/8 in.); D: 23.1 cm (9 1/8 in.). Both engraved with an unidentified coat of arms and stamped with a lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *Q*, Sovereign's head, and maker's mark *W.B.*
78.DG.169.1–.2

Coffee Pot
English (London), 1827
By Robert Garrard
Silver with wooden handle, H: 28.0 cm (11 1/8 in.); W: 20.7 cm (8 1/8 in.); D: 12.0 cm (4 3/4 in.). Engraved with a Baron's coronet. Base marked *GARRARD ANTON STREET LONDON*, leopard's head crowned, and Sovereign's head. Body and lid stamped with the maker's mark of a crowned *RG*, date letter *M*, and lion passant.
78.DG.170

Pair of Oval Meat Dishes
English (London), 1826
By Barak Newburn
Silver, H: 2.4 cm (1 in.); W: 39.2 cm (15 3/4 in.); D: 28.5 cm (11 1/4 in.). Each engraved twice with a coat of arms, stamped with lion passant, leopard's head, Sovereign's head, date letter *l*, and maker's mark of crowned *BM*.
78.DG.171

Pair of Meat Dishes
English (London), 1804
By William Simmons
Silver, H: 3.6 cm (1 3/8 in.); W: 54.2 cm (21 1/4 in.); D: 39.6 cm (15 5/8 in.). Each engraved with a crest and a coat of arms, stamped with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, Sovereign's head, date letter *I*, and maker's mark *W.S.*
78.DG.172

Pair of Entree Dishes and Covers
English (London), 1811
By Thomas Robins
Silver, H: 15.0 cm (5 7/8 in.); W: 28.8 cm (11 3/8 in.); D: 23.4 cm (9 1/4 in.). Both bodies, lids, and handles stamped with lion passant, date letter *Q*, Sovereign's head, and maker's mark *TR* in script. Both bodies marked with leopard's head crowned. Body, lid, and handles of one dish stamped *I*, the others stamped *3*.
78.DG.173

Pair of Sauceboats
English (London), 1778
By Thomas Smith
Silver, H: 14.5 cm (5 3/4 in.); W: 19.1 cm (7 1/2 in.); D: 10.0 cm (3 7/8 in.). Each stamped with leopard's head crowned, lion passant, date letter *c*, and maker's mark *TS*.
78.DG.174

Salver
English (London), 1801–2
By John Wakelin and Robert Garrard
Silver, H: 4.6 cm (1 3/4 in.); Diam: 48.9 cm (1 ft. 7 1/4 in.).
Engraved with the coat of arms of Henry, 1st Marquess of Exeter (1754–1804). Inscribed: *COR UNUM VIA UNA*. Marked with leopard's head crowned, lion passant, date letter *F*, Sovereign's head, and maker's mark *IW* over *RG*.
78.DG.175

118 Piece Dessert Service for Twenty-Four
English (London), 1873
By George Adams
Silver-gilt, various dimensions
78.DG.176

Salt Cellar
English (London), 1787
By Thomas Pitts
Silver, H: 6.2 cm (2 3/8 in.); W: 10.8 cm (4 1/4 in.). Engraved with a crest of a bull below a crown. Marked with a leopard's head crowned, date letter *m*, Sovereign's head, and maker's mark *TP*.
78.DG.178

Salt Cellar
English (London), 1735
By Paul de Lamerie
Silver, H: 5.9 cm (2 3/8 in.); W: 10.7 cm (4 1/4 in.). Engraved with a crest of a bull below a crown. Marked with a leopard's head crowned, date letter *T*, Sovereign's head, and a rubbed maker's mark *PL*.
78.DG.179

Cigarette Box
English (Birmingham), 1954
Silver
H: 5.1 cm (2 in.); W: 16.5 cm (6 1/2 in.); D: 14.5 cm (5 1/2 in.)
Body stamped: *MADE IN ENGLAND, 2020*, and *W*; stamped with lion passant, anchor for Birmingham standard, date letter *E*, and maker's mark *A.W.* Lid stamped with lion passant and date letter *E*.
78.DG.181

Cigarette Box
English (London), 1956–57
Silver, H: 5.5 cm (2 1/8 in.); W:20.4 cm (8 in.); D:11.4 cm (4 1/2 in.). Body stamped: *MADE IN ENGLAND, 2*; and with lion passant, leopard's head, date letter *a*, and maker's mark *P & B*. Lid stamped with lion passant and leopard's head.
78.DG.182

Oval Mustard Pot
English (London), 1804
By Robert Hennell and Samuel Hennell
Silver, H: 8.9 cm (3 1/2 in.); W: 11.5 cm (4 1/2 in.); D: 7.0 cm (2 5/8 in.). Engraved with a crest. Body marked with maker's mark *RH* over *SH*, lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *I*, Sovereign's head, and *W*. Lid marked with maker's mark *RH* over *SH* and lion passant.
78.DG.183

Mustard Pot
English (London), 1809–10
By Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard
Silver, H: 8.7 cm (3 3/8 in.); W: 9.8 cm (3 7/8 in.); D: 7.3 cm (2 7/8 in.). Body stamped with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, Sovereign's head, and rubbed maker's mark. Lid stamped with lion passant and date letter *O*.
78.DG.184

Three Toast Racks
English (Sheffield), 1958–60
By Garrard and Company, Ltd.
Silver, H: 10.3 cm (4 1/8 in); W: 9.5 cm (3 3/4 in.); D: 6.0 cm (2 5/8 in.). Stamped on base: *GARRARD & Co Ltd. 112 REGENT STREET LONDON. W.* Marked with *G & Co Ltd*, Sheffield crown, lion passant, and date letter *R*.
78.DG.185

Three King's Pattern Salt Spoons
English (London), modern
Silver, L: 9.4 cm (3 5/8 in.)
78.DG.186

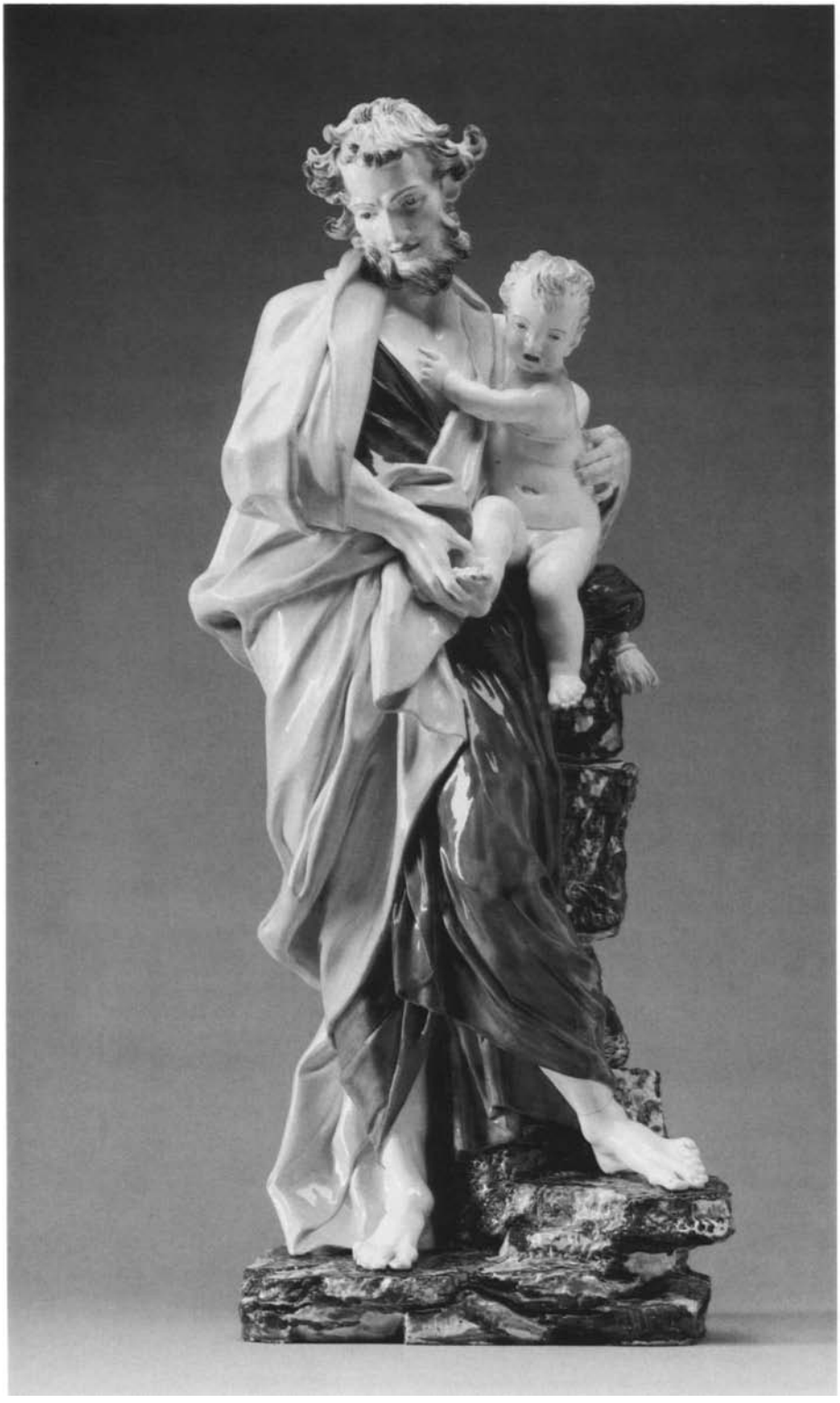
Pair of King's Pattern Grape Scissors
English (London), 1833–34
Silver, L: 18.2 cm (7 1/8 in.)
78.DG.187

Pair of Sugar Tongs
English (London), 1913
By Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Co. Ltd.
Silver
78.DG.188

Four Salt Spoons
English (London), 1760
Silver, engraved with a crest
78.DG.189

Two Pairs of Salts
English (London), 1760–61
By David Hennell
Silver, H: 5.1 cm (2 in.); W: 9.8 cm (3 7/8 in.); D: 8.9 cm (3 1/2 in.). Both engraved with a coat of arms and stamped with the maker's mark *DH*, lion passant, and leopard's head crowned. One pair stamped with date letter *e*, the other pair with the date letter *f*.
81.DG.14

Sculpture and Works of Art



78. *Saint Joseph and the Infant Jesus*
Spanish (Madrid), 1760–70
Soft-paste porcelain, H: 53.8 cm (21 3/8 in.)
91.SE.74

The fine paste, brilliant pigments, and Baroque style suggest that this figure group was produced in the third quarter of the eighteenth century in the royal porcelain factory of Charles of Bourbon soon after its transfer from Capodimonte, Naples, to Buen Retiro, Madrid, in late 1759. The work is based on a model by Giuseppe Sanmartino (Italian, 1720–1793), whose life-size marble of the same composition is in the vestibule of the San Cataldo Cathedral, Taranto. Presumably Sanmartino produced a terra-cotta model of the subject after which the porcelain and marble figure groups were fashioned.

PROVENANCE: Doña Maria Bauzà, Madrid, by 1953; by descent in the same family; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Martínez Cavirò, *Porcelana del Buen Retiro escultura* (Madrid, 1973), p. 20; M. Olivar Daydí, *La porcelana en Europa desde sus orígenes hasta principios del siglo XIX* (Barcelona, 1953), vol. 2, pp. 109, 304, fig. 241.

79. MARCUS HEIDEN
German (born Coburg), active by 1618–died after 1664
Covered Standing Cup, 1631
Turned and carved ivory, H: 63.5 cm (25 in.). Inscribed under the base: *MARCUS HEIDEN.COBURGENSIS.FECIT.1631.*
91.DH.75

Relatively little is known about this artist, who worked at the courts of Duke Johann Casimir, Coburg; Duke Johann Ernest, Eisenach; and Duke Wilhelm, Weimar. He may have been trained in Dresden, one of the main centers of interest in the art of ivory turning. Although many ivories are attributed to Heiden, only nine works—including this cup—can be securely documented as his: five in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence; two in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and one in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar. This cup exhibits the two most important innovations of seventeenth-century turned ivories: the inclusion of sculpted figural elements and the introduction of asymmetrical forms around a shifting vertical axis. These innovations demonstrate the baroque interest in animated movement and precarious balance.

PROVENANCE: Probably made for Duke Johann Casimir, Coburg; private collection, Germany; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. von Philippovich, *Elfenbein* (Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitätenfreunde, vol. 17), (Munich, 1982), p. 422, fig. 372; K. Maurice, *Der Drechselnde Souverän, Materialen zu einer fürstlichen Maschinenkunst* (Zurich, 1985), pp. 74, 152, fig. 78.

79

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION IN 1991

Table
Italian, nineteenth century
Gilded wood, H: 74.2 cm (29¼ in.); W: 108.9 cm (42⅞ in.); D: 64.8 cm (25½ in.)
78.DA.85

Table
Italian, nineteenth century
Gilded wood, H: 74.2 cm (29¼ in.); W: 108.0 cm (42⅞ in.); D: 64.8 cm (25½ in.)
78.DA.86

Pair of Console Tables
Italian (?), ca. 1870
Carved and gilded wood with jasper tops, H: 90.2 cm (35½ in.); W: 169.0 cm (66½ in.); D: 79.0 cm (31¼ in.)
78.DA.101

Table Top
Italian, ca. 1880
Hardstones, H: 1.2 cm (½ in.); Diam: 58.4 cm (23 in.)
71.DH.101

HIRAM POWERS
American, 1805–1873
Bust of a Woman with Headdress Containing an Anchor (Hope), 1867
Marble, H: 61 (24 in.); W: 45.0 cm (17¾ in.). Signed: *H. POWERS. Sculp.*.
79.SA.160

Photographs

SIR JOHN HERSCHEL

In 1991, the Museum was fortunate to acquire, by the very generous gift of Mr. and Mrs. Graham Nash, an extraordinary set of 268 graphite drawings made by Sir John Herschel with the aid of a camera lucida, together with ancillary material including an ink drawing, seven watercolors, two photographs, and three pieces of ephemera. This set of camera lucida drawings is particularly relevant to the collection of the Department of Photographs because it was conceived and carried out by someone closely involved with the origins of photography. In date the drawings span a time from before the discovery of photography in 1839 to the height of its first golden age in 1865.

Sir John Herschel (1792–1871) is primarily known for his prodigious accomplishments as a scientist. He was a friend of William Henry Fox Talbot, a fellow member of the Royal Society and the inventor of the calotype process, the first negative-positive process for making photographs and the direct ancestor of modern photography. With his thorough knowledge of chemistry and optics, Herschel immediately grasped Talbot's intention to use the light sensitivity of silver salts to allow Nature to record its own image of reality. Within two weeks after Talbot's announcement of his discovery, Herschel devised a related solution of his own, but abandoned it because of his other responsibilities. He coined the terms "negative" and "positive" as applied to photography and may have been the first to use the word "photography" itself. He was the first to suggest that sodium hyposulfite, or "hypo," could be used to fix photographs and make them permanent. Among Herschel's other close connections to early photography were his friendships with Anna Atkins, whose cyanotypes he collected, and with Julia Margaret Cameron, for whom he sat for a celebrated group of portraits.

Herschel's own artistic production was created with a camera lucida rather than a camera. "Camera lucida" literally means a light-filled chamber; it is a somewhat poetic name for a prism used in aiding an artist, already possessed of some drafting skills, to translate a chosen scene to the flat surface of the page, to go from three dimensions to two. In this respect the camera lucida was a precursor of the photographic camera.

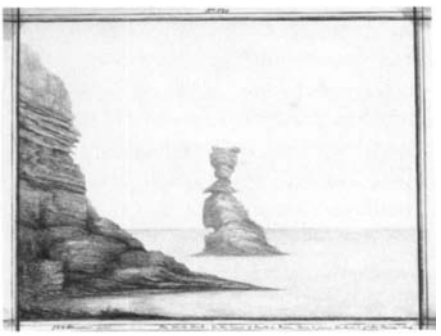
Invented by William Hyde Wollaston (1766–1828), a friend of Herschel and, like Talbot, a member of the Royal Society, a camera lucida consisted of a four-sided prism attached to the top of an adjustable vertical rod with a clamp at its foot for mounting it to a drawing board. The artist positioned a sheet of paper on the drawing board, directed the prism's vertical side toward the desired view, and peered with one eye through an aperture device. This device enabled that eye to maintain a single, steady position while looking through *and* past the prism's horizontal edge to the paper below. The part of the pupil that looked through the prism saw the view, the part that looked past the prism saw the paper. By the action of the brain in reconciling simultaneous visual impressions, the view reflected through the prism appeared to merge with the paper surface, seemed to be on the paper. The draftsman could then outline and articulate this apparent image on the paper.

Herschel was introduced to the camera lucida either by its inventor, Wollaston, or by Sir William Watson. He visited the latter in 1816, the year of his first camera lucida drawing. At the time Herschel was twenty-four; he would continue to use the instrument for nearly fifty years. It was, in other words, his almost constant companion, particularly during his frequent trips to various parts of the British Isles and to continental Europe. It helped him to produce a splendid series of views of the places he visited, much as amateur photographers bring home their photographic trophies.

Herschel's drawings are documentary in nature. Their wide range of subjects reflects the many interests—including geology, architecture, and landscape—that made up his genius. He was, however, primarily a scientist and was modest in his evaluation of the artistic content of his drawings. He used them, along with his dozens of notebooks, for scientific observation, and always scrupulously noted that the drawings were made with the camera lucida's assistance. For him the pictures must have constituted a form of scientific language and the camera lucida a tool of communication. The Nash gift of a large portion of his extant work is thought to be the largest single group of camera lucida drawings in existence.

NOTE

The provenance for all the Herschel material is as follows: From the artist by descent to his great granddaughter, Mrs. E. D. Shorland (sale, Sotheby's, London, March 4, 1958, lot 390); [Maggs Brothers, London]; Graham Nash, Los Angeles.



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80. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
British, 1792–1871
The Clerk Rock. On the Coast of Dawlish, Devon, ca. 1816
Pencil, 22.3 x 30.0 cm (8 3/4 x 11 13/16 in.). Signed and titled recto in ink and inscribed *N° 591* and *From a point westward of 'The Parson' Rock.*
91.GG.98.253

The drawings that Herschel made in 1816 on a visit to Sir William Watson's home near the south coast of Devon appear to be the first in which he employed a camera lucida. Watson may have instructed him in the use of the instrument. All Herschel's camera lucida drawings demonstrate his continual fascination as a scientist with geological formations. As is to be expected, however, the very early drawings do not show the greater proficiency in draftsmanship that he later achieved.

81

82

81. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Poligny at the Entrance of the Pass of the Jura from France, 1821
Pencil, 18.6 x 29.0 cm (7 5/16 x 11 7/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 341*. Verso, inscribed in pencil, *from the North.*
91.GG.98.62

Poligny is a small town in the Franche-Comté near the Swiss border. This view was probably made along the road that Herschel took that summer as he moved south. His carriage was filled with a variety of scientific instruments including the camera lucida that enabled him to accurately establish the silhouettes of these cliffs and hills. This study is distinguished by its wide range of differentiated grays, which anticipate the gray scale of photography.

83

82. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Bonneville near Geneva on the Road to Chamonix, 1821
Pencil, 19.2 x 29.0 cm (7 9/16 x 11 7/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 336*. Verso, inscribed in pencil, *N°. 1 The Point du Neufheures in front. Taken from the root of the cliff at base.*
91.GG.98.59

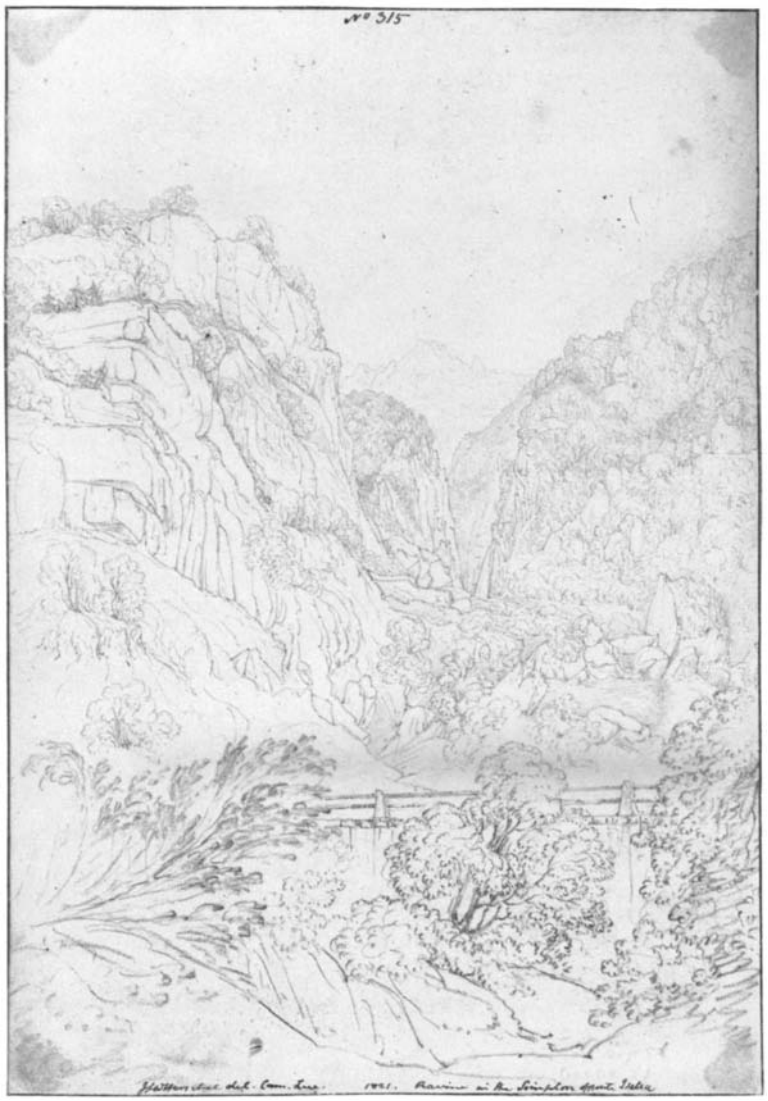
On his route from Alpine France (Savoy) into Italy in the summer of 1821, Herschel made an extensive number of camera lucida drawings, including this view at Bonneville in the valley of the Arve. This sheet was drawn on August 13 and a view at Servoz was done the following day (see next entry). Here he has subordinated his interest in geological formations in favor of attention to the foreground foliage, which he has rendered with a series of short diagonal strokes.

83. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Valley of the Dioza [sic] *from behind the Church of Servoz*, 1821
Pencil, 19.3 x 29.1 cm (7 9/16 x 11 7/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 327*. Verso, inscribed in pencil, *from the point of the Brevant which overlooks the Monument of Eschen.*
91.GG.98.57

On August 14, 1821, Herschel and his traveling companions, the mathematician Charles Babbage and two others, stopped in the town of Servoz in France, close to Chamonix and Mont Blanc and near the present-day Swiss and Italian borders. Here Herschel made this carefully detailed study of the entrance to the valley through which a stream, the Diosaz, cascades in a series of waterfalls. He employed a variety of strokes to delineate several kinds of foliage. The sharp contours of the distant high wall of rock, the Rochers de Fiz, have been treated with particular care; his evident interest in geology is balanced with the picturesque elements of the foreground.

84. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Ravine in the Simplon opposite Isella, 1821
Pencil, 29.6 x 20.5 cm (11 5/8 x 8 1/8 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 315*.
91.GG.98.48

In 1821 Herschel journeyed from France into Italy through the Simplon pass. At the tiny town of Isella he stopped to have his baggage examined by customs and remained to make this delicate study of a ravine leading back into the mountains. In making this kind of view, the camera lucida facilitated the accurate placement of the outlines of the topography. It was less useful in supplying the details of the



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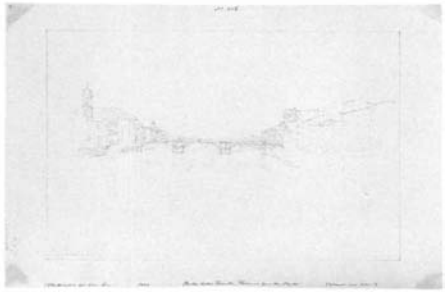

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foliage, which Herschel has rendered with a kind of shorthand stroke typical of draftsmanship of the period. His principal interest here was, no doubt, the dramatic rock formations.

85. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Valley of Lauterbrunn[en]. Descending from Wengern Alp., 1821
Pencil, 19.6 x 29.4 cm (7 11/16 x 11 9/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 511*. Recto, inscribed in pencil and lined out, *N° 106, N° 36*. Verso, a geometrical sketch in pencil.
91.GG.98.209

In September 1821 Herschel and his companions were in northern Switzerland touring the steep-sided valley of Lauterbrunnen. His drawing shows clearly several of the waterfalls that gave the valley its name and the area its charm.

He traveled at a leisurely enough pace to complete a finished drawing—as opposed to a sketch—nearly every day, a measure of the mastery he had achieved with the aid of the camera lucida.

86. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Ponte della Trinita, Florence, from the Ponte [Vecchio], 1824
Pencil, 20.1 x 30.9 cm (6 7/8 x 12 1/8 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 356*, and *(extreme care taken)* and additional illegible inscription. Recto, inscribed in pencil, *Eye 11.5/ ab = 22° 11′ 30″, bc = 18° 23′*. Verso, inscribed in pencil, *NB N° 54 is at the back of N° 60, or N° 60 rather on that of 54, but better.*
91.GG.98.73

This 1824 view of the ponte a Santa Trinita from the middle of the ponte Vecchio shows a cityscape that remains substantially unchanged today. Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–1592) built the bridge for Cosimo I de' Medici in 1567. Its combination of aesthetic delicacy and daring engineering may have been what interested Herschel. After carefully delineating the triple span he barely outlined the adjacent riverfronts, save for the campanile of San Jacopo sopr'Arno on the left and the distant dome of Brunelleschi's Santo Spirito. The bridge, detonated during the German retreat from Florence in the Second World War, was painstakingly rebuilt with the original stones.

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87. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
View of the Village of Selborne from the Manor, 1827
Pencil, 17.7 x 25.4 cm (6 15/16 x 10 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in pencil, and inscribed in ink *N° 563*. Recto, inscribed in pencil, *Hants./ Eye draft* and illegible name of a hill in the background of the drawing.
91.GG.98.236

As Herschel's notation "eye draft" makes clear, this drawing was done without the aid of a camera lucida and consequently has a quite different character. The foreground and background are less clearly differentiated and there is greater freedom of handling. Herschel's camera lucida images are far more precise and, in finished examples, a greater part of the page is more uniformly worked.

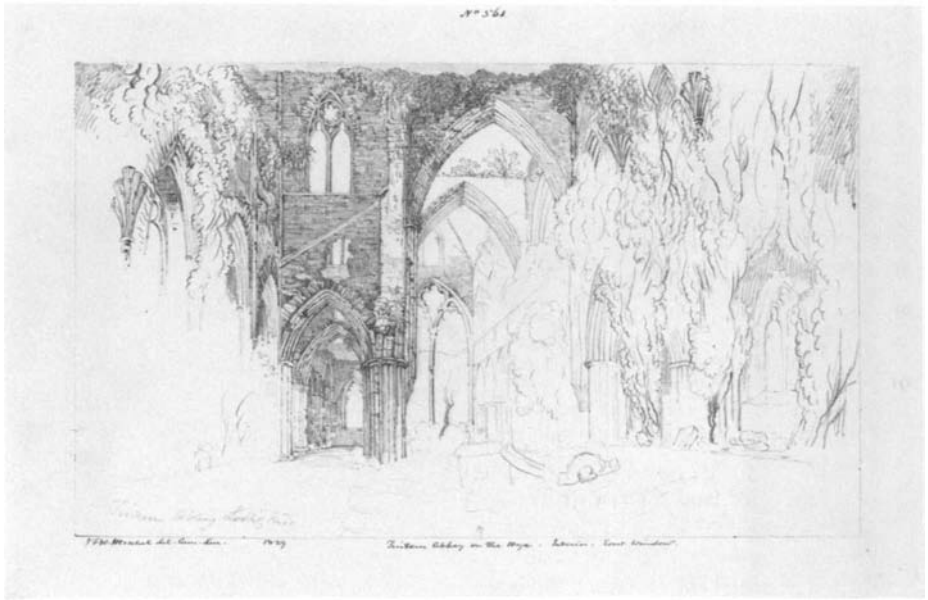
88. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
The Rhine from Saint Goar, 1829
Pencil, 20.1 x 31.1 cm (6 7/8 x 12 1/4 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 271*. Recto, inscribed in pencil, *white houses, slate roofs*, and *slate roofs, white walls.* Verso, inscribed in ink, *No. 8* (lined out).
91.GG.98.7

During the summer of 1829 Herschel traveled from Belgium into the Rhine valley, occasionally using his camera lucida to make views, including this at Saint Goar, a town which lies on the river between Koblenz and Bingen. The handling of the foreground foliage is uncharacteristically free for Herschel's work and contrasts with his more precise delineation of the town of Goarhausen in the background across the river; with the castle, Burg Katz, which dominates it; and with the surrounding hills. It seems likely that Herschel established the outlines of the foliage with the camera lucida but drew its volumes freehand. The arbitrary cropping of the roof lines at right and left was probably determined by the edges of the prism through which Herschel viewed the scene.

89. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Tintern Abbey on the Wye. Interior. East Window, 1829
Pencil, 19.4 x 32.2 cm (7 5/8 x 12 11/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated, recto, in ink and inscribed: *N° 561*. Recto, titled in pencil and inscribed: *O.*
91.GG.98.234

From 1798 when William Wordsworth wrote about it, Tintern Abbey had been a Romantic pilgrimage point. When Herschel visited it in 1829, he made two camera lucida views of the ruined church. Ruins would continue to attract him as a subject for drawings throughout his life. The details of the architecture appear to have interested him more than the foliage; he has given it somewhat cursory treatment in comparison with the nearly Ruskinian specificity with which he delineated the weathered stones. Although we do not know why the drawing was left unfinished, it shows how Herschel proceeded from the outline of his subject to its shading and detail.

90. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
and MARGARET LOUISA HERSCHEL
British, 1792–1871 and 1834–1861
From Sevignac[q] in the Val d'Ossau, 1850
Pencil, 21.5 x 31.5 cm (8 7/16 x 12 3/8 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 413*, and *(The figures by M.L.H.)*. Inscribed: recto, in pencil, *Looking S 6 div. W, low brush wooded hill and Louvie.*
91.GG.98.118



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Herschel's daughter Margaret Louisa journeyed with him and three other members of their family through the Pyrenees in the early fall of 1850. She added the three picnicking ladies, presumably their traveling companions, to his view south over the valley of the Ossau to the village of Louvie-Jusson from the now vanished hamlet of Sevignacq-Meyracq. It is possible that the figure on the right is her self-portrait, as it depicts someone sketching. The style in which the figures are rendered accords well with the balance of the drawing despite the fact that they are more fully developed. Herschel did not include figures of this scale in any of his other known drawings.

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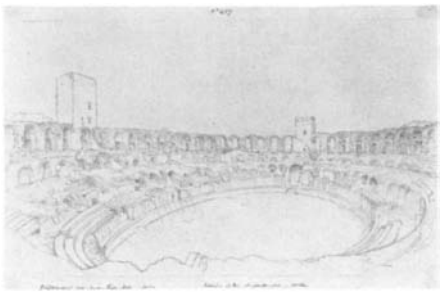
91. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Grotte de Gedres near Saint Sauveur, French Pyrenees, 1850
Pencil, 20.3 x 31.5 cm (8 x 12 3/8 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 439*, and *(Enlarged from an Eye draft)*. Recto, titled and dated in pencil and inscribed *looking up the stream* and *pale blue water.*
91.GG.98.143

1850 was a year in which Herschel traveled extensively in France, particularly in the Pyrenees, drawing both with and without a camera lucida. Here he has enlarged a freehand drawing to concentrate on its central area, where a mountain torrent issues from a fissure in the rock. This rushing torrent has now been tapped as a source of hydroelectric power. His freehand enlargement of a detail from a larger image anticipates photographic enlargement, a technique then in its infancy. Unlike painters such as Courbet and Frederick Church, who began about 1850 to substitute photographs for preparatory drawings, Herschel apparently felt that drawing served his purposes better than photography.



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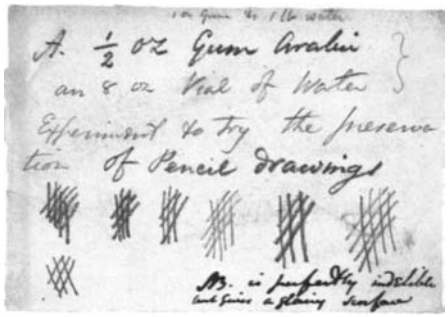
92. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Interior of the Amphitheatre, Arles, 1850
Pencil, 22.4 x 38.2 cm (7 5/8 x 15 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 457*.
91.GG.98.157

In October of 1850 Herschel made exterior and interior studies of the first-century Roman amphitheater at Arles. During the Middle Ages it had housed a fortified village. When the amphitheater was excavated in 1828, the medieval towers on its perimeter that vertically punctuate its upper rim were left standing. Herschel executed this drawing with great care, employing delicate shading to delineate the vaults of the topmost arcade. The use of the camera lucida, which tends to produce an overall uniformity of field, has led Herschel to give the foreground less emphasis than would be expected in a conventional drawing.

93

93. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Collingwood. View of the Trees and Pond from the Upper Walk beyond the Hermitage, 1864
Pencil, 21.6 x 33.2 cm (8 1/2 x 13 1/16 in.). Signed, titled, and dated recto in ink and inscribed *N° 741*.
91.GG.98.260

In contrast to the majority of Herschel's camera lucida drawings, which were made as a sort of visual journal of his travels, this view was made at his home, Collingwood, in Kent, where he had moved in 1840. As he was seventy-two at the time the drawing was made, it is not surprising that the outlines of the tree trunks are drawn with somewhat hesitant lines rather than the firmer strokes his earlier drawings exhibit. Herschel appears to have returned to the frequent use of the camera lucida in 1864 and '65 after a period during which he had rarely employed it and perhaps did little drawing at all. This work seems to be more personal in intent and less documentary than most of his others.



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94. SIR JOHN HERSCHEL
Experiment to Try the Preservation of Pencil Drawings, ca. 1864
Pencil, gum arabic solution
91.XV.102.2

Herschel was an inveterate experimenter, as this scrap of paper attests. It consists simply of a series of crosshatched lines over which he has brushed a solution of one-half ounce of gum arabic dissolved in eight ounces of water. He notes that this renders a pencil drawing insoluble but gives it (apparently unhappily) a glossy surface. This experiment may be compared to Herschel's early interest in making photographs permanent. His use of hyposulfite of soda to fix photographs is a method still occasionally employed today.

ALFRED STIEGLITZ

Through his activities as a photographer, dealer, fine arts publisher, organizer of exhibitions, and tireless proselytizer of the work he believed in, Alfred Stieglitz (American, 1864–1946) was the single most influential figure in the history of American photography. In 1991 the Department of Photographs had the opportunity to purchase a selection of thirteen photographs by Stieglitz from the Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe, eleven of which are portraits of O'Keeffe presented to her by the photographer and seldom seen during her lifetime. This 1991 acquisition complements the existing holdings of work by Stieglitz, which consist of eight autochromes, twenty gravures, and seventy-six photographs, including two O'Keeffe portraits from 1918 acquired in 1987 that were also part of her personal collection.

O'Keeffe was a student in New York—initially at the Art Students League and later at Columbia University's Teachers College—when she first visited Stieglitz's progressive gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue around 1908. Here he promoted the work of American artists, including Charles Sheeler, Arthur Dove, Charles Demuth, and Paul Strand, as well as exhibiting the work of European modernists; Picasso, Matisse, and Rodin all had their first American exhibitions at "291," as the gallery was called. Subsequently O'Keeffe was engaged in teaching art at schools in South Carolina, Virginia, and Texas, and it was not until 1916, when her charcoal drawings were shown to Stieglitz by a friend, that their association began. "At last, a woman on paper!" Stieglitz is reported to have exclaimed upon viewing her work.

From that point on his support of her talent was complete and unstinting, including exhibiting her watercolors at 291 in 1916 and 1917. By July 1918 O'Keeffe was back in New York to stay, and before the month was out she and Stieglitz were living and working together in the same studio. It was a fresh start for both: Stieglitz's financial backing and strong belief in O'Keeffe's talent freed her to be a full-time artist; and with O'Keeffe as his model and muse Stieglitz embarked on the most prolific decade of his photographic career.

An important aspect of Stieglitz's work from this period is his portrait series of O'Keeffe, a project that eventually encompassed several hundred negatives made between 1917 and 1937. The series is an extension of his practice of photographing friends and relatives with whom he was particularly close. Stieglitz had intended to document "the physical and psychological evolution of O'Keeffe's many Selves," (S. Greenough and J. Hamilton, *Alfred Stieglitz: Photographs and Writings* [National Gallery of Art, 1983], p. 22), although O'Keeffe later claimed that "he was always photographing himself" (*Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait by Alfred Stieglitz* [Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978], unpaginated). Ultimately, the photographs are a collaborative voyage of discovery by the two artists, recording a variety of personas and moods on both sides of the camera. This cumulative and multifaceted portrait series is a testament to the passionate union of two strong personalities and to Stieglitz's intensity of vision.

NOTE

The provenance for all Stieglitz photographs is as follows: Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe.

95. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, June 4, 1917
Platinum print, 24.4 x 19.5 cm (9 5/8 x 7 11/16 in.). Inscribed: recto, on a section of the original mount hinged underneath the print, *Hands of Georgia O'Keeffe/at '291' June–1917* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz; recto, on the mount, *OK 19A* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.3

95

O'Keeffe's first one-woman show, in the spring of 1917, was also the final exhibition at Stieglitz's gallery, 291. O'Keeffe was teaching studio art at a college in Canyon, Texas, and did not visit New York until the end of May, after the show had closed. Smitten with the young artist and elated at having sold a watercolor from the show for a good price, Stieglitz rehung the works for O'Keeffe alone and began to photograph her. Here he spotlights her mobile hands—the tools of her creativity—against the austere background of her dark dress. This is one of the very few Stieglitz photographs inscribed with both the month and year, indicating the significance of this event in his relationship with O'Keeffe.

96. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Platinum print, 24.6 x 19.7 cm (9 11/16 x 7 3/4 in.). Inscribed: verso, on the original mount, *OK 2C* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.4

In this portrait, O'Keeffe appears with the beginnings of a smile, toying with a button on her coat, in front of one of her paintings. Her clothing, much of which she sewed herself, was considered quite eccentric and masculine even within the art community. Struck by her individuality, Stieglitz wrote to the painter Arthur Dove in June 1918, "In fact I don't believe there ever has been anything like her.—Mind & feeling very clear—

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spontaneous—& uncannily beautiful—absolutely living every pulse beat" (A. L. Morgan, *Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove* [Associated University Presses, 1988], p. 60). Stieglitz was attracted to O'Keeffe but he was also a great champion of her art, demanding high prices for her work and exhibiting it at his gallery, 291, in 1916 and 1917, then yearly at the Anderson Galleries between 1923 and 1925 and at the Intimate Gallery from 1926 to 1929.

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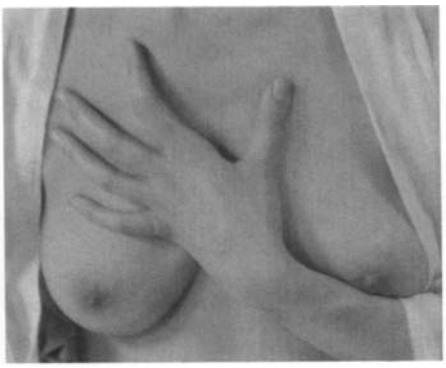
97. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 24.5 x 19.1 cm (9⅝ x 7½ in.). Inscribed: recto, on the original mount, in an unknown hand, *Treated by Steichen for Stain 5/49*; inscribed: underneath the print on the mount in an unknown hand, *small nick out of top O'Keeffe navel one in corner* [sic]. Inscribed: verso, on the mount, *OK 19E* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.5

This portrait of O'Keeffe in a white peignoir was probably made in July or August, shortly after Stieglitz moved into the studio at 114 East 59th Street. Unhappy in his first marriage, he felt that he had found a kindred spirit in O'Keeffe, whom he married in 1924. "O'Keeffe is truly magnificent. And a child at that. — We are at least 90% alike—she [is] a purer form of myself," Stieglitz wrote to Arthur Dove in late July 1918 (A. L. Morgan, *Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove* [Associated University Presses, 1988], p. 61). O'Keeffe arrived in New York recovering from a long illness, and in this image her disordered hair, direct gaze, and loosely worn garment project a languorous malaise. This effect is echoed in Stieglitz's print, with its low contrast of tones and softened focus. Intimacy between the photographer and his subject is implied by O'Keeffe's undress, which is much more provocative than the distanced nudity of a studio model.

98

98. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 24.3 x 19.4 cm (9 9/16 x 7⅝ in.). Inscribed: recto, on the bottom of the mount, *OK 1D* in the hand of Doris Bry; verso, on the print, *2 OK 1D* in the hand of Doris Bry and *A* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz.
91.XM.63.6

O'Keeffe recalled that even as a child her hands had always been admired, and Stieglitz, who believed that the hands were as expressive of character as the face, photographed them many times. Like the later Stieglitz portrait of Rebecca Strand's hands (91.XM.63.2), O'Keeffe's emerge from the velvety darkness of the print, dancing and clawlike, with a life of their own. This pose—suggestive of mysterious and invisible forces—creates a beautiful still life. O'Keeffe's hands as photographed by Stieglitz are usually frozen and sculptural images divorced from everyday activity. A notable exception is the portrait of O'Keeffe sewing with a needle and thimble (Art Institute of Chicago, Alfred Stieglitz collection, inv. 1949.745).



99

99. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 19.8 x 24.3 cm (7¾ x 9 9/16 in.)
91.XM.63.7

Stieglitz's use of light in this image gives it the delicacy and lyricism of a lover's glance. It captures the sensation of fabric against skin, of air against skin, of skin against skin. This picture is a tribute to O'Keeffe's taut body the year the two began living together. Yet it also seems to be a kind of trophy for the man who had

captured the attentions of a woman more than twenty years his junior. The close-up quality of this portrait increases our awareness of witnessing a private moment and gives the image an intrusive edge reinforced by the trembling hand drawn against her chest. O'Keeffe was a willing model and no shrinking violet, but this image hints at a hot and intense summer spent in close quarters with every move observed by Stieglitz and his camera.

100

100. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 25.1 x 20.1 cm (9 7/8 x 8 15/16 in.). Inscribed: recto, on the mount, in an unknown hand, *Treated by Steichen*, and verso, on the print, *1–OK 24D* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.8

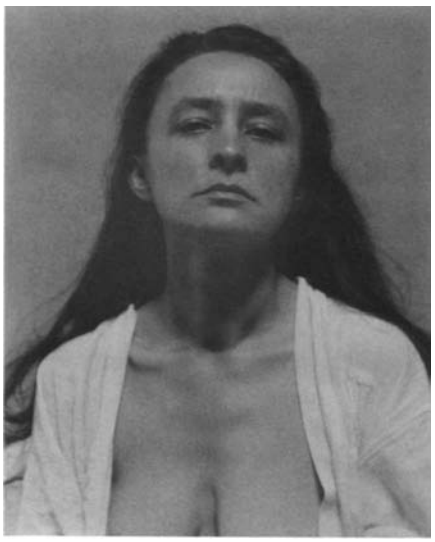
Silhouetted in front of the window in the studio where she and Stieglitz lived and worked, O'Keeffe is shown in full flower at age thirty-one in this nude portrait. The photograph seems less a record of a particular woman than a modern icon of female form. After the turn of the century, Stieglitz was increasingly interested in African carvings and the work of modern sculptors such as Rodin, Brancusi, and Nadelman. Here Stieglitz has joined his mastery of pictorialist sensitivity with modern abstract art's language of form to create his own photographic sculpture.

101

101. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 24.6 x 19.5 cm (9 11/16 x 7 11/16 in.). Inscribed: recto, on the mount, *Treated by Steichen* in an unknown hand and recto, on the print, registration marks in the margin (for matting) and *A+* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz.
91.XM.63.9

The *A+* inscribed on the edge of this work by Stieglitz indicates his high regard for this particular print, one of only two known examples from this negative. The apparent spontaneity of many of the O'Keeffe portraits is belied by this image, which hints at the physical feats required of her as a model. O'Keeffe has stopped mid-climb to her perch atop the radiator (where we see her in 91.XM.63.8), awkwardly poised with one foot still in the air and a hand clutching the window frame for balance: ". . . that was difficult—radiators don't intend you to stand on top of them," she wrote in the introduction to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 1978 volume of the portraits (*Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait by Alfred Stieglitz* [Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978], unpaginated).

Stieglitz began photographing O'Keeffe with an 8 x 10 view camera and glass-plate negatives with slow exposure times that required her to remain motionless for several minutes at a time. "Your arms and hands get tired and you can't stay still. I was often spoiling a photograph because I couldn't help moving," she wrote (*Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait*, unpaginated).



102

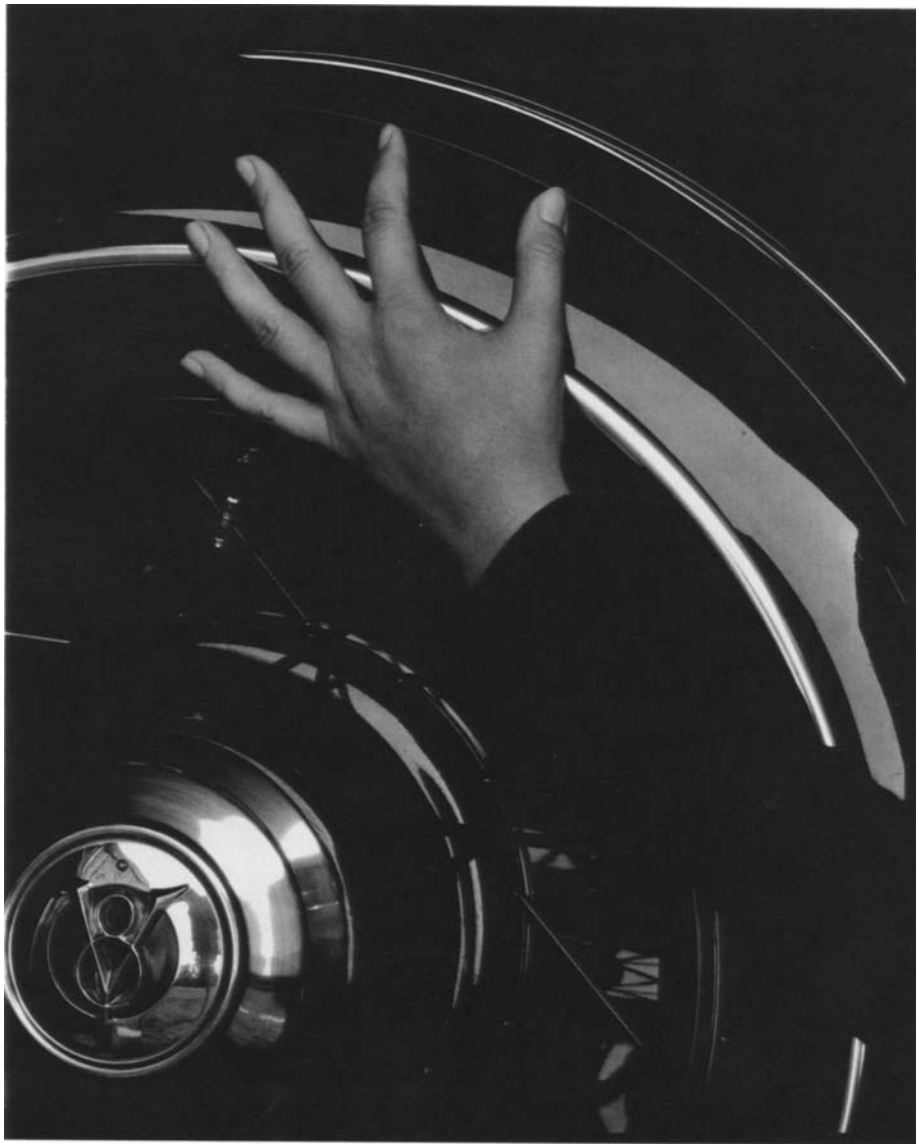
102. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 24.8 x 20.3 cm (9 3/4 x 8 in.). Inscribed: verso, on the print, tiny registration marks (for matting) and *A* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz. Inscribed: recto, on the mount, *OK 19D* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.13

O'Keeffe's prominence in New York art circles was unusual for a woman in the 1920s, so it is perhaps not surprising that her art was hailed as offering a uniquely female perspective. The public's first glimpse of Stieglitz's portraits of her—including some nudes—at the Anderson Galleries in 1921 and again in 1923 only fueled the gender-oriented approach to O'Keeffe's work. Although the works featuring O'Keeffe were titled *A Woman*, everyone knew who the woman was and crowds reportedly flocked to see the work. Interpretations of O'Keeffe's paintings equating the forms and subjects in them with her own emotional and sexual experiences began to proliferate, much to her displeasure. Reviews of her floral paintings, in particular, were often filled with references to Freud. Throughout her life O'Keeffe rejected this approach to her work, preferring an emphasis on the sensual nature of her subjects rather than the sexual.

103

103. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1920
Palladium print, 20.3 x 25.1 cm (8 x 9⅞ in.). Inscribed: recto, on the original mount, *Treated by Steichen for stain, 5/49*, and *Hand on Grape Leaf* in an unknown hand; verso, on the mount, *Georgia O'Keeffe/1920 Lake George/A + 1 Palladio* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz.
91.XM.63.10

O'Keeffe grew up on a dairy farm in Wisconsin and loved the outdoors. This picture was taken at Lake George, where she became an avid gardener, the solitary tending of plants providing a legitimate escape from the large and turbulent Stieglitz clan. In this richly detailed print, Stieglitz draws visual parallels between two organic forms—O'Keeffe's flexible, lined hand and the supple, veined grape leaf beneath it. The interplay of the texture and drape of the leaf and of the linen it rests on adds further interest to the composition. Judging from his inscription on the back of the mount, *A + 1 Palladio*, Stieglitz was pleased with this palladium print. The process was known for its subtlety, permanence, and range of tonal variations.

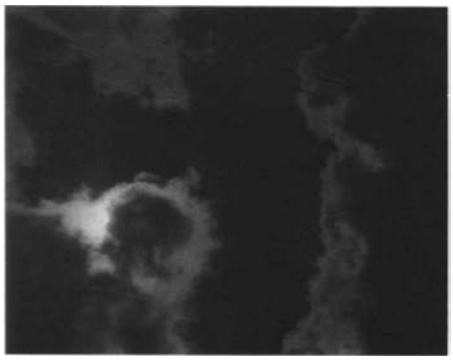


104

104. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1933
Gelatin silver print, 25.3 x 20.3 cm (10 x 8 in.)
91.XM.63.11

In 1929 O'Keeffe rebelled against spending the summer at Lake George as usual; instead, she traveled with Rebecca Strand to Taos, New Mexico, where the two stayed at the artist's colony founded by Mabel Dodge Luhan. In addition to making great strides in her painting, O'Keeffe learned to drive and purchased her own Ford. The car was driven back to New York for her and became a symbol of her modernity and independence.

This image, with O'Keeffe's hand stroking the polished frame, is a tightly constructed paean to the velocity and beauty of the machine and to O'Keeffe's mastery of it. The tree and barnlike structure reflected in the hubcap suggest that this picture was taken at Lake George, where Stieglitz was increasingly left behind as Georgia began to travel alone.

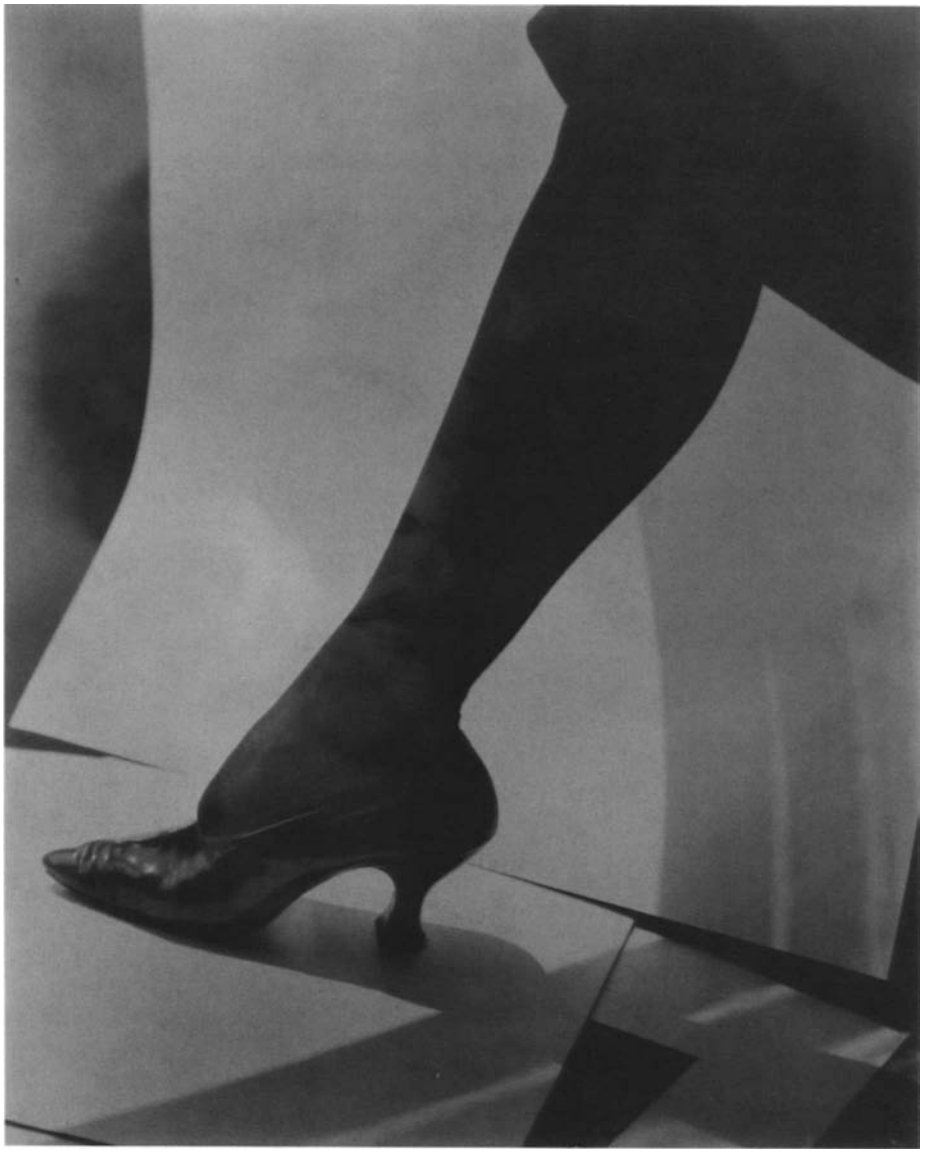


105

105. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Equivalent, Portrait of Georgia, No. 3, 1923
Gelatin silver print, 10.0 x 12.6 cm (3 15/16 x 4 15/16 in.). Inscribed: verso, on the original mount, *Top/Keep Clean/ Songs of the Sky No. 5/by Alfred Stieglitz* and *Return to above/c/o George F. Of, 274 Madison Avenue* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz; wet stamp on the verso mount: *Vanity Fair* with *216D* added in pencil and *163A* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.12

In his 1923 essay entitled "How I Came to Photograph Clouds," Stieglitz explained that the impetus for this series came from a remark made by the writer Waldo Frank. Frank claimed that the power of Stieglitz's images derived from his hypnotic effect on portrait subjects. Determined "through clouds to put down my philosophy of life—to show that my photographs were not due to subject matter . . . ," Stieglitz began to photograph these ephemeral shapes in earnest to create what he called "sky stories—or songs" that would be recognized as visual music (S. Greenough and J. Hamilton, *Alfred Stieglitz: Photographs and Writings* [National Gallery of Art, 1983], p. 207–208).

It is difficult to know what emotion, attitude, or posture this image—alternately titled *Equivalent, Portrait of Georgia, No. 3* and *Songs of the Sky, No. 5*—is intended to suggest, but it is an intriguing page in the encyclopedic portrait series.



106

106. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Dorothy True, 1919
Gelatin silver print, 23.9 x 19.1 cm (9 7/16 x 7 9/16 in.). Inscribed: verso, on the original mount, *40-D* in the hand of Doris Bry.
91.XM.63.1

Made in 1919, the year women's suffrage was passed by Congress, this dynamic double-exposure portrait presents Dorothy True as the embodiment of the modern American female. True was a friend of Georgia O'Keeffe's from the Columbia University Teachers College, and here she sports a fashionable cropped hairstyle and serious expression in one exposure and a short skirt and sculptural pumps of patent leather in the other. The accidentally superimposed images and the dynamic composition including True's striding leg express both the influence of Stieglitz's friend Marcel Duchamp and the vitality of a period after World War I that offered increased freedom and opportunities for women and a new interest in their thoughts and feelings. Stieglitz was among those intrigued by the inner life of women, a theme he sought to develop in his portraits of O'Keeffe.

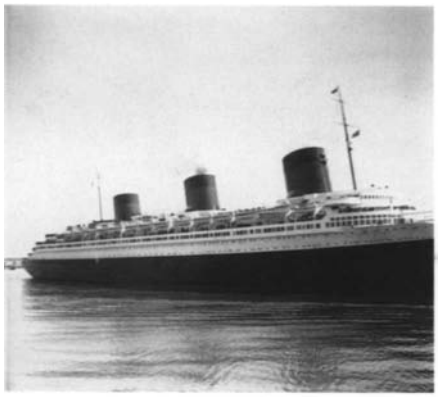
107

107. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
Rebecca Strand, 1922
Platinum print, 25.2 x 20.1 cm (9 15/16 x 7 5/16 in.). Inscribed: recto, three pencil strokes on the margin of the print. Inscribed: verso, on the original mount, *'Beckalina'/ T.L.F.* and *85E* in the hand of Alfred Stieglitz.
91.XM.63.2

Rebecca Strand, known to her friends as "Beck," was introduced to Stieglitz and O'Keeffe by the photographer and Stieglitz protégé Paul Strand, whom she married in January 1922. For several years the couples were a close-knit foursome, exchanging letters and spending time together in New York and at the Stieglitz retreat in Lake George, where this picture was taken. Stieglitz photographed Beck numerous times and the two were good friends, but these portraits do not display the spark of collaboration one sees in his portraits of O'Keeffe. This rare print of Beck's long fingers curled around a dark sphere is appealing in its simplicity. Yet on closer inspection, the disembodied hands emerging from the blackness and the stark highlight on the proffered ball are unsettling.

STEREOGRAPHS AND METASCOPE

The stereoscopic effect in binocular vision was discovered by Sir Charles Wheatstone and reported to the Royal Society in 1838, a few months prior to William Henry Fox Talbot's announcement of the discovery of photography in January of 1839. Stereoscopic photographs awaited the invention by Talbot's friend and colleague, Sir David Brewster, of an improved viewing device, which Brewster introduced in 1849. Brewster's refracting stereoscope was the first in a sequence of optical viewing devices designed to amplify visual effects through photography. The series ended in the 1920s with this French-designed repeating mechanical stereoscope with the brand name "Metascope." It has been donated to the Museum by Charles Schwartz and Nancy Drodz. The Metascope joins Carlo Ponti's Megalethoscope and Antoine Claudet's personal refracting stereoscope in the small holding of optical devices in the Getty collections.



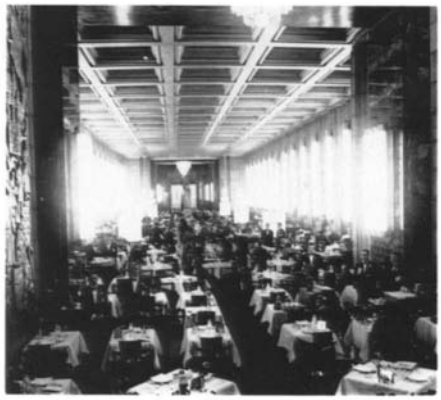
108

108. PIERRE BOULARD (attributed to)
French, active 1930s–1950s
The Normandie: En Route to New York, ca. 1938
Glass stereograph, 5.9 x 12.7 cm (2 5/16 x 5 in.); titled and numbered in ink on recto.
91.XH.105.1

Using a technique no longer widely practiced by professionals in the 1930s, an amateur French photographer successfully recorded the world-class French ocean liner, the *Normandie*. This view, probably taken in June of 1938, shows the majestic liner as it leaves the port of Le Havre en route to New York. The ship was a source of French pride, having been completed in 1935 shortly before its British rival, the *Queen Mary*. A showcase of excellence in French art, design, and craftsmanship, the *Normandie* embodied the modern era. Not unlike the skyscraper, it represented progress as well as the integration of the latest art and technology. Constructed at enormous cost during the Depression with a large government subsidy, it was the largest, fastest, and most luxurious ship built to date and a vital means of transportation.

The integration of art and technology may be seen in this exterior view of the *Normandie*. Its clean lines were a breakthrough in ship design and came to symbolize *le style paquebot*. The huge, splendidly curving hull held the power plant needed for speed. There was no machinery on deck; it had all been moved elsewhere to protect it from salt air, contributing to the streamlined effect. The three funnels were streamlined and dynamic. Only two of the funnels were operational; the third, in front, reduced wind drag and balanced the ship's appearance. The aft decks were also gracefully designed.

PROVENANCE: Long Island, New York, art market; gift of Charles Schwartz and Nancy Drodz, New York.



109

109. PIERRE BOULARD (attributed to)
The Normandie: Dining Room, ca. 1938
Glass stereograph, 5.9 x 12.7 cm (2 5/16 x 5 in.); titled and numbered in ink on recto.
91.XH.105.2

This stereograph of the dining room, with its warm sepia tones, conveys the elegance which was evident in every detail of the *Normandie*. Although the room has the appearance of being naturally lit, the dining room was actually a self-contained interior space with no windows. The innovative, backlit walls, three decks tall in height and over three hundred feet in length, bathed the dining room in cathedral-like light. The walls were covered with tiles of molded glass and vertical strips of hammered glass created by René Lalique. Lalique also designed the twelve freestanding glass "light fountains" that provided additional illumination. A gilded sculpture by F. Déjean entitled *Peace* extended eighteen feet in height and may be seen at the end of the room. The silver was made by Christofle et Cie. The long, expansive room was made possible by a technological advancement in boiler design which permitted separating the boilers, thus allowing for larger rooms and unobstructed views.

PROVENANCE: Long Island, New York, art market; gift of Charles Schwartz and Nancy Drodz, New York.

110

110. PIERRE BOULARD (attributed to)
The Normandie: Grand Salon, ca. 1938
Glass stereograph, 5.9 x 12.7 cm (2 5/16 x 5 in.); titled and numbered on recto.
91.XH.105.3

The elite ocean liners of the 1930s used lavish materials, innovative lighting, and streamlined designs to create a modern aesthetic. This opulent style, called *le style paquebot*, flourished in the midst of the Depression. It influenced both land-based architecture and design, as is evident in Art Deco furniture and architecture, and popular culture, as reflected in certain Hollywood set designs.

The main lounge of the *Normandie*, which was used for nightly entertainment and informal gatherings, was also designed in the modern Art Deco style. The decorative glass panels were created by Jean Dupas; etched and painted from behind, they depict mythological navigation scenes. Portions of these panels are now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Lalique designed the lighting, and the chairs were upholstered with specially woven Aubusson tapestries.

The method with which these stereographs were taken in the late 1930s was nostalgic and outdated, just as these views of the ocean liner are today—the liner having been replaced by quicker modes of transportation that sacrifice design for speed.

PROVENANCE: Long Island, New York, art market; gift of Charles Schwartz and Nancy Drodz, New York.

111

111. *Metascope* (repeating mechanical stereoscope)
Steel, plastic, and glass viewer on hardwood cabinet, viewer: 40.0 x 27.0 x 27.9 cm (15 3/4 x 10 5/8 x 11 in.); cabinet: 93.3 x 74.3 x 38.1 cm (36 3/4 x 29 1/4 x 15 in.)
91.XU.104

During the decades between about 1850 and 1880, stereographs made with twin-lens cameras utilizing wet collodion on glass negatives were the chief source of income for photographers who concentrated on taking pictures of cities, architecture, and landscape. The views were avidly collected by consumers both for their educational value and as parlor entertainment. A second wave of commercial interest in stereographs came between about 1900 and the end of World War I, when amateurs, who often used stereoscopes to record personal travels, replaced professionals as the chief practitioners of this process. The owner of this Metascope, believed to be Pierre Boulard, made at least six hundred transparent glass stereographs on his travels by boat and air between the 1930s and 1950s.

PROVENANCE: Long Island, New York, art market; gift of Charles Schwartz and Nancy Drodz, New York.

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Senior Gardeners
Luis Brambilla, Sr.
Luis Brambilla, Jr.
Gardeners

Jose Luna
Rosario Raya
Eliseo Salazar
Isabelle Segura
Assistant Gardeners
Rodolfo Barcenas
Dolan Holbrook
Gabriel Luna
Carmen Mireles
Temporary Gardeners
Theresa Williams
Senior Office Assistant

PLANT MAINTENANCE
Howard Sherman
Chief Engineer
Ronald Meza
Assistant Chief Engineer
Wayne T. Branham
Senior Engineer/Electrician
Loyd Randolph
Facilities Engineer/Maintenance Coordinator
Alexander McDermott
Engineer/Plumber
Oswald Blake
General Engineer
Rosa Maria Urrutia
Secretary

MACHINE SHOP
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Machine Shop Supervisor
Peter Shapiro
Woodworking Shop Supervisor

SECURITY
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Director of Security
Will Royston
Assistant Director of Security/Operations
Robert Combs
Assistant Director of Security/ Technical Systems
Jack Kish
Security Training Supervisor
Jehanbux Bhadha
Senior Security Supervisor
Joyce Holmen
Senior Secretary
Sue Speth
Security Office Coordinator

Wayne Arbaugh
Tom Roberts
Bruce Segler
Willie Thomas
Ron Uejo
Supervisors
Vincent Sarish
Security Technician
Roger Balabanow
Lee Bass
Veronica Bennett
Mario Cabrera
Orlando Canton
William Carus
Frank Durante
Janet Gill
Karleen Hamilton
Charles Harrington
Pamela Huhane
Victor Johnson
Gerald Langston
Robert Lovelace
Alan Meredith
Frank Murphy
Donald Philipp
Donald Shannon
Paul Singh
Mary Tennard
Jevon Toban
David Trujeque
Senior Security Officers

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Bill Bekele
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Ora Dotson
Larry Faulkner
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Bemnet Gayem
Steve Gidley
Sharon Gretsch
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Ernesto Rosado
Janice Seid
Harold Sussholz
Wilford Tinner
Christopher Van Fleet
William Williams
Security Officers

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Author Index

Subject Index

The subject index is divided into seven major sections that reflect the organization of the Museum into seven curatorial departments: Antiquities, Decorative Arts, Drawings, Manuscripts, Paintings, Photographs, and Sculpture and Works of Art.

Entries for Drawings, Manuscripts, Paintings, Photographs, and Sculpture and Works of Art are organized by artist's name. Entries for Antiquities and Decorative Arts are organized by the medium of the work of art or its country of origin.

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Glass

Ivory and Bone

Lead

Mosaics

Paintings

Papyrus and Wood

Silver

Stone Engravings

Stone Funerary Monuments and Inscriptions

Stone Sculpture

DECORATIVE ARTS
(*See also* Sculpture and Works of Art)

DRAWINGS

MANUSCRIPTS

PAINTINGS

PHOTOGRAPHS

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART

(*See also* Decorative Arts)

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