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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL—03

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Articles in Honour of Jennifer Fletcher

Varia

‘Actaeon not words’

GABRIELE FINALDI

Jennifer Fletcher is very proud of several things.

She traces her family origins to Durham mining stock. She was taught by Ernst Gombrich. She played hockey doubles for the London School of Economics when she was a student at the Courtauld Institute of Art. In Venice she swam (aged 44) in the *Coppa Byron* from San Nicolò al Lido to the Excelsior Hotel and got a medal for her efforts. She was the Slade Professor at Oxford in 1990-1991, the second woman to take up the position. Two of her students have been Directors of the National Gallery and several others are distinguished scholars and curators.

There is a photo in *The Times* of 27 February 1971 in which she appears with a group of fellow students in Piccadilly Circus together with other art historians protesting at the threatened imminent sale and likely export from Britain of Titian’s late masterpiece *The Death of Actaeon.* She is seen in profile, energetically leading the chanting demanding government intervention: “Actaeon not words!” is their memorable slogan. Fortunately for all of us, the painting was saved for the nation and now hangs in the National Gallery. She is proud of that, too.

Jennifer spent her entire student and academic career at the Courtauld Institute, from 1957 to her retirement in 2002. She is now a Courtauld Fellow. Her devotion to teaching and her commitment to her students have been unremitting. Her lectures are impressive and memorable. She gives them *a braccio*, stunning feats of memory and erudition. The Slade Electors of 1990 were astounded that the audience kept coming back religiously week after week to hear her speak on the portraits of Titian. She repeated the Oxford Slade lectures at the National Gallery but her creative approach to lecturing and her sensitivity to her listeners meant that they ended up being quite different. In her room at the Portman Square Courtauld, which was hung with pieces of velvet and silk and an exotic piece of Indian armour on the door, we were inducted into deeply stimulating discussions. I was an MA student exactly thirty years ago and took her course on Art at the Court of Philip IV of Spain. She led our small group in the exploration of the iconography of hunting and the role of dwarves in the stiff protocol of the Alcázar, as well as the influence of Rubens on the young Velázquez. She introduced us to the *juego de cañas* in which teams of horseman chased each other across the Plaza Mayor throwing wooden spears to thrill courtiers and plebeians alike, to the King’s lugubrious correspondence with the holy nun, Sor María de Ágreda, and to Cassiano dal Pozzo’s wry observations on art and artists in Madrid in the mid-1620s.

Although Jennifer taught Spanish Baroque and has supervised MPhil dissertations and three PhD students on Spanish art who have gone on to be serious Hispanists (several are present in this volume), Jennifer’s great passion lies elsewhere. Not in the plains of Castile, or even in Bernini’s Rome (which she has also taught on), but in Renaissance Venice, the city of the Bellini family, of Pietro Bembo, and of Titian. Venice has been and continues to be an inexhaustible source of fascination and wonder for her. As conversation with her ranges from Titian’s use of fur in his paintings, what Giovanni Bellini’s female portraits may have looked like, the use of Venetian dialect in sixteenth-century documents and sources, and what it really meant to belong to the Scuola Grande di San Marco, it dawns on one just how deeply familiar she is with the city on the lagoon. Possibly even more so than with contemporary East London, for which she and her beloved brother, Andrew, have had great affection. Several contributors to this volume are Venetian specialists.

To those who know her, Jennifer is straight talking. Her use of expletives is expressive and she is not always quotable. It is not unheard of that she has referred to a colleague as a “lazy bastard”, with a short first syllable for dramatic emphasis: “Lazy *bæstard*!”. That’s because she has little time for those whom she thinks are not pulling their weight. Her career, it is probably fair to say, was held back because she prioritized teaching and dedication to students above academic politics and finding time to publish. Her students have been the beneficiaries.

Her talking may be clear but her handwriting is all but impossible. Like the codes used by Venetian diplomats in their official correspondence, it requires interpretation. Whether it is comments on an essay, corrections to a chapter draft, or a postcard from Treviso, every sign and stroke is a precious bearer of meaning and time invested to draw out the content is time well invested.

This volume of studies is dedicated to Jennifer Fletcher out of friendship and gratitude of students and other admirers.

Happy eightieth birthday, Jennifer!

APPENDIX OF JENNIFER FLETCHER'S PUBLICATIONS

Compiled by Jane Martineau

Books and Catalogue Essays

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1981 "Isabella d'Este: Patron and Collector," in *The Splendours of the Gonzaga*, eds. David Chambers and Jane Martineau, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum), pp. 51-63.

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2008 "The Renaissance Portrait; Functions, Uses and Display," in *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, eds. Lorne Campbell et al., exh. cat. (London: National Gallery), pp. 46-66, published in Spanish, "*El retrato renacentista: funciones, usos y exhibición,*" in *El retrato del Renacimiento*, ed. Miguel Falomir (Madrid: Museo del Prado), pp. 71-89.

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1990-1991 "Fatto al specchio: Venetian Renaissance Attitudes to Self-Portraiture," in *Fenway Court* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), pp. 4-16.

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2004 "Bellini's Social World," in *The Cambridge Companion to Giovanni Bellini*, ed. Peter Humfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 13-47.

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1994 "Isabella d'Este, Vienna," *The Burlington Magazine* 136: pp. 398-400.

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2004 "*The Age of Titian*, Edinburgh," *The Burlington Magazine* 146: pp. 778-781.

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1974 "*1650. Guadino di Chù Gualdo*, by G. Gualdo and L. Puppi," *The Burlington Magazine* 116: p. 680.

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1981 "*Andrea Schiavone*, by F. Richardson," *The Burlington Magazine* 123: pp. 491-493.

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1984 "*La Pittura Veneziana nel Seicento*, by R. Pallucchini," *The Burlington Magazine* 126: pp. 581-582.

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2015 "*Bartolomeo Cincani, detto Montagna: Dipinti*, by M. Lucco, with contributions by M. E. Avagnina, M. Barausse and G. C. F. Villa," *The Burlington Magazine* 157: pp. 710-711.

A Renaissance *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* in Kirkcaldy

JOHN GASH

Fig.1 / Circle of Domenico Puligo, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, 1520s-1530s, oil on panel, 82.5 x 64.3 cm, Kirkcaldy (Fife), Museum and Art Gallery.

An attractive painting of the *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* on a medium-sized, poplar-wood panel (82.5 x 64.3 cm) has long preserved its secrets away from the public gaze in the reserve collection of the Kirkcaldy Museum and Art Gallery, Fife (fig. 1).[1] It was transferred there from Anstruther Town Hall between 1975 and 1984, and nothing earlier is known about its provenance.[2] However, an old strip of paper on the back bears the name of the great Florentine High Renaissance master, Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530), once viewed by the likes of Robert Browning and Heinrich Wölfflin as the epitome of a Renaissance artist. The picture is in reasonable condition, though there is evidence of woodworm on the back of the panel and there are scattered small paint losses on the front, some of which have been filled in. Its rainbow palette has been somewhat dimmed by discoloured varnish and would benefit from a full conservation, which is currently envisaged. Such an intervention might even further elevate the picture's quality.

The broad similarity with Andrea's style is indisputable, not least in its colouring, composition, and landscape (figs. 2 and 3), and explains the old attribution. However, neither the handling nor the characterization betray Andrea's immaculate finish, nor the deeply engaged cast of thought of his figures. Indeed the facial types are quite unlike Andrea's. We are dealing, rather, with a skilful work by one of his many pupils or imitators, with an emphasis on prettiness (the Virgin's Hollywood face) and elegance (the Christ Child's Mohican quiff). It opens up the complex and under-researched area of Andrea's studio and influence.[3]

Vasari refers to the many pupils who passed through his workshop for varying lengths of time, sometimes driven away by their lack of rapport with Andrea's allegedly domineering wife, Lucrezia del Fede, while he also mentions other artists as close friends or associates who worked alongside him. One of the latter was Domenico Puligo (1492-1527) who, according to Vasari, spent almost all his time painting Madonnas, and whose works are to this day still sometimes confused with Andrea's.[4] Andrea, it seems, "was never so happy as when Domenico was in his workshop learning from him."[5] Puligo's facial types, poses, and compositions bear especially close comparison with the Kirkcaldy picture (see fig. 4), even if the Fife panel seems somewhat harder in handling than Puligo's soft brushwork, and also rather more Mannerist, possibly placing it in the 1530s rather than 1520s. However, the contrapposto pose and splayed legs of the Kirkcaldy Christ Child, as well as the picture's overall composition, are closer to Puligo's *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist* in the Galleria Palatina of Palazzo Pitti (fig. 4) than they are to Andrea's prototypes (see fig. 2). It is, therefore, tempting to view the Kirkcaldy panel as emanating from Puligo's circle, or even studio, rather than that of Andrea, in so far as they were distinct. Other works either by or attributed to Puligo are also close in feel to the Kirkcaldy *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John*. For example, the face of the Christ Child in a panel attributed to Puligo, now in Nantes (fig. 5), is very similar to that of the Kirkcaldy Saviour. Likewise Puligo's *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John* in the Pitti (fig. 6) has several links with the Kirkcaldy panel, from the now reversed pose

Fig. 2 / Andrea del Sarto, *Madonna and Child*, 1528-1530, oil on panel, 87 x 65 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti.

Fig. 3 / Andrea del Sarto, *Pietà* (*Pietà di Luco*), 1523-1524, oil on panel, 238.5 x 198.5 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti.

of the Christ Child through the upturned face, pose, and reed cross of Saint John, to the side-swept curls of Christ's central quiff.[6] Yet other pictures show that Puligo's art was copied by pupils and imitators (fig. 7). Although Puligo is thought to have had many pupils, only one is mentioned by Vasari: Domenico Beceri of Florence, to whom we shall return.

Other possible candidates for author of the Kirkcaldy painting include later devotees of Andrea del Sarto, such as Michele Tosini, known as Michele di Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (1503-1577), and his pupil, Francesco Brina (ca. 1540-1586), though perhaps there are not sufficient similarities in all details. A painter who may more fully enter the arena is Pier Francesco Foschi (1502-1567), who had been a pupil of Andrea but who, from the 1530s onwards, began to overlay that style with mild Mannerist accents imported from Pontormo, Rosso, and Parmigianino.[7] Certainly the face of the Kirkcaldy Madonna has (somewhat muted) echoes of Rosso's bright expressions. Characteristic of Foschi are the wide, circular eyes, of the Virgin in particular, as we encounter them in one of Foschi's finest portraits (fig. 8), and the pleated folds of her pink-red dress, as we see them in Foschi's variant version of one of Andrea's most famous altarpieces, the *Bracci Holy Family* in the Pitti (fig. 9), even if its attribution to Foschi is undocumented and based purely on style.

Fig. 4 / Domenico Puligo, *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, after 1520, oil on panel, 96 x 70.5 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti.

Fig. 5 / Attributed to Domenico Puligo, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, 1520s or later, oil on panel, 103.4 x 77.8 cm, Nantes, Musée d'Arts.

A pensive prettiness presides in both the Kirkcaldy panel and Foschi's *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John* (see fig. 9) that is different from Andrea's and Puligo's more melancholy meditations, through strained, intense expressions, on the Christ Child's future destiny of suffering. However, in the last resort, Morellian details, such as the different, almost Leonardesque curls of Foschi's Christ Child, derived from Andrea, may preclude him.

An even lesser master whose works bear comparison, without however quite shaping up in all details, or indeed in colour (except perhaps in the landscape) is the anonymous Master of Volterra who, as one can see from a picture attributed to him of the same subject in a private collection (fig. 10), was similarly indebted to Puligo and Andrea at a lower technical level.[8] However, the Kirkcaldy panel is arguably more expressive – and more beautiful, even if the hands of the two children are weak in their current state. Nevertheless, the group of pictures loosely gathered under this Volterra sobriquet, which was coined by Federico Zeri in allusion to the altarpiece of the *Madonna and Christ Child with Saints* in the Conservatorio dei Santi Pietro e Lino in Volterra,[9] are clearly not all by the same hand, and indeed of very variable quality. So it is possible that one or more individual paintings in this group could measure up better in comparison with the Kirkcaldy picture than others.

Fig. 6 / Domenico Puligo, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1525-1527, oil on panel, 130.9 x 95.4 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti.

Fig. 7 / Copy after Domenico Puligo, *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, after 1520, oil on panel, Private Collection.

Fig. 8 / Pier Francesco Foschi, *Giovanni Salviati*, ca. 1540s, oil on panel, 88 x 63 cm, Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 9 / Attributed to Pier Francesco Foschi, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1525-1535, Genoa, Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola.

Fig. 10 / Attributed to Master of Volterra, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, 1530s, oil on panel, Private Collection.

The small, rosebud-shaped mouth of the Virgin in the latter finds echoes in the mouths of the Virgin in two pictures connected with the Volterra Master in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: a *Madonna and Child* and a *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John* (nos. 562 and 563), both hailing from the sixteenth-century Florentine Governor of Siena's palace.[10] A perhaps even more telling comparison can be made with a picture of a completely different subject, *The Rape of Ganymede*, ca. 1540 (Wales, Cyfartha Castle Museum and Art Gallery) (fig. 11), inspired by Michelangelo's famous lost drawing of 1532 for Tommaso de' Cavalieri, known through many drawn and painted copies.[11] Here the pretty face and rosebud-shaped mouth of Ganymede, so different from Michelangelo's, as well as the springy curve of his thighs and the colours of the landscape, are evocative of the Kirkcaldy Master, as are his strands of hair by comparison with those of the Virgin.

Fig. 11 / Attributed to Master of Volterra, *The Rape of Ganymede*, ca. 1535-1540, oil on panel, 180 x 88 cm, Cyfartha Castle, Museum and Art Gallery (Merthyr Tydfil Leisure Trust).

Fig. 12 / Andrea del Sarto or copyist, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (The Fries Madonna), ca. 1521 or later, oil on panel, 104 x 76 cm, Ascott, Anthony de Rothschild Collection, National Trust.

Elena Capretti tentatively proposed that the Master of Volterra, given his apparent dependence on the style of Domenico Puligo, might in fact be the only Puligo pupil named by Vasari: namely Domenico Beceri of Florence.[12] According to Gaetano Milanesi, this Domenico Beceri was probably a Domenico di Jacopo, called Beco, listed under 1525 in the alphabetical catalogue of the Compagnia di San Luca.[13] And given that Vasari says that Beceri was distinguished by his good colouring, he might not be a totally inappropriate fit for the Kirkcaldy Master. But that master's dependence on the style of Andrea as well as Puligo is pinpointed by similarities with the poses, characterizations, and the side-combed Mohican hairstyle of the Christ Child, in a painting of the *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, known as the Fries Madonna (Ascott, Rothschild Collection) (fig.12), viewed by Shearman as an original by Andrea, but as a (partial) copy of a lost prototype by Freedberg, and in the past even attributed to Puligo.[14] Once again, therefore, the possibility of another hand, or even partial inventor, comes into play.

The projected cleaning of the Kirkcaldy panel, removing any retouchings, as well as dirty varnish, might bring the colours and forms of the picture into closer alignment with one of these assorted rivulets from the Puligo-del Sarto nexus. In the meantime, we can view the Kirkcaldy Master as a charming if minor Florentine exponent of Vasari's "maniera moderna", who was especially close to Domenico Puligo.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to David Mannings, Carlo Falciani, Heidi Hornik, Paul Joannides, David Ekserdjian, Michael Simpson, and Aaron Thom for discussing the picture with me; and to Nicola Wilson and Ross Irving for providing access, as well as information about the provenance.
2. It was part of Anstruther Town Council's collection until 1975, when all of the Town Councils were abolished under the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973. The painting was not accessioned by Kirkcaldy Museum and Art Gallery until 1984, so will have been moved there at some point between 1975 and 1984.
3. Further to which see Julian Brooks, Denise Allen, and Xavier F. Salomon, eds., *Andrea del Sarto. The Renaissance Workshop in Action*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: the Getty Museum, 2015).
4. For Puligo see Serena Padovani and Elena Capretti, eds., *Domenico Puligo (1492-1527). Un protagonista dimenticato della pittura fiorentina*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 2002).
5. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. A.B. Hinds and ed. William Gaunt, 4 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, Everyman's Library, 1963), II, pp. 264-266.
6. See Stefano Casciu in Marco Chiarini and Serena Padovani, eds., *La Galleria Palatina e gli appartamenti reali di Palazzo Pitti. Catalogo dei Dipinti*, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 2003), II, p. 308.
7. For Foschi see Sydney J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500-1600*, revised ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 464, 465, 469, and 701-702, n. 37 and 38.
8. I am indebted to Carlo Falciani for suggesting the closeness of the Kirkcaldy painter to the Master of Volterra, though as someone probably in his circle rather than he himself. For the Maester of Volterra see Patrizia La Porta, "Per il Maestro di Volterra," in *Pontormo e Rosso: Atti del convegno di Empoli e Volterra. Progetti Appiani di Piombino*, eds. Roberto P. Ciardi and Antonio Natali (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), pp. 172-174.
9. Photo, Gabinetto Soprintendenza di Firenze no. 11919.
10. See Piero Torriti, *La Pinacoteca di Siena* (Genoa: Sagep, 1978), p. 202. The *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John* is well illustrated in Padovani and Capretti, *Domenico Puligo*, p. 95.
11. The Welsh picture is more naturalistic than the Michelangelo and also contains several variations, especially in the architecture and the landscape. It was purchased by the Museum in 1911 from Mr. W. Edwards of Pontycapel Brewery. He, in turn, had acquired it from the painter Harry Dyke Pearce (information from Kelly Powell of the Cyfartha Castle Museum). Painted copies of the Michelangelo survive in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, while painted variants of it include Battista Franco's *Battle of Montemurlo*, ca. 1537 (Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti). For the latter see Casciu, Chiarini, and Padovani, *La Galleria Palatina*, I, p. 125, and II, p. 183. The Cyfartha Castle picture is most convincingly Florentine and not implausibly by the Master of Volterra. However, other possibilities may include a Veronese painter such as Giovanni Francesco Caroto.
12. Elena Capretti in Padovani and Capretti, *Domenico Puligo*, p 94.
13. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1879), IV, p. 468.
14. John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, pl. 85a, and II, no. 58, p. 247; Sydney J. Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto Catalogue Raisonné* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 91-92 and fig. 95.

Too many cooks…; Cerezo, Barranco, De Leito, and the kitchen still life in Madrid

PETER CHERRY

Fig. 1 / Attributed to Mateo Cerezo, *Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils*, oil on canvas, 100 x 127 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Since its acquisition by the Museo Nacional del Prado in 1970, *Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils* (P3159) has been one of the most widely exhibited – and admired – Spanish still-life paintings from the seventeenth century (fig. 1). It entered the museum as an anonymous painting of the Madrid school.[1] Its quality was noted in 1972, when it was catalogued as "Obra excelente de estilo próximo a Pereda."[2] In the catalogue of the London exhibition *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting* in 1976, Xavier de Salas was unable to decide on its authorship; he said that it might be by Antonio de Pereda and painted ca. 1640, but also noted its compositional similarities to signed still lifes by Mateo Cerezo in the Museo de San Carlos in Mexico City (figs. 2 & 3). Alfonso Pérez Sánchez went on to develop the attribution to Cerezo on stylistic grounds in the catalogue of his exhibition *D. Antonio de Pereda (1611-1678) y la Pintura Madrileña de su Tiempo*.[3] This was also based on perceived stylistic similarities with the Cerezo still lifes in Mexico; he said that the treatment of the meat and the copper utensils is almost identical in these paintings, as is the pictorial contrast between the bread and white cloth. He noted that the style of the feathers in the Prado picture is similar to birds painted by Frans Snyders (1579-1657) or Jan Fyt (1611-1661), something which, in his view, would not be surprising in a work painted in Madrid ca. 1660. Pérez Sánchez exhibited the painting again in *Pintura Española de Bodegones y Floreros de 1600 a Goya* in 1983-1984, which also included the two still lifes by Cerezo from Mexico; the catalogue entry repeated the assertions made in 1978.[4] By this time, he claimed that the attribution to Cerezo was generally accepted.

The painting was given to Cerezo in subsequent publications by Pérez Sánchez and routinely compared to this artist's still lifes in Mexico. It was listed as such in the catalogue of the paintings of the Museo del Prado in 1985 by Pérez Sánchez, then the museum's director.[5] He included it in his exhibition *Carreño, Rizi, Herrera y la Pintura Madrileña de su Tiempo [1650-1700]* in 1986, in which he elaborated his catalogue entry of 1978.[6] His book *La nature morte espagnole* of 1987 repeated the same information.[7] The picture is in the catalogue raisonné of the artist by Rogelio Buendía and Ismael Gutiérrez Pastor, *Vida y obra del pintor Mateo Cerezo (1637-1666)* of 1986.[8] These authors followed Pérez Sánchez in stressing the similarity of the painting with the signed still lifes in Mexico, while also emphasizing the influence of the compositions of Giuseppe Recco and Flemish still-life painting.

Doubts about the attribution to Cerezo began to appear with the first international showing of *Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils* in 1976 in the exhibition *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting* at the Royal Academy, London.[9] The picture was highlighted in the review by Eric Young, "New Perspectives on Spanish Still-Life Painting in the Golden Age," in which the author claimed not to be persuaded by the attributions to either Pereda or Cerezo.[10] It was included in *Spanish Still Life from Velázquez to Goya* at the National Gallery, London, in 1995, in whose catalogue the organizers, William Jordan and the present author, noted differences, rather than similarities, in the style and handling of the picture in comparison with Cerezo's still lifes in Mexico.[11]

Fig. 2 / Mateo Cerezo, *Kitchen Still Life with Meat*, oil on canvas, 84 x 104 cm, Mexico City, Museo de San Carlos.

Fig. 3 / Mateo Cerezo, *Kitchen Still Life with Fish Bread, and Utensils*, signed and dated 166[4], oil on canvas, 84 x 104 cm, Mexico City, Museo de San Carlos.

While these reservations have subsequently affected art-historical opinion, an alternative attribution has not been proposed.[12]

Despite disagreements about its attribution, the painting's aesthetic quality has never been in doubt. Since its 1976 showing in London and Paris, it has made regular appearances over many years as a flagship work of the Spanish "Golden Age". It appeared in the exhibition at Caracas, Museo de Bellas Artes, *Cuatrocientos Años de Pintura Española* in 1981;[13] Paris, Petit Palais, *De Greco a Picasso. Cinq siècles d'Art Espagnol*, 1987-1988;[14] Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, *Du Greco a Goya. Chefs d'Oeuvre du Prado et des Collections Espagnoles*, 1989;[15] and Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, *Luci del Secolo d'Oro Spagnolo*, 1998.[16] It was exhibited in the thematic show *Pintura Española de Bodegones y Floreros*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo; Nagoya City Art Museum, Nagoya, 1992, and the exhibition showcasing the Spanish still lifes in the Museo del Prado, *La Belleza de lo Real. Floreros y Bodegones Españoles en el Museo del Prado, 1600-1800* in 1995.[17] It was again in Japan in 2002 in *Obras Maestras del Museo del Prado*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.[18] It appeared in *El Bodegón Español de Zurbarán a Picasso*, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1999-2000, where Pérez Sánchez acknowledged doubts about its attribution to Cerezo.[19] It was included in the travelling exhibition *El Bodegón Español en el Prado*, Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, Zaragoza 2008;[20] Caja Canarias, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2009; Fundación Caixa Galicia, La Coruña 2009; Monasterio de Nuestra Señora del Prado, Valladolid, 2009-2010; Fundación Cajamurcia, Murcia, 2010; Centro de Arte, Alcoi, Valencia, 2011. In 2012, the painting was in Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce, *Del Greco a Goya. Obras Maestras del Museo del Prado*, 2012.[21] At the time of writing, it is in a still-life show at the Musei Reali, Galleria Sabauda, of Turin, *Il Silenzio sulla Tela. Natura Morta Spagnola da Sánchez Cotán a Goya*, which is the second leg of one held earlier in the year at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.[22]

Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils shows, life-sized, an eviscerated lamb and a hen hanging at the left; a game bird lies on the ledge in the foreground; and, on the right side, there is a butchered halved head of mutton – shorn of horns – and ribs, with cured ham.[23] The evident "popularity" of the picture on the exhibition circuit is perhaps surprising in light of its subject matter and modern sensibilities around such a frank treatment of slaughtered animals.[24] In a health-conscious age too, this mound of red meat could be considered far from innocuous. On the other hand, the very history of art acts as a significant corrective for the modern viewer. The mesmerizing gaze of the sheep's head brings to mind a prurient fascination with death in the paintings of Goya (*Still Life with Ribs and Head of Lamb*, 1808-1812, Musée du Louvre) and Picasso (*Still Life with Sheep's Skull*, 1939, Private Collection).[25] The aesthetic opportunity the artist has seized here to make "meaty" pigment a metaphor for the materiality of the subject – paint as meat / meat as paint – can also be admired alongside Rembrandt and Chaim Soutine, Francis Bacon, and Lucien Freud.

This was probably not quite how the picture was regarded when it was painted. Then, it could be eaten with the eyes and enjoyed in terms of more basic kinds of wish fulfillment. The cycles of feast and famine which characterized the period, and significant fluctuations in the price of comestibles, meant that these permanently painted foods emanated a comforting symbolic sense of plenty and well-being.[26] The presence of a copper eight *maravedís* coin in the foreground refers in itself to the endemic economic instability of the times, since it has been counter-stamped in at least one of the periodic revaluations of the currency. It is unlikely that a negative moral meaning was intended here, although traditional symbolic associations of meat with bodily satisfactions, with worldliness and even with excess, were pitted against forms of spiritual nourishment in imagery current at the time.[27] Such a reading would be to neglect the significance of the most obvious commodity of all – the work of art itself. This painting would have cost much more than the objects it represents and is likely to have been acquired by a collector of pictures and shown as an aesthetic object. Indeed, the work is a highly staged artistic performance; the different masonry levels are designed to show to best effect the abilities of the artist in the realistic representation of a wide range of foodstuffs, and not merely to illustrate the interior of a kitchen or larder. The knife with an ivory handle (and stamped, it seems, with a letter "P") is an elegant piece of tableware, but also a proxy of the painter's brush which allows a dead lamb at the left of the picture to be shown "skinned" at the right.

As a still-life painting, the work in the Prado can be best understood in the context of the emergence of "kitchen" pieces in Madrid around the middle of the seventeenth century, even though the specific contributions to this trend of different artists in terms of dating and attribution are still unclear. These pictures represent foodstuffs in relatively non-specific physical environments which can be identified with a kitchen or larder (*despensa*) – not market stalls – along with a range of cooking receptacles and utensils. In the case of *Kitchen Still Life with Meat* by Cerezo in Mexico (see fig. 2), a cooking fire is also represented. The typology was not entirely new in Spanish painting. There already existed a tradition of pairing paintings of meat and fish in accordance with the Christian culture of days in which the eating of meat was permitted (*carnal*) and days of abstinence (*cuaresma*) in which fish was normally consumed, such as Fridays and set feast days. Early pairs of such still lifes painted by Alejandro de Loarte (1595/1600-1626), for instance, can be seen as a precedent for the pair by Cerezo in Mexico.[28] However, painters in Madrid around the middle of the century probably also responded to imported pictures which represented an inspiring alternative to the tradition of Juan van der Hamen (1596-1631). An uncompromising realism in the kitchen still lifes of Neapolitan painters such as Giovanni Battista Recco (active 1650s) – whose works include heads of butchered animals – evidently appealed in Spain and a fashion for fish paintings may have come from the works of specialists such as Giuseppe Recco.[29] Flemish kitchen pictures by Frans Snyders, which often included whole animals, are also relevant here, and the prestige of these works in the royal collection and those of distinguished nobles may well have acted as a significant incentive to emulation.[30] The latter also mark a return to an older type of kitchen still life by sixteenth-century artists such as Pieter Aertsen which had long been esteemed in Spain. In these works, a generous array of foodstuffs is accompanied by kitchen accoutrements associated with their preparation and consumption, and their theme of sensuality is played out by the (reprehensible) actions of cooks, servants, and other lower-class figures.

Fig. 4 / Andrés De Leito, *Kitchen Still Life with Meat*, signed, oil on canvas, 104 x 164 cm, Barcelona, Instituto Amatller.

Fig. 5 / Andrés De Leito, *Kitchen Still Life with Fish*, signed, oil on canvas, 104 x 164 cm, Barcelona, Instituto Amatller.

Fig. 6 / Ignacio Arias, *Kitchen Still Life with Cuts of Meat, Asparagus, and Kitchen Utensils*, signed, oil on canvas, 115 x 145 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Andrés De Leito invoked these typologies in a number of idiosyncratic genre paintings; two show servants with food beset by strange men (figs. 8 & 9) and a pair of pictures gives a gendered dimension to the old still-life theme of meat and fish – one painting shows a male figure with fowl, gamebirds, and ham, while the other shows a woman preparing soaked salted fish (*pescado abadejo remojado*) (figs. 4 & 5).

Another relevant example in this context is the kitchen *Still Life with Cuts of Meat, Asparagus, and Kitchen Utensils* by the Madrid painter Ignacio Arias (ca. 1618-1653), which is likely to have been painted in the 1640s (fig. 6).[31] Here, uncooked foodstuffs, pots and pans, a mortar and pestle, and two elegant glass goblets, with a bubble of blue glass in the centre of each, are arranged on stepped masonry ledges. The latter structures might have existed in kitchens of the time. The distance from which objects have been represented perhaps more closely approximates to the experience of seeing such things in these spaces. However, this compositional format ultimately derives from the later works of Van der Hamen and is an aesthetic stratagem which allows Arias to itemize objects of different surface textures across the entire pictorial field. This is betrayed by the anomalous presence of the glass goblets. A display of skill which is a topos of the kitchen piece is evident in the metal receptacles having been propped up to show the light effects on their inside surfaces. Filling the large boiling vessel at the left with water gives added value for the expectant viewer.

Antonio Palomino praised the still-life paintings of Antonio de Pereda (1611-1678) in his biography of the artist and thus cemented his reputation in this field for the history of art in Spain. However, this activity is mentioned almost as an afterthought at the end of the biography and in generic terms; his still lifes are somewhat disparagingly called *bodegoncillos* (little *bodegones*) and none is described individually.[32] Today, Pereda's role as an innovator in the kitchen still life is based on the pendant pictures from 1651 – *Still Life with Vegetables* and *Still Life with Fruits* – in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, and associated variants. In the works in Portugal, a dense accumulation of objects occupies a single ledge and allows a full display of the artist's accuracy in descriptive representation. The picture with vegetables includes pans of copper and brass, ceramic and copper jugs, glassware and a mortar

Fig. 7 / Mateo Cerezo, *Still Life with Fish, Bread, and a Copper Pan*, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 83.5 cm, Private Collection.

and pestle. These are recurrent objects in the repertoire of props in this kind of picture and are also to be seen in the aforementioned painting by Arias. A routine display of painterly skill in representing the inner surfaces of metal pans, noted above, can be seen here too.

Perhaps Pereda's still lifes inspired the short-lived Mateo Cerezo (1637-1666) to paint kitchen pieces. In his biography of Cerezo, Palomino praised his *bodegoncillos* in the same formulaic terms as those of Pereda and added that they were only rivalled in Madrid by the works of Andrés De Leito.[33] Cerezo's reputation in the field is today based on the pair of paintings in the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico mentioned at the beginning of this article, one of which is signed and dated 166[4] (see figs. 2 & 3). The fact that the style of these paintings is not consistent with Cerezo's figure paintings is not surprising, given the different representational rationales which underpinned the genres of still life and narrative. Despite their importance, these still lifes have been rarely exhibited outside Mexico and are known to most art historians in the form of photographs of variable quality.[34] The painting of meat articulates the theme of the kitchen still life particularly well; ingredients for a stew are shown as if these had just been brought from market in the wicker shopping basket. Cerezo records the surface textures and details of each element with viscous, carefully worked paint in a technique inspired by Pereda. The everyday subject matter is dramatized by a dark environment – though surely now all the more gloomy for the condition of the painting – and strong contrasts of light and shade. Sparks flying from the flames of the cooking fire distinguish this work from others in terms of its painterly ambition.

These two works by Cerezo remain the touchstones for the attribution of other still lifes to the artist. Two fish pieces, *Still Life with Fish, Bread, and a Copper Pan* and *Still Life with Fish and a Slice of Hake*, bear remains of an inscription on each which has been read as the signature of Cerezo.[35] However, it is difficult to see stylistic similarities between these and his still lifes in Mexico. In Cerezo's *Still Life with Fish, Bread, and Utensils* (see fig. 3), the bold highlights of the white cloth give its fold configuration lucid structure, and the surface of the bread is objectively described with thick paint. Equivalent details in one of the pair of fish pieces (fig. 7),

Fig. 8 / Andrés De Leito, *Still Life with Figures – Winter*, ca. 1680, oil on canvas, 106.5 x 165 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

Fig. 9 / Andrés De Leito, *Still Life with Figures – Autumn*, ca. 1680, oil on canvas, 106.5 x 165 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

on the other hand, show the use of thinned pigment, a less emphatic modelling of forms, and a more uniform handling. Another picture, *Still Life with Bread, Squid, Lobster, Fish, and Utensils*, is comparable to this pair of fish pieces, in, for instance, the "standard" detail of a bread roll atop a white cloth.[36] All three pictures would ultimately appear to be Spanish responses to Neapolitan models and particularly the paintings of fish and sea foods by Giuseppe Recco, which were appreciated on the Madrid art market.[37]

Technical analysis of the aforementioned pair of fish pieces has revealed an approach characterized by an economy of means and materials, and a direct, expeditious execution. The artist has worked the pigments wet-in-wet over a tonal base, with most of the composition probably completed in a single session.[38] Objects are modelled with glazes of dark pigment and earth colour notes relieve the generally monochrome palette. The pictures are close in style to the still lifes of Andrés De Leito in terms of their *tenebrismo*, with objects illuminated by flashing highlights, and their handling, with "watery" paint applied in long brushstrokes in the larger forms. There is a similarity in the handling of the green glaze pot in *Still Life with Fish, Bread, and a Copper Pan* (see fig. 7) and the green melon in De Leito's *Still Life with Figures – Winter* (fig. 8), as well as the bread in the first and the same motif in the pendant picture by De Leito (fig. 9); in addition the handling of the fish in the first picture is like the chicken served by the woman in this pendant.[39] Moreover, the technical procedures analyzed in the pictures attributed to Cerezo and those of De Leito have been shown to have much in common.[40] The paint surfaces of the former are, however, generally smoother and they lack the characteristic "sparkle" of highlights built up with spots of pigment in De Leito's works.

If the two fish pieces discussed here were indeed by Cerezo, then they would oblige scholars to reconsider the artist's short career; they would have to be explained in terms of a plausible stylistic evolutionary model or the demands of the market, to say nothing of the activities of a workshop. The technical analogies with the works of De Leito, who is documented in Madrid between 1656-1663 during the same years of activity as Cerezo, may justify Palomino citing the two artists in the same sentence for their reputation as still-life painters. This, in turn, would raise other questions. Did one train the other? Or, did they share a workshop? The last possibility is well worth considering, since workshops were probably technically promiscuous spaces, where artists could pick up procedures and methods from one another. Or is the relationship to be considered in terms of rivalry, with De Leito's emulation of Cerezo explaining the very technical and stylistic analogies which have led to questions of attribution?[41]

Francisco Barranco also painted kitchen still lifes, along with bird and fish pieces, and appears to have worked in both Madrid and Seville. The claim of Cean Bermúdez that Barranco lived in Andalusia around 1646, "where there are several *bodegoncillos* signed by him and painted with verisimilitude and good colouring," was probably based on signed pictures which the biographer had seen while he himself lived there.[42] That Barranco worked in Seville is suggested by three still lifes inventoried in a local collection in 1650, along with three by Francisco de Herrera.[43] His main competitors in the genre at this time would have been Francisco de Herrera the Elder (ca. 1590 – ca. 1657), the Zurbaráns, father Francisco (1598-1664) and son Juan (1620-1649) Pedro de Medina (d. 1691), and Pedro de Camprobín (1605-1674).[44] However, Barranco's still lifes are stylistically unlike those being painted in Seville at this time, and he may have arrived in the city already formed as a painter. The fact that, so far, the archival sources have not yielded any biographical information on him also raises the possibility that he was passing

Fig. 10 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Dead Birds and Chocolate Service*, signed and dated 1647, oil on panel, 30.2 x 50.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 11 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Birds and Rabbits (and Chocolate Service)*, signed and dated 1647, oil on canvas, 30.2 x 50.5 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

Fig. 12 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Fruits and Oysters*, signed and dated 1647, oil on canvas, 30.2 x 50.5 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

through the city, perhaps on his way to South America. It may be significant in this regard that still lifes are the only works known by Barranco; this was a genre which was well suited to an itinerant artist, being generally painted on spec and finding a ready market among private collectors.

Circumstantial evidence from Barranco's still lifes could point to the artist's Flemish origins.[45] The subject matter of three paintings, signed and dated 1647, is unusual in the context of Spanish still life (figs. 10, 11, & 12).[46] The presence in one picture of a live rabbit eating a lettuce leaf, no less, goes against the principle generally observed by Spanish painters that *still* life represented *naturaleza muerta*. The inclusion of live animals in still lifes was more common in Flemish art. The dead birds that are a signature motif of the artist are also a subject matter associated with Flemish still-life painters, such as Jan Fyt, among others. The blue salt-glazed stoneware jug with a pewter top in one of the still lifes (fig. 12) is evidently of northern manufacture. The artist's use of a northern oak panel in the *Still Life with Dead Birds and Chocolate Service* fig. 10) is also significant in this regard.[47] On the other hand, Barranco's works might be thought to lack the technical proficiency and stylistic meticulousness that would be expected in a northern still-life specialist.[48] Two of the still lifes illustrated here (see figs. 10 & 11) represent the accoutrements of chocolate drinking; this quintessentially "Spanish" subject matter can be seen in the works of Juan de Zurbarán.[49] Still-life paintings with dead birds are also known in Seville at this time; one by Pedro de Camprobín is signed and dated 1653 (Dallas, Meadows Museum), although Barranco's paintings may have inspired this.[50] The aforementioned "Flemish" features in Barranco's paintings could just as well be explained by his emulation of foreign models in Spain.[51]

A fish painting, *Still Life with Oysters, Crab, Lobster, and Seafood*, painted by Barranco in the 1650s, for instance, may well be a response to Flemish still lifes (or Neapolitan ones) which the artist saw in either Madrid or Seville.[52] The heterogeneous nature of his subject matter would appear to be borne out by recent attributions of still lifes to the artist.[53]

While Barranco's works are documented in Seville, his kitchen pieces can be understood in the context of painting in Madrid. A key work in this regard is *Still Life with Sheep's Head, Aubergines, Partridge, and Utensils* in Budapest (fig. 13), since this bears an old inscription "original Ð barranco" on the reverse of the original canvas.[54]

Fig. 13 / Francisco Barranco, *Kitchen Still Life (with Sheep's Head, Aubergines, Partridge, and Utensils)*, oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm, Budapest, Szépmüvészet Múzeum.

Fig. 14 / Francisco Barranco, *Kitchen Still Life with Sheep's Head, Birds, Wine Cooler, and Receptacles*, oil on canvas, 68 x 90.8 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 15 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Apples, Fish, Wine Cooler, and Receptacles*, oil on canvas, 72 x 88 cm, Private Collection.

Technical analysis of this picture shows that its red earth preparation is broadly consistent with paintings made in Madrid.[55] Other still lifes attributed to Barranco on the basis of this picture show that the artist varied the formula of the kitchen piece with a repertoire of common receptacles – wooden buckets of water, copper and brass vessels, wine coolers, and crockery – arranged on a series of ledges, as per the kitchen still life by Ignacio Arias (see fig. 6). The head of mutton with a knife resting on a kind of butcher's block appears in the aforementioned work in Budapest and *Still Life with Sheep's Head, Birds, Wine Cooler, and Receptacles* (fig. 14). The excellent condition of this last painting allows an appreciation of the artist's direct handling, which sometimes forced lapses in the drawing of ellipses. The stack of upturned earthenware dishes and propped-up brass pan in this picture are also features of *Still Life with Apples, Fish, Wine Cooler, and Receptacles* (fig. 15). *Still Life with Fish, Squid, Barrel, and Pans* (fig. 16) contains a flat copper pan of the same type as the one which appears in the painting in Budapest, above, and reappears, also overturned, in another fish piece, *Still Life with Fish, Oysters, and Receptacles* (fig. 17), as well as the kitchen piece of Arias (see fig. 6).[56] The ruddy colour of copper and the dense impasto with which Barranco describes the texture of the beaten and dented metal is a characteristic of all of his paintings in which such receptacles appear.

Fig. 16 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Fish, Squid, Barrel, and Pans*, oil on canvas, 62 x 80 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 17 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Fish, Oysters, and Receptacles*, oil on canvas, 60 x 100 cm, Private Collection.

The stylistic characteristics evident in the group of paintings attributed to Francisco Barranco make him a potential candidate for the authorship of *Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils* (see fig. 1).[57] The copper pans in these pictures are comparable to those in the upper background of the Prado picture in terms of their rich colour, the handling of light effects in their interiors, and the lighting of the rims. Barranco was a master of wet-in-wet handling of paint, and his signature motif of dead birds was a vehicle for the display of this technique, especially in the creation of the textures of feathers. This is shown to particular effect in his panel paintings, in which the wood support emphasizes the impasto of the brushwork. The multi-directional brushwork in the feathers of the hen of the painting in the Prado might be seen as a consummate example of his virtuosity in this regard. The way in which the head of the hen is painted is not dissimilar to the birds' heads in the works on panel, and the feathers of its tail are close to the wings of birds in the latter pictures, despite the difference in size between them. The pressing of the loaded brush into the canvas surface in the painting in the Prado creates a double-edged mark. This effect can also be seen in the panel pictures of Barranco, as can his technique of scoring into wet paint – in the modelling of the onion in the Prado picture, for instance, and the fringe of the cloth in *Still Life with Birds and Chocolate Service* (see fig. 11). Having said this, however, the richness and density of the brushwork in the Prado still life is not to be seen to such a degree in other pictures attributed to Barranco. In the fur of the lamb, for instance, the interlaced brushwork and the generous use of white lead creates a unique sticky, creamy texture to the paint. Moreover, the atmospheric lighting of the painting in the Prado, which gives a relatively soft-edged appearance to the objects, is unlike the more marked chiaroscuro of Barranco.

Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles (fig. 18) repeats the motifs of the butchered lamb and copper cauldron from the Prado picture, and adds other elements around these to create a new composition. This work would appear to follow the larger, more complex prototype, rather than preceding it. An initial comparison of the common motifs suggested that an exact transfer was not employed; while their size is basically the same, the halved head of mutton is slightly shorter in the smaller picture, and the cauldron is in a different position relative to its counterpart in the larger work. This suggests that some basic contours or co-ordinates from the model elements may have been drawn on oiled papers in order to situate these motifs in the new work, but that there was subsequently a considerable degree of improvisation at the painting stage.

From examination of the work, it is painted on a warm reddish ground, which is typical of preparations used for paintings on canvas in Madrid in the middle of the century. This can be seen at many points where the paint is thin, such as the front ledge, and in the background. Observation in raking light shows a bold underpainting or *bosquejo*, which is particularly clear in the cuts of meat, the slab and hams, and the interior of the cauldron. Forms are modelled directly in fluid paint, worked wet-in-wet, and with no discernible use of glazes. This relatively economical approach relates the painting to those of Cerezo, De Leito, and some paintings by Barranco. While the handling is rich and versatile in itself, it is more summary in execution in comparison with the source elements in the picture in the Prado.

This might be expected in the case of an artist who was copying himself. The multi-directional brushwork and impasto of the cabbage stalk resemble the handling of the Prado picture. However, the broad, sweeping brushwork which creates the light effects in the hammered interior of the cauldron is unlike the careful dabbing of the brush in the prototype. The butchered lamb's head is painted thinly over what appears to be a local optically-light ground. The red hues used to describe the meat and white of the fat are juxtaposed on this surface, rather than integrated, in a kind of technical shorthand relative to the handling of the prototype; in the latter, the wet-in-wet brushwork is more densely worked in order to achieve the requisite chromatic range and coherence in the modelling of the forms. However, the smaller picture is far from being a pedestrian derivation of the Prado version. Its technique is characterized by the speed, confidence, and vigour of the brushwork. The artist has interpreted the handling of the prototype with bravura. This can be seen, for instance, in the bold white impasto used to describe the fat of the meat. An exceptional feature in the context of the loose handling of the painting is the carefully painted detail of the reflection of a sash window in the eye of the lamb.

Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles is close to the style of Barranco's *Still Life with Sheep's Head, Birds, Wine Cooler, and Receptacles* (see fig. 14), even if the former is painted more thinly. Characteristic drawn lines in black are evident to the naked eye in the modelling of the receptacles, and a distinctive way of painting highlights on the lips of vessels can be seen in both works. There are also some similarities in approach between *Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles* and the works of Andrés De Leito, as can be seen, for instance, in the stringy white highlights on the vessel in the centre background. This raises the possibility, once again, of artists knowing one another's practices in shared workshops. However, the motif of the hams atop a chopping block in the picture discussed here is painted with daubs of viscous pigment, while a similar motif in De Leito's picture in the Instituto Amattler (see fig. 4) is painted with the brush dragged through thin paint. The handling of the paper packet of spices, probably pepper, in these two works is also very different.

Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles and *Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils* in the Prado were evidently the sources for a pair of still lifes which have been attributed to Mateo Cerezo.[58] One of the latter quotes verbatim the main theme of the left foreground from *Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles* – the grouped motifs of butchered meat, cabbage, mortar and pestle, and copper cauldron – and adds a green-glaze jug from another source, yet to be identified. The pendant picture quotes verbatim the motif of the cured hams on a slab from *Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles*, along with the arrangement of copper vessels in the upper background of *Still Life with Lamb, Bread, and Kitchen Utensils* in the Prado, adding a squid in the left foreground to create a new still life. In the transfer of motifs from the prototypes to their new homes there are some minor changes. A difference in the sizes of the copied elements relative to the source pictures, as well as an evident degree of distortion in them, would appear to rule out the use of mechanical transfer techniques. The deformation of the head of mutton relative to the prototype suggests a freehand copying process. This pair of derivative pictures is stylistically different from both of the source works. Even though the textures of the borrowed motifs are imitated well, there is a noticeable abbreviation of the modelling and the details of the forms. This artist evidently had access to both of the prototypes in order to cannibalize them for two new works: the space where this is most likely to have occurred is a shared workshop.[59]

When the present writer began to study Spanish still life for his doctoral thesis in 1981, many artists still lacked a clearly defined corpus of works. The art historian was duty bound to undertake fundamental documentary research and to engage in attribution questions. If nothing else, this article testifies to the continued relevance of that approach today, as well as its pitfalls and the necessary caution required. If the attributions tentatively offered here were to be accepted by the scholarly community, it would mean that one of the major still-life paintings of the Spanish seventeenth century would pass from its current anonymity to join the works of an artist about whom we know next to nothing. This would be a contribution to knowledge of sorts, but perhaps more importantly it would show just how much there is still to learn in the field into which Jennifer Fletcher directed her student all those years ago.

Fig. 18 / Francisco Barranco, *Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles*, oil on canvas, 82 x 106 cm, Private Collection.

NOTES

1. The painting was bought from Sucesores de Rodríguez y Jiménez S.L. Antigüedades for 1.500.000 *pesetas* (reduced from 2.000.000 *pesetas* when first offered in December 1969) and recommended for purchase by the state by Diego Angulo (17 June 1970), then director of the museum. See Madrid, Archivo Museo Nacional del Prado: Caja 108, Legajo 13.10, Expediente 27. The author wishes to thank the following colleagues for their help in the preparation of this article: Juan Abelló, Irene Brooke, María Cruz de Carlos Varona, Jan Depuyt, Jaime García Maíquez, José Gómez Frechina, Enrique Gutiérrez de Calderón, Nicola Jennings, William B. Jordan, Beatriz Moreno de Barreda, Edward Payne, Rafael Romero Asenjo, Alice Thomson, and José Antonio de Urbina.
2. Xavier de Salas, ed., *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de las pinturas* (Madrid: Museo Nacional de Prado, 1972), p. 908, where the subject matter was given as lamb, cock, halved head of beef and a thrush, ("cordero, gallo, cabeza de ternera partida, un tordo ...").
3. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *D. Antonio de Pereda (1611-1678) y la pintura madrileña de su tiempo*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Palacio de Bibliotecas y Museos, 1978-1979), no. 110.
4. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura Española de bodegones y floreros de 1600 a Goya*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1983), no. 76; nos. 74, 75 for the Cerezo still lifes from Mexico.
5. "Su atribución a Mateo Cerezo se confirma por su identidad de técnica con los bodegones firmados de éste, conservados en el Museo de San Carlos de México," Alfonso Pérez Sánchez in *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de las pinturas* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1985), pp. 142-143.
6. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Carreño, Rizi, Herrera y la pintura madrileña de su tiempo: 1650-1700*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Palacio de Villahermosa, 1986), no. 134. Pérez Sánchez claimed that there was unanimous acceptance of the painting as a highly significant example of Cerezo's work as a still-life painter. Comparing it with Cerezo's still lifes in Mexico, he said that the mastery of representation of bloody meat, the copper vessels, and the bread on white cloth "son absolutamente definitivas del modo de Cerezo." He said that the artist knew the "técnica suntuosa y sensual" of the Flemish still-life painters Snyders and Fyt, especially in the treatment of feathers, and that the "complejidad y madurez" of the painting placed it at the end of Cerezo's brief life. The picture had been included the year before in Pérez Sánchez's exhibition *Juan Carreño de Miranda y la pintura barroca madrileña* (Oviedo: Museo de Bellas Artes de Asturias, 1985), no. 25.
7. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *La nature morte espagnole* (Paris: Vilo, 1987), pp. 121,124, fig. 111, as Cerezo, 1660-1665. The painting is also discussed in Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura barroca en España, 1600-1750* (Madrid: Cátedra, ed. 2010), p. 319, as the work of Cerezo.
8. José Rogelio Buendía and Ismael Gutiérrez Pastor, *Vida y obra del pintor Mateo Cerezo (1637-1666)* (Burgos: Diputación Provincial, 1986), no. 69.
9. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez and Xavier de Salas, *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy, 1976), no. 78. The painting was included in the version of the exhibition in Paris, *La peintre espagnole du siècle d'or, de Greco a Velázquez,* exh. cat. (Paris: Petit Palais, 1976), no. 74.
10. Eric Young, "New Perspectives on Spanish Still-Life Painting in the Golden Age," *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): pp. 202-224, esp. pp. 212-213.
11. William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *Spanish Still Life from Velazquez to Goya*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 1995), no. 35.
12. See, for instance, Javier Portús Pérez, *Guía de pintura barroca española* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2001), pp. 260-261.
13. *Cuatrocientos años de pintura española*, exh. cat. (Caracas: Museo de Bellas Artes, 1981), no. 57.
14. José Manuel Pita Andrade, Bartolomé Bennassar, and Julián Gállego, *De Greco a Picasso. Cinq siècles d'Art Espagnol*, exh. cat (Paris: Petit Palais, 1987-1988), no. 74.
15. Claude Gaume, *Du Greco a Goya. Chefs d'oeuvre du Prado et des collections espagnoles*, exh. cat. (Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1989), no. 50.
16. Fernando Checa Cremades, *Luci del secolo d'oro spagnolo*, exh. cat. (Bologna: Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, 1998), no. 76.
17. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan, and Nagoya-shi Bijutsukan, *Pintura Española de bodegones y floreros*, exh. cat. (Tokyo and Nagoya: National Museum of Western Art and City Art Museum, 1992), no. 35; Trinidad de Antonio Sáenz and Mercedes Orihuela Maeso, *La belleza de lo real. Floreros y bodegones españoles en el Museo del Prado, 1600-1800*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1995), no. 14.
18. Akira Kinoshita, *Obras maestras del Museo del Prado*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, 2002), no. 55.
19. José Milicua, ed., *El bodegón español de Zurbarán a Picasso*, exh. cat. (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes, 1999-2000), no. 38.
20. Juan J. Luna, *El bodegón español en el Prado. De Van der Hamen a Goya*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2008), no. 26, pp. 94-95.
21. Cheryl Hartup, José Alvarez Lopera, and Pablo Pérez d'Ors, *Del Greco a Goya. Obras maestras del Museo del Prado*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), no. 22.
22. Ángel Aterido, ed., *Il silenzio sulla tela. Natura morta spagnola da Sánchez Cotán a Goya*, exh. cat. (Turin: Galleria Sabauda, 2018), no. 33.
23. Joaquín Gómez Cano, *Las aves en el Museo del Prado* (Madrid: SEO/BirdLife, 2010), p. 108, had difficulty in identifying this bird; its size and the size of its beak identified it as belonging to the limicola genus, but no species of this group is known with a red head.
24. Nina Ayala Mallory, *Del Greco a Murillo. La pintura española del Sigo de Oro, 1556-1700* (Madrid: Alianza, 1991), pp. 237-238, esp. p. 238 noted the troubling effect of its bloody theme.
25. Pérez Sánchez in Milicua, *El bodegón español de Zurbarán a Picasso*, p. 182, wrote of "la terrible cabeza y costilla de ternera – que parecen anticipar efectos goyescos ..."
26. See José Ubaldo Bernardos Sanz, "No sólo de pan. Ganadería, abastecimiento y consumo de carne en Madrid (1450-1805)" (PhD diss., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1997), esp. pp. 103-58, 209-21, 256-69, on the preparation, sale, and consumption of meat in Madrid in these years. This author makes the point that the principal meat was *carnero* (ram, mutton) over two years old, and that all parts of the animal were sold at the same price.
27. See, for instance, Catalina Heroven et al., *El Siglo de Oro: The Age of Velázquez,* exh. cat. (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie, 2016), no. 40, Master of the Amsterdam Still Life, *Kitchen Scene*.
28. See Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza. El bodegon español en el siglo de oro* (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 1999), pp. 89-90, fig. XIII, for a pair by Loarte which include vignettes with kitchen scenes and the preparation of foods.
29. See Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, p. 87.
30. Ángel Aterido, *El bodegón en la España del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Edilupa, 2002), p. 73. On the collection of Flemish pictures of the Marquis of Leganés, see José Juan Pérez Preciado, "El marqués de Leganés y las artes" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008).
31. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. P7922. Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, pp. 236-237; Portús, *Guía de pintura*, no. 23.
32. Antonio Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1724), 3 vols. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), III, p. 306, "Hizo también bodegoncillos con tal excelencia, que ningunos le hacen ventaja, según los que yo he visto en casas particulares." Although he did not mention any of these collectors by name.
33. "Pintó también bodegoncillos, con tan superior excelencia, que ningunos le aventajaron, si es que le igualaron algunos; aunque sean los de Andrés de Leito, que en esta Corte los hizo excelentes." Palomino, *El museo pictórico,* III, p. 333.
34. The pictures were published by Diego Angulo Íñiguez, "La Academia de Bellas Artes de Méjico y sus pinturas españolas," *Arte en América y Filipinas* (Universidades de Sevilla) 1 (1935): pp. 1-75, esp. pp. 69-71, figs. 21 & 23, in black and white photographs. He gave a transcription of the signatures on both: "D. Matheo Zer …" in the bottom right corner of the meat still life and "D. Matheo Zerezo fac. 166 …" on the fish piece, and gave their sizes as 84 x 104 cm. The number "4" is now favoured as the most likely digit for the completion of the date on the last picture. Angulo's excitement at his discovery is evident; he said of the meat still life, "hasta me atrevería a calificarlo como una de las obras más perfectas que en este género ha producido la pintura española." Julio Cavestany, *Floreros y bodegones en la pintura Española*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Palacio de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1936-1940), pp. 40, 83, recognized the importance of the paintings and cited Angulo's enthusiastic appraisal of them, while complaining that deficient photographs did not allow him to see their aesthetic quality. As noted above (n. 4) they were included in Pérez Sánchez's show *Pintura Española de bodegones y floreros de 1600 a Goya* in Madrid in 1983 and were illustrated in good-quality colour illustrations in his follow-up book *La nature morte espagnole du XVII*e *siècle à Goya*, pp. 122-124, figs. 108 & 109. To the best knowledge of the present writer, the paintings have not been conserved, nor a technical study undertaken.
35. Offered at Sotheby's, New York, 21 May 1998, no. 291, as School of Madrid. See Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza,* p. 235, fig. LXXV; Rafael Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón español en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: I&R, 2009), pp. 368-375. Unfortunately, the technical study of the last does not analyze the inscriptions on these paintings.
36. Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, p. 235, fig. LXXIV.2. It has been paired with a painting of game birds, pomegranates and utensils. A still life depicting a turkey, duck and partridge on a shelf (Alcalá Subastas, Madrid, 4 December 2003, no. 360, 81 x 110 cm), bears a stylistic similarity to this painting. Its style is unlike the painting of gamebirds with which *Still Life with Bread, Squid, Lobster, Fish, and Utensils* is paired.
37. Another version of *Still Life with Bread, Squid, Sepia Lobster, Fish, and Utensils*, perhaps a copy, was offered at Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, 17 June 1988, no. 1057, attributed to the Circle of Giuseppe Recco.
38. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, p. 357, did not find discrete paint layers in these works.
39. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, p. 384, notes the similarities between the last motifs.
40. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 376-377.
41. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 367-385, on their techniques. A fish still life was attributed with some reservations to Cerezo's workshop by Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Colección Santamarca. Pinturas restauradas en 1983* (Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1984), no. 17; this was given to De Leito by Fernando Collar de Cáceres, "Andrés de Leito: revisión pictórica," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 20 (2008): pp. 77-90, esp. p. 96.
42. "Donde hay firmados de su mano varios bodegoncillos, que estan pintados con verdad y buen colorido." Juan Augustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando, 1800), I, p. 93. For Barranco, see Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, pp. 108-110; Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, pp. 261-262; Enrique Valdivieso, *Pintura barrocca sevilliana* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 2003), pp. 384-388; Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 191-201.
43. See Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life*, p. 195, n. 6, for these "bodegones" listed in the dowry of the widow of a surgeon, Bartolomé Ría.
44. See Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, Ángel Aterido, and Rafael Romero Asenjo, *La colección Rosendo Naseiro* (Madrid: Icono I&R, 2014), pp. 132-141, for a kitchen still life of modest aesthetic quality, inscribed "Herrera" on the reverse, and which these authors attribute to Herrera the Elder.
45. The possibility that Barranco may have used an Hispanicized form of an equivalent Flemish surname was thought unlikely by colleagues in Belgium consulted by the author.
46. Peter Cherry, *Tres siglos de pintura* (Madrid: Caylus Anticuario, 1995), pp. 140-143; Jordan and Cherry, *Spanish Still Life,* pp. 108-110; Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza,* pp. 261-262, fig. LXXXVI.2; Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 191-195.
47. See Zahira Véliz et al., *En torno a Velázquez. Pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, exh. cat. (Oviedo: Museo de Bellas Artes de Asturias, 1999), pp. 132-137; Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 191, 403-404.
48. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 191-192, for the preparation of the panels of figs. 11 & 12, which is found to be consistent with practices in Spain.
49. See, for instance, Juan de Zurbarán's *Still Life with Chocolate Service*, signed and dated 1639, Kiev, Museum of Western and Oriental Art.
50. Cherry, *Tres siglos de pintura*, p. 142. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 241-245, for a still life of game birds by Cornelio Schut, signed and dated 1665.
51. A relevant example from Seville is Pedro de Camprobín's *Still Life with Bowl of Fruit* (Private Collection), signed and dated 1656. This is painted on panel and follows the works of Jacob van Hulsdonck (1582-1647) and Isaac Soreau (1604 – ca. 1645), and with a concomitant high degree of meticulousness. See Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, p. 261-265; Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 204-206.
52. Oil on canvas, 50 x 80 cm. The last digit of the date (165[?]) is missing. See Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, p. 261, fig. 187; Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 195, 197-198, 200. Pedro de Medina's later *Still Life with Crabs and Shrimps* (Naseiro Collection) may have been, in turn, inspired by Barranco.
53. A pair of over doors representing fruit and vegetables in one picture and meat, game, and fish in the other were offered at Subastas Segre, Madrid, 23 May 2017, no. 92, as the works of Mateo Cerezo (see Buendía and Gutiérrez Pastor, *Vida y obra*, nos. 34 and 35; Pérez Sánchez in Milicua, *El bodegón español de Zurbarán a Picasso*, nos. 39 and 40). An editorial in *Ars Magazine* 35 (2017): pp. 12-14, noted that experts at the auction preview considered them paintings by Barranco. The brushwork is a little flatter in these paintings than is to be expected in the work of Barranco, but the present writer is unaware of the pictures' condition.
54. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, pp. 195-200.
55. Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*, p. 197.
56. *Still Life with Fish, Squid, Barrel, and Pans* (see fig. 16) and its unpublished pendant, representing a bowl of prepared game birds, wine, cheese, a lemon, and receptacle, oil on canvas, 62 x 80 cm, have an Andalusian provenance.
57. No technical analysis has been undertaken in the museum.
58. Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza,* p. 235, fig. LXXVI. The pictures measure 50.2 x 80.2 cm. They are studied in Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón*; Blanch, Aterido, and Romero Asenjo, *La colección Naseiro*, pp. 77-88. They are stylistically very different from the still-life paintings by Cerezo in the Academia de San Carlos, Mexico.
59. Another painting, seemingly by a different hand again, reuses these elements from *Still Life with Butchered Lamb, Ham, and Receptacles* (fig. 18) and collages them back into a larger composition (104 x 124 cm) of an equivalent size to the original in the Prado. See Blanch, Aterido, and Romero Asenjo, *La colección Naseiro*, p. 81, fig. 3.

The presence of portraits in Paolo Veronese's narrative paintings

XAVIER F. SALOMON

Compared to Titian and Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese produced a fairly small number of independent portraits. In the only study devoted to his portraiture, John Garton catalogued just twenty autograph painted works: sixteen half-length (twelve of men and four of women) and four full-length (three of men and one of a woman).[1] To these he added another fifteen portraits by "Veronese and studio." Among the portraits by Veronese are masterpieces such as those of Iseppo and Livia da Porto with their children Leonida and Deidamia (full length; now divided between the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence and the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore) and of Daniele Barbaro (half-length; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), as well as the so-called "Bella Nani" (Paris, Musée du Louvre) (fig. 1).[2] Despite their small number, Veronese's portraits reflect an inventive mix of lessons from Venetian portraiture – from Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and Tintoretto, as well as Paris Bordone and Palma il Vecchio – with models from the Venetian *terraferma* and Lombardy. How portraiture from Brescia and Bergamo, especially the work of Moretto and Moroni, influenced Veronese remains to be explored, but as Veronese's chosen name suggests, the artist remained close to his origins in Verona and his schooling under Antonio Badile and Giovanni Caroto, who provided enduring inspiration.

Notwithstanding Garton's volume, many questions persist in relation to Veronese as a portraitist. Attribution and dating, of course, remain paramount; it is often difficult to establish exactly when a portrait was painted or what the involvement of the workshop was. In some cases, this is directly connected to the issue of the identification of sitters. Of the twenty painted portraits catalogued by Garton, more than half the sitters are unknown. We have no idea, for example, about the identity of a number of gentlemen portrayed by Veronese, especially those in the half-length portraits in Budapest, at Palazzo Pitti, and at the Galleria Colonna, as well as the magnificent full-length portrait with the basilica of Saint Mark's in the background, now at the Getty.[3] Identification is even more difficult with the female sitters. Apart from the full-length portrait of Livia da Porto Thiene with her daughter Deidamia, all the females remain anonymous. Even the attempts to identify the Louvre portrait as Isabella Guerrieri Gonzaga Canossa and the "Bella Nani" as Giustiniana Barbaro are not altogether convincing.[4]

Veronese did, however, produce a large number of portraits if one takes into account those in larger narratives, both secular and religious. While some of these are discussed in detail in the literature, many remain "hidden" and are rarely considered or ignored altogether. With a focus on specific examples, this article examines the typologies of those portraits not envisioned as independent works.[5] Veronese included portraits in most of his works, and the patrons responsible for commissioning paintings often appear in these same canvases. One persistent problem, which I will not explore here as it deserves a separate and in-depth study, is that of Veronese's own image. Whether or not the musician in the middle of the Louvre's *Marriage Feast at Cana* or the hunter at Villa Barbaro in Maser are self-portraits has long been a heated and unresolved topic.

Fig. 1 / Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of a Lady, "La Bella Nani"*, ca. 1555-1560, oil on canvas, 119 x 103 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 2 / Paolo Veronese, *Baptism of Christ*, 1560-1561, oil on canvas, 204 x 102 cm, Venice, Chiesa del Redentore.

The most traditional manner in which to show patrons in religious works, altarpieces in particular, was to depict them half-length, at the bottom of the painting, praying toward celestial creatures. This method of representation is known in Italy as a portrait *in abisso*, as if the bodies of the contemporary figures depicted are dissolving at the bottom of the altarpiece into an "abyss".[6] While this genre of portraiture was outdated in Italy's main artistic centres by the mid-sixteenth century, it was still somewhat popular with patrons on the *terraferma*. Giovanni Caroto in Verona, for example, used this approach in some of his works. It is therefore not surprising that one of Paolo's first paintings, the Pala Bevilacqua Lazise, created for the church of San Fermo Maggiore in Verona, includes portraits of a man and a woman praying *in abisso*.[7] The commission for this work may have been related to Veronese's own family connections: Paolo's mother's half-sister, Cassandra, was the daughter of Leonardo Bevilacqua Lazise. Probably painted about 1546, the altarpiece survives in Verona (at the Museo di Castelvecchio) in a rather damaged state, but there is also a preparatory drawing for it (at Chatsworth) and a *modello* in oil on paper (at the Uffizi). Veronese likely used models for them as the features of the donors in the drawing and the sketch are different from those in the altarpiece. It is not known if the donors of this altarpiece were Giovanni Bevilacqua Lazise and his wife, Lucrezia Malaspina, or his brother Giovanni Battista and his wife, Francesca Pellegrini. While it is understandable that Veronese would include portraits *in abisso* for his first altarpiece in Verona, it is surprising that he worked on similar compositional solutions later on in Venice. About 1560, the merchant Bartolomeo Stravanzino and his son Giovanni commissioned from Veronese a small altarpiece of the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 2) to decorate the altar of the church of San Giovanni Battista, adjacent to the Capuchin church on the Giudecca.[8] The altarpiece must have been completed by 1561, as that is when the church was dedicated. The subject of the painting was particularly appropriate, both because of the dedication of the church and because of the first name of one of the patrons. While the Gospel scene occupies most of the painting, father and son appear at bottom right, in contemporary clothes, from the waist up, *in abisso*. They are shown together, one against the other – the son in profile, the father, behind, in a more meditative attitude. Christ's baptism is not witnessed by crowds along the banks of the Jordan; instead, the scene seems to take place for the salvation of only the two Stravanzino patrons. The way in which they are portrayed was no doubt established by them rather than by Veronese.

A number of *terraferma* patrons chose to be included in their altarpieces by Veronese. The brothers Antonio Maria and Giambattista Marogna appear in the *Virgin and Child with Saints Anthony of Padua and John the Baptist* for the church of San Paolo in Verona.[9] Instead of being shown *in abisso*, they are full-length, kneeling and accompanied by their patron saints. The cousins Girolamo and Antonio Petrobelli are portrayed in the company of Saints Jerome and Anthony Abbot, in the large altarpiece that they commissioned for the church of San Francesco in Lendinara about 1563.[10] In 1573, Marcantonio Cogollo, a prosperous cloth merchant, commissioned an altarpiece for the chapel of the Santa Spina, to the left of the high altar in the church of Santa Corona in Vicenza.[11] The painting, the *Adoration of the Kings*, includes a portrait of Cogollo, in profile at extreme left, witnessing the scene behind the three kings. His family coat of arms is depicted on the mule's harness, at bottom right.

Fig. 3 / Paolo Veronese, *The Virgin and Child with Saints George and Justina, and a Benedictine Monk*, ca. 1570, oil on canvas, 100 x 99 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 4 / Paolo Veronese, *The Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* (detail showing the portrait of Damiano Grana), 1572, oil on canvas, 477 x 862 cm, Vicenza, Santuario di Monte Berico.

Sometimes, parish priests and abbots were the patrons of devotional works, and Veronese portrayed some of them throughout his career. [12] In the background of the *Deposition of Christ*, painted in the mid-1540s for the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Verona (now at the Museo di Castelvecchio), is the portrait of a bearded man who is likely Lorenzo Busti, the head of the Hieronymite convent and the probable patron of the canvas.[13] Carlo Ridolfi wrote that "in Villa di Gravigna near Treviso there is one of his (Veronese's) altarpieces with the portrait of the parish priest."[14] He also recorded that hanging from a beam in a chapel of the church of San Sebastiano in Venice was "a small picture with Our Lady and a female virgin saint who offers a dove to the child, and in it there is the portrait of Father Michele Spaventi, Venetian."[15] Today, the canvas is in one of the side chapels in San Sebastiano.[16] Its original location in the church is unknown, but the picture was clearly a private devotional image painted for Spaventi, a Hieronymite monk at San Sebastiano. The monk's initials – FMS – appear embroidered on the white cushion below the young Christ in the painting. Another anonymous monk is portrayed in a devotional painting (now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston) depicting the Dead Christ held by an angel.[17] The *Virgin and Child with Saints George, Justina, and a Benedictine Monk* at the Louvre (fig. 3) also includes the portrait of a Benedictine monk.[18] The format of the canvas and the composition, with the central Virgin and Child flanked by the two saints, suggest that this was a small altarpiece for a private chapel. The monk has not been identified, but the presence of the two saints suggests that he was an abbot and possibly related to two of the main Benedictine institutions in the Veneto: San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice and Santa Giustina in Padua. It is tempting to identify the donor in this painting as Abbot Giuliano Careni da Piacenza, who in the 1570s had been abbot of both monasteries and commissioned from Veronese, at the end of 1574, the altarpiece for the high altar of Santa Giustina in Padua, with the *Martyrdom of Saint Justina*.[19]

During his lifetime, Veronese was celebrated for the large feast paintings he executed for refectories of monastic institutions in Venice and the *terraferma*. Invariably, these works showed abbots and important monks in the main narratives, often among crowds of servants and onlookers. The first of these feasts, painted for the Benedictine refectory of Santi Nazaro e Celso in Verona, was completed in 1556 and is now in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin.[20] It was commissioned by the prior of the monastery, Mauro Vercelli, and the large canvas represents the Gospel episode of the *Feast in the House of Simon*. Vercelli makes an appearance as a Benedictine monk, shown in profile above Christ's head, on the left. Giorgio Vasari described the painting in his short biography of Veronese: "in a large picture on canvas the supper hosted by Simon the leper for the Lord, when the sinner threw herself at his feet; with many figures, portraits from life, and the most extraordinary perspectives, and under the table there are two dogs so beautiful that they seem alive and natural, and further away certain cripples outstandingly rendered." Vasari noticed, in particular, the "portraits from life".[21] The 1562-1563 *Marriage Feast at Cana* for the refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (and now at the Louvre) also includes portraits of Benedictine monks.[22] Ridolfi recorded others in two refectory paintings. In 1572, in the *Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* for the refectory of the basilica of Monte Berico in Vicenza, Veronese "ingeniously placed the prior beside a column, who stands out wonderfully for the black of his robes" (fig. 4).[23] Damiano Grana, the prior at the time, was responsible for commissioning the canvas.

Fig. 5 / Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi* (detail showing the portrait of Andrea de' Buoni), 1573, oil on canvas, 555 x 1280 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

A year later, in 1573, Paolo painted a *Last Supper* – later transformed into a *Feast in the House of Levi* – for the refectory of the Venetian church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo (now at the Accademia in Venice). Ridolfi wrote that in the large canvas Veronese had portrayed Fra Andrea de' Buoni "at the side with a napkin on his shoulder, and that figure alone would be worth all that was spent on the painting"; the friar was the man who "offered Paolo a certain amount of money for this work, which he had left over from charity and confessions."[24] He is clearly identifiable sitting at the table on the right, possibly even in the guise of one of the apostles at Christ's last supper – most likely Saint Andrew, his name saint (fig. 5). Fra Andrea died, aged ninety-two, at Santi Giovanni e Paolo, in 1588; very little else is known about him or his role in the monastery.

As strange as it might seem, priests and patrons often appear in paintings they commissioned for their churches, whether as bystanders in religious scenes or, less frequently, protagonists in specific episodes, in the guise of saints. Bernardo Torlioni, the parish priest of San Sebastiano in Venice, was responsible for commissioning from Veronese (starting in the mid-1550s and continuing well into the 1570s) most of the decoration of his church, and he is likely portrayed in two paintings in the apse of San Sebastiano. His features were used for the Saint Francis of Assisi in the main altarpiece and also for one of the spectators in the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, on the right wall of the apse – his face, like that of Damiano Grana at Monte Berico, silhouetted against a marble column.[25] Between December 1561 and March 1562, Veronese produced three altarpieces for chapels in the Benedictine abbey at San Benedetto Po, near Mantua.[26] These were commissioned by the abbot, Andrea Pampuro da Asola, whose portrait is in one of the paintings. Pampuro is likely the man, in shadow, depicted directly above the figure of the kneeling Saint Nicholas in the *Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (London, National Gallery).

In two cases, ambitious and narcissistic parish priests were conspicuously portrayed by Veronese in their churches. In the second half of the 1550s, the priest Benedetto Manzini single-handedly oversaw the redecoration of his church of San Geminiano at the far end of Piazza San Marco, between the Procuratorie Vecchie and the Procuratorie Nuove, in Venice.[27] Manzini was close to the Barbaro family – who had commissioned from Veronese the frescoes for their villa in Maser – and had been rector of the church in Maser from 1554 to 1564. He had been parish priest at San Geminiano since 1545. The completion of the decoration was celebrated with the commission of a marble bust of Manzini, by Alessandro Vittoria, which was placed to the side of the high altar in 1561 (fig. 6).[28] About 1560, Manzini ordered from Veronese canvases to decorate the organ of San Geminiano; these cost the astonishing sum of 600 ducats. On the exterior of the organ shutters, Paolo painted the titular saint of the church, Geminianus, with Saint Severus.[29] From a comparison of the features of Saint Geminianus, on the right (fig. 7), with those of the Vittoria bust of Manzini, it is apparent that Veronese portrayed the priest as the titular saint of the church.

Fig. 6 / Alessandro Vittoria, *Benedetto Manzini*, ca. 1560, marble, 72 x 54 cm, Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti at the Ca' d'Oro.

Fig. 7 / Paolo Veronese, *Saints Geminianus and Severus* (detail showing the portrait of Benedetto Manzini as Saint Geminianus), ca. 1560, oil on canvas, 341 x 240 cm, Modena, Gallerie Estensi.

Fig. 8 / Paolo Veronese, *The Conversion of Saint Pantalon*, 1587, oil on canvas, 277 x 160 cm, Venice, San Pantalon.

The priest's features are evocatively described by Adolfo Venturi in 1937 in an article on Alessandro Vittoria: the "powerful jaws, the deformed nose, the tempestuous eyebrows, the pronounced lips which seem to betray Moorish blood, in this bust of a resolute commander of crews, rather than pastor of souls."[30] Sixteenth-century parishioners attending mass at San Geminiano would have seen their parish priest celebrate mass on the high altar, surrounded by two portraits of himself, one in marble by Vittoria and the other painted on the organ shutters by Veronese. Even more remarkable is the 1587 commission by the parish priest Bartolomeo Borghi of the main altarpiece for his church of San Pantalon.[31] *The Conversion of Saint Pantalon* (fig. 8) depicts the titular saint of the church in the act of resurrecting a boy from the dead, with Borghi on the left, in his parish priest vestments, helping the saint perform the miracle. Even more than Torlioni and Manzini, Borghi is shown as an active participant in a religious narrative over the high altar of his parish church.

Not only priests, however, appear as saints in Veronese altarpieces. Girolamo Grimani, a procurator of Saint Mark's, was a key patron in Veronese's life. According to Ridolfi, Paolo, as a young man "went to Rome with Girolamo Grimani… who had been appointed orator to the pope."[32] Whether or not Veronese actually travelled to Rome with Grimani (the procurator went there on three occasions, in 1555, 1560, and 1566), he is known to have worked for him a number of times. According to Ridolfi, Veronese frescoed mythological scenes on the façade of Grimani's country residence at Oriago;[33] and between 1582 and 1583 – toward the end of his life – he worked for Girolamo's son, Marino, on the decoration of the Grimani chapel in the apse of San Giuseppe di Castello. For the altar, he painted an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, in which he portrayed Girolamo (by now deceased) as Saint Jerome, on the left.[34]

Religious narratives created for secular settings also include portraits. The *Christ Among the Doctors* at the Prado (fig. 9) is described by Ridolfi in the Contarini collection in Padua.[35] Among the group of doctors on the right of the composition, one with a white beard, dressed in black and holding a pilgrim's staff, towers above the others. No doubt, he is the patron of the painting and possibly a member of the Contarini family. It has recently been proposed that he may be Pietro Contarini, who had travelled to the Holy Land as a young man in 1526.[36] There are no clues to the identity of the two men in the background – accentuated by being placed against a column – of the early *Conversion of Mary Magdalene* at the National Gallery in London.[37]

Portraits can often be recognized in Veronese's grand, secular narratives. In some instances, they are of known patrons. The large *ex-voto* canvas painted about 1577-1578 for the Sala del Collegio, in the Doge's Palace in Venice, was meant to celebrate the Christian victory at Lepanto in 1571 (fig. 10).[38] Two historical characters are celebrated in the painting. Kneeling at the centre in a magnificent gold mantle is Sebastiano Venier, the victorious admiral at Lepanto and then doge of Venice. Between Saint Justina and Saint Mark, behind Venier, is another portrait in shadow. This is Agostino Barbarigo, the second admiral in command of the Venetian fleet at Lepanto, where he died after being wounded in his eye by an arrow. Veronese must have been close to Barbarigo as he also portrayed him in an independent portrait, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.[39] In 1568, three years before Lepanto, Barbarigo had also acted as godfather to Veronese's son Gabriele, at his baptism in the church of San Samuele on 7 September.[40]

It can be difficult to ascertain whether figures in Veronese's paintings are portraits or not. The second man from the left in the background of the *Anointing of David* at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the centurion in the *Christ and the Centurion* at the Prado could well be individuals involved with the commission of those works, but could also be generic representations.[41] In the Madrid *Christ and the Centurion*, a young man looking out from a column on the right may be a portrait, but it is impossible to be certain.

Fig. 9 / Paolo Veronese, *Christ among the Doctors*, ca. 1560, oil on canvas, 236 x 430 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 10 / Paolo Veronese, *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto*, ca. 1577-1578, oil on canvas, 285 x 565 cm, Venice, Doge's Palace, Sala del Collegio.

The central figure of a bearded man wearing a blue outfit in the *Family of Darius before Alexander* (London, National Gallery) may be a portrait of Francesco Pisani, the patron who had commissioned the painting for his Palladio-designed palazzo at Montagnana.[42] The young man dressed in white in the *Choice between Virtue and Vice* at the Frick Collection in New York (fig. 11) has been variously identified as a poet, a Jesuit priest, and Veronese himself.[43] In 2006, I wrote that this figure was probably a generic representation of a sixteenth-century man, but I now believe that it is the portrait of an anonymous patron. A key painting here is one of identical subject matter at the Prado (fig. 12).[44] Instead of representing a young man between Virtue and Vice, the Madrid painting shows a young boy between the same two allegorical figures. Ridolfi describes the canvas in the palazzo of Giovan Battista Sanuto as "a composition of Virtue in the form of an old woman crowned with laurel, and of Lust, and between them he placed a young boy of that family, while both figures invite him towards themselves."[45] Both the Frick and Prado paintings, therefore, likely depict individuals – as a modern Hercules – choosing Virtue over Vice. Ridolfi commented that the Sanuto painting was a cautionary tale that "a man born amongst comforts and delights will only resist the force of the senses with difficulty, and so will often deviate from the path of virtue."

Two of the most successful narrative portraits by Veronese appear in large canvases made for families.

Fig. 11 / Paolo Veronese, *The Choice between Virtue and Vice*, ca. 1565, oil on canvas, 219 x 169.5 cm, New York, The Frick Collection.

Fig. 12 / Paolo Veronese, *Youth of the Sanuto Family between Virtue and Vice*, ca. 1580, oil on canvas, 102 x 153 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 13 / Paolo Veronese, *The Cuccina Family Presented to the Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Jerome*, ca. 1572, oil on canvas, 167 x 416 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

In these remarkable depictions of family groups, men and women, boys and girls, the living and the dead are shown together to convey the prestige and power of a family. Interestingly, while a tradition of family portraits existed in Venice, it invariably focused on male individuals. Foreigners were responsible for introducing more varied depictions of families; a prime example is a portrait commissioned in the early 1570s by Alvise Cuccina, a wool merchant whose family was originally from Bergamo. Cuccina ordered a cycle of four large canvases (now in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden) for the *portego* of his palazzo on the Grand Canal.[46] One of the paintings, the *Cuccina Family Presented to the Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Jerome* (fig. 13), is a direct and unapologetic celebration of three generations of the family. The Virgin and Child are enthroned and flanked by Saints Jerome and John the Baptist, the patron saints of Alvise's father and uncle – Girolamo and Zuanne Cuccina; on the other side of a pair of marble columns, the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, present Alvise – together with his brothers Zuan'Antonio and Antonio, and their respective wives and children – to the group of celestial figures. The family had also commissioned an altarpiece from Veronese, which showed the Virgin and Child with the same two saints, for their private chapel in San Francesco della Vigna. In the Cuccina family canvas, it is as if the family interacts with their altarpiece, their devotion forever enshrined in this formidable image. Veronese included a similar depiction of a family in an earlier large painting: the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Louvre (fig. 14).[47] Painted in the mid-1550s, the monumental canvas represents the moment – recounted in the Gospel of Luke (24: 13-35) – when two disciples, travelling from Jerusalem to Emmaus with a pilgrim, recognized him as the resurrected Christ, as he "sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave it to them." Around the central group are three men, possibly siblings like the Cuccina brothers, a woman standing, and an assembly of ten children: five boys, four girls, and an infant. Most of them wear sixteenth-century clothes, but two of the children – a boy and a girl – are shown in *all'antica* outfits, possibly indicating that they were deceased at the time they were portrayed. The family in this stunning canvas has never been identified, however, it is likely to be aristocratic. Given the prominence of the wife and two daughters, the family was probably not from Venice but rather from Verona, Vicenza, or another large city of the *terraferma*. Perhaps they lived in a newly built palazzo by Michele Sanmicheli or Palladio. The painting is first documented in 1635 in the collection of Vittorio Amedeo I, the Duke of Savoy, in Turin. How the painting reached Turin is a mystery.

Fig. 14 / Paolo Veronese, *The Supper at Emmaus*, ca. 1555, oil on canvas, 242 x 416 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Varying greatly in size and purpose, as we have seen, many works by Veronese include portraits of patrons – priests and aristocrats, merchants, ladies, and abbots – and their children, most often as onlookers and occasionally as active participants in narratives. Paolo was not particularly interested in single, straightforward, portraits, but he was exceptionally accomplished in recording the features of individuals within larger compositions. He created a vision of an ideal realm, a vision that patrons appreciated and into which he inserted them. Even though Veronese did not leave behind the large number of portraits that contemporary Venetian painters – Titian and Tintoretto above all – created, he nevertheless bequeathed to posterity the splendid image of his age and of its patrons, embedded in his magnificent narratives.

NOTES

1. John Garton, *Grace and Grandeur. The Portraiture of Paolo Veronese* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). For a review of the book and comments on Garton's attributions and dates, see Xavier F. Salomon, "Review of *Grace and Grandeur. The Portraiture of Paolo Veronese* by John Garton," *The Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): pp. 692-694.
2. For these portraits, see, in particular, Garton, *Grace and Grandeur*, nos. 5-6, 10, 14, pp. 188-191, 194-195, 199-200; Xavier F. Salomon, "The Children in Veronese's Portraits of Iseppo and Livia da Porto," *The Burlington Magazine* 151 (2009): pp. 816-818; Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2014), pp. 64-68, 86-91.
3. Garton, *Grace and Grandeur*, nos. 7-8, 22-23, pp. 191-193, 208-209.
4. Garton, *Grace and Grandeur*, nos. 1, 10, pp. 183-184, 194-195.
5. The topic has been examined superficially by Stefania Mason, "La 'presenza' dei committenti nei dipinti di Paolo Veronese," in *Paolo Veronese. L'Illusione della realtà,* eds. Paola Marini and Bernard Aikema, exh. cat. (Verona: Palazzo della Gran Guardia, 2014), pp. 153-163.
6. For this type of portrait, see André Chastel, "Le donateur 'in abisso' dans le 'Pale'," in *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Lucius Grisebach and Konrad Renger (Frankfurt-am-Main: Verlag, 1977), pp. 273-283.
7. Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese* (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 1995), nos. 7-8, pp. 42-44; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 1, pp. 47-49, 249.
8. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 137, pp. 239-240; Salomon, *Veronese*, pp. 99-100.
9. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 151, p. 253.
10. The altarpiece was cut down in the eighteenth century, and four fragments from it survive in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, the Scottish National Gallery in Edinburgh, Dulwich Picture Gallery in London, and the Blanton Museum of Art in Austin, Texas. For the altarpiece and its reconstruction, see Xavier F. Salomon, *Paolo Veronese. The Petrobelli Altarpiece* (Milan: Silvana, 2009).
11. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 198, pp. 293-294; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 34, pp. 147-149, 260.
12. For a concise account of these, see Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese in Murano. Two Venetian Renaissance Masterpieces Restored* (New York: The Frick Collection, 2017), pp. 46-51.
13. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 9, pp. 44-45; Monica Gasparini in Paola Marini and Loredana Olivato, eds., *Da Veronese a Farinati. Storia, conservazione e diagnostica al Museo di Castelvecchio di Verona* (Treviso: Zoppelli e Lizzi, 2010), no. 1, pp. 36-41; Alessandra Zamperini in Marini and Aikema, *Paolo Veronese. L'Illusione*, no. 1.5, pp. 46-47.
14. "In Villa di Gravigna nel Trivigiano trovasi una sua tavola col ritratto del Piovano"; Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte (1648)*, ed. Detlev F. von Hadeln, 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Grote, 1914), I, p. 317.
15. "E sopra una trave d'una Cappella è situato picciolo quadretto con nostra Donna, & una Santa Verginella porge una colomba al bambino, e vi è ritratto il Padre Michiele Spaventi Venetiano"; Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 313.
16. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 242, p. 356; Salomon, *Veronese in Murano*, pp. 48-49.
17. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 389, pp. 487-488.
18. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 150, pp. 252-253; Salomon, *Veronese in Murano*, pp. 49-51.
19. For the altarpiece, see, most recently, Xavier F. Salomon, *Paolo Veronese. The Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Verona: ArtchivePortfolio, 2017).
20. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 101, p. 136; Salomon, *Veronese*, pp. 71-74.
21. "In Verona nel refettorio di San Nazaro, monasterio de' Monaci Neri, ha fatto in un gran quadro di tela la cena che fece Simon lebroso al Signore, quando la peccatrice se gli gettò a' piedi, con molte figure, ritratti di naturale e prospettive rarissime; e sotto la mensa sono due cani tanto belli che paiono vivi e naturali, e più lontano certi storpiati ottimamente lavorati"; Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Paola Barocchi, 5 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1966-1987), V, p. 377.
22. For the painting, see Jean Habert and Nathalie Volle, eds., *Les Noces de Cana de Véronèse. Un oeuvre et sa restauration* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992). For the presence of portraits, see, in particular, pp. 45-50.
23. "A lato a una colonna accomodò ingeniosamente il Priore che spicca mirabilmente per il nero delle vesti"; Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 319.
24. "In un canto con la salvietta sopra la spalla, della cui effigie si trarebbe di vantaggio cio, che fu speso nell'opera"; "offerì a Paolo per questo effetto certa quantità di denaro, che avvanzato di elemosine e di confessioni haveva"; Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 314.
25. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 313; Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, nos. 157, 173, pp. 259-260, 270.
26. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 142, pp. 242-245; Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings. Vol. 2. Venice 1540-1600* (London: National Gallery, 2008), pp. 344-353; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 19, pp. 103-107, 255.
27. For San Geminiano, see, most recently, Xavier F. Salomon, "'A Ruby Among Many Pearls': The Lost Church of San Geminiano in Venice and its Sixteenth-Century Decoration," in *David Bowie's Tintoretto. Angel Foretelling the Martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, eds. Benjamin van Beneden and Nicola Jennings (London: Colnaghi Foundation, 2017), pp. 55-69.
28. For the bust, see Thomas Martin, *Alessandro Vittoria and the Portrait Bust in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), no. 16, pp. 118-120.
29. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 102, pp. 137-138; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 14, pp. 94-98, 253.
30. "Mandibole possenti, il naso deforme, le sopracciglia tempestose, le grandi labbra che sembran rivelare del sangue moro in questa testa di risoluto condottiero di ciurme, piuttosto che di pastor d'anime"; Adolfo Venturi, "Alessandro Vittoria," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 10 vols. (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1937), X/3, p. 148.
31. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 403, pp. 500-501; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 50, pp. 214-217, 265.
32. "In questo mentre Paolo se ne passò à Roma col Signor Girolamo Grimano, Procuratore di S. Marco, di cui era famigliare, destinato oratore al Pontefice"; Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 310.
33. "A petitione del Signor Girolamo Grimano, Procuratore di San Marco, dipinse ancora à fresco alcune favole nella facciata del delitioso suo palagio di Oriago, alcune dotte figure nel frontespitio"; Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 324.
34. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 340, pp. 446-447; Salomon, *Veronese*, p. 31.
35. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 87, pp. 125-126.
36. Giuseppe Gullino, "Da Padova al Prado: *La Disputa di Gesù tra i dottori del Tempio*," in *Veronese a Padova. L'artista, la committenza, e la sua fortuna,* eds. Giovanna Baldissin Molli, Davide Banzato, and Elisabetta Gastaldi (Milan: Skira, 2014), pp. 27-32.
37. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 55, pp. 84-85; Penny, *Venice 1540-1600*, pp. 334-343; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 3, pp. 52-55, 250.
38. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 261, pp. 373-374.
39. Garton, *Grace and Grandeur*, no. 18, pp. 203-205.
40. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, p. 557, doc. 35.
41. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, , nos. 51, 186, pp. 80-82, 282-283; Salomon, *Veronese*, nos. 4, 26, pp. 55-57, 135, 250, 257.
42. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 51, 187, pp. 283-284; Penny, *Venice 1540-1600*, pp. 354-387; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 22, pp. 117-122, 256.
43. For the various descriptions and identifications of the figure, see Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese's Allegories: Virtue, Love, and Exploration in Renaissance Venice* (New York: The Frick Collection, 2006), pp. 33, 45.
44. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 319, p. 428.
45. "Un pensiero della Virtù in forma di vecchia coronata d'alloro e della Lascivia, nel cui mezzo è posto picciolo fanciullo di quella famiglia, invitandolo ogn'una a se"; Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, I, p. 338.
46. For the Cuccina cycle, see most recently Blake de Maria, *Becoming Venetian. Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); Christine Follmann, Marlies Giebe, and Andreas Henning, eds., *Veronese. Der Cuccina-Zyklus*, exh. cat. (Dresden: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, 2018).
47. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese*, no. 100, p. 135; Salomon, *Veronese*, no. 9, pp. 68-69, 252.

The Bridgewater Collection and its picture frames

PETER HUMFREY AND TIMOTHY NEWBERY

Fig. 1 / Adriaan de Lelie, *View of the Collection of Jan Gildemeester* (detail), ca. 1794-1795, oil on panel, 63.7 x 85.7 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Among the many rich collections of Old Master paintings formed in Britain in the aftermath of the French Revolution, one of the most important was unquestionably that of Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803).[1] As is well known, the duke was the leading member of the syndicate of three noblemen who secured the pick of the Italian and French paintings from the celebrated Orléans collection in 1798; and his share, consisting of sixty-four works, included masterpieces by such names as Raphael, Titian, Annibale Carracci, and Poussin. The Orléans pictures, however, constituted only about one quarter of the duke's collection; and in the same short period of less than ten years he also acquired, in addition to further works by Italian and French masters, a large number of Dutch pictures, including a group of about thirty acquired at the Gildemeester sale in Amsterdam in 1800. By the time of his death in 1803 the Bridgewater Collection numbered some 250 works, many of them by the most sought-after continental masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The story of the subsequent fate of the Bridgewater Collection has been recounted elsewhere,[2] and need be summarized only briefly here. It was inherited after the duke's death, together with the Egerton family's London home of Cleveland House, by his nephew, the 2nd Marquess of Stafford (1758-1833; another member of the syndicate of 1798), who temporarily merged it with his own collection to form the Stafford Gallery. Shortly before his own death, and in accordance with his uncle's will, the marquess transferred the Bridgewater Collection to his younger son, Lord Francis Egerton (1800-1857; named after his great-uncle). Already a collector in a small way before coming into his magnificent inheritance, Lord Francis (from 1846 1st Earl of Ellesmere) continued to add to the collection for the rest of his life. More significant in the present context was his decision in 1839 to demolish Cleveland House, where the collection had hitherto been housed, and to commission Charles Barry to build a new, much grander mansion, known as Bridgewater House, on the same site at the south-eastern edge of Green Park. Barry's seventy-seven-foot-long Picture Gallery at Bridgewater House was unfortunately destroyed in an air raid in 1941, together with a few of the largest paintings, and also some of the larger frames; more fortunately, however, the great majority of the paintings, as well as their frames, had already been removed to safety. After the War, a large number of paintings were sold at Christie's, and more sales followed in 1976.[3] But the greater part of the collection was retained by the family, and in 1946 the 5th Earl of Ellesmere (later 6th Duke of Sutherland) placed a very distinguished group of paintings – including the Raphaels, the Titians, and the Poussins – on long term loan at the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh. Since then, some of them have been bought by the Gallery, including most recently, and amid great publicity, Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* and *Diana and Callisto* (acquired in 2009 and 2012 jointly with the National Gallery, London).

The purpose of the present article is to investigate one particular aspect of the Bridgewater Collection: that of the way in which the pictures were framed.

Fig. 2 / William Bond (after J. C. Smith), View of the New Gallery, Cleveland House. From John Britton, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures belonging to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Stafford in the Gallery of Cleveland House*, London, 1808.

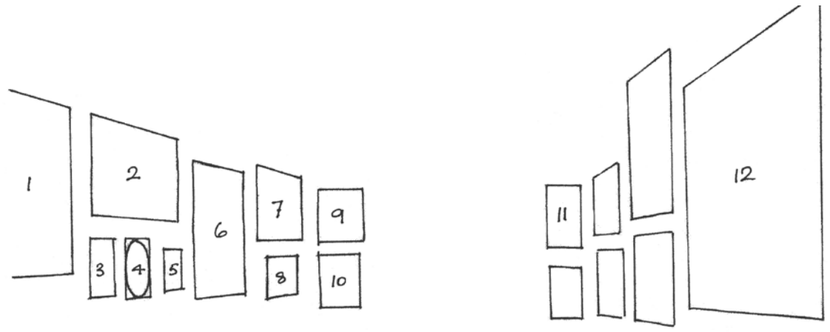
Fig. 3 / Diagram of fig. 2.

Chronologically the article will focus on the five or six decades between the beginning of the duke's main period of activity as a collector in the 1790s, and the opening of the new Bridgewater Gallery in time for the Great Exhibition of 1851. It will follow the evolution of the collection in four main phases: 1. the decade before the death of the duke in 1803, and the creation of what may be called the 1st Bridgewater Gallery at Cleveland House; 2. the period of the Stafford Gallery (1806-1830), when the collection was temporarily merged with the Stafford collection; 3. the period from the inheritance of the Bridgewater Collection by Lord Francis Egerton in 1830, when he formed what may be called the 2nd Bridgewater Gallery, to the time of its removal from Cleveland House (by now more frequently called Bridgewater House) from 1839 onwards; and 4. the period after 1851, when the 3rd Bridgewater Gallery was inaugurated in the new Bridgewater House. 1851 was also the date of the publication of a new catalogue of the collection, in which the paintings were assigned their definitive numbers (cited here as BG…).[4]

Such an investigation is naturally fraught with considerable difficulty. The Bridgewater frames, like those in virtually every other collection, were regularly liable to be replaced or altered, especially if existing frames had suffered damage, but also according to the changing tastes of owners from different generations, or according to the changing circumstances in the paintings' display. As would have been not unusual, it is likely that not a single one of the Bridgewater pictures was acquired by the duke in the frame that was originally made for it. There is no evidence, for example, that any of his sixteenth-century Italian paintings still had their Renaissance frames, or that any of his Dutch paintings retained their typical ebonized frames. By the time that he acquired them, the great majority of his paintings would have been in French eighteenth-century frames, in the styles of the Régence, Louis XV and Louis XVI. As will be seen, while the duke evidently retained many of these, he also had a number of them replaced. Then, during the lifetime of the Stafford Gallery (1806-1830) his nephew the marquess had some of the Bridgewater pictures reframed again; and then, in

the 1830s and 1840s, Lord Francis Egerton undertook another campaign of reframing. Nearly a century later, during World War II, a number of frames were destroyed, including, as has already been mentioned, those of Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* and *Diana and Callisto*. As a result, these and a number of other Bridgewater pictures, including Tintoretto's *Entombment* (BG40; Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery), Guido Reni's *Immaculate Conception* (BG117; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Van Dyck's *Virgin and Child* (BG23; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), now have frames that are completely modern.

Despite all these losses, many of them part of the course for any large picture collection, the Bridgewater Collection is relatively well served with information about its frames. Of particular interest is the rather rare circumstance that there survives a set of documents, referring to the provision of frames respectively for the first and second Bridgewater Galleries. The first set, dating from between February 1797 and January 1801, records a series of payments by the duke to a frame-maker called Peter Aubé (Appendix).[5] The second set, covering a wide span of years in the 1830s and 1840s, refers to different aspects of work on frames commissioned by Lord Francis from the well-known frame-maker, restorer and dealer, John Smith (1781-1855). Complementing this written documentation is a small but informative number of early visual records. One of these is a painting by Adriaan Lelie of ca. 1794-1795 representing the collection of Jan Gildemeester in Amsterdam, in which several pictures subsequently bought for the Bridgewater Collection are clearly visible (see fig. 1). Another, more informative visual record is an engraving by William Bond of 1806/1808 depicting the interior of the Stafford Gallery, in which were hung several more pictures, this time Italian, that had previously belonged to the duke (figs. 2 & 3).



1. Annibale Carracci, *Saint Gregory and Angels* (BG76; destroyed 1941). Frame: English, ca. 1800-1805.
2. Annibale Carracci, *Danae* (BG101; destroyed 1941). Frame: French, Louis XIV, ca. 1700.
3. After Raphael, *Madonna of the Blue Diadem* (BG36; fig. 16). Frame: Prussian, ca. 1735.
4. Raphael, *Holy Family with a Palm Tree* (BG35; fig. 15). Frame: English ca. 1800-1805.
5. Raphael, *Madonna del Passeggio* (BG37; now regarded as mostly by Penni). Frame: Italian, ca. 1620.
6. Lodovico Carracci, *Lamentation* (BG102; later attributed to Annibale; destroyed 1941). Frame: Italian (Salvator Rosa), ca. 1700.
7. Salvator Rosa, *Jacob and his Flock* (BG165; sold from collection 1946). Frame: Spanish, early 17th century.
8. Correggio, *Muleteers* (formerly Stafford Collection; attribution to Correggio later discarded). Frame: Italian, 17th century.
9. Pellegrino da Modena, *Virgin and Child and Saints* (formerly Stafford Collection). Frame: Italian, ca. 1680.
10. Annibale Carracci, *Infant Saint John the Baptist Asleep* (BG68; sold from collection 1946). Frame: Italian, ca. 1680.
11. Parmigianino, *Cupid Shaping his Bow* (BG172; a copy?; sold from the collection, 1946). Frame: Italian, ca. 1680.
12. Guercino, *David and Abigail* (BG27; destroyed 1941). Frame: English, ca. 1800-1805.

1. Titian, *Diana and Actaeon* (BG17; Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, and London, National Gallery). Frame: English ca. 1815.
2. Gabriël Metsu, *Woman Playing with Dog* (BG242). Frame: French, Louis XV, ca. 1735.
3. Anthony van Dyck, *Virgin and Child* (BG23; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum). Frame: South French, Transition, ca. 1770.
4. David Teniers II, *Alchemist* (BG130). Frame: French, Régence, ca. 1735
5. Nicolaes Maes, *Woman Peeling Apples* (formerly Stafford Collection; now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Frame: French, Louis XIV, ca. 1710.
6. Guido Reni, *Head of Saint Mary Magdalene* (formerly Stafford Collection). Frame: French, Louis XV, ca. 1740.
7. Jan Steen, *Woman Selling Fish* (BG191). Frame: Italian (?) cassetta, ca. 1640.
8. Adriaen van Ostade, *Dutch Courtship* (BG203). Frame: French (Pastel), ca. 1730.

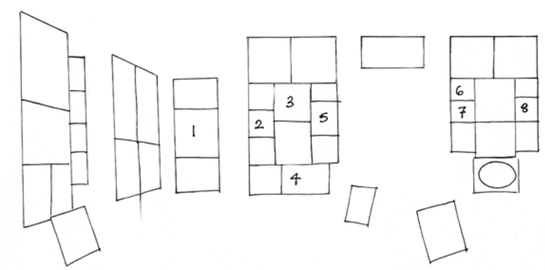


Fig. 4 / Pieter Christoffel Wonder, *Patrons and Connoisseurs of Art*, ca. 1826-1830, Private Collection.

Fig. 5 / Diagram of fig. 4.

Fig. 6 / Photograph of Bridgewater Gallery, ca. 1900.

Fig. 7 / Photograph of Sitting Room at Bridgewater House, ca. 1900.

Fig. 8 / Photograph of Lady Margaret Egerton in Bridgewater Gallery, ca. 1936.

And like the Lelie belonging to the genre of "gallery picture", is Pieter Christoffel Wonder's *Patrons and Connoisseurs of Art* of ca. 1826-1830 (figs. 4 & 5).[6] Although in this case the scene is set in an ideal, fictive picture gallery, the paintings themselves, including several from the Bridgewater Collection, are real and recognizable; and their frames are clearly likewise reproduced with documentary accuracy.

Unfortunately, the interior of Bridgewater House as it existed before World War II is rather poorly documented with photographs, and there seems to survive only one official view of the Picture Gallery before its destruction (fig. 6), together with one of the ground-floor Sitting Room, in which important paintings were also displayed (fig. 7). The long view of the Gallery is also complemented by a photograph of about 1936 of Lady Margaret Egerton (Colville), in which some of the framed paintings are seen in greater detail (fig. 8). But in all three of these photographs, surface glare and foreshortenings make it difficult to identify the majority of the paintings – especially since the catalogue of 1851 (and its subsequent revised editions) is not organized according to room or placing on the walls.

Fig. 9 / Peter Lely, *Countess of Middlesex* (BG288), in English frame of ca. 1720, UK, Private Collection.

Fig. 10 / Claude Lorrain, *Moses and the Burning Bush* (BG41), in French frame of ca. 1735, UK, Private Collection.

Fortunately, however, this historical evidence, written and visual, can be complemented by the frames themselves, a rather large number of which have survived the vicissitudes of dislocation, war, and the salesroom. A great majority, in fact, of the ex-Bridgewater pictures retain to this day the frames in which they were displayed in Cleveland House and then Bridgewater House in London. It is true, as has already been implied, that there was a regular turnover of frames while they were in the collection. On the other hand, in contrast to the picture frames in many collections, especially in public collections, such replacements were typically brand new, made specifically for their paintings, and were not old frames made for other paintings, and adapted for reuse. This circumstance makes it logical to analyze a selection of the most interesting and best documented of the Bridgewater frames in approximately chronological order.

FRAMES FROM BEFORE CA. 1790

As a result of the various reframing campaigns undertaken by the duke and his heirs, relatively few of the existing frames from the Bridgewater Collection predate his main period of activity as a collector from the mid-1790s to his death in 1803. One of the few exceptions is the English frame of ca. 1720, based on a Louis XIV pattern, of an inherited family portrait, the *Countess of Middlesex* by Peter Lely (BG288; fig. 9).[7] In the case, however, of another work inherited by the duke from his father the 1st Duke, Claude's *Metamorphosis of the Shepherd Apulus* (BG103), while the present frame is identifiable as of French provincial craftsmanship of ca. 1670, this cannot be the one that contained the painting when it was acquired in 1722,[8] since it shows clear evidence of having been applied, with adjustments, in about 1830, around the time of the inheritance of the collection by Lord Francis.

Two other Claudes, *Ezekiel Weeping in the Ruins of Tyre* (BG11) and *Moses and the Burning Bush* (BG41; fig. 10), have early matching frames of particular interest. The paintings were acquired by the duke in 1799 from Edward Bouverie, whose maternal grandfather Bartholomew Clarke had apparently imported them from France;[9] and they retain Régence frames, datable to ca. 1725.

Fig. 11 / Terborch, *Singing Practice* (BG198), in French frame of ca. 1775, Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater Loan.

Although now regilt, they are impressive for the quality both of their physical construction and of their Régence ornament. Particularly striking is the way in which the complex cartouches are related to the interrupted mouldings, thereby creating a visual rotation in the composition of the paintings.

This pair of frames was evidently sufficiently prized by the duke and his heirs for them not to have been substituted during later rehangings, although they were regilt. The same may be said of the frame of ca. 1730 – perhaps Dutch, but in the French style – of Teniers's *Village Scene with a Pilgrim* (BG253), bought by the duke at the Trumbull sale (of paintings exported from Paris) in 1797.[10] Another example is a fourth Claude, *Landscape with Shepherds* (BG97), which was acquired by the duke at an unknown date and shows a Parisian frame of ca. 1765 in the Transitional style, between those of Louis XV and Louis XVI. Characteristic of this phase are the swept top edges and back edges with a strict lotus leaf on the sight edge. This last example is of special interest because, as will be seen, it seems to have provided the model for the series of Louis XV Revival frames made for a number of the most important paintings in the collection during the construction of the new Bridgewater House in the early 1840s.

Curiously, the high-quality Parisian frame of ca. 1775 that still contains Terborch's *Singing Practice* (BG198; fig. 11) appears to have provided the inspiration for the design of a large group of new frames commissioned by the duke from Peter Aubé in the 1790s. Yet the painting did not enter the Bridgewater Collection until ca. 1841, when it was bought by Lord Francis from John Smith.[11] It is unknown who owned it in the 1790s, but it is a fair assumption that like so many other works of art it was imported from Paris in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution, and that Aubé had easy access to it in London.

PETER AUBÉ AND THE FIRST BRIDGEWATER GALLERY: DOCUMENTS

Between 1795 and 1797, even before his purchase of a large number of choice works from the Orléans collection, the duke undertook the construction of a Picture Gallery along the north side of Cleveland House. The creation of this new space must have created new challenges for the presentation of his rapidly growing collection, and an important collaborator in this task, in addition to his architect, James Lewis, must have been his principal frame-maker, Peter Aubé. Very little biographical information is known of this craftsman, beyond the fact that he is recorded living at Noel Street and then at Berwick Street, both in Soho, between 1791 and 1804; and it may also be reasonably supposed that he is identical with a John Peter Aubé who was buried in Saint Pancras Old Church in 1826 at the age of seventy-eight.[12] Of considerable importance, therefore, is the recent discovery in the Egerton family archive of an extensive series of receipts for payments made by the duke to Aubé between February 1797 and May 1801 (Appendix).[13]

These years correspond to the busiest period of the duke's activity as a collector, when he bought a large number of paintings not only from the former Orléans and Gildemeester collections but from a number of other sources as well. Yet the documents represent a chance survival, since the duke had begun collecting well before 1797 and continued to do so up to the time of his death in March 1803; and on occasion he may well have employed other frame-makers besides Aubé. Unfortunately, the documents are not as informative as they might be, because none of the recorded payments for frames refer specifically to the paintings for which they were intended. Potentially the most promising is the reference in March 1797 to a large "Canamara" frame – the name is almost certainly a corruption of Carlo Maratta[14] – measuring twenty-six feet, at eighteen shillings per foot. In other words, this was a new frame for a large painting of some four by six and half feet, and the high cost per foot indicates that it was fully carved: not just at the sight edge, but in the hollow, and at the top and back edges. But in the absence of exact records of the duke's purchases immediately before March 1797 it remains difficult to identify the respective painting, and hence to check whether the frame survives.

Likewise only potentially promising is the receipt for work on almost one hundred frames itemized in November 1800. In the left column is a list of numbers that are probably best interpreted as the inventory numbers of the collection; but since no inventory survives from this early date, the frames cannot be matched up with paintings.

Yet much may be learned from the documents in a number of more general ways. In particular, it may be noted that while some ninety of the frames supplied by Aubé were completely new, as many as about fifty of the receipts refer to the restoration of older frames. The majority of the duke's paintings, including, but not only, those from the Orléans collection, had been very recently imported from the continent, following the upheavals of the French Revolution; many of them would have been packed in a hurry, and their frames would have been vulnerable to more or less serious damage. In addition to payments for the repairing and regilding of frames in which the paintings arrived, there are a number for "lining": in other words, for adding slips to adapt existing frames from Aubé's stock to the duke's acquisitions. In this way, the documents contradict the assumption sometimes made that the Orléans pictures arrived from France comprehensively shorn of their frames. It is true that this is how they appear in the sketches by Joseph Farington of their display at Pall Mall and at the Lyceum in the Strand between December 1798 and July 1799;[15] and although it is possible to interpret these merely as schematic diagrams, at least two visitors to the exhibition are on record as explicitly complaining that the paintings were displayed frameless.[16]

But this may have been simply because for the duration of the exhibition the frames were temporarily removed for what was obviously a very crowded hang; in fact it is only to be expected that the pictures were transported to London within their frames, as a way of affording them greater protection while in transit. As will be seen below, there is visual evidence to show that in the lifetime of the duke many of the Orléans pictures, especially the larger ones, retained the frames in which they had been displayed at the Palais Royal.

Nevertheless, the long list of November 1800 itemizes only twenty-four existing frames on which work had to be done, and as many as seventy-two that Aubé had made himself. Of these new frames, the largest had a perimeter of seventeen foot eight inches (in other words, its painting measured about three and half by four and half feet); most were much smaller, and he charged the relatively small sum of six shillings per foot for the design. From this it is possible to infer that these receipts refer to the reframing of a high proportion of the smaller paintings from the Orléans and the Gildemeester collections, and that the simplicity of their designs, without projecting ornament, was chosen to allow for a close hang. Yet this consideration was not universally applied, as is implied by the reference to "Brass Ornaments" – perhaps family insignia of some kind – on two of the twenty-four existing frames that were retained. The fact that many of the existing frames are specified as French lends support to the inference that Aubé was himself a recent refugee from France and was not – as might otherwise be supposed – a native Englishman of Huguenot descent.

A final deduction that may be made from Aubé's receipts is that around the second half of 1800, towards the end of the creation of the first Bridgewater Gallery, he was made responsible not only for restoring the frames of several of the older paintings in the house – perhaps family portraits – but also for providing frames for mirrors and for gilding console tables and a clock. All this confirms that for the duke he was a highly trusted craftsman.

Fig. 12 / Jakob van Ruisdael, *Panoramic Landscape* (BG266), in English frame of ca. 1800 (by Peter Aubé?), UK, Private Collection.

Fig. 13 / Nicolaes Berchem, *Landscape with a Bridge* (BG243), in English frame of ca. 1800 (Peter Aubé?), UK, Private Collection.

FRAMES FOR THE FIRST BRIDGEWATER GALLERY: STYLE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

Although the receipts of 1797 to 1801 do not refer to any specific painting for which a frame was made, there survive a number of frames from the Bridgewater Collection that may be plausibly identified with some of the ninety or so new frames that Aubé provided for the duke in these years. The style and craftsmanship of these frames imply that their maker was trained in pre-Revolutionary France in the classicizing style of Louis XVI, while at the same time indicating that they were made in the years around 1800 in London. In other words, while they show a visual taste and technical discipline that may be associated with a French training, they are made of pine with composition ornament, local materials that were much more economical than the carved oak habitually used in eighteenth-century France.

The frames that may be attributed to Aubé follow two main patterns. The first is of the above-mentioned type of ca. 1775 represented by that seen on Terborch's *Singing Practice* (BG198; see fig. 11). Examples include the frames of Ruisdael's *Panoramic Landscape* (BG266; fig. 12), apparently acquired by the duke at the Warwick sale in 1800, and of Cornelis Dusart's *Scene in a Tavern* (BG170). The other main pattern, designed around the same time for paintings destined for Versailles, is represented by Berchem's *Landscape with a Bridge* (BG243; fig. 13), which the duke bought at the Calonne sale in London in 1795.[17] Both the "Terborch" and the "Versailles" patterns are Louis XVI in style, as can be seen by their moulding profiles. The "Terborch" moulding is enriched on all available surfaces, but the more important elements of ornament are applied to the derivations. These include the lotus leaf on the sight edge, the twisted reel and pearl behind the frieze, and the guilloche on the top edge. The same approach was applied to the "Versailles" pattern, another example of which, but using shells at the corners, is represented by the frame of Rubens's *Mercury Bearing Psyche to Olympus* (BG174; fig. 14). This was one of the works acquired by the duke from the Gildemeester collection in June 1800, and it was evidently made to replace the earlier frame seen in Lelie's view (see fig. 1) immediately after its arrival in London. From all this it is evident how successfully Aubé was able to distil the Louis XVI style and apply it to a new collection.

Fig. 14 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Mercury bearing Psyche to Olympus* (BG174), in English frame of ca. 1800 (Pater Aubé?), Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater Loan.

Fig. 15 / Raphael, *Holy Family with a Palm Tree* (BG35), in English frame of ca. 1835 (John Smith), Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater Loan.

While Aubé was clearly the duke's principal frame-maker, it is equally clear that a number of frames in the collection were newly made by other craftsmen. In Bond's engraving of the New Gallery (see figs. 2 & 3), for example, both Raphael's *Holy Family with a Palm Tree* (BG35; fig. 15) and Guercino's *David and Abigail* (BG 27) are seen in English frames of ca. 1800 – evidently replacing whatever frames they had when they were in the Orléans collection, yet of an Italianate style, not that of Aubé. A similar case is that of Turner's *Dutch Boats in a Gale* of 1801 ("*The Bridgewater Seapiece*") (BG251; Private Collection, on loan to the National Gallery, London), the surviving original frame of which is of an English pattern. With its bound reeds at the top edge the design came to be known as a Morland type, and it was used extensively by Turner in the period ca. 1805-1815. In the present case it may be noted how the depth and rhythm of the rising acanthus leaves echo the power of the waves, in a way that suggests that the artist himself was responsible for supplying the frame for his painting.

FRAMES FOR THE STAFFORD GALLERY

Immediately after the death of the duke in 1803 his principal heir, the Marquess of Stafford, had Cleveland House extensively refurbished by his own architect, C. H. Tatham. The purpose was two-fold: first, to create a series of rooms in which to accommodate the combined Bridgewater and Stafford Collections of Old Masters; second, since he intended (unlike the duke) to make his Gallery accessible to the public, to create a display that was appropriately handsome and imposing.[18] It was accordingly particularly important that his picture frames should adequately reflect the prestige both of the collection and of its architectural surroundings.

Bond's engraving (see figs. 2 & 3) records the architecture and picture hang of the most prestigious space in the newly inaugurated Stafford Gallery, the so-called New Gallery.[19] The view shows that while at this date several of the Orléans pictures retained the frames that they must have possessed when at the Palais Royal, others show frames of an earlier date.

Fig. 16 / After Raphael, *Madonna of the Blue Diadem* (BG36), in Prussian frame of ca. 1735, Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater Loan.

Fig. 17 / Nicolas Poussin, *Sacrament of Penance* (BG66), in English frame of ca. 1825, Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater Loan.

These include Annibale Carracci's *Danaë* (BG101), in a Louis XIII/ XIV frame, and Raphael's *Madonna del Passeggio* (BG37), in an Italian seventeenth-century cassetta frame; and also the *Muleteers*, a work with a strange traditional attribution to Correggio, which was selected from the Orléans collection not by the duke but by the future marquess, and which is shown in an Italian frame of ca. 1620. Since it is known that the Regent Philippe d'Orléans had the paintings in his collection systematically reframed,[20] it may be inferred that Bridgewater and Stafford had some of the ex-Orléans pictures put into older frames – perhaps because they considered that straight, seventeenth-century mouldings fitted better with the simplified mouldings of their own picture galleries. By contrast, another of the duke's "Raphaels", the *Madonna of the Blue Diadem* (BG36; in fact a Netherlandish copy of the painting in the Louvre, and acquired not from the Orléans collection but from that of Joshua Reynolds), is seen in the engraving in the Prussian frame of ca. 1735 that it retains to this day (fig. 16). Complementary visual evidence that the duke retained many of the frames that he had acquired with his paintings, perhaps a majority of which had been made in eighteenth-century Paris, is provided by Wonder's *Patrons and Connoisseurs of Art* of ca. 1826-1830 (see figs. 4 & 5), which includes accurate representations of several Bridgewater pictures. These include Van Dyck's *Virgin and Child* (BG23) in a Transitional frame of ca. 1770; Metsu's *Lady and Dog* (BG242) in a Louis XVI-derived frame of ca. 1800, probably by Aubé; and Teniers's *Alchemist* (BG130) in an Empire-style frame of ca. 1815 – all now lost.

Wonder's painting dates from the last years of the Stafford Gallery, and although it shows that the marquess retained a number of the frames of his inherited pictures, there also exists evidence that this was by no means always true. Unfortunately, in contrast to the case of the duke and Aubé, no documentation of the work that the marquess must have undertaken on his frames seems to survive. From the visual evidence of the frames themselves, however, it is clear that during the lifetime of the Stafford Gallery (1806-1830) he frequently commissioned replacements for the existing frames on the Bridgewater pictures, as well as for those in his own collection. In part, such replacements would have been prompted by the fact that, as a result of new acquisitions and rehangings, the Gallery was in a constant state of evolution.

Bond's view of the New Gallery, published in John Britton's guidebook to the Stafford Gallery of 1808, provides the only contemporary visual record of the frames in the Bridgewater-Stafford Collection, and there is no equivalent view of the Old Gallery – as the duke's Gallery was now called – which is where the Dutch and Flemish paintings were hung. It has been argued above, on the basis both of the payments to Aubé and the stylistic evidence, that, by contrast with many of the Italian paintings, the duke immediately set about having the majority of the existing frames on his Netherlandish pictures replaced.

A valuable visual document of the previous framing of the Gildemeester pictures is provided by the view by Lelie of the interior of the owner's house in 1795 (see fig. 1), in which some of those bought by the duke are clearly visible. These include Ruisdael's *Old Gate at Amsterdam* (BG197), Rubens's *Mercury Bearing Psyche to Olympus* (BG174; see fig. 14), and the so-called *Burgomaster*, then attributed to Rembrandt (BG173). All of the frames of these may be identified as Dutch, made of gilt papier mâché in a provincial Régence/ Louis XV style in about 1760, and characterized by their rounded, simplified version of French ornament, resembling the frames of pastels. This style lends itself, as here, to close hanging in a picture gallery; and in fact, it is used for nearly all the frames represented in Lelie's view. As already seen, however, the Rubens appears to have been reframed by Aubé within weeks of its arrival in London, and the same was certainly true of many of the duke's other Flemish and Dutch purchases.[21] It should be observed, however, that a number of other English frames retained by Dutch pictures from the Bridgewater Collection, and datable to around this period, are rather simpler than those attributable to Aubé, and probably date from the decade after the duke's death.[22] Presumably, therefore, they were commissioned by the marquess soon after 1803 from other craftsmen, in the interest of making the Old Gallery into a particularly impressive display of Dutch painting, with harmoniously similar if not exactly matching frames.

The duke's Italian pictures were not completely excluded from this initial campaign of reframing by the marquess: the ex-Orléans *Portrait of Doge Marcantonio Memmo*, for example, attributable to Palma Giovane (PG60), likewise now has an English frame of ca. 1805. The reframing of the larger Orléans pictures seems, however, not to have got seriously underway until about ca. 1825, the likely date of the set of frames that still enclose the celebrated set of *Seven Sacraments* by Poussin (BG6369; fig. 17). Designed in a Louis XVI Revival style of ca. 1825, these follow the basic pattern of Aubé's frames, but in a much simplified form, with the ornament reduced to narrow bands of composition with acanthus leaves at the corners. A near-identical design was employed for several of the other new frames made for the Stafford Gallery around this time, such as for Lorenzo Lotto's *Virgin and Child with Saints* (BG90) – as well as for some from the marquess's own collection, such as Pierfrancesco Mola's *Baptist Preaching* now in the Thyssen Collection – in a way that perhaps gave the combined collections a degree of pleasing homogeneity. At the same time, it should be said that the reductive simplicity of the design no longer adequately complements the richness and complexity of the pictorial compositions, particularly those by Poussin.

As in the case of the duke, however, the marquess's campaign of reframing was by no means systematic or comprehensive, and under his ownership many of the frames in the combined collections remained as before. The representation of some of the Bridgwater pictures by Pieter Christoffel Wonder in ca. 1826-1830 (see figs. 4 & 5) has already been mentioned. Similarly, Wonder shows two of Stafford's own pictures – the ex-Orléans *Saint Mary Magdalene* by Guido Reni and Maes's *Woman Peeling Apples* – in pre-Revolutionary French frames, respectively of the periods of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

FRAMES FOR THE SECOND BRIDGEWATER GALLERY

In 1827 the Marquess of Stafford bought himself a grand new town house, which he renamed Stafford House (the present-day Lancaster House), and by 1830 he had transferred his own collection to his new residence, leaving Cleveland House (by now more often called Bridgewater House) and the Bridgewater Collection to his younger son.[23] Almost immediately Lord Francis set about having a number of his newly inherited paintings restored, in some cases with new frames, and commissioning a catalogue of the collection,[24] with the numbers affixed to the frames.

Responsible for this work – as well as for every other aspect of curating and conserving the collection – was John Smith, founder of a dynasty of frame-makers, gilders, and picture dealers.[25] Smith had already been appointed frame-maker to the Prince Regent in 1810, and in 1812 he supplied him with "two superb frames most richly ornamented" for paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck.[26] His surviving Day Books, or account books, showed that he worked for many of the leading aristocratic collectors of the 1810s and 1820s (not, however, the Marquess of Stafford), and from 1823 onwards he also sold pictures to Lord Francis.[27] Most of these were Dutch, and several of them came with, and retain to this day, high-quality French eighteenth-century frames. They include a very fine Louis XIV frame on Dou's *Self-Portrait* (BG124; fig. 18), perhaps even made for the painting; a Louis XV/ XVI Transition frame of ca. 1765 on Ruisdael's so-called *Charcoal Burners* (BG188);[28] and the above-mentioned Louis XVI frame on Terborch's *Singing Practice* (BG198; see fig. 11). More relevant in the present context is the fact that from 1827 onwards the Day Books are full of references to frames that Smith made for him, for the most part – to judge from the descriptions and the prices he charged – of relatively simple patterns, but sometimes also much more ornate, such as the "two very handsome frames richly ornamented with French corners" that he provided in July 1830, at a cost of £26.[29] In this and most other cases the respective paintings are not mentioned; in contrast to the Aubé documents, however, the name of the artist is sometimes inserted in a marginal annotation, in a way that makes it possible to identify the particular work. Of particular interest in this connection is an account of February 1834, when Smith charged £52 for "two very large handsome frames with bold shell corners…on chequered grounds, small sweep sides meeting in the half centres…the whole gilt in oil and burnished gold" for a pair of paintings by Titian.[30] These were clearly the *Diana and Actaeon* and the *Diana and Callisto*, and Smith's frames of 1834 are clearly visible in photographs of the Picture Gallery taken before they were destroyed there in 1941 (see figs. 6 & 7). Designed in a florid Louis XV Revival style, they represent a

Fig 18 / Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait* (BG124), in French frame of ca. 1690, UK, Private Collection.

Fig. 19 / Titian, *Three Ages of Man* (BG77), in English frame of ca. 1835 (John Smith), Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater Loan.

fashionable reaction against the more restrained style apparently preferred by Bridgewater and Stafford, and they mark the beginning of a campaign to reframe several of the most prestigious Italian paintings from the Orléans collection. Examples include the frames made for Raphael's *Holy Family with a Palm Tree* (BG35; see fig. 15) and Titian's *Three Ages of Man* (BG77; fig. 19) (both Bridgewater Loan to the Scottish National Gallery), both of which again show a cross-hatched hollow moulding with a serrated swept rail at the top and centre, with cartouches at the corners. In both of these works the frame has an elevating influence on the pictorial composition that is again particularly appropriate to their arcadian subjects.

The same account of February 1834 makes explicit reference to the framing of another ex-Orléans picture, Guercino's *David and Abigail* (BG27).[31] In this case, however, the work is described as "Improving on a very large Frame by increasing the width of the moulding about 3rd backing on the frame, enriching the corners and middles with bold French ornaments and scrolls on chequered grounds with mouldings on top edges and back; Preparing and gilding the whole" – all at a cost of £28. In other words, in the case of this very large work it was evidently decided not to make a completely new frame, but to update and embellish the existing frame of ca. 1800, by adding Louis XV-style corner ornaments, but without applying the swept edges of the Titian and Raphael frames. Like those of Titian's *Diana* paintings this frame was destroyed in the air-raid of 1941, but Smith's intervention is illustrated by a comparison of the glimpses of it in the Bond engraving (see fig. 2; at the far right) and in the photograph of ca. 1936 (see fig. 6; at the far left).

Fig. 20 / Edwin Landseer, *Return from Hawking* (BG418), in English frame of 1837, UK, Private Collection.

Fig. 21 / Giovanni Paolo Panini, *View of St Peter's Square* (BG6), in English frame of ca. 1845, UK, Private Collection.

While the Louis XV Revival was presumably considered to be particularly appropriate for paintings with an Orléans provenance, it was also adopted for other works, including the family portrait-cum-historical genre piece known as *The Return from Hawking*, commissioned by Lord Francis from his friend Edwin Landseer (BG418; fig. 20). Smith's Day Books show that this "very large handsome Frame enriched with bold Corners and middles on the long side" was completed in April 1837 at a cost of £20.[32] In this case the design appears to have been based directly on that of ca. 1765 on Claude's *Landscape with Shepherds* (BG97), and it was in turn to serve as a model for other new frames in the collection. These include two Roman views by Panini (BG5-6; fig. 21), which follow their Claudian prototype by showing long, swept rails that enhance the fluid and poetic qualities of the paintings they enclose.

In 1839, two years after the framing of the *Return from Hawking*, Lord Francis embarked on the demolition of the house that had belonged to his great-uncle, to make way for a new Bridgewater House on the same site. As recorded in detail in the Smith Day Books, the big logistical task of moving the collection first to Lord Francis's temporary home of 18 Belgrave Square, and then of moving it back and reinstalling it in its new home a decade later, fell to John Smith and his family firm. This task naturally continued to include the repairing and conservation of picture frames, as well as the compilation of a new catalogue (with a new numbering system) for what may be called the third Bridgewater Gallery – comprising a number of reception rooms as well as the gallery proper designed by Charles Barry, and recorded in pre-War photographs (see figs. 6, 7 & 8). It seems, however, that from the time of the removal to Belgrave Square rather few new frames were commissioned, and that by the time of the inauguration of the third Bridgewater Gallery in 1851 tastes in framing the collection had ceased to evolve.

In some ways the study of the frames of a private aristocratic art collection, even one of the range and distinction of the Bridgewater Collection, is less rewarding than a study of public collections such as the National Portrait Gallery, London, or the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, or indeed of the Royal Collection.[33] Except in the case of commissions from contemporary painters such as Turner and

Landseer, few of the Bridgewater frames (even those now lost, and known only from visual records) are original to the paintings they surround; and the overwhelming majority were made in a relatively limited geographical area (Paris and London) and within a relatively limited period (from approximately the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth). On the other hand, it is important to realize that the majority were actually made for their paintings – designed specifically to enhance them – and perhaps in only relatively few cases were existing frames adapted for them. The Bridgewater Collection also provides an illuminating case study of how three generations of British aristocratic owners regarded the frames of their paintings – whether bought or inherited – and of how they saw their role in presenting the paintings to best effect in three successive Picture Galleries. Of particular interest is the fact that all three owners of the collection show a respect for, and a desire to perpetuate French styles of the eighteenth century in their choice of frames; and the collection therefore also represents an important example of how such styles were transmitted from France to England. From the evidence presented here it can also be seen that the three owners exercised a certain pragmatism, and none sought to impose a complete uniformity of frame design, in the manner of princely collections on the continent such as those in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome, or at Dresden, or at the Palais Royal – or indeed, in the Picture Gallery at Buckingham Palace, as organized by Prince Albert. Sometimes favourite patterns were applied to more or less large groups of pictures, or sometimes pictures were reframed with their own individual designs. But just as often there appears to have been an acceptance that existing frames served their purpose perfectly well, and in fact they had the further advantage of reflecting the often prestigious previous history of their respective paintings.

NOTES

1. See Peter Humfrey, "The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater as a Collector of Old Master Paintings," *Journal of the History of Collections* 27 (2015): pp. 211-225.
2. Peter Humfrey, "The Stafford Gallery at Cleveland House and the 2nd Marquess of Stafford as a Collector," *Journal of the History of Collections* 28 (2016): pp. 43-55.
3. Ellesmere sale, Christie's, 18 October 1946; Ellesmere sales, Christie's, 18 June 1976, nos.116-121; 2 July 1976, nos. 80-94.
4. *Catalogue of the Bridgewater Collection of Pictures* (London, 1851). Unless otherwise stated, the former Bridgewater paintings are now in the collection of the Duke of Sutherland.
5. These payments were already noted by Susannah Brooke, "Private Art Collections and London Town Houses 1780-1830" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2013), p. 60.
6. For this work and a key to the paintings it represents, see Ellinoor Bergvelt, "*Patrons and Lovers of Art* (1826-30): de ideale National Gallery van P. C. Wonder en Sir John Murray," in *P. C. Wonder (1777-1852). Een Utrechter in London*, exh. cat. (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2015), pp. 44-75.
7. For Lely's painting and its sitter, see Humfrey, "The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater as a Collector," pp. 213, 223 n. 12.
8. Probably acquired by the 1st Duke of Bridgewater from the Portland sale in 1722, on the advice of Sir Paul Methuen (not as in Humfrey, "The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater as a Collector," p. 213).
9. Humfrey, "The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater as a Collector," pp. 215, 224 n. 48; Amelia Smith, *Longford Castle. The Treasures and the Collectors* (London: Unicorn, 2017), pp. 56-58.
10. For the Duke and the Trumbull sale, see Humfrey, "The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater as a Collector," pp. 215, 224 n. 45.
11. Julia Lloyd Williams, *Dutch Art and Scotland. A Reflection of Taste*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1992), p. 66.
12. "British picture framemakers, 1600-1950 – A" accessed April 2018, https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/a#AU
13. See Brooke, "Private Art Collections."
14. As suggested by Jacob Simon (see above, note 12).
15. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, no. 880391.
16. See Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum. Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000) pp. 25, 169 n. 83.
17. Calonne sale, Skinner and Dyke, 28 March 1795, no. 94.
18. Humfrey, "The Stafford Gallery at Cleveland House."
19. An only slightly later diagram of the hang of the New Gallery (in which, however, the frames are indicated only schematically) is provided by William Young Ottley, *Engravings of the Most Noble The Marquis of Stafford's Collection of Pictures in London*, 4 vols (London: P.W. Tomkins, 1818), IV, Plate 3.
20. Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Sixteenth Century Italian Pantings. II: Venice 1540-1600* (London: the National Gallery, 2008), pp. 462-464.
21. Very similar frames, likewise attributable to Aubé, still surround paintings from the Bridgewater Collection by Both (BG193) and Metsu (BG217) (both ex-Gildemeester), and by Wouwermans (BG255) (of uncertain provenance).
22. For example, paintings by Backhuijsen (BG122), De Vois (BG137), Herp (BG181-2), Heyden (BG135), Huijsum (BG131), Aert van der Neer (BG221), Poelenburgh (BG162-3), Slingelandt (BG263), Tol (BG150), Victoors (BG100), and Wijnants (BG190).
23. See Peter Humfrey, "The Sutherland Gallery at Stafford House: Contents and Display," *Colnaghi Studies Journal* 1 (2017): pp. 124-149.
24. *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to Lord Francis Leveson Gower at Bridgewater House* (London, 1830).
25. For John Smith, see Charles Sebag-Montefiore with Julia Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers. John Smith and his Successors 1801-1924* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2013); "British picture framemakers, 1600-1950 – A" accessed April 2018, https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/s/#SM
26. See Lucy Whitaker and Jonathan Marsden, "Reframing the Royal Pictures. Episodes in the history of Royal Taste," *Apollo* 156 (2002): p. 53.
27. John Smith, Day Books with Indices of Buyers (5 vols., 1812-1867), Mss., the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
28. Bought by Lord Francis respectively ca. 1820 (Lloyd Willams, *Dutch Art and Scotland*, p. 80) and at the Watson Taylor sale, Christie's, 13-14 June 1823, no. 42.
29. Smith, Day Books, II, fol. 200.
30. Smith, Day Books, II, fol. 479.
31. Smith, Day Books, II, fol. 479.
32. Smith, Day Books, III, fol. 12.
33. See respectively "British Picture Framemakers 1600- 1950" accessed April 2018, https://www.npg.org.uk/research/ conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/; Timothy Newbery, *Frames and Framings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Whitaker and Marsden, "Reframing the Royal Pictures."

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

Documents relating to work by Peter Aubé for the Duke of Bridgewater, March 1797 to November 1801 (Ashridge archive, Hertfordshire County Record Office, Hertford)

AH1844

Receipt of £78-11s, dated 25 March 1797

To a Large Canamara Frame measuring 26 feet @ 18s per foot	23.8.0
To a New Frame measuring 19 feet 10 Inches @ 7s per foot	6.18.10
To D° D°measuring 15 feet @ 9s	7.4.0
To D° D°measuring 11 feet @ 7s	3.17.0
To D° D°measuring 10 feet 4 Inches @ 8s	4.2.8
To D° D°measuring 12 feet 2 Inches @ 7s	4.5.2
To 2 small New Frames measuring 12 feet 8 inches @ 5s per foot	3.3.4
To reguilt and new Lin'd a Large French frame measuring 19 feet 6 Inches @ 6s	5.17.0
To D° D°measuring 21 feet 6 Inches @ 4s	4.6.0
To D° D° with Burnish Gold	3.18.0
To D° D°measuring 11 feet 3 inches 4s 6	2.10.7 1/2
To a Canamara Frame reguilt & New Lin'd measuring 9 feet 8 inches @4s 6	1.19.0
To a Canamara Frame reguilt and new lin'd and remade to a New Pattern, measuring 14 feet 6 Inches @ 3s 6	1.15.0
To two small frames new lin'd, new members put and reguilt	1.0.0
	£78.11.7 1/2

AH1845

Receipt of £43-5s-6d, dated 24 November 1797

To two old french frames new lin'd, repair'd and Gilt – the 2 meas. 36 feet 7 inches -- @ 6s per Foot	10.19.6
1 Old length French frame new lin'd and repair'd, and regilt in burnish'd Gold 22 feet 8 inches, at 7 Shil.s per feet	7.18.8
2 new frames measured 23 feet 3 in @ 6s per feet	6.19.6
1 frame ditto 15 feet 8 inches @ 6s	4.14.0
Ditto I frame 14 8 6s	4.8.0
1 frame do. 9 6s	2.14.0
D° 2 frames 22 6s	6.12.0
	£44.5.8

AH1846

Receipt of £70-13s, dated 7 February 1797

To have Reguilt a small frame	1.1.0
To D° D°measuring 12 feet 3 Inches @ 4s	2.9.0
To D° D°measuring 9 feet @ Do.	1.16.0
To D° D°a small frame	0.11.0
To 2 Large New frames, measuring 45 feet 4 inches @ 8s	18.2.8
To reguilt a frame measuring 12 feet 4 inches @ 4s	2.9.4
To D° D°measuring 16 feet 2 Inches @ D°	3.4.8
To reguilt a small frame	0.11.0
To 5 New frames measuring 18 feet 2 Inches each @ 7s	31.15.10
To reguilt a French frame w. burnish Gold	3.3.0
To D° measuring 11 feet 6 Inches @ 3s 6	2.0.3
To reguilt a small frame	0.16.0
To D° a Large plain frame	2.14.0
	£70.13.9

AH1847

December 1797

To 2 Picture Frames, measuring 18 feet @ 6s per foot	5.8.0
To Alter & rguilt a Canamaraet frame, measuring 16 feet 4 Inches @ 7s per foot	5.14.4
To a Picture frame, measuring 7 feet 6 Inches @ 7s per ft	2.12.6
	£13.14.10

AH1848

Receipt of £13-14s-10d for 'work done', dated 1 February 1798

AH1849

Receipt of £68-11s-4d for 'work', dated 11 May 1799

AH1850

1798

To a large frame in burnish Gold measuring 26 feet @ 8s per ft	10.8.0
To a frame D° measuring 21 feet @ 6s D°	6.6.0
To a frame D° in Oil Gold measuring 8 feet 2 Inches at 3s 6 per ft	1.8.7
To D° D°measuring 12 ft 6 Inches at Do	2.3.9
To D° D°measuring 9 ft 10 In at Do	1.14.5
To D° D°measuring 8 ft 2 In at Do	1.8.7

1799 11 May

To an Old frame regilt, carv'd. repair'd & lined measuring 17 ft 4 inches by 10 ft 4 Do at 6s per ft in the whole 55 feet 4 inches	16.15.0
To D° at D° D° measuring 55 ft 4 Inches	16.15.0
To D° at D° D° measuring 38 ft 8 Inches	11.12.0
	£68.11.4

AH1851

Receipt for "Carving & Gilding Picture Frames" at £20 each, dated 11 April 1800

AH1852

Receipt of £40 for "Picture Frames", dated 12 November 1800

AH1853a

Itemized list of frames, dated 19 November 1800

17	A picture frame measuring 8 ft 3 in at 6s ft			2.9.6
39		6	8 1/2	2.0.3
19		7	3 1/2	2.3.9
25		7	1 1/2	2.2.9
33		5	5	2.4.6
28		7	2 1/2	2.3.3
58		6	7	1.19.6
83		6	8 3/4	2.0.4 1/2
120		6	10	2.1.0
119		6	8	2.1.0
131		5	9	1.14.6
73		6	0 3/4	1.16.4 1/2
32		5	10 1/4	1.15.1 1/2
10		7	0 1/2	2.2.3
74		6	9	2.0.6
146		6	3 1/2	1.17.9
227		5	11 1/4	1.15.7 1/2
29		4	6 1/2	1.7.3
77		4	6 1/2	1.7.3
140		4	4 1/4	1.6.1 1/2
116		12	0	3.12.0
41		12	2 1/2	3.13.3
14		12	3 1/2	3.13.9
117		11	0	3.6.0
70		9	9	2.18.7 1/2
38		8	11 1/2	2.13.9
30		9	1 1/4	2.14.7 1/2
37		9	1	2.14.7 1/2
57		10	5	3.2.7 1/2
63		8	7	2.11.6
78		10	7	3.3.6
(carried over				£72-11-10)
11	frame measuring	10ft	1 1/2	2.10.3
9		11	7	3.9.6
19		11	8	3.10.3
20		12	2	3.13.3
70		10	0	3.0.0
123		8	7	2.11.0
106		10	9 1/2	3.4.9
8		12	0	3.12.0
50		7	10 1/2	2.7.3
2		10	6	3.3.0
80		8	8	2.12.0
149	11	5 1/2		3.8.9
139	15	10		4.15.0
121	16	4 1/2		4.18.3
6	17	8		5.6.0
75	13	9 3/4		4.2.10 1/2
421	9	9		2.18.6
300	9	7 1/2		2.17.9
44	4	6 3/4		1.6.4 1/2
21	4	6 1/2		1.7.3
	14	8		4.12.0
	6	9		2.0.6
	7	8 1/4		2.6.1 1/2
	10	1		3.6.0
	19	10		5.19.0
	6	8		2.0.0
	4	3		1.5.6
	16	11		5.1.6
	7	4		2.4.0
	7	5 1/2		2.4.9
	7	2 3/4		2.3.4 1/2
	4	4 1/2		1.6.1 1/2
	12	1		3.12.6
	12	0		3.12.0
	12	1		3.12.6
	15	4		4.12.0
	14	7		4.7.6
	Rich frame			3.0.0
				£194-12-3
1 Frame measuring	9	7 1/2		2.17.9
Do	4	6		1.6.0
Do	4	6		1.6.0
				£200-2-0
To 5 Spendalls for Frames at 5s				1.5.0
Cutting, mending & Gilding 15 Frames of the above at 5s				3.15.0
Cutting & regilding a Large Frame with additional ornaments				2.0.0
Cleaning & mending a large Frame with an additional Frame gilt				2.0.0
Cutting, mending & regilding a French Frame				1.0.0
Mending & cleaning a Gilt frame				0.10.0
Repairing & reguilding 2 French frames with Brass Ornaments at £2.0.0 each				4.0.0
Cutting 2 French Frames, mending & reguilding some				0.18.0
To men's expenses at different times, fixing pictures in frames etc				2.0.0
				£217-2-0
By Cash at different times of His Grace				£100 –
Balance				£117-2-0

11 May 1801: received £100 on account of above balance

AH1853b

Receipt of £43-14s for "work", dated 5 November 1801

AH1854/ 1855

Received £20 on account, 24 January 1801

Left from Last Year's Bill	17.0.0
Repairing, Bronzing 2 large Tables with Groups & polishing the Slabs At £7 each	14.0.0
3 Balls Gilt & Burnished for a Time piece	0.10.0
Repairing & Regilding several frames at the House	2.12.0
Cutting & regilding a frame	0.12.0
Gilding a large Glass frame	2.0.0
A Carved & Gilt Picture frame	3.0.0
1 D° D° same Pattern	4.0.0
Repairing & regilding in burnished Gold a large Glass Frame	5.0.0
A D° D°	5.0.0
	£53-14-0
Received on his Grace's leaving Town, in part	10.0.0
Balance due to PA	43.14.0

Fig. 1 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Study of the Virgin and Child*, ca. 1490, pen and ink over red chalk, 12.8 x 9.3 cm, London, Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery.

Vittore Carpaccio (1460/1466? – 1525/1526), an innovative draughtsman

CATHERINE WHISTLER

In studies of Venetian drawing the idea that red chalk was introduced to Venice by Leonardo da Vinci during his sojourn there in 1500 has traditionally formed part of a narrative whereby the work of the Florentine genius spurred the avant-garde Venetian, Giorgione and those in his circle to develop a sensuous mode of drawing. Undoubtedly, Leonardo's expressive studies in red chalk of about 1495 for the heads of apostles in the *Last Supper* attest to his virtuoso use of the medium by that time, and had a lasting impact on drawing in Lombardy and elsewhere.[1] Vittore Carpaccio by contrast has often been perceived as a conservative artist rooted in earlier fifteenth-century conventions, whose surviving *oeuvre* in drawing provides evidence of copying and repetition in workshop practice rather than of inventive flair. Yet red chalk was used by Carpaccio in ways that mark him out as an innovative artist, notably for his combination of red chalk with pen and ink in compositional drawings.

Inventive sketches in red chalk overlaid with further thoughts in pen and ink, a felicitous technique in terms of its visual impact, is common in eighteenth-century Venetian drawings. That the technique was also widely used by seventeenth-century artists in Venice is attested by the variety of examples found in the work of Giulio Carpioni, Johann Carl Loth, Giuseppe Diamantini, Antonio Molinari or Gregorio Lazzarini. Not surprisingly, the technique was explored by Palma Giovane, and also by contemporaries such as Pietro Malombra. Earlier Venetian sixteenth-century examples are rarer (which may be a question of survival, rather than of changes in drawing practice) so that it is particularly important to recognize Carpaccio's achievements in this regard. Jennifer Fletcher closely scrutinized a double-sided sheet with studies of the Virgin and Child in the Courtauld Institute in an article of 2001 (fig. 1).[2] Her acute observations brought into focus for me the originality that Carpaccio demonstrated in these drawings. Jennifer noted the substantial use of the red chalk, and the way in which the dotted, broken pen lines anticipated the light effects of the eventual painting. In an important article of 2004, Caroline Brooke examined Carpaccio's design process in working towards the complex narratives of the Scuola di San Giorgio paintings, emphasizing his flexibility and openness to revision even at a late stage in the process.[3] More recently, in discussing the Courtauld sheet and the large compositional drawing in the Uffizi, *The Triumph of Saint George*, I have highlighted Carpaccio's experimental approach particularly in the dynamic interaction of red chalk with pen and ink.[4]

How significant is Carpaccio's use of red chalk with ink in his inventive or compositional studies, and how might this compare with contemporary uses? Red chalk appears as a drawing medium in the Pollaiuolo workshop in late 1460s Florence, when Piero del Pollaiuolo combined it with charcoal in a head study that functioned as a full-scale cartoon, pricked for transfer; above all Leonardo demonstrated its expressive potential by the mid-1490s.[5] Earlier in the Quattrocento, various artists including Pisanello had rubbed or wetted red chalk onto paper to provide a mid-tone for figurative drawings in ink.

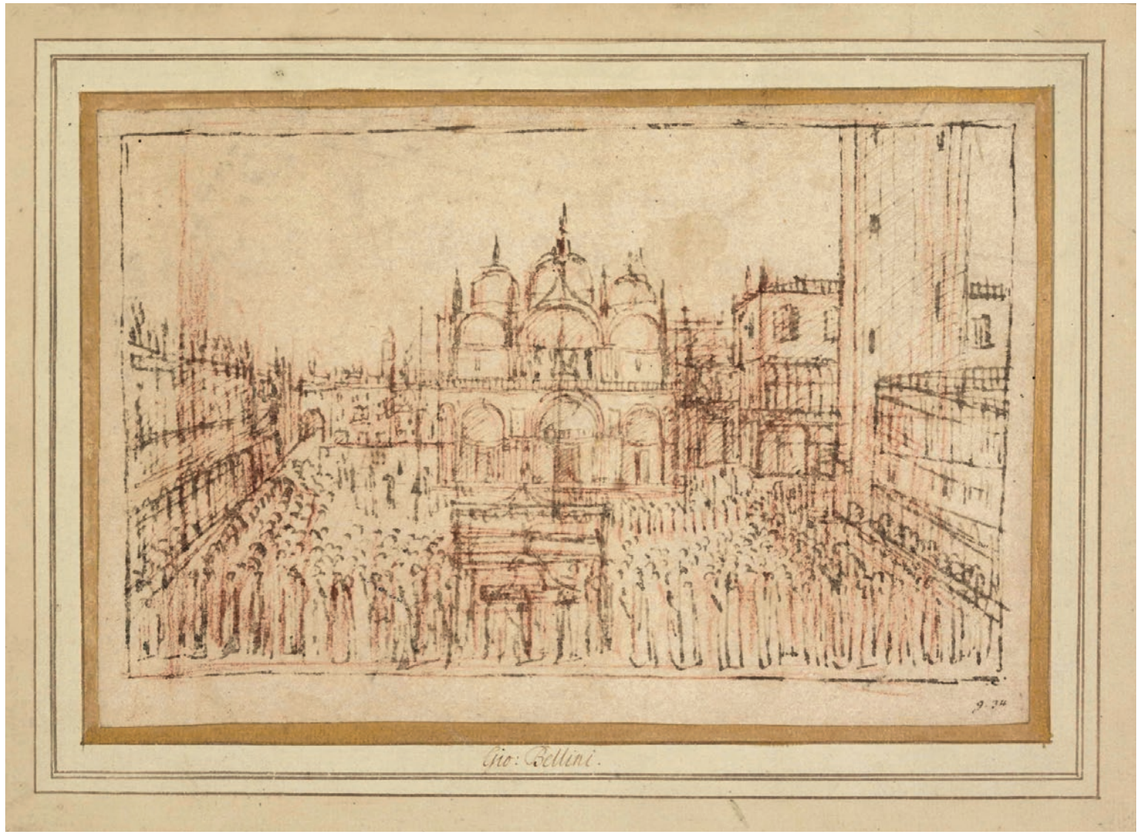


Fig. 2 / Gentile Bellini, *A Procession in Saint Mark's Square, Viewed from a Height*, 1496, pen and ink over red chalk, 13 x 19.3 cm, London, British Museum.

The growing interest in red chalk as a warm-toned medium that could be used broadly or sharply can be charted in its forceful use in combination with black chalk by Luca Signorelli around 1500, in a group of figure studies relating to the Orvieto commission; as a medium for free sketches of the Madonna and Child by Raphael about 1506; or in a richly layered form in the elaborately modelled *ignudo* studies by Michelangelo for the Sistine Chapel ceiling. Suffusing black chalk or charcoal figure studies with warmth by applying red chalk to certain areas, as did Piero del Pollaiuolo and Signorelli, was not uncommon. However, using red chalk in combination with pen and ink was far from conventional in the years around 1500 (though examples can be found in Leonardo's practice). In the 1500s, both Raphael and Michelangelo might use red chalk on the same sheet as other studies in pen and ink, but not as a rule in a layered technique where red chalk is worked over in ink as an integral part of the artist's thinking on a particular composition. Michelangelo would go on to make various studies using this method, such as an evolving narrative scene about 1516-1520 relating to the façade of San Lorenzo, Florence, begun in red chalk and continued, pen in hand; he would also overlay ink and red chalk in architectural studies (superb examples are found in his studies of fortifications).[6]

From Venice in the 1490s two compositional drawings in this technique by Gentile Bellini have come down to us, one in the British Museum and the other at Chatsworth (fig. 2).[7] Both are associated with the cycle of paintings for the Sala della Croce of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, and datable ca. 1496. It seems plausible to suppose that this technique was

previously in use in the Bellini studio, where Carpaccio was traditionally thought to have trained,[8] if only because the older Gentile employed it in these inventive sketches in a purposeful, adept manner. Nonetheless, no Bellini examples are known that pre-date the Courtauld studies by Carpaccio.[9] Another technique, that of the tonal drawing on blue paper with brush, ink, and white heightening often over black chalk, used by Vittore throughout his career, does seem to have been widely disseminated in the circle of Giovanni Bellini. The highly-worked chiaroscuro drawing, the *Head of a Bearded Man* in the Royal Collection, generally agreed to be by Giovanni about 1460-1470, provides a landmark in the development of the technique, which was employed by artists associated with Bellini such as Alvise Vivarini or Cima da Conegliano, and exploited brilliantly by Carpaccio.[10]

Perhaps what is most remarkable about Carpaccio's approach is his broad, decisive handling of the red chalk, which is unlike Gentile Bellini's more meticulous, sharp treatment as he set out in chalk, albeit schematically, the flow of a procession against the topography of the Piazza. The contrast is especially evident in the vivid swirls of the grainy medium as Carpaccio considered alternative possibilities for the harbour area in the study in the British Museum that clearly relates to the landscape setting at the left of *Saint Ursula and the Prince Taking Leave of their Parents*, painted in 1495 for the Scuola di Sant'Orsola (fig. 3). He based much of the architectural detail of the fortified hillside on a favoured print source, the woodcuts by Erhard Reeuwich used as illustrations to Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), so that only minor revisions were made to the red chalk indications as he built up the composition with the pen.

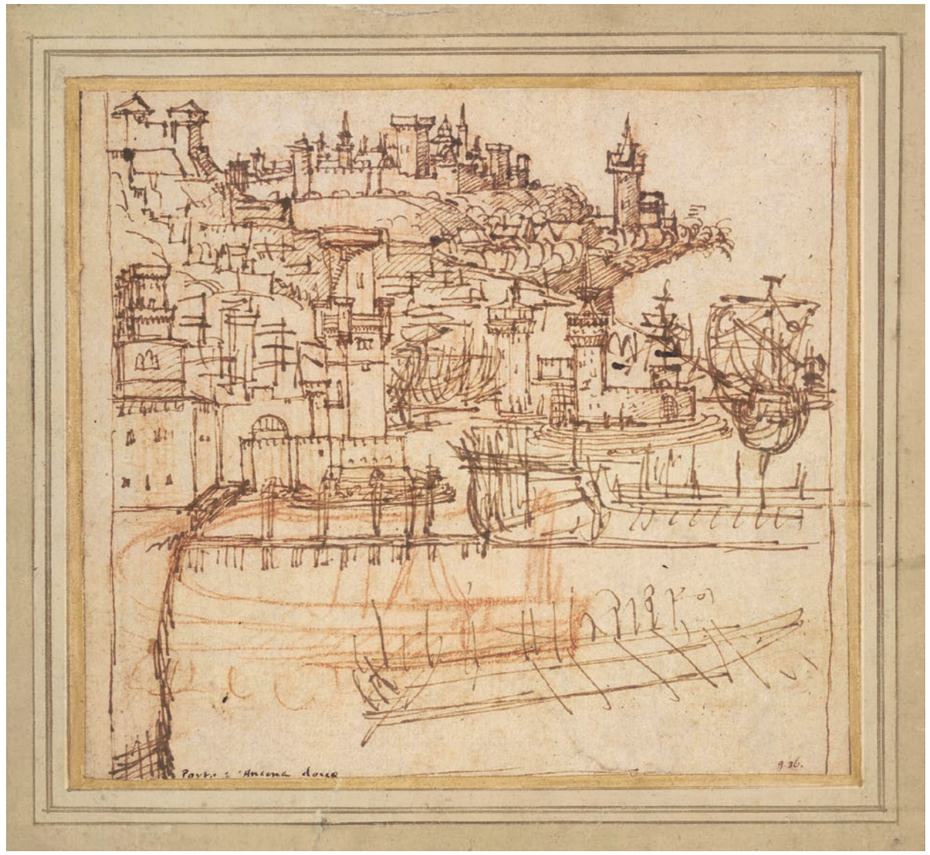


Fig. 3 / Vittore Carpaccio, *A Fortified Harbour with Shipping*, ca. 1495, pen and ink over red chalk, 17.2 x 19.1 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 4 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Virgin and Child with Female Saints*, ca. 1500-1505, pen and ink, brown wash, over red and black chalk, 19 x 23.5 cm, New York, The Morgan Library.

However, the harbour area is a locus for experimentation at the intersection of land and water, where the shape of the mole and the types of shipping are freely suggested with a spirited handling of the chalk.

Vittore continued to work on compositions using this combined technique, in each case adapting his handling in keeping with the subject or with the stage he had reached in the design process. His use of the red chalk for thinking on paper is seen even at an advanced stage, as in a compositional drawing relating to the *Virgin and Child with Female Saints* of uncertain date, ca. 1500-1505, in Avignon (fig. 4). Here the strong pressure of his hand on the blunt, earthy chalk is evident in the improvised delineations of a craggy rock formation and the habitats of hermit saints, followed by strongly accentuated revisions in ink that, together with light washes, create potent tonal relations with the red.[11] The main figure group of the *sacra conversazione* had previously been studied in two other sheets, so that little alteration was now required to their disposition, but Carpaccio was still concerned with injecting the landscape with drama and visual interest. By contrast, a more even handling is seen in the exploratory red chalk study for a narrative of the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* painted in 1515 for the church of San Antonio di Castello (fig. 5).[12] Carpaccio tackled this complex subject by shaping a centrifugal design with a crowd surging around the group of six crosses; a further narrative episode is indicated at the

Fig. 5 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Study for the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, ca. 1514, red chalk, 21.3 x 29.7 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

left, while a serpentine movement in depth draws our gaze towards the rearing mountain and heavenly vision. The vertical direction of the composition is re-asserted with the two firmly planted upright crosses at the right. The rectangular format that emerged at this stage of reflection, to be defined by framing lines, was not in the end what the commission required, so that Vittore did not need to take this particular design forward with further exploration in pen and ink. The light handling of the chalk and the shorthand treatment of figures brings us closer to Gentile Bellini's schematic approach seen in the British Museum and Chatsworth sheets, giving us a sense of the appearance of the older master's initial red chalk sketches. Yet Carpaccio's individual character is clear not only in the greater agility of the figures but particularly in his consideration of the effects of light and atmosphere, with the red chalk used broadly and vigorously to model the landscape setting and to evoke a tempestuous sky.

The sensuous use of the red chalk in its material qualities, already visible in Vittore's *Virgin and Child* studies of ca. 1490, can be seen in later drawings attributed to Giorgione and other Venetian artists.[13] However, the richness of tonality and the sense of graphic vitality realized by the overlaying of ink, often used lavishly, with the grainy texture and warm hue of red chalk may be Carpaccio's distinctive and original achievement in drawing in the years around 1500 in Venice.

NOTES

1. Maddalena Spagnolo, "La matita rossa come luce e colore: verifiche sulle studi di teste di Leonardo e dei leonardeschi," *Polittico* 1 (2000): pp. 65-82.
2. Jennifer Fletcher, "Carpaccio at the Courtauld Institute," *British Art Journal* 2 (2001): pp. 71-74.
3. Caroline Brooke, "Carpaccio's Method of Composition in his Drawings for the Scuola di S.Giorgio Teleri," *Master Drawings* 42 (2001): pp. 302-314.
4. Catherine Whistler, *Venice and Drawing 1500-1800. Theory, Practice and Collecting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), respectively pp. xvii-xviii and pp. 206-208.
5. Hugo Chapman and Marzia Faietti, *From Fra Angelico to Leonardo: Italian Renaissance Drawings*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, 2010), under no. 33.
6. London, Courtauld Institute, inv. D1978.PG422, pen and brown ink partly over red chalk; see Carmen Bambach, ed., *Michelangelo Divine Draftsman and Designer*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017), no. 38 and p. 108, and in the same volume, a discussion of the fortification drawings of 1527-1529 by Mauro Mussolin (nos. 104, 105, pp. 275-576).
7. London, British Museum, inv. 1933,0803.12, and Chatsworth House, Devonshire Collection, inv. 738; see Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, *Bellini and the East*, exh. cat. (Boston and London: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and National Gallery, 2005), nos. 9 and 10, pp. 50-53. See Francis Ames-Lewis and Joanne Wright, *Drawing in the Italian Renaissance Workshop*, exh. cat. (Nottingham and London: University Art Gallery and Victoria & Albert Museum, 1983), no. 57, for a discussion of the Chatsworth drawing where it is observed that red chalk underdrawing seems to have been a particular Venetian technique.
8. See Sara Menato, *Per la giovinezza di Carpaccio* (Padua: Padova University Press, 2016) on the importance of Antonello da Messina, Giovanni Bellini, Ferrarese painting, and other sources including Perugino, in Carpaccio's formation.
9. I am grateful to Sara Menato for this observation.
10. Royal Collection, inv. RCIN 91280; see George Goldner, "Bellini's Drawings," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bellini*, ed. Peter Humfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 250-251.
11. See Rhoda Eitel-Porter in Cara Denison et al., *The Thaw Collection. Master Drawings and Oil Sketches. Acquisitions since 1994*, exh. cat. (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 2003), no. 1.
12. See Andrew Robison, *La poesia della luce: disegni veneziani dalla National Gallery of Art di Washington. The Poetry of Light: Venetian Drawings from the National Gallery of Art, Washington*, exh. cat. (Venice: Museo Correr, 2014), no. 9.
13. See Roger Rearick, *Il disegno veneziano del Cinquecento* (Milan: Electa, 2001), pp. 9-21, for his consideration of red chalk drawings attributed to Giorgione, with references.

Velázquez composes: prototypes, replicas, and transformations

ZAHIRA VÉLIZ BOMFORD

Fig. 1 / Diego Velázquez, *The Waterseller of Seville*, ca. 1620, oil on canvas, 107.7 x 81.3 cm, London, English Heritage, The Wellington Collection, Apsley House.

The city of Seville, where Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) was born on the eve of the seventeenth century, was a society beset by contradictions. One of the wealthiest cities on earth, its population had more than tripled in the century since Columbus's voyages, and it was now a cosmopolitan urban centre of 140,000 – in line with Amsterdam and Venice – and, like them, also featured many characteristics of the modern age: there were numerous nationalities and ethnicities, including a slave class and a *morisco* component; there was the constant awareness and impact of the world *ultramar*, populated by the indigenous peoples of territories claimed by Spain in distant reaches of the world. These realities were layered over a complex late-medieval inheritance in which Islamic and Jewish cultures were profoundly present and a militant Roman Catholicism informed contemporary institutions. Side by side with spectacular riches, there was the ever-present underbelly of society – legions of beggars, destitute labourers, and the homeless: good reading, perhaps, in the picaresque literature of the age, but in reality, an environment of social and physical ills addressed only up to a point by a proliferation of charitable associations. Velázquez's distinctive genre paintings eloquently record some of the types and characters to be encountered within the kitchens and sculleries, the backstreets and backrooms of Golden Age Seville. In works like *The Waterseller* (Apsley House) (fig. 1) or *Kitchen Scene* (Chicago Art Institute) (fig. 2), the artist's perceptive eye and sympathetic brush capture likeness and intrinsic dignity.

In her analysis of Velázquez's working environment in Seville, Gridley McKim-Smith observed that in Velázquez's time, "transforming the world into an image had to satisfy an existential necessity of self-orientation and control in the face of the unprecedented rhythm of change," manifest in the social sphere.[1] In his treatise *El arte de la pintura*[2] Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), Velázquez's master, theorized extensively the value of "true contours of the beautiful Idea"[3]; this perhaps reflected a desire to define boundaries in a fast-changing world characterized by an atmosphere of crisis peculiar to Spain.[4] In setting out the qualities to be admired in portraiture, clear outlines again received special emphasis: "in Portraiture, the true likeness resides in the outlines."[5]

Francisco Pacheco's adherence to a style involving clearly defined outlines is evident throughout his career. Faithful imitation of the master's procedures and aesthetic values – from drawing to mixing colours to composing pictures – was inevitable in the traditional apprenticeship training that Velázquez underwent from 1611-1617 in Pacheco's studio.[6] So it is no surprise to find that in his early portraits and genre scenes, Velázquez's figures retain the same clear contours so important to his master, yet in a short period of time, they cease to be precise and uninflected, becoming assured and fluent. The firm contours seen in early paintings by Velázquez are but the final demarcation between figure and ground that was first explored by the artist in the initial stages of painting, and subsequently made invisible to the eye. However, technical imaging with x-radiography and infra-red imaging, has made it possible to illustrate the marks now long covered over by the master's paint.

Fig. 2 / Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Scene*, 1618-1620, oil on canvas, 55.9 x 104.2 cm, Art Institute of Chicago.

Fig. 3 / Attributted to Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Maid*, ca. 1618-1620, oil on canvas, 86.4 x 73 cm, Houston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Thus, the study and, indeed, a kind of connoisseurship of technical images has come to play a role in the attribution of paintings to the hand of Velázquez.[7] The characterization of outlines in paintings by Velázquez has led, more recently, to a closer study of replication methods used in the royal portraits that were his first major works painted in Madrid. It now appears that both cartoons and individual templates for heads and hands were employed in the creation and reproduction of the royal portraits.[8] In this essay, new evidence for Velázquez's use of templates in paintings beyond the royal portraits will be presented, and its implication for a methodology of composition discussed. Tracing, cartoon, and template are relatively imprecise technical terms, but will be used here to define specific functions as manual copying aids. Tracing is understood here as the act of making a mark on a paper outlining the image being traced. The result is also a tracing, until it is used to create 1:1 templates (a pattern whose cut-out shape follows the outer profiles of the forms in the original image, with no other detail) or cartoons (a 1:1 rectangular paper, or smaller sheet for individual motifs, that carries the outer contour lines as well as all other major lines of the original image, including facial features, drapery folds etc). Templates would be employed for repeating a shape from the original image on a new surface, without details. Cartoons would contain far more information and the lines would be transferred to the new surface by pouncing or pressing along the traced lines with a stylus.

Technical study of *Kitchen Servant* (Museum of Fine Arts, Houston) (fig. 3), now attributed to Diego Velázquez, and further analysis of other genre scenes by the artist have revealed evidence for manual copying aids playing a role in the artist's mode of composing and replicating paintings. This interpretation adds to the growing body of technical evidence documenting processes and materials used by Velázquez. It also provides new information for contextualizing his working method, and possibly challenging our cultural preconceptions about creative process: Art History has recently had to accommodate the apparent employment of mechanical or auxiliary systems for reproducing paintings in the workshops of even the greatest artists of an age. The studios of Titian, Barocci, and Caravaggio, and now that of Velázquez, have been shown to have used of templates and cartoons to make repetitions, and even newly composed variations of existing images.[9] While possibly undermining any art historical interpretation that places the agency of the artist's *furia* at its heart, the technical expediency prevalent in successful studios reminds us that – together with others from Apelles to Picasso – the early modern artist was *practical*.

Fig. 4 / Diego Velázquez, *Sor Jerónima de la Fuente*, 1620, oil on canvas, 160 x 110 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

Fig. 5 / Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV*, ca. 1623-1628, oil on canvas, 198 x 101.5 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

As early as 1983, radiographs of Velázquez's royal portraits indicated a practice of making autograph replicas of high quality.[10] This possibility immediately posed challenges to connoisseurship in determining authorship in replicas of high quality. Two principal features emerged from this early study of radiographic images: (1) prominent outlines consisting of radio-opaque pigments (seen as bright white lines in the radiographic image) carefully contouring the figure in a manner reminiscent of Pacheco's instructions to "make the contour lines as dextrously, and correctly as if they were to remain thus and not proceed until the Painter is satisfied that those outlines have much likeness with those of the person portrayed";[11] (2) radiographic images also make clear that a portrait retained by the artist could become the site of subsequent editing and redrafting of the monarch's image.[12] This agrees with the logical practice of an artist keeping a reference image or prototype as the model for replicas made by the master himself, by his studio assistants, or by both. After all, in Velázquez, as *pintor de cámara* from 1626, was vested the unique privilege of taking the likeness of the king or his family in the royal presence. Such primary portraits were the point of departure for all repetitions of the monarch's image and thus constituted an artistic commodity invested with artistic, historical, and political authority added to the mysterious emanation of the true image of the king. For Velázquez's early portrayals of Philip IV, there is strong evidence that cartoons or templates played a role in repetitions of the authorized image of the monarch.[13] Even in portraits executed by other artists, the king's head and features coincided exactly with the forms produced by Velázquez.[14] The truth-carrying outlines of the image observed, and then perfected through the artist's knowledge and *invención,* are preserved immutable in Velázquez's cartoons. This fixity of the image resonates with the actual stillness of the Spanish Habsburg monarchs when they gave an audience, projected against a background of a world where "there is nothing stable, perpetual, nor permanent".[15]

The focus of numerous technical studies, royal portrait replicas are in a category apart because of the social and political parameters of their creation.[16]

Technical study has also informed our understanding of repetitions beyond the category of royal portraits. For example, in his portrayal of *Sor Jerónima de la Fuente* (fig. 4), made in 1620 at the respective ages of artist and sitter of 22 and 60, Velázquez must have been aware of the potential for his prototype to be the "true image" of a woman in all likelihood destined for sainthood.[17] Keeping a cartoon – or a painted prototype – for replication was logical for such a commission (and a good business strategy). The precise coincidence of the outer contours of the figure and drapery, as well as the sitter's features in all three extant paintings of Sor Jerónima supports the conclusion that a cartoon was used to create such exact copies.[18] Here is a case where the entire figure was replicated exactly. In contrast, it is now understood that *Philip IV* (New York, Metropolitan Museum) was composed using separate partial cartoons for the hands and face – not an overall cartoon – to transfer the exact contours of hand and face to the canvas for constructing the figure of the king whose costume, and even pose, might be varied, while the likeness remained ever true (fig. 5). [19] The demands of verisimilitude, decorum, and practical efficiency make the use of templates and cartoons not especially surprising in the standardized images of monarch or *beata*. In the apparently less formal genre scenes or *bodegones,* however, the use of prototypes and replication is less expected, although not without precedent, at least for flower paintings.[20]

Technical study undertaken during the restoration treatment of *Kitchen Servant* (Museum of Fine Arts, Houston) (see fig. 3) has revealed the contribution of replication to Velázquez's mode of composition in scenes incorporating both figures and still life. There are three extant versions of Velázquez's composition of a kitchen servant, for a moment paused, motionless, at her work, behind a table displaying a sparse still life of crockery: in

Fig. 6 / Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus*, ca. 1618, oil on canvas, 55 x 118 cm, Dublin, National Gallery Ireland.

Fig. 7 / Semi-transparent images of the paintings in figs. 2, 3 & 5 are superimposed, and registered on the head of the figure. In all three paintings the head is virtually identical in contour and in detail. Other motifs of the compositions do not coincide when the entire paintings are seen in semi-transparent overlay.

addition to the Houston painting, these are *Kitchen Scene* (Chicago, Institute of Fine Arts) (see fig. 2) and *Supper at Emmaus* (Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland) (fig. 6). Even though the figure seems intensely still, the tilt of her head and the abstracted expression in her eyes convey a significant moment of reflection. Her African ethnicity and the biblical scene in the background of the Dublin picture have attracted scholarly interest, as has the technical study of *Kitchen Scene* in Chicago.[21] All three versions have suffered some deterioration of the original paint, the background and areas of dark pigments being particularly vulnerable. The recurrence of still-life elements in various *bodegones* by Velázquez has long been noticed.[22] Nevertheless, the opportunity to compare direct tracings of the figure and still-life elements in the Chicago and Houston pictures was welcome.[23] For comparisons, additional paintings were studied either from direct tracings, or digitally, using scaled overlays. Comparing the figure placement in the Chicago and Houston versions showed that the torso was slightly elongated in the

Houston version, and this meant there was no exact fit for the composition as a whole. In a semi-transparent scaled overlay of all three versions, with the servant's head as the point of registration to centre the image, the distribution of all the other motifs, including hands as well as crockery varies (fig. 7). Yet when individual motifs are overlaid, the contours of head, hands, jug and bowls, coincide exactly between these paintings. This observation highlights the significant feature that a cartoon or template was used to import motifs from one composition into an entirely different one, not only for complete replication of the same composition. This was borne out by the recurrence and exact coincidence of contours of the stacked bowls seen in the *Kitchen Servant* paintings, as well as in *Two Young Men Eating at a Humble Table* (London, Wellington Museum, Apsley House) (fig. 8). Here too, the exact contours occurred once more (fig. 9). Such exact replication of contour and form indicates that a cartoon was employed. This practice may have grown from procedures learned and observed in Pacheco's studio.

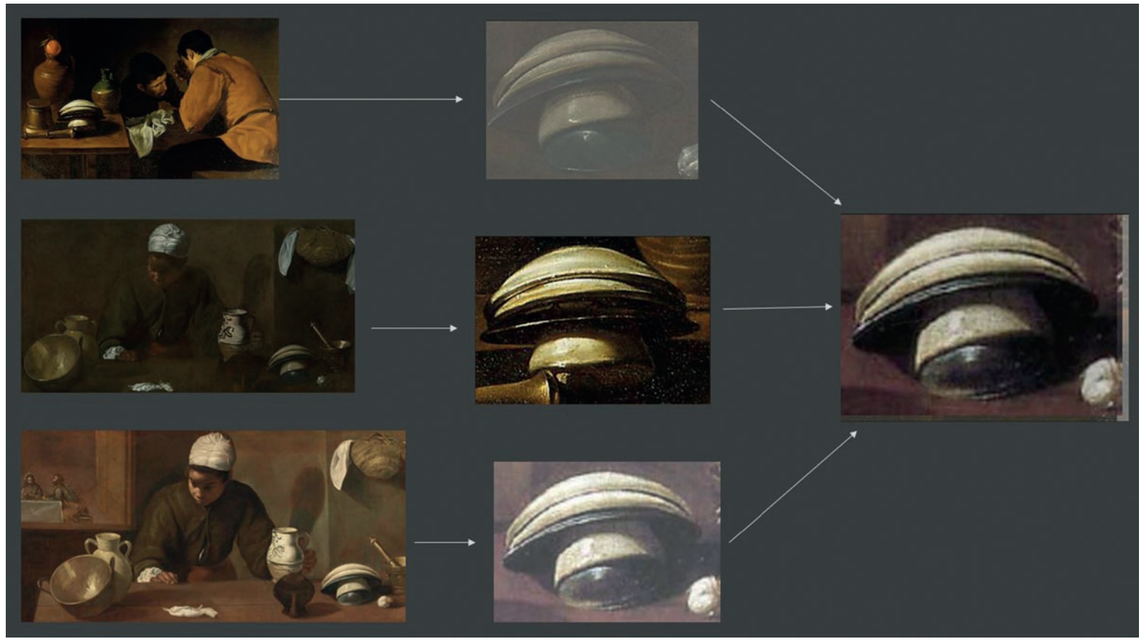


Fig. 8 / Diego Velázquez, *Two Young Men at a Humble Table*, ca. 1620, oil on canvas, 65.3 x 104 cm, London, English Heritage, The Wellington Collection, Apsley House.

Fig. 9 / Individual motifs, such as the stacked bowls apparent in the three paintings shown in fig. 7 coincide perfectly in shape and detail when isolated. The same motif, taken from a different composition (fig. 8) was found to coincide exactly when super-imposed. This suggests that the same cartoon was used in different compositions, not exclusively as a means of repeating a finished painting.

Fig. 10 / Francisco Pacheco, *Last Judgment*, 1610-1614, pen and ink wash, over traces of black chalk on laid paper, 55.4 x 38.7 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Looking at Pacheco's methods beyond his adherence to clear outlines, we see aspects of this master's process that are also features of Velázquez's practice. Pacheco's treatise, *El arte de la pintura,* and his extant works, produce an impression of this artist as one whose images were carefully researched and meticulously assembled. A revealing work is his *Last Judgment,* the composition drawing for one of Pacheco's major commissions, acquired in 2010 by the Prado Museum (fig. 10).

Fig. 11 / Francisco Pacheco, *Last Judgment*, 1610-1614, pen and ink wash, over traces of black chalk on laid paper, 55.4 x 38.7 cm, photographed in transmitted light, revealing separate papers joined together to make up the sheet.

Careful examination showed that the drawing was an assembly of twenty-three separate, small pieces of paper, each carrying a discreet section of the design, and joined together by the artist to construct the complex overall composition (fig. 11).[24] This procedure indicates that each vignette was studied and developed separately (indeed, Pacheco so describes it in his lengthy discussion of the commission)[25], then inserted into its planned location in the overall design. Such a procedure also allowed for local corrections without having to re-draw the entire composition. Although Pacheco used separately drawn papers on a smaller scale, there is a resonance of that practice with Velázquez's apparent use of separate cartoons for individual motifs in a painting. In both, a separately designed and perfected element is accommodated into a pre-set format.

Velázquez's use of partial templates to reassemble a composition in varied formats is curious and a practice not widely documented. Our knowledge regarding the nature of commissions for his *bodegones* in Seville is scarce, but the number of extant works suggests that market demand was healthy. Do the different formats of the extant versions of *Kitchen Servant* suggest that they were commissioned for specific settings? Was the artist engaged by the challenge of recomposing a horizontal composition (Chicago) in a vertical format (Houston)? Or was the Houston picture – known to have been trimmed on left, right, and upper edges – originally also horizontal, but in a much larger format than the Chicago painting? What was it about this subject that made it so apparently popular? One theory advanced is that the underlying significance of the kitchen servant scenes involves the seventeenth -century debate – very much alive in Seville – over the eternal salvation of slaves.[26] Another theory focuses on the transformation of formal sources in northern European art for this kind of subject into a specifically Sevillian mode of expression.[27]

The absence of the biblical scene in the Houston and Chicago paintings may indicate that adding the background scene was a client request in the Dublin version. Certainly no material traces remain in the other versions to suggest the background scenes were included originally.

While the use of an auxiliary aid for replication is not positively proved by the observations set out here, initial interpretation suggests that a traced pattern was taken from the drawn or painted prototypes of the discreet motifs that recur in these early *bodegones*, including some figures. Unfortunately, evidence of the actual means of transfer, such as pouncing, is not apparent in any of the portraits or genre paintings studied to date, but this does not indicate that they were not employed, only that the material traces of the technique have not survived. Indeed, Pacheco recommends brushing away with a feather the chalk or charcoal used to determine outlines after these were fixed in paint.[28] The distinctive outlines evident in the radiographs of early paintings record the artist's "fixing in place" of the correct contour – which could equally have been initially sketched by hand, or applied to the surface by a transfer method. In themselves, these lines are not evidence of transfer.

The replications made by Velázquez in the early *bodegones* discussed so far have a compelling resonance with Pacheco's use of small vignettes – each one the product of exacting iconographical and aesthetic research – pieced together to compose a complex whole. Did Velázquez employ such a method as an artful means of improving upon nature by artificially constructing his scenes of the everyday, while not sacrificing the "true to nature" immediacy of the figures and objects that he had observed and rendered so closely? Or was this procedure simply motivated by down-to-earth concerns for workshop efficiency and the need to meet market demand? Certainly this "step-wise" approach to composing on a two-dimensional surface does much to clarify the sense of spatially disjointed objects characteristic of early Velázquez images.

Fig. 12 / Diego Velázquez, *Lady with a Fan*, ca. 1638-1640, oil on canvas, 92.8 x 68.5 cm, London, Wallace Collection.

Fig. 13 / Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of a Young Lady*, ca. 1638-1640, oil on canvas, 97.8 x 48 cm, Chatsworth House, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

Until now the use of auxiliary aids to replicate has been considered a feature of the artist's early career, when he was working in Seville and in the early years at court, still, perhaps, steeped in his master's edicts about the primacy of clear contours and fully studied motifs. Indeed, one of the few early inventory entries for Velázquez's *bodegones* suggests that the *Two Young Men at a Humble Table* (see fig. 8) belonged to Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, 3rd Duke of Alcalá (1583-1637),[29] a prominent humanist and patron with whom Pacheco (and by association, young Velázquez) had a friendly relationship.[30] Alcalá was a member of the informal humanist academy that met to discuss art theory and poetry and history, in the "gilded cage" of Pacheco's studio in the early years of the seventeenth century. The intellectual climate that determined the value of certain practical and stylistic characteristics – like clear outlines and the importance of sound and decorous iconography – was thriving in the very studio where Velázquez was trained.

In 2006, through a collaboration between the Wallace Collection, Chatsworth, and the National Gallery, two portraits by Velázquez, *Lady with a Fan* (Wallace Collection) (fig. 12) and *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection) (fig. 13) were brought together for technical examination at the National Gallery.[31] Both works were painted by Velázquez in the Madrid court and dated 1638-1640.[32] At the National Gallery, London, a close comparison of radiographs, infra-red images, and exact tracing of the Wallace Collection *Lady with a Fan* with the related portrait at Chatsworth was undertaken. The striking difference in costume made it even more surprising to discover that the features and principal details of the figures align exactly. The identity of the sitter(s?) continues to be a point of discussion amongst Velázquez scholars, but the examination undertaken in 2006 made at least one thing perfectly clear: the head with every feature, and the torso of the sitter coincide precisely in both paintings (fig. 14).

It appears that even when the *boedgones* of ca. 1620 were long behind him, Velázquez still found replication – probably with a cartoon – useful in his creative process. In these two portraits the head and features are identical in outline. The positions of the arms and hands differ, yet still relate to each other like delicate variations of the same graceful gestures. The costumes also provide a counterpoint to each other: *Lady with a Fan* shows a marked decolloté, but the dress is subdued in hue. The lady in the Chatsworth picture wears a gown of warm yellow tone, set off by contrasting black bands, and her chest is completely concealed by a large lace collar. Similarities in iconography and pose between these two paintings by Velázquez, and prints by Wenceslaus Hollar of women in contemporary costume as personifications of the seasons prompt the thought that perhaps Velázquez was intrigued by the proof/counterproof relationship central to the design and production of printed images (fig. 15).

This kind of replication announces an altogether more sophisticated play of compositional elements: the same model, with nuanced substitutions of attributes or variations in pose, can exist in multiple characters. Or is it the same character in different guises? In the absence of documentary descriptions for these commissions, it is tempting to wonder if Velázquez, intrigued by the potentialities latent in a template, like others of his age entertained an "acute consciousness of the multiplicity and variability of the manifestations of the human,"[33] and used ingeniously varied repetitions to engage his sophisticated patrons? An argument has been advanced that in this pair of portraits, Velázquez was exploring manifestations of national and personal identity,[34] and the same sitter represented in contrasting costumes is a subtle use of replication, where "In a world of deceptive perspectives, illusions and appearances, it is necessary to meet reality by way of fiction."[35]

Fig. 14 / In this overlay the semi-transparent images of *Lady with a Fan* and *Portrait of a Young Lady* have been registered on the head of the figure. The traced outline of the Wallace Collection figure is overlaid on the Chatworth painting, showing graphically how closely the sitters coincide.

Fig. 15 / Wenceslaus Hollar, *Summer*, ca. 1641, etching, second state, 22.5 x 18 cm, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Fig. 16 / Diego Velázquez, *Democritus*, ca. 1629-1638, oil on canvas, 101 x 81 cm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts.

Fig. 17 / Attributed to Diego Velázquez, *Man with a Wine Glass*, ca. 1630, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5, Toledo Museum of Art.

Velázquez's painting of *Democritus*, dated 1627-1638 (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts) (fig. 16) – inventoried in the same seventeenth-century collection as the Chatsworth portrait – and a workshop variation, *Man with a Wine Glass* (Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art) (fig. 17) provide another example of the same figure transformed by variations of attribute and costume. Although currently the canvases differ in size, the Toledo picture possibly having been trimmed, the head and facial features, torso, and back register exactly when the two paintings are to scale and overlaid. Once more, the positions and gesture of hands are varied (fig. 18). Radiographs taken in 1964 indicate that the figure in the Rouen painting was originally holding a goblet, but not in precisely the same position or of the same shape as seen in the Toledo painting. The latter may have been a studio work related to the initial composition, before the jolly toper was transformed into the laughing philosopher Democritus, who points to the globe reminding us that all the world is but a stage, and we mere actors upon it.[36]

There is still much unknown about the mechanics of Velázquez's use of prototypes and their replication. The persistence and evolution of the role of replicas and self-quotation suggest the possibility that sometimes Velázquez transformed the practical purpose of templates into an inventive recourse for composition – a means of creating (in Pacheco's phrase) "of different things a pleasing whole."[37] In an age enamoured of contradiction and disguise, conceits of meaning and metaphor – where moralists exhorted the artist to transform Venus into a Magdalene[38] – the multivalent possibilities of replication must have had strong appeal.

Fig. 18 / In this overlay the semi-transparent images of *Democritus* and *Man with a Wine Glass* have been registered on the head of the figure. The traced outline of the head of the Toledo figure is overlaid on the Rouen painting, showing graphically how closely the features coincide. Such accuracy would normally be the result of using a cartoon projection.

The evidence available to date suggests that the purposes for which Velázquez incorporated traced templates into his technical procedures evolved from the closely studied components with which compositions were constructed in his early work, to the practical efficacy and authorized guardianship of the royal delineaments in his role as painter to the king, to a kind of lively engagement with the potentialities of flipping identities in the imaginary(?) portraits in his maturity. While replication had a role in his production of easel paintings, no example yet has been identified in his supreme history paintings, from the *Surrender of Breda* to *The Weavers (Fable of Arachne)*, or *Las Meninas* (even if it is true that certain personages portrayed individually on canvas also reappear in the large scale works, for example, the figure at the right of *Surrender of Breda* or the Infanta Margarita at the centre of *Las Meninas*). However clever Velázquez was in the efficiencies of composing in the studio, templates had no place in the generation of his most sublime images.

Can technical studies contribute to our understanding of how broader cultural realities conditioned picture making? I would venture a qualified yes, *if* technical information can be meaningfully contextualized. However, in the absence of an artist's documented opinion, the results of technical information cannot elucidate inner motivation, but simply document an action taken. The "why" is often a matter for hypothesis and for debate. Yet, inevitably, technical knowledge is intriguing because it offers a kind of material closeness to the creating artist that contemplating a finished work does not, and our conjectures about the "why" of technical facts remain intrinsic to the practice of technical Art History.

NOTES

1. Gridley McKim-Smith, "La técnica sevillana de Velázquez," in *Velázquez y Sevilla*, ed. Alfredo J. Morales, 2 vols., exh. cat. (Seville: Monasterio de la Cartuja de Santa María de las Cuevas, Salas del Centro Andaluz de Arte Contemporáneo, 1999) II, pp. 108-123.
2. Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura* (1649), ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda y Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990).
3. Pacheco, *El arte*, p. 290, quotes the verse of his friend Pablo de Céspedes (1538-1608):"I luego miraras por donde pasa cierto el contorno de la bella Idea…"
4. McKim-Smith, "La técnica sevillana de Velázquez," II, pp. 108-23.
5. Pacheco, *El arte*, p. 435 "… que en los perfiles consistia la verdadera imitacion de los Retratos."
6. The contract for Velázquez's apprenticeship was first published in *Varia* in Antonio Gallego y Burín, ed., *Velazqueña: Homenaje a Velázquez en el III centenario de su muerte, 1660-1960*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Edición planeada, 1960), II, pp. 215-216, doc. 8.
7. See particularly, Frank Zuccari, "Radiography Applied to the Study of a Portrait of Philip IV in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," in *The Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, (seminar proceedings, 1983), ed. Patricia England and Lambertus van Zelst (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985), pp. 251-261; Carmen Garrido, *Velázquez: Técnica y evolución* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1992); Zahira Véliz, "Velázquez's Early Technique," in *Velázquez in Seville*, ed. Michael Clarke, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1997), pp. 79-84; Jaime García-Máiquez, "La cuadratura del círculo: calco y originalidad en la pintura del primer Velázquez," in *El joven Velázquez. A propósito de La educación de la Virgen de Yale*, ed. Benito Navarrete (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Instituto de la cultura y el arte en Sevilla, 2015), pp. 94-263.
8. Michael Gallagher, "Velázquez's Philip IV in the Metropolitan Museum," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 45 (2010): pp. 187-198.
9. For discussions on the use of tracings and templates see for Titian see: Miguel Falomir, "Titian's Replicas and Variants," in *Titian*, ed. David Jaffé, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2003), pp. 60-68; for Barocci see: Ian Verstegen, "Barocci, Cartoons, and the Workshop: A Mechanical Means for Satisfying Demand," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 34/35 (2005-2006): pp. 101-124; for Caravaggio see: Richard Spear, "Caravaggio's 'Crucifixion of St. Andrew' and the Problem of Autograph Replicas," *The Burlington Magazine* 160 (2018): pp. 454-461.
10. The first publication comparing radiographs of portraits of Philip IV by Velázquez and his workshop is Zuccari, "Radiography Applied". Further interpretations of radiographic images of these portraits were published by Garrido, *Velázquez: Técnica y evolución*, also Carmen Garrido, "Puntualizaciones sobre algunos retratos de Diego Velázquez," *Goya: Revista de arte* 298 (2004): pp. 4-24, and Gallagher, "Velázquez's Philip IV," and García-Maíquez, "La cuadratura del círculo," among others.
11. Pacheco, *El arte*, "…hará las lineas de afuera con tanta destreza, I propiedad como si huviesse de quedar assi, I no se passe adelante hasta estar el Pintor satisfecho que se parece mucho a su dueño en los perfiles," pp. 439-440.
12. Zuccari, "Radiography Applied".
13. Gallagher, "Velázquez's Philip IV"; García-Maíquez, "La cuadratura del círculo".
14. Javier Portús, "Velázquez in Gray: Decorum and Representation," in *Diego Velázquez: The Early Court Portraits*, eds. Javier Portús et al., exh. cat. (Dallas: Meadows Museum, 2012), pp. 17-35, see p. 28, fig. 7.
15. Rodrigo Caro, *Obras*, 2 vols. (Seville: Sociedad de Bibliófilios Andaluces, 1883-1884), p. 5, quoted in José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque. Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran, in *Theory and History of Literature*, 88 vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981-1996), XXV, p. 178; originally published in José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1975).
16. Portús, "Velázquez in Gray".
17. Zahira Véliz, "La Venerable Madre Jerónima de la Fuente," in *Obras maestras de Velázquez: IV Centenario* (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 1999), pp. 397-414; and Tanya Tiffany, *Diego Velázquez's Early Paintings and the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Seville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 49-76.
18. García Máiquez, "La cuadratura del círculo".
19. Gallagher "Velázquez's Philip IV".
20. For the use of printed sources in the composition of Spanish flower paintings, see Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza: El bodegón español en el Siglo de Oro*, trans. Ivars Barzdevics (Madrid: Fundación del Arte Hispánico, 1999); and Rafael Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón español en el siglo XVII: desvelando su naturaleza oculta* (Madrid: I & R Restauración y Estudios Técnicos de Pintura de cabaellete, 2009).
21. Gridley McKim-Smith et al., "Velazquez: Painting from Life," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 40 (2005): pp. 79-91.
22. McKim-Smith, "Velazquez: Painting from Life".
23. The author is indebted to Frank Zuccari, Executive Director of Conservation at the Art Institute of Chicago, whose collaboration made this close comparison possible.
24. José Manuel Matilla et al., *No solo Goya. Adquisiciones para el Gabinete de Dibujos y Estampas del Museo del Prado, 1997-2010*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2011): available on-line, accessed July 2018, https://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/biblioteca/biblioteca-digital/fondo/no-solo-goya-adquisiciones-para-el-gabinete-de/75054313-4a05-4e14-81cd-63f784ae7a52; see no. 1, p. 20, where the method of assembly is described as, "De este modo el dibujo se constituyó como un rompecabezas, elaborando con grupos parciales e independientes, que le permitió incluso corregir partes sin descartar el todo…" (Thus the drawing was made up like puzzle, working with each independent part, which even allowed the correction of parts without sacrificing the entire drawing…)
25. Pacheco, *El arte*, pp. 307-309. See also Benito Navarrete, "A New Preparatory Drawing for Francisco Pacheco's Last Judgment: Creative Process and Theological Approval," *Master Drawings* 48 (2010): pp. 435-446.
26. See Tiffany, *Diego Velázquez's Early Paintings*.
27. See McKim-Smith, "Velazquez: Painting from Life."
28. Pacheco, *El arte*, pp. 452.
29. C. Michael Kauffmann, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House* (1982) ed. Susan Jenkins (London: English Heritage, 2009), no. 182, pp. 302-304.
30. For Pacheco's humanist circle see particularly, Luis Méndez Rodríguez, "Francisco Pacheco y la nueva cultura artística," and Juan Montero Delgado, "El pintor Pacheco y las letras sevillanas del Siglo de Oro," both in *Pacheco. Teórico, artista, maestro*, ed. Luis Méndez Rodríguez, exh. cat. (Seville: Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, 2016), pp. 13-24 and pp. 25-36. Pacheco's studio, a centre for humanist and artistic circles, was described as "a gilded cage of Art" by Palomino: "Era la casa de Pacheco Cárcel dorada del Arte"; Antonio Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1715-1724), 3 vols. (Madrid, Agular, 1988), III (*Parnaso español*), p. 82.
31. Until recently the two paintings were dated ca. 1638. Guillaume Kientz, *Velázquez*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2015), no. 94, p. 300, gives the date of *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection) as ca. 1639, and *Lady with a Fan* (London, Wallace Collection) as ca. 1640.
32. Until recently the two paintings were dated ca. 1638. In Guillaume Kientz, *Velázquez*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2015), no. 94, p. 300, gives the date of *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Devonshire Collection) as ca. 1639 and *Lady with a Fan* (Wallace Collection) as ca. 1640.
33. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p. 179.
34. Zahira Véliz, "Signs of Identity in 'Lady with a Fan' by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered," *The Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): pp. 75-95.
35. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, pp. 199-200.
36. Kientz, *Velázquez*, no. 56, p. 216.
37. Pacheco, *El arte*, "of many things a pleasing whole".
38. See "Copia de los pareceres, y censuras de los reverendissimos padres maestros, y señores catedraticos de las insignes universidades de Salamanca y Alcalá, y de otras personas doctas. Sobre el abuso de las figuras, y pinturas lascivas, y deshonestas; en que se muestra, que es pecado mortal pintarlas, esculpirlas, y tenerlas patentes donde sean vistas" (Madrid, 1632) reprinted in Francisco J. Calvo Serraller, *Teoría de la pintura del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), pp. 237-258; p. 244: "ganancia en transformarse una Venus en Santa María Magdalena, y una Diana en Santa María Egipciaca…" (it is a benefit gained to transform a Venus into a Saint Mary Magdalene, and a Diana into Saint Mary of Egypt).

Reflections on the date and impact of Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*

ANTONIO MAZZOTTA

Fig. 1 / Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

The *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, which still hangs in its original location in the church of San Zanipolo (the contraction of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venetian dialect), is rightly considered one of the greatest masterpieces of the Venetian Renaissance (figs. 1 & 2). However, its attribution to Giovanni Bellini is still questioned in some quarters, and a precise dating has yet to be established.[1] Taking into consideration a previously unnoticed early reference to Bellini's authorship of the altarpiece, this essay will offer a reassessment of the work's chronology through an analysis of the documentary evidence and the visual impact of the work on contemporary artists in Venice. The earlier dating of the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* accepted here necessitates a reconsideration of the Bellini's early career and a relative shift in the current prevailing view of his artistic evolution.

The great altarpiece stands in its original location in the second altar on the right, enclosed in a monumental stone frame which was executed in 1523. An additional wooden frame, dominated by a Rococo shield, was added when the uppermost panel, depicting God the Father, was removed in 1777.[2] The remaining top register is composed of three nearly squared panels: on the left is the spectacularly beautiful *Angel of the Annunciation* (fig. 3), in the middle the *Dead Christ Supported by Angels*, and on the right the *Virgin Annunciate*, with the figures in Annunciation slightly larger in scale than the others. In the central register are three full length figures of saints in vertical panels: *Saint Christopher*, *Saint Vincent Ferrer*, and *Saint Sebastian*, whose naked body is illuminated from the right by a strong wintry light. The predella (which appears to consist of three distinct panels, but is actually painted on a single long wooden support) includes the miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer.[3] These scenes neatly harmonize with the figures of saints in the panels above: on the left, below Saint Christopher – whose feet are immersed in water – there is an aquatic scene; at the centre, directly below Saint Vincent Ferrer, the saint is shown preaching; on the right below Saint Sebastian, the miracle of the Dominican saint freeing a youth who had been tied to a tree alludes to the fate of the saint depicted above (figs. 4-6). The superb quality of these predella scenes as well as their close dialogue with the principal panels leads the present author to accept them as fully autograph.[4]

As is well known, the earliest description of the altarpiece in print appears in Francesco Sansovino's 1581 *Venetia citta nobilissima*, where the author writes that Giovanni Bellini painted two altarpieces in San Zanipolo: the *palla di San Tomaso* (the *Saint Thomas Altarpiece*), famously lost in 1867 when fire broke out in the Cappella del Rosario where it was temporarily stored; and "the other one, showing Saint Vincent, Saint Roch and Saint Sebastian," with Sansovino evidently mistaking Saint Christopher for Saint Roch.[5] Subsequent writers, including Ridolfi, Boschini, Zanetti, Cavalcaselle, and Berenson, attributed the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* to other artists. After Sansovino only Roberto Longhi, in 1914, attributed it to Bellini in a ground-breaking essay.[6]

Fig. 2 / Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Fig. 3 / Giovanni Bellini, *Angel of the Annunciation, Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Fig. 4. / Giovanni Bellini, *Miracle of the Drowned Girl* and *Miracle of the Girl Buried Beneath the Rubble, Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Fig. 5 / Giovanni Bellini, *Miracle of the Preaching to the Sinful Couple, Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Fig. 6 / Giovanni Bellini, *Miracle of the Baby in the Fire* and *Miracle of the Tied Young Man, Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

It has not previously been observed that another important, early mention of the altarpiece occurs in Pietro Antonio Pacifico's *Cronica Veneta*, first published in 1697 and then again in 1736; this – following Sansovino's description of the church – states that, on entering, "on the right-hand side there is the Saint Thomas altarpiece by Giovanni Bellini, and then the one of Saint Vincent, by the same author."[7] Pacifico's work – like Sansovino's – was intended as a guide to the city, and in some respects should be considered a more accurate reflection of what must have been common knowledge in the monastery than the accounts of critical writers. However, in order to accept the attribution of the polyptych to Giovanni Bellini it is necessary first to establish a clear understanding of the work's chronology.

The documents about the altar published by Gino Fogolari in 1932 have often been considered unreliable, most of them being no longer traceable.[8] However, given the fact that they are the only documents that have to date been directly linked to the execution, it is worth looking at them again, together with the existing archival evidence from the papers of the "Scuola di San Vicenzo Ferrer."

The *mariegola* or statute book for the *Principio della Scuola di S. Vincenzo* (foundation of the Scuola of Saint Vincent) is dated 1450, five years prior to the canonization of the Valencian saint (1455), and eight years before the Council of Ten granted permission for the Scuola to erect a building (1458). Chapter sixteen of the statutes states that the newly elected *guardiano* of the Scuola should take over the post from his predecessor before the altar of Saint Vincent Ferrer, with the Cross in his hand (*la Croce in man*), a passage that has created some misunderstanding in the past, as it was interpreted to indicate to the existence of a wooden statue of the saint with a cross in his hand.[9] Nevertheless, this statute makes it clear that the Scuola already had plans for an altar at this stage. That construction of this commenced a few years later is suggested by one of the lost documents published by Fogolari, recording a payment for wood for the altar of San Vincenzo Ferrer (*lignamine pro dicti altaris*) in a book of expenses bearing the date 1453.[10]

A note in Rocco Curti's eighteenth-century *Cronaca* – an important manuscript largely based on now lost documents relating to the monastery – corroborates the initial stage of construction of the altar recorded in the above-mentioned 1453 document: this reads "1454. In our church the altar dedicated to Saint Vincent Ferrer was built."[11] However, Curti continues with the following annotation: "while in the book of expenses we have this receipt: note of what I, friar Alricus de Argentina, received from father Joanne de Muriano for the works of the altar of Saint Vincent."[12] Although this receipt has been interpreted to relate to the 1454 construction of the altarpiece, recorded above it, Curti's phrasing can be interpreted in another way.[13] Fogolari subsequently transcribed the same excerpt from the book of receipts, but included the date of the document: "another document records that in the Book of the Sacristy of 1464 on 6 January one finds the following note of receipt: 'note of what I, Alricus de Argentina, received from Father Prior Magister Joanne de Muriano for the works of the altar of Sant Vincent'."[14]

Thanks to Fogolari's more complete transcription of this now untraced document, there is record of payment for further (although unspecified) work on the altar in 1464, though the date is probably recorded in *more veneto*, and therefore should be interpreted as 1465. Historically this lost document was taken as evidence for dating the altarpiece to the mid-1460s. More recently, however, since the document does not actually refer to any specific work and is no longer traceable, scholars have doubted this chronology, preferring a date closer to 1470, with Fogolari's documents regarded in some ways as archival "fake news".

An attempt to verify the reliability of this lost document reveals that it could in fact coincide with the execution of Bellini's altar.

First of all, it is important to try to identify the two friars mentioned in the document. Nothing else is known about "Alricus", or "Olricus" (or Ulricus) "de Argentina", which refers to Argentoratum, the ancient name of Strasbourg (known for its silver mines).[15] "Joanne de Muriano" (Giovanni from Murano), on the other hand, can be traced, as he participated in the chapter of the monastery that took place on 23 September 1443, where he was already named as "Friar Joannes de Muriano vice-prior".[16] Moreover, according to Flaminio Corner's *Ecclesiae Venetae* (1749), "Joannes de Muriano" was Prior of the monastery in 1455 and again in 1464, the latter date coinciding perfectly with the date of the lost document in which he is called "Priore".[17] This coincidence should lend greater weight to the evidence recorded by Fogolari and Curti, even if there is no precise reference to the exact nature of the work that was done on the altar.

Support for dating Bellini's work to around 1464 has sometimes been sought in the choice of lateral Saints, as the presence of Saint Christopher has been linked to Cristoforo Moro, who was elected Doge in May 1462, while Saint Sebastian has been viewed as an *ex voto* for the devastating plague that occurred in Venice in the summer of 1464.[18] More conclusive evidence for a dating around 1464, however, can be found in the apparent influence of Bellini's groundbreaking altarpiece in the Venetian artistic scene in the period immediately after this. For instance, there are clear reflections of Giovanni Bellini's altarpiece in the work of his brother Gentile, in particular in the signed organ shutters, painted for the organ on the right-hand side of the choir in the Basilica of Saint Mark; today kept in the church of San Teodoro, attached to the sacristy of the Basilica, these depict on the exterior *Saint Mark* and

Fig. 7 / Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Christopher* (detail), *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptyc*h, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Fig. 8 / Gentile Bellini, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (detail), ca. 1464-1465, Venice, Saint Mark's Basilica, San Teodoro chapel .

Fig. 9 / Gentile Bellini, *Penitent Saint Jerome* (detail), ca. 1464-1465, canvas, Venice, Saint Mark's Basilica, San Teodoro chapel.

Saint Theodore, and on the interior the *Penitent Saint Jerome* and *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. The wonderfully accomplished foreshortening and raking lighting of the head of Giovanni's *Saint Christopher* is evoked very closely in the head of Gentile's *Saint Francis*. Although the result is clumsy, the work seems to demonstrate a clear attempt by the artist to update his style in line with that of his brother (figs. 8 & 9). Another striking comparison is provided by Gentile's insistent depiction of veins, especially in the *Saint Jerome*, although the latter's flesh appears dry and lifeless in comparison with the lively, muscular, veined arms of Giovanni's *Saint Christopher* (fig. 7).

For the last sixty years, Gentile Bellini's organ shutters have generally been dated to 1464 because in this year Bernardo d'Alemagna, the most famous organ maker of the period in northern Italy, was believed to have built the Basilica's organ. Massimo Bisson, however, has recently demonstrated that there is absolutely no documentary evidence related to the construction of the organ, and the attribution to Bernardo is speculative; the dating of the whole complex has been based simply on Cavalcaselle's opinion that the shutters closely preceded Gentile Bellini's *Beato Giustiniani*, signed and dated 1465, and now in Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.[19] The organ shutters should be considered works of the mid-1460s, and, as Cavalcaselle recorded, they are extremely close to the *Beato Giustiniani* (whose hand, for instance, also reveals identical artificial and exaggerated veins). In both cases, the stylistic dependence on Giovanni's *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* can be viewed as proof that this already existed.

Further visual evidence of the impact of Giovanni Bellini's innovations in the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* can be found in the work of Antonio Vivarini, particularly in his Pesaro Polyptych, today in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, but originally in the church of the confraternity of Saint Anthony in Pesaro.[20]

Fig. 10 / Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Saint Christopher,* Arbe Polyptych, signed 1458, panel, Arbe, Monastery of Saint Eufemia, Church of Saint Bernardino.

Fig. 11 / Antonio Vivarini, *Saint Christopher,* Pesaro Polyptych, signed 1464, panel, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana .

This polyptych is signed and, more importantly for the present argument, dated 1464. Although Antonio never abandons his old-fashioned, almost Masolinesque manner in his treatment of Saint Christopher (fig. 11), there seem to be reflections in it of Bellini's depiction of the same saint. For example, the technique of overpainting the saint's feet with glazes of tempera to simulate the river and the arched river bank in the background, as well as the attempt to foreshorten the tilted head of the saint, the structure of the red lake drapery, and the raised right arm, all seem to derive from Bellini's altarpiece.[21] The visual impact of Bellini's *Saint Christopher* on Vivarini becomes even clearer if we compare it with two earlier *Saint Christophers* from the Vivarini workshop: one is part of the Arbe Polyptych, signed jointly by Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini and dated 1458 (fig. 10); the other forms part of the Rutigliano Polyptych, a workshop production usually dated to about 1461-1462.[22] In both earlier depictions of the saint (the latter based on a very similar cartoon to the one in Pesaro), the depiction of water is unconvincing and not rendered pictorially: there is no sign of Bellini's innovative ideas about the representation of water and Saint Christopher in general, which can be detected in the 1464 *Saint Christopher* from Pesaro.[23]

Giovanni Bellini's execution around 1464 of such a mature and accomplished work as the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* – revealing the artist to have moved beyond the influences of his father, Jacopo, and his brother-in-law, Mantegna – can be accepted only in light of a career starting in the early 1450s.[24] By contrast, placed in the context of a career starting around 1460, a view that is today very popular, the attribution and dating of the work just a few years later would understandably raise doubts. It is unfortunate that the Saint Jerome cycle, painted by Bellini in 1464 for the Scuola di San Gerolamo in Cannaregio, has been lost as this would have provided a securely dated work on which to base stylistic comparisons.[25]

In light of Giovanni Bellini's other extant early works, a date around 1464 would fit logically with his evolution as an artist. For instance, there seems to be a natural continuity with the Carità triptychs, originally located in the areas of that church which today comprise part of the Gallerie dell'Accademia, where these altarpieces are now housed. The triptychs, which reveal little workshop participation and should be viewed as keystones of Giovanni Bellini's career in the early 1460s, are not adequately taken into account in the scholarship on the artist. The *Saint Sebastian Triptych* originally decorated a chapel in the Carità; assigned to "Zacharia Vituri fu de Miser Benedicto" in 1460, this chapel's pavement was completed in 1462, thereby providing a likely date for the triptych.[26] A two year gap between the *Saint Sebastian Triptych* and the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* would seem to be confirmed by the related, but more sophisticated approach to Saint Sebastian's anatomy in the latter altarpiece.

The Carità *Nativity Triptych* was originally located in a little chapel which stood next to the entrance of the choir on the left (*apresso la intrada nel choro de man senestra nel intrar*). This chapel was conceded on 19 August 1461 to Andrea da Molin da San Gervaso in exchange for his renouncement of the chapel of Saint Ursula.[27] On 13 October 1462, it was decided that the expenses for the execution of the altarpiece should be assumed by Andrea da Molin himself and not by the friars. The execution of the *Nativity Triptych* must have followed shortly thereafter, probably dating to ca. 1462-1463. This proximity in date to the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* is confirmed not only by the wonderful spot-light-like effects in the *Nativity*, so similar to those in the polyptych, but also by the nearly identical portrait-like quality of the faces of Saint Dominic and Saint Vincent Ferrer (figs. 12 & 13).[28]

But how is it possible to explain the innovations of the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, in particular Bellini's remarkable new approach to light and evolving chromatic range in the depiction of objects and flesh, combined with a certain metallic quality in the figures' hair? "Echoes of Marco Zoppo" have rightly been detected in the altarpiece by Alessandro Conti.[29] Marco Zoppo's earliest documented link to Venice dates to 1463, when he executed the illuminations for Bartolomeo Sanvito's edition of Cicero's *Epistolae ad Atticum*, commissioned by the Venetian Marcantonio Morosini.[30] The *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* might be understood as an immediate reaction to this new, stimulating artistic presence in town, which seems to have helped Bellini to take his distance, radically and decisively from Mantegna, who since 1460 was at the Mantuan court and who in 1464, the date proposed here for the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, was already navigating distant waters. In fact in September of that year he was pursuing his dream of antiquity on a boat on Lake Garda, dressed like an ancient Roman.

Fig. 12 / Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Dominic* (detail), *Nativity Triptych*, ca. 1462-1463, panel, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Fig. 13 / Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Vincent Ferrer* (detail), *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, ca. 1464, panel, Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

NOTES

1. Jennifer Fletcher has been a great friend since 2008, when she marked my MA dissertation. Since then, I have learned a great deal from her and enjoyed a shared love for the work of Giovanni Bellini. We had the chance to look at the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych* together on one occasion, which I remember with great pleasure. There have been several monographic studies and catalogue entries on the polyptych, where further references to its critical history can be found: Franca Zava Boccazzi, *La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia* (Venice: Ferdinando Ongania Editore, 1965), pp. 145-153; Augusto Gentili and Fabrizio Torella, *Giovanni Bellini. Il polittico di San Vincenzo Ferrer* (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1985); Rona Goffen, "Giovanni Bellini and the Altarpiece of St. Vincent Ferrer," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, eds. Andrew Morrogh et al. (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), pp. 277-285; Alessandro Conti, "Echi di Marco Zoppo nel Polittico di San Zanipolo," in *Marco Zoppo: Cento 1433-1478 Venezia*, ed. Berenice Giovannucci Vigi (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1993), pp. 97-106; Sandro Sponza, "L'altare e la pala di San Vincenzo Ferrer: dubbi e problemi," *Quaderni della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Venezia* 20 (1996): pp. 30-36, 50-53; Sandro Sponza in *Il colore ritrovato. Bellini a Venezia*, eds. Rona Goffen and Giovanna Nepi Scirè, exh. cat. (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia, 2000), no. 27, pp. 145-149; Emanuela Zucchetta, "Il Polittico di San Vincenzo Ferrer. Chiesa dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo," in *Bellini a Venezia. Sette opere indagate nel loro contesto*, eds. Gianluca Poldi and Giovanni C.F. Villa (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), pp. 31-51; Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi in *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Pantheon della Serenissima*, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2012), no. 47, pp. 208-213.
2. Loredana Olivato, *Provvedimenti della Repubblica Veneta per la salvaguardia del patrimonio pittorico nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1974), pp. 144-145, doc. 44.
   Conti, "Echi di Marco Zoppo," pp. 102-103, n. 15, argues that the lost *God the Father* might be identified in the painting today in Pesaro, Musei Civici (inv. Polidori 3999). Conti's argument is that this later painting by Bellini was added when a new frame would have been carved for the polyptych at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This hypothesis clashes with the fact that the painting today in Pesaro was seen in Bologna, Malvezzi collection, by Marcello Oretti most probably earlier than 1777, the year when a God the Father was removed from the polyptych in Venice. On the Pesaro painting, see (even if Conti's hypothesis is not mentioned): Giovanni C.F. Villa in *Giovanni Bellini*, eds. Mauro Lucco and Giovanni C.F. Villa, exh. cat. (Rome: Scudiere del Quirinale, 2008), no. 48, pp. 288-289 .
3. The fact that the predella was painted on a single support was only discovered on the occasion of the restoration undertaken in late 1990s; see Sponza in Goffen and Nepi Scirè, *Il colore*, p. 145. This feature was cited as evidence for the frame being original: in any case, it proves that the original frame would have had a similar shape to the current one. The scenes in the predella were identified through comparison with the written sources and early biographies of Saint Vincent Ferrer by Gentili and Torella, *Giovanni Bellini*, pp. 22-28.
4. The predella has in the past been attributed to the little known Lauro Padovano on the basis of comparison with another predella depicting the stories of Drusiana and Saint John the Evangelist (Munich, Schloss Berchtesgaden Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, inv. B I 34), originally part of the Saint John the Evangelist altarpiece in the church of the Carità in Venice, where it was famously seen and described by Marcantonio Michiel, who attributed it to Lauro Padovano. For the correct attribution to Giovanni Bellini and chronology in the mid-1450s of the Berchtesgaden predella, which is in fact stylistically very different to the predella of the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Polyptych*, see Luciano Bellosi in *Andrea Mantegna*, eds. Giovanni Agosti and Dominique Thiébaut, exh. cat. (Paris: Musèe du Louvre, 2008: Italian ed. Milan: Officina Libraria, 2008), no. 33, pp. 124-125.
5. "quell'altra di San Vincenzo, San Rocco, & San Sebastiano." Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Jacopo Sansovino, 1581), p. 23v.
6. Roberto Longhi, "Piero dei Franceschi e lo sviluppo della pittura veneziana," (1914) in *Scritti giovanili: 1912-1922*, 2 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), I, pp. 61-106.
7. "dalla destra v'è la Palla di S. Tomaso di Gio: Bellino, indi quella di San Vincenzo del detto autore," Pietro Antonio Pacifico, *Cronica veneta, overo Succinto racconto di tutte le cose più cospicue, & antiche della Città di Venetia* (Venice: Domenico Lovisa, 1697), p. 177; Pietro Antonio Pacifico, *Cronica veneta sacra e profana, o sia Un Compendio di tutte le cose più illustri ed antiche della Città di Venezia* (Venice: Francesco Pitteri, 1736), p. 167. In a recent volume on the church, Pacifico's description of the polyptych is misinterpreted as referring to a lost altarpiece in the sacristy, a space that is described a few lines earlier in Pacifico's text: "Elenco delle opere rimosse o perdute," in *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2013), p. 502.
8. Gino Fogolari, "Disegni per gioco e incunaboli pittorici del Giambellino," in *Dedalo. Rassegna d'arte* 11/1 (1932): pp. 382-390. In this article, Fogolari also published the extremely interesting drawings that appear on the back of most of the panels of the polyptych.
9. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, P.X. nn. 145, 188. The misunderstanding about the wooden statue occurs in Gentili and Torella, *Giovanni Bellini*, p. 15.
10. Fogolari, "Disegni per gioco," pp. 389, 390, n. 9.
11. "1454. Si edificò in codesta nostra Chiesa L'Altare à S. Vincenzo Ferraro," Rocco Curti, *Cronaca della chiesa e del convento dei padri Predicatori dei santi Giovanni e Puolo in Venezia*, unpublished manuscript in Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana: Ms. 1305. The existence of this manuscript was first indicated by Goffen, "Giovanni Bellini and the altarpiece," pp. 278, 284, n. 11.
12. "mentre nel Libro Borsario abbiamo questo registro: – Nota quod ego Fr. Alricus de Argentina recepi à Padre Magistro Joanne de Muriano pro fabrica Altaris S. Vincentii F… – Lib. Sacrist. V. all'an. 1523," Curti, *Cronaca*, fol. 75.
13. For instance, by Goffen, "Giovanni Bellini and the Altarpiece," p. 279, and Sponza, "L'altare e la pala," p. 31.
14. "un'altra carta riferisce che nel Libro della Sacrestia del 1464 a' 6 gennaio trovavasi tale nota: 'Nota quod ego Prof. Olricus de Argentina recepi a Patre Priore Mag.ro Joanne de Muriano de Venetiis pro fabrica altaris Santis Vincenti'," Fogolari, "Disegni per gioco," pp. 388-389.
15. Conti, "Echi di Marco Zoppo," pp. 102-103, n. 15, considers the possibility that "Olricus de Argentina" is linked to the execution of the wooden frame, but this can probably be excluded given his designation as "Fr." ("friar") in Curti's *Cronaca*.
16. "Fr. Joannes de Muriano subprior," Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, P.X. nn. 1, 88, 150.
17. Flaminio Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis*, 8 vols. (Venice: Giovanni Battista Pasquali, 1749), VII, p. 252. Also Fogolari, "Disegni," p. 390, n. 8, provided this reference, but it seems to have been subsequently ignored.
18. Sponza, "L'altare e la pala," p. 32; Peter Humfey, "Competitive Devotions: The Venetian Scuole Piccole as Donors of Altarpieces in the Years around 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): pp. 405-406.
19. Massimo Bisson, *Meravigliose macchine di giubilo: L'architettura e l'arte degli organi a Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini-Scripta Edizioni, 2012), pp. 51-57, 71-72, n. 15-34. Bisson demonstrated that the false "evidence" that the organ was built by Bernardo d'Alemagna in 1464 was generated by Lunelli's influential studies: Renato Lunelli, *Die Orgelwerke von San Marco in Venedig* (Mainz: Rheingold-Verlag, 1957), pp. 5-7.
20. On Cavalcaselle and Gentile Bellini's organ shutters, see: Susy Marcon, "Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle e le portelle di gentile Bellini e Francesco Tacconi per gli organi di San Marco. Il disegno come metodo critico," in *Florilegium artium: Scritti in memoria di Renato Polacco,* ed. Giordana Trovabene (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2006), pp. 337-344, 477-478. Gentile's *Beato Giustiniani* is now in Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, inv. 570. Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. 40303. Rodolfo Pallucchini, *I Vivarini: Antonio, Bartolomeo, Alvise* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1961), no. 110, p. 112; Carlo Pietrangeli, *I dipinti del Vaticano*, no. 162, pp. 165-166.
21. The link between Vivarini's and Bellini's Saint Christophers was also noted by Finocchi Ghersi, in *La basilica*, p. 213, but this author sees the similarity as an indication that Bellini was inspired by Antonio Vivarini, a hypothesis that is not viable for this mature phase of Bellini's art.
22. Clara Gelao in *I Vivarini. Lo splendore della pittura tra Gotico e Rinascimento*, ed. Giandomenico Romanelli, exh. cat. (Conegliano: Palazzo Sarcinelli, 2016), no. 9, p. 137; Carlo Cavalli in Romanelli, *I Vivarini*, no. 10, pp. 137-138.
23. It has been noted that Bellini's Saint Christopher is one of the first representations in Renaissance painting of the *figura serpentinata*: Craig Hugh Smyth, "Venice and the Emergence of the High Renaissance in Florence. Observations and Questions," in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, eds. Sergio Bertelli, Nicolai Rubenstein, and Craig Hugh Smyth, 2 vols. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979), I, pp. 219-220.
24. On this perspective, which is today not much in vogue, see, lately, Antonio Mazzotta, "In his Father's Workshop: Giovanni Bellini's Paintings for the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice," *The Burlington Magazine* 160 (2018): pp. 283-290 (where the cycle is dated on the basis of stylistic and documentary evidence to 1452-1453).
25. The date 1464 was reported by Carlo Ridolfi: on this lost cycle, see Peter Humfrey, "The Life of St Jerome Cycle from the Scuola di San Girolamo in Cannaregio," *Arte veneta* 39 (1985): pp. 41-46.
26. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, inv. 621a. See Sandra Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia: Opere d'arte dei secoli XIV e XV* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955), no. 79, pp. 82-83; Giovanna Nepi Scirè, in *Il colore ritrovato*, no. 3, p. 125.
27. Venice, Gallerie della Accademia, inv. 621. See Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, no. 78, pp. 81-82; Giovanna Nepi Scirè, in *Il colore ritrovato*, no. 2, p. 124.
28. This comparison was also proposed independently by Giacomo Alberto Calogero (personal communication).
29. Conti, "Echi di Marco Zoppo". Conti, in this same important essay, proposed that the *Head of Saint John the Baptist* in Pesaro, Musei Civici (inv. 83) is not the work of Zoppo – as still today commonly believed – but rather of Giovanni Bellini. This idea was convincingly supported in a recent article that proved that the *Head* has a completely different provenance to Zoppo's Pesaro altarpiece, and therefore that it has nothing to do with its predella: see Giacomo Alberto Calogero, "Nuove ricerche sulla pala di Pesaro di Marco Zoppo," *Paragone: Arte* 64/112 (2013): pp. 3-21.
30. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 5208. See Giacomo Alberto Calogero, "Ruggeri, Marco, detto lo Zoppo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 89 (Roma: Istituto dell Enciclopedia Italiana, 2017), p. 188; Giacomo Alberto Calogero, "'Non tanto per el guadagno quanto per l'onore'. Marco Zoppo, le corti italiane e gli umanisti," *Intrecci d'arte* 6 (2017): pp. 22, 25-29.

Fig. 1 / Andrea Lanzani (attributed here), *Posthumous Portrait of Laura Martinozzi, Duchess of Modena*, 1687, black chalk, partly stumped, with red chalk on faded blue paper, 43 x 32 cm, Saltram, The Morley Collection, National Trust.

Due donne virili: Laura Martinozzi, Angelica Kauffman, and a rediscovered drawing by Andrea Lanzani

AMANDA BRADLEY

The first folio in an album of drawings once owned by Angelica Kauffman (now at Saltram, National Trust), is a double-sided sheet, the recto of which features a posthumous portrait of Laura Martinozzi, Duchess of Modena (1639-1687) (figs. 1 & 2). Kauffman, with her enlightened education, cannot have failed to admire this "*donna virile*", as described by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, and perhaps even found some reflection in and inspiration for her own life and artistic endeavour.[1]

The album, composed of some 119 drawings, was probably bought *en masse* by Kauffman during her first trip to Italy, between 1762 and 1766; the binding is Italian and the last inclusions slightly antedate the mid-eighteenth century.[2] An early provenance is virtually impossible to reconstruct, although some of the drawings bear the markings of the "double numbering collector", who invasively numbered each sheet with both Arabic numerals and Italian lettering (the portrait of Martinozzi is not one of these).[3] The drawings vary in quality, ranging from the sublime (Perugino) to the faintly ridiculous (staid tracings by anonymous, probably Roman, artists of the seventeenth century).[4] There are numerous anatomical studies by, for example, Cortona, Maratta, and Pagani, as well as compositional studies by Canini, Vieira and Maratta's circle. Sketches of the human form must have been a useful aid for a female artist precluded from studying from life, and whose ignorance of anatomy had traditionally been regarded as a weakness in her work. Physical verisimilitude and expression were essential stepping stones towards success in the elevated art of history painting, which had hitherto been dominated by male artists. Kauffman also owned nine similarly bound volumes of prints (also now at Saltram), whose contents would have complemented the drawings volume and served as iconographical aids.[5] Goethe recognized how Kauffman's own collection not only brought pleasure, but also served as an instrument of learning:

> Angelica has given herself a treat and bought two pictures, one by Titian, the other by Paris Bordone …. it is fitting that she should acquire something which gives her pleasure, and something which increases her zeal for art. As soon as she got the pictures into the house she began to paint in a new way in order to try and find out how she could make certain of these masters' strengths her own. She is tireless, not just about work, but also studying.[6]

It is equally possible that Kauffman bought the album to resell (educational use and commercial possibility not being mutually exclusive); Padre Sebastiano Resta complained of Charles Gerves doing exactly that in 1706 (taking full advantage of the depressed Italian market).[7] In fact, she sold the album some ten years later, to John II Parker, 1st Baron Boringdon (1734-1788) in 1772 (the receipt is dated 17 April).[8] He paid £80 for the volume of "*Disegni Diversi*" as well as the nine volumes of prints, not an inconsiderable figure; in 1773 and 1774 he would pay Kauffman £38 and £40 respectively for two pictures, although – tellingly – he lost £84 to a Mr Fox on Pumpkin at Burford races.[9] The Kauffman provenance had also – most probably – raised the value of the album.

It is likely that Boringdon was advised by Reynolds, and that he introduced Reynolds to Kauffman. Their relationship was such that Boringdon was mentioned in Reynolds's pocket books with greater frequency than any other caller or sitter; and Reynolds, one of the most active *marchands amateurs* of his time may have encouraged his friend Kauffman to sell the albums. It is unlikely that Kauffman sold the albums to pay off her bigamist husband, Count Frederick de Horn, whom she married in 1767.[10] A separation agreement had already been agreed in 1768, and it is doubtful that any financial outlay was necessary after that date (if indeed there ever had been one).[11] Kauffman was, however, famously careful with money, and – having used the volume for her own artistic education – she most probably felt it was no longer of use to her and saw an opportunity when it arose. A complete album, such as this, is a rare survival of how drawings were kept and consulted in the eighteenth century, for they were often quietly denuded of their pages for sale, which was deemed preferable to more obvious gaps on walls.

Almost a hundred years before Kauffman had bought the album and set her eyes on the sketch of Laura Martinozzi, Laura was made Regent for her son, a position of power to which she had not aspired (unlike Kauffman who consciously strove to succeed in an almost exclusively male dominated sphere). As one of the "Mazarinettes" (one of the seven nieces of Cardinal Mazarin), she had been groomed for a politically advantageous marriage. Born in Fano to a Roman Count, Girolamo Martinozzi, and Margherita, eldest sister of Mazarin, Laura was born an Italian, but was also a naturalized citizen of France.[12] She was educated in Rome, but at the age of fourteen she was taken to Paris where for two years she was given the social and literary education of "*une fille de France*". Consequently, in 1655, Laura was married by proxy to Alfonso, heir to Francesco I, Duke of Modena, who was in need of a French ally against Spain.[13] When Alfonso succeeded to the throne three years later, they were beset by a series of tragedies which must have defined Laura's resilience and maturity; she lost her first born, her brother-in-law, and her uncle. In 1662 she lost her husband, and, at the age of twenty-three, became Regent, as her son and heir, Francesco (1660-1694), was only two at this time. Her government was defined by her religious zeal and was one of peace, with conflict resolved through negotiation rather than combat. She restored Modena's economic stability, embarking on a series of ecclesiastical and secular architectural commissions, notably the rebuilding of San Agostino, the mausoleum of the Estensi, enlarging the Ducal Palace and the construction of the church of San Carlo. A woman of great humility, "*la duchessa padrona*" used this economic upturn to establish charitable foundations to help the poor, supported by the convent of the Salesiane, whose convent buildings she founded. She also embarked on a religiously-charged campaign to restore altarpieces to churches, although remarkably the gallery of pictures in the Ducal Palace survived.[14]

The austerity of her rule meant that her popularity was not universal and, in 1673, whilst she was in London negotiating the marriage of her daughter, the equally pious Maria Beatrice (later Queen of England and known as Mary of Modena) to James, Duke of York, a group of disaffected nobles seized power on behalf of Francesco. They were driven by Cesare Ignazio, Marquess of Montecchio, a volatile, ambitious and unjust despot, who had managed to subordinate and control his fragile charge. As befitted her character, Laura tried to adapt to the new regime, but could not reconcile herself to the malevolent forces influencing her son, and therefore left Modena, spending the rest of her years travelling between Brussels, Padua, Loreto, and Rome.

Fig. 2 / Andrea Lanzani (attributed here), *Studies of Drapery, Hands, and an Angel's Head*, ca. 1687, red chalk on faded blue paper, 43 x 32 cm, Saltram, The Morley Collection, National Trust.

Fig. 3 / Unknown, *Plaquette with Profile of Laura Martinozzi*, gilded plaster, Sassuolo, Palazzo Ducale.

Fig. 4 / *Libro dei Defunti*, Rome, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.

Two years later she was immortalized by a hitherto unidentified artist as she lay in state in the church San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. It is a delicate rendering, evocative of her humility and piety, whilst blanketed in a morbid peace. It could not be further from the Baroque plaquette of her image in the Palazzo Ducale, Sassuolo, bedecked in jewellery and lavish draperies (fig. 3). Her life post-Modena, nevertheless, befitted her status; she lived on 12,000 silver *ducatone* a year, along with necessary trappings of wealth, including a fleet of carriages for every circumstance.[15] She continued to surround herself with pious supporters: Santa Teresa d'Avila was her protector, to whom she requested intercession at the time of her death; and Lucrezia Barberini, who had become an Ursuline sister, was at her deathbed. She died, aged forty-eight, at the Ursuline convent in the via Vittoria, but was dressed in a Trinitarian habit, with a cross appliqued on the front of the habit, as she lay in state, in accordance with the order of the church in which she lay. Laura had envisaged herself dying in Modena, stipulating in her will that she should be buried there. However, her mother, Margherita had lived close to San Carlino in Rome and was buried there, which explains this choice of temporary interment.[16] The *Libro dei Defunti*, clearly details Martinozzi's interment and her subsequent exhumation eight years later, listed just below the entry for her mother (fig. 4).[17] Her corpse was retained at the Salesian convent in Modena, until her burial in San Vicenzo, the Este mausoleum.

A visual commemoration of the passing of so illustrious a woman would not have been unusual, although no *libro di presenze* or visitors' book exists in the archive at San Carlino recording this event. Inscriptions on the recto and verso of the sheet do, however, identify the subject and author as follows: "….. *madre di Francesco secondo D[a]… di Modena, fatta da Al. in Roma [?a San] Carlino …….*" (mother of Francesco II, Duke of Modena, drawn by AL in Rome at San Carlino); and on the reverse restating the fact, "…. *Duchessa di Modena [?dissegnata] da AL. … alla Chiesa di S. Carlino a monte cavallo …..*" (The Duchess of Modena drawn by AL … at the Church of San Carlino at Monte Cavallo …). The artist "A.L" must surely be Andrea Lanzani (ca. 1650-1712), who had trained in Milan but came to Rome in 1675 where he worked under Carlo Maratta and found new direction in his work. He was peripatetic, and although his location in July 1687 is not documented, this drawing suggests that he was in Rome at this date.[18] The studies on the verso of the sheet are clearly Marattesque in idiom and bear the hallmarks of Lanzani.

Although it has not been possible to make any precise correlation with Lanzani's finished works, the angel's head, with its widely set eyes, protuberant nose and centrally-parted softly waving hair, bears semblance to many attendant angels in his work: for example, the angel situated in the top right of the *Triumph of the Cross* in the Volta di Santa Cecilia, Como (1688); that in the top left of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, Santissima Annunziata, Dosso del Liro (1689, fig. 5); and also the angel in *San Carlo Giving Communion to Plague Victims*, Santuario dell'Addolorata, Rho (1684, fig. 6). The study of hands was clearly intended for the holding of a musical instrument, such as a violin, or possibly a scroll (as in the angel holding a violin in the *Assumption of the Virgin*, Dosso del Liro, or the Sibyl's hands in *Mary at the Sepulchre* in the Cappella della Veronica, Certosa di Pavia (fig. 7). The study for draperies around a bended knee are generic, but cross-hatched in a Marattesque manner. The abbreviated form of the foot, however, with an indentation for the toe, also features in

Fig. 5 / Andrea Lanzani, *San Carlo Giving Communion to Plague Victims* (detail), 1684, oil on canvas, Rho, Santuario dell'Addolorata.

Fig. 6 / Andrea Lanzani, *Assumption of the Virgin* (detail), 1689, fresco, Dosso del Liro, Santissima Annunziata.

Fig. 7 / Andrea Lanzani, *Mary at the Sepulchre* (detail), before 1672, fresco, Certosa di Pavia, Cappella della Veronica.

Fig. 8 / Andrea Lanzani, *Study for a Male Figure* (detail), ca. 1680, red chalk with white heightening, 45.6 x 29.8 cm, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

Lanzani's preparatory drawing for Joseph in the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Lecco, Oratorio di San Giuseppe), now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (F232, no. 247), where many of Lanzani's drawings now reside (fig. 8).

The sheet is a useful addition to Lanzani's *oeuvre*, but it has attained a poetic resonance through Kauffman's ownership.[19] Martinozzi and Kauffman, though very different women, both strove to succeed on their own terms, driven by humility and self-improvement. But it is in Lanzani's posthumous drawing of the Duchess that we find the ultimate expression of the humility of the human condition.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Alastair Laing, Nicholas Turner, Martin Greenwood for their help during the course of this research.
   Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi*, 2 vols. (Modena: Stamperia Ducale, 1717-1740), II, p. 561.
2. The album was the subject of a general talk by the present author at a conference in honour of Jennifer Fletcher at the Courtauld Institute of Art, 11 November 2009.
3. See Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodino, "Il collezionista della doppia numerazione. Un mistero ancora da svelare nella Roma del tardo Seicento," *Les Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Art* 10 (2012): pp. 51-59. I am indebted to Nicholas Turner for bringing this reference to my attention.
4. The Perugino drawings were discussed by Francis Russell, "An overlooked Perugino Drawing at Saltram," *Apollo* 141 (1995): pp. 12-14.
5. For further discussion see Wendy Wassyng Roworth, ed., *Angelica Kauffman. A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), pp. 21ff.
6. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italienische Reise* in *Werk, Hamburger Ausgabe*, ed. Erich Trunz, 14 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1981), XI, pp. 517- 518.
7. Genevieve Warwick, *The Arts of Collecting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 17.
8. "To Miss Angelica for 10 vols. of Prints £80.0.0." National Trust Archive, Grosvenor Gardens.
9. National Trust archive, Grosvenor Gardens.
10. Ellis Waterhouse argued that the collection was sold to pay off Horn in "Reynolds, Angelica Kauffman and Lord Boringdon," *Apollo* 123 (1985): p. 272.
11. A papal annulment was granted in 1778. See Wendy Wassyng Roworth's entry on Kauffman in the *O.D.N.B.*
12. For further biographical information on Laura Martinozzi see: Mauro Bini, ed., *Gli Estensi, II. La corte di Modena* (Modena: Il Bulino, 1999), in particular "Laura Martinozzi, 'La duchessa padrona' ovvero 'il miglior duca di Modena'," pp. 53-57, and Roberta Iotti, "La politica dell'amore. Altri casi matrimoniale in Casa d'Este," pp. 147-181; and Sonia Cavicchioli, ed., *Laura Martinozzi d'Este, fille de France, dux Mutinae: studi intorno a Laura Martinozzi reggente del Ducato di Modena (1662-1674)* (Modena: Il Bulino, 2009).
13. Francesco had initially proposed one of his daughters as a bride for Louis XIV. Mazarin kept the two portraits which had been sent to him and they were later listed in his collection with other Este family portraits. See Janet Southorn, *Power and Display in the Seventeenth Century. The Arts and their Patrons in Modena and Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.32.
14. Southorn, *Power and Display*, p. 157.
15. Iotti in Cavicchioli, *Laura Martinozzi d'Este*, p. 53.
16. Iotti in Cavicchioli, *Laura Martinozzi d'Este*, pp. 54 ff.
17. I am hugely indebted to Martin Greenwood and Padre Pedro Aliaga of San Carlino for their assistance with this research.
18. See the chronology in Silvia Colombo and Marina Dell'Omo, *Andrea Lanzani 1641-1712. Protagonista del barocchetto lombardo* (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2007), p. 194.
19. It should be noted that the anonymous reviewer of this article does not believe that the drawing's style corresponds to that of Lanzani. However, Nicholas Turner has accepted the attribution to the artist.

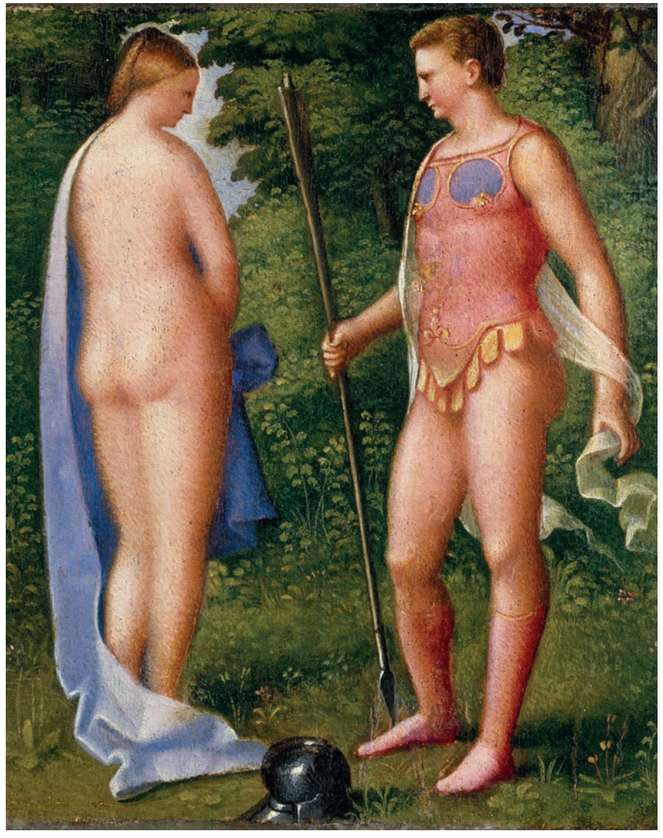
Giulio Campagnola, landscape, and Venetian illumination

IRENE BROOKE

One of the defining elements of Venetian painting in the early sixteenth century is the emergence of landscape as a predominant form of imagery.[1] Giulio Campagnola was an important protagonist in the evolution of landscape as a genre, initiating in Venice a tradition of pen and ink drawings in which landscape is treated as an independent subject, a tradition subsequently elaborated with great success by Giulio's adopted son, Domenico.[2] Giulio's investigations of landscape are usually connected to his exposure to the art of Giorgione and the young Titian in Venice towards the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century.[3] While the work of these artists undoubtedly had a profound impact on Giulio, the origins of his interest in landscape surely originated in his humanistic intellectual background and his training as an illuminator in the Paduan milieu at the end of the fifteenth century. Patricia Fortini Brown has observed that, in the realm of the visual arts in the Veneto, pastoral landscapes first appear in the "minor arts", particularly in manuscript illumination.[4] In fact, Kenneth Clark identified the first pastoral landscape in Western art after antiquity in an illumination by Simone Martini in Petrarch's Virgil manuscript.[5] Therefore, a consideration of the relationship between Giulio's known oeuvre and contemporary illumination, exploring his family's links to prominent illuminators and comparing imagery and style, sheds important light on his artistic personality. Furthermore, given the artist's engagement with the work of painters like Titian and Giorgione, a more complete understanding of the range of his activity can help to elucidate the cultural intersections between the visual arts, the new markets of prints and printed books, and collectors in early Cinquecento Venice.[6]

In September 1497, Ermolao Bardolino, an adviser to Francesco Gonzaga, received a letter of recommendation on behalf of the fifteen-year-old, Giulio Campagnola, who was seeking a place at the Mantuan court. Among the multitude of Giulio's skills, the letter mentions the art of engraving and specifies the young artist's interest in Mantegna.[7] Although Giulio is known for a limited number of very fine, technically innovative engravings, as well as a small corpus of drawings, it appears from the letter addressed to Bardolino that Giulio's greatest proficiency at the time lay in the art of illumination. In this medium Giulio was apparently no less skilled than the recently deceased Jacometto, who is declared to have been first in the world in this art.[8] While there is ample evidence of Giulio's work as a painter and illuminator in contemporary sources, there have as of yet been no universally accepted attributions of painted works to the artist.

Keith Christiansen and David Alan Brown have both made compelling proposals for paintings by Giulio.[9] Unlike many earlier attributions, both of the works suggested by these scholars correspond in scale to Giulio's extant oeuvre. Both can be qualified as "miniatures" or perhaps more precisely as *pitture piccole*.[10] In scale they recall the works seen by the Venetian art aficionado, Marcantonio Michiel, in the Paduan house of the Venetian patrician, literary theorist, and eventually cardinal, Pietro Bembo, who owned two miniatures by Giulio depicting female nudes in landscapes.[11] Although Michiel specifies that these little paintings copied works by



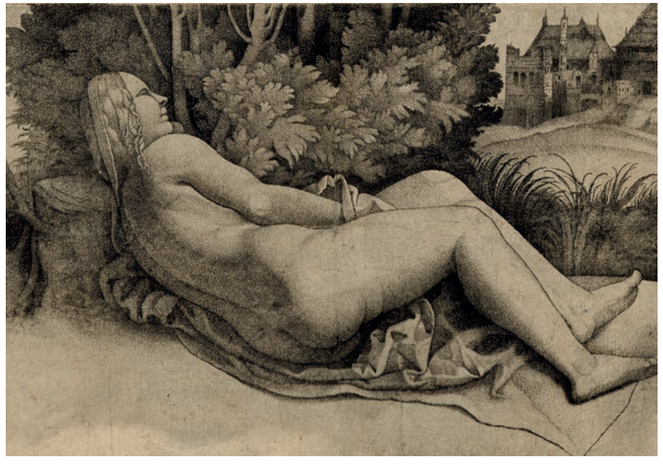


Fig. 1 / Attributed to Giulio Campagnola, *Venus and Mars*, after 1510, oil on paper mounted on canvas, 19.1 x 16.5 cm, The Brooklyn Museum of Art.

Fig. 2 / Giulio Campagnola, *Nude in a Landscape*, after 1510, engraving, 12.1 x 18.2 cm, London, British Museum.

Giorgione and Benedetto Diana, the descriptions of the miniatures relate most closely to extant prints, and it seems clear that Giulio's work as an engraver was closely tied to his work as an illuminator.[12] In this regard, Christiansen's suggestion of the *Venus and Mars* (fig. 1) in the Brooklyn Museum of Art perhaps appears a more viable candidate, given the anatomical similarities between the figure of Venus and Campagnola's female nude in his engraving of a *Nude in a Landscape* (fig. 2); also, in terms of technique, Christiansen observed that the painting's delicate brushwork recalled Giulio's innovative use of stippling in his engravings to render atmospheric modelling of forms.[13]

Unfortunately, beyond Michiel's description, it is impossible to know what Giulio's little paintings actually looked like, and, in the absence of a signed or documented work in the medium, attributions remain speculative. It is clear, however, that in addition to making engravings and *pitture piccole*, Giulio was also actively involved with book illumination. This is confirmed by the Trevisan humanist Girolamo Bologni's praise of Giulio's decoration of a manuscript of Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli's alchemical poem, *Chrysopoeia*, of which Giulio was also evidently the scribe.[14] This text was printed in 1515, and the manuscript described by Bologni may well have been a presentation copy intended for the work's dedicatee, Leo X.[15] Within the text of the poem Augurelli himself offers a long descriptive passage praising Giulio's painting, singling out his depiction of landscapes which included distant hills, valleys, mountains, plains, rivers, streams, and flowering meadows; it seems highly probable that Giulio's illumination of Augurelli's text included landscape imagery.[16]

Giulio's interest in landscape is of course evident in his prints and drawings. As stated, this interest reflects his involvement with contemporary Venetian painters, but at the same time must have originated in his intellectual background and artistic training in Padua. The son of Girolamo Campagnola, a well-connected

Paduan notary who harboured an interest in the visual arts, Giulio was humanistically educated and took ecclesiastical orders at the age of thirteen,[17] by which point he had evidently mastered Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.[18] Through contemporary poet friends like Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli and Pietro Bembo, Giulio would have had, from a young age, ample exposure to the vogue for ancient and modern pastoral poetry in literary circles. According to members of this humanist circle, Giulio was apparently no less prodigal in the visual arts than in letters. Around 1500, Bembo wrote a short epigram praising a self-portrait by Giulio, and the Veronese humanist, Matteo Bosso lauded the thirteen-year-old Giulio's ability to produce exact copies of Bellini and Mantegna.[19] That Bosso was no ignorant judge of artistic matters can be deduced from the fact that he was the son of a goldsmith, owned at least one work by Mantegna (with whom he seems to have been on familiar terms), and was involved in commissioning works from Lorenzo Costa and Francesco Francia.[20]

Given his Paduan origins Giulio's training as an illuminator is hardly surprising. In the second half of the fifteenth century Padua became a major centre of manuscript production with a flourishing tradition of illumination, and Paduan illuminators widely experimented with the representation of figures in landscape settings. Notable examples include Gaspare da Padova's illuminations of Saint Jerome and a Nativity in a manuscript of Eusebius commissioned by Pietro Bembo's father, Bernardo, (figs. 3 & 4) in the late 1480s.[21] Gaspare places his figures in a verdant foreground setting and creates the illusion of distance by modelling far off hills with shades of blue and atmospheric light. The scribe responsible for Bernardo Bembo's Eusebius was his friend, Bartolomeo Sanvito, who produced several volumes for the Venetian patrician and often collaborated with Gaspare. Sanvito was a native of Padua and known to have had links with Giulio's father as early as 1473, when the scribe, leaving Padua for Rome, entrusted the administration of his legal affairs to Girolamo Campagnola.[22]

Figs. 3 & 4 / Gaspare da Padova, *Nativity* and *Saint Jerome*, in Eusebius, *Chronici canones*, ca. 1485-1488, London, British Library, Ms. Royal 14 C III, fols. 2r and .119v.

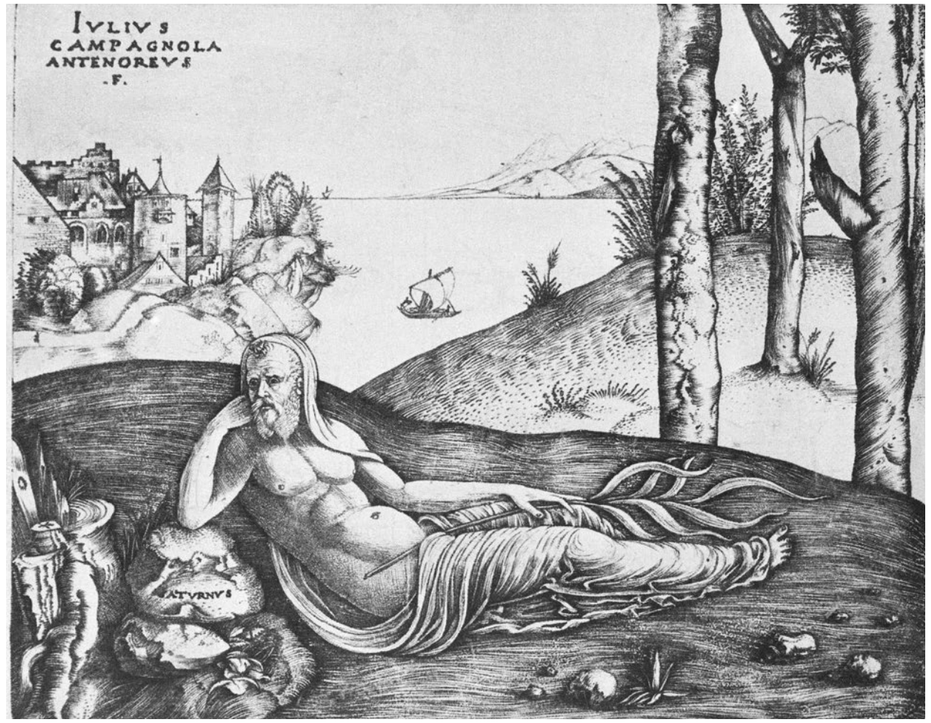


Fig. 5 / Giulio Campagnola, *Saturn*, ca. 1500-1507, engraving, 108 x 137 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 6 / Gaspare da Padova, Homer, *The Iliad*, ca. 1477-1483, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 1626, fol. 2r (frontispiece).

Certainly by 1507, Giulio had artistic relations with Sanvito, who sent the former (by then in Venice) some engraved plates with the reliefs of the column of Trajan and a watercolour by the since deceased Gaspare da Padova of the famous Phaethon gem, which might have supplied a model for the figure of Saturn in Giulio's print depicting the god (fig. 5).[23] In terms of how Giulio's early figural language was influenced by the Paduan milieu, Konrad Oberhuber drew parallels between Giulio's early engravings and Gaspare's work, citing for example the similarity between Giulio's *Saturn* and the representation of the Priest of Apollo in a manuscript of the *Iliad*, which was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga and was a collaboration between Sanvito, Gaspare da Padova, and the Greek scribe Giovanni Rhosos (fig. 6).[24] Oberhuber also compared the figures and depiction of movement in Giulio's early *Tobias and the Angel* to the miniatures executed by the prolific Paduan illuminator, Benedetto Bordon in a deluxe edition of the 1494 Lucian, now in Vienna, in which narrative scenes are set in lush green landscapes with mountainous backgrounds articulated in shades of blue.[25]

Benedetto Bordon represents an important figure in relation to Giulio's artistic trajectory and the two must have known each other in Padua and subsequently in Venice.[26] In Padua, the Campagnolas certainly knew Bordon's brother-in-law and collaborator, Antonio Maria da Villafora, the quasi-official illuminator of ecclesiastical works for the Bishop of Padua, Pietro Barozzi, who officiated at Giulio's first tonsure and was also a friend of Bernardo Bembo.[27] When Antonio Maria's adopted son, the illuminator Bartolomeo Sforza, was imprisoned in 1515 for trafficking in counterfeit money, Girolamo Campagnola lamented the situation in a letter to the Paduan jurist Marco Mantova Benavides, subsequently a collector of Giulio's work and major patron of Domenico Campagnola.[28]

In Venice, Giulio and Bordon must have come in contact through the latter's range of activity in the world of Venetian book publishing and printing.[29] Bordon engaged in several aspects of the new book trade, including the illumination of high-end printed editions produced for patrician patrons and the designing of woodcuts; both of these enterprises link Bordon to the famous publisher, Aldo Manuzio. Just after 1500, Bordon seems to have illuminated several deluxe Aldine editions including a 1501 Martial, bearing the Mocenigo coat of arms, which includes a miniature of the emperor Domitian awarding honours to the author in an idyllic verdant landscape, set against far-off azure mountains (fig. 7).[30] Another Aldine edition that Bordon is known to have illuminated was a 1514 Virgil for Andrea Navagero, editor of the work, which was dedicated to his and Giulio's old friend, Pietro Bembo. The latter's involvement with this edition is indicated in the dedicatory letter, where Aldo thanks Bembo for supplying an accurate text of the Roman poet's work.[31] Giulio's close association with this circle at the time is indicated by a letter of 26 January 1515, from Bembo to the Venetian humanist Triphon Gabriele, in which

Fig. 7 / Benedetto Bordon, *Domitian Awarding Honours to the Poet* in Martial, *Epigrams*, Venice, 1501, Aldus Manutius, London, The British Library, Ms. C.4.d.11, sigs. A1v and A2r.

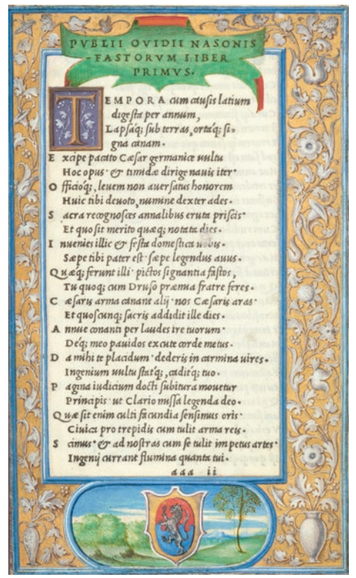


Fig. 8 / Illuminator in the circle of Benedetto Bordon, illuminated border with landscape in Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, Naples, 1504, Sigismund Mayr, Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. Wing ZP 5351.07, sig. D6r.

Fig. 9 / Illuminator in the circle of Benedetto Bordon, illuminated Border with Pisani coat of arms and landscape in Ovid, *Fasti*, Venice, 1502-1503, Aldus Manutius, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. Spencer 3366, vol. II, sig.aaa2r.

Fig. 10 / Illuminator in the circle of Benedetto Bordon, *Bucolic Landscape* in Dante, *Le Terze Rime*, Venice, 1502, Aldus Manutius, Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms. Quin 52, sig. a2v.

Bembo sends greetings to Giulio.[32] Ten days before this letter was written, Aldo Manuzio stipulated in his testament that Giulio should design new majuscules for his Italic typeface.[33]

Over the previous decade, following his arrival in Venice, Giulio's explorations of landscape subject matter had become increasingly sophisticated. Over the same period, landscape imagery became widespread in illuminations in high-end printed books, like the Aldines mentioned above. One finds some strikingly bucolic, pastoral scenes produced by illuminators working in Bordon's circle, such as those in the Newberry Library's 1504 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (fig. 8) and the 1502-1503 Aldine Ovid with the Pisani family arms now at John Rylands Library (fig. 9), as well as a full page illumination in a 1502 Aldine Dante (fig. 10) in Dublin.[34] However, Bordon and his collaborators did not only incorporate landscape imagery into the decoration of poetic printed works, but also into illuminated manuscripts of sacred texts and official Venetian documents, known broadly as *ducali*, which record the commissions of important government posts. As Helena Szépe has demonstrated, these documents were highly valued by Venetian patricians as testimonies of family honour and constituted a major, important source of employment for Venetian illuminators throughout the sixteenth century.[35]

Despite the ubiquity of landscape imagery in Venetian illumination of the period, and the clear links between Benedetto Bordon and Giulio Campagnola, scholarship on the latter artist has never thoroughly investigated the relationship between his extant works and the illuminations being produced by Bordon and his circle in the years in which they overlapped in Venice.

Fig. 11 / Giulio Campagnola, *Stag Tethered to a Tree*, ca. 1515, stipple engraving, 18.2 x 11.7 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 12 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon/Attributed to the Second Grifo Master, Commission of Girolamo Giustiniani as Procurato *de ultra*, 1516, Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. Classe III 203, fol. 7r.

Fig. 13 / Jacometto Veneziano, *Tethered Stag* (verso of *Portrait of Alvise Contarini*) ca. 1485-1495, oil on wood, 10.2 x 7.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 14 / Leonardo Bellini, Commission of Nicolò Marcello as Procurator de supra, 1466, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. X, 238, fol. 5r.

In fact, there is a striking resemblance between Giulio's engraving of a *Tethered Stag* (fig. 11) of ca. 1510-1515, and several images of stags that occur in illuminations produced around this time by illuminators close to Bordon. For example, the 1516 Commission of Girolamo Giustiniani as procurator *de ultra*, preserved in the Museo Correr, is decorated with an image of a similar stag occupying a medallion in the lower border (fig. 12).[36] When compared to Giulio's engraving, the correspondence in the positioning of the stags is so close that it appears as if the artist and illuminator may have been working from the same model. Giulio's engraving seems to derive from Jacometto's image of a *Tethered Stag* (fig. 13) on the reverse of his portrait of Alvise Contarini, dated ca. 1485-1495.[37] Nevertheless, Jacometto of course also worked as an illuminator, and similar images of deer in appear with regularity in illuminations produced in northern Italy from the second half of the fifteenth century, as demonstrated by Bordon's miniature in the Martial, cited above (see fig. 7).[38] Several earlier examples occur in Ferrarese illumination, including in the famous Bible of Borso d'Este.[39] A few years after the completion of Borso's Bible, a border roundel with a stag was incorporated into the decoration of the Commission, now in the Marciana, of Nicolò Marcello as procurator *de supra* in 1466, executed by Leonardo Bellini, who was a cousin of the painters Giovanni and Gentile (fig. 14).[40]

The diversity in the genre of texts in which seated stags appear reveals both the range of symbolic meaning that the image could assume, as well as the popularity of the subject as a decorative motif. Iconographically, Giulio's tethered stag assumes the same poetic meaning of faithful love as that on the reverse of the Jacometto portrait.[41] In the context of the medallion decorating Girolamo Giustiniani's Commission, one might presume a meaning associated with the Biblical significance of stags deriving from Psalm 42:1, which likens the soul's thirst for God to that of a panting stag's desire for water. Nevertheless, as in the Giustiniani Commission, Giulio's stag appears in a landscape (albeit a simplified one), linking it to the countless images of deer in contemporary illumination where the animals, like buildings and plants simply become "attributes" of the landscape.[42] In form, the correspondence between Giulio's stag and that in the illumination appears perhaps even closer than that between the engraving and Jacometto's painting; although the body of the illuminated stag is slightly rounder (possibly due to the reduced scale), the bent, extended foreleg, curved tail, and underside with clearly represented testicles, all correspond almost exactly.

A further, very similar image of seated stag, functioning as an attribute of the landscape, while also clearly alluding to the Biblical symbolism of the animal, occurs in another contemporary illumination that has been dated to the second decade of the sixteenth century.

Fig. 15 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon/Attributed to the Second Grifo Master, illumination of King David and Psalm I in the so-called Walpole Psalter, Wormsley, the Getty Collection, fol. 13v.

Fig. 16 / Giulio Campagnola, *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1510-1515, line and stipple engraving, 34.2 x 23.7 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 17 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon/Attributed to the Second Grifo Master, Illuminated opening of Psalm I in the so-called Walpole Psalter, Wormsley, the Getty Collection, fol. 14r.

In the so-called Walpole psalter, now in the Getty collection at Wormsley, the opening illumination depicts David playing a *lira da braccio* (fig. 15), a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, similar to a viola, which appears regularly in the visual arts in Venice at the time, as in a drawing of a young man by Giulio (fig. 18).[43] In the left middle-ground of the illumination, a stag sits in precisely the same position as that in both the Giustiniani Commission and Giulio's engraving (see figs. 11 & 12). Although in reverse, and cut-off at the rear by the figure of David, the depiction of animal clearly relates to the engraving and the illuminated Commission, possibly resembling Giulio's stag more closely in its refinement, with a slightly more slender body and neck, and more fully articulated antlers.

This remarkable illumination of David is one of six extremely fine full-page miniatures decorating the psalter, which may have been commissioned by the Venetian noblewoman, Pellegrina da Canal, prioress of the convent of Santa Maria delle Vergini.[44] While two different artists appear to have been involved in the decoration of the psalter, a further two miniatures show full figures in similarly treated landscapes and appear to be by the same hand as the David, which has been connected to the Second Grifo Master, so-called on account the attribution of illuminations in a manuscript of the poet Antonio Grifo's *Canzoniere*, produced between 1490-1500 and today in the Bibiloteca Marciana.[45] Susy Marcon has also connected the stag in the landscape vignette in the Giustiniani Commission to the work of the Second Grifo Master, comparing the

In thinking about the relationship between Giulio's work with contemporary illumination, it is interesting to note that Giulio's Mantegnesque figure of *Saint John the Baptist* shares certain physical traits with figures executed by the Second Grifo Master in the Walpole Psalter. The figure of David discussed above (see fig. 15) exhibits a similarly stiff contrapposto pose, squared jaw, slightly opened gaping mouth, sunken cheekbones, upward gaze, and arched eyebrows. Another similar physiognomy appears on the facing page in a grisaille roundel below an inscription containing the opening verse of the first psalm (fig. 17). Although these similarities are undoubtedly in part simply due to the fact that both artists are working in a Mantegnesque idiom (Giulio perhaps directly from model produced by the artist),[49] further parallels can be drawn between other figures in the psalter and those of Giulio: for instance, the bronze head of a young man set against a blue background in a roundel in the lower border of the illuminated page opening Psalm XXVI (fig. 19), recalls Giulio's early figure of *Ganymede* (fig. 20) and his later figures of youths, as in his engraving of a *Young Shepherd in a Landscape* (fig. 26) and his drawing of a *Lyre Player* (see fig. 18).

acid yellow tones of the foliage and the modelling of form through stippling brushwork.[46] In the fact the use of this technique creates another important link with the work of Giulio Campagnola, as he famously introduced stippling into his mature engravings, like the *Nude in a Landscape* (see fig. 2) and the *Tethered Stag* (see fig. 11), modelling forms with tiny dots in order to imitate the soft, chiaroscuro effects of contemporary painting.

Another, engraving in which Giulio used stippling extensively in order to depict an atmospheric landscape is his *Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 16). The date of this work has sometimes been debated, given the Mantegnesque character of the figure.[47] However, scholars now tend to concur that the advanced technical skill demonstrated in the print must reflect a mature stage of the artist's career.[48]

In terms of compositional solutions, another interesting comparison between the work of Giulio and the Second Grifo Master can be seen in a miniature found in an octavo manuscript of Virgil's works produced in Padua and dated to around 1507 by Emma T. K. Guest (fig. 21).[50] While here Giulio's stag is replaced with a dog, the conceit of the animal chained to a tree as a symbol fidelity is the same. The Second Grifo Master's tree is more filled-out and the landscape more fully developed, but the correspondence between the thin trunk of the tree, flat bushy planes of foliage, with small, sprouting branches alongside, as well as the way in which the chain is attached to the tree, suggests either a shared source, or that these artists were familiar with each other's work in one way or another. In the case of this manuscript, it is not surprising to discover close links to Giulio, as

Fig. 18 / Giulio Campagnola, *Young Man Playing a 'lira da braccio'*, ca. 1510, pen and brown ink, 19.2 x 14.3 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque de L'École des Beaux-Art.

Fig. 19 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon/Attributed to the Second Grifo Master, detail of the illuminated opening of Psalm XXVI, in the so-called Walpole Psalter, Wormsley, the Getty Collection, fol. 54r.

Fig. 20 / Giulio Campagnola *Ganymede*, engraving, 17.5 x 12.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the scribe who penned it was his old family associate and correspondent, Bartolomeo Sanvito. And while the original owner has not been identified, several pages contain marginal notes in the hand of Campagnola's friend and patron, Pietro Bembo.[51]

Although the precise relationship between Giulio and the Second Grifo Master cannot yet be established with certainty, it is clear that the two artists operated within the same milieu and worked with a shared visual vocabulary, indeed close enough to suggest regular opportunities for exchange. Returning to the start of this essay both artists demonstrate a preoccupation with landscape and sought similar technical solutions to achieve the desired effects. In particular, as noted, stippling was used by both to great effect in the rendering of beautiful, atmospheric landscape scenery. Another, slightly later miniature in the 1521 Promissio of Doge

Fig. 21 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon/Attributed to the Second Grifo Master, Frontispiece with illumination of a dog chained to a tree in Virgil, *Opera*, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Ms. 41, fol. 1v.

Antonio Grimani (fig. 22), also attributed to the Second Grifo Master and now in the British Library, shows a highly developed mastery of this stippling technique, used throughout the landscape and also on the figures.[52] While Giulio seems to have disappeared from the artistic scene by this stage, it should be noted that he lived longer than traditionally assumed in the literature, as he is mentioned in a letter of October 1517.[53] Although Giulio's own use of stippling originated with his training as an illuminator, perhaps his extensive experimentation with the technique, in order to achieve effects of light and atmosphere in his mature, engraved depictions of landscape, in turn influenced the Second Grifo Master, Bordon, and their collaborators. Another stunning example of a landscape modelled primarily through stippling and produced in Bordon's circle occurs in the Commission of Antonio Mocenigo as procurator *de citra*, today in the Royal Collection (fig. 23).[54]

It is worth observing that all three of the official Venetian documents discussed in this context were produced for the very highest offices of state and executed for members of the some of the most prominent families of collectors (Giustiniani, Grimani, and Mocenigo); and while the commissions were most likely funded by the respective branch of government, the documents themselves were probably held as a treasures within family collections, as was certainly the case with the Promissio of Antonio Grimani.[55]

While, Giulio's work shares affinities with that of the Second Grifo Master in both motifs and technique, aspects of the former's landscapes, especially in drawings, relate more closely to the work of the younger generation of painters active in Venice in the early sixteenth century. In particular, his regular depiction of rustic, northern-looking buildings recall structures present in the landscape backgrounds of Giorgione, Sebastiano, and the young Titian. Nevertheless, this sort of imagery also occurs in illuminations produced in the circle of Bordon, as seen in the illuminated printed books cited above (see figs. 8-10). In conversation, Lilian Armstrong pointed out to me the general similarity between such landscape scenes and the work of the illuminator known as the Master of the Trees, who seems to have emerged from the circle of Bordon around 1514, and decorated several *ducali* over the next two decades.[56] This artist's work relates to Giulio's, as his illuminations include several scenes of "pure" landscapes, for example in the 1516 Commission of Sebastiano Contarini as podestà of Capodistria (fig. 24) now in the Correr.[57] In a generic way, the construction and form of the landscape depicted in the medallion in the lower border of this Commission recalls Giulio's *Young Shepherd* (fig. 25), with a tree anchoring the foreground, while undulating land masses, buildings, and curved mountains are layered in receding planes. More profound is the conceptual link with several drawings attributed to Giulio, in which landscapes without figures are explored as independent subject matter.

Fig. 23 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon / Attributed to the Second Grifo Master, Promissio of Doge Antonio Grimani, 1521, London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18000, fol. 6v.

Fig. 24 / Circle of Benedetto Bordon, Commission of Antonio Mocenigo as Procurator *de citra*, 1523, Windsor, Royal Library, Ms. RCIN 1081196, fol. 2r

Fig. 24 / Attributed to the Master of the Trees, Comission of Sebastiano Contarini as Podestà of Capodistria, 1516, Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. Classe III 46, fol. 2r.

Fig. 25 / Giulio Campagnola, *Young Shepherd*, ca. 1508, engraving, first state, 13.5 x 7.8 cm, London, British Museum

Helena Szépe has posited that the phenomenon of landscape scenery in *ducali* produced in the early sixteenth century reflects the Serenissma's increasing orientation towards its *terraferma* territories and the Venetian state's focus on consolidating control of these holdings, documented in so many commissions.[58] Illuminators were also naturally familiar with developments in contemporary painting, in which the emergence of landscape has similarly been linked to a new Venetian preoccupation with the *terraferma*.[59] Landscape imagery was nevertheless also inextricable linked to humanist culture in Venice.[60] For as Marcantonio Michel wrote to his artist friend, Guido Celere, "it is natural that what we read expressed so clearly with our ears, not content, we also want to look at with our eyes."[61] Simonetta Nicolini has recently commented on a significant body of humanist literature that praises the work of illuminators, emphasizing their singular ability to translate text into visual form.[62]

Although we may never be able to identify Giulio's own illuminations depicting *montes*, *valles*, *colles, campos, flumnia*, and *florida rura*, so praised by Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, it is clear that Giulio was admired for his ability to produce visual renderings of thematic material closely linked to contemporary literature; perhaps it is possible to glean something of his artistic approach from the work of both the Master of the Trees and the Second Grifo Master. In the broader context of the development of Venetian art in the early Cinquecento, while the precise nature of Giulio's relationship with Giorgione and Titian is impossible to determine, it seems clear that Giulio was uniquely placed to act as conduit of ideas between artists and the intellectual culture of Venetian patricians like Pietro Bembo and his friends, who were not only patrons and collectors, but actively involved in Aldo's production of texts; many of these, like the Theocritus, published in 1496, and the later Virgil of 1514, comprise the literary origins of the pastoral landscape as a genre.[63]

NOTES

1. Venetian landscape is a subject about which Jennifer Fletcher has over the course of her career thought and lectured extensively. I was lucky enough in 2001-2002 to be a student on the final MA course that she taught at the Courtauld, the subject of which was Venetian mythological painting. I am tremendously grateful for her friendship and all that she continues to teach me. I would also like to thank Lilian Armstrong and Helena Szépe for reading drafts of this article prior to its publication.
2. For recent discussions of Giulio as a draughtsman see Charles Hope, "Drawings, Attribution and Evidence: Giulio Campagnola, Giorgione and Early Titian," *Rethinking Renaissance Drawings: Essays in Honour of David McTavish*, ed. Una Roman d'Elia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), pp. 61-89; and Catherine Whistler, "Aspects of *disegno*, drawing and prints in Renaissance Venice," in *Jenseits des Disgeno? Die Entstehung selbständiger Zeichnungen in Deutschland und Italien im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. Alessandro Nova and Daniela Bohde (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, Forthcoming). I am grateful to both of these scholars for discussing Giulio's oeuvre with me and sharing work prior to its publication. For the phenomenon of graphic landscapes in Venice see Dagmar Korbacher, ed., *Arkadien: Paradies auf Papier. Landschaft und Mythos in Italien,* exh. cat. (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2014), pp. 137-165.
3. For an overview of Giulio's career see Antonio Carradore, "Giulio Campagnola, un artista umanista," *Venezia Cinquecento* 20/40 (2010): pp. 55-134. For recent discussions of his career see Irene Brooke, "*Il molto cortese e gentile M. Giulio Campagnola* and his *'gargion'*: New evidence for the Date of Giulio's Death and Reflections on Domenico's Early Career," in *Da Venezia e Roma. Pietro Bembo tra arti e lettere*, ed. Vittoria Romani (Padua: Padua University Press, Forthcoming) and by the same author "*Tratta da Zorzi:* Giulio Campagnola's Copies after Other Artists and his Use of Models," in *Making Copies in European Art: 1400-1600: Shifting Tastes, Modes of Transmission, and Changing Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 210-258.
4. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 199-206.
5. Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (London: J. Murray, 1949), p. 6.
6. For a recent discussion of Giulio in the context of Venetian print culture see David Landau, "L'arte dell'incisione a Venezia ai tempi di Manuzio," in *Aldo Manuzio: Il Rinascimento Veneziano*, eds. Guido Beltramini et al., exh. cat. (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia, 2016), pp. 107-135, 107 and 123-132, although the author's view of the artist differs from that presented in earlier studies: see David Landau, "Printmaking in Venice and the Veneto," in *The Genius of Venice*, eds. Jane Martineau and Charles Hope, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1981), pp. 303-305, 312-323; David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 150, 261-264.
7. The letter, written by Giulio's brother-in-law, Michele da Placiola, was published by Alessandro Luzio, "Giulio Campagnola, fanciullo prodigio," *Archivio Storico dell'Arte* 1 (1888): pp. 184-185. The request for a post at the Mantuan court seems to have been unsuccessful, as a letter of January 1498, locates Giulio at the court of Ferrara. See Matteo Bosso, *Familiares et secundae epistolae* (Mantua: Vincenzo Bertocchi, 1498), no. CCXI, sig. u2 r-v. For the dating of this letter see Hope, "Drawings, Attribution and Evidence," p. 32 and n. 23. In addition to this scholar's valid argument for dating the letter to 1498, rather than 1499, as many scholars have claimed, Matteo Bosso's letters were published in November 1498, precluding a date of 1499.
8. Luzio, "Giulio Campagnola," p. 184.
9. See Keith Christiansen, "A Proposal for Giulio Campagnola Pittore," in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: Etudes sur la peinture du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, eds. Pierre Rosenberg, Cécile Scailliérez, and Dominique Thiébaut (Paris: Edition de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), pp. 344-355; and David Alan Brown, "Giulio Campagnola: the Printmaker as Painter," *Artibus et Historiae* 31 (2010): pp. 83-97. See also David Alan Brown and Miklós Boskovits, *Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Century: The Collections of the National Gallery of Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 435-443, where the same author attributes the Mantegnesque *Judith and Holofernes* to Giulio, though this work is still widely viewed as autograph, see Giovanni Agosti and Dominique Thiébaut, eds., *Mantegna*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2008), no. 72, p. 204. Another interesting attribution of a Mantengesque painting to Giulio is the Bristol *Descent into Limbo,* see Jennifer Fletcher, "Mantegna and Venice," in *Mantenga and Fifteenth-Century Court Cultures: Lectures Delivered in Connection with Andrea Mantegna Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1992*, eds. Francis Ames-Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: Birbeck College, 1993), p. 20. Jill Dunkernton's study of this work in 1993 revealed that the technique employed resembled that of an illuminator. The work is also on membrane, like Giulio's recorded miniatures.
10. Neither painting is technically an illumination: the Brooklyn painting is oil on paper; the Munich *Faun* is oil on panel. Giulio's little paintings seem to have been executed using the technique of illumination (i.e. tempera on membrane). However, their status as independent works, not connected to a text, problematizes their categorization. See Rainieri Varese, "La miniature, qualche problema," in *La Miniatura a Ferrara dal tempo di Cosmè Tura all'eredità di Ercole de' Roberti*, eds. Anna Maria Visser Travagli, Giordana Mariani Canova, and Federica Toniolo, exh. cat. (Ferrara: Palazzo Schifanoia, 1998), pp. 51-55.
11. Marcantonio Michiel, *Notizia d'opere del disegno,* ed. Cristina de Benedictis (Florence: Edfir, 2000), p. 31, "Li dui quadretti di capretto imminiati furono di mano di Julio Compagnola; luno è una nuda tratta da Zorzi, stesa e volta, l'altro una nuda che da acqua ad uno albero, tratta dal Diana, cun dui puttini che zappano." The first relates to Giulio's own print of a *Nude in a Landsacpe*, while the second relates to Marcantonio Raimondi's *Grammar*. For the Giulio's print see Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of all Prints Described*, 7 vols. (London: M. Knoedler, 1948), V, no.13, p. 202, and Mark J. Zucker, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch: Early Italian Masters* 25 (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), no. 18.008, pp. 473-474. For Marcantonio's print see Konrad Oberhuber, "Marcantonio Raimondi, *La Grammatica*," in *Bologna e l'umanesimo: 1490-1510*, eds. Marzia Faietti and Konrad Oberhuber, exh. cat. (Bologna: Pinacoteca Nazionale, 1988), no. 30, pp. 148-50. For Michiel's visit to Bembo's collection see Rosella Lauber, "Note per Marcantonio Michiel e Pietro Bembo," in *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento*, eds. Davide Gasparotto and Guido Beltamini, exh. cat. (Padua: Palazzo del Monte di Pietà, 2013), pp. 344-347; and by the same author, "In casa di Messer Pietro Bembo," in *Pietro Bembo e le arti*, eds. Guido Beltramini, Howard Burns, and Davide Gasparotto (Venice: Marsilio, 2013), pp. 441-464. See also Jennifer Fletcher, "Marcantonio Michiel: his Friends and Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 123/941 (1981): pp. 452-457; and by the same author, "Marcantonio Michiel: 'che ha veduto assai'," *The Burlington Magazine* 123/943 (1981): pp. 602-609.
12. For a discussion of the relationship of these works in relation to their "models" and extant prints see Brooke, "Tratta da Zorzi," pp. 217-223.
13. Christiansen, "A Proposal," p. 345.
14. Girolamo Bologni, *Promiscuorum libri,* XVI, quoted in Augusto Gentili, *I giardini di contemplazione: Lorenzo Lotto 1503/1512* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988), p. 23.
15. See Carradore, "Giulio Campagnola," p. 109, and Armando Balduino, "Un poeta umanista (G. A. Augurelli) di fronte all'arte contemporanea," in *La lettura, la rappresentazione, la musica al tempo e nei luoghi di Giorgione,* ed. Michelangelo Muraro (Jouvence: Rome, 1987), pp. 59-76.
16. Giovanni Aurelio Augurello, *Chrysopoeia* (Venice: Simon Luerensis, 1515) III, vv. 310-311.
17. Paolo Sambin, "Spigolature d'archivio 1. La tonsura di Giulio Campagnola, ragazzo prodigio, e un nuovo documento per Domenico Campagnola," *Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, III: Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti* 86 (1973-1974): pp. 381-388; and Clarice Zdanski, "A Document Pertaining to Giulio Campagnola's Clerical Service," *Bolletino del Museo Civico di Padova* 75 (1986): pp. 61-66. For Girolamo Campagnola's letter about the arts in Padua, which was addressed to the professor of Greek, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo and used by Marcantonio Michiel and Vasari, see Eduard Safarik, "Campagnola, Girolamo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 17 (Roma: Istituto dell Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), pp. 317-318, available online, accessed 10 June 2018, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/girolamo-campagnola_(Dizionario-Biografico)/
18. Bosso, *Familiares*, no. LXXXVI, sig. h6r (24 November 1495). In a letter to Girolamo of 6 October 1493 (no. LXXV, sig. h2r), Bosso praises another son, Aeneas, in similar terms. Since Johann D. Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Weigel, 1864), V, p.163, misinterpreted this letter to be about Giulio, several scholars have followed suit, and therefore struggled with an apparent contradiction in Giulio's age between the two letters. Giovanni Soranzo, *L'umanista canonico regolare lateranense Matteo Bosso di Verona (1427-1502). I suoi scritti e il suo epistolario* (Padua: Libreria Gregoriana Editrice, 1965), pp. 116-117, recognized that the *parvulum* mentioned in 1493 was named Aeneas. However, this scholar mistakenly interpreted a letter of condolence written to Girolamo by Bosso on 13 January 1496 (no. XCIX, sigs. k1r-k2r) as being about Giulio, when in fact it must have been about Aeneas, whose name does not appear in a 1507 document emancipating Girolamo's children. See Benvenuto Cestaro, "Due nuovi documenti su Girolamo Campagnola e un codicetto miniato e scritto da lui," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 11 (1908): pp. 1-8.
19. Bosso, *Familiares,* no. LXXXVI, sigs. h6r. For Bembo's epigram see Pietro Bembo, *Lyric poetry,* ed. and trans. Mary Chatfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), no. XXII, p. 89.
20. Soranzo, *L'umanista canonico,* p. 127. See also Giovanni Agosti, *Su Mantegna* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2005) p. 77.
21. London, British Library, Ms. Add. Royal 14 C III. For a recent discussion see Federica Toniolo and Gennaro Toscano in Beltramini and Gasparotto, *Bembo: l'invenzione,* no. 1.10, pp. 104-105, with further bibliography. For a discussion of the collaboration between Gaspare and Sanvito see Albinia C. De la Mare and Laura Nuvoloni, *Bartolomeo Sanvito: the Life and Work of a Renaissance Scribe*, eds. Anthony R.A. Hobson and Christopher de Hamel (Paris: Association Internationale de bibliophilie, 2009), no. 87, pp. 294-295. For a discussion of the work in the context of Paduan illumination see Giordana Mariani Canova, Giovanna Baldissin Molli, and Federica Toniolo, eds., *La miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento,* exh. cat. (Padua: Palazzo della Ragione-Palazzo del Monte Rovigo-Accademia dei Concordi, 1999), pp. 324-325.
22. De la Mare and Nuvoloni, *Bartolomeo Sanvito*, p. 48.
23. Paul Holberton, "Notes on Giulio Campagnola's Prints," *Print Quarterly* 13 (1996): pp. 397-399; and Givoanni Agosti and Vincenzo Farinella, "Stanza della Battaglia dei Centauri," in *Il Giardino di San Marco. Maestri e compagni del giovane Michelangelo*, ed. Paola Barocchi, exh. cat. (Florence: Casa Buonarroti, 1992), p. 23 and 29. For the gem see Laurie Fusco and Gino Corti, *Lorenzo de' Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Gaspare da Padova disappears after 1493, so the watercolour may have been in circulation for some time, and as Holberton suggests, Giulio may have seen it before 1507. For recent discussion of Gaspare da Padova's career see Antonio Iacobini and Gennaro Toscano, "*More fraeco*, *more latino*: Gaspare da Padova e la miniatura all'antica," in *Mantegna a Roma. L'artista davanti all'antico*, eds. Teresa Calvano, Claudia Cieri Via, and Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2010), pp. 125-190. See also Milvia Bollati, ed., *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani* (Milan: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), pp. 251-257.
24. Konrad Oberhuber in *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*, eds. Konrad Oberhuber and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1973), p. 390. For the manuscript see Mariani Canova, Molli, and Toniolo, *La miniatura a Padova*, no. 122, pp. 308-309.
25. Oberhuber and Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings*, p. 393, n. 12.
26. For Bordon's career see especially Lilian Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, *miniator*, and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 48 (1996): pp. 65-92; and "Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius, Luc Antonio Giunta: Old Links and New," in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture*, ed. David S. Zeidburg (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1998), pp. 161-183. Many of Armstrong's studies are now published in *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice* (London: Pindar, 2003).
27. For Antonio Maria da Villafora see Pier Luigi Bagatin, *Antonio Maria da Villafora: tra università, curia, e monasteri, un miniatore ritrovato* (Treviso: Antilia, 2001), and Bollati, *Dizionario*, pp. 36-40. For his relationship with Barrozzi see Federica Toniolo, "Il sodalizio tra il vescovo Pietro e Antonio Maria da Villafora: considerazioni e aprofondimenti," in *Pietro Barozzi: un vescovo del Rinascimento. Atti del convegno di studi, Museo Diocesano, 18-20 Ottobre 2007*, eds. Andrea Nante, Carlo Cavalli, and Pierantonio Gios (Padua: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana, 2012), pp. 289-304. For Giulio's relations with Barozzi see Sambin, "Spigolature d'archivio," pp. 381-388, and Zdanski, "A Document," pp. 61-66. For Barozzi and Bernardo Bembo's friendship see Franco Gaeta, *Il vescovo Pietro Barozzi e il trattato 'De Factionibus Extinguendis'* (Venice: Fondazione Cini, 1958), pp. 13-14. Bernardo was the dedicatee of Barozzi's *De Factionibus Extinguendis*.
28. This unpublished letter is in Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. 1349, fol. 47v. For biographical information about Bartolomeo Sforza and his arrest see Loredana Olivato, "*Sentenziato a morir hozi de marti*... Nota su Barolomeo Sforza, miniatore e falsario padovano del Rinascimento," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 62 (1973): pp. 7-28. For works by Giulio and Domenico in the Benavides collection see Irene Favaretto, *Andrea Mantova Benavides Inventario delle Antichità di casa Mantova Benavides* (Padua: Società Coopertiva Tipografica, 1978).
29. See n. 26. For the opportunities presented to illuminators by the new book trade see Lilian Armstrong, "The Impact of Printing on Miniaturists in Venice after 1469," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, 1450-1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 174-202, and Helena K. Szépe, "Venetian Miniaturists in the Era of Print," in *The Books of Venice*, eds. Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf, special issue of *Miscellanea Marciana* 20 (2009): pp. 31-60, 517-525.
30. London, British Library, c.4.d. 11. For a recent discussion of this see Chiara Ponchia in Beltramini and Gasparotto, *Aldo Manuzio*, no. 91, p. 342. For Bordon's relations with Aldo see Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius,"; see also Martin Lowry, "Aldus Manutius and Benedetto Bordon. In Search of a Link," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 66 (1983): pp.173-197; Helen K. Szépe, "The Book as Companion, the Author as Friend: Aldine Ocatvos Illuminated by Benedetto Bordon," *Word and Image* 11 (1995): pp. 77-99; and by the same author "Bordon, Dürer and Modes of illuminating Aldines," in Zeidburg, *Aldus Manutius*, pp. 185-200.
31. See Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius," pp. 166-167. For the dedication to Bembo see Luciani Bigliazzi et al., eds., *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494-1515*, exh. cat. (Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1994), no. 129b, p. 179.
32. Pietro Bembo, *Lettere,* ed. Ernesto Travi, 4 vols. (Bologna: Arte Grafica Tamari, 1990) III, no. 360, p. 107. Bembo, as secretary of Leo X, was by this stage based in Rome, though he had returned to Venice in December 1514 on a diplomatic mission.
33. Carlo Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia; dalla su origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore* (Venice: F. Ongania, 1889; reprinted Trieste: Lint, 1973), p. 99, doc. 3.
34. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* (Naples: Sigismund Mayr, 1504), Chicago, Newberry Library, Wing ZP 5351.07, sig. D6r; see Carlo Vecce, "*Arcadia* at the Newberry," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17/2 (2014): pp. 283-302; Ovid, *Fasti* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502-1503), Manchester, John Rylands Library, Spencer 3366, sig. aaa2r; Dante, *Le Terze Rime* (Venice: Aldus Manutius 1502), Dublin, Trinity College Library, Quin 52, sig. a2v. For the Ovid and the Dante see Szépe, "Bordon, Dürer," pp. 194-195, 198.
35. Helena K. Szépe, *Venice Illuminated* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018). See also Giordana Marini Canova, "La decorazione dei documenti ufficiali inVenezia dal 1460 al 1530," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 126 (1968): pp. 9-20; David Chambers, "Merit and Money: The Procurators of St Mark and their Commissioni, 1443-1605," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): pp. 23-88; Helena K. Szépe, "Civic and Artistic Identity in

Illuminated Venetian Documents," *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux Arts* 95 (2001): pp. 59-78; and by the same author, "Painters and Patrons in Venetian Documents," *Le commissioni ducali nelle collezioni dei Musei Civici Veneziani*, special edition of *Bolletino dei Musei Civici Veneziani* 8/3 (2013): pp. 25-40.

36. Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. Classe III 203. For a discussion of this manuscript in relation to Bordon see Susy Marcon, "Un aldina miniata," in *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano*, eds. Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi (Venice: Libreria Sansoviniana, 1994), pp. 125-126. For the procurators of San Marco and the decoration of their commissions see Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 115-154; and Chambers, "Merit and Money."
37. See Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, no. 14, p. 202; and Zucker, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, no. 18.0144, pp. 86-87. For Jacometto's painting see Andrea Bayer in *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*, eds. Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), no. 152a, pp. 346-349.
38. For Jacometto's work as an illuminator see Giovanna Mariani Canova, *La miniatura veneta del Rinascimento: 1450-1500* (Venice: Alfieri, 1969), pp. 44, 111-112. The continued esteem with which Venetian collectors regarded the work of Jacometto is indicated by the relatively high monetary value (at least 40 ducats) placed on a Book of Hours containing four illuminations by the artist seen by Michiel in the collection of Andrea Odoni, inherited from his uncle, Francesco Zio, but evidently originally commissioned by connoisseur's kinsman, Giovanni Michiel, see Michiel, *Notizie*, p. 55. Odoni also owned a book of hours containing an illumination depicting David by Bordon. See Rosella Lauber in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia*, eds. Linda Borean et al. (Venice: Fondazione di Venzia, 2008), pp. 298-299, and 326-328.
39. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Lat. 423= ma. V.G. 13, vol. II, fol. 56r, see Federica Toniolo, "La Bibbia di Borso tra Tardogotico e Rinascimento," in *La Bibbia di Borso d'Este*, 2 vols. (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1997), II, p. 364. Another Ferrarese example occurs in an illumination by Taddeo Crivelli in a *Decameron* produced for one of Borso's courtiers, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Holkham misc. 49, fol. 5, see Jonathan Alexander, *The Painted Book* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 80-81.
40. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. X, 238, fol. 5r, see Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 98-101; and Szépe, *Painters and Patrons*, pp. 27-28. This scholar notes the apparent influence on Leonardo in this work of Franco de Russi, who was involved in the illumination of Borso d'Este's famous Bible.
41. See Bayer in Christansen and Weppelmann, *The Renaissance Portrait*, p. 346.
42. For a discussion of this phenomenon in Venetian painting in the period see Mauro Lucco in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, eds. David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino Pagden, exh. cat. (Washington, DC and Vienna: the National Gallery of Art and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2006), no. 22, pp. 132-135.
43. For the Walpole Psalter see H. George Fletcher, *The Wormsley Library: A Personal Selection by Sir Paul Getty, K.B.E* (London: Maggs Bros. Ltd., 2nd ed. 2007), no. 22, pp. 62-67. For Giulio's drawing (Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, inv. 34782) see Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th centuries* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), no. 582, p. 136.
44. See Fletcher, *The Wormsley Library*, p. 65, and Kate J. P. Lowe, *Nuns Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 90-92.
45. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. It. Z. 64 (=4824). For a recent discussion of the Second Grifo Master see Alexander, *The Painted Book*, pp. 105, 144, 184, 191-192, and pp. 318-319, n. 179, for a list of works attributed to the artist.
46. Marcon, "Un aldina," p. 128.
47. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, no. 12, pp. 201-202; and Zucker, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, no. 18.005, pp. 470-471. Oberhuber in Oberhuber and Sheehan, *Early Italian Engraving*, pp. 402-403, abandoned the traditional, mature dating on account of the figure's style.
48. See recently Hope, "Drawings, Attribution and Evidence," pp. 76-79.
49. Giulio's figure of Saint John the Baptist seems to copy in reverse the figure in a print by Girolamo Moccetto who seems in other cases to have had access to Mantegna's designs, see Brooke, "*Tratta da Zorzi*," pp. 229-236. Giulio's figure diverges from Moccetto's most significantly in the facial features.
50. Emma T. K. Guest, "The Second Master of the Grifo 'Canzoniere': New Attributions," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 69 (2008): pp. 113-115.
51. Guest, "The Second Master," p. 113.
52. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18000, fol. 6v, see Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 15-16, 79.
53. See Brooke, "New Evidence."
54. Windsor, Royal Library, Ms. RCIN 1081196, fol. 2r, see Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 134-135; and Chambers, "Merit and Money," pp. 43-44. This author makes the observation that in this commission, as in the 1516 Giustiani Commission, Saint Mark lacks a halo. This is also true of Antonio Grimani's Promissio.
55. See Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 13-22, 249.
56. See Giulia Mari Zuccolo Padrono, "Sull'ornamentazione marginale di documenti dogali del xvi secolo," *Bolletino dei Musei Civici Veneziani* 17 (1972): pp. 16-18; and Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, p. 135.
57. Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. Classe III 46, see Zuccolo Padrono, "Sull'ornamentazione," p. 17.
58. Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 163-166.
59. The subject of the development of landscape in Venetian painting has been much explored. See David Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision," in *Places of Delight*, eds. Robert Caferitz, Lawrence Gowing, and David Rosand, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: The Philips Collection, 1988), pp. 20-81. For an overview see Sarah Ferrari, *'Una luce per la natura': Studi su Giorgione* (Padua: Padova University Press, 2016), pp. 29-63, with further bibliography. The fundamental influence of northern European painting and prints on the development of landscape imagery in Venice is beyond the scope of this essay. See Beverly L. Brown, "From Hell to Paradise: Landscape in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," in *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, eds. Beverly L. Brown and Bernard Aikema, (Venice: Palazzo Grassi, 1999), pp. 424-431, and Ernst Gombrich, "Renaissance Artistic Theory and the Development of Landscape Painting," in *Norm and Form* (London: Phaidon, 1966), pp. 107-110. The subject of the influence of northern art on Giulio's work was explored by the current author in a conference paper: Irene Brooke, "The Evolution of Landscape in Giulio Campagnola's Work and the Influence from the North," *Il paessaggio veneto nel Rinascimento europeo. Linguaggi, rappresentazioni*. 26-27 October 2017, Università degli Studi di Padova, Padua. Conference Presentation.
60. See Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, pp. 204-206.
61. Quoted in Fletcher, "Marcantonio Michiel: his friends," p. 465.
62. Simonetta Nicolini, "Come piccoli quadri. Appunti su alcune fonti per la ricezione della miniatura tra XIV e XVI secolo," *Intrecci d'arte* 4 (2015): pp. 6-35, available online, accessed May 2018, https://intreccidarte.unibo.it/article/download/5599/5321.
63. For a recent discussion of early editions of Theocritus in the context of Venetian painting see Sarah Ferrari, *'Una luce per la natura'*, pp. 9-28.

Fig. 1 and overleaf / Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, 1670-1674, oil on canvas, 240 x 579 cm, Seville, church of San Jorge, Hospital de la Santa Caridad.

Fig. 2 and on page 160 / Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb*, 1670-1674, oil on canvas, 240 x 579 cm, Seville, church of San Jorge, Hospital de la Santa Caridad.

Scientific intervention in two major Murillo canvases

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BACKGROUND

The year 2018, designated the *Año Murillo*, marks the fourth centenary of the great Baroque painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. To celebrate this anniversary, a series of cultural events relating to the artist were organized over the course of the year. This programme included a project for the conservation of two major canvases, *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* and *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* (figs. 1 & 2). The conservation project was made possible through the Agreement of Collaboration for technical, scientific, and cultural activities and interventions, signed by three partners: the Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico[1] de la Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, La Caixa Fundación Bancaria, and La Humilde y Real Hermandad de la Santa Caridad de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo.

All activities and interventions were aimed at the integrated management of the conservation project itself, combined with outreach work intended to make the restored pictures more accessible to the general public through open workshops, educational workshops, talks, training and temporary exhibitions.

DESCRIPTION

Murillo's canvases are housed in one of the most important buildings in Seville, the church of San Jorge and the Hospital de la Santa Caridad. Miguel de Mañara Vicentelo de Leca (1627-1679), President of the brotherhood of the Santa Caridad from 1663, commissioned a decorative programme to be carried out by prominent artists, expressing contemporary Baroque spirituality and illustrating the actions of mercy carried out by the Hospital.

The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes and *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb*[2] belong to the set of six canvases painted by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo between 1670 and 1674. These draw partly on six of the seven Works of Mercy laid out in the moralizing treaty *Discurso de la Verdad*, written by Miguel de Mañara, who was an important reformer of the fraternity. They represent the acts of "giving food to the hungry" and "giving drink to the thirsty", and are the only remaining original canvases of this series preserved in situ; the rest, having been taken to France during the Napoleonic invasion, were subsequently replaced by copies.

CULTURAL VALUE. SAFEGUARDING

In recognition of the cultural value of the two canvases, the Consejo de Gobierno de la Junta de Andalucía (the Governing Council of the Andalusian Regional Executive) declared them a 'BIC' (Bien de Interés Cultural, or item of cultural value).[3] Since 2007 they have been included in the Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz, coming under the protection of the Junta de Andalucía, and identified as requiring conservation treatment. The project not only recognized the cultural value of the canvases, but was explicitly directed towards safeguarding those and other values specified by the project development team.

Among the values identified as necessary to take into consideration during the conservation treatment were the age, meaning, and original aesthetic of the works, whilst protecting their outstanding artistic quality.

This was achieved in the restoration process, recovering the light and colour of both pictures so that previously invisible details and aspects are now apparent, in this way revealing Murillo's technique and consummate skill.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR KNOWLEDGE, A TOOL FOR INTERVENTION AND MANAGEMENT

The two works are among the most impressive items in Murillo's oeuvre, universally regarded by scholars as providing significant insight into the artist's creative process – all the more so since they have never been subjected to intervention in their entirety. This kind of project affords a unique opportunity to broaden knowledge of the works, since it enables in-depth research from every angle. The purpose of this contribution is to permit broader access to the information gained from conservation and restoration based on a scientific and critical point of view.

As mentioned above, when conservation projects are undertaken on objects included in the Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía, systematic and planned management is required. Interdisciplinary teams collaborated on putting together a programme for both canvases with their respective frames; this entailed the description of the works, assessment of their cultural value, and diagnosis of the state of conservation. The project team also laid out the proposed intervention on a critical, and scientific basis, ensuring that it was systematically planned and sustainable, in order to enhance the formal, aesthetic appreciation in proportion to the works' value in both historical and material terms.

The canvases were removed from their original location in December 2016. Subsequently in January-February 2017 research was carried out, and a plan for conservation treatment settled on. Upon approval of this by the Comisión Provincial del Patrimonio Histórico, the operational and training phase of the project began. Guided visits of the works commenced in July 2017, and treatment of the canvases and frames was concluded by December 2017.

RESEARCH AND IMPLEMENTATION

The two phases of the project, research and implementation, were based on several general criteria, with special importance given to study prior to intervention and maintaining the integrity of the work and all its values.

An informed basis for the intervention was made possible through the contribution of each and every team member, including specialists in restoration, history, image, chemistry, biology, preventive conservation, etc. Study prior to the intervention took into account the material nature of the objects and integrity of all the values attached to them, both intrinsic and acquired.

IAPH conservation was carried out in compliance with the study and intervention methodologies that the organization has developed, together with the application of current international criteria. It is generally accepted that intervention should never be done arbitrarily, but must be supported by studies which aid understanding and knowledge of the cultural object. Intervention will not be one hundred per cent effective unless there is understanding of the causes giving rise to changes, and adequate knowledge for the conservation of the object. This knowledge comprises not only how to intervene directly (curative or conservative intervention, as appropriate) but also more indirectly, what kind of environment is needed to guarantee conservation and enable appreciation (preventive intervention).

GAINING INSIGHT INTO THE ARTIST'S CREATIVE PROCESS

The significant research component of the project is evident from the breadth of technical and scientific studies done by various specialized departments of the IAPH Intervention Centre. These studies allow us to deepen our understanding of Murillo's working methods, re-discovering his artistic virtuosity.

The Chemistry Laboratory's work here should be highlighted, involving substantial scientific innovations and collaboration. Scientific analysis of the constituent materials was carried out following the methodology recommended by Spanish Historic Heritage Law 16/85. In compliance with this, non-invasive techniques and methods were applied in the first phase, so that chemical identification was done without samples or contact with the surface. Thus, the essential preservation of the works' integrity was reconciled with the deepest possible exploration of the materials.[4]

Since these types of non-invasive techniques render only a superficial knowledge of materials, these analyses have to be complemented by a second phase of stratigraphic analyses yielding information about the complex multi-layered system of the polychromy.[5]

Fig. 3 / Portable X-ray fluorescence scanner (MA-XRF) using LANDIS-X.

The first phase of non-invasive analytical methods, minimizes the number of samples taken in the second.[6]

A detailed analysis of the works was carried out using the innovative technique of macro X-ray fluorescence scanning (MA-XRF), with a mobile device showing elemental images of the paintings in real time (fig. 3). This was complemented by XRF spot analyses[7] and mobile Raman spectroscopy, thanks to the collaboration among various research centres and both Spanish and international Universities.[8]

The stratigraphic study was carried out in cross-section, using optical microscopy (O.M.), electronic microscopic scanning with microanalysis (SEM-EDS), infra-red spectrometry with a Fourier transformer (FT-IR) and gas chromatography with a detector of mass spectrometry (GC-MS).

The results show that the ground and priming layers[9] in both works are made up of iron aluminium silicates with amounts of calcite and carbon black which vary according to the area.[10] A small proportion of pyrites and ilmenites, minerals naturally occurring in the clays of the pyrite belt round Seville and Huelva, was identified. These compounds have been identified in other works by Murillo, Velázquez and Zurbarán[11] and can be considered as distinctive elements in compounds made up of earths from Seville which differ from other materials found in nearby locations.

Priming was applied in two layers with the addition of lead white as a siccative. In some samples, remains of pigments were found which were possibly re-used from palette leftovers. The tone of the priming layers varies from area to area, depending on the amount of lead white, calcite, and carbon black added.

Since the aim was to use the priming layers as a colour base for the different areas of the picture, the tone of this stratum changed according to the painter's needs.

The thicknesses measured in the ground layer of both pictures can be as much as 300 um and the priming layers vary between 35 and 150 um. These are made up of two wet layers which, added to the ground layer, constitute a preparation of considerable thickness (fig. 4). The ground and priming layers of these two canvases closely resemble those analyzed in *Christ Healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda*, one of the six oil paintings made to decorate the nave of the church of the brotherhood of Santa Caridad, now in the National Gallery, London (fig. 5).[12] Similarly thick layers have been identified in other Murillo paintings such as *Saint Diego de Alcalá* (Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando), *The Miracle of Saint Francis Solano and the Bull*[13] and *Saint Francis* where the binding agent used was linseed oil.

This combination corresponds to that recommended in contemporary treatises on painting technique, describing the usual procedures for preparing canvases as followed by the seventeenth-century School of Seville. Pacheco and Palomino both recommend applying coloured priming layers to obtain tones which can vary from dark brownish-greys to reddish-browns using what were called "Seville earths", i.e. mud from the Guadalquivir, to which were added calcite and lead white as siccative. They also recommended re-using leftover pigments[14] to speed up the drying process, and this has been observed in the priming layers under analysis.[15]

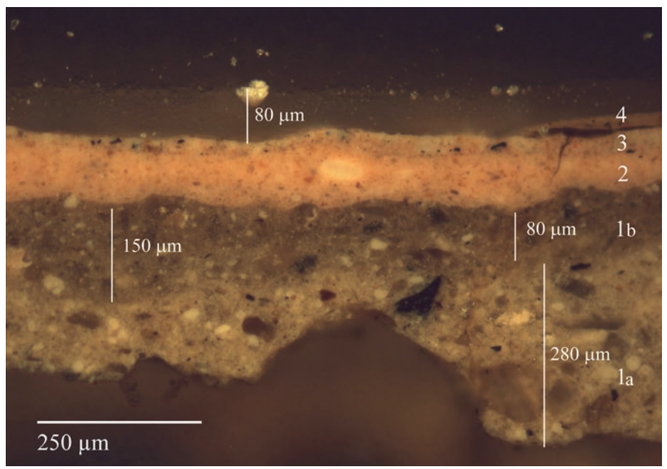


Fig. 4 / Cross-section of the stratigraphic skin-tones of the work *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb*. Thickness of the rig (1a) and primer (1b) and the distinct layers of polychrome (2, 3, 4) and lastly varnish.

The non-invasive MA-XRF technique was applied to the whole paint layer, showing the spatial distribution of pigments over the surface in all the works analyzed. High velocity data collection scans were carried out (4,000 X-ray fluorescence spectra per second and detailed measurements every millimetre). The palette Murillo used was shown to contain a fairly small number of pigments which the artist used with consummate skill to achieve a very diverse chromatic range (fig. 6).

Combining the results of these non-invasive techniques with the stratigraphic studies gives a fuller understanding of Murillo's technique. The cross-section of the polychromy of the canvases reveals a complex stratigraphic structure when compared with the paintings of his early period.[16] In the later period, Murillo used more paint layers to achieve the effects of softness characteristic of his "diaphanous style".

Smalt and azurite have been identified in the blues and, in *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, lapis lazuli as well. Obviously, the choice of blue pigment for various parts of the canvas was largely influenced by economic considerations. This is clearly demonstrated in large areas like cloudscapes, where the much less expensive smalt was used; whereas on the clothing and other, smaller areas, azurite, sometimes mixed with smalt, is found. The most expensive pigment, lapis lazuli, was reserved for the most important areas, such as Christ's cloak. A thick under-layer of smalt gave the colour strength, and the lapis lazuli could be applied on top as a thin wash, between approximately 6 and 24 um thick.

Both canvases show deterioration due to the use of unstable pigments such as smalt, which tends to turn brownish-grey, as can be observed in the clouds of *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* or the robes of one of the figures in *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* (see figs. 1 & 2). This change was probably due to the painting's exposure to very damp atmospheres, though the smalt has not been affected in the light areas of the clouds, where it is mixed with lead white, since, in the opinion of some authors, this acts as a stabilizer in the pigment.[17]

Most of the yellows used lead tin yellow, in some cases mixed with ochres to darken them. The greens are made of a mixture of azurite and lead tin yellow, with additions of vermilion, red lake, and occasionally red ochre, to obtain different shades.

Fig. 5 / Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Christ Healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda*, 1667-1670, oil on canvas, 237 x 261 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 6 / X-ray fluorescence mapping.

Fig. 7 / Ultraviolet fluorescence study done on the canvas of *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes.*

Fig. 8 / Radiographic study on the canvas of *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb.*

In the reds and ochres, vermilion, red lakes, and hematite (ochre) were used, as well as umbers in the brownish-greys. In many parts, such as clothing, a top layer of transparent varnish was applied to layers of intense red.

Lead white was identified in the whites, mixed with other pigments in the light areas and flesh tones and darkened with coal black or umber.

Deeper insight into the creative process behind these paintings was gained through information from image examination techniques (radiography, ultra-violet fluorescence) (fig. 7). The radiographic findings reveal some of Murillo's particular characteristics and enable a deeper understanding of his virtuoso technique, pictorial language, his rendering of light and atmospheric effects, and expressive brushwork. X ray examination allows the identification of certain pigments by their atomic weight and shows the way in which the ground layer was applied (for example in a series of curved lines corresponding to the marks made by the priming tools[18]). The effects of luminous outlines around some of the figures, causing an optical play that suggests volume, are observable, as are the extraordinary aerial perspective around the figures and the skilled movements of the light and intuitive brushwork. (fig. 8).

Research on the project also included the study of the animal species in the pictures. The IAPH Laboratory for Paleontology and Paleobiology have identified: "*churra lebrijana*" sheep (a young male and another adult sheep over four years old), an autocthonous breed appearing in Andalusia around this time; dogs including a spaniel as it would have appeared before cross-breeding in the nineteenth century; seabass (fig. 9); and a camel of central Asian origin. Murillo painted the *sclera* or white of its eyes as white rather than dark, evidence that he had never actually seen this animal.

In this final stage of his artistic career, Murillo had a wide-ranging knowledge of visual sources, as shown in the superb results of these paintings. As well as the skilful use of pigments, several technical and material characteristics can be highlighted, features which are particular to the artist.

In these paintings, Murillo is able to create works in his distinctive style, and his unmistakable artistic personality differentiates his brush from the sources that he drew upon. For *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes,* he turned to Francisco Herrera the Elder, and for *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* to Gioacchino Assereto. These great works are iconographically very complex and a comparison between them shows the contrasting stylistic progress defining Murillo's artistic development.

In terms of compositional organization, each element has a predetermined place; the composition is made up of a balanced set of scenes in which figures are judiciously laid out in their various positions. Murillo organizes his compositions through a series of receding planes in which principal figures and elements, arranged in the foreground, are painted meticulously, while the background and lesser figures are rendered with a freer, more schematic and spontaneous technique; his consummate skill allows him to suggest, rather than explicitly delineate secondary scenes (fig. 10).

Fig. 9 / Detail of seabass.

Fig. 10 / Representative detail of the scene through successive planes of depth.

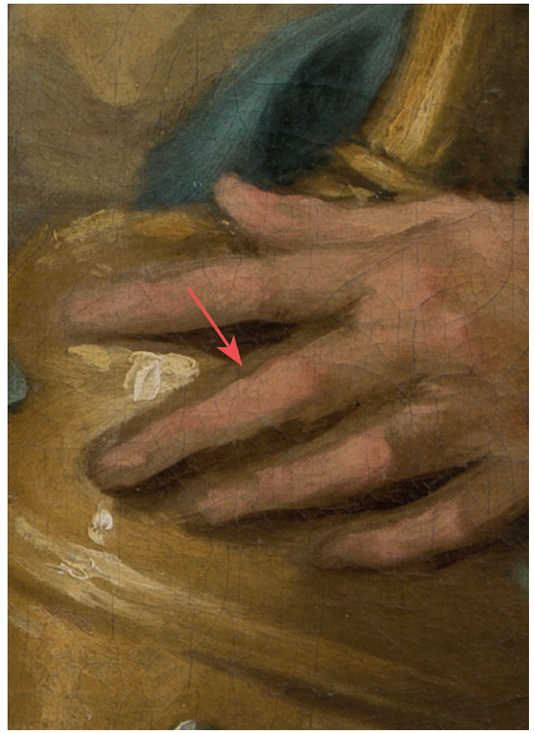


Fig. 11 / Detail of the pictorial technique that unifies the composition by means of the blurred contours.

Fig. 12 / Detail of use of the base tone in the final result of the pictorial execution.

The greater attention paid to the foreground versus the background and images in receding planes, gives an effect of sharp reality and visual unity.

In these works, Murillo first composed the cloudscape and background scenes, while spaces for principal figures, which are vague and blurred in outline, are left uncovered; the result is a unified composition and an equally unified visual experience for the viewer (fig. 11).

At this mature stage, Murillo has a specific visual language, as evident in his preliminary sketching and even in his signature. The strokes all share a common feature: pigment is applied with great confidence and freedom, lightly and very intuitively. Using different types of brushstroke, a characteristic zigzag movement or dragging or pressing of the brush, even over dry paint for the final lines, Murillo captures the essence of whatever he is rendering.

He has frequent recourse to the base tone of the priming layer, creating the atmospheric effect that is so characteristic, even in the space where the base colour is not unified with the brushwork on the figures, so that this layer remains visible (fig. 12). Using this coloured base, he then applies a full brush of colour with the exact stroke needed to achieve the desired optical effect, and it is this precise tone which has a strategic influence on the final composition (fig. 13).

Murillo shows a perfect command of light. He balances the dark areas to contrast with the points of brightest illumination. Through subtle gradations of light, he avoids sharp contrasts and achieves a wonderful sensation of spatial depth. The gradation and quality of light is an essential element to the modelling and unification of the composition within a harmonious space. In general, the lightest parts stand out because of a subtle thickish consistency, with a large component of lead white, contrasting with the intermediate planes, backgrounds, and clouds, where the brushstrokes are more fluid. These differences in texture enhance the lively chromatic and light effects, as well as the ethereal and cloudy effect that characterizes his work (fig. 14).

Fig. 13 / Detail of the pictorial technique that unifies the composition by means of the blurred contours.

Fig. 14 / Artistic virtuosity in the details of the hands and bread.

These paintings present clear examples of Murillo's artistic virtuosity, as demonstrated in the foreshortening of the hands and feet, the expressiveness of the faces – each individualized with a distinct psychology – the animals, and the rendering of everyday objects. The canvases reveal the artist's outstanding ability to bring together in his magnificent strokes all the key pictorial elements: volume, light, colour, and the suggestive atmosphere, so characteristically enveloping the scenes in his spatial planes (see fig. 10).

This project has also afforded the opportunity for the study and intervention in a small, related canvas representing the scene of Moses.[19] It is highly likely that this constitutes a preliminary sketch and represents the first outline of an idea set down quickly and spontaneously. The small canvas retains the essential ideas of the larger composition, with an assured placement of the figures, their poses, the areas of light and shade, all worked with great inventiveness. The base and colour layers of the sketch use the same variety of material and pigment as the larger *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb*, except for the costly lapis lazuli.

On the pictorial level, the sketch reveals some pentimenti and modifications. Most of these appeared with radiography and infra-red reflectography. Examples include the change in the positions of the horse's forelegs, the child looking at the viewer, and Moses's hands and face. This painting helps us to understand why few pentimenti are to be found in the larger canvases, as trials and corrections were evidently worked out in the sketch. Still, in the final canvas, Murillo does make a few adjustments to details, as can be seen in the vessels for collecting water, the clothing and headdresses of some figures, and in a woman drinking, who ultimately is transformed into a male figure.

DIAGNOSIS AND INTERVENTION

In addition to the painter's techniques, the research element of this project allowed us to determine the factors and processes causing the works to deteriorate. It also indicated what had to be done to recover their artistic qualities, with constant reference to the IAPH's specific methodology and criteria.

The stretchers are rectangular in shape (238 x 578 cm). There are three vertical bars forming four areas. The joints between the bars are dovetailed with a small case for a double wedge. The crossbar contains a groove where the vertical bar pin slots in, allowing it to slide up to the case: some contain forged metal nails which act as stops.

The third vertical stretcher bar in *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* contains an inscription with the date of two previous interventions and the names of the individuals who carried them out. The first was done in 1902 by José Escacena, with help from his nephew, José Octo. A second restoration was done in 1985 by the Seville Cathedral team thanks to the patronage of Don José María Benjumea, who donated proceeds from a sale of books to pay for the intervention.

The stretchers were in good condition, although dirt had built up, and there were cracks in some of the wedges, as well as evidence of damage from Anobiidae and Dermestidae (though the insects were inactive). Orthophotography and subsequent study has shown that in the stretcher of *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, the central area of the lower crossbar curves upwards slightly, and the corner joints do not meet at ninety degree angles. In the upper part there is a deviation towards the right of 5.4 cm.

In both pictures the original support consists of three lengths of cloth, or strips, laid horizontally and joined by a single seam, apparently stitched from the front side. In both works, the cloth strips are arranged in a similar manner, the smallest being placed at the top and underneath the two larger strips. These correspond approximately to the width of the loom used to weave the cloth (111.55 cm at its widest). The total dimensions of the canvases, taking into account the irregular edges, are approximately 240 x 579 cm, since the original fabric exceeds the size of the stretcher.

The works are lined with two cloth strips. In all the picture supports the fibre is linen, with a strengthening lining made from a type of taffeta: this is a simple way of joining parts, used since classical times, easy to make and acquire. The weave density in the lining fabric is less than the original, the distortion in the threads of all the fabrics being Z-shaped.[20]

Each lining fabric is made of two strips laid horizontally, thus following the direction of the warp and weft in the original. The strips in the first lining are joined with a simple stitched seam, those of the second lining are joined with an over-sewn seam. It is curious to note that in the second lining of both canvases there are weaving errors, with big basting stitches and loops in the warp. The natural pattern of the taffeta is inexistent in these areas, and so two similar movements occur, producing in some parts an effect of double threads which follow the direction of the warp.

The double lining was done in the same intervention to ensure the required strength and tension in these large format works. One of the key pieces of evidence for this is that the system fixing the first fabric strip to the stretcher, in contact with the original, is not tacked along the edge, but only held with adhesive. There are cuts along the edge intended to eliminate distortion when it came to be assembled. This fabric strip hides the second which is secured all around the perimeter with tacks. This intervention was probably done in 1902, when the works were taken down in their frames and the new stretcher inserted, using the bars of the old one as strengthening crossbars for the frames.

Apart from the strengthening of the canvases, a second intervention is observable where the corners were stapled and windows opened in the edges of the stretcher to view and study the number of lining fabrics on each picture.

The tension of the supports is stable. The canvas of *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* was more lacking in tension and so showed greater distortion of the fabric at the corners, due to the changes in temperature and humidity where it was hung on the north side of the building.

The degree of radiation intensity used to obtain an X ray of the painting was sufficient to observe the preparatory layers, priming (lead white), the paint layer and the stretcher. It was, however, inadequate for observation of the support fabric free from the layers on top of it, since the weave in the areas where inorganic radiographic charge is lacking is low density and thus not radio-opaque and produces no contrast. In the radiographic study there is no apparent original fabric on the vertical edges of the sides of both canvases. This fabric carries a whole stucco-work of interventions, which lack radio-opaque charge and do not contrast. This can lead to mistakes because there is an underlying support that reaches the edge and at times overhangs the stretcher.

Additionally, in *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* the shape of the losses led us to suspect breaks in the original fabric; some of these are considerable, for example in the area of the loaves and the area where groups of people are resting. Some losses in the ground layer and thin paint layer are also evident on several faces, such as Saint John's and the apostle wearing a yellow ochre cloak; the figure standing behind the apostle taking the basket of fish; the child carrying the basket; the beard of the figure on the right leaning on a staff; and the eye of the old woman in the bottom right corner. Lastly, there are paint losses in the neck and hand of the apostle seated on Jesus's left.

There are, however, few losses indicated in the radiographic study of *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb*: most are in the central area, specifically in the figures placed in front of the rock, and these tend to be small. The areas showing losses are Moses's beard, the hair of the woman drinking on the left, and the hair of the child drinking from a bowl in the bottom right.

The preparatory layers and the paint layer are well bonded together, forming a unit, but study with raking light revealed the lack of adhesion between these layers and the support, and even indicated that they were at risk of becoming detached.

The chromatic alteration in the two canvases was evident across the whole surface and caused by several factors. Firstly, on exposure to visible and ultraviolet light, it was clear that the varnish had turned yellowish through oxidation. Secondly, re-touchings in the two previous interventions in various areas, had changed colour and appeared matte. Thirdly, there were small flecks or whitish stains on the surface caused by an opaque effect of the varnish, affected by damp.

Fig 15 / Comparative study using various techniques (normal night, x-rays, ultraviolet).

Fig 16 / Comparative study using various techniques (normal light, x-rays, ultraviolet).

Fig. 17 / Witnesses of cleaning

Fig. 18 / Coating phase.

The layer of varnish in both pictures was three times thicker than normally found in other canvases, being 80 um thick in some places. This indicated the re-touchings of previous interventions in the induced ultraviolet light fluorescence study (figs. 15 & 16). The varnish, though, appeared as an opaline, greenish veil applied unevenly, forming a screen obscuring the colours of previous periods. It was therefore necessary to resort to radiography to determine the exact size of the losses. In the vertical side edges of both pictures, a chromatic reintegration with even tones and vertical lines coincided with the stuccoed area of previous interventions, whose width in some places could be as much as 9 um.

The areas containing figures worst affected coincided with the losses in preparation and the paint layer, mentioned above in the radiographic study.

The treatment of the stretcher involved cleaning the wood surface, preventive measures against insects, and strengthening and repairing the wood. The considerable accumulation of surface deposits on both sides of the work was eliminated through controlled suction. The losses of shape in the support were treated with the canvas in a horizontal position, protecting the area to be treated and alternating weight, damp, and controlled heat.

The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes was in a delicate state, with the ground, priming, and paint layers in danger of becoming detached. Certain areas were therefore fixed before removing varnishes and earlier re-touchings, and a second fixing applied across the whole work after cleaning. In *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* fixing was done after the paint layer was cleaned.

Using the solubility test and micro sampling in strategic, barely visible, areas, the most suitable solvent was selected for cleaning the paint layer, removing varnishes and earlier re-touchings, whilst avoiding alterations and reactions with the original (fig. 17).

Removal of the thick layer of varnish and overpainting revealed areas of wear in the paint layer previously hidden. Of particular importance were the chromatic variations typical of pigment alteration, as in cobalt blue or smalt, which had lost their original colour and turned into a brownish-grey layer giving a very different appearance to a large part of the cloudscape. The loose and quick brushstrokes in this area, where the marks of the brush are quite broad, also became apparent.

After the first application of varnish to the surface, the losses were filled, with a greater number in the *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* (fig. 18). The new in-fillings were attached firstly with a water-based technique and then with pigments mixed with varnish, aiming at a harmonious and balanced formal reading and aesthetic perception of the painting. Finally, a protective layer of pulverized varnish was applied.

Figs. 19 & 20 / Details of Moses and group including Moor, pre- and post-restoration.

After the intervention, areas of the works previously unseen due to the heavy accumulation of surface deposits and oxidized varnish were recovered and can now be admired (figs. 19 & 20). A number of details were clarified in *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, such as a sailing boat in the depth of the landscape on the sea of Galilee, a Moor in the group to the right – the only one in either painting –, the feet of the apostles in the second plane, and Jesus's foot beside the basket. Lastly, the way the groups of figures in the meadow were painted is now clear: quick and confident brushstrokes define the figures, but scale is constantly observed in order to create perspective, and subtly capture the light and shade created by the clouds (see fig. 1).

In *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb* too, the reflection on the water and the figures in shadow in front of the rock have been fully recovered (see fig. 2). Particularly striking is the supple rendering of the two sheep in the foreground, one in light and the other in shade. The cauldron held by the woman is noteworthy too, being suspended, unsupported by the ground. The group in the top right-hand area of the rock is also interesting since the brushstrokes here are similar to those used for the people in the meadow in the other picture.

The implementation of this project on two major Murillo canvases has ensured the conservation and formal, aesthetic appreciation of these magnificent works, together with the recovery of all their artistic qualities, consonant with their value as material objects and patrimonial heritage. This, together with the management of all the associated activities, has enhanced the collective awareness of the conservation and preservation of these works.

NOTES

1. Referred to throughout this article as IAPH.
2. *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* represents the act of mercy of feeding the hungry, indicated by the cartouche on the frame: "Dearly loved brothers, remember the poor who suffer hunger." The work tells the story from Saint Matthew's Gospel (14: 13-21) when Christ miraculously multiplied some loaves and fishes offered by a boy to feed a hungry crowd following him. Francisco Herrera the Elder's *Moses and the Water from the Rock of Horeb*, painted 1640-1645 for the Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo, Seville (now in the Archbishop's Palace, Madrid) constitutes an important precedent for Murillo's pendent painting. Like Murillo's canvas, Herrera's work depicts Moses bringing water to the people of Israel, crossing the desert in search of the Promised Land (Exodus 17: 1 -7). The meaning of this picture is also recalled by the cartouche in Latin which reads: "Dearly loved brothers, remember the poor who suffer thirst."
3. Decree 147/1992, 4 August 1992 (BOJA, núm 114, 7 November)
4. Gilberto Artioli, *Scientific Methods and Cultural Heritage: An Introduction to the Application of Materials Science to Archaeometry and Conservation Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
5. Koen H. A. Janssens and R. van Grieken, *Non-destructive Micro Analysis of Cultural Heritage Materials* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2004).
6. Annemie Adriaens, "Review: Non-destructive Analysis and Testing of Museum Objects: An Overview of Five Years of Research," *Spectrochimica Acta Part B: Atomic Spectroscopy* 60 (2005): pp. 1503-1516.
7. Francesco Paolo Romano, et al., "Real-Time Elemental imaging of Large Dimension Paintings with a Novel Mobile Macro X-Ray Fluorescence (MA-XRF) Scanning Technique," *Journal of Analytical Atomic Spectrometry* (2017).
8. Nuclear Physics Group applied to Patrimonio Universidad de Sevilla-Centro Nacional de Aceleradores (CSIC-Junta de Andalucía-Universidad de Sevilla): Mobile X Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy and Infrared Reflectography, with scanner. Nuclear Physics Group applied to Patrimonio Universidad de Sevilla-Grupo de Innovación en análisis químico Universidad de Jaén: Mobile Raman spectroscopy. Nuclear Physics Group applied to Patrimonio Universidad de Sevilla-Instituto Nazionale di Fisica Nucleare (INFN-LNS)- Consiglio Nazionale di Ricerca Catania (CNR-IBAM: Mobile X Ray fluorescence scanner (MA-XRF) using LANDIS-X [non-invasive onsite X ray technology].
9. María Dolores and Gayo García, "Evolución de las preparaciones en la pintura sobre lienzo de los siglos XVI y XVII en España," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 46 (2010): p. 39.
10. Adrian Duran et al., "Murillo's Paintings Revealed by Spectroscopic Techniques and Dedicated Laboratory-Made Micro X-ray Diffraction," *Analytica Chimica Acta* 671 (2010).
11. Romero Asenjo Illán Gutierrez et al., "Características de las preparaciones Sevillanas en pintura de caballete entre 1600 y 1700: implicaciones en el campo de la restauración y de la historia del arte," in *Actas del II Congreso del Grupo Español del IIC: Museum Nacional D'Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Investigación en Conservación y Restauración, 2005), pp. 197-204.
12. Paul Ackroyd et al., "Murillo's *Christ Healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda*: an Introduction to the Artist's Late Painting Technique," in *Studying Old Master Paintings: Technology and Practice*, *The National Gallery Technical Bulletin 30th Anniversary Conference Postprints*, ed. Marika Spring et al. (London: Archetype, 2011), pp. 173-179.
13. Mayahuel Ortega-Avilés, et al. "Spectroscopic Investigation of a 'Virgin of Sorrows' Canvas Painting: A Multi-Method Approach," *Analytica Chimica Acta* 550 (2005): pp. 164-172.
14. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (1649), ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), pp. 480-490.
15. Antonio Palomino, *Museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1715), ed. Nina Ayala Mallory, 2 vols. (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986-1988), II, pp. 125-134.
16. María del Valme Muñoz Rubio and Fuensante de la Paz Calatrava, "Murillo el joven: aportación al conocimiento de su técnica," in *El joven Murillo*, eds. Benito Navarrete Prieto and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, exh. cat. (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes, 2009), pp. 157-185
17. Serena Panighello et al., "Investigation of Smalt in Cross-Sections of Seventeenth-Century Paintings Using Elemental Mapping by Laser Ablation ICP-MS," *Microchemical Journal* 125 (2016): pp. 105-115.
18. Knife-shaped tools used to spread the ground and priming layers. The picture is composed on top of these.
19. This canvas measures 32.8 x 75.5 cm. It has been documented in England since the mid-nineteenth century, in the collection of the Earl of Normanton. Since 1857 specialists have accepted it as part of Murillo's oeuvre. It was sold by, Viscount Ednam, through Christie's, London, in 1966 and acquired by Thomas Agnew and Sons. It was auctioned again on 5 July 2017 at Bonhams, London, and acquired by Mr Joerg Wüller, the present owner.
20. Weave density of the lining fabrics: the first has 12 warp threads for every 11-12 weft threads per cm and the second 12 warp threads for every 9-10 weft threads per cm. Weave density of the original fabrics: 15-16 warp threads for every 14-15 weft threads per cm.

Onofre Falcó, a Spanish Renaissance master

JOSÉ GÓMEZ FRECHINA

Fig. 1 / Onofre Falcó, *Saint Stephen Ordained as Deacon*, 1555-1560, oil on panel, 160 x 123 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Our knowledge of the artistic personality and life of the painter Onofre Falcó (active in Valencia from 1536-1560) has increased in the last two decades with the discovery of new documents that refer to his professional activities and to various paintings, which have been plausibly attributed to him on the basis comparison with known works. Given our broader understanding of Falco's activity and oeuvre, this article aims to provide an outline of his career, attributing several new works to the artist on the basis of stylistic and documentary evidence.

Onofre Falcó was a contemporary of the painter Joan Macip, better known as Joan de Joanes (Valencia? ca. 1500 – Bocairent, 1579). Falcó is principally known for his involvement, together with Joanes, in the important project to produce the principal altarpiece for the parish church of San Esteban in Valencia.[1] Most of this altarpiece was removed from the church at the turn of the nineteenth century (entering the Spanish Royal Collection in 1801 and subsequently the Museo Nacional del Prado), when Archbishop Juan del Rio remodelled the presbytery under the influence of the collecting interests and preferences of Charles IV. Two scenes from the life of Saint Stephen (the *Agony in the Garden* and *Crowning with Thorns*), which once formed part of the predella and flanked Joan de Joanes's celebrated *Last Supper*, were the only panels to remain in the church. Six panels of identical sizes (the *Ordination of Saint Stephen*; *Saint Stephen in the Synagogue*; *The Preaching of Saint Stephen before the Sanhedrin*; *Saint Stephen led to his Martyrdom*; *Stoning of Saint Stephen*; and *Burial of Saint Stephen*) which were originally located in the altarpiece's two principal sections, as well as the above-mentioned *Last Supper* from the predella, were all sent to Madrid, and make a particularly important contribution to the cataloguing and critical assessment of the work of Joan de Joanes.[2]

In his 1979 study of Joan de Joanes, Albi assigned the *Ordination of Saint Stephen* (fig.1) to an unidentified artist that he dubbed the "Anonymous follower of Saint Stephen" or "Joanesque follower of Saint Stephen".[3] This painting, together with the two aforementioned predella panels depicting the *Agony in the Garden* (fig. 2) and the *Crowning with Thorns* (fig. 3) which are clearly by the same hand, were recently studied by Fernando Benito.[4] While acknowledging a scarcity of documentation, this scholar proposed an attribution to a painter he named as Vicente Requena the Elder, distinguishing him from the artist Vicente Requena (Valencia, 1556-1605). The latter, who was influenced by Italian artists working at the monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, like Luca Cambiaso (1527-1585), produced numerous altarpieces and notably the paintings in the "Ecclesiastical Arm" of the Sala Nova in the Palacio de la Generalitat in Valencia.[5] Benito's suggested attribution of the three associated predella panels to Vicente Requena the Elder was based on a documentary note by the Baron of Alcahalí in his biographical work on Valencian artists.[6] Alcahalí cited a document recording a Vicente Requena (described as a "famed painter") as the father of the artist of the same name. However, it has now been shown that Alcahalí incorrectly gave the name Vicente to the artist's father, who was in fact called Gaspar.

Fig. 2 / Onofre Falcó, *Prayer in the Garden*, oil on panel, 114 x 126 cm, Valencia, Parish of Saint Stephen.

Fig. 3 / Onofre Falcó, *Coronation of Thorns*, oil on panel, 114 x 126 cm, Valencia, parish of Saint Stephen.

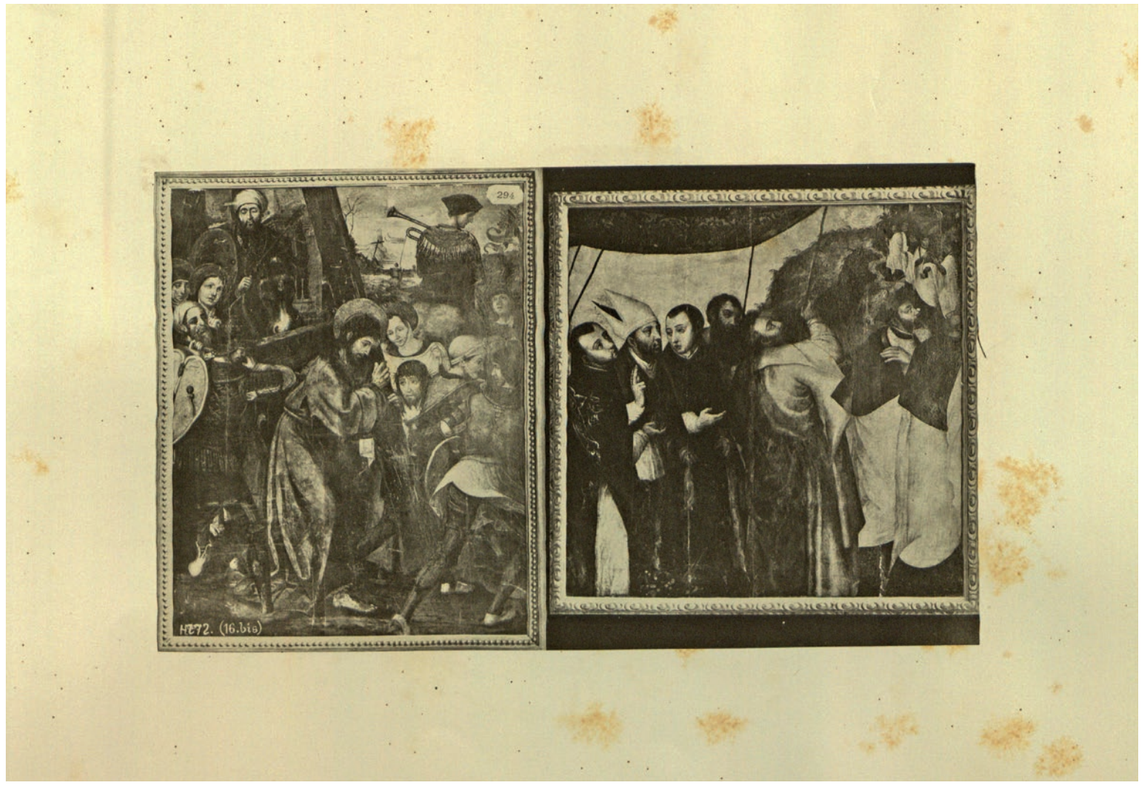
The personality of Vicente Requena "the Elder" formulated by Benito on the basis of Alcahalí's error is thus fictitious.

Nonetheless, based on comparisons with the *Saint Stephen* predella panels, Benito offered pioneering attributions and analyses of various paintings by the same hand, identifying a corpus of works by the painter and broadly defining his stylistic qualities:

> His figures have elongated anatomies, with slender hands and fingers. His faces, when more worked up in large-scale figures, generally have pronounced cheekbones and a thin, straight or slightly aquiline nose which gives them an air of gravitas, though almost all his figures have small heads with defined eyebrows and a small, normally closed mouth, producing a slightly monotonous effect that contrasts with the variety of expressions of Joanes's figures, which display a diversity of rhetorical poses and expressions. With regard to the treatment of the fabrics, the "Anonymous Master of Saint Stephen" resolves his volumes in a somewhat simplified and geometrical manner with straight folds that contrast with the gentle, harmonious cadences of Joanes's brush.[7]

In his text Benito also classed as works by this painter a number of panels formerly in the church of Santa María in Requena, now only known from photographs in the Mas Archive (C-17571 and C-17573).[8] Benito identified one of these as the *Virgin between Saints Cosmas and Damian*.

In reality, the twin saints wearing crowns and bearing sceptres should be identified as the Blessed Abdon and Sennen of Persian origin. The second photograph records the altarpiece's predella, which was divided into three sections: from left to right, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint Nicholas of Bari*; *Christ on the Road to Calvary*; and *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak for the Poor*. Among the other works included by Benito in his study are two doors from a triptych depicting *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Francis*; a *Pietà* in Valencia Cathedral; and a panel in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Pau depicting the *Procession to Mount Gargano* (fig. 4a), which Albi had already associated with the *Ordination of Saint Stephen*.[9] Prior to entering the museum in Pau in 1895, this work was included in the 1877 exhibition on the sumptuary arts held in Barcelona, which also included the panel of *Christ on the Road to Calvary* by Vicent Macip (fig. 4b).[10]



Figs. 4a & b / Vicent Macip, *Christ on the Road to Calvary*, oil on panel, 93 x 80 cm, Madrid, Private Collection and Onofre Falcó, *Procession to Mount Gargano*, oil on panel, 108 x 109 cm, Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Other works which Benito attributed to this Valencian painter include various panels in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia: the *Fall of the Rebel Angels*; *Saint Paul and Saint Dionysius the Areopagite*; the *Martyrdom of Saint Dionysius and his Companions Rusticus and Eleuterius*; a *Crucifixion*; *The Death of the Virgin* (the Virgin surrounded by the Apostles); and a *Virgin and Child with Angels*.[11]

The correct identification of the artist called Vicente Requena the Elder by Benito, emerged with Bonaventura Bassegoda's publication of an unpublished text written by the canon, theoretician, and painter, Vicente Vitoria (Denia, 1650 – Rome, 1709), which included a biography of the Valencian Renaissance painter Joan de Joanes.[12] A passage in Vitoria's manuscript, now in the library of the Palazzo Corsini in Rome, provides the crucial piece of information permitting the identification of the so-called Anonymous Master of Saint Stephen:

> When the Duke of Calabria was in Valencia he ordered that the principal altar in the parish church of Saint Stephen should be painted with the acts and martyrdom of this saint, one part was entrusted to a painter named Falcó and the other to Juanes but when each had completed an episode the Duke wanted to see them, and he said that Falcó had flown very high but that Juanes was a greater eagle, and he wanted him to do all the rest of them, and Falcó's was installed in the upper part of the altar on the left side. For the final episode painted by Juanes for this altar, which is the Burial of Saint Stephen, the Duke wanted the artist to depict himself, and in order to obey that great lord by whom he was so esteemed, Juanes portrayed himself as an old man wearing a collar slightly larger than a cleric's. In the lower part of the altarpiece just above the altar itself he painted the Last Supper of Christ our Lord with his Apostles which served to cover the tabernacle.[13]

In his study of 1995 Bassegoda correctly identified the painter named in the above text as "Falcó" with Onofre Falcó, an artist documented as paying tax on his pictorial activities in Valencia in the so-called "*taches reials*".[14] The proposal to identify the Anonymous Master of Saint Stephen with Onofre Falcó was subsequently adopted by Benito in the exhibitions on Joan de Joanes of 2000.[15]

The panel of the *Ordination of Saint Stephen* is the first in the cycle of scenes on the life of the first Christian martyr, following the account in the Acts of the Apostles 6: 1-7:

> And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. / Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. / Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. / But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." / And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch. / Whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. / And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith."

Wearing a dalmatic, Stephen is shown kneeling as Saint Peter places his hands on him, seated on a throne with the other deacons. Benito suggested that the young man looking directly at the viewer was possibly a self-portrait of the painter.[16] In the background Saint Stephen is depicted with a halo attending to widows and orphans.

As observed, the *Agony in the Garden* and the *Crowning with Thorns* still in San Esteban share stylistic traits with the *Ordination of Saint Stephen*. In his depiction of the garden of Gethsemane, Onofre Falcó followed the account in the Gospel of Saint Luke, showing the kneeling Christ comforted in his suffering by an angel bearing a chalice, the symbol of the Passion. Behind Christ in the middle-ground are the sleeping Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, James and John, as the Gospel accounts record (Matthew 26: 36-46; Mark 14; 32-42; and Luke 22; 39-46). The angel, who appears enveloped in a ray of light, partly illuminates the scene with dramatic contrasts. In a display of painterly bravura, Falcó locates Judas in the background at the entrance to the orchard, accompanied by the armed corps of temple guards bearing torches.

The episode of the crowning with thorns recounted in the Gospels (Matthew 27: 27-30; Mark 15: 17-20; and John 19: 2) completed the predella of the *San Esteban Altarpiece*. The seated Christ, with hands bound, occupies the centre of the composition. Three torturers accompanied by armed soldiers carry out their work, forcing the Crown of Thorns on Christ's head with the help of sticks. Behind the balustrade the landscape with classical ruins is characteristic of Falcó and also occurs in numerous works by Joan de Joanes. Both painters studied Roman archaeology through guidebooks, prints, and drawings.

Fig. 5 / Onofre Falcó, *Penitent Saint Jerome*, oil on panel, 200 x 200 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 6 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Saint Jerome and Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape*, oil on panel, Private Collection.

Fig. 7 / Onofre Falcó, *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion* or *"De la Sangre" ("of the Blood")*, 1538, oil on panel, 292 x 145 cm, Valencia, parish of the Saints Juanes de Estivella.

There is a notable stylistic similarity between the panel of the *Ordination of Saint Stephen* in the Museo Nacional del Prado and a *Penitent Saint Jerome* (fig. 5) which the present author published as by Onofre Falcó, noting that it follows a drawing by Francesco Salviati in the Musée du Louvre.[17] It is possible that drawings by Salviati were introduced into Valencia by his follower Pedro Rubiales who is documented in 1540 working in the city on an altarpiece for the convent of La Puridad.

A previously unpublished panel depicting *Saint Jerome and Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape* (fig. 6) can now be added to the body of works attributed to Onofre Falcó. The Church Father is shown in profile with the same long grey beard seen in the *Penitent Saint Jerome*, and in both cases with his cardinal's hat hanging from a branch. The penitent saint is depicted in the desert with a skull and crucifix, beating his breast with a stone. The open book may allude to the Vulgate, while the lion, from whose paw, according to legend, Jerome removed a thorn, is depicted resting at his feet. Accompanying this saint, an adult John the Baptist holding a simple reed cross is dressed in a camel hair shirt and cloak. With his right hand he points to the lamb from which golden rays emanate: "Here is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Notably characteristic of Falcó's style are John's strong, bare feet defined with the firm line which is present in many of his works.

Crucial for defining the chronology of Falcó's work is the altarpiece of *The Crucifixion* or "*De la Sangre*" ("Of the Blood") in the church of Santos Juanes, Estivella, which is dated 1538 (fig. 7).[18] Like other Valencian examples of the period, it features a three-dimensional figure of Christ against a painted background. The altarpiece depicts the Seven Sacraments, inspired by the work by Fray Bonifacio Ferrer formerly in the Charterhouse of Porta Coeli in Starnina (now Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes). The Sacraments open like windows in a circle on either side of Christ's Cross, with Extreme Unction shown at his feet. On the original frame is an inscription from the penitential Psalm 50 known as the *Miserere mei Deus*. Above Christ in the semi-circular uppermost register, God the Father is depicted with the orb and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The predella has five compartments, with *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* in the centre, and *Saint Francis receiving*

Fig. 8 / Attributed to Onofre Falcó, the Triptych of the *Virgin of the Litanies*, oil and tempera on panel, 46.7 x 37.3 cm, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum.

the Stigmata, *Saint John the Baptist*, *Saint Jerome*, and *Saint Vincent Ferrer* flanking it. Luis Mesa i Reig noted that the coats-of-arms of the Martí of Torres and Vilarrasa families may indicate that the patrons were Miguel García de Aguilar y Çaera and Francesca Margarita de Vilarrasa, uncle and aunt of the Baron of Estivella, Martí de Torres de Aguilar.[19]

Another work, which Antonio Gómez Arribas rightly attributed to Onofre Falcó is the triptych in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, previously ascribed to Joan de Joanes or his circle.[20] When seen open (fig. 8), the altarpiece presents a central panel depicting the *Virgin of the Litanies*, a composition that includes the Loretan symbols with typical scrolls. The two doors depict the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Saint Martin Dividing his Cloak with the Poor*, respectively. With its doors closed (fig. 9) the triptych shows the two Saint Johns full-length (the Baptist with the lamb, and the Evangelist with the chalice).

A further two paired panels of *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint Mammes of Caesarea* (117.8 x 58.4 cm) have also been convincingly attributed to Falcó by Antonio Gómez Arribas. Catalogued as circle of Joan de Joanes, they were sold at Christie's New York on 15 April 2008 (no. 302) and 26 October 2016 (no. 131). The *Saint John the Baptist* (fig. A) is nearly identical to the same figure in the above-mentioned triptych in Hartford. The subject of *Saint Mammes of Caesarea* (fig. B), a third-century martyr, is uncommon in the region of Valencia. The saint is shown next to the lions which he pacified when thrown to them in the arena.

Fig. 9 / Onofre Falcó, *The Saints John*, outer doors of the Triptych of the *Virgin of the Litanies*, oil on panel, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum.

Fig. A / Onofre Falcó, *Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 117.8 x 58.4 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. B / Onofre Falcó, *Saint Mamés of Cesarea*, oil on panel, 117.9 x 58.4 cm, Private Collection.

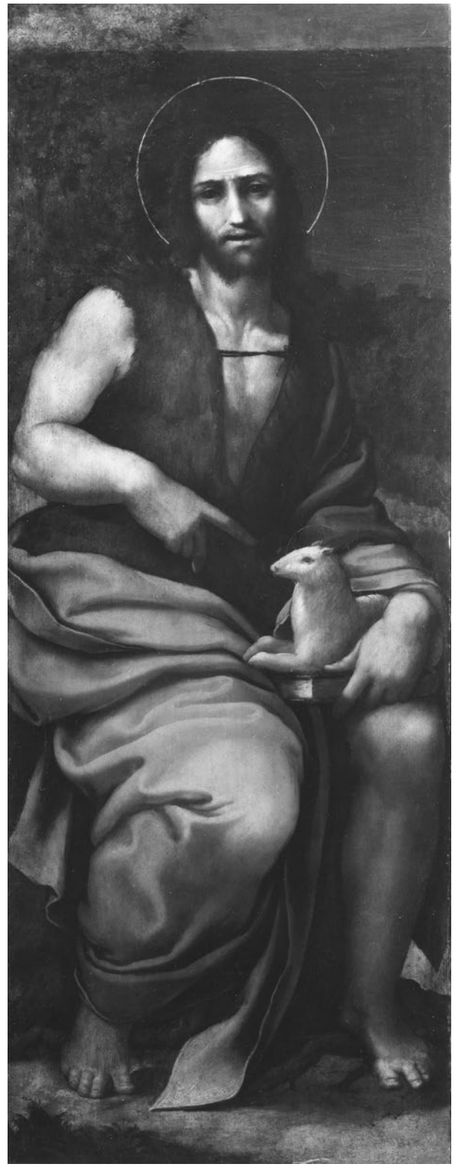


Fig. 10 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Saints Abdon and Sennen*, oil on panel, Photo Hauser y Menet (Información Artística-Junta Tesoro), Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, MCD.

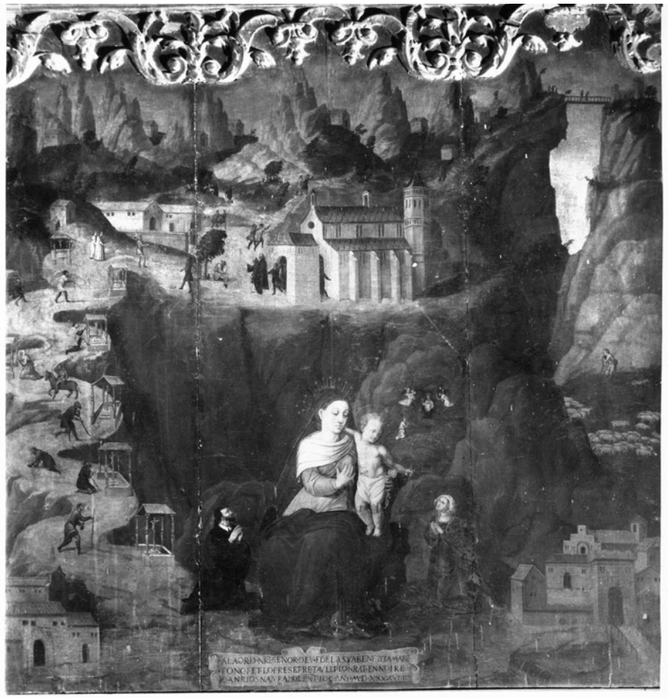
Fig. 11 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, Private Collection.

Fig. 12 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Virgin of Montserrat with Donors*, 1549, oil on panel, Photo Archivo Amattler, Parish of Quart de Poblet (present location unknown).

A painting of *Saints Abdon and Sennen* (fig. 10), wearing turbans and royal crowns and with sceptres, is here attributed to Onofre Falcó on the basis of its particular characteristics. In a photograph in the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España the painting is listed as "Oriental Martyrs", in the collection of the Count of Rivella (no. 17), and given to an anonymous artist.[21] The two plate-shaped haloes (unusual in Falcó's oeuvre) have the same type of burin work as the two panels of *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint Mammes of Caesarea*, for which reason it can be assumed that they were from the same altarpiece about which nothing else is known.

Saint John the Baptist (fig. 11), painted on a panel reused from an earlier altarpiece (as is clear from the fact that there is a painting on the reverse), can also be attributed to Falcó and reveals his characteristic stylistic traits. Shown seated, the Baptist looks at the viewer while pointing with his index figure to his attribute, the Lamb resting on the book.

Another work of particular importance which should now be attributed to Onofre Falcó is the *Virgin of Montserrat with Donors* (fig. 12). It has a cartouche with the date "1549" and an inscription referring to the donor, Nofre Joan Rios: "ALAOR DE NOSTRE SENOR DEV E DE LA SVA BENEYTA MARE/ FONC FET LO PRESET RETAVLE PER LONRAT EN NOFRE/JOAN RIOS NATVRAL DEL PNT LOC ANY MDXXXXVIIII." The work must have disappeared from the parish church of Quart de Poblet during the Civil War and is now only known through a photograph.[22] The Virgin's halo has straight rays terminating in a cross alternating with undulating rays, also present in a *Crucifixion* attributed to Falcó by Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola,[23] and in an *Annunciation* (discussed further below) in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia.



Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer has considerably expanded and clarified the information found in documents and sources referring to Onofre Falcó and members of his Valencian family of artists.[24] Onofre must have trained in the workshop of his father, Nicolás Falcó. Active in the region of Valencia between 1493 and 1530, Nicolás's extant works include the *Puridad* (Valencia, Museo del Bellas Artes) and various paintings on cloth on Marian themes and of episodes from the life of Saint Martin for the chapel of the Armourers' Guild in Valencia Cathedral.[25]

On the basis of a payment for carpentry designs in the chapel of the Kings in the monastery of Santo Domingo (a celebrated commission associated with Mencía de Mendoza), Gómez Ferrer identified Falcó's activity there prior to his completion of the *Crucifixion Altarpiece* for Santos Juanes (dated 1538).[26] In early 1538, Onofre Falcó and Paulo Rigo signed a contract to paint an altarpiece dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary in the monastery of Santo Domingo.[27] A year later Falcó's involvement with various projects at the Hospital General is recorded in several documents: these included painting a curtain on the subject of the Virgin of the Assumption and the Mocking of Christ.[28]

In 1542, Falcó paid a tax of 10 *sueldo,* the so-called "*tacha real,*" when he was living in the parish of San Martín in Valencia.[29] In 1547 he paid another 18 *sueldos*, making him the artist who paid the highest tax in the city which in itself indicates the importance of his studio. The activities of Onofre Falcó's workshop can be gleaned from the inventory of its contents published by Gómez-Ferrer. This also reveals that the artist owned books, portraits and musical instruments.[30]

Figs. D & E / Onofre Falcó, *Mary Magdalene* and *Saint Sebastian*, Photo Moreno, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, MCD.

Fig. 13 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Saint Sebastian*, 65.5 x 26 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 14 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Saint Roch*, 65.5 x 26 cm, Private Collection.

Among the patrons for whom Falcó worked was the nobleman Joan Aguiló y Romeu de Codinats, with whom he evidently forged a friendship, as the former acted as executor of his will.[31] In 1556, on the death of Juan Cardona, Falcó took over the position of painter to the Generalitat (city government) and worked for the city of Valencia on various occasions.[32] On the artist's own death in 1560 the position was assumed by his son, also called Nicolás Falcó. Onofre Falcó's collaboration with Joan de Joanes was not limited to the principal altarpiece in the parish church of San Esteban. We know that in 1552 he prepared various panels with gesso to be painted by Joanes for the predella of the altarpiece in the parish church of San Bartolomé.[33]

It is now possible to identify several other unpublished works by Falcó which offer a more complete understanding of his pictorial corpus; these additions to his oeuvre will further facilitate the identification of other works in the future. Two paintings referred to as *Saint Sebastian* and *A Female Saint*[34] in the Moreno Archive (inv. 16738-B) and described as anonymous are clearly by the artist (figs. D & E). The depiction of the nude *Saint Sebastian*, who is tied to a tree with arrows piercing his body, is of notable beauty. *Mary Magdalene* holds a pot of ointment and the Crown of Thorns which she protects with a cloth. The elongated proportions of the figures, the typical manner of depicting and defining bare feet, the folds of the clothing, and the saints' facial features all reflect Falcó's style. The direction of their gazes and the narrow format of both panels suggest they may have been part of a triptych. Two other wings of a triptych in a private collection depict *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 13) and *Saint Roch* (fig. 14) and can also be attributed to Falcó through their stylistic characteristics.

Fig. 15 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Archangel Saint Michael*, oil on panel, Valencia, Valencia Cathedral.

Fig. 16 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Saint Abdón*, oil on panel, Photo Moreno, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, MCD.

Fig. E / Onofre Falcó, *Saint Senén*, oil on panel, Photo Moreno, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, MCD.

Fig. 17 / Onofre Falcó? Frontispiece, ed. Vincente Rocca, *Historia en la qual se trata de la origen y guerras que han tenido los Turcos*, 1556.

In his catalogue of Vicent Macip, Fernando Benito associated four panels of *Saint Benedict*, *Saint Christopher*, *Saint James the Apostle*, and the *Archangel Michael* with the artist.[35] Formerly in Valencia Cathedral, only the panel of the Archangel appears to survive (fig. 15). For the present author, however, it should be attributed, along with the other three, to Onofre Falcó. The tall, narrow format of these panels suggest that they were the folding doors of a portable oratory.

Two paired panels formerly in the Siravegne collection depict *Saint Abdon* (fig. 16) and *Saint Sennen* (fig. E). Attributed by José Albi to Joan de Joanes,[36] for the present author they should be returned to Onofre Falcó on stylistic grounds. The two saints, who were highly venerated in the Valencian region for their protection against hailstones, were popularly known as the "*santos de la piedra*" or "saints of stone". As in a panel of these saints by Joan de Joanes in a private collection in Valencia,[37] here they each have a crown, sceptre and halo and are esteemed with cloths of honour. Saint Abdon bears a portrait of the Emperor Charles V, as noted by Angulo in 1944.[38]

It is very likely that Onofre Falcó had associations with some of the Valencian printing houses, as Joan de Joanes did with the printer Juan de Mey. It seems possible to identify Falcó's hand in the design for the frontispiece of a book published in 1556 entitled *Historia en la qual se trata de la origen y guerras que han tenido los Turcos […] Recopilado por Vicente Rocca* (fig. 17).

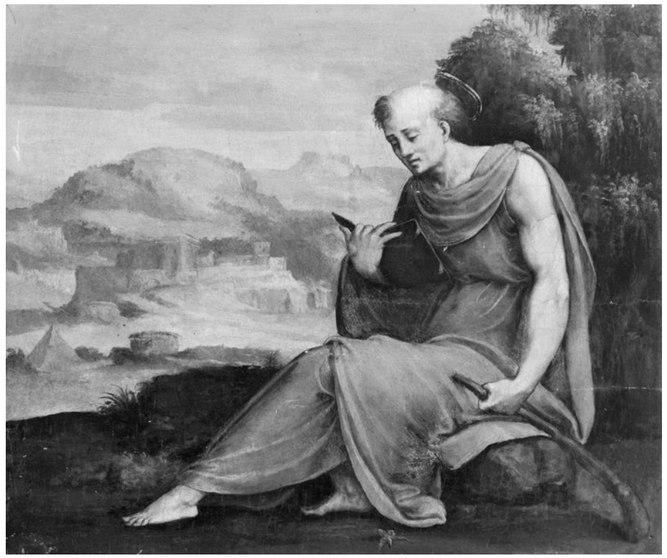


Fig. 18 / Onofre Falcó, *Annunciation* (present location unknown).

Fig. 19 / Onofre Falcó, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (present location unknown).

Fig. F / Onofre Falcó, "*Saint*" (perhaps corresponds with apostle Santiago el Menor in the countryside), Photo Moreno, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, MCD.

Fig. 20 / Onofre Falcó, *Virgin with Child*, oil on panel, 43.5 x 34.5 cm, Madrid, Private Collection.

Sixteenth-century Valencia saw the production of a number of paintings of circular format, including examples by Joan de Joanes: *The Visitation* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Agnes* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado); *The Annunciation* in the Fernando Durán collection; and the busts of *Saint Paul* and *Saint Peter* in the *San Antón, Santa Bárbara, y Santos Médicos t* in the parish church of Onda.[39] Other examples appear in Falcó's oeuvre, including the two paintings published here for the first time depicting *The Annunciation* (fig. 18) and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 19).

Another work that can be attributed to the artist was formerly in the Argudín collection and is known from a photograph in the Moreno Archive (inv. 03017-A). Captioned "Saint", it may depict an Apostle (James the Lesser) in a landscape (fig. F). Absorbed in his reading, the saint is shown seated and holding a club in a landscape with ruins that include the Pyramid of Cestius in Rome, which Falcó included in other works, as did Joan de Joanes.

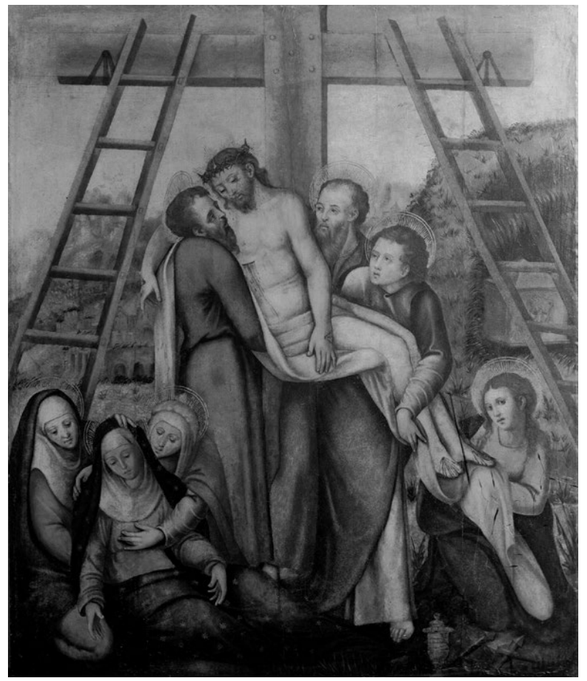
Falcó must have produced numerous easel paintings in order to meet the demand for private devotional works depicting the Holy Family or the Virgin and Child, as in the case of his contemporary Joan de Joanes. Notable examples among Falcó's works of this kind are an unpublished *Virgin and Child* (fig. 20) formerly in the collection assembled by Antonio de la Cuadra Echeveste in the mid-nineteenth century. It includes a typical landscape with blue-toned mountains and classical ruins with obelisks.

Fig. 21 / Onofre Falcó, *Virgin with Child*, oil on panel, 77.5 x 65.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. G / Onofre Falcó, *Virgin with Child in Clouds with Angels*, Private Collection.

Fig. 22 / Onofre Falcó, *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape*, Private Collection.

Fig. H / Onofre Falcó, *Holy Bishop*, Private Collection.



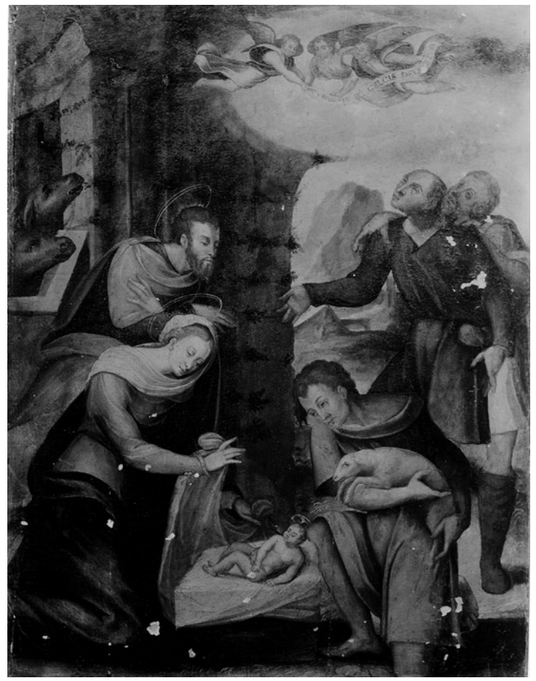


Fig. 23 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *The Descent from the Cross*, oil on panel, 121 x 100 cm, Valencia, Generalidad Valenciana, Arxiu Gràfic de la Conselleria d'Educació, Investigació, Cultura i Esport.

Fig. I / Onofre Falcó, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on panel, Valencia, Generalidad Valenciana, Arxiu Gràfic de la Conselleria d'Educació, Investigació, Cultura i Esport.

Gómez Arribas has also correctly attributed to Falcó a *Virgin and Child* (fig. 21).[40] This work was formerly attributed to Ambrogio Bergognone and appeared at auction with Millon in Paris (20 June 2014, no. 23) with an attribution to Joan de Joanes, supported by Ximo Company. The character of the folds of fabric and the landscape clearly reflect Onofre Falcó's most typical and personal forms. Gómez Arribas has also reasonably attributed to Onofre Falcó another work exhibiting these same characteristics: notably close to the *Virgin of the Rosary* in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia (panel, 160 x 144 cm; inv. 509) is the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (panel, 71 x 59 cm), attributed to the circle of Vicente Macip in the catalogue of the Fernando Durán auction (9 May 1997, lot 33).[41] Another painting of the *Virgin and Child between Clouds with Angels* (fig. G), can also be given to Falcó for stylistic reasons.

A pair of panels depicting *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape* (fig. 22) and a *Bishop Saint* (fig. H), which seem to have been in the Navarro collection in Valencia, appear to reflect the highly individual and distinctive style of Onofre Falcó. Both saints have a double-ringed halo with rays of a type found in other works by this artist. However, these are only known to the current author from a photograph. The Sanchis Archive in the Arxiu Gràfic de la Conselleria d'Educació, Investigació, Cultura i Esport includes an image of a *Descent from the Cross* which can be attributed to Falcó (fig. 23). The background includes classical remains that recall the ruins of the Palatine Hill in Rome. The panel was offered at auction with Fernando Durán on 15 April 1999 (no. 87) as "Valencian School 16th century". Another attribution to Falcó that can be made from an image in the Sanchis Archive (C/290) is an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. I), which has a luminous area at the top with three angels holding a scroll.

Fig. 24 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on panel, Diputación de Valencia, (deposited as anonymous).

To this should be added another panel of the same subject (fig. 24), also only known to the present author from a photograph. It belongs to the Provincial Council of Valencia and is on deposit as an anonymous work at the Hospital General.

The stores of the Museo de Bellas Artes in Valencia and the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona have yielded various works that can now be given to Falcó. These include an *Annunciation* (fig. 25) in the Valencia museum (panel, 95 x 76 cm; inv. 543) which was possibly a pendant to an *Adoration of the Shepherds* of similar size (inv. 2360). Both may have been part of the altarpiece documented as by Falcó in the monastery of Santo Domingo in Valencia depicting Our Lady of the Rosary and the Seven Joys of the Virgin.

The museum in Barcelona has two further works,[42] as well as one by Onofre's father Nicolás Falcó of *Christ on the Cross with Saint John, the Virgin and Mary Magdalene* (panel, 94 x 75 cm); this latter work entered the museum with the Domènec Teixidó bequest in 1961 (MNAC: 0691106-000) and was formerly catalogued as anonymous. A further work is a previously unpublished altarpiece that can now be returned to his son Onofre. This is the principal part of an altarpiece (160.5 x 211 x 22 cm) on deposit from the City Council of Barcelona (1939) which depicts *Saint Christopher and Saint Catherine of Alexandria* and in the centre *The Holy Spirit with Musical Angels* (MNAC: 028430-001), as well as the accompanying predella with the *Adoration of the Magi*, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* and *Saints Onuphrius* and *Anthony of Padua* (55 x 211 x 16 cm; MNAC: 028430-002).

Finally, a series of works that appeared at auction in recent years catalogued as anonymous can now be given to Onofre Falcó. These are an *Adoration of the Shepherds with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (fig. J) in a landscape with ruins and the Pyramid of Cestius, sold at Christie's Iberica, 25 May 1999, no. 625, Ca'n Puig and Castillo de Bendinat, Mallorca; the *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (fig. K), sold at Alcalá Subastas in October 2010, no. 53; and *Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child* (fig.L), auctioned at Kunsthaus Lempertz on 17 November 2007, lot 1309 (94 x 69 cm).

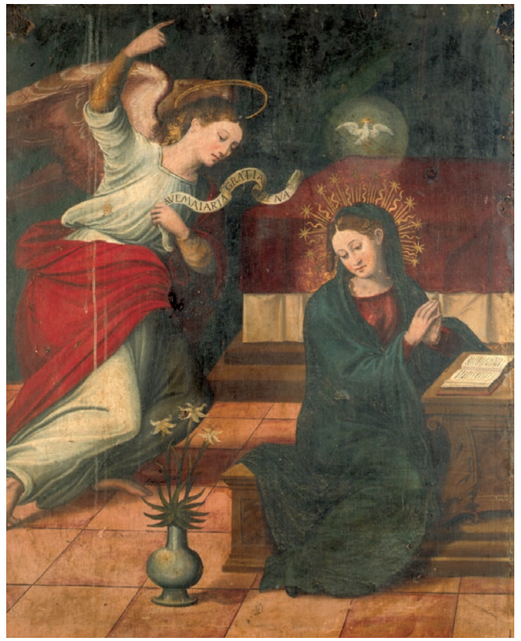


Fig. 25 / Onofre Falcó (attributed here), *Annunciation*, oil on panel, 95 x 76 cm, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes.

Fig. K / Onofre Falcó, *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 54 x 76.5 cm, Alcalá Subastas, October 2010, no. 53.

Fig. J / Onofre Falcó, *Adoration of the Shepherds with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 71.7 x 61.3 cm, Christie's Iberica, 25 May 1999, no. 625.

Fig. L / Onofre Falcó, *Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child*, oil on panel, 94 x 69 cm, Kunsthaus Lempertz, 17 November 2007, lot 1309.

NOTES

1. See José Albi, *Joan de Joanes y su círculo artístico*, 3 vols. (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1979) II, pp. 142-181 and 427-428; Fernando Benito Doménech, "Vicente Requena el Viejo, colaborador de Joan de Joanes en las tablas de San Esteban del Museo del Prado," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 19 (1986): pp. 13-28; Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, "Nuevas noticias sobre el retablo de la vida de San Esteban," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 34 (1995): pp. 11-14.
2. Fernando Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión del artista y su obra* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2000), and Fernando Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Un maestro del Renacimiento*, (Boadilla del Monte: Santander Central Hispano, 2000).
3. Albi, *Joan de Joanes*, pp. 427-428.
4. Benito, "Vicente *Requena el Viejo*," pp. 13-28.
5. Fernando Benito Doménech, *Los Ribalta y la pintura valenciana de su tiempo* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1987), pp. 66-83; Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola, "Vicente Requena (1556-1605), un pintor valenciano de las postrimerías del Renacimiento," *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* (2015): pp. 51-72.
6. Barón de Alcahalí, *Diccionario biográfico de artistas valencianos* (Valencia: Imprenta de Federico Domenech, 1897), pp. 254-255.
7. Benito, "*Vicente Requena el Viejo*," p. 18.
8. Benito, "*Vicente Requena el Viejo*," pp. 18-19.
9. Albi, *Joan de Joanes*, pp. 427-428.
10. The panel in Pau can be identified in the catalogue as number 131 "A painting on panel depicting a procession. 15th century," belonging to Felipe Jacinto Sala.
11. Benito, "*Vicente Requena el Viejo*," pp. 21-23.
12. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas, "Vicente *Vitoria* (1650-1709) primer historiador de Joan de Joanes," *Locus Amoenus* (1995): pp. 165-172.
13. Bassegoda, "Vicente *Vitoria*," p. 168.
14. Bassegoda, "Vicente *Vitoria*," p. 169.
15. Benito, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 148-161 and Benito, *Joan de Joanes. Un maestro*, pp. 180-183.
16. Benito, "*Vicente Requena el Viejo*," p. 28.
17. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 1642, see José Gómez Frechina, "Ecos italianos en la pintura valenciana de los siglos XV y XVI," in *La impronta florentina y flamenca en Valencia. Pintura de los siglos XIV-XVI*, exh. cat. (Valencia: Consorcio de Museos de la Comunitat Valenciana, 2007), p. 47. See also Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola, "Una tabla de San Jerónimo atribuible al Discípulo joanesco de San Esteban, identificado con el pintor valenciano Onofre Falco (…1539-1560…)," *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* (2009): pp. 411-422, and Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola, "Onofre Falcó, un misterioso pintor en la Valencia del siglo XVI," in *Pintura dels segles XV i XVI a la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Beautriu Navarro i Buenaventura (Xàtiva: Ulleye, 2011), pp. 40-41 and 60-61.
18. José Gómez Frechina, "Retablo de Fray Bonifacio Ferrer," in *La memoria recobrada. Pintura valenciana recuperada de los siglos XIV-XVI*, eds. Feranado Benito Domenech and José Gómez Frechina (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2005), pp. 44-47, and José Gómez Frechina, "Retablo de la Crucifixión," in *La Gloria del Barroco*, exh. cat. (Valencia: Fundación de la Luz de las Imágenes, 2009), pp. 368-369.
19. Luis Mesa i Reig, "Levante," 7 March 2010.
20. Antonio Gómez Arribas, *En busca de Onofre Falcó. El anónimo maestro de San Esteban* (Madrid: A. Arribas, 2015), pp. 36 and 111; Antonio Gómez Arribas and Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola, *Biografía y Catálogo razonado del pintor valenciano Onofre Falcó* (Madrid: Forthcoming 2018), pp. 47-50. I would like to thank Antonio Gómez Arribas for allowing me to read his book before its publication.
21. Gómez Arribas, *En busca de Onofre Falcó*, pp. 35 and 103-104; Gómez Arribas and Hernández Guardiola, *Biografía*, pp. 63-66.
22. Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, Archivo Información Artística-Junta Tesoro, inv. AJP-0700.
23. Más Archive, series G/V, no. 124.
24. Gómez Arribas and Hernández Guardiola, *Biografía*, pp. 73-81.
25. Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, "Los Falcó, una familia de pintores en la Valencia del siglo XVI," *Locus Amoenus* 11 (2011-2012): pp. 79-96.
26. Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, "La capilla de armeros de la catedral de Valencia," *Ars Longa* 20 (2011): pp. 69-82.
27. Gómez-Ferrer, "Los Falcó, una familia de pintores," pp. 87-88.
28. Josep Martínez Rondán, *El retaule de la resurrecció de la Seu* (Sagunt: J. Martinez, 1998), p. 108.
29. Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, *Arquitectura en la Valencia del siglo XVI: El Hospital General y sus artífices* (Valencia: Albatros, 1998), p. 344.
30. Miguel Falomir Faus, *La pintura y los pintores en la Valencia del Renacimiento (1472-1620)* (Valencia: Consell Valencià de Cultura, 1994), pp. 99-101.
31. Gómez-Ferrer, "Los Falcó, una familia de pintores,", pp.90-92.
32. Gómez-Ferrer, "Los Falcó, una familia de pintores," pp. 89-90.
33. Gómez-Ferrer, "Los Falcó, una familia de pintores," p. 90.
34. Manuel González Martí, *Pintors Valencians de la Renaixença, Joanes: L'enigma de la seua vida* (Valencia: Sociedad Valenciana de Publicaciones, 1928), pp. 126-127.
35. Fernando Benito Doménech and José Luis Galdón, *Vicente Macip (h.1475-1550)* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997), pp. 190-191.
36. Albi, *Joan de Joanes*, I, pp. 484-487.
37. Benito, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 54-55.
38. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, "Pintores cordobeses del Renacimiento," *Archivo Español de Arte* (1944): p. 237.
39. Benito, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 36, 120-123 and 205.
40. Gómez Arribas, *En busca de Onofre Falcó*, pp. 74-75 and 115; Gómez Arribas and Hernández Guardiola, *Biografía y Catálogo*, pp. 101-103.
41. Gómez Arribas, *En busca de Onofre Falcó*, pp. 32 and 114; Gómez Arribas and Hernández Guardiola, *Biografía y Catálogo razonado*, pp. 97-99.
42. I would like to thank Rafael Cornudella and Cèsar Favà for all their assistance in providing access to the stores of the MNAC.

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***Due donne virili:* Laura Martinozzi, Angelica Kauffman, and a rediscovered drawing by Andrea Lanzani**
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Fig. 5 Amanda Bradley
Milan
Fig. 8 Amanda Bradley
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