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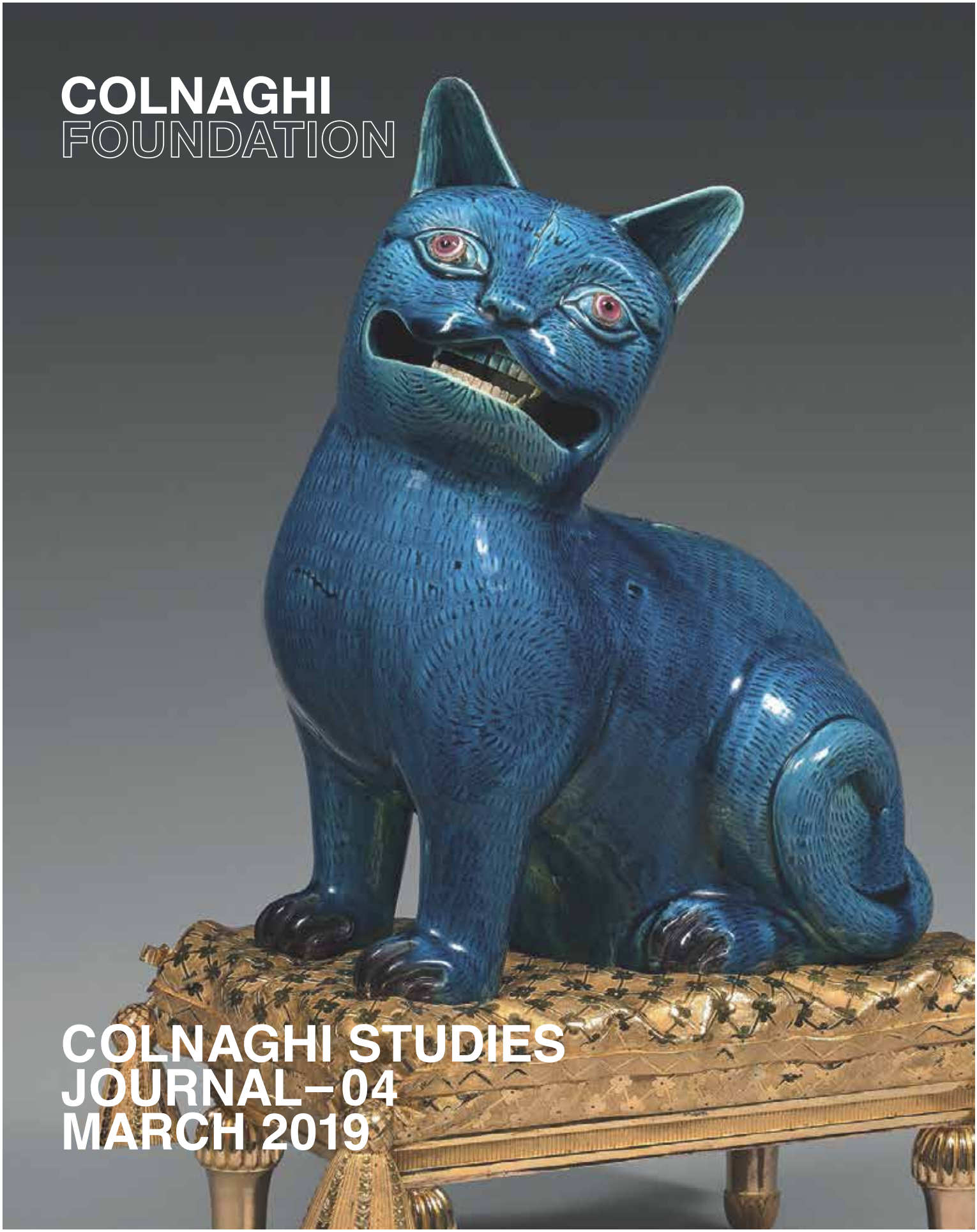

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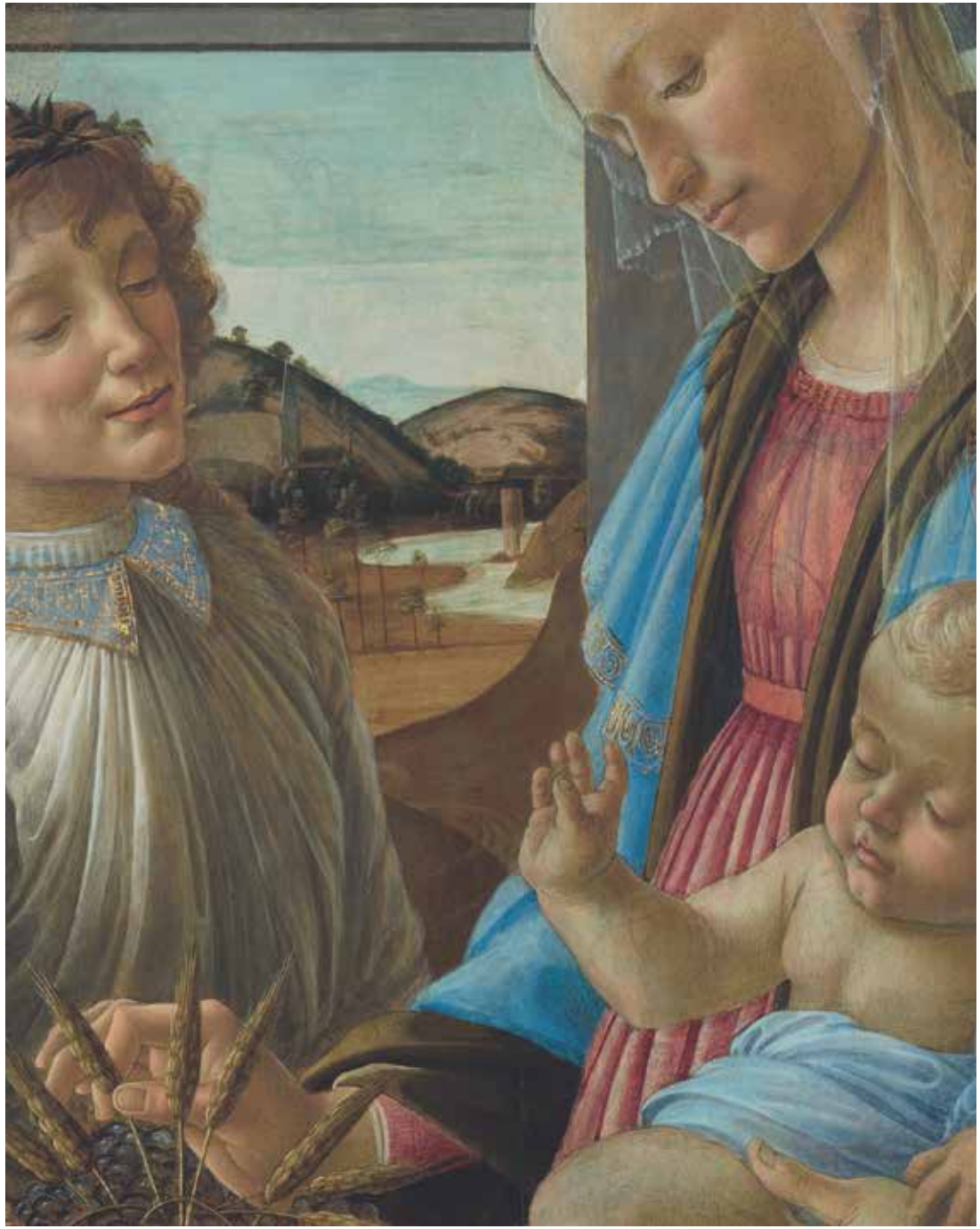

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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL—04

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Fig. 1 / Cecco Bravo, *The Wedding of the Gods*, copper ovate, 38 x 56 cm, Private Collection.

New light on Cecco Bravo, a Medici painter of mythology and landscape

FRANCESCA BALDASSARI

Modern scholarship on Francesco Montelatici (1601-1661), known as Cecco Bravo on account of his mastery of the brush, is extensive. Through the insightful and pioneering studies of Gerhard Ewald in the 1960s[1] and the research of several scholars who followed suit, the artist has become recognized as one of the most original and eccentric talents of the seventeenth century.

Key publications that have enabled us to recognize the full range of his abilities include the 1962 monograph by Anna Maria Rosa Masetti (albeit now somewhat outdated)[2] and the catalogues of two exhibitions in Florence dedicated to the artist: the first in 1970, at the Palazzo Strozzi, included some fifty drawings from the Biblioteca Marucelliana and the Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi;[3] the second at the Casa Buonarroti in 1999, assembled nearly sixty drawings and paintings from private collections and museums worldwide.[4] In addition, the artist was well represented by a comprehensive selection of his work in the major survey of the Florentine Seicento at the Palazzo Strozzi in 1986-1987, an exhibition which brought him recognition among an international audience.[5]

Cecco Bravo worked mostly in Tuscany, where his legacy includes a large number of frescoes (in which he demonstrated a typically Florentine mastery of the technique), several altarpieces, a small quantity of paintings in the collections of the local nobility (e.g., the Counts of Bardi), and numerous other works in the houses of wealthy Florentines. The artist ended his career in December 1661 in Innsbruck at the court of Ferdinand Charles of Habsburg and Anna de' Medici, the Archdukes of Tyrol, having moved there in the summer of the previous year, when Leopold de' Medici (1617-1675) recommended him to his sister Anna as a replacement for Justus Sustermans.

Cecco Bravo's early works are characterized by an experimental approach. Based at different times on Andrea del Sarto, Pontormo, and Rosso Fiorentino, they also recall the teaching of his master Giovanni Bilivert and the drawings of Jacques Callot, all interpreted in the artist's own eccentric idiom. In 1638 he was summoned by the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici to fresco the two large lunettes in the present day "Salone dei Argenti" in Palazzo Pitti. The resultant works – *Lorenzo Receiving Apollo and the Muses* and *Lorenzo the Magnificent the Bearer of Peace* – reveal a style that was by then already well formed and distinctive, with the more expressionistic mood of his early output replaced by a new elegance echoing the stylistic refinement of Francesco Furini.

Only a small percentage of the easel paintings by Cecco Bravo mentioned in the archival sources are now traceable. The inventory of goods in the artist's house on via de' Pilastri in Florence, drawn up in the spring of 1660 before his departure for Innsbruck, lists some 163 paintings by him, with subjects specified and dimensions often included. Of these only twenty or so have been identified.[6]

The rediscovery of an important easel painting by Cecco Bravo is therefore of particular consequence for the scholarship on the artist. Previously considered

lost, the work in question is of outstanding quality and in very good condition; it was certainly produced for a private patron and – as will be discussed below – can be linked to a specific event which allows us to date it to 1637. As such, it is a precious example of an early picture which enhances our understanding of Cecco Bravo's initial phase of activity, for which no other easel paintings have yet been identified.

The rediscovered work is painted on an oval-shaped copper support and depicts The *Wedding of Venus and Vulcan* (fig. 1);[7] it can be identified with a "*Sposalizio degli dei*" (*Wedding of the Gods)* with the same dimensions and format, also on copper, which was recorded by Ulderigo Medici in 1880 in the picture gallery of Prince Tommaso Corsini in the family palace on via di Parione in Florence.[8] The picture was already *in loco* in 1842, when Federico Fantozzi noted a "*Sposalizio degli dei*" by Cecco Bravo in the Galleria Corsini in his guide to the city.[9] The Corsini inventories preserved in the family archive allow us to trace the presence of the painting in the collection from 1711, when it was in the apartment of the Marquis, later Cardinal Neri Corsini (1614-1678), on the *piano nobile* of the Florentine palace.[10] In all subsequent inventories until the death of Tommaso Corsini, 6th Prince of Sismano (1835-1919), the painting is recorded in the same wing of the palace, which is connected to the main hall by the gallery frescoed in 1650-1654 by Alessandro Rosi.

The scene in the newly discovered painting is set in a wood which opens up to create space for the bride and groom. Cupid, descending from the sky with Venus in her swan-drawn chariot following, takes aim with his arrow. To the left of the couple presides Hymen, the god of marriage. In the right foreground a centaur armed with arrows stands just behind a satyr and a nymph; on the opposite side more nymphs and satyrs are seated in various poses,with the banquet of the gods sketched in beyond them.

The creation of the scene follows no sense of proportion or rule of perspective. In a typical theatrical staging (with lateral scenes, central action, and apparition above), the artist combines various mythological stories seen from different viewpoints with everyday details: for instance the lute player in contemporary dress with a broad-brimmed hat, and the two young figures embracing, shown from behind at the right edge.

Within the context of Tuscan art, this type of interpretation of the myth recalls the eccentric works of Piero di Cosimo, an artist gifted with a similarly original and imaginative approach. The small, sketch-like figures and colours dissolved by light are, however, closer to the paintings of the Ferrarese Dosso Dossi, whose works Cecco Bravo could have seen in the collections of the Medici and other Florentine nobles. It is also possible that he actually visited Ferrara during a supposed trip to the North of Italy before 1650, although this seems highly unlikely given the succession of commissions and payments that the artist received at this time for frescoes and altarpieces painted in Tuscany.

The fluid, transparent impastos in the *Wedding of Venus and Vulcan*, evident in the veils of bluish mist in the sky and the billowing folds of the figures' robes, evoke the *sfumato* of Leonardo. Cecco Bravo would have been familiar with this technique through the works of Furini, a painter renowned for the sensuality of his art and to whom the younger artist clearly pays homage with the inclusion of the two embracing nymphs in floating veils who sit facing each other on the far left.

If the elegant poses of the gods and the satyr on the right dressed in a sumptuous fur seem inconceivable without the precedent of Furini, then Cecco Bravo's own signature can be seen in the physiognomies of the figures and the agitated brushstrokes in the trees and landscape (which occupies as much of the composition as the staffage). The artist's interest in landscape can be linked to Giulio Parigi's drawing classes at the Academy, which presented "a new and beautiful way of creating with the pen the softest landscapes,"[11] and more specifically to the atmospheric landscape drawings of Stefano della Bella (1610-1664),

Fig. 2 / Stefano della Bella, *Nocturnal Carousel*, Florence, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze.

particularly those now in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi.[12] It also relates to the paintings of Filippo Napoletano in Florence at the time, rather than the wild landscapes (with gnarled, intertwined trees) introduced to the city by Salvator Rosa in the 1640s.

The work most probably dates towards the end of 1630s, when the artist abandoned the somewhat exaggerated and expressive style of his early career, still evident in his Casa Buonarroti frescoes, executed in 1636. In this next stage of his activity, he began producing works that are more balanced in composition and lighter in palette, in close observation of Furini's manner. Cecco Bravo subsequently made a decisive move towards a more idealized type of painting which grew progressively more expressionistic in tone following his trip to Venice in 1649-1650.

The refinement and sophistication of the subject adds further support to the dating proposed here. In the present author's opinion, the choice of this scene was directly linked to Alfonso Parigi's staging on 8 July 1637 of *The Wedding of the Gods*, choreographed by Agnolo Ricci. Written in musical verse by Abbot Giovanni Carlo Coppola (Gallipoli, 1599 – Muro Lucano, 1652), the play was performed for the first time on this occasion in the courtyard of Palazzo Pitti, during the official celebrations of the wedding (two months earlier) between Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici and his cousin Vittoria della Rovere, Princess of Urbino.

The extravagant wedding celebrations began on 5 July and continued for more than ten days before concluding with a grand dance on horseback – a scene immortalized by Stefano della Bella in an oval painting, *Nocturnal Carousel*, on black stone, datable

Fig. 3 / Vincenzo Mannozzi, *Inferno*, Florence, Gallerie Fiorentine.

Fig. 4 / Stefano della Bella, *Destruction of Troy*, Florence, Gallerie Fiorentine.

to the same year of 1637 (fig. 2), now in the collection of the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze.[13] The small, rapidly sketched figures in the works of Della Bella, as in *Ruggiero Freeing Angelica from the Ogre* (Montecatini Terme, Pistoia, Private Collection),[14] are similar to those in the small-scale paintings of Cecco Bravo, indicating a proximity in date between the pictures and a strong stylistic connection between the two artists at this time.

In April 1637, Giovan Carlo de' Medici commissioned from Della Bella a series of engravings related to the performance of *The Wedding of the Gods* and the *Nocturnal Carousel*, which were subsequently assembled in booklets and distributed in 2,000 copies after the marriage of Ferdinando II.[15] Vincenzo Mannozzi's oval painting on black stone of the *Inferno* is directly inspired by the stage sets used for Coppola's production of *The Wedding of the Gods* and forms a pendant to Della Bella's *Destruction of Troy*, both probably commissioned by Don Lorenzo de' Medici in 1637 and now in the Gallerie Fiorentine (figs. 3 & 4).[16] Several members of the grand ducal family seem to have participated in the wedding celebrations through various artistic initiatives, involving a variety of artists, which were connected to the staging of Coppola's play.

The play recounts four of the most famous stories of the loves of the gods: two in the sky (Jupiter and Juno, and Venus and Vulcan), one in the sea (Neptune and Amphitrite), and one in the Underworld (Pluto and Persephone). In the present work, Cecco Bravo has represented the ninth scene of the fifth act, portraying Venus on high in her swan-drawn chariot, and then, following her descent, dancing with her spouse Vulcan as Jupiter gives the order for the gods to commence the celebrations. In the *Relazione delle nozze degli dei*, printed for the Grand Duchess Vittoria della Rovere in 1637, Francesco Rondinelli (Florence, 1589-1665) writes:

> At the end the Chorus of Venus emerged […], with the goddess following on a chariot drawn by swans […] and when Jupiter commanded the gods to celebrate one could immediately see a spark of joy fly through the scene, whereupon everyone, radiant with happiness, began to dance and sing, and one could feel in this harmony that they, in knowing they were full of unaccustomed gaiety, wanted the mortals to enjoy their merriment, because it is right to walk about and share with them…[17]

If the interpretation of the iconography proposed here is correct, then 1637 is a secure *terminus post quem* for the work. This dating is supported further by Montelatici's involvement in the frescoing of Palazzo Pitti, which was gradually being modernized and decorated following the marriage of Ferdinando II to the Princess of Urbino. At this time, the palace was increasingly becoming the Medici family's residence, with apartments for not only the grand dukes (for summer on the ground floor and winter on the first), but also for Ferdinando's brothers: Cardinal Carlo (1595-1666), Prince Don Lorenzo (1599-1648), and the youngest two, Giovan Carlo (1611-1663) and Leopoldo (1617-1675).

Fig. 5 / Cecco Bravo, *Landscape with a Gentleman and Peasant*, Private Collection.

Fig. 6 / Stefano della Bella, *Landscape with Large Trees and Figures*, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi.

From October 1637 to June 1638, Cecco Bravo executed the decoration of the mezzanine with an *Allegory of Prudence, Glory, and Time*,[18] and, in two further phases, from autumn 1638 to the following summer, he painted both of the large lunettes on the west wall of the summer apartments on the ground floor (the present day Salone degli Argenti).

Given that the *Wedding of Venus and Vulcan* is recorded in the inventories of the Corsini family from 1711 onwards, one may rightly ask if it was commissioned from the artist by Marquis Bartolomeo di Filippo Corsini (1622-1685),[19] who was responsible for the rebuilding of the palazzo on via di Parione and for setting up the magnificent family picture gallery.

However, Bartolomeo's young age at the time mitigates against the idea: he was still studying and under the tutelage of his mother Maddalena Macchiavelli, who had been widowed just a year before. Bartolomeo's account books begin in the 1650s, and there are no inventories of his collection to support this hypothesis. One attractive theory would be that it was a gift to him from his dear friend Vittoria della Rovere (1622-1694), who was the same age and, like him, profoundly religious.

Considering Vittoria's youthful age at the time Cecco Bravo painted the work, it seems more likely that it was commissioned by another member of the Medici family, possibly Grand Duke Ferdinando himself, an admirer of the artist and of the poet Coppola,[20] who was by then well established at the Medici court, as demonstrated by his friendships with the scientist Galileo Galilei and Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici, a great lover of the theatre.[21] In this case, the present *Wedding of Venus and Vulcan* would have entered the Corsini collection at a later date, either given by the Medici or purchased by the family.

This newly rediscovered painting thus fills an important gap among the numerous works by Cecco Bravo that are recorded but now lost,[22] and is also a significant addition to the small number of works on copper by the artist that have survived. Among these is a later picture formerly with Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, London, a *Tobias and the Angel*, whose flickering, scattered lighting and broken brushstrokes are typical of works by the artist in the 1650s.[23]

To this extremely small group of extant works on copper by Cecco can also now be added an exquisite *Landscape with a Gentleman and Peasant* (fig. 5).[24] Depicted as the sun begins to set, the scene is enlivened by small details delicately rendered with the tip of the brush. The painting is in excellent condition, highlighting the artist's abilities in the genre, whether working on a small panel or a mid-sized canvas.

Fig. 7 / Cecco Bravo, *Landscape*, Private Collection.

Fig. 8 / Cecco Bravo, *Landscape*, Private Collection.

Fig. 9 / Cecco Bravo, *Landscape with Figures*, ca. 1635-1640, oil on canvas, 79.7 x 62.2 cm, Philadelphia, The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The figures are immersed in a landscape made up of trees painted in broad parallel curves, similar to those in the drawings of Stefano della Bella (fig. 6). Beyond the receding river in the distance is a mill with large paddles, masterfully rendered with touches of white, as are the boatman who dips his oar in the water and the swallows flying across the sky. The way in which the spinone on the far right is painted – its "skeleton" rendered with great economy in a few bold brushstrokes – is strikingly modern. Cecco's authorship is also evident in the figure of the peasant, his facial features (so typical of the artist) concealed below the wide-brimmed hat as he strains to carry his, or maybe his master's, bag.

The copper support intensifies the red of the beret and blue of the cloak of the gentleman, who recalls the elongated figures of Cecco's master Bilivert, albeit executed with an energy redolent of Filippo Napoletano and Jacques Callot. The light palette and obvious affinities with the *Wedding of Venus and Vulcan* would suggest a dating for the work to the end of the 1630s, shortly before a pair of stylistically comparable panels in a private collection (figs. 7 & 8). A dating to the 1640s should, however, be advanced for the *Landscape with Figures* on canvas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 9), a work that is difficult to imagine Cecco painting without having seen in person the shadowy and dramatic landscapes painted by Rosa in Florence from the 1640s onwards.

Returning to the *Wedding of Venus and Vulcan*, it is important to emphasize, in conclusion, the originality of Cecco Bravo's interpretation of the subject. This attests to the exceptional skills of the artist as a narrator-composer of stories, fully immersed as he was in the world of theatre, as indeed were the majority of his fellow artists in Florence at the time.

NOTES

1. The German scholar Gerhard Ewald (1927-1997), formerly Director of the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart and later Director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence (1981-1992), contributed significantly to the advances made in the study not only of Cecco Bravo, but also Florentine painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In chronological order his publications on the artist are: Gerhard Ewald, "Hitherto Unknown Works by Cecco Bravo," *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960): pp. 343-352; "Addenda to Cecco Bravo," *The Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961): pp. 347-351; "Inediti di Cecco Bravo," *Antichità Viva* 1 (1962): pp. 34-39; and "Unbekannte Werke von Cecco Bravo, Sebastiano Mazzoni und Pietro Ricchi," *Pantheon* 22 (1964): pp. 387-399.
2. See Anna Rosa Masetti, *Cecco Bravo pittore toscano del Seicento* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1962). The monograph is a reworking of the scholar's thesis, defended in 1958 at the Università di Pisa (supervisor Carlo L. Ragghianti).
3. Piero Bigongiari and Giuseppe Cantelli, *Disegni di Cecco Bravo*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1970).
4. Anna Barsanti and Roberto Contini, eds., *Cecco Bravo Firenze 1601- Innsbruck 1661 Pittore senza regola*, exh. cat. (Florence: Casa Buonarroti, 1999).
5. For the biography and entries on the paintings and drawings by the artist, see Anna Barsanti in *Il Seicento fiorentino. Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*, 3 vols., exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1986), I (*Pittura*), nos. 1.190-1.200, pp. 354-373; II (*Disegno/Incisione/Scultura/Arti minori*), nos. 2.272-2.282, pp. 308-316; III (*Biografie*), pp. 48-51.
6. The valuable documents from the Montelatici archive were first published in Anna Barsanti, "Nuove fonti per Cecco Bravo pittore fiorentino," *Granducato* 2 (1976): pp. 33-38; and subsequently published in full in Anna Matteoli, "Documenti su Cecco Bravo," *Rivista d'arte* 42 (1990): pp. 95-146.
7. The copper measures 38 x 56 cm.
8. Ulderigo Medici, *Catalogo della Galleria dei Principi Corsini in Firenze* (Florence: Tipografico Mariani, 1880), no. 302, p. 90. The work left Palazzo Corsini after 1919, the year of the death of Tommaso, 6th Prince of Sismano (1835-1919), who had maintained the collection as described by Ulderigo Medici in the family palace on via del Parione. An important political figure and major patron of the arts, Tommaso Corsini bequeathed to the Italian State the palace in Rome including the art collection, now known as the Galleria Nazionali di Arte Antica di Roma-Galleria Corsini.
9. Federico Fantozzi, *Nuova guida ovvero descrizione storico - artistica- critica della città e contorni di Firenze* (Florence: G. e fratelli Ducci, 1842), p. 563.
10. See the Archivio Corsini, Florence (now held at the Villa le Corti, San Casciano in Val di Pesa), room 15, bay 6, shelf 6, insert no. 72: *Nota dei quadri delle quattro camere, et altro di chi sono manofatta il 27 maggio 1711, quadri del marchese poi cardinale Neri Corsini,* unpaginated, no. 36. In this inventory mention is only made of an oval copper by Cecco Bravo, while all later inventories, from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, until the death of Tommaso Corsini, give the title as "Le Nozze dei centauri."
11. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (1681-1728), ed. F. Ranalli, 6 vols. (Florence: V. Batelli e compagni, 1845-1847), in the anastatic reprint ed. Paola Barocchi, 7 vols. (Florence: S.P.E.S, 1974-1975), IV, p. 141.
12. Among the most fascinating landscape drawings by Stefano della Bella that relate to the painted landscapes of Cecco Bravo, I would draw attention to two works in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi: a large-scale work measuring 28.2 x 20.9 cm, inv. 363 P, (see fig. 6); and inv. 365 P, illustrated in Anna Forlani Tempesti and Anna M. Petrioli Tofani, *I grandi disegni italiani degli Uffizi di Firenze* (Milan: Cinisello Balsamo, 1972), no. 83.
13. For the *Nocturnal Carousel*, see Mina Gregori, "Un insperato incontro con Stefano della Bella," in *Paragone* 557-561 (1996): pp. 163-167, and Mina Gregori, Francesca Romei, and Gabriele Capecchi, *Stefano della Bella. Un dipinto riemerso dal buio dei secoli* (Florence: Falcini, 1997).
14. For an up-to-date bibliography and a different dating of the painting, see Nadia Bastogi in *Florence au grand siècle entre peinture et littérature*, eds. Elena Fumagalli and Massimiliano Rossi, exh. cat. (Ajaccio: Palais Fesch-Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2011), no. 8, pp. 62-63.
15. The document is cited by Capecchi in Gregori, Romei, and Capecchi, *Stefano della Bella*, p. 59 n. 25.
16. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, respectively inv. 1890/4973, and inv. 1890/4974. The *Inferno* is connected to the events in the myth linked to Pluto and Persephone related in Coppola's tale, as was first noted by Evelina Borea in *La Quadreria di don Lorenzo de' Medici*, eds. Evelina Borea, Anna Petrioli Tofani, and Karla Langedijk, exh. cat. (Poggio a Caiano: Villa Medicea, 1977), no. 27, p. 53.
17. "Nell'Ultimo luogo uscì il Coro di Venere… da lei seguito su un carro trainato da cigni… e quando Giove ordinò agli dei di festeggiare e si vide subito trascorrere un baleno d'allegrezza per la scena, onde tutti brillando di gioia cominciarono a ballare, a cantare, e si sentiva in quest'armonia, come conoscendosi eglino colmi d'inusitata letizia, volevano che ancora i mortali godessero della loro felicità, perché è proprio del bene il diffondersi, e il partecipare con gli altri…" Francesco Rondinelli, *Relazione delle nozze degli dei. Favola dell'abbate Gio: Carlo Coppola rappresentata nelle reali Nozze de' Sereniss. Gran Duca di Toscana Ferdinando II e Vittoria Principessa d'Urbino. Alla medesima Gran Duchessa di Toscana* (Florence: Massi & Landi, 1637), p. 46. Trained under the Jesuits, Rondinelli was a member of the two most important Academies in Florence at the time, the "Apatisti" and the "Svogliati." The publication of the book that made him famous, *La Relazione del contagio stato in Firenze negli anni 1630, e 1633*, dedicated to Ferdinando II, led to his appointment as Grand-ducal librarian on 21 December 1635, a position which he held till his death. Ferdinando II also appointed him tutor of Vittoria della Rovere, who later choose him as her almoner.
18. The account registers of Palazzo Pitti, published by Malcolm Campbell, "Medici Patronage and the Baroque: a Reappraisal," *The Art Bulletin* 48 (1966): pp. 134-137, 145-146, app. nos. 86-88, 91-94, 96 n. 20, reveal that in that period – from October 1637 to June 1638 – Cecco Bravo received without any break 400 *scudi* for "certi fregi" (certain friezes) painted in a high room where Prince Leopoldo de' Medici lived. For some time now, I have thought that these works also included the frescoes of the mezzanine which have always been dated by scholars to the mid-1640s (see Anna Barsanti in Barsanti and Contini, *Cecco Bravo*, p. 32), the only exception being Elisa Acanfora, who has recently reconsidered the fresco (see Elisa Acanfora, "Il soffitto di Cecco Bravo nella prima sala del Tesoro di Salisburgo," in *Fasto di corte. La decorazione murale nelle residenze dei Medici e dei Lorena. II. L'età di Ferdinando II de' Medici (1628-1670)*, ed. Mina Gregori (Florence: Edifir, 2006), pp. 88-91.
19. Consultation of the books of Bartolomeo Corsini in the family archive now kept at Villa Le Corti a San Casciano in Val di Pesa revealed nothing.
20. Ferdinando gave a generous pension to Coppola, who stayed as his guest at Palazzo Pitti during his stay in Florence from 1634 to 1640. The poet quickly tired of life at court, preferring to immerse himself in his religious vocation. His literary masterpiece is considered the sacred poem *Maria Concetta,* which earned him the somewhat flattering nickname "Tasso Sacro" (Sacred Tasso). The work was also written for Ferdinando, as indeed was the poem *Il Cosmo ovvero l'Italia trionfante* (1650).
21. Galileo had heard and approved of Coppola's *Wedding of the Gods*, as can be seen in a letter he wrote to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger in Arcetri in January 1637 (now kept in the Archivio di Casa Buonarroti in Florence (File 48, letter G, folder 929), reproduced in *Le opere di Galileo Galilei, XVII* (Florence: Tipografica G. Barbèra, 1906), no. 3426.
22. The ex-Corsini *Wedding Celebrations of the Gods* is recorded among the lost works in Masetti, *Cecco Bravo pittore toscano*, no. 27, p. 96.
23. The copper measures 32.5 x 22.4 cm.
24. The copper measures 39.5 x 31.5 cm, and the inventory number 42 is written on the back of the panel and the period frame.

A curious truncation of Aegidius Sadeler's *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance*

BERNARD BARRYTE AND ELIZABETH PILLIOD

Fig. 1 / Aegidius Sadeler II, after Bartholomeus Spranger, *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance*, ca. 1600, engraving, 47.6 x 35.2 cm, Kirk Edward Long Collection.

About seventy years after the imperial engraver Aegidius Sadeler (1570-1629) published *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance* (fig. 1) the Spanish painter Antonio de Pereda (1611-1678) made unusual use of this virtuoso engraving. Pereda is best known today for his still lifes, and of these the most evocative are three *vanitas* paintings that feature an angelic being overseeing the still life components: a *vanitas* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna;[1] the famous *Dream of the Knight*[2] in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid; and a canvas in the Uffizi dated about 1670.[3] Sharing the mimetic brilliance and symbolic complexity of the two other paintings, the Uffizi's *Allegory of Vanity* (fig. 2) includes a trompe l'oeil depiction of a truncated version of Sadeler's engraving that is portrayed with full margins as if it is whole. Appearing in a painting otherwise notable for its verisimilitude, this unprecedented pictorial treatment of a famous print deserves further consideration.

The notion that earthly things are ephemeral and vain has its locus classicus in the Old Testament lament, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity" (Ecclesiastes 1:2). This theme was developed with great earnestness by Christian writers such as Thomas à Kempis. One of many who offer specifics, he declared in *The Imitation of Christ* (1418-1427) that, "It is vanity…to seek and trust in riches…It is vanity also to court honour.… It is vanity to love what passes quickly."[4] The belief that transient worldly things lack true value underlies *vanitas* paintings generally and Pereda's *Allegory of Vanity* is replete with attributes common to the genre. Its contents allude to the certainty of death, the fleeting nature of earthly pleasures and possessions, and the inevitability of final judgment. Gazing at viewers with a pitying expression, the angel draws attention to the meticulously depicted items arrayed on the table that separates him from the viewer.

Symbolizing the worldly things that seduce and bind the soul to mundane pursuits, each object reinforces the painting's cautionary message. The angel stands beside a globe that represents the site of mankind's travails. It is surmounted by a miniature portrait of the Hapsburg emperor Charles V, whose empire once spanned the world but who nonetheless shared mankind's common fate by dying in 1558.[5] To the angel's right, a curtain has been raised to reveal a portion of a painted Last Judgment dominated by Christ with his triumphant banner. A favoured device within Spanish Baroque painting, this picture-within-a-picture complements the composition's grim message by recalling the preordained event in relation to which all earthly actions must be gauged.[6] On the left, three skulls rest on tattered books. Linking such obvious emblems of mortality with these objects suggests the dangers posed by pride in worldly wisdom. Beside them, another skull rests between an empty crown and a mariner's astrolabe, a device to measure latitude.[7] In this context, the device may represent "scientific" achievement and the accumulation of wealth through trade, both of little actual value in the face of death and judgment. In addition, its wheel-like appearance may allude to the Wheel of Fortune.[8]

Fig. 2 / Antonio de Pereda, *Allegory of Vanity*, ca. 1670, oil on canvas, 163 x 295 cm, Florence, Uffizi.

Fig. 3 / Detail of fig. 2.

Fig. 4 / Detail of fig. 2.

With bitter irony, the nearby skull is crowned with laurel, its withered leaves symbolizing the triumph of death while also mocking the immortality that poets promise the subjects of their panegyrics. Fleeting military glory is suggested by lustrous armour in which a skull – presumably the viewer's – is unnervingly reflected (fig. 3), and by a pistol. That its muzzle points toward yet another skull constitutes a rather emphatic *memento mori*.

A red velvet cloth covers the table on the right. Strewn over its surface is a lavish assortment of jewels and coins, all devalued by death. Prominent among them is Leone Leoni's medal honouring the youthful Philip II,[9] who inherited Charles V's globe-spanning empire, but who died in 1598 frustrated in his ambitions and a witness to the diminution of his realm. In front of the globe is a gold watch[10] that denotes the inexorable passage of time, and a bowl of flowers, whose drooping blossoms allude to the withering of mortal beauty and the brevity of life. Nearby, a pair of dice and playing cards evoke the vagaries of fate while a shattered vase emphasizes the fragility of life in which well-being can be destroyed in an instant (fig. 4).[11]

Fig. 5 / Detail of fig. 2.

Fig. 6 / Bartholomeus Spranger, *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance*, ca. 1596-1600, oil on canvas, 163 x 117 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 7 / Detail of fig. 1.

Attached to the front of this table is a depiction of the creased and worn lower portion of Sadeler's *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance*, which is based upon a painting by Bartholomeus Spranger (figs. 5 & 6). Of the several differences between Sadeler's print and Spranger's painting, the most fascinating occurs in the lower right of the print where Sadeler has the personification of sculpture delineate the breast of a personification of painting (fig. 7). This clever conceit is echoed in the foreground where Clio, the muse of history, inscribes in the margin a passage from Ecclesiasticus (10:28), a text on ethical behaviour written about 180 B.C. by the scribe Joshua ben Sirach. Clio's quill rests on the phrase that translates, "The ignorant will not be honoured."[12] In his painted version of the print, Pereda isolates this adage so that it functions essentially like the motto of an emblem.

What is curious about Pereda's depiction of the engraving is that in contrast to the verisimilitude of all other objects in the painting, the print does not exist as the artist has rendered it. It is known from Pereda's biographer, Antonio Palomino, that Pereda actually collected prints to augment his visual knowledge. Palomino reported that the artist "owned more things for the study of Painting than anyone else I know."[13] Given the accuracy of the portion he does depict, it seems likely that Pereda's collection included an impression of Sadeler's engraving. Although it is possible that he had a damaged impression and therefore painted only the portion of the print that he possessed, this does not explain why Pereda completed the painted fragment with full margins as though what he depicts is a complete, independent print rather than only a portion of one.

Although it is rendered as realistically as the other still life components, the seemingly – whole fragment is Pereda's invention. This raises the question of his intention in the anomalous treatment of this picture-within-a-picture. It seems unlikely that Pereda was simply trying to fill an otherwise vacant space on his canvas, so there must be a more purposeful explanation. If he found the triumphant Minerva contrary to the glum moralizing theme of his painting, then why replace the goddess with a soaring putto holding a wreath? Or was this painting intended for a sophisticated patron familiar with the prototype, who might therefore find meaning or amusement in the alteration?

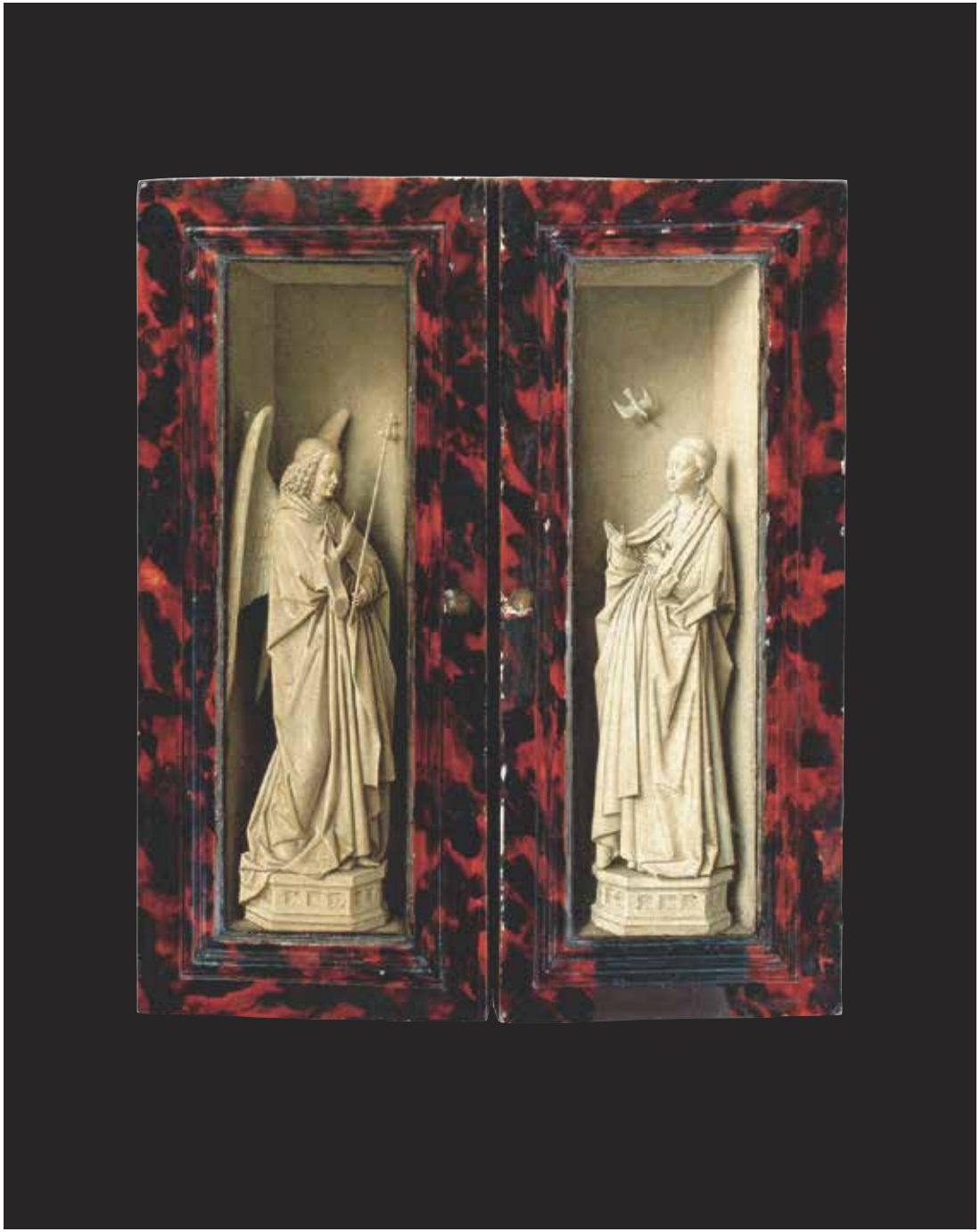
Another possible reading depends upon Pereda's virtuosity and suggests an appreciation for the wit displayed in the conceits with which Sadeler modified Spranger's painting. In support of this thesis, we may refer to an incident recorded by Palomino. When he learned that his wife envied great ladies who kept a duenna in their homes, Pereda painted "such a realistic duenna…that many were fooled into bowing to her... before they were undeceived." Palomino adds that once they acknowledged the trick, visitors remained "amazed at the figure's realism."[14] This anecdote suggests that there could be an element of play in Pereda's rendering of Sadeler's engraving. His unique treatment of the print would presumably appeal to sophisticated connoisseurs able to recognize and appreciate Pereda's subtle editing.

However, in keeping with the *vanitas* tradition and because of the stern dictum highlighted by Clio, a more serious interpretation of the tromp l'oeil print seems most likely. Spranger's original painting is fundamentally a work of imperial propaganda, celebrating the flourishing of the arts under the protection of the Holy Roman Emperor.[15] The text Sadeler added to his rendition minimizes the imperial overtones, shifting the image's meaning to the aesthetic realm where the arts depend upon the militant goddess of wisdom to defeat Ignorance. By truncating the print and highlighting the single phrase from Ecclesiasticus, Pereda reasserts the original moral significance of the text, which is extracted from a passage concerned with the virtues and vices of men in power in which the author decries pride as "hateful before God and men." He explains that pride is "the beginning of all sin" because it begets greed, for "there is not a more wicked thing than to love money" or lust for power for both are ephemeral and vain: "all power is of short life…a king is today, and tomorrow he shall die."[16] As the remedy for pride and the evil it generates, the scribe recommends modesty.

Ecclesiasticus was accepted into the Catholic canon in 1546 during the fourth session of the Council of Trent. The ideas expressed in it parallel attitudes fundamental to *vanitas* paintings, which are designed "to affirm the transitoriness and vanity of human life."[17] The single phrase highlighted by Pereda in his rendition of the print forms part of an exhortation to humility: "They that are free shall serve a servant that is wise: and a man that is prudent…will not murmur when he is reproved; and he that is ignorant, shall not be honoured."[18] With its prominent Last Judgment, royal portraits, martial symbols, and allusions to the brevity of life, Pereda's *Allegory of Vanity* fulfills the general goals of the genre while images of Charles V and Philip II suggest a specific warning to princes regarding the temptations they will face and the consequences of succumbing to them. In this context, the phrase from Ecclesiasticus serves as a recondite clue to an especially appropriate text. It appears, therefore, that Pereda's purposeful abbreviation of the print was part of a moralizing strategy that focuses attention not on the truncated image per se, but on the axiom aptly pointed to by Clio. Just as the angel warns the viewer against worldly things that inspire greed, provoke pride, and imperil the unwitting soul, the muse of history reminds the powerful that humility is the antidote to these temptations and the means to avoid their dire consequences.

NOTES

1. See William B. Jordan, *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age 1600–1650*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth: The Kimbell, 1985), pp. 214-218. Like Pereda's Uffizi *vanitas*, this picture also focuses on the Hapsburg dynasty: the angel holds a miniature portrait of the emperor Charles V. We are grateful to Mercedes González Amezúa and Suzanne Boorsch for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this essay.
2. The traditional attribution to Pereda has been questioned by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura Barroca en España (1600-1750)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1992), p. 246. He proposed an attribution to Francisco de Palacios (ca. 1622/25 - before 1652) based upon stylistic factors as well as his interpretation of documents published by José Luis Barrio Moya, "El pintor Francisco de Palacios. Algunas noticias sobre su vida y su obra," *Boletin del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueologia* 53 (1987): p. 431.
3. The Uffizi painting is generally thought to be the work described by Antonio Palomino as "the property of Pereda's heirs (Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, trans. Nina A. Mallory [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], p. 206). See Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Antonio de Pereda y la pintura madrileña de su tiempo* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1978), no. 7; William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *Spanish Still Life from Velázquez to Goya*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 1995), pp. 80, 84; and Ángel Aterido Fernández, "Mecenas y fortuna del pintor Antonio de Pereda," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 70 (1997): pp. 282-283.
4. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Aloysius Croft and Harold Bolton (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1940), p. 4.
5. We are grateful to Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann for identifying the subject of the portrait.
6. On this device, see John F. Moffitt, "Francisco Pacheco and Jerome Nadal: New Light on the Flemish Sources of the Spanish 'Picture-within-the-Picture'," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): pp. 631-638.
7. Thanks to Paolo Brenni, Randall Brooks, Willem Mörzer Bryns, David F. King, and Charles Miller who identified this object for us. See Alan Stimson, *The Mariner's Astrolabe – A Survey of Surviving Sea Astrolabes* (Utrecht: Hes Publishing, 1988).
8. On this symbol, see David M. Robinson, "The Wheel of Fortune," *Classical Philology* 41 (1946): pp. 207-216.
9. We are grateful to Philip Attwood for identifying Leoni's medal, which dates from 1548-1549; see Attwood's *Italian Medals c. 1530–1600 in British Public Collections*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Press, 2003), I, no. 22, pp. 99-100.
10. According to Alan Midleton, honorary curator of the British Horological Institute, the watch probably dates between 1640 and 1660, and certainly before 1671 because it has just a single hour hand and the invention of the balance spring that year made the addition of a minute hand practical and universal (personal correspondence, 27 September 2016).
11. The similarity of the two vessels seems to suggest a before-and-after scenario.
12. This and the following biblical quotations are from the 1899 Douay-Rheims Bible (https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Sirach+10&version=DRA), accessed 23 October 2016. Ecclesiasticus is also known as the Book of Sirach.
13. Palomino, *Lives*, p. 207. The appearance of prints in paintings is briefly discussed by Ilja M. Veldman, "From Indulgence to Collector's Item: Functions of Printmaking in the Netherlands" in *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450–1650)*(Leiden: Primavera, 2006), pp. 40–42.
14. Palomino, *Lives*, p. 207. This "artist's tale" recalls the classical anecdote about the deceptive paintings of Zeuxis and Parrhasios recounted by Pliny, *Natural History* XXXV.65-66.
15. Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague. The Complete Works*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), no. 67, pp. 138-141.
16. Ecclesiasticus 10:10-14.
17. Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), p. 6.
18. Ecclesiasticus 10:28.



Jan van Eyck, *Annunciation* (outer wing panels of the 'Dresden Triptych'), 1437, oil on panel, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

The impact of Jan van Eyck's lost Lomellini Triptych and his Genoese patrons

TILL-HOLGER BORCHERT

Italian merchants, financiers and businessmen played an important role as patrons of artists in the Burgundian Netherlands; in addition to ordering altarpieces, devotional images, and portraits from panel painters in Flanders, they commissioned carved retables and illuminated manuscripts, and acquired tapestries (*arazzi*) as well as painted canvases (*panni*) for individual use and/or for commercial purposes.[1] Amongst the most significant works which resulted from their patronage are two triptychs by Jan van Eyck, only one of which survives. This article takes a new look at the impact these triptychs had on fifteenth-century painting across the western Mediterranean – focusing on works in Genoa, Naples, Sicily, Girona and Aix-en-Provence – and considers what recurring motifs in these artistic responses tell us about Van Eyck's lost panels.

Nowhere can the phenomenon of Italian patronage be better observed than in the mercantile metropole of Bruges where, during the entire fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, members of the affluent merchant communities– the so-called nations of Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Lucca – ranked prominently among the clients of painters like Jan van Eyck, Petrus Christus, Hans Memling, and Gerard David.[2] While the vast majority of works commissioned by Italians preserved today date from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, the significance of foreign patrons of Flemish art in the previous decennia can hardly be overestimated: no less than four of the known patrons and/or sitters of Jan van Eyck and his workshop were of Italian origin, and together with members of the clergy but ahead of clients from the ducal entourage, they represented the single largest group among the painter's recorded clients.[3]

Commissions of panel paintings by members of the Italian diaspora in Bruges were likely inspired by, or answered to, common social practices that were exercised among the trading communities that consisted of foreign and Flemish businessmen. The paintings in question – whether these were portraits, devotional images or altarpieces – had to be fully functional in both the northern milieu where the patrons lived as well as in the southern environment from where they originated and where they were likely to return.[4]

Besides their primarily devotional and commemorative functions as part of larger religious foundations, these paintings also publicly demonstrated the donors' social prestige and ambitions.[5] Competition in status must have been a significant incentive and brought about competition in patronage. If a member of one Italian nation approached no less than the court painter of the powerful Duke of Burgundy for a commission, another member of the same nation might feel inclined to follow suit.[6]

It might therefore be more than a coincidence that we know of two members of the Genoese merchant community in Bruges who each owned a folding triptych by Jan van Eyck. It is likely that one set the example for the other: the choice of a triptych format does not appear to have been common in the 1430s. With the exception of the monumental Ghent Altarpiece – not a triptych but very similar to one given its folding wings – there are no other triptychs by Van Eyck recorded.[7] While it would seem reasonable to assume that this unusual formal choice was foremost determined by specific cultural practices in or around Genoa, there is, in fact, little evidence to support this idea as there are no Ligurian folding triptychs known from the period.[8]

Only one of the two triptychs by Van Eyck, the Dresden or Giustiniani Triptych, survives today (fig. 1). Its central panel depicts the enthroned Virgin and Child in an ecclesiastical interior; the left wing represents the kneeling donor as supplicant accompanied by the Archangel Michael, with Saint Catherine shown on the opposite wing. When closed an Annunciation *en grisaille* can be seen (see p. 30 and fig. 7).[9] The tiny format of Van Eyck's folding triptych suggests that transportability was of essence. The miniature-like scale of the images also ensured that the painter's extraordinary technical, mimetic and illusionistic skills were adequately showcased and had a positive impact on the reputation of the donor. The exquisite depictions by Van Eyck must have greatly impressed viewers then just as much, if not more, than they do today.

The format and size indicate that the triptych was also intended for the patron's individual devotion, and was probably inspired by small devotional tabernacles, diptychs, triptychs, and polyptychs that were produced in Tuscany and elsewhere in Italy during the fourteenth century.[10] These devotional objects catered to the devotional needs of clergymen as well as burghers, courtiers, and members of princely families. They were among the commodities sold by, among others, the Datini.[11] Van Eyck must have been acquainted with similar objects present at the Burgundian Court. However, they provided him with little more than a formal matrix which in turn empowered him to implement – no doubt upon the explicit request of the patron – his own pictorial invention and thereby to set standards for the future.[12]

Van Eyck's triptych presumably served as a travelling altarpiece and might even have decorated a portable altar, as its unambiguous sacramental symbolism seems to imply.[13] If that was the case, it would have represented an ostentatious display of an important privilege of the donor that he could only have obtained by means of special permission from the papal curia. A portable altar and the triptych would have accompanied the donor wherever he went, and would have allowed him to have masses celebrated during his travels on land and, more importantly, at sea.[14] Small portable altars were certainly useful for merchants who were regularly obliged to travel on business on their own behalf or on behalf of their business partners. The conspicuous display of the donor's coat of arms on the interior of the triptych – as opposed to the exterior – testifies to the painting's privileged use.[15]

Although both coats of arms have been abraded and were long thought to be overpainted, recent technical examination has confirmed their authenticity, and careful restoration has enhanced their appearance.[16]

Fig. 1 / Jan van Eyck, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child* (the 'Dresden' or 'Giustiniani Triptych'), 1437, oil on panel, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

Fig. 2 / Jan van Eyck, Dresden Triptych (detail of left inner wing), 1437, oil on panel, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. Alte Meister.

Fig. 3 / Jan van Eyck, Dresden Triptych (detail of right inner wing), 1437, oil on panel, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. Alte Meister.

A coat of arms is painted on the edge of the original frame on the left wing above the donor portrait (fig. 2). Showing an eagle above a castle with three towers, it is very similar to that of the Giustiniani family from Genoa and indicates the donor's alliance with this clan. It has nevertheless proven to be particularly difficult to convincingly identify the donor. One of the peculiarities of the leading noble families of Genoa was that, from as early as the thirteenth century onwards, they systematically adopted members of lesser families and formed so-called *albergi*. The members of each *albergo* usually took the name of the most prominent family.[17] The Giustiniani differed from other *albergi* in that their *albergo* was founded in 1347 as a business consortium of families that were exploiting the alum mines in Chios and organizing the profitable trade thereof.[18]

Van Eyck's patron, like most of the Genoese who were either residing in Bruges or traded commodities with Flanders, was presumably involved in naval services and in the alum trade of which the Genoese held a de facto monopoly until 1455.[19] Between 1430 and 1440 there were forty residents from Genoa recorded in Bruges. During the fifteenth century, most of them belonged to the *albergi* of the Spinola and Lomellini, who each counted more than twenty members in Bruges; there were only nine Giustiniani in the same period.[20]

Several candidates have been proposed for the identification of the fashionably dressed supplicant on the Dresden Triptych, none of them entirely convincing. Until the original signature of the artist was discovered during a restoration in 1959, alongside the year '1437' below overpaint on the original frame, the triptych was generally dated early in Van Eyck's career. When Roberto Weiss identified the donor with Michele di Marco Giustiniani in 1956, his argument seemed persuasive.[21] Michele di Marco had been living in Bruges and appealed in 1430 to the government of Genoa to reside in the Ligurian metropole. However, the triptych's later date casts doubt on Weiss's hypothesis as it would have required Michele di Marco to have postponed his move to Genoa for more than seven years, or to have returned to Bruges for business at an unrecorded later date. This is not entirely impossible, as the frequency of travel – despite all the ensuing risks – should not be underestimated.

Albert Châtelet recently suggested identifying Van Eyck's donor with a certain Michele di Antonio Giustiniani whose business interests were – as far as we know – exclusively concerned with the Isle of Chios. With no records of commercial activities in the North, this identification rests on the similarity of the name of the patron's saint with that of the patron.[22] Noëlle Streeton put forward Raffaello Giustiniani who was residing in Bruges in the 1430s and acted as business liaison for the Giustiniani clan; she suggests that he either was Van Eyck's patron or acted as a middleman for a family member. [23]

Streeton bases her argument on the interesting but somewhat arbitrarily preserved records of Raffaello as one of the Genoese account holders recorded in the ledgers of the Borromei Bank for Bruges and London for the years 1437/38.[24] However, with insufficient knowledge about account holders and business activities of most of the other Italian merchant banks active in Bruges at this time, it is premature to draw conclusions. The author herself admits that "the question of whether Raffaelo Giustiniani commissioned the Dresden Triptych for Michele Giustiniani, for a member of his circle, or for himself may never be answered satisfactorily."[25]

It should be noted that the records in Bruges may not list every Genoese merchant who stayed in the city for a longer period of time. It might also be possible that if Van Eyck's patron is in fact recorded, the recorded name might refer to former family ties. The identification of the much-damaged second coat of arms on the right wing – on the opposite one to that displaying the Giustiniani arms – should therefore be taken into serious consideration as it may shed a different light on the commission (fig. 3).[26] The presence of the second coat of arms must present some personal link with the owner of the triptych and may provide the key to his identification.[27]

Whereas the identification of the donor of the Dresden Triptych remains an open question, we are somewhat better informed about Van Eyck's other patron from Genoa. The problems concerning this commission are, instead, of a fundamentally different nature since the painting in question is long lost. Due to fortunate circumstances, the work – the so-called Lomellini Triptych – was described by the humanist Bartholomeo Facio in a small book he wrote on famous men, *De Viris Illustribus*, in 1456:

> His is a remarkable picture in the most private apartments of King Alfonso, in which there is a Virgin Mary notably for its grace and modesty, with an Angel Gabriel, of exceptional beauty and with hair surpassing reality, announcing that the Son of God will be born of her; and a John the Baptist that declares the wonderful sanctity and austerity of his life, and Jerome like a living being in a library done with rare art: for if you move away from it a little it seems that it recedes inwards and that it has complete books laid open in it, while if you go near it is evident that there is only a summary of these. On the outer side of the same picture is painted Battista Lomellini, whose picture it was – you would judge he lacked only a voice – and the woman whom he loved, of outstanding beauty and she too is portrayed exactly as she was. Between them, as if through a chink in the wall, falls a ray of sun that you would take to be real sun-light. …[28]

Even though Facio's eloquent account uses common literary motifs to describe the extraordinary artistic qualities of the Flemish painting to an erudite humanistic audience, he remains a credible eye-witness.[29] Facio had resided in Genoa for a long period in 1435/36. He was then involved with the republic's diplomacy in 1443/44, before entering into the services of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Naples (fig. 4) in various capacities from 1445: not only was he entangled with writing the king's biography, but he served as tutor to Alfonso's son Ferrante. He most certainly had access to Van Eyck's triptych in the king's private apartments of the Castelnuovo after he took up residence there in 1449.[30]

Facio's unusually detailed description of the painting allows us to identify traces of Van Eyck's lost triptych in several other works from the period that still survive across the western Mediterranean. The reflection of Van Eyck's invention in these works implies that the triptych must have been publicly accessible in or around Genoa before it entered the collection of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples: once in southern Italy it was only visible to a very select audience in the private royal chambers, the *penetralia*.[31] We will return to this aspect shortly when we discuss the impact of the lost work.

The circumstances and date of the commission of Jan van Eyck's lost triptych are unknown

Fig. 4 / Juan de Juanes, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 1557, oil on panel, Saragossa, Museo de Zaragoza.

and consequently have been a matter of some speculation. It is unclear, furthermore, when the work arrived in Liguria or when and how it came into the possession of Alfonso.[32] Finally, the scale of the lost work is doubtful: the fact that the painter depicted the donor and his wife on the exterior of the triptych's shutters rather than on the interior finds parallels in the Ghent Altarpiece as well as in some large Flemish retables that were produced before the third quarter of the fifteenth century.[33] These observations do not, however, provide any conclusive arguments for an early dating, nor do they per se suggest that the lost painting might have been substantially larger than Van Eyck's triptych in Dresden, as Roberto Weiss has assumed.[34] The only indication of the work's scale is its omission from Facio's account. This is a significant and hitherto overlooked point since Facio would not have failed to mention the size of the work if it was in any way remarkable – small or large.

De Viris Illustribus explicitly mentions the name of the triptych's donor: Battista Lomellini. The *albergo* Lomellini was an important clan that was involved in shipping, trading and banking. Ever since Weiss's article, it has been assumed that Van Eyck's patron was the Genoese merchant Battista di Giorgio (Georgio) Lomellini. It is, however, necessary to take a closer look at this, since some aspects of the identification remain unclear due to the complicated family structure of the Genoese *albergi*.[35] In addition to Battista di Giorgio, who was the second of four sons of Georgio di Vicenzo Lomellini, there was also a Battista di Battista with contacts to Bruges during Van Eyck's lifetime.

Battista di Battista was from a branch of the family that was closely involved with the private Lomellini bank in Genoa. He was the son of Battista di Napoleone Lomellini who held a prominent position within the family bank in Genoa.[36]

Fig. 5 / Antonius Sanderus, *View of the old Place de la Bourse in Bruges (Byrsa Brugensis)*, ca. 1641, engraving.

His uncle was Giorgio di Napoleone Lomellini who also maintained close commercial interests in Bruges where he was residing in 1409 (fig. 5). In that year, Giorgio received "power of attorney" to conduct business affairs in London and Bruges on behalf of the heirs of a deceased merchant from Genoa.[37] Battista di Battista was married to Argenta Vivaldi, and from 1428 onwards, he was involved in underwriting naval insurances for shipments from Sluis and Southampton to Malaga, Cadiz and Genoa.[38] He died in summer 1435, as is he mentioned as "deceased" in two documents drawn up by the notaries Antonio and Oberto Facio in Genoa in June and October of the same year, one of which concerned financial transactions in Bruges.[39]

Battista di Battista's insurance activities coincide with those of Battista di Giorgio Lomellini who, after having offered naval insurances as early as 1412, was increasingly involved in providing insurance for ships and their cargos on routes between Cadiz and Genoa, and Sluis and Southampton from 1427 on.[40] The archival documents do not always clearly indicate which of the two is acting as underwriter, even though they were recorded by the same notary, making it difficult to distinguish between both men.[41] A visit or stay in Bruges is not documented for either Battista, but should not be dismissed. Battista di Battista would have had the opportunities and means to commission before his death in 1435 a triptych by Van Eyck, either in person or via one of his business partners in Bruges acting on his behalf. In this case, the triptych would presumably have arrived in Genoa not long after 1435.

Battista di Giorgio, who died between 1462 and 1463, also may have travelled to Bruges for business as did his brother Gerolamo, who had the *Signoria* of Genoa write a letter of recommendation to Philip the Good of Burgundy before he went to Bruges in 1437 to settle a commercial dispute.[42] Battista di Giorgio or his brother[43] could have given the commission to Van Eyck: although the circumstances do not provide a clear *terminus ante quem* for the triptych, it must have been finished before Jan van Eyck's death in 1441.

Fig. 6 / Triumphal entry of Alfonso V, in Ferraiolo, *Cronica figurata napoletana*, ca. 1497, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 801, fo 84.

While both men are equally plausible patrons, the subsequent history of the triptych seems to make Battista di Giorgio the more likely candidate. He can be linked to both Alfonso the Magnanimous and Bartolomeo Facio. Both men were high ranking participants in the Genoese embassy to Naples in 1444 that negotiated a peace-treaty between the republic and its traditional adversary, King Alfonso.

During the war between the House of Anjou and the Crown of Aragon concerning the succession to the throne of the Kingdom of Naples (1435-1442), the republic had supported the Angevin claims of King René by military and financial means.[44] They sent garrisons, crossbowmen, and ships, and were even able to take Alfonso prisoner in 1435.[45] After Alfonso's unexpected release by the Genoese overlord, the Duke of Milan, the republic continued to support the House of Anjou against Aragon by backing René's wife Isabella as regent of Naples, and by orchestrating her husband's triumphant entry into the city in 1438.[46] Genoa continued to support René d'Anjou with troops until Naples was finally conquered by Alfonso in June 1442 (fig. 6). Battista di Giorgio was actively involved in securing protection for René d'Anjou during the evacuation of Naples's Castelnuovo, and organizing his escape by sea.[47]

Two years later, in April 1444, the same Battista di Giorgio returned to Naples at the head of an official embassy to King Alfonso. Together with Bartolomeo Facio, who was acting as chancellor of the republic, and the talented lawyer Battista Guano who later became one of the leading diplomats of Genoa, "*Baptista Lomelinus, vir innocentissimus*" tried to defend the interests of the Ligurian merchant-clans against the demands of the victorious King of Naples.[48]

It is tempting to connect this meeting between the king and Van Eyck's patron with the arrival of the triptych in Naples. Roberto Weiss initially suggested that Battista di Giorgio may have given Van Eyck's triptych to Alfonso during the official negotiations. Alternatively, he could have been pressed into selling the triptych or could have tried using the king's interest in acquiring paintings by Jan van Eyck to his own advantage.[49] In this case the triptych would have been shipped from Genoa to Naples around 1444.[50]

Albert Châtelet suggested an alternative scenario, according to which Battista di Giorgio travelled with the triptych to Naples and was forced to leave it behind in the Castelnuovo in 1442 when he assisted René's escape from this city.[51] The abandoned masterpiece would have then fallen into the hands of Alfonso when he took over town and castle. Given René d'Anjou's employment of several artists from Flanders,[52] this hypothesis provides, at first sight, a valid alternative. But it is far from certain that Van Eyck's Lomellini Triptych was a portable work intended for private devotion since the presence of the donors on the exterior wings may indicate a more public function.

It is not certain that the triptych came into Alfonso's possesion at the beginning of his reign in Naples. Ferdinando Bologna has suggested that Facio would not have seen the triptych much before he wrote *De Viris Illustribus* in 1456; most recently Maria Galassi has argued that Van Eyck's work did not enter the king's collection until after 1451. Her arguments are chiefly linked to the reception of Van Eyck's lost masterpiece in Genoa and Naples.[53] With the possible exception of Colantonio's *Saint Jerome*, to be discussed below, there is indeed little evidence that the triptych influenced artists in Naples prior to the reign of Alfonso's successor, Ferrante (1458-1494): around 1460 the *Annunciation* – on the outer wings, as in the Dresden Triptych (fig. 7) – inspired Neapoliltan illuminators, and around 1480 it was the model for two altarpieces by Angiolillo Arcuccio (fig. 8).[54] This situation contrasts significantly with the immediate artistic response that Jan van Eyck's *Saint George* – now lost as well – generated after its arrival in Naples in June 1445.[55]

It must also be taken into consideration that Alfonso did not reside in Naples permanently after 1442, but occupied several residences throughout his Italian kingdom, with an itinerant court. It is quite possible, that he took the triptych with him even if it may not have been as small as the Giustiniani Triptych.[56] If Facio is correct and the Lomellini Triptych was kept in the king's most private rooms, shown only to select viewers, its composition would probably not have been readily available to other artists.[57] It should be kept in mind, too, that Facio's text most probably reflects the situation after 1449 when the king took up residence in the restored Castelvecchio.[58]

The earliest work that incorporates influences of the Lomellini Triptych is an altarpiece, dismembered today, that presented at its centre an *Annunciation*, flanked by representations of Isaiah and Jeremiah on the wings (figs. 9, 10 & 11). The triptych was commissioned by Pierre Corpici, a rich textile-merchant in Aix-en-Provence who delivered draperies to the court of René d'Anjou. Corpici made two testaments with instructions for his grave in the cathedral at Aix-en-Provence. In December 1442 he stated his wish to be buried in front of an altar he was to fund near the right entrance of the cathedral choir screen, whereas in his second testament of July 1445 he stated that he had provided an altarpiece that presumably served as his epitaph.[59] These dates provide the timeframe within which the triptych was painted.

The altarpiece is attributed to the Master of the Aix Annunciation whom most scholars identify with the illuminator Barthélémy d'Eyck, who is recorded as court painter of René d'Anjou in 1447.[60] In addition to the triptych's general affinity with the Flemish *ars nova*, some details link the work specifically to the lost Lomellini Triptych. The illusionistic presentation of books on the shelves above the heads of Jeremiah and Isaiah are clearly conceived as trompe-l'oeil (fig. 12) and recall Facio's description of Van Eyck's Jerome: *videatur introrsus recedere et totos libros pandere.*[61] Barthélémy d'Eyck's *Annunciation* also shares its iconography with centre of the Lomellini Triptych.

Fig. 7 / Jan van Eyck, *Annunciation* (outer wing panels of the 'Dresdent Triptych'), 1437, oil on panel, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

Fig. 8 / Angiolillo Arcuccio, *Annunciation*, oil on canvas, Church of the Annunciation, Sant'Agata de Goti, Beneveto.

Fig. 9 / Barthélémy d' Eyck, the *Prophet Isaiah* (detail), (left wing of the Aix Annunciation), ca. 1443-1444, oil on panel, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen.

Fig. 10 / Barthélémy d' Eyck, *Annunciation* (central panel of the Aix Annunciation), ca. 1443-1444, oil on panel, church of Sainte Marie-Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence.

Fig. 11 / Barthélémy d' Eyck, the *Prophet Jeremiah* (right wing of the Aix Annunciation), ca. 1443-1444, oil on panel, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts.

Fig. 12 / Barthélémy d 'Eyck, the *Prophet Isaiah* (detail of still life above Isaiah), ca. 1443 -1444, oil on panel, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam (top left).

Fig. 13 / Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin in the Church*, ca. 1438-1440, oil on panel, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

The scene takes place inside a church, the depiction of which is somewhat reminiscent of Van Eyck's *The Virgin in the Church* (now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) (fig. 13). In d'Eyck's work, Gabriel approaches the praying Virgin through a smaller annex on the left and raises his arm in greeting. The composition adheres to somewhat anachronistic prototypes from Siena that were already common with Paris illuminators around 1400. God the Father appears above Gabriel on the roof of a portal in the company of two angels. He sends out golden rays on which the small Christ Child descends through a rose window towards the kneeling Virgin. Two prophets, sculpted in stone, are shown below baldachins on the capitals of two pillars between which the archangel has appeared. One of them points to God the Father to underline the transition from the Old to the New Covenant at the moment of the Annunciation when Christ was incarnated.

It seems evident that the *Annunciation* in Aix does not simply copy Van Eyck's lost painting, if only because the composition is indebted to older pictorial conventions. But the lost painting presumably served as source of inspiration which Barthélémy d'Eyck transformed in a selective manner, returning to several other Eyckian inventions like the *Virgin in the Church* (for the arrangement of the church interior) and the Ghent Altarpiece (for the depiction of the archangel).

Nicole Reynaud has pointed out that Barthélémy d'Eyck could only have encountered the Lomellini Triptych in Genoa in April and May 1438, when the painter presumably formed part of the entourage of René d'Anjou on his way to take the throne of Naples. The Anjou court was welcomed with generosity by its allies in Genoa while the fleet was prepared to take René to his kingdom.[62] If, on the other hand, the Lomellini Triptych had remained in Genoa until the early 1450s, then Barthélémy d'Eyck could have seen it at any moment after René's defeat in 1442, at a time much closer to Pierre Corpici's commission.

Although it has long been recognized that a monumental mural of the *Annunciation* in the cloister of the Domnican church of Santa Maria di Castello in Genoa (fig. 14) is modelled after Flemish prototypes, some of the details point to the author's knowledge of the Lomellini *Annunciation*. The wall painting is signed and dated on a small *cartellino* painted on the open wooden door to the left (next to which Gabriel enters the room): 'Justus Dallemagna 1451 CRDZ'. The artist to whom Genoese documents refer as '*magister Justus de Ravensburga*' came from the North and can be identified with Jos Amman, a painter from Ravensburg.[63] No other works by this artist seem to survive and attempts to reconstruct his oeuvre have been unsuccessful.[64] Besides working in 1450 in his own profession in Genoa, he seems to have been active as a merchant. He had two goldbeaters from the Low Countries working for him – Leo of Bruges (*Leo de Brujes*) and Jan of Tournai (*Iohannis de Picardia de Torne*) – whose work he sold for a share of the profit, and he was involved in business transactions with a German textile merchant residing in Savona (*Alamanus Lupus de Francaforte*) which concerned, most likely, paintings on cloth.[65]

Fig. 14 / Jos Amman, *Annunciation*, ca. 1451, fresco, Genoa, church of Santa Maria del Castello.

Amman's work in Santa Maria di Castello was not limited to the *Annunciation* but included the painted vault with the depictions of four prophets in front of the *Annunciation*, as well as various half-length figures of prophets and sibyls on the other ceilings of the two cloisters on which he worked alongside various other painters. The decoration was part of a building campaign launched after Santa Maria di Castello was transferred to the Dominicans from 1441 onwards.[66] This included building a new sacristy and the cloisters for which the monks solicited patrons. The brothers Emmanuele and Lionello Oliva – two merchants from Genoa who had made their fortune from spices, wool from Spain, and leather from Tunis – contributed to the sacristy and paid for the fresco.[67] They undoubtedly wanted to demonstrate their social status, having as recently as 1448 ascended to the noble *albergo* of the Grimaldi. The coat of arms of the Grimaldi is thus included not once but twice within Amman's *Annunciation*.[68]

This *Annunciation* takes place in a remarkably sophisticated space, and seems, at first sight, to refer to paintings attributed to the Master of Flémalle.[69] The biblical event appears to be staged behind an arcade-like opening within a wall that is decorated with traceries and floral ornaments. This painted arcade, supported by two trompe-l'oeil columns, suggests a division from the beholder's space in front of it, and at the same time creates the illusion that the painted scene is real.

Dressed in a white alb and richly decorated cope with embroidered prophets and saints, Gabriel enters through an open door from the left. As he kneels in front of the Virgin, he raises his right arm in blessing and pronounces the angelic greeting. The Virgin, kneeling in prayer, turns her head. She kneels before a prayer stool with intarsia decorations which functions as a repository for books. Rays of gold descend from God the Father above who appears to the Virgin amidst seraphim and cherubim to show the moment of the Messiah's incarnation.

The interior is unusually detailed and complex. The left part of the room consists of a wide space with a tiled floor. A tripartite window looks out to a hilly landscape in which additional scenes of the life of the Virgin are shown.[70] Placed on a stone bench below the window, a vase with a lily and a pyx with spindles allude to the chastity of the Virgin. A niche in the wall to the right of the window contains a small brass basin filled with water with a shiny brass jug above. The jug hangs from a hook on a wooden shelf on which books, pyxes, and a candle are placed. A towel hangs next to the lavabo.

The wall and niche separate the chamber from Mary's bedroom. A canopied bed can be seen through a doorway that opens behind the praying Virgin. To the right of the doorway is another small niche in which books and an hourglass are kept. A somewhat odd detail is the shadow that is cast on the wall next to the arch by the right column supporting the arcade: this makes the placement of the Virgin in the room highly improbable and likely indicates a misunderstanding by the painter of the presumed prototype by Jan van Eyck.

Serena Romana has challenged the notion that Jos van Ravensburg's *Annunciation* is directly linked to Van Eyck's lost composition. Acknowledging that the Genoese fresco shows affinities with works from the Master of Flémalle Group as well as with Jan van Eyck, she argues that the painter could have encountered several Flemish motifs in paintings, murals, or prints from the Upper-Rhine, Swabia, and Switzerland, and that due to the councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1448), northern compositions would have been readily available in the region from which the painter originated.[71]

This argument neglects the likelihood that Emmanuele and Lionello Grimaldi *olim Oliva*, when commissioning the murals from Jos Amman, might have sought to distinguish themselves by way of their artistic patronage from other families in Genoa; pointing the artist to the rare and therefore exclusive work of Jan van Eyck in the possession of a member of one of the branches of another prominent *albergo* in the city, they would have ensured that their recently raised social status would be made visible.

While Jos Amman's *Annunciation* shares its somewhat hybrid use of pictorial sources with Barthélémy d'Eyck's triptych in Aix (which can also be linked to works attributed to the Master of Flémalle) specific details of the mural transcend generic influences and point to the direct reception of Van Eyck's lost original. As Carl Strehlke has pointed out, "Justus' knowledge of Van Eyck's painting seems to have been direct and recent, through first-hand experience of a Van Eyck painting while he was working in Santa Maria di Castello."[72] Indeed, the refractions of the transparent prayer-beads, the conspicuous display of reflections on shiny surfaces, as well as the pronounced depiction of cast shadows imply the artist's ambitious attempt to emulate the art of Jan van Eyck.

While it is true that some of the objects prominently included in the *Annunciation* – such as the pyxes, the hour glass, the lavabo, and the stacks of books – were likely copied from the Eyckian prototype in Genoa, these motifs occur in several other paintings of the period as well.[73] What reveals beyond doubt that the painter must have had access to and intimate knowledge of the Lomellini Triptych are Jos Amman's incorporations of a few unusually detailed motifs: the depiction of tiny bookmark strings in the books kept in lower part of the prayer stool, for example, is a very rare detail that one encounters in the depiction of John the Baptist in the Ghent Altarpiece. A similarly significant detail is a pair of keys that is attached to the little door at the reverse of the prayer stool, casting a painted shadow on the lavishly decorated wood. Finally, there is the little bird depicted on the edge of the brass basin, drinking from it while its image is reflected in the mirror-like surface of the water. This highly uncommon motif was presumably directly derived from Van Eyck's lost original, where it may have been meant as a witty allusion to Pliny's narratives about the illusionistic skills of the antique painters that even misled nature. Van Eyck occasionally included similar visual allusions that referred to anecdotes about painters from classical antiquity.[74]

Given these detailed references, the mural becomes a helpful tool in identifying additional motifs that must have been present on the lost original. The embroidered saints and prophets on Gabriel's cope, for example, were presumably part of the original design: Jan van Eyck depicted similar embroideries in several of his paintings including the *Virgin of Canon Joris van der Paele* of 1436 (fig. 15). Even the posture of Amman's archangel shows remarkable similarities with representations of angels in works by or closely related to Van Eyck and his workshop, again suggesting a direct link.[75]

Fig. 15 / Jan van Eyck, *Virgin of Canon Joris van der Paele* (detail), 1436, oil on panel, Bruges, Groeningemuseum (left).

Fig. 16 / Johann Koerbecke, *Annunciation*, ca. 1455, oil on panel, The Art Institute of Chicago (above).

The same can be said about the two prophets that are depicted on top of the two trompe-l'oeil columns on either side of God the Father. As in the *Annunciation* from Aix-en-Provence, where prophets appear in a similar context, both figures derive from the Old Testament. Here they are depicted as unpolychromed stone sculptures below gothic baldachins. The texts on the left prophet's banderole – "*Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet*" (Isaiah 4:14) – identifies him as Isaiah. The text held by the right prophet – "*Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam*" (Psalm 44:11) – also alludes to the Annunciation and was performed during Marian offices, but it does not help us to identify this figure.

This feature appears on a small number of other paintings of the *Annunciation* that were produced around the mid-fifteenth century. It is possible that Van Eyck recorded his composition in a drawing for his workshop which remained in the Bruges atelier after the artist's death in 1441; additional pattern-drawings that circulated among artists may well have contained this kind of specific motif.

Another panel that shares some of the Eyckian features discussed above was by the painter Johannes Koerbeke of Münster (Westphalia) (fig. 16). Active from 1446 until 1491, his work was fundamentally influenced by art from the neighbouring Low Countries as well as by painting in Cologne. His *Annunciation*, originally part of a monumental altarpiece commissioned for the Cistercian Abbey of Marienfeld, was painted around 1455 since the retable was installed on the altar in 1457.[76] At first, the composition seems much less complex than Jos Amman's fresco. Koerbeke represents the biblical scene in a room with a tiled floor and bench, and four angels holding a green brocade cloth before a gilded background. The figure of the archangel points, however, to a distant knowledge of the Eyckian original and, most importantly, the painter situates the event below a stone baldachin with tracery that rests on two small columns. The *Annunciation* is the only scene among the fifteen surviving panels of Koerbeke's altarpiece to include this type of framing. Not only are tracery and decoration of the baldachin similar to the trompe-l'oeil wall of the fresco, Koerbeke also includes two prophets to the side of God the Father who – as in Genoa – appears above the scene in between Gabriel and the Virgin.

Fig. 17 / Antonello da Messina, *Annunciation*, 1474, oil on panel, Syracuse, Palazzo Bellomo.

In all likelihood, Koerbeke had not seen Van Eyck's original but seems to have had access to model drawings that were closely related to it, which he might have obtained during a journey through the Netherlands after his apprenticeship. In its reception of these particular Eyckian motifs, Koerbeke's *Annunciation* remains an exception in Westphalian as well as Cologne painting.[77]

In 1474, just before his sojourn to Venice, Antonello da Messina painted a monumental *Annunciation* (fig. 17). Now in the Museum of Syracuse, the painting was originally commissioned for the church of Santa Maria Annunziata in the small Sicilian town of Palazzolo Acreide. Despite its damaged state, the painting's close affinities with Early Flemish painting have long been recognized. In his composition, Antonello looked at different pictorial sources for inspiration and in particular to works by Petrus Christus.[78] According to Pietro Summonte, Antonello had worked in Naples, where he was introduced to Flemish painting by his alleged teacher Niccolò Colantonio, so he most likely had seen Van Eyck's Lomellini Triptych during his stay in the city in the early 1450s.[79]

Antonello doesn't copy Van Eyck but takes his painting as a source of inspiration. The complex structure of Van Eyck's interior – as reflected in Joos Amman's fresco – has been transformed by the Sicilian painter into a spacious sequence of semi-secular chambers that include a bedroom and a private chapel, and the view of a background landscape is maintained. Antonello's figure of Gabriel is reminiscent of the archangel in the Genoese mural, and the decorations of his prayer stool may reflect the lost painting by Van Eyck as well. Arguably, Van Eyck's *Annunciation* may have inspired Antonello to include the two monumental columns, one of which is prominently placed between the Gabriel and Mary; nevertheless, the Sicilian artist, who took a selective approach towards his model, chose not to include the prophets.[80]

Another work that has not yet been discussed in relation to Van Eyck's Lomellini Triptych is a monumental diptych of the *Annunciation* from the cathedral in Girona (figs. 18 a & b). Despite its much later date, it reflects significant parts of the lost work. Its ambitious obligation to Flemish painting is amply demonstrated by the conspicuous display of shadows as well as the inclusion of detailed landscapes seen through the door and windows. Originally placed near to the treasury, against one of the building's pillars – hence its name, the '*Salutacío del pilar*' – the painting has been attributed to the Master of Girona, but is most likely the work of the painter Ramon Solà the Younger who received payments in June and August 1480 for its "polychromy and placement."[81]

Figs. 18 a & b / Ramon Solà the Younger, *Annunciation*, 1480, tempera on panel, Girona Cathedral.

Fig. 19 / Jaume Huguet, *Annuciation*, 1464, tempera on panel, Barcelona, chapel of Santa Ágata.

Born in Girona sometime between 1431 and 1442 as the second son of the painter Ramon Solà the Elder, he was still a minor in 1456 when he was charged with completing a commission if his father died before it was finished. He then moved to Barcelona where he was involved in the decoration of the Royal Palace in Barcelona for Pedro, Constable of Portugal and acclaimed King of Aragon during the Catalan Civil War. He returned to Girona in 1471 and died there after 1494.[82]

Like Koerbeke, Solà presumably never got to see the painting by Van Eyck in person. Instead he became aware of its composition indirectly. Members of the workshop of King Alfonso's court painter Jacomart probably gained access to Van Eyck's original whilst in Naples, bringing copy drawings back to Valencia.[83] These drawings, or copies thereof, probably did not record every detail, but must have begun to circulate in Catalunya with some delay as well. Probably oblivious to its origin, Ramon Solà could have encountered such a copy when he worked in Barcelona's Royal Palace alongside the painters Antoni Dalmau and Jaume Huguet, the latter producing the retable of *The Epiphany* for Pedro of Portugal in 1464-1465.[84]

Indeed, Huguet's *Annunciation* from this retable (fig. 19) betrays his awareness of the Eyckian prototype as revealed in the wall painting from Genoa. The pose of the Virgin, her hands crossed before her body, is similar to that of the mural of Santa Maria di Castello, as is the frontal position of the prayer stool and the lower viewpoint from which the book on it is depicted. Further parallels can be found in single motifs such as the Valencian tiles, and the pyxes, books and a candleholder displayed next to the Virgin. Most significantly Huguet – like Amman – includes an arched doorway behind the Virgin through which it is possible to glimpse into the bedchamber with Mary's canopied bed.

Ramon Solà's *Annunciation* adopts another approach towards the prototype and takes it as a model for his composition. The arrangement of his figures seems to more closely reflect the original. Gabriel enters through a door from the left, raising his right hand and holding the sceptre with his other arm. The Virgin leans her head towards him, her arms crossed before her body, while the dove of the Holy Ghost descends upon her. The lavish prayer stool that obstructs the view in the Genoa fresco has the been moved to the right side. It nevertheless includes typical "Flemish" still-life motifs like books and pyxes placed on shelves in the wall.

Solà's indebtedness to Van Eyck's lost *Annunciation* becomes most obvious, however, in what may seem to be secondary elements. He seems to have found the structure of the lost original's trompe-l'oeil architecture particularly suited to his commission, and includes pillars as a framing device on both wings of his painting. Following his source, he also includes statues of prophets on the right wing of his diptych, and adds three allegorical figures – probably allusions to pagan gods? – on the left.

In contrast to Huguet's *Annunciation* – where God the Father emerges from the clouds on the left side of both figures – Solá positions the divine apparition once more between the two protagonists, as both Jos Amman and Barthélémy d'Eyck had done following Van Eyck. It is interesting to note that as in d'Eyck's Aix *Annunciation* we find the motif of a rose window prominently represented by Solà who introduces this detail on both panels. This raises the question of whether Van Eyck's composition included such a window which, in turn, was omitted in Joos Amman's *Annunciation*.

Other elements of the lost triptych were also influential. The representations of Saint Jerome in his study and Saint John the Baptist were also praised by Facio for their illusionistic qualities. The lost representation of Jerome is particularly interesting for the reception history of the painting. Among the few works that can be attributed to Colantonio on the evidence of near contemporary documents is a monumental painting of *Saint Jerome,* today in Naples's Museo di Capodimonte (fig. 20).[85] Pietro Summonte, in his famous letter to Marcantonio Michel of 1524, provides some information about Colantonio who was skilled in emulating the northern masters and had been taught by King René himself during his short reign from 1438 and 1442. Summonte describes with much admiration how Colantonio's *Jerome* contained a painted *cartellino* that was fixed to the wall but was detaching on one edge – a feature that can be easily recognized in the painting.[86] Colantonio's *Saint Jerome* is arranged horizontally. It represents the Father of the Church in the modest garments of the Franciscan order instead of the red robe of a Cardinal; the red *galero* – the only pictorial reference to Jerome's rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy – is placed on a small table next to the saint's writing desk.

Fig. 20 / Niccolò Antonino Colantonio, *Saint Jerome in his Study*, ca. 1445, tempera on panel, Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

The main event depicted by Colantonio shows Jerome removing a thorn from the paw of the lion. Uncommon but not entirely without precursors in Italian Trecento painting, Colantonio has staged this scene in the saint's study instead of situating it, as did many Italian artists of his time, in the wilderness.[87]

Arguably, Colantonio's primary interest went into the meticulous, precise and detailed depiction of the study and the various still-life elements; it is almost as if the saint was of secondary importance. Paraphernalia such as stacks of leather-bound books, documents, papers, letters, but also pyxes, a glass carafe, an hour-glass, a brass candlestick, writing tools such as ink, quills and scissors, are all depicted in detail and with the greatest care. The Neapolitan painter made sure with this panel that no one would miss his extraordinary skills in emulating the physical materiality of these objects, just like Flemish painters. He even depicted a mouse eating a piece of paper from the floor below a shelf behind the saint's back.

As mentioned above, Ferdinando Bologna – and before him Liana Castelfranchi Vegas – have questioned the traditional suggestion that Van Eyck's Lomellini Triptych was the main pictorial source for Colantonio's *Saint Jerome.* Based on this point of view, and on his proposal to date the panel around 1444-1445, Bologna further implied that Van Eyck's triptych may not have been in Alfonso's possession much earlier than Facio's account, suggesting it had been acquired by Alfonso between 1452 and 1456.[88] While the latter suggestion can be corroborated by looking into the lack of impact of Van Eyck's painting before the 1460s,[89] the suggested date of Colantonio's altarpiece is not substantiated by documentary evidence and may be too early.[90]

There is at least one argument to suggest a slightly later dating: Colantonio's *Saint Jerome* was originally part of a two-tiered altarpiece in the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo in Naples which also included *Saint Francis Distributing the First and Second Rules of the Franciscan Order* on top. This monumental panel, also kept at the Museo di Capodimonte, shows Saint Francis standing amidst the blessed and sanctified members of the male and female Franciscan orders who kneel before him on a floor made from tiles decorated with the combined arms of the Houses of Aragon and Sicily.[91]

Among the Franciscan saints is Bernard of Siena who died in 1444 but was not canonized until 24 May 1450. There is little reason to assume that, despite the support of the Crown of Aragon for the Franciscans in the matter, the unknown patron of the altarpiece would have anticipated the church's decision to have the Franciscan depicted as a saint before his official canonization.[92] As has already been demonstrated by Howel Powell, May 1450 thus provides a *terminus post quem* for the commission of Colantonio's retable.[93]

There can be little doubt that Colantonio must have had first-hand knowledge of Jan van Eyck's depiction of the still-life objects in the lost Lomellini Triptych. It is noteworthy that the objects Colantonio included in his painting correspond closely with the repertoire of motifs found in a tiny panel of *Saint Jerome in his Study* by Jan van Eyck and his workshop (fig. 21).[94] The panel, now in Detroit, was presumably made for Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, as one of the letters depicted is addressed to the Cardinal of Santa Croce.

Fig. 21 / Jan van Eyck, *Saint Jerome in his Study*, ca. 1435, oil on linen paper on oak panel, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts.

Fig. 22 / Niccolò Antonio Colantonio, *The Virgin Appearing to Saint Vincent Ferrer*, ca. 1458, oil on panel, Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

Fig. 23 / Antonio da Fabriano, *Saint Jerome in his Study*, 1451, tempera, oil (?), and gold leaf on panel, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

It is first recorded in Florence in the inventory of Piero di Medici in 1456-1463, and it allegedly inspired Ghirlandaio's murals of Saints Jerome and Augustine in the church of Ognissanti in Florence.[95] However, one tiny detail – absent in the Eyckian panel in Detroit but present in both Colantonio's painting as well as Joos Amman's mural in Genoa – does indicate a direct encounter with Van Eyck's original: amongst the books above Saint Jerome's head is one in which the rare motif of bookmark strings can once again be seen. As discussed above, this is an extremely rare motif that appears on the Ghent Altarpiece and seems to derive from Van Eyck himself.

Of course, Colantonio's *Saint Jerome* is not a simple copy. The horizontal format of the composition and its monumentality are not to be reconciled with the vertical format of the wings of a triptych by Van Eyck. It is also questionable whether there would have been space in a vertical composition to include Colnatonio's scene; it has even been argued that the lion was not part of Van Eyck's design, as Facio did not mention this detail.[96] It is more likely that Van Eyck's lost original inspired Colantonio to demonstrate his aptitude to emulate the Flemish painter's skill in his own art, if not to surpass it. From this point of view the monumental *Saint Jerome* must be seen as an extremely proficient appropriation of Eyckian motifs and effects. A few years later, Colantonio treated the motifs of Jan van Eyck's *Saint Jerome* a second time and in significantly smaller scale in his panel *The Virgin Appearing to Saint Vincent Ferrer* from the *Saint Vincent Ferrer Altarpiece* (fig. 22).[97]

While Colantonio's *Saint Jerome* reflects some of the splendour of Van Eyck's lost original, a smaller panel of *Saint Jerome in his Study* by a more modest painter, Antonio da Fabriano, probably provides a more reliable, if simplified, record (fig. 23). The painting is signed on the original frame and dated '1451' by means of a painted *cartellino* in the center of the panel. Federico Zeri was the first to recognize that Da Fabriano's *Saint Jerome* is the exception in the oeuvre of the artist and must have been based on a Flemish prototype.[98] Since Antonio da Fabriano, a painter from the Marche, almost certainly can be identified with "Antonelus da Fabrianus, pictor" who is recorded in Genoa in 1447-1448,[99] it is today generally accepted that his source was Van Eyck's lost painting which the painter must have encountered during his stay in the city.[100]

Fig. 24 / Petrus Christus, *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape*, ca. 1445, oil on panel, The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Da Fabriano depicts the Father of the Church clad in the red garments of a cardinal; Jerome's red *galero* with its long tassels hangs on the wall behind him. The bearded saint is shown almost frontally with his head turned towards the right. A small lion – Jerome's attribute – is resting on the ground to his feet.

Jerome sits on a simple wooden bench behind a desk that is attached to the wall. He is occupied with the text in an open book that lies in front of him, holding a quill in his right hand and an eraser in his left. An ink jar is placed on the left of the table on which several scrolls and additional books have been scattered. On the right, a leather container for the quills is hung on a hook on the wooden bench. A niche in the wall has two shelves on which several books are stacked together with an hourglass and brass candleholder. The room is part of a larger house. Through an arched doorway, above which there is a sculpted crucifix, it is possible to glimpse into other rooms. A landscape is visible through an open window at the left. This interior is remarkably similar to interiors by Jan van Eyck such as the Arnolfini Double Portrait or the miniature of the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* in the Turin-Milan Hours, and there can be little doubt that the Italian painter was particularly interested in imitating the luminosity of the Flemish painting. The way that Da Fabriano attempts to depict the effects of the sunlight falling from the left – so that even the chambers in the distance are lit from behind – is remarkable. It is in details such as the hourglass on the right that the painter's interest in Van Eyck's depiction of the refraction of light becomes particularly manifest; in others, such as the translucent white line applied on top of the brown colour of the ornamented desk, his engagement with the original becomes undeniable. It also means that Antonio da Fabriano must have studied the original carefully in Genoa and that means – as Maria Galassi has recently demonstrated – that the painting was still in the city around 1450, when the later painting was made.

Antonio da Fabriano was not an artist that possessed the skills of Colantonio or even of Joos Amman of Ravensburg, but he managed to copy Van Eyck's image and to master what seems to have been the Flemish artists's primary interest: the rendering of light. While Da Fabriano tried to emulate these qualities, he does not seem to have felt the need to change the composition other than to simplify the

Fig. 25 / Jan van Eyck, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, ca. 1430-1432, oil on panel,Turin, Galleria Sabauda.

motifs where they proved too complicated. It is, furthermore, clear that Van Eyck's lost wing must have shared the oblong composition of Antonio da Fabriano's image and probably the frontality of the saint's representation as well.[101]

Facio's description of the Lomellini Triptych is particularly vague when it comes to Jan van Eyck's representation of Saint John the Baptist: *Iohannes baptista vitae sanctitatem et austeritatem admirabilem prae se ferens*.[102] This rather generic wording poses a problem when it comes to identifying paintings that could perhaps reflect the lost composition. One of the paintings that has been put forward in this context is a tiny panel depicting Saint John the Baptist with the lamb. Unknown before it was acquired in 1979 by the Cleveland Museum of Art, the painting was first given to the workshop of Van Eyck but has since been convincingly attributed to Petrus Christus (fig. 24).[103] The vertical format of the panel and inclusion of a city gate (perhaps the Ezelspoort in Bruges) suggest that it was originally the right wing of a folding triptych. Its tiny scale links it to Van Eyck's Giustiniani Triptych which might have been one of the reasons for Carl Brandon Strehlke to first suggest a possible link with Van Eyck's depiction of the saint from the lost Lomellini Triptych.[104] In this context, Frédéric Elsig pointed out that Bartolomeo Bermejo's *Saint John the Baptist*, painted around 1490 and today in the Museo de Bellas Artes of Seville, shares an unusual rock formation in the background that would indicate a common prototype.[105] This motif is, nevertheless, among the most significant features of Jan van Eyck's *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (fig. 25) and has been copied regularly.[106] Several versions of this popular panel had been produced by Van Eyck's workshop, one of them acquired in 1448 by the Valencian painter Juan Reixach. It is thus more likely that Bermejo referred to the painting in Valencia which had already inspired other artists before him.[107]

Figs. 26a & b / Enguerrand Quarton, Altenburg Diptych (*Virgin and Child*, left; *Saint John the Baptist*, right), ca. 1445-1450, oil on panel, Altenburg, Lindenau Museum.

Figs. 27a & b / Hans Memling, *Diptych of Saint John and Saint Veronica*, ca. 1470, oil on panel. *Saint John the Baptist* (left), Munich, Alte Pinakothek; *Saint Veronica*, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

The frontal depiction of the Saint Jerome in Antonio da Fabriano's painting is strikingly reminiscent of a painting of Saint John the Baptist in a landscape that was painted around 1445-1450 by Enguerrand Quarton. It is the left wing of a small diptych that depicts the Virgin and Child (fig. 26a) surrounded by angels on the right. Both wings, first recorded in the eighteenth century in the collections of the Vatican, and now in the Lindenau Museum of Altenburg, originally had small lunettes with representations of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah that, in turn, clearly resemble the prophets from Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece.[108] Originally from Northern France – then under Burgundian rule – Quarton moved to Aix-en-Provence in 1445, and lived between 1447 and 1460 in the papal town of Avignon.[109]

Quarton's painting represents the Baptist sitting on a dead tree in front of a vast landscape with his bare feet (fig. 26b). Dressed in the traditional simple animal skin, he wears a red cape around his shoulders. His face is shown from the front while his body is turned towards the right. He has a book on his lap and points with his right hand to the lamb that is about to enter a forest at the right edge of the panel. On the left edge of the painting is another forest: this narrow row of trees serves as a subtle indication of the depth of pictorial space. It is a significant motif that can be seen in a second painting that is of relevance here. Hans Memling's *John the Baptist* – originally the left wing of a diptych (figs. 27a & b) with the representation of Saint Veronica – depicts the same elements of trees in a row. Like the Baptist in Quarton's painting, Memling's Saint John sits within a landscape and points with his right hand to the little lamb at the right edge of the painting, indicating the Lamb of God. Memling's panel was originally part of a diptych painted for Bernardo Bembo, the distinguished humanist and ambassador of the Venetian Republic to Burgundy.[110] Christiane Kruse has demonstrated that the diptych – which confronts the Baptist (the last prophet of the Old Testament, who recognizes Christ as the Messiah) with Veronica (the one who receives the miraculous image in the New Testament) – is among the most complex and conceptually-ambitious works within Memling's oeuvre.[111] Did Memling model his painting consciously after one of Van Eyck's best-known paintings in Italy at this time to impress his distinguished patron? Memling certainly had access to works by the deceased Van Eyck, and it does not seem impossible that this access extended to workshop drawings that must have still circulated in Bruges in Memling's time.

How, on the other hand, Enguerrand Quarton came to know about the composition of the Lomellini Triptych is more difficult to answer. If Quarton actually saw the triptych and not copies of it, this would have most likely happened in Genoa shortly after Quarton's arrival in the South around 1445. It is also possible, of course, that he learned about Van Eyck's painting from third parties such as patrons or fellow artists. Given the fact that in 1446 he worked in Aix-en-Provence alongside René d'Anjou's court painter Barthélémy d'Eyck, it might have been through him that Quarton knew the composition.

These few examples show that the impact of Van Eyck's central *Annunciation* from the Lomellini Triptych might have been more diverse, more widespread, and longer-lasting than has hitherto been assumed. Alongside the question of whether certain Flemish motifs had become commonplace by the third quarter of the fifteenth century, it contributes greatly to our understanding of the significance of the export of Flemish paintings to Italy. Van Eyck's original may at first have inspired only a few artists in Genoa or at the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples, but copies or paintings that to some degree took over selected motifs must have circulated for a decade or two both in the South and in the North, ensuring a lasting dissemination of Eyckian motifs and inventions.

NOTES

1. Michael Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild: Altniederländische Tafelmalerei im Florenz des Quattrocento* (Alfter: VDG, 1994), pp. 15-26; Jean C. Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press 1998), pp. 41-84.
2. For the presence of foreign merchants in Bruges, see Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn eds., *Medieval Bruges, c. 850-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2018), pp. 210-217; on their role as patrons of the art see Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, *Artistic Patronage in Bruges Institutions c. 1440-1482* (PhD Dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara 1992), pp. 262-319; Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, "Hans Memling and his Patrons: A Cliometrical Approach," in *Memling Studies*, eds. Hélène Verougstraete et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), pp. 14-29; Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 51-75; Claire Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli: Committenza artistica, politica, diplomazia al tempo di Alfonso il Magnanimo e Filippo il Buono* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2012), pp. 21-42; Federica Veratelli, *À la mode italienne. Commerce du luxe et diplomatie dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, 1477-1530* (Lille: Septentrion Presses Universitaires, 2013), pp. 39-65.
3. The patrons and/or early owners of paintings by Jan van Eyck included Giovanni di Nicolaio Arnolfini, a member of the Giustiniani and Lomellini families from Genoa, as well as Anselm Adornes, a Bruges patrician with Genoese roots.
4. Noura Dirani, "Zwischen Brügge und Chieri. Die Stiftungen der Familie Villa für die italienische Heimat," in: *Das Bild als Ereignis: Zur Lesbarkeit spätmittelalterlicher Kunst mit Hans-Georg Gadamer*, eds. Dominic E. Delarue et al (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012), pp. 455-475; Till-Holger Borchert, "Memling und Italien," in *Artistic Innovations and Cultural Zones*, ed. Ingrid Ciulisová (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014), pp.135-161.
5. The term "publicly" doesn't mean that all images were accessible to everyone but rather that each context – the semi-public one which was the church and the private one which included the oratory – had its own public.
6. This is the case with Memling: after the painter received the prestigious commission of the Triptych of the Last Judgment by the Florentine banker Angelo Tani in about 1467, other members of the Florentine nation, such as Tommaso Portinari, ordered Memling's paintings. See Till-Holger Borchert, *Memling: Rinascimento Fiammingo*, exh. cat. (Rome: Scuderia di Quirinale, 2014), pp. 28-32.
7. Even though Marcus van Vaernewyck and Karel Van Mander mention unfinished wings with Old Testament scenes in their description of Jan van Eyck's lost Maelbeke Madonna from Ypres, it is more than likely that these wings were, in fact, modern additions. See Susan Frances Jones, "New Evidence for the Date, Function and Historical Significance of Jan van Eyck's 'Van Maelbeke Virgin,' *Burlington Magazine* 158 (2006): p. 77, and Till-Holger Borchert, *Van Eyck to Dürer: The Influence of Early Netherlandish Painting on European Art, 1430-1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2010), p. 155.
8. The small triptych of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Philip and Agnes* by Donato de'Bardi, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is generally considered to reflect – not on a formal level alone – influences from the North alongside those from Lombardy and Venice. See, for example, Giuliana Algeri, "Testimonianze e presenze fiamminghe nella piturra del Quattrocento," in *Pittura Fiamminga in Liguria secoli XIV-XVII,* eds. Piero Boccardo and Clario di Fabio (Cinisinello Balsamo: Silvana, 1997), p. 39; and Mauro Natale, *El Renacimento Mediterraneo*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Thyssen Bornemisza, 2001), pp. 429-431.
9. The triptych was sold in 1627 as part of the Gonzaga collection to King Charles I of England and was bought at the king's sale in 1650 by Everhard Jabach from Paris. It then entered the collection of the Electors of Saxony before the mid-eighteenth century and remains today in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. See Uta Neidhardt and Thomas Ketelsen, *Das Geheimnis des Jan van Eyck: Die frühen niederländischen Gemälde und Zeichnungen in Dresden*, exh. cat. (Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2005), pp. 14-21, 177-180.
10. This phenomenon is studied comprehensively by Victor M. Schmidt, *Painted Piety: Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany 1250-1400* (Florence: Centro Di, 2005).
11. Schmidt, *Painted Piety,* pp. 205-272.
12. See Stephen N. Fliegel and Sophie Jugie, *Art from the Courts of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and Jean the Fearless (1364-1419),* exh. catalogue (Dijon and Cleveland: Musée des Beaux Arts and The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004-2005), pp. 198-207; Schmidt, *Painted Piety,* pp. 314-323. Van Eyck's composition is close to the epitaph *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele* of 1436 (Bruges, Groeningemuseum) but here the figures are spread over three panels; it is noteworthy that the inscription on the frame still emulates that of memorial brasses. See Douglas Brine, *Pious Memories: Wall-Mounted Memorials in the Burgundian Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 202-207.
13. Carol J. Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 127-143, especially p. 141.
14. Simon de Lalaing, Geoffrey de Thoisy and Jean de Wavrin, all members of an Burgundian embassy to Rome in 1463, obtained the papal privilege to use a portable altar; whereas de Thoisy managed to extend this privilege to his sons, Jean de Wavrin received permission to use the portable altar on board a ship. See Malte Pritzel, *Guillaume Fillastre der Jüngere (1400/07-1473): Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-burgundischer Rat* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbeke Verlag, 2001), pp. 292.
15. My preliminary, short, and incomplete consultations of the *Supplicationes* in the Vatican archives in 2014 for the year 1436 has unfortunately not yielded information that could point to the possible donor depicted by Van Eyck.
16. Neidhardt and Ketelsen, *Das Geheimnis*, pp. 21 and 180.
17. Edoardo Grendi, "Profilo Storico degli alberghi Genovese," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 87 (1975): pp. 291-292; Jacques Heers, *Genova nell '400: Civiltà mediterranea, grande capitalism e capitalismo populare* (Milan: Jaca Books, 1991), pp. 335-341.
18. Heers, *Genova nell '400*, pp. 250-254; Giovanna Petti Balbi, *Una città e il suo mare: Genova nel Medioevo* (Bologna: CLUEB Editrice, 1991), p. 231. Families in the *albergo* Giustinani included among others the Arangi, De Banca, Bonici, and De Castro. See Giovanni Andrea Ascheri, *Notizie Storiche intorno alla riunione delle famiglie in alberghi in Genova* (Genoa: Faziola, 1846), p. 8.
19. Raymond de Roovere, *The Rise and Fall of the Medici Bank: 1397-1494* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1963), pp. 152-153; Giovanna Petti Balbi, *Mercanti e nationes nelle Fiandre: I genovesi in età bassomedievale* (Pisa: GISEM, Edizioni ETS, 1996).
20. See Balbi, *Mercanti*, pp. 82-84: it should be noted that the records are only referring to residents of Bruges. The Genoese who were staying outside of Bruges in Sluis or Damme – the ports of Bruges – have been included in the study of Renée Doehaerd and Charles Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'outremont d'aprés es archives notairales Génoises 1400-1440* (Brussels and Rome: Academia Belgica, 1952). The majority of the Genoese in Sluis were connected to maritime activities, and included captains as well as members of the ships' crews. Also see Jacques Paviot, *La politique navale des Ducs de Bourgogne 1384/1482* (Lille: Presses Universitaires, 1995), pp. 308-309.
21. Roberto Weiss, "Jan van Eyck and the Italians, I," *Italian Studies* 11 (1956): pp. 1-2.
22. Albert Châtelet, *Jan et Hubert van Eyck* (Dijon: Editions Faton, 2011), pp. 147 and 271.
23. Noëlle L. W. Streeton, "Jan van Eyck's Dresden Triptych: New Evidence for the Giustiniani of Genoa in the Borromini Ledger for Bruges," *Journal of Historian of Netherlandish Art* 3:1 Winter (2011): DOI 10.5092/jhna.2011.3.1.1. (accessed autumn 2018). Streeton's attempt to explain the archangel's presence as a reference to the Orthodox rites on Chios is unconvincing, even in the light that representatives of the orthodox Church participated at the council of Florence-Ferrara.
24. One of the account holders was Giovanni di Arrigo Arnolfini, whose cousin Giovanni di Nicolaio is likely the patron of the so-called Arnolfini Double portrait in the National Gallery in London. The ledgers can be consulted online http://www.queenmaryhistoricalresearch.org/roundhouse/default.html for the years 1436-1438.
25. Streeton, "Jan van Eyck's Dresden Triptych."
26. The coat of arms (illustrated in Neidhardt and Ketselsen, *Das Geheimnis*, p. 180) shows a cross formed by red cubes on a blue ground. It should also be noted that in 1437 the city of Bruges rose up against the Burgundian Duke. The court abandoned its residence and courtiers like Pieter Bladelin fled the city. See Dumolyn and Brown, *Medieval Bruges,* p. 304-306. As court painter to the Duke of Burgundy, it is likely that Van Eyck left Bruges together with other persons closely associated with the Duke's court at this critical moment. and that he produced the triptych elsewhere.
27. As suggested above, the second coat of arms could perhaps refer to the original family name of the donor. Comparing it to the presence of the two arms on the frame of Van Eyck's *Virgin of Canon Joris van der Paele,* one might even speculate that donor could have been an illegitimate offspring who made his fortune.
28. Michael Baxandall, "Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the *De Viris Illustribus,*" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): pp. 102-103: "*Eius est tabula insignis in penetralibus alfonsi regis, in qua est Maria virgo ipsa venustate ac verecundia notabilis, Gabriel angelus dei filium ex ea nascitarum annuntians excelleni pulchritudine capillis verso vincentibus, Iohannes baptista vitae sanctitatem et austeritatem admirabilem prae se ferens, Hieronymus viventi persimilis, bibliotheca mirae artis, quippe qua, si paulam ab ea discedas, videatur introrsus recedere et totos libros pandere, quorum capita modo appropinquanti appareant. In eiusdem tabulae exterior parte pictus est baptista lomelinus, cuius fuit pisa tabula, cui solam vocem deesse iudices, et mulier, quam amabat praestanti forma, et ipsa, qualis erat, ad unguem expressa, inter quos solis radius veluti per rimam illabebatur, quem verum solem putes.*"
29. Facio's remark that the donor's portrait was painted in such a realistic way that it lacked only breath is a literary commonplace as is his description of the illusionistic character of the library which clearly refers to classical notions of trompe-l'oeil; see Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 36-37.
30. See Paolo Viti, stemma "Bartolomeo Facio," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* vol. 44 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994). Also see Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily 1396-1458* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 324-326.
31. Maria Clelia Galassi, "Jan van Eyck's Genoese Commissions: The Lost Triptych of Battista Lomellini," in *Van Eyck Studies. Papers Presented at the Eighteenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 19-21 September 2012*, eds. Christina Currie et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), pp. 483-485. On the restricted accessibility of the Lomellini Triptych in Naples, see Gabriella Befani Canfield, "The Reception of Flemish Art in Renaissance Florence and Naples," in *Petrus Christus in Renaissance Bruges: An Interdisciplinary Approach,* ed. Maryan Ainsworth (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 36, and Andreas Beyer, "Princes, Patrons and Eclecticism: Naples and the North," in *The Age of Van Eyck: The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430-1530*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert, exh. cat.(Bruges: Groeningemuseum, 2002), pp. 124-125.
32. 1436 has been suggested as date for the triptych, see Fausto Nicolini, *L'arte napoletana del Rinascimento a la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1925), pp. 227-230. It is not clear on what this date is based.
33. Other examples include Rogier van der Weyden's *Polyptych of the Last Judgement* in Beaune, Hans Memling's *Triptych of the Last Judgment* in Gdansk and his *Triptych of the two Saint Johns* in Bruges.
34. Weiss, *Van Eyck and the Italians*, p. 3.
35. Weiss, *Van Eyck and the Italians*, p. 2-4; Châtelet, *Van Eyck*, pp. 272; Galassi, *Genoese Commissions,* pp. 483-484. It should be noted that there during Van Eyck's lifetime, there are at least four members of the Lomellini clan with the name Battista, Batista or Baptista: Battista, son of Battista (see *infra*), Batista di Napoleonis (see Doehaerd and Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales*, p.71: 1410), Batista di Vicentis (p. 538: 1431), or Pietro Batista di Pauli (p. 577: 1433); for Battista di Napoleone and Battista di Battista, see Natale Battilana, *Genealogie delle famiglie nobili genovesi*, vol. 3 (Genoa: Fratelli Pagano, 1833) sub. Lomellini, pl. 31; Ferdinando Bologna, *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura da Alfonso il Magnimo à Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples: Societa Napolitana di storia patria, 1970), pp. 61-62, contributed to the confusion by referring to Van Eyck's patron as Giambattista, a mistake I, regrettably, repeated in my essay "Antonello da Messina e la pittura fiamminga," in *Antonello da Messina: l'opera complete,* ed. Mauro Lucco, exh. cat. (Rome: Scuderia di Quirinale, 2006), pp. 29-30.
36. Riccardo Busso, stemma "Battista Lomellini" in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* vol. 65 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005).
37. The power of attorney concerns the activities of the deceased businessman Craveotus Lercarius, and was given on behalf of the widow Orieta and the two sons Andrea and Lucianus who belonged to the chapter of Santa Maria di Castello in Genova. The document was drawn up on 17 July 1409 by the notary Antonio Foglietta. See Doehaerd and Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales*, pp. 3-4.
38. Doehaerd and Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales*, pp. 366-367, 390-392, 395-396,428, 434-435, 541; Battista di Battista was also involved in providing a loan of more than 12,000 francs from the Lomellini clan to the Burgundian Duke John the Fearless in Paris in 1410, against which the court pledged jewels as security (Doehaerd and Kerremans, p. 231-233); on Genoese naval insurance business on routes to Flanders and England, see Doehaerd and Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales*, and Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries 1250-1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 186-194. Also see Heers, *Genova nel '400*, pp. 271-289.
39. Doehaerd and Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales*, pp. 606-607: '*heredum quondam Baptiste Lomellini*'. The first of the two records confirms a transfer of power of attorney to a representative in Bruges.
40. Doehaerd and Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales*, pp. 125, 232, 343, 351, 353-354,360-362, 404, 423, 434, 440, 457-458, 466, 529; his first underwriting concerned a shipment from Southampton to Naples in 1412, from the mid 1420s on he was more regularly recorded for insuring ships departing from the ports of Sluis, Southampton, Genova, Cadiz, Chios and Foça; in addition, he was involved in a financial transaction regarding jewels that were acquired by Nicolo Cattaneo in London or Bruges in October 1412 (p. 145-147). Châtelet, *Hubert et Jan van Eyck*, p. 272 also mentions that he acted as protector of the Office of the Banca di San Giorgio, but fails to mention the source.
41. The insurance records published by Doehard and Kerremans in *Les relations commerciales* that concern either Battista di Giorgio or Battista di Battista were typically certified by the Genoese notary Branca Bagnara, who didn't always make the distinction.
42. Cornelio Desimoni and Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, "Documenti ed estratti inedita o poco noti riguardante la storia del commercio e della navigazione ligure. I: Brabante, Fiandria e Borgogna," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 5 (1867): p. 413, doc. 54. It is unknown how long Gerolamo remained in Bruges but the fact that he had two accounta with the Borromeo Bank in Bruges in 1437 and 1438 – one he shared with Raffaele Giustiniani – indicates that he stayed there for longer, see Galassi, *Genoese Commissions,* p. 484 and http://www.queenmaryhistoricalresearch.org/roundhouse/default.html.
43. That Gerolamo commissioned the triptych for his brother has been suggested by Châtelet, *Hubert et Jean van Eyck*, p. 272, because of the depiction of Saint Jerome – his namesake – on one of the wings, see *infra*.
44. Alain Girardot, "René d'Anjou: une vie," in *Le Roi René dans tous ses États*, eds. Jean-Michel Matz et al. (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2009), pp. 27-33; Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous,* pp. 210-251.
45. On Alfonso's siege of Gaeta and the battle before the Isle of Ponza, see Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous,* pp. 200-205.
46. Amedeo Femiello, "Naples dans l'aventure italienne", in *Le Roi René*, pp.100-123.
47. Albert Leroy de La Marche, *Le roi René, sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires d'aprés des documents inédits* (Paris: Firmix-Didot, 1875), I, p. 219; Châtelet, *Hubert et Jean van Eyck*, p.272.
48. Bartolomeo Facio, *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri. Testo latino, traduzione italiana, commento e introduzione di Danielle Pietrangella* (Alessandria: Ed. Dell'Orso, 2004), pp. 368-369; see also the summary by Galassi, *Genoese Commissions,* p. 485.
49. Weiss, *Van Eyck and the Italians*, pp. 9-10; Alfonso probably first encountered works by Van Eyck during two Burgundian embassies in 1426 and 1427 even though the painter did not participate in these missions. See Monique Sommé, *Isabella de Portugal, Duchesse de Bourgogne: Une femme a pouvoir au XVe siècle* (Lille: Septentrion, 1998), pp. 25-26; his taste in Flemish painting is discussed by Margaret Anne

Skoglung, "In Search of the Art Commissioned and Collectd by Alfonso I of Naples, Notably Painting" (PhD diss., University of Missouri, 1989), pp. 111-117. Also see Rafael Cornudella, "Alfonso el Magnánimo y Jan van Eyck: Pintura y tapices flamencos en la corte del rey de Aragón," *Locus Amoenus* 10 (2009-2010): *passim;* Susan Frances Jones, "Jan van Eyck and Spain," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 50 (2014): pp. 30-34, especially on the acquisition in 1444 of Jan van Eyck's lost *Saint George* in Bruges by the Valencian merchant Juan Gregori who acted on behalf of Alfonso's chamberlain Berrenger Mercader, presumably on instructions by the king.

50. This scenario is followed by Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, *Italia e Fiandre nella pittura del Quattrocento* (Milan: Jaca, 1983), p. 78; Gennaro Toscano, "Nápoles y el Mediterráneo," in *El Renacimiento Mediterraneo*, exh. cat., ed. Mauro Natale (Madrid: Museo Thyssen Bornemisza, 2001), pp. 89-99; Elena Parma, "Genoa – Gateway to the South," in Borchert, *The Age of van Eyck*, pp. 97-98; Cornudella, *Alfonso il Magnanimo*, p. 48; Vasari, in his *Life of Antonello da Messina* (ed. 1568, p. 176) suggests a similar scenario : "*Ma essendo da alcuni Fiorentini che negoziavano in Fiandra et in Napoli, mandata a re Alfonso Primo di Napoli una tavola con molte figure, lavorata a olio da Giovanni, la quale per la bellezza delle figure e per la nuova invenzione del colorito, fu a quel re carissima, concorsero quanti pittori erano in quel regno per vederla, e da tutti fu sommamente lodata*."
51. Châtelet, *Jan et Hubert van Eyck*, p. 272.
52. Beyer, *Princes, Patrons and Eclecticism*, p. 119-120. Françoise Robin, *La Cour d'Anjou-Provence: La vie artistique sous le règne de René* (Clamecy: Picard, 1985), pp. 78-82 and 187-227.
53. Bologna, *Napoli,* p. 62; Galassi, *Genoese Commissions,* p. 486-492.
54. *Libro d'Oro,* Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX.22, fol. 250r; *Hours of Queen Isabelle of Clermont*, Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library, Ms. Typ. 463, f. 13r; on the two paintings by Arcuccio in the Churches of the Annunziata in Giugliano (Naples) and Sant'Agata dei Goti (Benevenuto), see Toscano, *Nápoles y el Mediterráneo*, pp. 91-93; Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli*, p. 52.
55. Natale, *El Renacimiento Mediterraneo*, pp. 401-405; Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* p. 46-61; Jones, *Jan van Eyck and Spain*, pp. 30-34. It is worth noting that Facio who is keenly telling us which of Van Eyck's paintings he saw himself, did not mention Van Eyck's *Saint George* although he must have encountered it in Naples.
56. See the chronological index in Carlos López Rogrigeuz and Stefano Palmieri, eds., *I registri Privilegiorum di Alfonso il Magnanimo della serie Neapolis dell'archivio della corona d'Aragon* (Naples: Academia Pontaniana, 2018), pp. LXXVII-CXIII.
57. Giorgio Vasari, on the other hand, writes that many artists came to see Van Eyck's work in Alfonso's possession in Naples and all admired it; see above note 50.
58. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous,* pp. 342-343.
59. The *Annunciation* is kept in Saint Madeleine in Aix-en-Provence; *Jeremiah* is in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels; Isaiah is in Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, with a fragment belonging to the Rijksmuseum; on the commission, see Jean Boyer, "Documents inédits sur le triptych d'Aix," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 54 (1959): pp. 301-314.
60. On Barthélémy d'Eyck, see Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: Le peintre de la Pieta d'Avignon* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), pp. 173-183; Michel Laclotte and Dominique Thiebault, *L'école d'Avignon* (Paris: Flammarion 1983), pp. 67-74 and 218-222; Nicole Reynaud, "Barthélémy d'Eyck avant 1450," *Revue de l'Art* 40 (1989): pp. 22-43; Eberhard König, *Das liebentbrannte Herz: Der Wiener Codex und der Maler Barthélémy d'Eyck* (Graz: Adeva 1996), pp. 39-70. For a summary of the different opinions about authorship and dating, see Dominique Thiebault, ed., *Les Primitifs français: découvertes et redécouvertes*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2004), pp. 123-141, and Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli*, pp. 97-100.
61. See *supra*, note 28; it has even been argued that the idea of placing Jeremiah and Isaiah as polychromed sculpture on a pedestal in front of a niche, and showing them on the inside rather than on the outside, may be a reaction to Eyckian grisailles. See Frederic Elsig, in *El Renacimiento Mediterraneo*, pp. 260-263.
62. Reynaud, *Barthélémy d'Eyck*, pp. 36-37.
63. He acquired a house in Ravensburg in 1452 from his mother and brother Conrad, and is referred to as citizen of the town, see Hans Rott, *Quellen und Forschungen zur südwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts,* I, *Bodenseegebiet* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1933), pp. 171-172; the abbreviation CDRZ on the *cartellino* is usually identified as Cïvis Ravenburgensis de Zella, whereby Zella perhaps may stand for Radolfzell as the artist's place of birth, a short distance from Ravensburg.
64. Friedrich Winkler, "Joos Amman von Ravensburg," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, Neue Folge* 1 (1959): pp. 51-118. Also see Till-Holger Borchert, *Van Eyck to Dürer,* exh. cat. (Bruges: Groeningemuseum, 2010-2011), pp. 374-375.
65. See Federigo Alzieri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origine al secolo XVI*, vol.1 (Genova, Luigi Sambolino 1852), pp. 407-413.
66. See Giuliana Algeri and Anna De Floriani, *La Pittura in Liguria: Il Quattrocento* (Genoa: Gruppo Carige, 1991), pp. 170-178; Algeri, *Testimonianze e presenze*, pp. 44-45.
67. Heers, *Genova nel '400*, pp. 326-327.
68. See Natale Battilana, *Genealogie delle famiglie nobili genovesi*, vol. 2 (Genoa: Fratellli Pagano, 1826), sub Grimaldi. The coats of arms are shown on a shield above the door on the left as well as on a stone bench directly below Gabriel's scepter. The shield has the form of a jousting targe, and possibly alludes to the patron's noble activities.
69. Felix Thürlemann, *Robert Campin* (Munich: Prestel, 2002), pp. 206-208.
70. The similarities between the window and the tripartite arcade in the background of Van Eyck's Rolin Madonna have been recognized on several occasions, but the view into the landscape includes other elements which may or may not have been part of Van Eyck's composition. The fresco's landscape includes the *Nativity* (seen through the doorway) and the *Visitation* (seen through the window). These scenes are also included on a print of the *Annunciation* by the Master of the Banderoles (Lehrs 10). See Götz Pochat in Borchert, *Van Eyck to Dürer*, pp. 166-167.
71. Serena Romana, "Giusto di Ravensburg e I pittori svizzero-tedeschi a Santa Maria di Castello in Genova," in *Genova e l'Europe continentale* eds. Piero Boccardo and Clario di Fabio (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2004), pp. 32-47; see also Frederic Elsig, "L'impatto del concilio di Basilea e la corrente renana," in *Corti città: Arte del Quattrocentro nell Alpi occidental,"* eds. Enrico Castelnuovo et al. (Milan: Skira, 2006), pp. 314-317.
72. Carl Brandon Strehlke, "Jan van Eyck: un artista per il mediterraneo," in *Jan van Eyck: Opere a confronto*, exh. cat. (Turin: Galleria Sabauda, 1997), pp. 67-69; Galassi, *Genoese Commissions,* pp. 490-491.
73. It is notable that the fresco in Genoa shares these motifs with the earlier *Annunciation* of the Master of the Pollinger Altarpiece of 1444 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) (see Ingrid-Sibylle Hoffmann, *Der Meister der Pollinge Tafeln: Wege der Erneuerung in der bayerischen Malerei des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Meister der Pollinge Tafeln: Wege der Erneuerung in der bayerischen Malerei des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts* [Weimar: VDG, 2007], pp. 90-98), as well as the *Annunciation* in Modena's Galleria Estense (see Borchert, *Van Eyck to Dürer*, pp. 374-376).
74. Van Eyck's study of texts from antiquity is already implied by Facio: "*qua ab antiquis tradita ex plinii et aliorum auctorum lectione didicerat*'. See Baxandall, *Bartolmeo Facio*, pp.102-103; Rudolf Preimesberger, "Zu Jan van Eycks Diptychon der Sammlung Thyssen Bornemisza," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991): p. 459-489 who demonstrated how Van Eyck alluded to antique anecdotes about artists in both his *Diptych of the Annunciation* and the Bruges *Virgin of Canon Joris van der Paele*; the motive of a basin with birds (doves) also appears on a *Holy Family* by the Westphalian Master of Iserlohn, painting around 1445/50 in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum of Münster. See P. Pieper, *Die deutschen, niederländischen und italienischen Tafelbilder bis um 1530. Bestandskatalog* (Münster: Landschafts-verband Westfalen-Lippe, 1990), pp. 209-210; the link between this panel and the Genoa-mural has been recently recognized by Ulrich Söding, "Realismus und Symbolik in der deutschen Tafelmalerei von 1430-1450/60" in *Vom Weichen über den Schönen Stil zur Ars Nova: Neue Beiträge zur europäischen Kunst zwischen 1350 und 1470*, eds.J. Fajt and M. Hörsch (Cologne: Böhlau, 2018), pp. 384-385. He tries to identify the bird as a goldfinch whose German name Diestelfink (literally thistle finch) carried allusions to the Passion of Christ. I am not sure that this identification is meant here, although these birds (without the basin) are included in some early annunciations from neighbouring Bavaria.
75. The figure of Gabriel is very similar to the same figure in an Eyckian drawing of the *Annunciation* in the *Liber Amicorum of Philipp Hainhofer* in Wolffenbüttel as well as the angel in the Eyckian *Three Marys at the Tomb* in Rotterdam. See Till-Holger Borchert, "Some Remarks on Drawings by Jan van Eyck, his Workshop and his Followers," in *La pensée du regard: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Chrstian Heck,* eds. Pascale Charron et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 84-85.
76. See Martha Wolff, *Northern European and Spanish Painting before 1600 in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2008), pp. 375-381 with previous literature; the first to recognize the links between Koerbeke's panel and Jos Amman's *Annunciation* was Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, pp. 231-232, n. 316 who assumed that both works must have been based on a lost prototype by Robert Campin.
77. See Barbara Jakoby, *Der Einfluß niederländischer Tafelmalerei des 15. Jahrhunderts auf die Kunst der benachbarten Rheinlande am Beispiel der Verkündigungsdarstellung in Köln, am Niederrhein und in Westfalen (1440-1490)* (Cologne: DME-Verlag, 1987), pp. 211-238.
78. Weiss, *Jan van Eyck and the Italians*, p. 10; Mauro Lucco, *Antonello da Messina. L'opera completa*, exh. cat. (Rome: Scuderia di Quirinale, 2006), pp. 198-200; Mauro Lucco, *Antonelle de Messina* (Paris: Hazàn, 2011), pp. 148-152, points specifically to Christus' *Annunciation* of 1452 (Berlin) and his *Holy Family* (Kansas City). Also see Till-Holger Borchert, "Antonello da Messina e la pittura fiamminga," in Lucco, *Antonello*, pp. 27-41.
79. Nicolini, *La Arte Neapolitana*, pp. 161-163.
80. The impact of Van Eyck's lost triptych on Antonello may not have been limited to the painting in Syracuse. Antonello's *Saint Jerome in his Study* (London, National Gallery) has been linked by various scholars to the triptych's representation of the saint. See Lucco, *Antonello da Messina*, pp. 212-214.
81. Now in the Museum of Girona Cathedral. See Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting,* 18 vols. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1938), VII, pp. 376-480 attributed the work to the eponymous "Master of Girona"; for the current attribution, see Juan Sutrà Viñas, "El 'Maestro de Gerona' Ramón Solá (?)," *Revista de Gerona* 28 (1964): pp. 39-43, and, more recently, Joan Valero Molina, "El pintor gironí Ramon Solà II i un retaule dedicate a santa Cristina per a Lloret," *Quaderns de la Selva* 20 (2008): p. 66.
82. Josep Gudiol i Ricart and Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura gòtica catalana* (Barcelona: Poligrafica 1994), pp. 181-183; Molina, *El pintor gironí*, pp. 61-72; Pere Freixas I Camps, *L'art gòtic a Girona: segles XIII-XV* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1983), pp. 182-186.
83. On Jacomart and Reixach see Maxime Deurbergue, *The Visual Liturgy: Altarpiece Painting and Valencian Culture (1442-1519)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 65-71. In this context, it may be useful to point to a monumental *Annunciation* of ca. 1440/50 in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Valencia that has been attributed to Jacomart by José Goméz Frechina in *La clave flamenco en los Primitivos Valencianos,* eds. Fernando Benito Domenech and José Goméz Frechina, exh. cat.(Valencia: Museo de Bellas Artes, 2001), pp. 192-197; and to the Master of Bonastre by Amadeo Serra in *El Renacimiento Mediterraneo*, pp. 445-447. While the painting is an important example of the early emulation of Early Netherlandish art in Valencia, its focused representation may reflect an earlier prototype, perhaps one – as Frechina suggested – that points to a lost *Annunciation* by Lluìs Dalmau.
84. Joan Sureda i Pons, *Un cert Jaume Huguet* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1994), pp. 55-56.
85. Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte: Dipinti dal XIII al XVI secolo* (Naples: Electa, 1999), pp. 55-57.
86. Nicolini, *La Arte Neapolitana*, pp. 161.
87. For some Italian precursors of Colantonio's depiction, see Penny Howell Jolly, Jan van Eyck and Saint Jerome: A Study of Eyckian influences on Colantonio and Antonello da Messina in Quattrocento Naples, (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976), pp. 104 and 106-108.
88. For the traditional view, see Weiss, *Van* Eyck, p. 10; Strehlke, *Jan van Eyck*, p. 67; Ferdinando Bologna, *Il Politico di San Severino: Restauri e recuperi* (Naples: Electa, 1989), pp. 92-92; Bologna, *Napoli,* p. 59-60 and 62: "*Ma non s'era riflettuto che il Facio parlò dell'opera a Napoli solo verso il 1456 e che per di piu , se il San Girolamo incluso dal Van Eyck nel trittico Lomellini non fu troppo diverso da quello dipinto per il cardinale Albergati (…), basta uno sguardo per rendersi conto che niente può esser derivato da quello al San Girolamo di Colantonio.*" The different opinions regarding the panel's relation to Van Eyck are summarized in Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* pp. 56-57.
89. See above, note 54. Among the earliest paintings in Naples that – besides Colantonio – incorporate motifs from Van Eyck's lost *Saint Jerome* is a triptych in Sant' Anna dei Lombardi of about 1460, where the left wing depicts *Saint Jerome in his Study*; see Michel Laclotte, "Rencontres franco-italiennes au milieu du XVé siècle," *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967): pp. 33-35 and Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* p. 55; Châtelet, *Hubert et Jan van Eyck*, p. 272 suggested that this much damaged painting may reflect the lost original most closely.
90. Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, "I rapport Italia-Fiandra," *Paragone* 17 (1966): pp. 42-69; Bologna, *Napoli*, pp. 59-61. Also see Alessandro Galli in *Renacimiento Mediterraneo*, pp. 381-387.
91. Howell Jolly, *Jan van Eyck*, pp. 112-113 points out that Alfonso had ordered in 1448 more than 13,000 majolica tiles from Valencia that were to show the royal crown with the combined arms of Aragon and Naples and Aragon and Sicily.
92. The argument is more problematic: as Bologna, *Napoli*, pp. 60-61, states himself, the Franciscan church was used by the Crown to host official meetings.
93. Howell Jolly, *Jan van Eyck*, pp. 113-114 and 123-124 (suggesting that the upper panel with Saint Francis may have been begun by Alfonso's court painter Jacomart); it is interesting to note that Bologna, initially, dated the altarpiece from San Lorenzo himself as late as 1455. See Ferdinando Bologna, "Il maestro di S. Giovanni da Capestrano," *Proporzioni* 3 (1950): pp. 92-93.
94. Howell Jolly, *Jan van Eyck*, pp. 105-106.
95. Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 107, 116-117, 157.
96. Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* pp. 56-57.
97. Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* pp. 75-77. Also see Alessandro Galli in *Renacimiento Mediterraneo*, pp. 380-390.
98. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum. See Federico Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1976), pp. 189-191.
99. Alzieri, *Notizie*, p. 269.
100. Weiss, *Van Eyck,* p. 10; Bologna, *Napoli*, pp. 83-84; Reynaud, *Barthélémy d'Eyck*, p.89; Algeri and De Floriani, *La Pittura in Liguria*, pp. 162-165; Algeri, *Testimonianze e presenze*, p. 40, Strehlke, *Jan van Eyck*, p. 67; Bonita Cleri, *Antonio da Fabriano: eccentrico protagonista nel panorama artistico del Quattrocento marchigiano* (Cinisinello Balsamo: Silvana, 1997), pp. 32-35 (biography), 112-114 (*Saint Jerome*); Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* pp. 56-57; Galassi, *Genoese Commissions,* pp. 491-492.
101. A frontal depiction of the saint by Jan van Eyck may find its roots in earlier representation of saints and prophets in Franco-Flemish book illumination such as André Beauneveu's miniatures. See Susie Nash, *André Beauneveu* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007), pp. 107-143; also murals with representations of the Fathers of the Church or the four Apostles, such as Giacomo Jaquerio's frescos in Pianezza near Torino. See Enrico Castelnuovo et al., *Arte del Quattrocento nelle Alpi occidentali: Precorsei dell'architettura e della pittura murale* (Milan: Skira, 2006), pp. 163-165.
102. See above, note 28.
103. Ann T. Lurie, "A newly discovered Eyckian St John the Baptist in a landscape," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 67 (1981): pp. 87-109; Maryan Ainsworth and Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, *Petrus Christus,* exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 78-855.
104. Strehlke, *Jan van Eyck*, p. 67. Also see Châtelet, *Hubert et Jan van Eyck*, p. 272.
105. Elsig in *Renacimiento Mediterraneo* pp. 284-286. Also see Challeat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli,* pp. 54-55.
106. Nuttall, *Flanders to Florence*, pp. 136; Borchert, *Antonello*, pp. 30-31 (fig. 4) published a version of Van Eyck's composition that was probably produced in the workshop of Colantonio.
107. Jones, *Jan van Eyck and Spain*, pp. 35-36. Also see Benito Domenech and Gomez Frechina, *La clave flamenca*, pp. 67-70, 118-122.
108. Laclotte and Thiebaut, *L'école d'Avignon*, pp. 235-236 (as follower of Quarton and dated ca. 1460) and Dominique Thiebaut in *Renacimiento Mediterraneo,* pp. 414-419.
109. The authoritative monograph with the relevant documents, compiled by Nicole Reynaud, remains Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton* (Paris: Réunion des Musées, 1983).
110. John O. Hand et al., *Prayers and Portraits*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2006), pp. 170-177
111. Hans Belting and Christians Kruse, *Die Erfindung des Gemäldes* (Munich: Hirmer, 1993), pp. 254-255.

Painting techniques in the work of Jusepe de Ribera: a study based on development of the artist's style

RAFAEL ROMERO AND ADELINA ILLÁN

The intention of this article is briefly to introduce a wide-ranging research project on the painting techniques of Jusepe de Ribera (Xátiva, 1591-1652). It is an extract from the findings of a project which began in 2000 and is still in progress at the Madrid office and laboratory of Icono I&R.

Ribera is, without a doubt, one of the most exciting artists in Spanish-Italian painting, not only because of his exceptional technical resources and development, but also on account of the new biographical and stylistic information that has come to light since 2002 through the work of Gianni Papi and Nicola Spinosa.[1] The opportunity for analysis and participation in the restoration of several important paintings from Ribera's time in Rome (as well as works from his later periods) has yielded a large amount of technical data, bringing unprecedented understanding of his working practices and materials. This significantly adds to and enriches our knowledge of Ribera, whose work was of outstanding importance to the later development of Spanish and Italian painting during the high Baroque.

The current technical research on Ribera's work has been structured according to three main stages of his artistic career. The early period, in Rome, 1610-1616, following a brief sojourn in Parma, was probably extremely successful. During this period, Ribera was in close contact with the first wave of Caravaggism, the most profound stylistic influence in Rome at this time. In his second, mature period, 1616 to ca. 1644, Ribera was a permanent resident in Naples where he became a leading and highly influential artist. In the third, late period, ca. 1644 to his death in 1652, he was faced with illness and competition from new "neo-Venetian" trends, as well as the emergence and growing success of promising painters like Giovanni Lanfranco, Massimo Stanzione, and Artemisia Gentileschi. In this last decade, Ribera's style shifted towards greater luminosity, richer and more vibrant colour ranges, and more flowing and transparent brushwork.

PERIOD OF WORK IN ROME

Ribera was at this time a young painter assimilating a variety of influences and techniques in the dynamic artistic atmosphere of early seventeenth-century Rome. In every work from this period examined to date, he used the typical Roman priming, ochre-brown in colour, bound with oil and made of ochre earths, calcite, and lead white, with the occasional trace of carbon black (fig. 1).[2] The usual application seems to have been in two or three coats and was perhaps a commercially prepared mixture, ready-made and affordable for painters, since this same priming has been detected in works by Caravaggio and his followers in Rome, as well as by other painters active in this milieu.[3]

Little is known about how an underdrawing would have been executed over this dark priming, but it has been possible to find traces of drawing done in lead white with a brush beneath the paint layer in the *Susanna and the Elders* (ca. 1613) at Galería Caylus, Madrid (fig. 2) – a highly unusual technique in Italian painting at the time and rarely detected in seventeenth-century Spanish painting.[5]

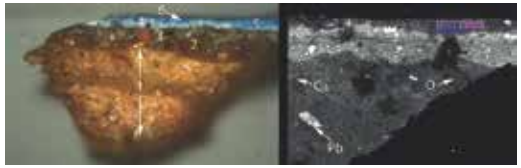


Fig. 1 / Cross section and SEM image of a sample from the blue mantle in the *Susanna and the Elders*, showing the priming typically used by Ribera during his Roman period, as well as the paint layer of high-quality lapis lazuli.

Fig. 2 / *Susanna and the Elders*, oil on canvas, 138.5 x 179 cm, Madrid, Galería Caylus.

Fig. 3 / X-ray detail of fig. 2.

Fig. 4 / *The Sense of Smell*, oil on canvas, 115 x 88 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

Fig. 5 / X-ray detail of the lower part of the work. Note the difference in the height of the table.

It is quite revealing that the use of a few lines to set out the main compositional elements (known in Italian as an *abbozzo*) is a typical feature of Caravaggio's painting, particularly in his Roman period, a practice Ribera used together with other types of underdrawing and incisions in the priming layer (figs. 2 & 3).[6]

Ribera's handling of paint is direct and flowing, and from this early stage he showed an outstanding command of the brush, using very few paint layers. Despite this, and although he clearly based his compositions on detailed drawings, he often made significant compositional corrections to his works (*pentimenti*). An example occurs in the Madrid *Susanna and the Elders*, where Susanna's right leg was originally higher, as were her right shoulder and forearm, indicating that the artist initially intended to cover her naked breast to a greater degree. An obvious change has also been made to the facial features, which were originally lower, and perhaps the correction to the shoulder forced the artist to reposition the face. The elder on the left originally extended his right hand out, closer to the woman, and Ribera later repositioned it further back in its current position. Another important example of the artist making significant changes to his composition occurs in *The Raising of Lazarus* (ca. 1616), published by Javier Portús in 2011, where whole figures were eliminated and many of the poses in the composition changed.[7] However, in other cases, works reveal a tremendous confidence in execution and an almost total absence of *pentimenti*, as in *The Sense of Smell* (ca. 1615-1616) in the Abelló collection (figs. 4 & 5),[8] and *Saint Andrew* (ca. 1615-1616) in a private collection.[9]

The use of pigments is wide-ranging and rich, as are the technical resources deployed to bring out their full potential. For instance, in the *Susanna*, her blue tunic has been worked up from a base finished with grisaille over which a light covering of high-quality lapis lazuli was applied. In other works, however, Ribera chose a thick layer of azurite, which has a much greener shade and is less chromatically vibrant, as is the case with the tunic in *Saint Andrew*.[10]

The way the flesh tones were produced also shows an interesting, unusual, feature, already noted in the paintings of *Saint Andrew* and *Susanna*: the presence of dead colouring (an intermediate layer of paint over the ground), which was quite dark for the flesh tones and always made up of manganese black, ochre earth, and organic brown. This base would have been intended to bring life to the flesh tones through an effect of transparency, although in other works examined from this period, this layer does not appear. This is a technique which, although highly unusual, has been noted in the flesh tones of Caravaggio's northern disciples such as Gerard van Honthorst.[11]

It is precisely during this period that Ribera began to develop one of his most characteristic techniques. This was to outline his figures' heads with loose strokes, using lead white, as if creating a halo. This defined the outlines, and these brushstrokes would later be covered with the background colour. This outlining of the heads can still sometimes be seen with the naked eye and always shows up clearly in X-ray images of his works.

MATURITY. AT THE PEAK OF HIS POWERS: NAPLES

The first important commission received by Ribera following his arrival in Naples in 1616, came in 1618 through the viceroy, Don Pedro Téllez Girón y Guzmán, 3rd Duke of Osuna. The duke commissioned a series of paintings destined for the collegiate church of Osuna.[12] From this date onwards, logically enough, the typical Neapolitan priming is found in his works, differing from those used in the Roman milieu, with red and brown earths present as well as the occasional red lead (minium) which was probably added as a siccative to oil media (fig. 6).[13] The colouring is therefore much browner and more reddish. This type of priming was ideal for the emphatically-tenebrist style which Ribera adopted in his early years working in Naples, though there are also works from the 1630s where mixtures based mainly on red earths are found.[14]

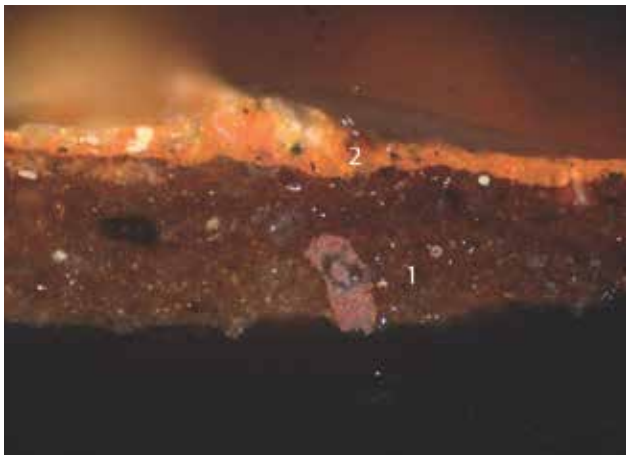


Fig. 6 / Cross section of a sample from *David and Goliath* showing one of the most frequently used primings throughout Ribera's work in Naples.

During the first twenty years of his work in Naples, he continued to represent the ancient Greek philosophers dressed as beggars, as he had begun to do during his Roman period. One particular commission of these types of figures, a series of philosophers for Don Fernando Afán de Ribera y Enríquez, 3rd Duke of Alcalá and viceroy in Naples, should be highlighted. The series was painted between 1629 and 1631 and enabled Ribera to display his extraordinary talents for veristic rendering of threadbare fabrics, textures, facial expressions and – what was to become his most characteristic achievement in painting – the highly-realistic representation of skin and anatomy. We have been able to examine and analyze various works of this type, including several examples of the same iconographic model, some of which possibly formed part of the duke's original series (figs. 7, 8, & 9).[15]

The same skills in handling paint are evident in the representation of saints and apostles. Here, too, Ribera drew on repeated established models, as, for instance, in the *Penitent Saint Peter* (fig. 10),[16] a recent addition to the artist's oeuvre. X-ray studies of these works reveal an important technical feature: the execution is confident, free of *pentimenti*, and shows the artist following a previously thought out and established design (fig. 11). It is probable that the repetition of models in such series required the use of drawings and cartoons, ready to be transferred to new canvases on which Ribera occasionally adjusted his formats, since the 'standard' dimensions of paintings could vary.

In contrast to the repetition evident in these successful series of beggar-philosophers, in his other works Ribera carried out a process of perfecting models through carefully considered *pentimenti*. An example of this occurs in the adjustments made to the arm and forearm of *David with Goliath's Head*, a magnificent work executed around 1630 (figs. 12 & 13).[17]

Fig. 7 / *Thales of Miletus*, oil on canvas, 117.5 x 95.5 cm, Madrid, Private Collection.

Fig. 8 / *Archimedes*, oil on canvas, 130 x 101 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 9 / *Crates of Thebes*, oil on canvas, 123.2 x 97.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig 10 / *Penitent Saint Peter*, oil on canvas, 125 x 91 cm, Private Collection.

Fig 11 / X-ray detail of Fig. 10.

Fig 12 / *David with Goliath's Head*, oil on canvas, 122 x 100 cm, Madrid, Colomer collection.

Fig 13 / X-ray detail of Fig. 12.

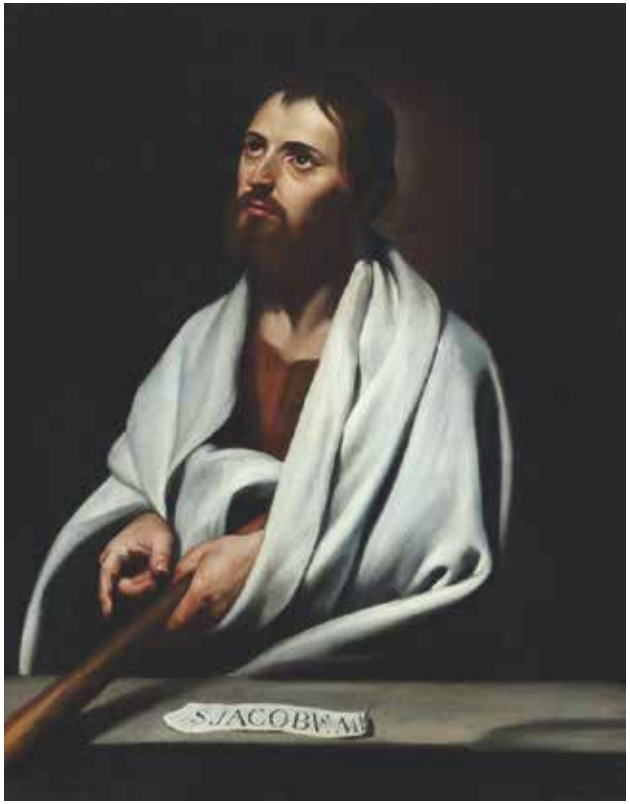


Fig 14 / *James the Less*, oil on canvas, 109.3 x 87.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig 15 / X-ray detail of Fig. 14.

Fig 16 / *Silenus*, oil on canvas, 47 x 36.5 cm, Buenos Aires, Jaime Eguiguren Arts & Antiques.

As in his Roman phase, during his long period in Naples Ribera also resorted to a grid to make the figures fit correctly or occupy the correct position. A few unconnected traces of brush marks have been observed, with a high content of lead white, in a painting of the apostle *James the Less* in a private collection.[18] These traces can be clearly discerned in the upper part of the head and the ear (figs. 14 & 15).

Another type of underdrawing has been detected in a figure in an important work that can be dated around 1634-1636, namely the *Silenus* in Buenos Aires which formed part of a larger work damaged in the 1734 fire at the Alcázar in Madrid (fig. 16). The original painting, of which only a few fragments survive, depicted the *Visit of Bacchus to Icarus*. Technical examination of the Silenus fragment showed the presence of a precise underdrawing done in black, defining the main anatomical elements, the eyelids and lower part of the nose, traces of the hair, and the line of the nose of another figure on his right.[19]

Certain technical aspects of Ribera's working practices which emerged in his Roman period remained constant and later became distinguishing features of the artist's creative methods, for instance the outlining of the profiles of heads.

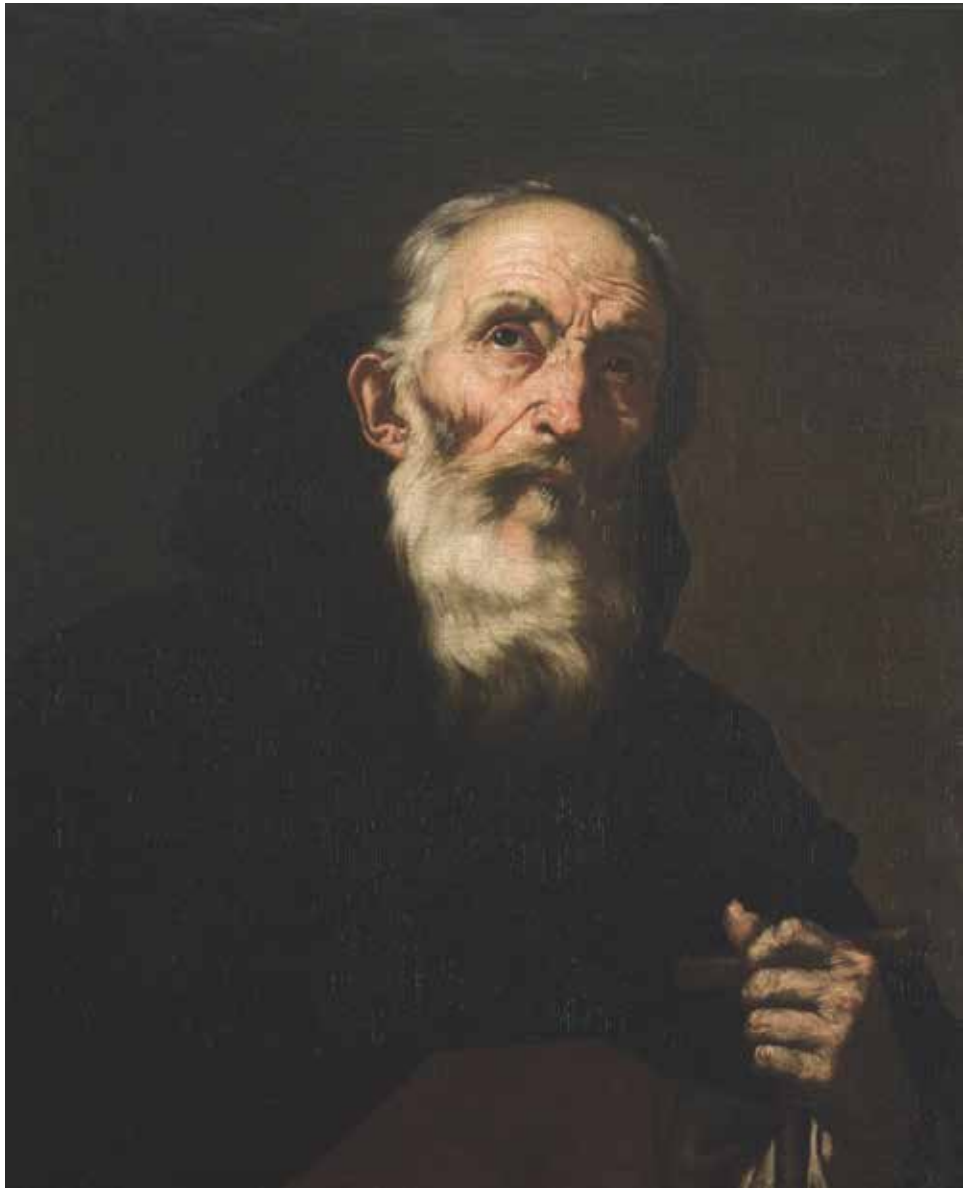


Fig 17 / *Saint Anthony Abbot*, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 65.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig 18 / X-ray detail of the head in Fig. 17.

This is clearly demonstrated in the *Saint Anthony Abbot* (1636) in Madrid (figs. 17 & 18) and *Saint Francis de Paula* (1640) in the Neapolis Collection.[21] As mentioned above, this simple technique, helped Ribera, as he worked on his paintings, to make the heads stand out against a background which was not completely finished and would later be covered by the surrounding colour. In some cases, due to an increase in refraction in the oil paint layers, these have gained in transparency, allowing the "halo" to rise through the layers and become clearly visible to the naked eye.[22]

Ribera's range of pigments does not vary much throughout his career. In the case of blue, as observed, in his early career he always chose azurite (except in the *Susanna*) and cobalt smalt. Later he began to use lapis lazuli generously and almost exclusively throughout the 1640s until his death in 1652: for example, in the two versions of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* belonging to the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, one dated 1640 and the other probably dating to the 1630s, lapis lazuli is the main pigment in the Virgin's mantle.[23]

Throughout his career, Ribera based his palette mostly on different coloured earths. Some of these have an outstanding chromatic intensity, highlighting his practice of always choosing the best quality pigments available. Where areas appear to have darkened, it is usually on account of the ageing of bituminous ochres, regularly used in the darker areas of paintings. To some extent this has perhaps misleadingly conditioned an interpretation of the tenebrist nature of certain works in which there would originally have been areas in the background that were more transparent and luminous.[24]

Another feature that emerged in the Neapolitan years and continued until late in his career, is Ribera's experimentation with new supports, through which he sought to exploit the aesthetic qualities of materials such as wood or copper.

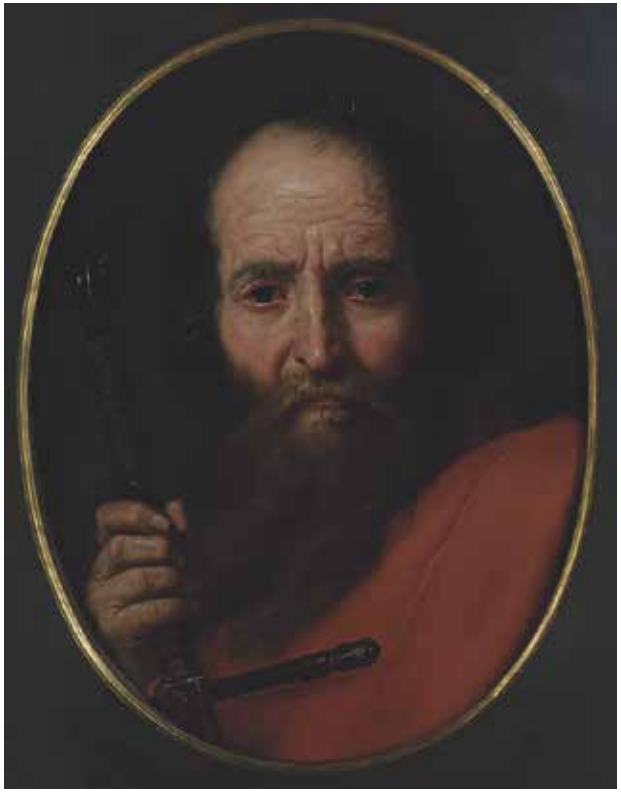


Fig 19 / *Saint Paul*, oil on panel, 53 x 41 cm, Private Collection.

Fig 20 / X-ray image of work in Fig. 19.

These supports increased opportunities for capturing nuances in painting and rich brushwork. Ribera might have varied his support depending on the type of client or simply because he happened to prefer one or the other at a given time. In an exceptionally high-quality work like the *Saint Paul* in a private collection (figs. 19 & 20),[25] dated 1643 and in an oval format, Ribera chose a panel of unidentified hardwood, and for the splendid work *Saint Januarius Emerging Unharmed from the Furnace*, painted in 1646 for the treasury chapel of the Cathedral of San Gennaro in Naples, he used a huge copper sheet.[26] Another example of a work on copper is the exceptionally-beautiful *Hecate*, now in Apsley House, London, and probably painted in 1641.[27]

RIBERA'S LAST PERIOD

In 1633-1637 Ribera carried out an important commission for the convent of las Agustinas in Salamanca. The commission came from the Count of Monterrey, Viceroy of Naples from 1631 to 1637. From this point onwards – particularly from the 1640s until his death in 1652 – Ribera's style took a new direction. As mentioned above, this change was in part due to the arrival in Naples of new artists and the development of new artistic sensibilities in both Neapolitan and Italian painting in general. Ribera's style evolved to incorporate new chromatic ranges and colour combinations with greater luminosity, a new sense of plasticity, and more refined compositions.

In works from this late period, Ribera began to replace the brown Neapolitan priming commonly used in previous decades, with an earthy reddish one with which he had only occasionally experimented before. This added warmth to the paintings, an effect enhanced by the thinness of the paint layers applied on top (fig. 21). Ribera even left this lower layer uncovered in many of his late works, employing half tones and shadows. This can clearly be perceived in the *Ecce Homo*, dated 1644, now in Buenos Aires (fig. 22); here the artist plays with vibrant effects of transparency in dark areas painted with bituminous browns, such as the hair and beard.[28]

Ribera did, however, continue to use his more customary priming on occasion: the familiar reddish brown is evident in the previously mentioned *Mary Magdalene* (1642) in Granada Cathedral.[29]

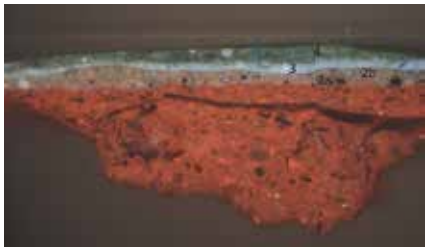


Fig 21 / Cross section from *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, showing the reddish earth-coloured priming typical of Ribera's final years.

Fig 22 / *Ecce Homo*, oil on canvas, 67 x 56 cm, Buenos Aires, Jaime Eguiguren Arts & Antiques.

Fig 23 / *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, oil on canvas, 252.5 x 201 cm, Madrid, Fondo Cultural Villar-Mir.

Fig 24 / X-ray showing detail of the Child in Fig. 23.

In the artist's final works, the new ambient luminosity is accentuated by his rich chromatic range, as in the wonderful *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1648 in the Fondo Cultural Villar-Mir in Madrid. The lush blue of the Virgin's mantle was executed with high quality lapis lazuli on top of a base of smalt cobalt, lead white, and traces of carbon black (fig. 23).[30] Ribera's wealth of technical resources, in this late phase, is evident in the entire area making up the sky: here the artist used an ochre base, perhaps searching for a different base colour, as the reddish tone in the ground was unsuitable for the cloudscape. This priming is left visible in many areas in the sky, especially in the clouds, to increase the tonal variety.[31]

It is interesting to observe how Saint Joseph´s tunic has suffered from chemical changes. The colour would originally have appeared a lighter mauve, and the overall chromatic range would have been more balanced.[32] This same chemical change, brought about by ageing, also occurs in the lower layers of *David and Goliath*, where X-rays reveal a voluminous mantle tossed by the wind.

In these late works, *pentimenti*, when present, are no more than very slight corrections to outlines of shapes and anatomical details. In the *Flight into Egypt*, for instance, the upper outline of the Child's head has been made smaller and the right leg of the angel on the left has been altered (fig. 24).

CONCLUSIONS

Jusepe de Ribera's work is impressive for his bravura displays of technical virtuosity occurring in works produced at every stage of his career. Research into his Roman period has enabled a better understanding of his education as an artist, revealing how his style developed and was influenced by the artistic environment of Rome. There are of course still gaps that need clarification, for instance his artistic output during a short stay in Parma prior to his arrival in Rome. More precise knowledge of his methods in painting show that Ribera possessed a superb ability to adapt his technique at all stages of his career.

The data provided by the present research on Ribera's Roman period reveal that, beyond the obvious influences of Caravaggio's style, the artist had direct knowledge of very personal techniques used by Caravaggio. Is it possible, then, to support the hypothesis advanced by certain writers, that the young Ribera might have known Caravaggio in Rome and benefited from direct access to his painting techniques?

Whether or not this was the case, it is clear that Ribera's technique continued to evolve throughout his career. Even after establishing successful stylistic and technical solutions employed over decades, he embraced new stylistic vocabularies with which he came in contact. In response to the challenge posed by the arrival of young, talented artists on the Neapolitan scene, he adapted his techniques and explored new avenues, despite being afflicted by illness and old age.

The study of a painter's techniques and use of materials brings us closer to understanding his way of working and – perhaps to some degree – his character. In the case of an artistic genius like Ribera – whose painterly technique has not up until now been the subject of extensive research – this study provides crucial and enriching information, confirming that a talented and creative artist's career does not follow a linear trajectory and culminate in a singular pictorial mode. Rather, in the case of great artists like Ribera, artistic evolution appears as a dynamic process of incorporating new forms of expression while continually drawing on a wealth of existing knowledge and experience.

NOTES

1. A key work for Ribera's Roman period is Nicola Spinosa, *Ribera. La obra completa* (Madrid: Fundación Apoyo Arte Hispánico, 2008); Nicola Spinosa, *José de Ribera, bajo el signo de Caravaggio* (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 2005); Gianni Papi, *Ribera a Roma* (Soncino: Edizione dei Sonzino, 2007).
2. Analyses carried out with electron microscope scanning (SEM-EDX) on a group of five works from the Roman period show the composition of the priming to contain predominantly ochre earths, calcite and lead white with smaller amounts of carbon black, red earth, pyrite, silica, micas and dolomite. In the *Susanna and the Elders*, an additional top layer can be seen which is darker and has the same components plus manganese black. The binding agent has been identified through gas chromatography with a detector of mass spectrometry (GC-MS) as invariably being linseed oil. Curiously enough, this is a type of mixture which is very similar to that used in Seville during the seventeenth century and which contemporary treatises called *tierra de Sevilla*, or 'Seville earth'. See Adelina Illán, Rafael Romero, and Ana Sáenz de Tejada, *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* (Barcelona: II Congreso GEIIC, 2005), pp. 197-206.
3. Javier Bacariza Domínguez et al., *Caravaggismo y clasicismo en la pintura italiana del Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza. Un estudio técnico e histórico* (Madrid: Rayxart, 2014).
4. Spinosa, *La obra completa*, no. A27, p. 318.
5. Rafael Romero and Adelina Illán, *El dibujo subyacente entre 1500 y 1700: singularidades e incógnitas a la luz de nuevos hallazgos* (Valladolid: Simposium Universidad de Valladolid, forthcoming).
6. Larry Keith, "Caravaggio´s painting technique: a brief survey based on paintings in the National Gallery," in *Caravaggio's Painting Technique*, eds. Marco Ciatti and Giovanni Brunetto Brunetti (Rome: Kermes Quaderni, 2012), pp. 23-30; Roberto Belluci and Cecilia Frosinini, "New evaluations on Caravaggio´s methods of underdrawing: art historical and scientific challenges," in Ciatti and Brunetti, *Caravaggio's Painting Technique*, pp. 51-58; Larry Keith, "Three paintings by Caravaggio," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 19 (1998): pp. 37-51
7. Javier Portús, "Teatro de emociones. *La resurrección de Lázaro* o Ribera como pintor científico, in *El joven Ribera*, eds. José Milicua and Javier Portús, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2011), pp. 61-67.
8. Spinosa, *La obra completa*, no. A64, p. 338.
9. Nicola Spinosa, "La revolución de Ribera. Los últimos descubrimientos," *Ars Magazine* 1 (2008): p. 109.
10. Lapis lazuli does not seem to have been a pigment that Ribera commonly used in works that can be placed in the Roman period. He normally chose azurite, which has a greener tone. This cannot be explained by the unique quality or high cost of lapis lazuli, as would be the case in Spain, since in Italy it had been frequently employed since the Middle Ages and, although also considered the best available blue, was reasonably priced.
11. Ashok Roy, "Caravaggio´s influence in the North," in Ciatti and Brunetti, *Caravaggio's Painting Technique*, pp. 85-94.
12. For further discussion, see Lourdes Núñez Casares, Lourdes Martín García, and Gabriel Ferreras Romero, "Intervención sobre el *Calvario* de José de Ribera (Colegiata de Osuna)," *PH59 Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico* 59 (2006): pp. 18-39.
13. The priming mixtures Ribera used in Naples are rather browner than the Roman ones and clearly have a reddish shade, due to the greater presence of red earth in their composition which, as well as the usual components, includes calcite, silica, ochres, carbon black, lead white, dolomite, and pyrite. In the *Pietà* in the Museo Thyssen, minium has also been identified. This was probably added as a siccative. See Maria Dolores Gayo, Andrés Sánchez, and María J.Gómez, "Estudio de materiales," in *Ribera, La Piedad*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2003), pp. 73-79.
14. Angel Balao González, "La restauración de la pintura de Jusepe de Ribera en el Patrimonio Nacional," *Reales Sitios* 114 (1992): pp. 45-57; Gayo, Sanchez, Gomez, "Estudio de materiales."
15. A detailed study of all these works examined in the laboratory of Icono I&R, Madrid, will be included in Rafael Romero and Adelina Illán, *José de Ribera (1591-1652). Técnica Pictórica*. (Madrid: Icono I&R, forthcoming).
16. Catalogue entry by Gianni Papi.
17. Spinosa, *L'obra completa*, no. A74, p. 345.
18. Ibid., no. A3, p. 304.
19. Rafael Romero and Adelina Illán, "Summary of technique, *Head of Silenus* (fragment of *The Visit of Bacchus to Icarus)*," in *Spanish Old Master Paintings 1500-1700* (Buenos Aires: Jaime Eguiguren Arts & Antiques, 2018), pp. 130-134.
20. *San Antonio Abad.* Catalogue entry by José Gómez Frechina.
21. Spinosa, *L'obra completa*, no. A278, p. 441.
22. This can be clearly seen in the philosopher *Crates* (123.2 x 97.5 cm, Private Collection).
23. Ángel Balao González, "La restauración de la pintura de Jusepe de Ribera" in Gayo, Sánchez, Gómez, "Estudio de materiales."
24. A full study of the materials, pigments, and colourings used by Ribera in his works will be included in the forthcoming Romero and Illán, *José de Ribera*.
25. Spinosa, *L'obra completa*, no. C36, p. 510. This was done on a panel of hardwood (unidentified species) which was repaired in the nineteenth century. X-ray images do not show whether there could have been any original system for reinforcing the panel. The priming is gypsum (calcium sulphate dihydrate), bound with animal glue, on top of a thin priming layer of reddish ochre.
26. Spinosa, *L'obra completa*, no. A336, p. 466.
27. Spinosa, *L'obra completa*, no. C33, p. 509.
28. Romero and Illán, "Summary of technique, José de Ribera. *Ecce Homo,*" in *Spanish Old Master Paintings,* pp. 106-111; Romero e Illán, *El dibujo subyacente entre 1500 y 1700*.
29. Pablo Jiménez Díaz, *Esplendor recuperado. Proyecto de investigación y restauración de los retablos del Nazareno y La Trinidad de la Catedral de Granada* (Granada: IPCE-Cabildo Catedral de Granada, 2009).
30. Smalt used in the base colour demonstrates considerable fading and shows up under the microscope as almost transparent glassy particles. In this layer, in addition to smalt and lead white, traces of yellow earth and calcite appear.
31. Samples from these areas do not show any fading in the upper paint layers. We believe that it was Ribera's intention to leave the ochre priming visible in many areas.
32. A micro-sample from Saint Joseph's tunic shows a very faded paint layer made of abundant organic red lake, degraded cobalt smalt, and organic black.

Fig. 1 / Titian, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1535?, oil on wood, 75 x 57 cm, UK, Private Collection.

'*...la faccia bella, dolce et delicata tanto quanto la saprete fare*': Titian's paintings of the *Salvator Mundi* and *Temptation of Christ* and their patrons

PAUL JOANNIDES

On 3 August 1535 Federico Gonzaga wrote, rather laboriously, to Titian requesting a *Christ*, a version of one that he had already received:

> Some time ago you gave me an image of a Christ which delighted me, whence I have come to wish to have another similar one; but I ask you to agree to make it with that care and diligence you customarily employ in those things from which you desire to gain honour, and in those that you knew would please me and in others that I wanted; for [I wish] this figure to be no less beautiful and good than the other one, so that it can be hailed among the most excellent works of Titian. I would also desire you to make time to execute it so that I may have it by the day of the Madonna of September (i.e., 8 September) at all costs.[1]

From Federico's covering letter of the same day to Benedetto Agnello, his representative in Venice, we learn that he had sent Titian a drawing of the *Christ* that he wanted – which establishes that it was to be varied in some respects from the earlier one – and that he planned to present this second painting to Charles V:

> We are writing the attached [letter] to Titian in order to obtain from his hand a [figure of] Christ of the type of which we are sending him the drawing. We wish you to press him to execute it with that excellence of which we know him to be capable and which he displayed in a similar figure that he gave me on another occasion; and that you employ every effort so that we may have it by the Madonna of September, because we wish to take it with us when we go to [meet] his Majesty.[2]

Federico's emphasis on quality, both to Titian and to Agnello, is noteworthy: perhaps he suspected – although did not make explicit – that Titian might be tempted to have a repeat painted by a member of his studio.

Titian's *Christ* should have been consigned to a boat in early September – so he had fulfilled Federico's wishes and completed it in about three weeks – but on the seventh of that month Agnello informed Gian Giacomo Calandra, Federico's secretary, that, for unexplained reasons, the boat had sailed without notice, so there would be a delay and additional cost in transporting the painting to Mantua.[3] It probably did arrive in time for the Duke to present it to Charles V, for in the event their meeting was postponed.[4] But whether he did so is unknown, for there seems to be no record of a *Christ* by Titian in the emperor's inventories, nor is either of Federico's paintings of *Christ* traceable in the Gonzaga archives. The matter is not referred to again in correspondence between Titian and Federico, and the duke's ensuing letters are concerned with a portrait of, not a *Christ* for, Charles V.

We have no direct information about the representation of Christ in Federico's two paintings but among various possibilities two seem likely. One is that they were variants of the profile bust of *Christ* that Titian had painted for Federico's brother-in-law, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, now in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 2).[5]

Fig. 2 / Titian, *Christ in Profile*, 1534, oil on wood, 77x 57 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti.

Fig. 3 / Titian, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1535?, oil on canvas, 83x 61 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Commissioned by Francesco Maria in 1532 on behalf of his Duchess, Eleonora Gonzaga, it was received shortly before 23 March 1534.[6] The brothers-in-law employed Titian in parallel, both ordering from him versions of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Francesco Maria's panel is in the Galleria Palatina; Federico's in Christ Church, Oxford). It would be reasonable to suppose that at least the first of Federico's two paintings of *Christ* was similar to – and might even have preceded – that made for Urbino.[7] However, while this option cannot be ruled out, supporting evidence is lacking: no versions or variants of the Palatina bust of *Christ* in any way distinguishable from it are known, either in originals or copies.[8]

Another option, which would have the advantage of accounting for two neglected paintings, is that Titian's pictures were of *Christ as Salvator Mundi*. A version of this subject, on wood, rather damaged and somewhat overpainted, with Christ holding a transparent globe in his left hand, once part of the great collection of the Earl of Darnley (fig. 1), is now privately owned in the UK; a related *Salvator Mundi* on canvas, in which Christ lays His right hand upon the globe, is in Vienna (fig. 3). Both paintings are datable – and, in the meagre discussion of them, generally dated – to the 1530s. While they have been marginalized or ignored in recent scholarship, both are, in my judgment, fully autograph and might well have been Federico's pictures.[9] The 'Darnley' *Salvator* is likely to be the earlier of the two. An X-ray (fig. 4) shows the painting to be quite freely executed with a varied and looser initial arrangement of the Saviour's drapery; it also reveals that He was painted over a reduced version of Titian's Aldobrandini *Madonna* (London, National Gallery), a canvas which once bore the date 1533.[10] The Vienna canvas is less direct in address, with Christ shown as a pensive pantocrator; it would have made an appropriate gift for the introspective emperor.

Fig. 4 / X-ray image of Fig. 2.

The subject of the *Salvator Mundi*, of course, had famously been painted by Leonardo, whose recently rediscovered panel, generally dated ca. 1505 and showing a transfigured Saviour supporting a crystal orb in His left hand (fig. 5), was both copied and reinterpreted by his followers.[11] Titian's 'Darnley' painting could be seen as a further eddy in the Milanese current that flows through his single-figure compositions. But versions of the *Salvator Mundi* had been painted earlier in Venice, as Carpaccio's 1480s panel demonstrates (fig. 6), although in that the Saviour is not isolated.[12] Giovanni Bellini probably painted the subject: the high-quality studio piece, the *Blessing Christ* in the Galleria Nazionale could, minimally extended, have made a potent *Salvator Mundi*.[13]

It also seems likely that Dürer's treatment of the *Salvator Mundi* (fig. 7), generally dated just before his second Italian sojourn, was inspired by what he had seen a decade earlier in Venice where the subject continued to find favour.[14] Among other examples is one by Francesco Bissolo, in which the clearly demarcated colour areas of the blue outer, and red inner, garment (fig. 8) foreshadow or parallel those in Titian's paintings. Andrea Previtali's painting of 1519 in the National Gallery (fig. 9) is similar in design.[15] A variant, in which Christ's right hand is placed before the sphere while His left hand rests upon it, was painted by Jacopo Palma ca. 1520; of this panel, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts Strasbourg, several, possibly studio, copies are known.[16]

Fig. 5 / Leonardo da Vinci, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1505?, oil on wood, 67 x 45 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 6 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Christ as Salvator Mundi with Four Saints*, oil on wood, 70 x 69 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 7 / Albrecht Dürer, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1504, oil on wood, 57 x 47 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 8 / Francesco Bissolo, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1514, oil on wood, 37 x 36 cm, present whereabouts unknown.

Fig. 9 / Andrea Previtali, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, signed and dated 1519, oil on wood, 62 x 53 cm, London, The National Gallery.

In short, rather than taking Leonardo's *Salvator Mundi* as his model, Titian deliberately placed his Christ within a Venetian tradition. Titian had, of course, already established in 1515-1516 in the *Tribute Money*, painted for Alfonso d'Este and now in Dresden (fig. 10), the noble and refined type of the Saviour's face; he developed this in the 'Darnley' and Vienna paintings, in which he fused – one is tempted to say incomparably – authority and compassion, divinity and humanity.[17] Unfortunately, we have no further information about either of Federico Gonzaga's *Christs*, and since the provenances of the 'Darnley' panel and the Vienna canvas begin only in the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries respectively, the possibility that these were the Duke of Mantua's pictures cannot yet be confirmed.

Some three decades later Titian returned to the subject, in the beautiful *Salvator Mundi* in the Hermitage (fig. 11), which broadly reprises the composition of the 'Darnley' version.[18] Although it is not fully finished, it seems to be a work of the 1560s rather than his final years. Whether it was painted in response to a commission or undertaken on Titian's own initiative, is conjectural; similarly conjectural is why it was not fully completed. Christ is a little less formally arranged than in the prototype. His draperies are softer and simpler, and His head is inclined a little to the viewer's left; in these features it reflects a related variant that Titian had painted a decade or so earlier.

Fig. 10 / Titian, *The Tribute Money*, 1515-1516, oil on wood, 75 x 56 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

Towards the end of his sojourn in Augsburg between August-September 1548, Titian executed a *Man of Sorrows* for Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle. Granvelle, who made a practice of acquiring versions of pictures painted by Titian for his masters, had understandably been impressed by the painting on slate that Titian had just presented to the emperor. Subsequently, from Venice, Titian sent Granvelle a second *Christ*. We have an extensive correspondence between patron and painter about these pictures but, because several letters overlapped and others are lost, it is unsynchronized and the course of events is not easy to unravel; nor is it always clear which paintings are being discussed.

Fig. 11 / Titian, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, early 1560s, oil on canvas, 96 x 80 cm, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.

On 29 August Granvelle wrote from Spira (Speyer):

> As for the Christ, if your Excellency considers that it can be done better in Venice, then with God's blessing take it there, because you can then give it to the postmaster Messer Ruggiero de' Tassi who, I know, will send it on securely. And I would prefer the [execution] to take you a little more time and to be of good [quality], rather than for a work of Titian to be compromised by haste. And I beseech you to show me the affection that you bear for me in the face of this Christ, as perfect as that of the original which the emperor possesses, because I shall requite you with every kindness.[19]

Like Federico Gonzaga, Granvelle was concerned with quality and stressed the perfection that he hoped to see in Christ's features, referring to the emperor's picture as a model. But his letter crossed with one from Titian dated 1 September which refers to an earlier agreement made between patron and painter:

> I will consign within two days your Excellency's paintings to your host [Georg Schörer, Granvelle's host in Augsburg] as his Excellency told me. If the Christ is not executed as well as you deserve, although at present my mind is not very calm owing to my affairs and problems, I will replace it at my ease when I am in Italy; nevertheless, I hope it will not displease you for it is very like the Roman one.[20]

From this it appears that Titian had finished or was about to finish a *Man of Sorrows* which was to be left with Schörer together with other pictures commissioned by Granvelle; however, if Granvelle deemed it unsatisfactory, he would replace it after his return to Venice when he would be more relaxed.[21] It is interesting that Titian remarked that the painting he was leaving for Granvelle was "molto simile a quello di Roma" which must mean that it followed the version of the subject that he had painted for Paul rather than that given to the emperor and, consequently, confirms that there were differences between them, although in what those differences consisted is open to discussion.[22]

In another letter, datable either to the 23 or 26 September (responding to a lost one from Granvelle of 16 September), Titian, writing from Füssen, states that he had indeed left the *Christ* with Schörer, but adds that he would furnish another *Christ* on his return: "Your Excellency should keep the *Christ* until I can do another one in Italy more conveniently."[23] One might assume that this second *Christ* was to be identical to the first one, and that it too was to be a *Man of Sorrows*. But this does not seem to have been the case.

Granvelle's next surviving letter, dated 4 November, makes clear that he is awaiting the second *Christ* from the painter, who was by then back in Venice. Although he does not urge Titian to rush, his impatience is evident:

> It only remains that your Excellency should not forget the Christ that you promised to paint for me at your convenience when you were in Italy, and with all that beauty and perfection that I hope to receive from Titian, who, I know, will employ [in it] a diligence far greater than I would know how to ask for. Above all I would like Christ's face to be as beautiful, soft and delicate as you know how to make it. I would also like the background to be of a dark brownish hue [*berretino*], as is customary. The outer garment, or *pallio*, I would wish to be purple rather than blue; the undergarment [*sottana*] can remain red, as in the other [painting]. In sum, I know that coming from your hand this Christ will be painted as I would wish it to be, therefore I leave it to your customary discretion and affection.[24]

This letter is unusual – perhaps unique – in that the patron seeks to specify the colours that the painter should employ: as Hale remarks, it is a solecism.[25] It also demonstrates that this *Christ* was different in subject from the *Man of Sorrows* left for Granvelle in Augsburg, for in no known version of the *Man of Sorrows* by Titian does Christ wear a *pallio* – let alone a blue one – as well as a *sottana*. What might seem possible alternatives, that the subject was an *Ecce Homo* or a *Mocking*, are implausible because in none of the relevant paintings by Titian in which Christ wears a *pallio* is that *pallio* blue or, for that matter purple.

There are, however, three subject options, among Titian's earlier paintings, that correspond to Granvelle's words: *The Tribute Money* (see fig. 9), a *Bust of Christ* (see fig. 1), or a *Salvator Mundi* (see figs. 2 & 3); in all three compositions Christ wears a blue *pallio* and a red *sottana*.[26]

Granvelle's letter once again crossed with a letter from Titian, dated 6 November, in which the painter stated, "The promise that I made to you, that I would re-do here the painting of Christ, I am ready to fulfil and, [indeed], I have already begun it."[27] In this, it seems, Titian was still wondering whether he should execute a second version of the *Man of Sorrows* for Granvelle and indeed may have begun one. But since there is no subsequent mention of this, he presumably learnt that a replacement was unnecessary.[28] In his next surviving letter, dated 2 December, Granvelle backtracked a little on his colouristic suggestions:

> As for the Christ, because it is with you conveniently, I do not doubt that it will turn out perfectly, and that you will have understood from my letters the various considerations, which I made on the way it should be done. As for the colours of the garments and the background, I made those comments only for your information, referring myself always to your judgment, as [the] master of that beloved art.[29]

Titian's next letter to Granvelle, dated 7 December and therefore written before he could have seen the one just quoted, says only "your Titian will not fail to execute the Christ commissioned from him and of the very same manner."[30] It was only ten days later, on the 17 December, that Titian actually replied to Granvelle's letter of the 2 December: "I have not forgotten the Christ promised to your sovereign and courteous goodness, which you would already have had with celerity had it not been for my immediate departure. But I hope to send it soon."[31] Titian had to travel to Milan to meet Philip and he remained with the prince and his entourage until February. But following his return to Venice he must have worked with concentration for, in a lost letter of 11 March, he informed Granvelle that the *Christ* had been, or was about to be, dispatched.[32] Granvelle sent his thanks from Brussels in a letter dated 28 April:

> I was very glad to have the news of 11 March from your Excellency, and to learn that you have finished the Christ and consigned it to the postmaster [de' Tassis]. I am awaiting it to arrive promptly, so that marvelling at that [image of] Christ, I will contemplate the divine excellence of my Titian.[33]

By 21 June the painting had not yet arrived, but Granvelle was untroubled: he wrote to Titian: "I have already been advised by the postmaster of Venice that you had consigned the Christ [to him] and I have no doubt at all that, being by your hand, it will come out perfectly; and when I see it, I shall write and will thank you at greater length."[34] In his reply to this, of 29 July, however, Titian did manifest some concern:

> If the Christ has arrived safely in your hands and gives satisfaction to your Excellency, I should be greatly contented, and if things are otherwise, greatly pained; yet whatever the case your Lordship will keep it until other things will be added.[35]

However, we hear no more of this painting in successive letters between the two men, so it presumably arrived safely. Neither of Granvelle's paintings of *Christ* is recorded in Granvelle inventories, but these are very incomplete. Once again, if originals or copies of one or other – or both – survive, they are not securely identifiable.[36]

Nevertheless, among Titian's surviving paintings the most likely – indeed the only – candidate for Granvelle's second *Christ* is the panel in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (fig. 12).[37] Although it represents the *Temptation of Christ*, it is closely related to the 'Darnley' and Vienna paintings of the *Salvator Mundi* and is developed compositionally from them; but it is somewhat larger and in this anticipates the Hermitage canvas. The commonly accepted date for the *Temptation of Christ* is ca. 1545-1555, refined by Pallucchini to the end of the 1540s, which nicely fits the correspondence.[38] The painting is first recorded in 1727 in the Orléans Collection in Paris, as coming from the Le Grand collection, which does not confirm but certainly does not contradict a provenance from Granvelle.[39]

Fig. 12 / Titian, *The Temptation of Christ*, 1550, oil on wood, 91 x 73 cm, Minneapolis, Institute of Art.

NOTES

1. "... Altre volte mi donasti una imagine d'un Christo che mi piaque sopra modo, unde son venuto in desiderio de haverne un'altra simile, però vi prego siate contento di volerla fare con quel studio et diligentia che solete fare nelle cose de che dessiderate haverni honore et ne le quali sapete di farmi piacer et altre ch'io desidero, perché questa figura non habbi ad essere men bella et buona di l'altra et che si possi chiamare delle eccellente opere di Ticiano. Vorei anche vi pigliasti il tempo di fare ch'io l'havessi per il giorno della Madona di settembre ogni modo..."; see Diane H. Bodart, *Tiziano e Federico II Gonzaga, storia di un rapport di committenza* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998), no. 237, pp. 295-296; Lisa Zeitz, *Tizian, Teurer Freund, Tizian und Federico Gonzaga, Kunstpatronage in Mantua im 16 jahrhunderts* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2000), no. 234, pp. 202-203; Lionello Puppi, ed., *Tiziano. L'Epistolario* (Florence: Alinari 24 Ore, 2012), no. 44, p. 86, with the most up-to-date discussion of the matter. In preparing this article I have incurred many debts to friends and colleagues; my thanks to: Noël Annesly, Evelyn Brockmann, Niccolò Caderni, Wencke Dieters, Olivia Ghosh, Claudia Kryza-Gersch,William Lorimer, Maja Markovic, Patrick Noon, Andreas Pittas, Heidi Raatz, Zuzanna Sarnecka, and Francesca del Torre. During the final redaction, Carlo Corsato provided vital help, as did Irene Brooke.
2. "Scrivemo l'aligata a Ticiano acciò ne facci haver uno Christo di sua mano dilla sorte che gli mandiamo il disegno. Volemo che lo solicitati che la facci con quella excellentia che sapemo saperà et come anche altre volte ne'n donete uno simile et usati ogni diligentia acciò la potiamo havere a Nostra Dona di setembre che lo voressimo portare con noi quando anderemo a Sua Maestà."; Bodart, *Tiziano e Federico II Gonzaga*, no. 236, p. 295; Zeitz, *Tizian, Teurer Freund*, no. 235, p. 203.
3. Bodart, *Tiziano e Federico II Gonzaga*, no. 238, p. 296; Zeitz, *Tizian, Teurer Freund*, no. 236, p. 203.
4. Charles Hope, "Studies in the Sources and Documents Relating to the Life and Work of Titian," 4 vols. (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1975), I, p. 65.
5. Oil on wood, 77 x 57 cm; see Laura Fiorentini in *Tiziano nelle Gallerie Fiorentini*, eds. Mina Gregori et al., exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1978-1979), no. 25, pp. 103-106.
6. On that day Francesco Maria acknowledged receipt of the painting: see Georg Gronau, *Documenti Artistici Urbinati* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1936), no. xxvi, p. 91.
7. This is suggested by Hope, *Studies*, I, p. 64.
8. A version in Christ Church, Oxford which, thanks to the kindness of Jacqueline Thalmann, I examined on 19 July 2017 (oil on canvas, 78 x 58 cm; gift of General Guise, 1765), succinctly characterized by James Byam Shaw, *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (London: Phaidon, 1967), no. 81, p. 69 as a .."..bad copy in very bad condition", differs from the Pitti painting in a few details of landscape and sky, but these probably indicate the executant's negligence, not a different prototype.
9. Christ in the 'Darnley' *Salvator Mundi* (often called *Christ Blessing* or *Christ Bestowing His Blessing*), is very similar in pose and type to Christ in the Yarborough *Supper at Emmaus*, also on wood, and probably preceded the completion of that painting. It was exhibited as by Titian at the Grafton Galleries in 1909-1910: see Charles Holroyd et al., *A Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the National Loan Exhibition in aid of National Gallery Funds held at the Grafton Galleries, London (1909-1910)* (London, 1909), no. 91, mistakenly described as on canvas; and, more significantly Ellis K. Waterhouse in *Italian Art and Britain*, exh. cat. (London: The Royal Academy, 1960), no. 87, p. 45. The painting was accepted by Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, 2 vols. (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1969), I, pp. 274-275; II, fig. 252, as by Titian, ca. 1535-1540. Terisio Pignatti, *Titian, the Complete Paintings*, 2 vols. (London: Granada Publishing, 1981; original edition Milan: Rizzoli, 1979) II, no. 578, p. 78, included it among the attributed works, mistakenly as on canvas. Harold Wethey, *Titian*, 3 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1969-1975), I, no. 1, p. 78, dating it ca. 1520-1530, dismissed it as by a "minor follower of Giovanni Bellini", a puzzling verdict that suggests he knew it only from a photograph. The picture was omitted by Francesco Valcanover in both *Tutta la Pittura di Tiziano*, 2 vols. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960) and *Opera completa di Tiziano* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1969). Waterhouse, followed by Wethey and Pallucchini, noted that this painting was recorded in 1648 by Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Meraviglie dell'Arte* (1648), ed. Detlev von Hadeln, 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Grote, 1914-1924), I, p. 200, as in the collection of Domenico Ruzzini. Waagen, although he did not unequivocally accept the picture as by Titian, described it as ..".of noble character and of extraordinary warmth in the full body of colour"; see Gustave F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1854), III, p. 19. Thanks to the kindness of the present owners, I have examined this picture at some length and under good light on several occasions. It is, of course, in poor condition, as already noted by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1877), II, p. 429: "much injured this seems to have been a good and genuine picture by Titian." However, it retains great power and poignancy and is, in my judgment, the relic of an entirely autograph painting which must once have been a masterpiece. The Della Rovere and Gonzaga *Adorations*... both on wood, are also in very poor condition and it may be that there was some defect in Titian's panel preparation at this period. The Vienna canvas (inv. GG85), as Dr Francesca Del Torre tells me, cannot securely be identified before its appearance in Christian Mechel's catalogue of 1783. It was reproduced in all five editions of Oskar Fischel's *Tizian Klassiker der Kunst, III*, (Berlin and Leipzig: Deutches Verlag), in the first three (1904, 1906, 1907) dated ca. 1560, but in the last two (1911, 1924) ca. 1540. Wilhelm Suida, *Le Titien* (Paris: W. Weber, 1936), pp. 61, 185 and pl. CCCVIIa, also accepted it and dated it ca. 1540. It fell from favour thereafter and while mentioned by Wethey, *Titian*, I, no. 20, p. 79, "somewhat superior in quality to Lord Darnley's..."; Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, pp. 274-275, "variante più tarda di bottega..." and Pignatti, *Titian,* II, no. 637, p. 94, was reproduced by none of them; it was omitted by Valcanover. I have not checked systematically the successive editions of Bernard Berenson's lists, but the Vienna painting is included as by Titian in his *Pitture Italiane del Rinascimento*, 8 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1936), I, p. 489 and *Venetian School*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1957), I, p. 191. After many years in the reserves, this painting has recently been recalled to the colours and its rightful place on the walls of the Titian gallery. I enjoyed productive discussions of it with Ms Evelyn Brockmann and Dr Zuzanna Sarnecka on 24 November 2017 and, on 20 June 2018, with Drs Francesca Del Torre and Wencke Dieters. Executed on a canvas bearing the beginnings of a different composition, as Dr Dieters showed me, this *Salvator Mundi* is, in my opinion, entirely autograph, and Dr Del Torre tells me that this has been for some time the view of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Painted quite thinly – understandably were Titian working to a tight deadline – and simpler in colour and form than the 'Darnley' panel, it presents a more 'political' vision of the Saviour. Both paintings, incidentally, share the cross radiance of the Pitti *Christ* and the Yarborough *Emmaus*.
10. As Maja Markovic observed, this can clearly be seen when the X-ray image is rotated 90° anti-clockwise. This version of the Aldobrandini *Madonna* would have been about half size, unlike other known versions or variants (Florence, Pitti; Forth Worth, Kimbell Foundation; Hampton Court, Royal Collection) which are more-or-less same size. For the Aldobrandini *Madonna* see Cecil Gould, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications Department, 1975), pp. 278-280. Infra-red images, kindly provided by Olivia Ghosh, do not show any significant alterations but they do help clarify the painting's formal structure.
    Although it is not significant for the present article, the X-ray shows that Titian was prepared to paint – or at least licence – a reduction of a successful composition very soon after its completion
11. See for example, the paintings catalogued and reproduced by Domenico Sedini, *Marco d'Oggiono, tradizione e rinnovamento in Lombardia tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Milan: Jandi Sapi, 1987), nos. 10, 11. Leonardo's *Salvator Mundi* exists in several copies; see Luke Syson in *Leonardo da Vinci, Painter at the Court of Milan*, eds. Luke Syson et al., exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2011-2012), no. 91, pp. 300-303. It was obviously a reference for Lombard painters; see for example Sedini, *Marco d'Oggiono*, no. 102, pp. 196-197.
12. See most recently the entry by Giulia Forti in *Dürer e il Rinascimento tra Germania e Italia*, eds. Bernard Aikema and Andrew John Martin, exh. cat. (Milan: Palazzo Reale, 2018), no. 1/20, p. 331.
13. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, inv. 873.
14. A specifically Bellinian connection is seen in the Saint Onophrius of the *Salvator Mundi*'s left-hand flanking panel, which repeats the Saint Onophrius from Bellini's San Giobbe altarpiece.
15. Bissolo's severely frontal *Christ the Redeemer* was offered at Sotheby's, New York, 1 February 2018, no. 323, attribution and dating confirmed by Mauro Lucco. It may have been knowledge of such paintings that prompted Wethey to place the 'Darnley' *Christ* in the school of Bellini. Previtali's painting is inv. NG 2501; see Christopher Baker and Tom Henry, *The National Gallery. Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 550; a somewhat earlier *Blessing Christ* by Previtali, also in the National Gallery (inv. NG3087, oil on wood, 48 x 38 cm) rather follows the model established by Antonello da Messina.
16. Oil on wood, 72 x 62 cm; see Philip Rylands, *Palma Vecchio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), no. 53, pp. 192-193. A studio? version in the National Museum, Wrocław (inv. 103), kindly brought to my attention by Zuzanna Sarnecka, is discussed by Bożena Steinborn, *Catalogue of the Collection of the Romance Countries' Painting*, 2nd ed. (Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe, 2012), pp. 376-377, who refers to versions of this type by Rocco Marconi. An interesting bronze relief showing Christ raising His left hand in blessing while resting His right upon the globe, (16.2 x 13 cm, attributed to the Master of the Barbarigo reliefs) is probably datable to the second decade: see the example in Vienna, Leo Planiscig, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Die Bronze-Plastiken, Statuetten, Reliefs, Geräte und Plaketten* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1924), no. 16, p. 80; and that in Berlin, Volker Krahn, *Bronzetti veneziani, die venezianischen Kleinbronzen der Renaissance aus dem Bode-Museum Berlin* (Berlin: SMB, 2003), no. 52, pp. 190-191, where Previtali's painting is cited.
17. Titian's *'Tribute Money*', the Pitti *Bust of Christ* and the 'Darnley' *Salvator Mundi* are virtually identical in size.
18. Irina Artemieva in *Tiziano: l'ultimo atto*, ed. Lionello Puppi (Milan: Skira, 2007), no. 66, p. 387.
19. "Quanto al Christo, giudicando Vostra Signoria di puoterlo far meglio in Venetia, che in nome di Dio la porti là, [per]ché dandolo poi a messer Roggiero de Tassis maestro de poste so che lo incaminerà sicuro. Et voglio più presto dare un poco più di tempo et che sia bene, che guastare una opera del Ticiano con la fretta. Et la prego ben quanto posso che in questa faccia di Christo et in haver l'Imperator così perfetto come l'originale mi mostri la affettione che mi porta, poiché con ogni amorevolezza li risponderò"; Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 117, pp. 152-153.
20. "Li quadri di Vostra Signoria fra due zorni li consignarò al vostro ospito (perché Sua Signoria mi ha parlato. Il Cristo, ancorché il mio cervel non stà molto allegro per respetto de questi miei negozi et travagli, se non sarà fato come la merita, io lo sup[l]irò con mia commodità in Italia; perhò io penso che non li dispiacerà, perché è molto simile a quello di Roma"; Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 120, pp. 155-157. In a postscript Titian mentioned six paintings that he had executed for Charles V and specified "il Christo, che Sua Maestà hano portato con seco…" – which is the *Man of Sorrows* on slate.
21. I have employed *Man of Sorrows* for bust-length treatments of the isolated Christ of the Charles V type which, when not simply indicated as *Cristo*, is generally called the *Ecce Homo* by Titian's contemporaries such as Vasari. But this can create confusion with the historical episode of Pilate's presentation of Christ to the people of Jerusalem, treated by Titian in his Saint Louis painting, and I have reserved *Ecce Homo* for that subject. Incidentally, Titian spells *Christo* and *Cristo* indifferently.
22. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* (Florence, 1568) ed. Maurizio Marini (Rome: Newton Compton, 1991), p. 1292, is rather disparaging about the painting given by Titian to Paul III: "... fece, per donare al Papa, un Cristo dal mezzo in su, in forma di Ecce Homo. La quale opera, o fusse le cose di Michelangelo, di Raffaello, di Polidoro e d'altri fatto perdere, o qualche altra cagione, non parve ai pittori, tuttoché fusse buon'opera, di quell'eccelenza che molte altre sue e particolarmente i ritratti." Apart from the fact, as Titian confirms, that it differed in some ways from Charles V's version, we know nothing more about it.
23. "Il Cristo la Signoria Vostra le tenerà, fin che in Italia io ne faro un altro cum mazor mia comodità"; Puppi, *L'Epistolario*, no. 122, p. 158.
24. "Resta solo che Vostra Signoria non scordi il Christo promessomi, quando sarete in Italia, che me lo facciate con vostra comodità, ma tanto bello et perfetto, quale io spero riceverlo dal Ticiano, il quale so mi usarà assai maggior diligentia ch'io non saprei ricordarli. Sopra tutto vorrei che havesse la faccia bella, dolce et delicata tanto quanto la saprete fare. Vorrei ancor che il fondo fusse di un color berretino ben scuro, come si accostuma. La veste, osia pallio, in cambio di azzura, la vorrei purpurea; la sottana potrà restar rossa come l'altra. Infine, so che dalla mano vostra non mi verrà questo Christo se non come io desidero, però lo rimetto in discrettione della solita vostra amorevolezza."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario*, no. 126, pp. 163-164.
25. Sheila Hale, *Titian, His Life* (London: Harper Press, 2012), p. 507.
26. Wethey, *Titian*, I, no. 144, dated 1540-1545, but of which Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, I, p. 130, II, fig. 347, noting that it is "Un nobilissimo dipinto, ma non di facile datazione", added that for him the most acceptable dating "pare... quella del Suida, che lo colloca all fine del quinto decennio." Peter Humfrey, *Titian, the Complete Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 2007), no. 179, p. 244, dates it 1545-1555.
27. "La promessa, che a quella feci di rifar de qui il quadro del Christo, io sono per mantenir, et già lo comenzo..."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario*, no. 127, p. 165.
28. Of course, Titian could readily have disposed of a duplicate *Man of Sorrows* by sale or gift.
29. "Quanto al Cristo, poiche è li con sua commodità, non dubito que venirà perfetto, et quella haverà inteso per mie lettere la consideratione, che di sopra le facevo acciò venghi. Quanto alli colori dei vesti et del fondo, quella volsi solamente dire per ragguaglio, rimettendome sempre al giudicio suo, come patron dell'arte cara."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario* no. 130, pp.167-168.
30. "il suo Titiano non pur è per manchare de il Christo ordinatogli et di quella maniera istessa..."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario* no. 131, pp. 168-169.
31. "non scordandomi però del Christo promesso alla realissima vostra bontade et cortesia, il quale senza quella prestissimo l'haveria hauto, se non fusse stato questo così subito partirmi. Ma spero che mi spedirò presto..."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 132, pp. 169-170.
32. Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 136, p. 174; but, as Carlo Corsato has suggested to me, Titian may not have been entirely frank and have delayed dispatching the painting until he had received from Granvelle signed copies of his Milanese privileges.
33. "Mi è stato di molto contento haver nova di Vostra Signoria per le sue del 11 marzo et che habbiate fornito il Christo e consignatolo al maestro de Poste. Starò aspetando che mi venghi con prestezza, a fine che, in quella mirandomi, possi contemplare la divina eccellenza del mio Titiano."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 138, pp. 175-177.
34. "Già mi ha dato aviso il maestro delle poste di Venetia che li consegnaste il Cristo, e non dubito punto che, sendo di vostra mano, non venghi perfetto et, vedendolo, ve ne scriverò et ringraziarò più a pieno."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 141, pp. 178-180.
35. "Se 'l Christo vi serà pervenuto salvo nelle mani, e che sia sodisfazione a Vostra Signoria, ne sentirò un contento grande, e se serà altrimente, un crucio; pur, sia come si voglia la Signoria Vostra lo reserbarà sino a tanto che agiongerà de l'altre cose."; Puppi, *L'Epistolario,* no. 144, pp. 182-183.
36. Dr Perez de Tudela Gabaldón kindly tells me that she has come across no references to these paintings in her work on Granvelle.
37. Wethey, *Titian*, I, no. 144, comments: "Restoration has given the picture a generally bland look, and accounts for the softness of the hand...", but whatever the effects of restoration in this case, in the Vienna, Minneapolis, and Saint Petersburg pictures, Titian was clearly aiming at iconic directness and simplicity and softness of effect. I am most grateful to Patrick Noon and Heidi Katz for information about this picture. X-ray shows that it too is painted on a previously used panel, but the underlying forms are hard to interpret – they may, perhaps, be part of a landscape.
38. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, I, pp. 292-293 and II, fig. 347. Suida, *Le Titien*, p. 61 dated it ca.1540. Hans Tietze, *Titian, Paintings and Drawings* (London: Phaidon, 1950), fig. 146 and p. 384, to the early 1540s, and Valcanover, *Tutta la Pittura*, I, no. 185 and *Opera completa*, no. 248, to 1540-1545.
39. Vanessa J. Schmid and Kelsy Brosnan, "Previous Owners as Listed by Dubois de Saint-Gelais," in *The Orléans Collection,* eds. Vanessa J. Schmid et al., exh. cat. (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2018-2019), p. 254, identify M. Le Grand as Philippe, le Chevalier de Lorraine, 1643-1702, a friend of Monsieur, the father of the regent Philippe II Duc d'Orléans. According to Schmid and Brosnan "after Lorraine's death in 1702, Philippe II appears to have acquired several of his paintings...."

Fig. 1 / Chinese, Jingdezhen, Qianlong period (1736-1795), *Cat Seated on a Cushion*, porcelain and enameled glass with gilded bronze cushion attributed to Jean-Claude Duplessis, c. 1750-1755 with later bronze feet and tassels, 31 x 23 x 14 cm (without mount); 45 x 30 x 22 (with mount), Private Collection.

Reflections on a Chinese porcelain cat, seated on bronze cushion, once in the collections of Madame de Pompadour

CHRISTOPHE HUCHET DE QUÉNETAIN AND GUILLAUME SÉRET

Every now and again the art market produces discoveries of artworks of extraordinary interest and beauty. The emergence in 2017 of a Chinese porcelain cat in transparent turquoise blue with violet glaze and aubergine paws, seated on a cushion of chiselled and gilded bronze, is a case in point. One of the finest examples of an object of this type to survive from the eighteenth century, the animal is associated here with a "cat of antique violet porcelain on a base of gilt bronze valued at two hundred *livres,*" inventoried in the collection of Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764) in her Parisian *hôtel particulier*.

This work presents valuable evidence of the relationship between the Far East and Europe, revealing the close collaboration between art dealers and bronze craftsmen. It also exemplifies a type of highly desirable object sought by some of the most discerning collectors of the time. Undoubtedly created by Lazare Duvaux, the most famous *marchand-mercier* (luxury goods dealer) in this period, this work represents a prime example of the *mode française* in 1750s Paris. Furthermore, the piece is of great historical importance as it is likely to have belonged to one of the most influential tastemakers of the time, Madame de Pompadour.[2] The well-documented history of the object demonstrates how eighteenth-century collectors were not only desirous of great works of art, but also valued pieces with a prestigious provenance.

The statuette (fig. 1), made of Chinese porcelain covered in turquoise blue glaze,[3] represents a cat seated on his hind legs, with head slightly tilted and mouth half-opened, whiskers and nose pulled up to show his teeth. The animal is posed turning towards the viewer, with its tail curled against its thigh – a pose traditionally found in eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain for chimeras,[4] Dog of Fo or guardian lions,[5] and parrots,[6] though the present object differs from these types which occur in pairs facing each other. The statuette has some cracks on its head at the base of the triangular ears, one of which was broken at some point and restored – perhaps as early as the eighteenth century – using lead. There is also a hole at the base of the animal's spine, presumably to insert a candle, suggesting that it could have served as a night light. The intense blue coating of the cat takes on a slightly violet hue under light, and the entire body of the animal is enhanced by small, slightly darker strokes in the same purple tones, used for example on the ends of each paw in order to create a naturalistic impression of fur.

Turquoise blue glaze, based on copper, is a technique that appeared in China in the fourteenth century and was perfected in the seventeenth century by Can Yingxuan. In the eighteenth century, during the reigns of Emperors Kangxi (1661-1722) and Yongzheng (1723-1735), this"turquoise blue of China" made in Jingdezhen enjoyed huge popularity among European collectors. This colour, according to the terms of the 1782 sales catalogue of the Duke d'Aumont (1709-1782), First Gentleman of the King's Chamber and one of the most famous collectors of the time, was "sought after especially in a uniform tone, as (this porcelain) produces a flattering effect in a cabinet by the brilliance that its soft colour and beautiful variety lend to it."[7] In inventories of the period this colour can be variously described as violet, celestial blue, celadon blue, turquoise, or celadon turquoise. The pupils and irises, which give the cat a powerful expression and are made of enamelled glass, would certainly have required the *savoir faire* of a French glass workshop.

AN EXCEPTIONAL CREATION OF A PARISIAN *MARCHAND-MERCIER*: THE ROLE OF THE ART DEALERS AND COLLECTORS IN POPULARIZING PORCELAIN CATS

This superb object presents a unique testimony of the creativity of Parisian *marchand-merciers*[8] like Lazare Duvaux (ca. 1703-1758), who catered to the world's most elite and discerning collectors. The famous quote from Didérot (1713-1784) in his *Encyclopédie* – "*Vendeurs de tout, faiseurs de rien* (Sellers of everything, makers of nothing)" – does not give enough credit to this very important Parisian corporation who launched the *mode française* in eighteenth-century Paris.[9] One of the most lucrative aspects of their activity was to enhance Asian (as well as European) porcelains with gilt-bronze, or ormolu, creating a type of object which became highly fashionable in Paris. Fitted with gilt-bronze mounts, exotic porcelain pieces were adapted to a European aesthetic. Sometimes this led to porcelains being removed from their original context and literally transformed: for example, two bowls became a *pot-pourri,* or a lidded jar became a vase. Asian porcelains were sometimes even intermixed with Meissen or Vincennes porcelains to create spectacular new objects, such as extravagant clocks. The *marchands-mercierss* were generally responsible for commissioning the gilt-bronze mounts, which needed to be custom made. The craftsmen who worked in the service of these dealers, such as Jean-Claude Chambellan, known as Duplessis (1695-1774), relied on ingenuity and virtuosity to produce the most sought-after objects.[10] For the most important and unusual pieces the *marchands-merciers* themselves were often directly involved in the final design of the piece.

Lazare Duvaux was the most famous *marchand-mercier,* maintaining his position at the height of Parisian fashion by supplying the most exclusive clientele at the French court. His *Livre-Journal* (account-book), beginning in September 1748, provides valuable information on the production of several objects similar to Madame de Pompadour's cat.

Fig. 2 / Chinese, Jingdezhen, Kangxi period (1690-1722), *Cat Crouching, Forming a Night Light*, Paris, porcelain, 9.5 x 14 cm, London, British Museum, George Eumorfopoulos Collection.

On 6 May 1750, it records "a purple porcelain cat on a mount gilded with ground gold (600 *livres*)."[11] On 10 December 1754, "A purple cat (25 *louis*)" is invoiced to the Count de Luc, Jean-Baptiste-Hubert de Ventimiglia (1720-1777), widower of Pauline-Félicité de Mailly de Nesles (1712-1741), the former mistress of Louis XV.[12]

Descriptions of important contemporary collections also document the popularity such objects. For example, in 1766, a contemporary source recorded aspects of the collection of Augustin Blondel de Gagny (1695-1776), steward of Menus Plaisirs from 1752 to 1757:

> The cabinet of Mr. Blondel de Gagny, place Louis le Grand, commonly known as Vendôme, is one of the finest and most original in Paris, both for the selection of paintings [...] and for other extremely beautiful works, such as [...] a very large quantity of the most perfect antique porcelains, and almost all of the highest quality.[13]

This description of the Blondel de Gagny collection further identifies in the "second room furnished with scarlet damask… Two cats & four *Crables [sic]* of ancient porcelain in celestial blue."[14] Objects from Blondel de Gagny's collection were auctioned for the benefit of his grandchildren in 1776 and 1777. The 1776 sale included: "Two peacocks, two carpes (sic), a cat (of porcelain of celestial blue) & three stands of violet broche marble," all of which sold for 20 *livres* and 10 *sols*;[15] and crucially "Two crouching cats of beautiful porcelain in celestial blue, on gilded bronze feet," which sold for 499 *livres* and 19 *sols*.[16]

Augustin's son, Barthélémy-Augustin Blondel d'Azincourt (1719-1794) was also a loyal customer of Duvaux, with a taste for Chinese porcelain.[17] On 21 November 1753, Duvaux supplied him with "Two Cats of celestial blue with bases gilded with ormolu."[18] These cats, which each cost 300 *livres*, were probably smaller than those previously acquired by the Count du Luc , given the considerably higher price of the latter.[19] It is impossible to determine whether these cats relate in any way to "Four Little Blue Cats in celestial blue, in uniform colour, & Two Storks," which were sold with Blondel d'Azincourt's property in 1783 for the modest sum of 120 *livres*.[20] It is also difficult to assess whether the two cats acquired by Blondel d'Azincourt in 1753 can be identified with those described in the 1776 sale of his father's goods; these were listed with a selling price more in keeping with the original value. Whatever the case may be, these cats must have resembled others held in private collections.[1]

In fact, Lazare Duvaux sold several other cats with mounts to Blondel d'Azincourt. On 6 June 1754 his account book records "A stand with gadroons and mouldings in copper gilded with ormolu for a purple porcelain cat," sold to the collector for 36 *livres*.[22] On 26 December 1755, Blondel purchased "An ancient cat from China on a golden mount gilded with ormolu" for 144 *livres*, evidently without polychrome detail, but at a price proportional to its size.[23] The 1783 sale of Blondel's property also included "Two crouching cats, spotted and shaded with brown on a white background, on an oval stand with gadroon feet in gilded bronze,"[24] a description that evokes a crouching white cat with black spots (fig. 2) preserved in the British Museum, although it is impossible to confirm this comparison, given that dimensions are lacking.[25] The same colours were deployed on "two beautiful black & white tiger cats, of the same porcelain (from China), on their cushions of gilded bronze,"[26] which were sold during the dispersion of the collections of Henri-Camille de Beringhen (1693-1770), First Squire of the King. Their selling price of 300 *livres* thirteen years earlier leads one to imagine that they were even finer and/or larger.

Further examples of Duvaux's dealings in similar items contribute to our understanding of the relative value

Fig. 3 / Antoine Vestier, *Portrait of the Countess of Estrades*, ca. 1770, oil on canvas, Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum.

Fig. 4 / François Boucher, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour*, 1756, oil on canvas, Munich, on loan from l'Hypo-Vereinsbank at Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen.

of the object under consideration here. For instance, on 20 February 1753, Duvaux made an important sale to the famous collector, Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), a wealthy cloth merchant who was the director of the Gobelins dyers' shop.[27] Duvaux's *Livre-Journal* notes supplying Jullienne with "A stand with gadroons and mouldings, gilded with ormolu, for a blue cat; supplied with two enamel eyes & accompaniments (48 *livres*)";[28] these accessories were evidently intended to decorate a porcelain object already in the collector's possession. Following the death of Julienne, the inventory drawn up on 25 March 1766 in his home at Gobelins described: "Item 190.954, a porcelain cat in celestial blue, on a copper base gilded with ormolu priced at one hundred and sixty-eight livres cy ..."; and "Item 196.961, two ancient porcelain cats [...] priced at forty-two *Livres* cy ....."[29] Additionally, the auction of his goods in 1767 included: "A Cat, in beautiful celestial blue, in a crouching position on a base of bronze" (auctioned for 880 *livres*);[30] as well as "Two small cats, of old porcelain, variegated with red and black" (auctioned for 50 *livres*).[31]

A CAT OF EXCEPTIONAL PEDIGREE

Like other collectors and connoisseurs at that time, Madame de Pompadour was passionate about objects which incorporated exotic Asian porcelain animals and birds, such as parrots, cranes,[2] cockerels,[33] birds of prey, or herons,[34] more often in white or turquoise blue, sometimes mounted as *girandole* (candelabra). She also owned birds manufactured at Meissen[35] and less exotic animals such as pug dogs seated on cushions from the Saxon manufactory.[36]

Among all the pieces traded by Lazare Duvaux one in particular stands out: "A cat of antique violet porcelain on a stand gilded with milled gold,"[37] invoiced to the Countess d'Estrades (1715-1784) (fig. 3)[38] for 864 *livres* on 21 December 1754. Given the relatively high price of this object, it must have been an outstanding piece, and it is conceivable that the Countess d'Estrades intended to offer it to her close friend, Madame de Pompadour (fig. 4), as a New Year's gift, knowing her taste for such items. Although it is impossible to say with certainty whether the cat commissioned by the Countess is the one presented here, it was certainly a unique and very unusual piece. The preciousness of the porcelain enhanced by the sumptuous gilt-bronze cushion, playing on the strong contrast of brilliant colours (pink, turquoise blue, gold) that evoke mounted precious stones, transform the item into a "jewelry object." The sourcing of such an unusual Chinese porcelain figure and enhancing it at great expense indicate that it was created for someone of exceptional importance, and this may well have been Madame de Pompdour who is documented as owning an object answering to these specifications.

Shortly after the death of Madame de Pompadour on 15 April 1764, the inventory of the Cabinet des Muses of her Parisian home, the Hôtel d'Évreux, included a cat of antique violet porcelain on a base of gilt bronze valued at two hundred *livres*, which is likely to be the one under consideration here.[39] As one of the great collectors of her time, Madame de Pompadour had on display more than three thousand porcelain pieces in her various residences. Nearly three hundred of these were from the Far East, and the finest were furnished with extraordinary gilded-bronze mounts made by Duplessis.[0]

Fig. 5 / Jean-Claude Duplessis, *Elephant-Head Vase (Vase à tête d'éléphant)* (one of a pair), ca. 1758, soft-paste porcelain, 39.2 x 26.3 x 15.9 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

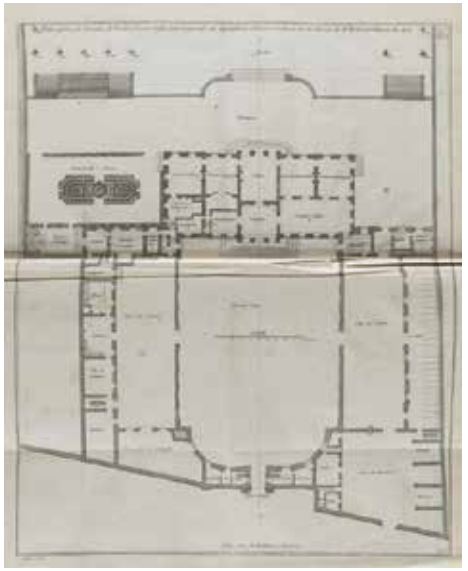


Fig. 6 / Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774), A general plan of the ground floor of the *Hôtel d'Évreux* in Paris (at present the *Élysée Palace*), 1754, plate 439.

Fig. 7 / Chinese, Jingdezhen, Qianlong period (1736-1795), *Sitting Cat, Forming a Night Light*, ca. 1750-1755, porcelain, 21.5 x 15.5 x 14 cm, Paris, Cognacq-Jay Museum.

Upon her ascent to royal favourite, Madame de Pompadour became, as early as 25 April 1750, a regular customer of Lazare Duvaux, from whom she bought nearly 150 works of Chinese porcelain.[41] On 18 August 1751, she was tempted by "a porcelain decorative piece, in uniform celestial blue, consisting of two cats, and three dragon bottles garnished with gold-gilded bronze, specially commissioned, 1,480 *l(ivres)*."[42] This pair of cats may have been associated with "a big cat on a bronze stand gilded with ormolu, estimated at 96 *l(ivres)*" listed among the contents of the Château de Saint Ouen at the time of Pompadour's death.[43] Such elaborate creations in Madame de Pompadour's collection reflect her role as King Louis XV's official mistress and therefore the most influential tastemaker in Paris during the 1750s.

Pompadour's particular passion for Asian and European porcelains led her to play a crucial role in the establishment of the Royal Manufactory of Porcelain in Vincennes, which moved to Sèvres in 1756, and was placed under the patronage of King Louis XV and his mistress. It is interesting to noteice that the first royal table service produced by Vincennes, delivered to Versailles between 1753 and 1755, was named "*Service Bleu Céleste*" referring directly to the turquoise blue ground colour found on Chinese porcelains (*Céleste* evoking the Celestiale Empire of China) that Madame de Pompadour was collecting in the 1750s.[44]

Madame de Pompadour was always looking for the latest and most innovative creations. She regularly acquired Sèvres porcelain with bold colour combinations and unusual designs, broadening the boundaries of taste. She particularly cherished the *Vase à tête d'éléphant* (elephant-head vase) (fig. 5), introduced by the Sèvres manufactory in 1756 by Jean-Claude Duplessis.[45] Although Josiah Wedgwood's partner, Thomas Bentley (1731-1780), criticized such extravagant designs for being clumsy,[44] the chromatic range of this porcelain was influenced by Asian pieces, with the elephants painted *au naturel* with striking colour contrasts, such as pink, green, or *bleu céleste* (turquoise blue), while also richly gilded. In many ways, the brilliance of the colours, the bold contrasts and the delicacy of execution of the Sèvres pieces are qualities shared with Madame de Pompadour's cat.

When Madame de Pompadour died, her brother and heir, the Marquis de Marigny (1727-1781) (fig. 6), was uninterested in his sister's collection of porcelain. At the sale of her goods, the cat presented here joined the collection of another great patron, Pierre-Paul-Louis Randon de Boisset (1708-1776) (fig. 7).[46]

Fig. 8 / Alexandre Roslin, *Portrait of Abel-François de Poisson (Marquis de Marigny, Director of the King's Buildings)*, 1764, oil on canvas, Versailles, National Museum of the Castles of Versailles and Trianon.

Fig. 9 / Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Portrait of Pierre Louis Paul Randon de Boisset*, ca. 1770, oil on canvas, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

Originally from a very wealthy Reims family, Paul-Louis Randon moved to Paris in 1736 and became a lawyer in Parliament. He quickly embraced a career in finance, becoming a tax collector in 1757-1758, and then Receiver-General of Lyon's finances. This very lucrative position allowed him over the course of three decades to assemble one of the most important collections in Paris, which was installed in the two principle floors of his town house in rue Neuve des Capucines, acquired in 1768.

Randon de Boisset, desiring to update the style of Madame de Pompadour's porcelain statuette, commissioned the stand with four feet and acorns which were attached to the cushion of the original base. The work is described in 1776 in an inventory of de Boisset's goods: "In the small cabinet after the salon [...] Item No. 308. A seated cat of antique porcelain in celestial blue placed on an embroidered cushion and acorns in chiselled copper and gilded with ormolu valued at five hundred *livres* cy 500."[47] The precise correlation between this description and the object under consideration here identifies the latter as the cat in de Boisset's collection, formerly belonging to Madame de Pompadour. This is further corroborated by the description of the same object in the inventory of the collector's goods drawn up the following year at the time of a sale:

> A sturdy cat, of strong uniform colour, finely realized hairs, in a seated position, the raised head with eyes of enamel; it is placed on a rich cushion with embroidered pattern finished with four tassels in gilded bronze: height 13 inches (about 35.18 cm) by 9 (about 24.36 cm) from side to side. This piece is, of its kind, one of the desirable items of this Cabinet, by virtue of the very good quality of the porcelain & the expressive character of the animal, it is perhaps unique in this lot: it was acquired at the sale of Madame the Marquise de Pompadour.[48]

Once again, this very detailed description, including dimensions, identifies the object as our cat and reveals how, only a few years after her death, Madame de Pompadour had become a point of reference in its history. In several subsequent prestigious sales of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, it is clear that when such objects could be associated with Madame de Pompadour, they were very highly valued, such was her renown as a collector of these items.

At the sale of Randon de Boisset's collection, Madame de Pompadour's cat sold for 1,250 *livres* to Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813) (fig. 8), painter and merchant husband of Élizabeth Louise Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842), the favourite portraitist of Marie Antoinette.

Fig. 10 / Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun, *Self-portrait*, 1795, oil on canvas, Private Collection.

Fig. 11 / Elizabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun, *Portrait of Joseph Hyacinthe Francois de Paule Rigaud (Count of Vaudreuil)*, 1784, oil on canvas, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

An annotated catalogue of the sale indicates that Le Brun was bidding on behalf of Louise-Jeanne de Durfort de Duras, Duchesse de Mazarin (1735-1781).[49] The subsequent inventory of the Duchesse's Parisian town house records: "In the Chinese cabinet next to the aforementioned Library… (under number) 220. A cat of antique Japanese [sic] porcelain in celestial blue valued at six hundred *livres* cy 600."[50] Following her death, an initial auction of the Duchesse's property took place on 10 December 1781, and the cat reappears in this sale catalogue: "A Cat (celestial blue porcelain of ancient China) with enamel eyes, placed on a pillow with four tassels of gilded bronze, Height 12 inches (about 32.48 cm), Width 12 inches (about 32.48 cm)."[51] On this occasion the cat sold for 1,500 *livres*, once again to Le Brun.[52]

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SALES

The present cat seems to appear subsequently in 1826 among the effects of Monsieur Doyen, where it was described:

> Purple Cat on a Cushion and a gilded bronze pedestal, No. 304. Cabinet d'Aumont 118. The Duchesse de Mazarin, and 326. Cabinet Lebrun in 1814. The story goes that at a time when Chinese porcelain commanded high prices, as had Sèvres porcelain for many years, this important piece, which could only have had one owner, was fought over by the afficionados of the time and acquired for a considerable sum.[53]

The "Chinese and Japanese Porcelain" section of this sale also included a further "Two cats crouched on a copper plinth;"[54] "Two Cats with blue ribbons;"[55] and "Two other reclining cats, dappled with grey on a cushion of gilded copper."[56]

Another interesting description of a similar cat occurs in a sale in 1834 of the property of M. Hossaye, which included: "A cat, of antique turquoise celadon blue on a gilded bronze cushion. A most important piece from the sale of the effects of Mlle.Thévenin."[57] The latter sale had taken place in 1819, though its catalogue does not outline any lots corresponding to this description, with one possible exception: "A decorative ensemble composed of nine pieces, including a beautiful vase forming a centre piece; they are enriched with ornaments of chiselled and gilded bronze of the best taste: they come from the cabinet of the Duke de Choiseuil [sic] – Praslin, and originally from that of the Duchesse de Mazarin."[58]

The taste for *objets montés* created by the Parisian *marchands-merciers* during the eighteenth century developed later in England with the collecting of such works by George IV (1762-1830) when Prince Regent, as demonstrated by certain objects still in the Royal Collection. Among these is an exquisite Chinese blue porcelain cistern with gilded bronze mounts, which was sold by Duvaux to Madame de Pompadour in 1750, and was probably acquired by the Prince Regent in 1811.[59] Following the monarch's lead, members of the aristocracy also began collecting such works, as demonstrated by a similar object belonging to Charlotte Ashburnham (1766-1862), daughter of Algernon Percy, 1st Earl of Beverley, and second wife of George, 3rd Earl of Ashburnham. Listed in the sale of her goods in 1863 is:

> The celebrated cat of old turquoise celadon porcelain, mounted with head draperies of ormolu, and on plinths of the same, and bearing candelabra of ormolu for four lights such on their backs…. Given by Louis XV to Madame la Maréchale de Mirepoix (1707-1792), as part of the bribe, paid to her for promoting Madame du Barry (1743-1793) at Court. The ears were pierced, and diamonds valued around 150,000 francs suspended from them…[60]

Although it is not possible to confirm the intriguing description of this object's history, it further reveals how Madame de Pompadour's refined taste as a collector had a lasting impact on members of the European aristocracy; this influence was highlighted in the important exhibition *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, and our cat now adds another important facet to this legacy.[61]

NOTES

1. Jean Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Francisque Lefrançois, 1939), no. 363, p. 37, quoted in Pierre-Xavier Hans, "L'hôtel d'Évreux, palais de l'Élysée," *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, ed. Xavier Salmon, exh. cat. (Versailles: Musée national du château, 2002), pp. 126-127, n. 42.
   Our most sincere thanks to Prince Amyn Aga Khan, MM. Christian Baulez, Konrad Bernheimer, Dr. Irene Brooke, Jorge Coll, the Colnaghi Foundation, Nicolás Cortés, Pierre-François Dayot, Dr. Calin Demestrescu, Élisabeth Floret, Dr. Nicola Jennings, MM. Camille Leprince, Errol Manners, Peter Marino, Thierry Millerand, Alain Moatti, Olivie Morel, Dr. Sophie Mouquin, Miss Victoire de Quénetain, MM. Justin Racanello, Mrs. Marie-Laure de Rochebrune, Jean-Marie Rossi, Mrs. Marella Rossi Mosseri, Mr. Vincent Richter, Dame Rosalind Savill, Mrs. Alice Thomson, MM. Floris van der Ven and John Whitehead.
2. Interpreting eighteenth-century century inventories produced by non-specialists, such as notaries, can be a challenging exercise. Several factors must be considered such as specificity of a rare model, size, colour, and value. Here, the signficant size, the unusual figure of the cat, the reflections of purple in the transparent turquoise blue glaze, and the ormolu base indicate this was the most valuable model produced, in other words the model listed in Madame de Pompadour's collection at the Elysée Palace (Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour*, p. 37 : *"Hôtel de Pompadour a Paris (Hôtel d'Evreux) (…) Dans le cabinet des Muses (…) 353. Un chat d'ancienne porcelaine violette sur une terrau de bronze doré frisé deux cens livres IL#"*) rather than the one amongst her belongings at the Saint-Ouen palace (Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour, p. 98 : « Porcelaines rapportées de Saint-Ouen (…) Porcelaine montée (…) 1345._ Un gros chat bleu céleste, sur sa terrasse de bronze doré d'or moulu ; prisé quatre vingt seize livres. Cy IIIXXXVI#. ").*
   This is the conclusion of the present authors as detailed in this article, and we are grateful to Dame Rosalind Savill for her observations, Your wonderful cat!, Email to Dr. Christophe Huchet de Quénetain, 3 November 2017: "[…] I love the description of the raised head, such that the cat is sitting up, because for me that is what gives it to the Randon de Boisset and Pompadour provenance. The other examples I know, in Germany, USA etc, are all sitting down, as if with candles shining through their eyes to frighten off the mice (all now filled with glass eyes), and some look rather nineteenth-century to me. So to see your cat, in such a different pose is so very convincing. I can see that you have gone for the violet example in Madame de Pompadour's inventory, rather than for the *bleu celeste* one, because of the huge difference in value (Cordey, p. 98 no.1345, under mounted porcelain *'Un gros chat bleu céleste, sur sa terrasse de bronze doré d'or moulu, prisé quatre vingt seize livres*'). Presumably the following pair in the Randon de Boisset sale is closer to the more usual sitting down model than to your glorious example. […]"
3. Porcelain, China, Jingdezhen, period Qianlong (1736-1795), enamelled glass, chiselled and gilded bronze, Paris, ca. 1750-1755, 31 x 23 x 14 cm (without mount), 45 x 30 x 22 cm (with mount).
4. Sotheby's Paris, *The Qizilbash Collection*, 28 November 2016, no. 9.
5. Royal Collection Trust, inv. RCIN 172.
6. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art, inv. OA 9, and Royal Collection Trust, inv. RCIN 58473.
7. Philippe-François Julliot and Alexandre-Joseph Paillet, *Catalogue des Vafes, Colonnes, Tables de Marbres rares, Figures de bronze, Porcelaines de choix, Laques, Meubles précieux, Pendules, Luftres, Bras et Lanternes de bronze doré d'or mat: Bijoux et autres Effets importants qui composent le Cabinet de feu M. le duc d'Aumont*, Sale catalogue, Paris, 12 December 1782, p. 88, quoted in Xavier Salmon, *Marie-Antoinette*, exh. cat. (Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 2008), no. 142, p. 202.
8. See *La Fabrique du luxe : les marchands merciers parisiens au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Rose-Marie Herda-Mousseaux, exh. cat. (Paris: musée Cognacq-Jay, 2018-2019).
9. See Pierre Valet, "Les commerce des objets d'art et les merchands merciers à Paris au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilsations* 13 (1958): p. 11.
10. The early established and regular relationship between Duplessis, Lazare Duvaux, and several clients of the latter are well documented. Thus, Marc-René de Voyer d'Argenson (1722-1782), Marquis de Voyer, appointed in 1752 lieutenant general of the king's armies, general director of studs, and the governor of the Château de Vincennes, was widely known to have "bought especially from Duvaux, examples of celadon porcelain decorated with stands and gilded bronze mounts. More often, possessor of pieces of choice, he charged Duvaux to mount them. He put him in touch with the famous modeler Duplessis…" Duvaux sold him, as early as 13 September 1750, "Two large celadon porcelain vases, mounted by Duplessis in bronze gilded with ormolu 3000 *livres*"; see Louis Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux, marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du roy, 1748-1758* (1873), 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions François de Nobele, 1970), no. 601, p. 60; and on 21 August 1753, "The mount of chiselled copper, of a blue porcelain vase paid to Mr. Dupleflis, 720 1.*(livres)* – ormolu gilding of the aforementioned vase, 192 *(livres)*," no. 1493, p. 167. Another great collector, Louis-Jean Gaignat (1697-1768), acquired from Duvaux, on 16 March 1754 "Two urns of celadon porcelain, opened, mounted in bronze gilded with ormolu by Dupleffis, 2920 l." (no. 1713, p. 194).
11. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 502, p. 49.
12. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux,* no.1965, p. 224.
13. Amateur Hébert, *Dictionnaire pittoresque et historique, ou Description d'Architecture* […] *& dates des établissements et monuments de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: Claude Herissant 1766), I, p. 36.
14. Amateur Hébert, *Dictionnaire pittoresque*, I, p. 47.
15. Pierre Remy, *Catalogue de tableaux précieux* […] *qui composent le Cabinet de feu M. Blondel de Gagny, Tréforier-Général de la Caiffe des Amortiffements*, sale catalogue, Paris, 10-24 December 1776, no. 685.
16. Pierre Remy, *Catalogue de tableaux*, no. 693.
17. Colin B. Bailey, "Conventions of the Eighteenth-Century Cabinet de Tableaux: Blondel d'Azincourt's 'La première idée de curiosité,'" *The Art Bulletin* 69 (1987): pp. 431-437.
18. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 1571, p. 177.
19. In 1726, the value of the *louis* was fixed at 24 *livres*. An individual earning annually 15,000 *livres* would be considered wealthy in eighteenth-century France. For relatively currency values see Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 3 vols. (London: Hacker Art Books, 1961).
20. Alexandre-Joseph Paillet, Philippe-François Julliot, and Jean-Nicolas Dufresne, *Catalogue des tableaux… du cabinet de M. **** (Blondel d'Azincourt), sale catalogue, Paris, 10-17 February 1783, no. 374.
21. *Collection du baron James de Rothschild* (1896-1984), sale catalogue, Paris, Palais Galliéra, M^es^ M. Rheims, R.-G. Laurin and Ph. Rheims, 1 December 1966, no. 138, pl. C.
22. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 1796, p. 203.
23. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 2294, p. 262.
24. Paillet, Julliot, and Dufresne, *Catalogue des tableaux* […] *du cabinet de M. **** (Blondel d'Azincourt), no. 377. These were purchased for 152 *livres* by Philippe-François Julliot (1755-1835).
25. Soame Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain* (London: Faber and Faber,1960), no. 2, pl. XXVII.
    Several cats of this kind are known:
    a) Cat in turquoise blue and aubergine, base in the shape of a cushion in gilded bronze, length, 17 cm. (Sale in Paris, Galerie Charpentier, M^e^ Maurice Rheims, 28 May 1954, no. 110, pl. XXI).
    b) Cat in turquoise blue, base in the shape of a cushion in gilded bronze, length, 14 cm
    (Sale in Paris, Galerie Charpentier, M^e^ Maurice Rheims, 28 May 1954, no. 111, repr. pl. XXI).
    c-d) Two cats in turquoise blue, on the base of gilded bronze (*Collection du baron James de Rothschild* [1896-1984], Sale in Paris, Palais Galliera, M^es^ Maurice Rheims, René-Georges Laurin et Philippe Rheims, 1 December 1966, no. 138, pl. C: length, 20 cm, height, 12.5 cm.
    e) Cat in white and blue, on the base of gilded bronze, height 16 cm; length 20 cm (*Collection René Weiller*, Sotheby's Monaco, 15 June 1996, no. 114).
    f) Cat of a mastic colour scattered with black, on the base of gilded bronze, height, 16 cm; length, 20 cm (*Collection René Weiller*, Sotheby's Monaco, 15 June 1996, no. 114).
26. Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, figures & groupes de bronze, laques, porcelaines distinguées, de différentes sortes, pendules de goût, lustres de cristal de roche, meubles, bijoux & autres effets curieux, après le décès de M. de Beringhen, Premier Ecuyer du Roi*, sale catalogue, Paris, 2 July 1770, no. 685.
27. See Christoph Martin Vogtherr, Jennifer Tonkovich, and Andreas Henning, *Jean de Jullienne – Collector & connoisseur*, exh. cat. (London: The Wallace Collection, 2011).
28. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare*, no. 1353, p. 151.
29. Paris, Archives nationales: *Inventory after death of Jean de Jullienne*, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Étude XXIX, 529, 25 March 1766.
30. Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, dessins et estampes et autres effets curieux après le décès de M. de Julienne,* sale catalogue Paris, 30 March 1767, no. 1426.
31. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare*, no. 1389.
32. For a comparable pair of Chinese *blanc de Chine* crane mounted as three branch candelabra, Paris, *circa* 1750, see Christie's, London, 09 July, 2015, no.lot 129.
33. For a pair of Chinese export porcelain cockerel candelabra, porcelain from Qianlong period, with mounts attributed to Caffiéri, Paris, *circa* 1745-1749, probably acquired by Madame de Pompadour from Lazare --Duvaux one 4^th^ of August 1755 for l'Hôtel d'ÉEvreux in Paris., see Sotheby's, London, *Treasures sale*, 08 July, 2015, no.lot 21.
34. For a pair of Chinese porcelain heron, or stork, candelabra, possibly from the collection of Madame de Pompadour, inventoried as "*une paire de girandoles à trois branches, ciselées et dorées d'or moulu, sur des cigognes de porcelain, 1320 l.*" and purchased from Lazare Duvaux on 14^th^ February 1752, see Sotheby's , Monaco, 11^th^ December 1999, no.lot 88.
35. Lazare Duvaux's account books lists pairs of candelabra, *girandoles*, incorporating Meissen birds (Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare*Duvaux 1748-1758/1965, vol. 2, pp. 7, 71,77).
36. For a comparable pair of Meissen porcelain pug dogs produced around 1740, modelled by Johann Joachim Kändler (1706-1755), seated on gilt bronze cushions, Paris, circa 1740-1745, see Sotheby's , London, *The Dimitri Mavromatis Collection*, 08 July, 2008, no.lot 24.
37. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, *Ibidem*, no. 1988, p. 226.
38. Born Élisabeth-Charlotte Huguet de Semonville, the Countess d'Estrades was the first cousin by marriage of Madame de Pompadour. From 1743, she was the widow of a nephew of Charles-François Paul Lenormand Tournehem (1684-1751), director of the King's Buildings and an uncle by marriage of Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764). The Countess d'Estrades had accompanied the royal favourite on her first visits to Versailles and took part in the small cabinet suppers, during which her wit, humour and disposition were said to have greatly amused Louis XV. By coincidence, Madame de Pompadour's nickname for the Countess at the time was the "little she-cat", following the Countess's unsuccessful attempt to divert the King's affections. The Countess subsequently fell in love with one of the King's greatest enemies, the Marquis d'Argenson. As a result, the star of Madame de Pompadour's scheming cousin quickly waned. Perhaps the Countess sought by any means, including a gift, to make amends with the royal favourite? In 1755 the Countess d' Estrades followed her lover into exile, and her connection to the object under consideration here must for the moment remain hypothetical. See Jacques Levron, *Madame de Pompadour – L'amour et la politique* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1975), pp. 165, 167-169.
39. Jean Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour,* no. 363, p. 37, Paris, 1939 (see notes 1 & 2 above). This cabinet, known as the "Grand Cabinet", was a very bright corner room, lit by three windows and French doors opening onto the garden; it took the name of the "Cabinet des Portraits", in reference to the nine paintings that replaced the family portraits of the Count d'Évreux. The Cabinet included "a hundred porcelain vases and bottles from China", see Jean Coural, "Hôtel de madame de Pompadour," *L'Élysée – Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré* (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1994), pp. 27-28. This *hôtel particulier*, built on the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, by the architect Armand-Claude Mollet (1660-1742), from 1718-1720, for Louis-Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne (1679-1753), Count d'Évreux, son of the Duke de Bouillon (1641-1721), was sold by his heirs on 24 December 1753, to the Marquise de Pompadour for 500,000 *livres*. See Marie-Laure de Rochebrune, "La Passion de madame de Pompadour pour la porcelain," in Salmon, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, p. 416.
40. Lazare Duvaux sold among other things, on 15 June 1754, to Madame de Pompadour: "A decoration in bronze gilded with ormolu consisting of two urns of celadon porcelain, modelled especially by Dupleflis, 960 1*(livres)* – An embellishment in bronze gilded with ormolu consisting of a mounted vase (in height) of celadon porcelain, with a ram's head, a new model by Dupleflis, 320 1. *(livres)* – Le port à Bellevue, 3 1. (*livres*) 12 .[ols]." Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 1810, p. 204.
41. Francis J. B. Watson, *Chinese Porcelains in European Mounts* (New York: China Institute of America, 1981), p. 10.
42. Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux*, no. 886, p. 93.
43. Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour*, no. 1345, p. 98. Another cat, smaller than that under consideration here – and undoubtedly sold for a lower price – is now preserved in the Cognacq-Jay museum in Paris: this is turquoise blue in hue, with the space between fore and hind legs not hollowed out (and possibly missing its original base, as suggested by the state of its interior). See Thérèse Burollet, *Musée Cognacq-Jay. 2 Porcelaines* (Paris: Les Musées de la Ville de Paris, 1983), no. 114, pp. 226-227, 21.5 x 15.5 x 14 cm. Another cat, sitting in a similar position, of black and green hue, was sold at Christie's London, 1 July 1976, no. 2, 26.5 cm.
44. Christian Baulez, "Une terrine et un plateau-corbeille du service Bleu céleste de Louis XV. Vincennes 1753, 1755," , *La Revue des musées de France – Revue du Louvre* 1 (2007): pp. 50-54.
45. Thomas Bentley, *Journal of a Visit to Paris, 1776*, ed. Peter France (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1971), p. 44.
46. The cat appears in the catalogue of the 1777 sale of Boisset's goods. See Ronald Freyberger, "The Randon de Boisset sale, 1777: decorative arts," *Apollo* 111 (1980): pp. 298-303. Geneviève Mazel, "La vente Randon de Boisset en 1777 et le marché de l'art au 18^e^ siècle," *L'Estampille* (1987): no. 202, pp. 40-47.
47. Paris, Archives nationales: *Inventory after death of* Inventaire après décès de Pierre Louis Paul Randon de Boisset, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Étude LXXXIV, 546, 18 October 1776.
48. Pierre Remy and Claude-François Julliot, *Catalogue de tableaux & dessins précieux des maîtres célèbres des trois écoles, figures de marbres, de bronze & de terre cuite, estampes en feuilles & autres objets du cabinet de feu M. Randon de Boisset, Receveur général des Finances, par P. Remy, on a joint à ce catalogue celui des vases, colonnes de marbres, porcelaines, des laques, des meubles de Boule & d'autres effets précieux,* sale catalogue, Paris, 27 February 1777, no. 628.
49. The annotation occurs in copy of the sale catalogue conserved in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art: collections Jacques Doucet, where it is recorded "Le Brun p. N°. 628….1250# La d^me^. de Mazarin."
50. Paris, Archives nationales: *Inventory after death of Louise-Jeanne de Durfort de Duras, Duchesse de Mazarin*, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Étude XXIII, 778, 15 May 1781.
51. Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun, *Catalogue raisonné des marbres, jaspes, agates, porcelaines anciennes, laques, beaux meubles, lustres, feux & bras de bronze doré par Goutlier, boîtes de laque, lapis, & autres formant le cabinet de Madame la duchesse Mazarin*, sale catalogue, Paris, 10 December 1781, no. 100. The Duchesse of Mazarin (like Madame de Pompadour) also owned a second, smaller cat, which is described in the inventory in the "Antechamber of the gallery with a view to the garden … (under the no. 152.) Item: a cat in antique porcelain of Japan [sic] purple four hundred and eighty *livres*, cy 480." (Paris, Archives nationales: *Inventory after death of Louise-Jeanne de Durfort de Duras, Duchesse de Mazarin*, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Étude XXIII, 778, 15 May 1781). It is described again in the sale of 1781 as "A Cat [in antique purple] seated on its

paws, looking up in the air, posed on a cushion with four tassels in bronze: the whole on a square plinth with reinforcement and frieze of gilded bronze. Cat's height 8 inches (about 21.65 cm). Stands 2 inches 9 lines (about 7.49 cm). There is a restored ear"; Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun, *Catalogue raisonné des marbres, jaspes, agates, porcelaines anciennes, laques, beaux meubles, lustres, feux & bras de bronze doré par Goutiere, boîtes de laque, lapis, & autres formant le cabinet de Madame la duchesse Mazarin*, sale catalogue, Paris, 10 December 1781, no. 91) (auctioned at 1,800 *livres*). Despite its smaller dimensions, this second cat was evidently quite similar to the present one. It subsequently passed into the collection of Joseph-Hyacinthe-François de Paule de Rigaud, Count de Vaudreuil (1740-1817). Lieutenant-General, great falconer of France, knight of the King's orders, peer of France, governor of the Louvre, free member of the Academy of Fine Arts, Vaudreuil was famous for his close friendship with the Count d'Artois and benefited from the generosity of Queen Marie Antoinette. The auction of his goods in 1787 included: "A Cat (Antique Purple) on its paws, gazing in the air, posed on a cushion with four bronze tassels, all on a square plinth with reinforcement and frieze in gilded bronze. Total height 11 inches (about 29.77 cm). This Cat, the most beautiful known in this genre, with a restored ear comes from the sale of Madame The Duchesse de Mazarin, no. 91 in our Catalogue, & sold for 1800 *livres*." Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun, *Catalogue d'une très belle collection de tableaux* […], *bleu-céleste de la Chine & autres porcelaines* […] *provenans du Cabinet de M* *** [the Ccount de Vaudreuil], sale in Paris, 26 November 1787, no. 212. This was acquired for 900 *livres* by Le Brun.

52. The annotated sale catalogue is also in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, collections Jacques Doucet, where it is noted "1500-LeBrun L'."
It is worth noting that the eccentric character of Claude-Pierre-Maximilian Radix of Sainte-Foy (1736-1810) met with a singular fate, not only because he was reputed to have been the last lover of the Duchesse de Mazarin. In 1776, he was appointed "Superintendent of Houses, Domains, Finances, Buildings, Arts, Manufactures, and Gardens of Monsignor the Count d'Artois." However, his poor handling of finances led to the auction of his own property. In this sale, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun bought: "A Cat (of porcelain in blue of ancient China) sitting on its legs and placed on a cushion with four acorns, in bronze; all on a square plinth with reinforcement and frieze of gilded bronze. Height 8 inches (about 21.65 cm), width 8 inches (about 21.65 cm)" (1,000 *livres*), Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun, *Catalogue raisonné de tableaux, marbres, bronzes, porcelaines anciennes de première qualité, coloriée du Japon, d'ancien violet, bleu célefte de la Chine & autres ; beaux meubles de Boule, & autres de ce genre ; Meubles précieux de Laque; Eftampes, & autres Objets de curiofité* (Collection Claude-Pierre-Maximilien Radix de Sainte-Foy), sale catalogue, Paris, 22 April 1782, no. 82; as well as "One (Antique Purple) Cat seated on its paws, and resting on a cushion of four bronze tassels; all on a square plinth with reinforcement and frieze of gilded bronze. Height 7 inches (about 18.94 cm), width 8 inches (about 21.65 cm" (1,282 *livres*), Le Brun, *Catalogue raisonné de tableaux*, no. 78.
Queen Marie Antoinette shared a taste for Asian works of art with her Habsburg ancestors. It is worth noting that in her gilded cabinet at Versailles she exhibited "a cat idem (in porcelain of celestial blue)," which was described in 1789. In 1793 "a recumbent cat, in the same porcelain, on a cushion of gilt bronze, placed on a pedestal of Italian cherry marble, total height 6 inches (approximately 16.24 cm)," was sent to the *Museum* (the current Musée du Louvre). François Rémond (1747-1812) had fashioned the cushion on which this Kangxi period (1662-1722) cat rested, and Ange-Joseph Aubert (1736-1785) had decorated it with a cherry marble base. Aubert sold it for 720 *livres* on 8 May 1782, to the Duke de Coigny (1737-1821), "a cat of Japanese [sic] porcelain in celestial blue." A further "cat of Japanese porcelain in celadon blue, eyes of enamel, resting on a cushion of gilded bronze placed on a pedestal of cherry Italian marble" appears in an 1833 inventory bedroom of Ferdinand-Philippe Duke d'Orléans (1810-1842), in the palace of Tuileries, before his death; see Vincent Bastien, "L'orfèvre-joaillier Ange-Joseph Aubert (1736-1785), fournisseur de la reine Marie-Antoinette," *Versalia – Revue de la Société des Amis de Versailles* 16 (2013): pp. 44 and 46.
53. *Catalogue d'objets d'art de haute curiosité* […] *provenant de feu Mr Doyen*, sale catalogue, Paris, 6-11 March 1826, no. 196. We are grateful to Vincent Richter for the communication of this document.
54. *Catalogue d'objets d'art de haute curiosité* […] *provenant de feu Mr Doyen*, no. 191.
55. *Catalogue d'objets d'art de haute curiosité* […] *provenant de feu Mr Doyen*, no.194.
56. *Catalogue d'objets d'art de haute curiosité* […] *provenant de feu Mr Doyen*, no. 195.
57. *Cabinet de Mr H.* ***[oussaye], sale catalogue, Paris, 3-5 April 1834, Mᵉ Bonnefonds de Lavialles, no. 73.
58. *Cabinet de Mᵉ Thévenin* […], sale catalogue, Paris, 20 December 1819, Mᵉ Bonnefonds de La Vialles, no. 107.
59. Royal Collection Trust, inv. RCN 35312. See John Ayers, *Chinese and Japanese Works of Art in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 3 vols. (London: The Royal Collection Trust, 2016), no. 1350.
60. Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 26 March 1863, no. 344.
61. Salmon, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*.

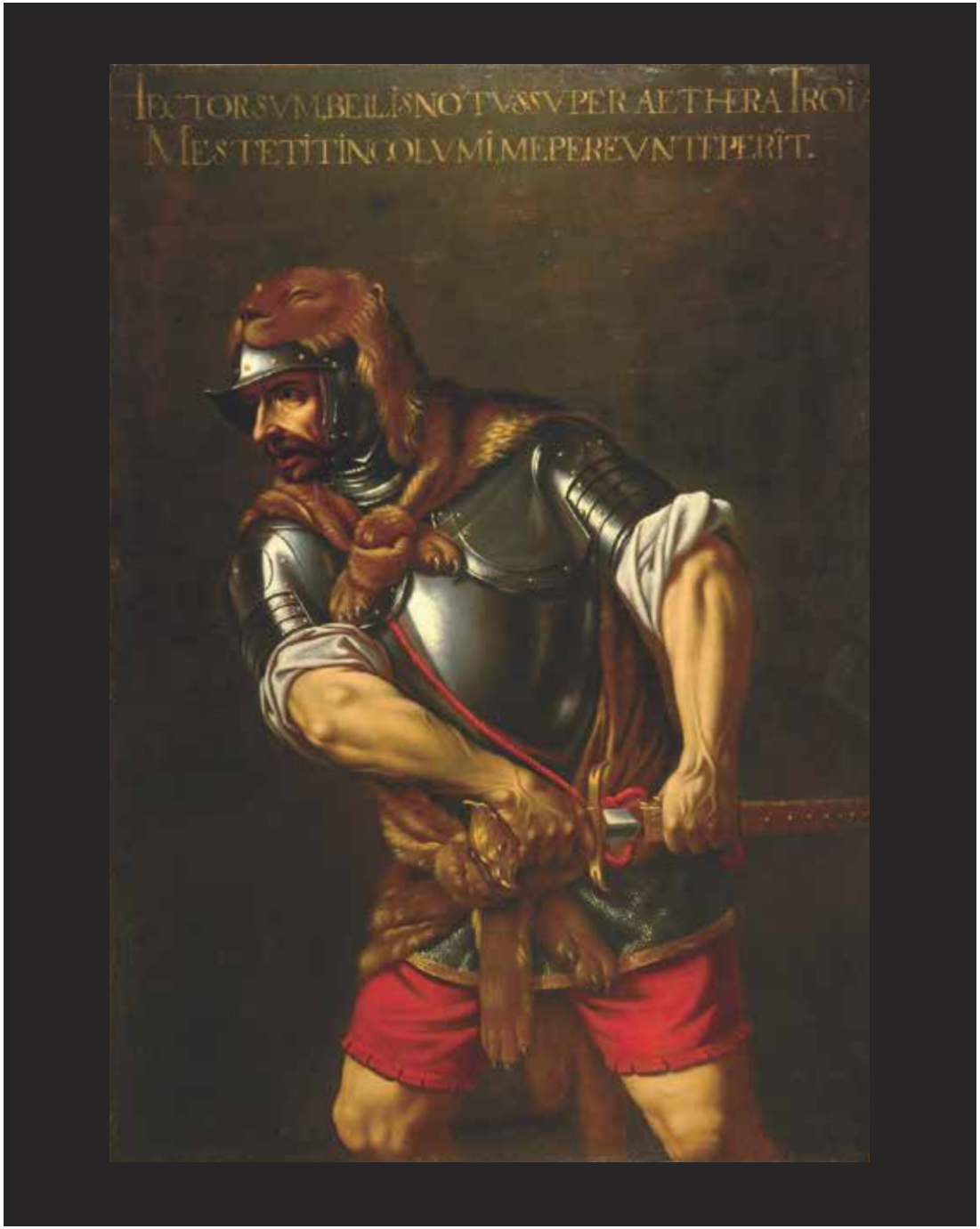


Fig. 1 / Pedro Orrente, *Hector*, oil on canvas, 158 x 122 cm, Private Collection.

Pedro Orrente and the Nine Worthies

JOSÉ GÓMEZ FRECHINA

The so-called Golden Age of Spanish art saw a number of felicitous intersections between literature and painting. This article will focus on a late pictorial example of the medieval literary theme of the Nine Worthies, executed by Pedro Orrente (Murcia, 1580 – Valencia, 1645) while he was in Valencia during the reign of Philip IV. Following the complete identification and reproduction of all of Orrente's paintings from this series, the article will analyze the works' possible original provenance, their subsequent history, and their influence on Valencian painting.

THE NINE WORTHIES

The canonical list of the Nine Worthies was first established around 1312 in a *chanson de geste* written by the Lorraine-born poet Jacques de Longuyon entitled *Les Voeux du Paon*, a work commissioned by Thibaut de Bar, Bishop of Liège.[1] In order to underscore the bravery of the warrior Porrus who fights the armies of Alexander the Great on the death of his father Clarus, Longuyon cites a roll-call of historical or mythical heroes whose deeds and characters perfectly embody the ideals of chivalry and nobility in the social and cultural context of the Hundred Years' War. The heroes are divided into three categories: pagan (Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar); Jewish (Joshua, King David, and Judas Maccabeus); and Christian (King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon).[2]

Chronologically, these figures extend from Homer's Hector of Troy to Godfrey of Bouillon, a Frankish knight involved in the First Crusade and the Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. As noted by Schroeder, the tripartite division of chronological periods – pagan antiquity, the Old Testament, and the medieval Christian era – corresponds to Saint Augustine's division of history: *ante legem* (from Adam to Moses), *sub lege* (from Moses to Christ), and *sub gratia* (after Christ).[3]

The literary theme of the Nine Worthies assumed a significant place in the collective imagination from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries through the representation of these heroes in sculptural groups such as those in the Town Hall in Cologne and the Schöner Brunnen in Nuremberg; fresco cycles including those in the Castillo de la Manta in Piedmont[4] and the Villa Castelnuovo near Turin;[5] and tapestries like those in the château de Langeais in France,[6] as well as the incomplete series made for the Duke of Berry, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[7] The inventories of tapestries (*draps de parets istoriats*) belonging to the Aragonese monarch, Peter the Ceremonious – almost all acquired in various French cities during his marriage to Eleaonor of Sicily – reveal that in 1351 Peter paid the considerable sum of fifty gold florins for a *drap de paret* illustrating the *Istoria Novem Militum*.[8] Although this tapestry has not survived, the high price paid indicates that it was extremely important, and it was one of the first to represent the literary subject of the Nine Worthies.

Almost a century later, during Henry IV's triumphal entry into Paris on 2 September 1431, the ceremonial procession included the pagan goddess of Fame, accompanied on horseback by the Nine Worthies with their coats-of-arms, along with their female counterparts, nine heroines worthy of commemoration for their virtues.[9]

Fig. 2 / Pedro Orrente, *Alexander the Great*, oil on canvas, 150 x 114 cm, (present location unknown).

Fig. 3 / Workshop of Pedro Orrente, *Alexander the Great*, oil on canvas, 153 x 116 cm, Alginet (Valencia), Private Collection.

Similarly, in Liège in 1444, the Prince-Bishop Jean of Hinsberg was received on his return from a trip to Italy by a troupe representing the Nine Worthies and the Nine Worthy Women.[10] In the early seventeenth century, the persistence of this literary and iconographic theme was evoked by Cervantes in *Don Quixote* whose eponymous hero proclaimed:

> I know that I may be, not only those I have named, but all the Twelve Peers of France, and even all the Nine Worthies, since my achievements surpass all that they have done together and each of them on his own account. (Vol I, chapter 5)

PEDRO ORRENTE'S VERSIONS OF THE NINE WORTHIES

Within the context of Spanish painting in the first half of the seventeenth century, an important depiction of the Nine Worthies was executed in a series of paintings by the itinerant painter Pedro Orrente.[11] Orrente had trained in Venice with Leandro Bassano and was active in Murcia, Toledo, and Valencia. The artist is notable for his contribution to naturalism in Spain, as well as for his outstanding narrative skills. Orrente's important series and pictorial groups reflect his enormous creative and inventive abilities. Furthermore, the artist's work is characterized by a rich interplay between literary and pictorial elements. The written word features in the form of numerous inscriptions, which are combined with an evocatively dream-like quality in his forms and colours. This combination of text and image occurs for example, in the depictions of episodes from the story of Jacob (*Jacob's Dream*, *The Blessing of Jacob*, *The Sale of the First-born Son*, *Jacob's Departure with the Flocks*, *Jacob at the Well*, and *Jacob Placing Branches before the Sheep*); Noah (*The Construction of Noah's Ark*, *The Animals Entering the Ark*, *The Great Flood*); Moses (*Moses Crossing the Red Sea*, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*); and the patriarch Abraham (*Abraham and Lot Leave Harran*, *The Separation of Abraham and Lot*, *Abraham Rejects King Solomon's Gifts*, *Abraham and the Three Angels*, *Abraham and Isaac on Route to the Sacrifice*, *The Rejection of Hagar*, *Abraham Sends Elijah to look for a Wife for Isaac*, and *Rebecca and Elijah at the Well*). Inscriptions also occur in depictions of New Testament subjects and parables: among them *Christ and the Magdalene in the House of Simon*, *The Healing of the Paralytic*, *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, *The Marriage at Cana*, *The Pilgrims at Emmaus*, *Dives and Lazarus*, and *The Parable of the Tares*. Subjects taken from classical mythology, like *Daphne and Apollo*, and from medieval literature, like *The Nine Worthies*, also presented opportunities for the artist to pair text and image.

The present author has identified a painting of *Hector of Troy* by Pedro Orrente in a private collection (fig. 1) which can be linked to his series of *The Nine Worthies*. In the sixteenth century, Hans Burgkmair[12] and Lucas van Leyden executed engraved depictions of the Nine Worthies in which the three pagan heroes were grouped together.[13] Within this trio, Hector is the leader. One of the principal characters in Homer's *Iliad*, Hector was the son of the Trojan King Priam and of Queen Hecuba. He defended the city of Troy against Agamemnon's warriors. However, after mistakenly killing Patroclus instead of Achilles, he fought with the latter and was killed. In medieval Europe, Hector became an example of a heroic knight in Benoît de Sainte Maure's *Roman de la Troie* and Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis*.

In the newly discovered painting, Hector is depicted against a plain background wearing armour and a helmet, and fearlessly unsheathing his sword. The lion's pelt over his armour may refer to the coat-of-arms assigned to him, as various armorial texts state. The upper part of the canvas identifies the subject through an inscription: HECTOR SVM BELLIS NOTVS SVPER AETHERA TROIA MES TETIT IN COLVMI, ME PEREVNT E PERÎT. A close copy of this work by the studio of Orrente (oil on canvas, 153 x 116 cm), located in a private collection in Alginet (Valencia), has the inscription HECTOR TROYANO.

Another painting in a private collection depicting the legendary Macedonian king, Alexander the Great (fig. 2), can also be attributed to Pedro Orrente and connected to his series of the Nine Worthies. Alexander holds a lance and sword and wears a plumed helmet with a bronze lion. The painting is inscribed: MAGNVS MVNDVS, CVI TABELLA SATIS NO STA, PARVA. Alexander the Great (356-323 BC), son of Philip II of Macedonia and of Queen Olympias, demonstrated his bravery and astuteness on the battle field, defeating the Achaemenid Empire and extending his own empire from Greece and Egypt to India. The fame of this great military strategist was disseminated in the medieval period through the *Chanson d'Alexandre* and above all through the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Alexandre de Bernay. An unpublished replica of Orrente's depiction of Alexander the Great by his studio, preserved in a private collection in Valencia (fig. 3), is notable for the depiction of a military encounter on the relief on Alexander's shield.

The last in the trio of pagan worthies is Julius Caesar, Roman general, politician, writer and, orator (100-44 BC). The military prowess and tactical skills of this late-Republican dictator were praised from an early date by writers such as Suetonius and Plutarch, whose works continued to circulate in the medieval period. Julius Caesar defeated his enemy Pompey in the Civil War, planned and executed the successful campaign against the Gauls, and shortly before his murder in the Senate – motivated by fear of his increasing power – planned the campaign against Orodes II's Parthian Empire.

Orrente's figure of *Julius Caesar* (fig. 4), identified elsewhere by the present author in a private collection in Valencia, exhibits formal parallels with extant examples of Roman bronze sculpture.[14] The figure is clothed in armour and a cloak, with exposed arms and lower legs. He wears the traditional military skirt (*pteruges*) composed of parallel metal strips, as well as gilt shoulder guards decorated with lion masks. Like Titian's *Julius Caesar,* painted by for the Duke of Mantua in his series of the Twelve Caesars (lost in the 1734 fire in the Alcázar in Madrid, but known through copies and prints by Aegedius Sadeler II), Orrente's Caesar wears a triumphal laurel wreath symbolizing victory and holds a baton of command. A replica, probably autograph, of this *Julius Caesar* was sold as "Spanish School 17th century" and entitled *A Roman Hero in Laurels and Amour, Holding a Commander's Baton*.[15] Another poor but close copy of Orrente's model appeared on the Madrid art market, inscribed *IVLIO SESAR*.

Fig. 4 / Pedro Orrente, *Julius Caesar*, oil on canvas, 150 x 114 cm, Valencia, Private Collection.

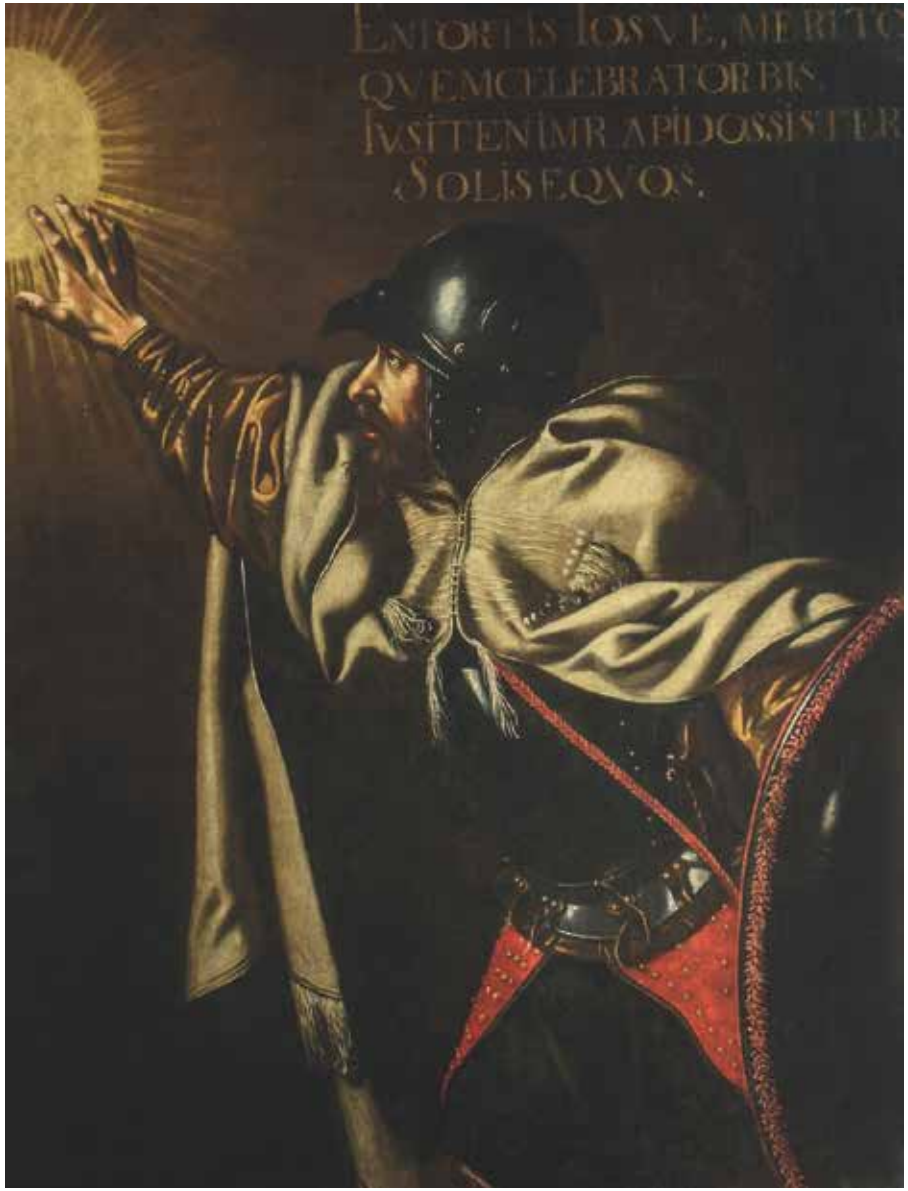


Fig. 5 / Pedro Orrente, *Joshua*, oil on canvas, 138 x 104 cm, Valencia, Real Colegio de Corpus Christi.

Fig. 6 / Pedro Orrente and workshop, *Joshua*, oil on canvas, 150 x 110 cm, parish church of Chelva (Valencia).

The trio of Jewish heroes that follows the pagans is led by the prophet Joshua, Moses's successor. Born in Egypt during the period of the Jews' enslavement, Joshua became the leader of his people and conquered the Promised Land, distributing it among the Twelve Tribes of Israel. As a leader he fought the enemies of Israel in numerous military undertakings that are recounted in the Book of Joshua. Orrente shows the conqueror of Canaan as a warrior dressed in armour, with a helmet and shield, corresponding to the famous passage when he stills the motion of the sun:

> Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon. / And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole day. / And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel.[16]

Orrente's *Joshua*, now in the Real Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia (fig. 5),[17] received through the Ferrer Estellés Bequest, bears the inscription: EN FORTIS IOSVE, MERITO QVEM CELEBRAT ORBIS IVSI TENIM RAPIDOS SISTER SOLIS EQVUOS. The same phrase also appears on a replica, possibly by Orrente and his studio, in the parish church in Chelva (Valencia) (fig. 6).[18]

Fig. 7 / Pedro Orrente, *David*, oil on canvas, 76 x 62.5 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas.

Fig. 8 / Pedro Orrente, *David*, oil on canvas, 150 x 110 cm, parish church of Chelva (Valencia).

Fig. 9 / Pedro Orrente, *David*, pen and ink, sepia wash, yellowish paper, 354 x 298 mm, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

The next Old Testament hero included among the Nine Worthies is King David, successor to Saul, whose stories and deeds are recounted in the Book of Daniel. Pedro Orrente chose to depict the familiar episode of combat between the youthful David, depicted without armour and only equipped with his sling, and the Philistine giant Goliath.[19]

Versions of *David Victorious over Goliath* by Orrente survive in the Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas in Madrid (fig. 7) and also in the parish church in Chelva (Valencia) (fig. 8). Both bear the inscription: *BELLA PVER GESSIT DAVID, CANVSQUE SVBEGIT MARTE SENEX IVVENEM, MARTE GIGANTA PVER*.[20] A further *David* by Orrente (oil on canvas, 160 x 114.5 cm) is also located in a private collection in Madrid. In addition, Sotheby's London offered a *David with the Head of Goliath* as "North Italian School, 17th century", although this is in fact a work by the studio of Orrente following the master's model.[21] Another copy by the workshop was sold at Balclis, inscribed *DAVID REX*.[22] Within Orrente's series of the Nine Worthies, the *David Defeating Goliath* is of particular importance given the survival of a preparatory drawing for the composition by the artist's hand, now in the Biblioteca Nacional (fig. 9) and formerly in the collection of José Madrazo.[23]

Fig. 10 / Pedro Orrente, *Judas Maccabeus*, (present location unknown).

Fig. 11 / Workshop of Orrente, *Judas Maccabeus*, oil on canvas, 153 x 116 cm, Alginet (Valencia), Private Collection.

The third Worthy of the Jewish triad is Judas Maccabeus, son of the Hebrew priest Mattathias, who led the brilliantly planned revolt of the Maccabees against the Seleucid Empire of Syria (167-160 BC). The Books of the Maccabees provide a full account of the historical reality of this daring biblical leader and his battles. The Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes issued decrees that hindered or directly forbade the Jews' religious practices. Particularly celebrated among Judas Maccabeus's military deeds in the written texts are the defeat and death of Apollonius who had recently conquered and sacked Jerusalem. Maccabeus was also successful in his victories over the Syrian generals Gorgias, Nicanor, Timotheos, Bacchides, and Lysias.

The figure of Judas Maccabeus can be identified in a painting (present whereabouts unknown), which was correctly attributed to Orrente by Alfonso Pérez Sánchez on the basis of a photograph (fig. 10) and intuitively described as a biblical figure.[24] In this instance the composition lacks a Latin text at the top identifying the subject, as in the other examples of this series. It is possible that the canvas was cut down at the top at some point, resulting in the removal of the inscription, but it is not possible to state this conclusively given that the dimensions are unknown.

Orrente depicts the valorous Judas Maccabeus as a virile bearded man, shown in profile and wearing a cap. Using a wide range of compositional devices, the artist avoids any sense of static frontality, offering an extremely dynamic portrayal of the soldier, who is seen engaged in action with his shield held high and firmly grasping his sword. A replica produced by the artist's studio survives in a private collection in Alginet (Valencia), with the hero (fig. 11) identified by the inscription JVDAS MAC. This canvas forms part of a group consisting of *Charlemagne*, *King Arthur*, *Hector of Troy*, and *Alexander the Great*. All executed by the studio of Orrente, these were once in the collection of the lawyer Vicent Greus Roig and all have the same dimensions (153 x 116 cm).

Fig. 12 / Pedro Orrente, *King Arthur*, oil on canvas, approx. 155 x 111 cm, Valencia, parish church of San Nicolás Obispo y San Pedro Mártir.

Fig. 13 / Workshop of Orrente, *King Arthur*, oil on canvas, 153 x 116 cm, Alginet (Valencia), Private Collection.

The trio of Christian figures that concludes the series of the Nine Worthies begins with the legendary figure of King Arthur, who can perhaps be identified with a Roman-British military leader who defended Britain from the Saxon invasions in the sixth century. The principal elements of his representation are largely derived from Geoffrey de Monmouth's texts in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. A painting by Orrente of *King Arthur* survives in the church of San Nicolás Obispo and San Pedro Mártir in Valencia (fig. 12). As expected, this bears an inscription identifying this military hero: ARTVRO. R. ANGL. Dressed in armour and a cloak, holding his sword in his right hand, Arthur is shown bearing a shield with an image of the Virgin and Child. On his head, he wears a plumed helmet crowned with a winged dragon. A copy of this composition by the studio of Orrente is now in a private Valencian collection, also is inscribed with the hero's nam: ARTVRO (fig. 13). The only minor difference in this version is that the Virgin and Child on the shield represent the iconographic type known as the *Virgen de Belén* (Our Lady of Bethlehem).

Next among the Christian heroes is Charlemagne (ca. 747-814), eldest son of the Frankish king Pepin III, who was a great military strategist. Charlemagne extended his realms, subduing the Saxons through several lengthy campaigns and ultimately obliging them to convert to Christianity. He was crowned *Imperator Romanorum* in Saint Peter's in Rome by Pope Leo III on the night of 25 December 800. Orrente chose to depict the moment when the Frankish king is crowned as *Imperator Augustus*, wearing the vestments and symbols employed by the Holy Roman emperors in their coronation ceremonies: the sceptre, orb, imperial crown studded with gems and pearls and topped by a cross, ermine fur, and blue cloak embroidered with fleur-de-lys. This representation of Charlemagne occurs in a painting by Orrente now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia (fig. 14), though this work was incorrectly attributed to Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa (Cocentaina, Alicanta, 1600 – Valencia, 1667), as was a companion picture depicting *Godfrey of Bouillon*.[25]

Fig. 14 / Pedro Orrente, *Charlemagne*, oil on canvas, 160 x 115 cm, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia.

Fig. 15 Pedro Orrente, *Charlemagne*, oil on canvas, aprox. 156 x 116 cm, (present location unknown).

Fig. 16 Pedro Orrente, *Charlemagne*, red wash and touches of white lead over preparatory drawing in pencil, dark laid paper, 395 x 280 mm, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

As with all his Nine Worthies, Orrente's canvas depicting *Charlemagne* bears an inscription at the top which runs: GALLORVM CAROLVS MAGNVS REX, INCLYTVS ARMIS IVSTITIA CONSTANS RELLIGIONE PIVS. This same phrase appears on a painting, also attributable to Orrente and formerly in the collection of the Count of Toreno, which is now known from a photograph in the Archivo Moreno (inv. 04371-A) (fig. 15). Another photograph in the archive of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural del España (inv. 19362_B) shows the same painting now restored and in the Pérez Gaye collection in Madrid. Another version of *Charlemagne* by the studio of Orrente (oil on canvas, 153 x 116 cm) was once the collection of Vicent Greus Roig and carries the inscription CARLOMAGNO ENPERADOR.

There are two strikingly-anachronistic elements in Orrente's depiction of the emperor: first the inclusion of the collar of the French Order of Saint Michael, established in Ambroise on 1 August 1469 by Louis XI of France, and second the depiction collar of the Order of the Saint-Esprit, founded by the French monarch Henry III in 1578. In a desire for verisimilitude, the patron who commissioned this series must have suggested the inclusion of these precisely depicted emblems of the various orders. The collar of the Order of Saint Michael comprises double knots with the medallion showing the warlike aspect of this saint, Prince of the Celestial Forces, defeating the devil. The collar of the Order of the Knights of the Saint-Esprit comprised fleurs-de-lys with flames and chain links with the king's initial (H for Henri) with the gold, eight-pointed cross of the order and a white enamelled dove in the centre.

There is in the collection of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid a study, undoubtedly by the hand of Orrente, for the figure *Charlemagne* (fig. 16).[26] This sheet and the above-mentioned drawing of *David Defeating Goliath* in the same institution reveal Orrente's powers of invention and indicate his creative process in the production of the Nine Worthies series.

Fig. 17 / Pedro Orrente, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, oil on canvas, 160 x 115 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia.

Fig. 18 / Pedro Orrente, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, oil on canvas, 156 x 116 cm, (present location unknown).

The final of the Christian worthies presented the perfect model of a Christian knight in the figure of Godfrey of Bouillon (1060-1100), son of Eustace II of Boulogne and Ida of Lorraine, Duke of Bouillon, Margrave of Antwerp, and Duke of Lower Lorraine. As a loyal ally of the Emperor Henry IV, Godfrey sold his properties in his native Lorraine and set out with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin to take part in the First Crusade, promoted by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont with the aim of liberating the Holy Land from the Muslims. Kilij Arslan I, son of the great Suleyman Ibn-Kutalmish, fought against the combined forces of the crusading armies. Godfrey and his brother Eustace were the first to enter Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 from a siege tower. Having conquered the Holy City, the crusaders offered the throne to Godfrey, who refused a gold crown because Christ had worn a crown of thorns. He adopted the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. On his death in July 1100, his brother Baldwin was chosen as King of Jerusalem.

During Godfrey's brief reign, he rebuilt the port city of Jaffa with the help of the Pisans in order to promote pilgrimages. He also halted the attacks of the Egyptian Fatimids, defeating them at the Battle of Ascalon. In his *Historia Hierololymitanae expeditionis*, Albert of Aix, chronicler of the First Crusade, contributed to forging the legend of Godfrey of Bouillon as the prototype of a Christian knight, as did the anonymous author of *De gesta francorum et aliorum hierosolimitanorum*. Additionally, the Benedictine monk Guibert de Nogent (1055-1124) recounted an anecdote about Godfrey in his *Gesta Dei per francos*, in which he refers to Godfrey's enormous strength: "With one blow of his sword he split a Turkish rider in two so that his body was divided into two equal parts" (Gesta VII, 11).

In the painting now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia, Orrente depicts Godfrey of Bouillon as a military leader with evident gifts for command and leadership (fig. 17).[27] Looking directly at the viewer, Godfrey wears an elegant plumed hat, a cuirass, a coat of mail, and the Cross of Jerusalem, which is sometimes quartered with four small crosses. It should be recalled that following the capture of the Holy Places, Godfrey founded the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. In his right hand he carries a baton of command while his left rests on his sword hilt. At the top of the painting is an inscription that identifies the subject: VICERATAERES SVO SOLYMM GODFREDVS, UT ALTO CONSILIO, INTREPIDO CORDE, ALACRIQVE MANV.

Fig. 19 / Orrente and workshop, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, oil on canvas, 155 x 111 cm, Valencia, parish church of San Nicolás Obispo y San Pedro Mártir.

The Archivo Moreno of the photographic library of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España has two photographs of works depicting Godfrey of Bouillon. One of them (inv. 20519-B), captioned "Portrait", was in the collection of the Count of Toreno (fig. 18), while the other (inv. 19363-B) is annotated as a work in the Pérez Gaya collection in Madrid. On closer study it is evident that they are in fact the same work, in one case prior to retouching when in the collection of the Count of Toreno, and in the other following restoration in the Pérez Gaya collection. This same oil on canvas (156 x 116 cm), which is clearly an autograph work by Pedro Orrente, was auctioned in the United States in 1990 as a work by Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa ("Portrait of Godfrey of Bouillon wearing a red Costume")[28] and seems to have subsequently been in the collection of Stanley Moss in New York. A further depiction of this subject by Orrente, with possible studio participation, survives in the parish church of San Nicolás Obispo y San Pedro Mártir in Valencia (fig. 19). It is inscribed at the top: GODOFRE.D.LOTA.

Fig. 20 / Pedro Orrente, *Allegory of Fame*, oil on canvas, 150 x 110 cm, Private Collection (present location unknown).

Fig. 21 / Workshop of Pedro Orrente, *Allegory of Fame*, oil on canvas, Private Collection (present location unknown).

The group of nine figures that make up this pictorial cycle is completed with the figure of the *Allegory of Fame* (present whereabouts unknown), which the present author has been able to identify as a work by Orrente on the basis of a photograph in a private collection (fig. 20). The artist depicts the pagan goddess as a winged woman wearing a laurel wreath, blowing on a large trumpet, while carrying another in her left hand – actions through which she proclaims truth and lies. The figure is comparable to one in a woodcut by Jos Amman, which again depicts Fame, with two trumpets and a large pearl earring. As observed, the nine heroes were in some cases accompanied in triumphal processions by the figure of Fame, who proclaimed their deeds and virtues. Like his depictions of the historical figures, Orrente's Fame carries an inscription that reads (incompletely): FAMA CANOSQVE TVBA. There is another, unpublished version of this work by Orrente now in a private collection, only known to the author from a photograph (fig. 21).

It remains uncertain who might have commissioned this pictorial cycle of the Nine Worthies, and its original intended location is unclear. One possibility is that it was commissioned as a decorative cycle for a room in the Royal Palace in Valencia. The tapestry of the Nine Worthies purchased by Pedro the Ceremonious may have hung in a room in that palace for some time, prior either to its removal to another royal residence or its ultimate deterioration. Perhaps the commission of the pictorial cycle from Pedro Orrente was conceived as a replacement for the original tapestry. Alternatively, the presence of symbols such as the Cross of Jerusalem and various collars of French military orders might suggest that the series was in some way connected to the military order of Santa María de Montesa and intended to decorate a public space in Valencia such as the Templars' Palace.

Another, perhaps more likely, hypothesis would be to connect Orrente's pictorial cycle of the Nine Worthies to Antonio Rodríguez Portugal's translation from French into Spanish of *Le triumphe des neuf preux*, published in Valencia by Juan Navarro (15 July 1532) with the title *Cronica llamada el triũpho de los nue- | ue mas preciados varones de la fama. En la qual e contiene la vida | de cada vno dellos: y las grandes proezas y exdellẽtes hechos | y hazañas en armas por agllos hechas. La qual es vn es | chado [sic] de cauall'ia. Traduzida en nro vulgar caste |llano: y agora nueuamẽte ẽprimida e corregida y enmẽdada con mucha diligẽcia: y pue |sta en muy gentil estilo: segũ que a | tan noble obra pertenesce*. The success of this book is indicated by its subsequent publication in Alcalá de Henares (1585, by Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica) and in Barcelona (1586, by Pedro Malo).

Numerous issues relating to this cycle remain to be resolved; in some cases, it has only been possible to identify paintings through photographs and therefore lack of information regarding their dimensions hinders their allocation within specific series. Nevertheless, the success of the series of Nine Worthies is indicated by the existence of numerous autograph replicas, studio versions, and copies. The iconic series of the Kings of Spain in the Palacio de la Generalitat in Valencia shares notable parallels with Orrente's Nine Worthies in conception and style. As Elías Tormo has noted: "In my opinion the series has absolutely nothing to do with the art of Esteban March, but I have not yet formulated another more plausible attribution."[29]

In fact, on stylistic grounds, the series of the Kings of the Crown of Aragon – for example *Alfonso the Magnanimous* and *Ferdinand the Catholic* (figs. 22 & 23) – can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century and attributed to a pupil of Pedro Orrente, Pablo Pontons (1622 – ca. 1690), as tentatively suggested by Tormo as early as 1917.[30] Pontons worked in the cloister of the convent of Nuestra Señora del Socorro and for the convent of the Merced in Valencia. He trained with Orrente, as known from a document of 1635: this records Pablo Pontons, a tapestry weaver, entering into an agreement with Orrente through which his thirteen-year-old son "will enter the latter's studio to train in the art of painting for seven years."[31] In his book *Solemnidad festiva con que en la insigne, leal, noble y coronada ciudad de Valencia se celebró la feliz nueva de la Canonización de su milagroso Arzobispo Santo Tomás de Villanueva* (1659), Marco Antonio Orti refers to a series by Pontons on the Nine Worthies in the second cloister of the convent of the Socorro: "The nine captains of fame, and lifelike portraits by famous painters, these paintings numbering one hundred and four in total, and all of them by the hand of the famous painter Pablo Pontons the Valencian, and of remarkable credit to his native region."[32]

The identification in this article of all of Orrente's paintings from this unique series of Golden Age Spanish paintings permits a more complete understanding of them, which will hopefully contribute to the recognition of their important place in the collective memory of seventeenth-century Spain. Few series of works are capable of credibly evoking and introducing the medieval literary world as do the Nine Worthies, with its posthumous glorification and commemoration of these historical and legendary heroes, who become contemporary *exempla* through the Allegory of Fame.

Fig. 22 / Pablo Pontons, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, oil on canvas, Valencia, Palau de la Generalitat.

Fig. 23 / Pablo Pontons, *Ferdinand the Catholic*, oil on canvas, Valencia, Palau de la Generalitat.

NOTES

1. Thomas, Antoine, "Jacques de Longuyon, trouvère," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XXXVI (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, 1885-1906), pp.1-35.
2. On the subject of the Nine Worthies, see Paul Meyer, "Les Neuf Preux," *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* 9 (1883): pp. 45-54; Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttiengen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971); Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Fama et les preux: nom et renom à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 24 (1993): pp. 35-44; Tania Van Hemelryck, "Ou sont les Neuf Preux? Variations sur un thème medieval," *Studi francesi* 42 (1998): pp. 1-8; Glynnis M. Cropp, "Les vers sur les Neuf Preux," *Romania* 120 (2002): pp. 449-482.
3. Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies*, p. 54.
4. Paola D'Ancona, "Gli affreschi del castello di Manta nel Saluzzese," *L'Arte* 8 (1905): pp. 94-106, 184-198.
5. Noëlle-Christine Rebichon, "Le Cycle des Neuf Preux au Château de Castelnuovo (Piémont)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge* 122-1 (2010): pp. 173-188.
6. Jean Favier, ed., *Un rêve de chevalerie: les Neuf Preux, exposition du château de Langeais*, exh. cat. (Paris: Institut de France, 2003).
7. James J. Rorimer, *The Nine Heroes Tapestries at the Cloisters* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953).
8. Marçal Olivar, "Els tapissos francesos del rei En Pere el Cerimoniós," in *Collecció "Opera Minora"* (Barcelona: Artur Ramon-Manuel Barbie, 1986), pp.17-18.
9. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, "Les Neuf Preuses, l'invention d'un nouveau theme iconographique dans le contexte de la Guerre de Cent ans," in *Le genre face aux mutations: Masculin et féminin, du Moyen Âge à nos jours [en ligne]* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), available online at http://books.openedition.org/pur/15907, accessed September 2018.
10. Ibid., p. 7.
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12. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, 19.5 x 13 cm.
13. Rotterdam, Museum Boijsmans van Beuningen, 33.8 x 51.2 cm.
14. Gómez Frechina, "In Memoriam," pp. 57 and 61.
15. Christie's, London, 28 October 2009, (The Manolo March Collection from Son Galcerán, Majorca), lot 20, oil on canvas, 155.2 x 116.2 cm.
16. Joshua 10: 12-14.
17. Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura toledana*, no. 180 B, p. 293, and Fernando Benito Doménech, *Pinturas y Pintores en el Real Colegio de Corpus Christi* (Valencia: Federico Domenech, S.A., 1980), no. 144, p. 289.
18. Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura toledana*, no. 180, p. 293, plate 195.
19. I Samuel 17: 48-51.
20. Sotheby's, London, 10 April 2013, lot 81, oil on canvas, 140 x 107 cm.
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22. 17 December 2009, lot 922; oil on canvas, 134 x 112 cm.
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25. Gómez Frechina, "In Memoriam," p. 59.
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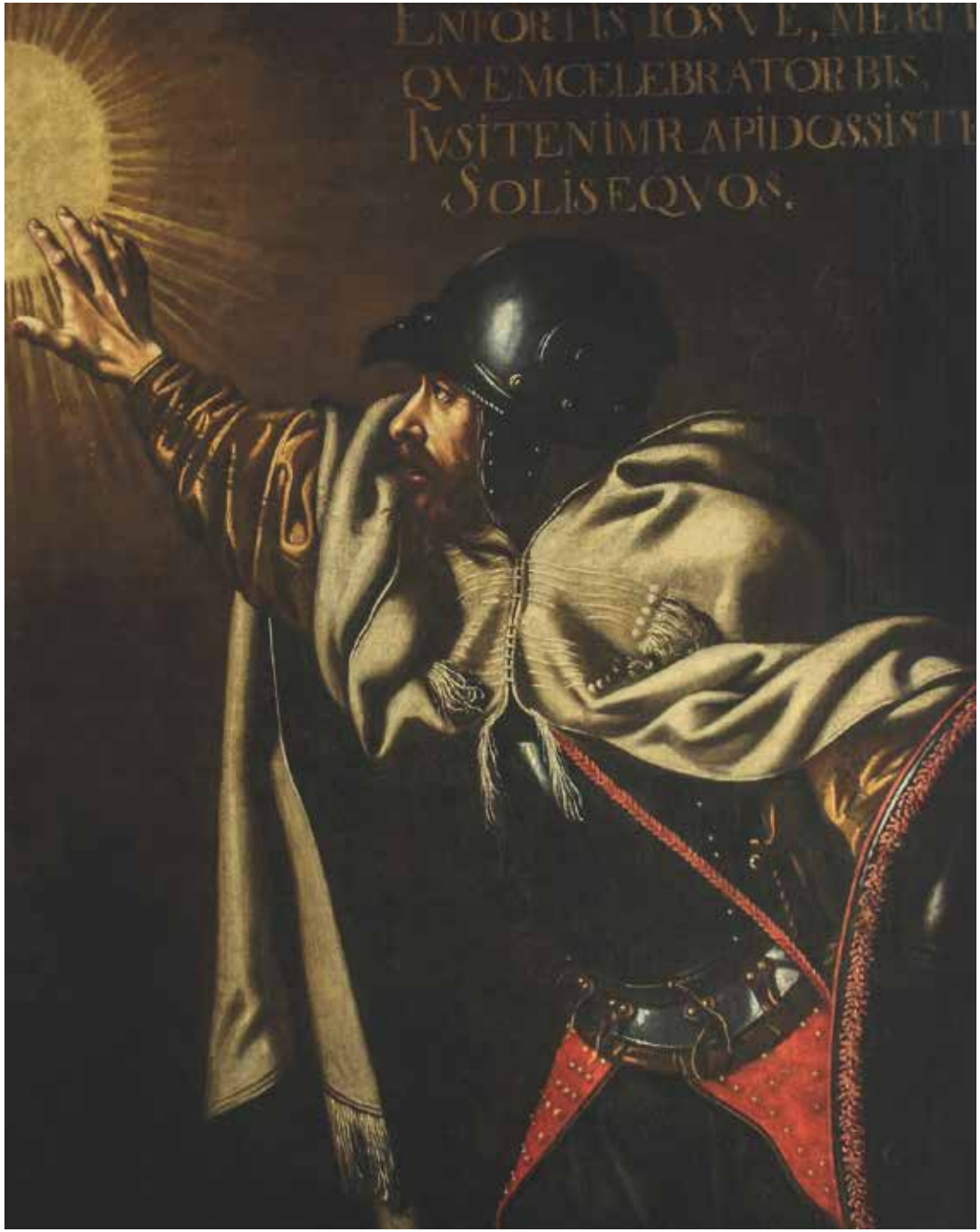
27. Gómez Frechina, "In Memoriam," p. 59.
28. Christie's, New York, 10 January 1990, lot 98.
29. Elías Tormo, *Las viejas series icónicas de los Reyes de España* (Madrid: Blass, 1916), p. 151: "It does not reveal any specific characteristics of the most typical Valencian school (Ribaltas and Espinosas), but it could be by Pablo Pontons, a follower of Orrente and one with a notably Castilian air (à la Puga)."
30. Ibid., pp. 151-152.
31. María José López Azorín, *Documentos para la Historia de la Pintura Valenciana en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2006), p. 76.
32. I am grateful to Dr Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, senior professor of art history at the University of Valencia, for this reference.



Selling Botticelli to America: Colnaghi, Bernard Berenson and the sale of the *Madonna of the Eucharist* to Isabella Stewart Gardner

JEREMY HOWARD

The 2019 monographic exhibition, *Botticelli: Heroines + Heroes* at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, celebrates one its most famous Renaissance pictures: Botticelli's *Story of Lucretia* (fig. 1). Its acquisition in 1894 through the agency of Colnaghi and the art historian Bernard Berenson (fig. 2), was a milestone in the history of collecting. It was the first authentic Botticelli to arrive in America, the first significant Renaissance painting to be bought by Isabella Stewart Gardner, and its sale marked the beginning of a vitally important triangular relationship between the collector (fig. 3), her adviser Bernard Berenson, and one of London's most venerable art galleries. This relationship led to the sale of thirty works of art to Mrs Gardner between 1894 and 1902, including Titian's *Rape of Europa*, Cellini's *Bust of Bindo Altoviti*, Fra Angelico's *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* (celebrated in last year's exhibition at the Gardner Museum), and the Botticelli *Madonna of the Eucharist* (fig. 4), which is the principal subject of the present article. While the history of the acquisition of the *Story of Lucretia* has been examined in some detail elsewhere[1] and is discussed in Patricia Rubin's essay in the Gardner Museum exhibition catalogue,[2] the sale of the *Madonna of the Eucharist* (or Chigi Madonna, as it was to be called, after the collection from which it was acquired) has never been properly scrutinized, despite its sensational export from Italy which attracted huge publicity at the time. This article, based on the extensive unpublished correspondence in the Colnaghi archives, provides an opportunity to unravel the complicated story of the sale of the Chigi Madonna and reflect upon the debates which it provoked, as well as the wider significance of the sale of both masterpieces by Botticelli.[3]

1894, the year that Isabella Stewart Gardner acquired her first Botticelli and came of age as an Old Master collector, was also very significant year in terms of Colnaghi's business. Founded in 1760 and located in the 1890s just across the street from the National Gallery in the building now occupied by Canada House, the firm was extremely well-established in the art world. But throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century they were known primarily as print publishers: "a capital print shop," in the words of William Hazlitt (fig. 5). It was not until the 1890s, spurred by the opportunities offered by the break-up of the old aristocratic collections, that they moved prominently into Old Master picture dealing. One of the principal architects of this change was the brilliant young dealer Otto Gutekunst (fig. 6), who in 1894, the year of the first Botticelli sale to Mrs Gardner, joined the firm along with another partner Edmund Deprez; the latter, as we shall see, played a crucial role in the acquisition of her second Botticelli, the *Madonna of the Eucharist*. With the help of Bernard Berenson and with Isabella Stewart Gardner as their

Fig. 1 / Sandro Botticelli, *Story of Lucretia*, 1499-1500, tempera and oil on panel, 83.8 x 176.8 cm, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 2 / Bernard Berenson, Florence, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti.

first important American client, Colnaghi transformed their business – just as she transformed her collection – becoming by 1900 one of the most important Old Master dealerships of the Gilded Age.

Isabella Stewart Gardner first met Berenson when he was a student at Harvard and both were attending the classes on Dante given by Professor Charles Eliot Norton. She and her husband helped finance Bernard Berenson's education at Harvard and his trip to Europe in 1887. However, in the intervening seven years between 1887 and 1894, he lost touch with his former patron. The publication of his first book, *Venetian Painters of the Renaissance,* in that year gave him the opportunity to re-establish the relationship. He sent her a copy of the book, she responded enthusiastically, asking him for advice on paintings that she was considering buying; within a short space of time he became an, initially informal, art consultant. On 1 August 1894, at the end of a letter in which he had given his rather lukewarm opinions on photographs she had sent him, he closed, almost casually, with the offer, not of a Venetian painting, but a picture by the great Florentine master, Botticelli, whose star was then ascendant after almost five centuries of neglect:

Fig. 3 / Adolf de Meyer, photograph of Isabella Stewart Gardner, 1906, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 4 / Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna and Child with an Angel* (also known as *The Madonna of the Eucharist* or *Chigi Madonna*), 1470-1474, tempera on panel, 85.2 × 65 cm, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

> How much do you want a Botticelli? Lord Ashburnham has a great one – one of the greatest: a *Death of Lucretia*, a cassone picture to rival the *Calumny* in the Uffizi. I understand that, though the noble lord is not keen about selling it, a handsome offer would not insult him. I should think it would have to be around £3000. If you cared about it, I could, I dare say, get you the best terms. It would be a pleasure to me to be able in some sort to repay you for your kindness on an occasion when I needed your help.[4]

It was typical of Berenson to pretend to be motivated by a desire to repay Mrs Gardner for her earlier generosity, rather than by any sordid commercial considerations, and also to suggest that he himself had discovered that the picture was for sale, giving the impression that he was dealing directly with the owner, rather than through Colnaghi as intermediaries. Indeed, for most of the seven years that Mrs Gardner was buying pictures supplied by Colnaghi, he was at pains to minimize their involvement, failing to disclose to her the fact that he was receiving commission from them and, in many cases, owned paintings in shares with them. In at least one case, this was to lead to serious accusations of dishonesty for which Colnaghi took the blame.[5] The price mentioned by Berenson (although a fraction of the £21,000 paid two years later for Titian's *Rape of Europa*, and about a fifth of what she paid for Botticelli's *Madonna of the Eucharist* in 1899) was over twice what she had paid two years earlier for the Vermeer *Concert*, which represented her first foray into collecting Old Master pictures. This underscores the fact that the sale represented a turning-point in her collecting.

Fig. 5 / Sir Muirhead Bone, *The Colnaghi Gallery at 13-14 Pall Mall East*, 1911, London, Colnaghi Archive.

Fig. 6 / Lombardi & Co, photograph of Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi, ca.1900, Florence, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti.

For Gardner, as for Berenson, Botticelli was a master with a particular allure, connected with the aesthetic movement and the lush writings of Walter Pater; the latter had included in his collection of essays entitled *The Renaissance*, published in the 1870s, a famous purple passage describing Botticelli's *Madonna of the Magnificat* (fig. 7) in terms which reflected the world-weary mood of late nineteenth century aesthetic:

> Once indeed, he [the Christ Child] guides her hand to transcribe in a book the words of her exaltation, the Ave, and the Magnificat and the Gaude Maria, and the young angels, glad to rouse her for a moment from her dejection, are eager to hold the ink-horn and to support the book. But the pen almost drops from her hand, and the high cold words have no meaning for *her.*

Fig. 7 / Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna of the Magnificat*, ca. 1483, tempera on panel, diameter, 118 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi.

Pater's Madonna is a notably agnostic figure who shows no enthusiasm for the task of praising God ("She is neither for Jehovah nor for his enemies") and, in in this famously limp-wristed passage, Pater could almost be describing one of Rossetti's doomed heroines, such as the *Proserpine* (fig. 8), who like the Virgin also holds a pomegranate, symbol of the passion, and wears a look of dreamy melancholy. The links are not coincidental because, in fact, Rossetti was a pioneering collector of Botticelli's work, owner of the *Portrait of Smeralda Bandinelli* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), the subject of which he believed had been the model for the central figure of Venus in the *Primavera.* There were also English collectors, such as Alexander Constantine Ionides, who were simultaneously collectors of Botticelli and important patrons of the Pre-Raphaelites.[6]

Each age takes from the past what suits its own preconceptions and, between the 1840s and the 1870s, there had been a significant shift in attitudes towards the Florentine Quattrocento. During the religious revival of the 1840s, the paintings of the saintly Fra Angelico provided writers like Lord Lindsay and artists like the young Rossetti with opportunities to, in Lord Lindsay's words, "commune with the relics of a simpler and more believing age." Botticelli's paintings, on the other hand, appeared to offer, in addition to their remarkable beauty, something more complex and ambiguous which appealed to *fin-de-siècle* aesthetes, to artists like Rossetti and Burne-Jones, and to writers such as Swinburne and Isabella Stewart Gardner's friend Henry James, who in 1873, had likened the "haunted or overcharged consciousness" in the work

of William Morris, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones, to "repeated doses of diluted Botticelli."[7]

Until the 1840s Botticelli had been largely forgotten, but his star rose rapidly in the second half of the century, and by 1881 he had become so popular in England that W.S. Gilbert made the aesthetic hero of his comic opera *Patience* wander around Piccadilly with a lily in his medieval hand, murmuring "how Botticellian"(fig. 9). The artist's fame had also spread to Boston, largely thanks to the inspirational lectures of Charles Eliot Norton (fig.10). One of Mrs Gardner's earliest interests as a collector, in which she had been encouraged by Norton, was in early editions of Dante, whose *Divine Comedy* Botticelli had illustrated. There were other links too: Rossetti, whose paintings Mrs Gardner collected, had been, as observed, a pioneering collector of Botticelli in the 1860s. Berenson, who in the early days of courtship, led Mary Costelloe blindfolded through the Uffizi "to the spot in the adjoining room where she could best see for the first time the *Primavera,*"[8] was also a great admirer of Botticelli. He considered the master's work to combine two fundamental "life-enhancing" qualities: movement and what Berenson famously called "tactile values." Botticelli was also an artist who, like Vermeer, had the appeal of the undiscovered. In 1865, the year of Berenson's birth, there were no Botticellis in America. By 1959, the year of his death, there were more paintings by the artist in America than in any other country apart from Italy.[9] The two Botticellis which Colnaghi and Berenson sold to Isabella Stuart Gardner undoubtedly played a major role in this rediscovery.

Fig. 8 / Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Proserpine*, 1874, oil on canvas, 125.1 cm × 61 cm, London, Tate Britain.

Fig.9 / Henry Matthew Brock, poster for W.S. Gilbert's *Patience.*

Fig. 10 / J.E. Purdy & Co.Boston (Mass.), photograph of Charles Eliot Norton, 1903, Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University

THE REDISCOVERY OF LUCRETIA

The *Story of Lucretia* (see fig. 1) first came to public notice in 1893 when it was recorded in Ulmann's monograph on Botticelli; the following year it was included in the great exhibition of *Early Italian Art* at the New Gallery in London, having been consigned by Lord Ashburnham.[10] This exhibition included no fewer than thirteen pictures attributed to Botticelli. His importance as one of the presiding spirits of the show can be gauged by the fact that his name, intertwined with those of Leonardo, Luini, and Andrea del Sarto, surmounted the cover of the special souvenir edition of *The Illustrated London News* (fig. 11). By the summer of 1894 the picture was evidently on the market; it was probably around this time that Berenson first met Otto Gutekunst, forging the beginnings of what was to be a very important relationship.

If Gutekunst was to become Colnaghi's link with Berenson and Mrs Gardner, Colnaghi's senior partner, William McKay, was mainly responsible for dealing with the owner of the Botticelli, Lord Ashburnham, while simultaneously negotiating with Wilhelm von Bode, Director of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, over the sale of what was at the time a far more valuable painting in the Ashburnham Collection: Rembrandt's *Preacher Anslo and his Wife*.

The Rembrandt was eventually sold for £22,050, over seven times what Mrs Gardner was to pay for her Botticelli. Possibly thanks to Bode, Colnaghi were able to steal the sale of Lord Ashburnham's collection from under the noses of the auctioneers Christie, Manson and Woods.[11] By the end of June 1894, Colnaghi were firmly ensconced, selling both the Rembrandt and a portrait by Antonio Pollaiullo (then attributed to Piero della Francesca) to the Berlin Museum. Curiously Berlin who were later rumoured to have been the underbidders for Mrs Gardner's second Botticelli, Prince Chigi's *Madonna of the Eucharist*, seem not to have shown interest in acquiring Lord Ashburnham's *Lucretia*.[12] However, Berenson's letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner written in the summer of 1894 had obviously ignited her enthusiasm, and on 20 December, the sale of Lord Ashburnham's Botticelli to Mrs Gardner was concluded,[13] with Berenson making the final payment of £3200 to Colnaghi,[14] thereby ensuring, one presumes, that

Fig. 11 / *Illustrated London News* review of the *Early Italian Art* exhibition at the New Gallery, March 1894.

Fig. 12 / Letter from Otto Gutekunst to Berenson regarding offering Mrs Gardner the Chigi Botticelli 28th October 1898, London, Colnaghi Archive.

Colnaghi's involvement was kept hidden from Gardner.

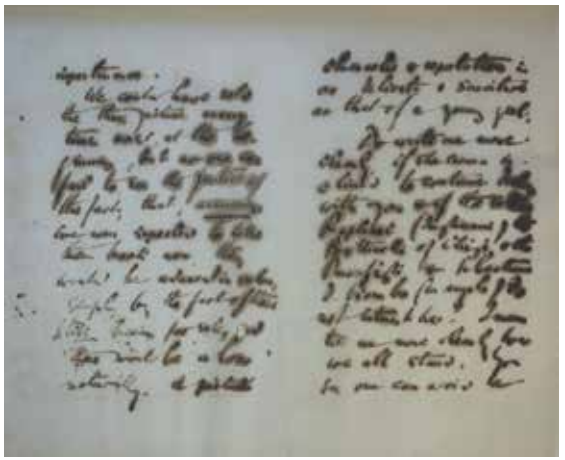
Berenson, who crossed to London after Christmas to confer with Gutekunst, was given a tour of the remains of Lord Ashburnham's collection. Shortly afterwards Otto Gutekunst wrote to him initiating a fifty-year correspondence:

> My dear Berenson, Trusting that you are quite quietly settled down at "Firenze" and ready, I will fire this first shot. It is still Lord Ashburnham. Don't you think that some other Mrs Gardner – in the book and mss line – could be found… by you, who would buy his famous and splendid library of books and chiefly manuscripts?[15]

Berenson seems to have been unsuccessful in finding a buyer for the Ashburnham library, but the sale of Botticelli's *Lucretia* was the prelude to a spectacular series of sales to Isabella Stewart Gardner in which the paintings were sourced by Colnaghi and sold to her by Berenson, including the *Madonna of the Eucharist,* acquired five years later.

THE MADONNA OF THE EUCHARIST
Early negotiations with Prince Chigi

Like the *Story of Lucretia*, Botticelli's *Madonna of the Eucharist* (see fig. 2) was a painting which had hung for many years largely unregarded in an aristocratic collection: in this case that of the family of Prince Mario Chigi in his palace in Rome. In 1892, it was first published by Giovanni Morelli, who described it as the only authentic Botticelli in Rome apart from the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel.[16] Although Morelli took credit for its rediscovery, the Botticelli was not entirely unknown to scholars. In 1856 Sir Charles Eastlake recorded seeing what was almost certainly the same picture hanging "extremely dark and dirty" in the Chigi Palace with an attribution to Domenico Ghirlandaio, who, as the master of Michelangelo, was almost as highly esteemed at the time as Botticelli.[17] Eastlake suggested that it might be "early Filippino Lippi or S. Botticelli."[18] Towards the end of the following decade Wilhelm von Bode, the famous Berlin museum director, was offered the picture as part of an *en-bloc* transaction at about a twentieth of the price that it would later fetch in 1899, but the deal foundered because the family were not prepared to divide the collection.[19]



The first mention of the Chigi Botticelli in the Colnaghi archives occurs in letters written by Gutekunst to Berenson in October 1898.[20] At that time the relationship with Mrs Gardner had been badly strained by the mismanagement of the sale of a pair of Holbeins belonging to the Pole-Carew family. Berenson, whose greed had got the better of him, had been dishonest about the amount of profit which he had added to Colnaghi's asking price; his duplicity was exposed, much to Jack Gardner's fury, when the price paid to the original owners was revealed. During the ensuing furore, Colnaghi was made the scape-goat for Berenson, and the affair threatened to spoil what had been a very profitable relationship for both the dealers and Gardner's art advisor. A letter from Gutekunst to Berenson (fig. 12) demonstrates the former's hope of patching things up so as to pursue *interalia* the sale of the Chigi Botticelli:

> Do write me more clearly, if she [Isabella Stewart Gardner] seems inclined to continue dealing with you and if the Volterra Raphael (Inghiarimi) [portrait], the Botticelli of Chigi and the Bonifiglio & Sebastiano d.Piombo (M.Angelo) do not interest her? I mean tell me more clearly how we all stand. You see one can avoid a multiplicity of mistakes and dilemmas by being explicit and frank, in fact one cannot be too clear and candid in such joint matters. Let there be no more misunderstandings, my friend.[21]

By November 1898 the relationship with the Gardners seems to have improved somewhat, Berenson had managed to rekindle her interest in the Botticelli, and Gutekunst was also able to report that negotiations with the owner "were well in hand."[22] Colnaghi had also found a partner to buy the picture (with the London dealer Asher Wertheimer), and Gutekunst told Berenson that, if the deal went through, Berenson would have a share.[23] In the meantime, Richard Norton, now Director of the American School in Rome and son of Charles Eliot Norton (whose classes Berenson and Gardner had attended at Harvard) had

Fig. 13 / Paolocci, *Portrait of Prince Mario Chigi*, engraving, 1878.

written to inform Isabella that Prince Chigi (fig. 13) was "getting his courage up to sell his pictures."[24] "You probably know them. Three or four are really good," he wrote, enclosing a photograph of the Botticelli, "which Morelli, in his book on the Borghese Gallery praises highly." Norton "judged [it] to be a really lovely picture [that] with a little cleaning would be worthy of being placed among your treasures." Norton concluded by advising Gardner to "let Berenson know at once" because there was a chance it might be for sale.[25]

By December 1898 things had progressed sufficiently for Colnaghi to engage the services of a man on the spot – a certain Dr Enrico Pardo – to act as an intermediary with the prince.[26] But, after this promising start, things began to falter, and in February 1899 Gutekunst wrote suggesting that Berenson should call on the prince:

> Would you care to call on Chigi, if you know him? If not, it is no use, but if you do, you might cautiously refer to the Botticelli, attempt to ascertain who has seen it and made offers. So far, we know from Pardo that other people have seen it and made offers, but the Prince has given us the promise not to sell without letting us know and our last offer was £4000. Should we instruct Pardo to proceed and try to buy even at £5000?

A page later, Gutekunst added: "It may be dangerous to wait and give the Prince time to find out the value of his picture and for everybody to discover or hear about the picture."[27]

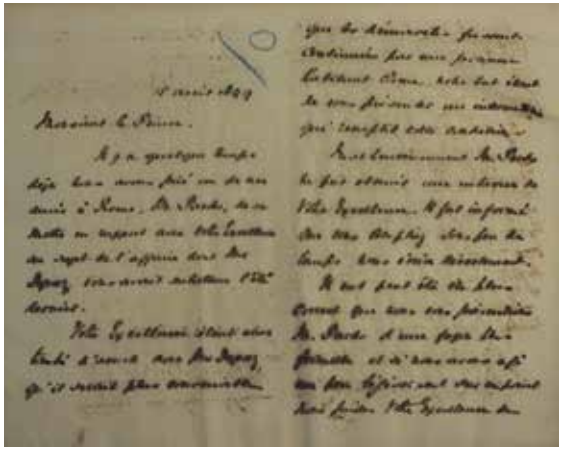


Fig. 14 / Letter from Colnaghi to Prince Chigi, 15 April 1899, written by Edmund Deprez.

RIVAL DEALERS

But neither Berenson nor Pardo seem to have managed to establish communication with the prince, and by 14 April 1899 there was still no news from Chigi. Gutekunst was beginning to get worried that the prince was either going cold or negotiating with other dealers. "We are getting somewhat nervous," he confided in a letter to Berenson, "in fact I think we ought to write again. Bode says that Murray has been most active in Italy and that during the last year or so almost everything quite good has been carried off by him for Agnews! He mentions the Palazzi Doria, Patrizi, Chigi etc."[28]

On 15 April a formal letter was despatched from Colnaghi to Prince Chigi written in French in Deprez's hand (fig. 14), stating that some time ago they had asked "one of our friends in Rome, Dr Pardo," to get in touch with the prince, but that Pardo had been unable to obtain an audience. They were therefore requesting that he be granted a meeting and suggested that future negotiations could be conducted by Pardo as their representative in Rome.[29] That same day Deprez wrote to Pardo expressing concern about the lack of news regarding the Botticelli and the potential competition for the painting; they should lose no time in trying to progress the deal.[30] Furthermore, they were also concerned that Venturi, who Deprez stated (wrongly) had discovered the picture, might be corruptible and could pose a threat.[31]

By mid-April the situation had improved, and it seemed as though Deprez and Pardo were making progress with the prince, but Colnaghi scented that there were rivals after the picture.[32] On the 15 April Gutekunst wired to Berenson urging immediate action – if they were to have a chance, they needed to up their offer from £4000 to £10,000:

> 15 April 1899, Telegram from Otto Gutekunst to Bernard Berenson
> Berenson Fiesole Florence.
> Botticelli in danger can possibly buy for 10,000 pounds must act at once wire fully Otto. 14 Pall Mall East SW.

On 22 April Gutekunst wrote again to Berenson to report that Pardo had succeeded in gaining entry to

the Palazzo Chigi, though had not been successful in gaining an audience with the prince:

> He saw the majordomo who told him that Chigi has been much pestered by people wanting to see and buy this picture etc etc
>
> On Pardo stating that he did not come on a fishing expedition or on jobbing, he behaved very civilly & told him that "Rothschild of London" was wanting to buy the Botticelli & had offered up to Lire 200,000.
>
> Upon this I wired you and on receipt of your answer we thought we'd better make quite sure, in case we have to pay the full price and you and Mrs J [Mrs Jack Gardner] should no longer be in the market for certain. We therefore in accordance with our former agreement, went and proposed the whole thing to Wertheimer, telling him all about the picture and its chances and indicating that there was a third person wishing to have a share having put us up to the picture and having a good chance of assisting in the sale. So, if you are prepared to take a third share, Mrs J buying or not buying, up to any price we may have to go to, let me know & all will be prepared as well.

"Wertheimer," concluded Gutekunst, "thinks very favourably of the business."

Deprez thought that the story of the Rothschild offer at a figure greatly in excess of Colnaghi's, was highly unlikely; nevertheless the prince's evasiveness was ominous.[33]

THE PRINCE'S "PRIVATE AUCTION"

On 22 April, the same day that Gutekunst had written the letter just quoted to Berenson, the prince finally summoned Pardo to his palace and dropped a bombshell. Having received various offers, including one of 170,000 lire,[34] he had decided to hold a private auction in Rome the following month and was even proposing to send out invitations to prospective bidders.[35] "This," concluded Gutekunst, "is of course very silly and won't do at all from your point of view… Besides, we are pointing out to him in a long letter that the matter would in this way come out and get him into a mess with the Government." Furthermore, a public auction would be counter-productive because "a buyer at such a price does not want it known publically and a high price will only be paid privately according to general experience." It was vital, Deprez wrote to Pardo, that the prince be warned of the consequences of his action. A private auction would attract the notice of the Italian government, and the prince would be in danger of being prosecuted under the so-called Pacca Edict, introduced to control the export of heritage items from the Papal States; it might then prove impossible to export the picture.[36]

THE BATTLE FOR THE BOTTICELLI

Despite these warnings and Dr Pardo's attempt to dissuade him by pointing out the risks, the prince decided to go ahead with his highly unorthodox private auction.[37] By 5 May, Gutekunst reported to Berenson that invitations had been sent out to "some 10 or so people" and the date set for 29 May.[38] Meanwhile Colnaghi were preparing for battle, organizing a credit of 12,000 guineas with Barclay's bank's correspondent in Rome.[39] Deprez had asked

Pardo to obtain exact measurements of the painting so that he could order a special trunk in case they were successful.[40] Berenson had also been told to try to find out who their competitors were: Murray had been rumoured to have made a large offer and was reported to be in Italy. Agnews were also potential rivals, and Bode was within easy striking distance in Florence.[41] Despite the competition, Gutekunst was optimistic and wired Berenson "Hope successful conclusion Madonna early next week."[42] But then, four days before the date set for the sale, the prince dropped another bombshell, announcing that he was postponing the auction: "a monstrous thing to do," wrote Gutekunst, "after summoning the competition from all points."[43]

Fortunately, the postponement was only temporary and, later in the same letter, Gutekunst wrote, "We just had a telegram from D [Deprez] saying we hope to conclude early next week…. I cannot tell you any more now, but I hope it may be so and not last as long as that confounded bust of Bindo."[44] In the event that they were successful:

> We have told Wertheimer that you – that is Mrs J of course – will require the 1st refusal of it and he consented under our assurance that it would not affect his chances with his clients in any way, because Mrs J has not seen the picture itself and, if she refused it, would not talk.[45]

The consortium of Colnaghi, Berenson, and Wertheimer had hoped to buy the picture for £10,000,[46] but had to increase their bid to £12,000 in order to secure the picture in the face of stiff competition. The underbidder was initially thought to be Agnews and Charles Fairfax Murray, though Gutekunst later reported that it was the German Emperor acting on behalf of the Berlin Museums.[47]

SUCCESSFUL PURCHASE AND UNORTHODOX EXPORT

Having successfully bought the picture, Colnaghi then very quickly had to work out how to get it out of Italy. In the Colnaghi letterbooks there is a copy telegram instructing the shippers Aigrette to insure the painting in transit to London via France. The plan was for Colnaghi partner, Edmund Deprez, supplying a Roman address, to spirit the picture out of the country and thence via France to London.[48] In the meantime, someone (possibly one of the disappointed underbidders) had tipped off the Italian authorities. Having got wind of this, Deprez took an earlier train than planned, escaping shortly before the authorities arrived.[49] By 7 June he and the picture were safely in London.[50] Prince Chigi was not so fortunate. He was prosecuted, threatened first with imprisonment, then with a huge fine, equivalent to the sale price.[51] In the aftermath of the *Risorgimento*, a time of acute sensitivity over the vulnerability of the Italian heritage, the case was bound to attract publicity, and for a time it seemed as though the prince might be made an example of "pour encourager les autres." However, prior to the introduction of "notification" and the harmonization of export controls in 1902, the legal position was, in fact, far from clear. *The Times* later reported that "the Italian government were trying vainly to find some law under which the Prince could be prosecuted."[52]

PACCA EDICT ON ART.

Cause of Trouble About Gardner Botticelli.

Boston Picture Criticized Without the Facts.

Italian Officials to Blame for the Controversy.

Provisions of the Law Fully Carried Out by Chigi.

Honest Purchaser Forced to Resort to Strategy.

I processi del giorno

Lo Czar nel processo Chigi

Telegrafano all'*Arena*:

« Dal processo contro il principe Chigi per il quadro del Botticelli è risultato che i compratori non potranno essere che i seguenti tre: Rothschild, Wanderbildt e lo Czar.

Mie particolari informazioni mi mettono ora in grado di assicurare che il vero compratore è stato Nicolò II e che il quadro si trova in uno dei palazzi imperiali di Russia.

Fig. 15 / Press cutting from *The Sunday Herald*, curatorial files, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 16 / Press cutting from an Italian newspaper speculating that the Czar was the purchaser of the Chigi Madonna, curatorial files, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

The legal proceedings against the prince dragged on for two years and reached the highest court of appeal, but, in the end, he escaped imprisonment and his initial fine was commuted on appeal to "a trifling fine of around £80"[53] before being dismissed altogether. "This verdict," opined *The Athenaeum*, "seems tantamount to a reduction of the 'Pacca Law' to an absurdity, unless another volte-face of Italian procedure is impending."[54] *The Sunday Herald* went still further carrying the headlines: "Italian officials to blame for the controversy," "provisions of the lawfully carried out by Chigi," and "Honest purchaser forced to resort to strategy" (fig. 15). Not only had the prince been exonerated in the eyes of some commentators; there was also some sympathy for the purchasers at least among British and American journalists who saw the whole Italian system of export control as being highly arbitrary.

The press, of course, had a field day, but, so successfully did Deprez cover his tracks that it was a long time before anyone realized that the picture had been bought by Colnaghi or, indeed, sold to Gardner. Various names were bandied around including that of the American dime-store billionaire P. A. B. Widener, who had in fact bought another version of the picture from Agnews,[55] and "an agent of the Rothschilds"; even the Russian Czar was cited as a possible purchaser in the italian press (fig. 16).

FINDING A PURCHASER

Despite all these speculations, the reality was that there was no immediate private purchaser for Prince Chigi's Botticelli. Having bought the picture at the end of May, Colnaghi and their partners had to find a purchaser without alerting the Italian authorities, the press, or the general public to its whereabouts. The initial plan was for Wertheimer to offer the picture to one of the French Rothschilds, probably Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who is mentioned earlier in the Colnaghi letterbooks in connection with the sale of Lord Ashburmham's pictures.[56] But Rothschild was recovering from an illness in Paris and could not be approached. Gutekunst's letters to Berenson reveal his anxiety that there were very few buyers for the picture at what was, for the time, a very high price for a Botticelli, particularly since it seemed as though Berenson might have closed the door on selling the picture to Mrs Gardner, by playing things too cool. Gutekunst wrote to Berenson on 8 June:

> So to the Botticelli, W [Asher Wertheimer] is to blame to a great extent, but I cannot exonerate you altogether… when she asked you about the picture, you ought to have been much more bold and much more positive… You should have… left the door open… Of course Mrs J has not seen the picture & she may …fall in love with it yet. What is to be done? …Think it over carefully. It's your money as well as ours… I don't want to scold you in the least, I only regret that you were too rash. I certainly wrote all you quote but with this difference: I did not want you to approach Mrs J in the matter, but I certainly did not want you to put her off absolutely when she approached you… There can be a limit to the prices of such pictures as she wants. They are prices… as long as one is able to buy them at all. But when she is, so they say, desirous on her part to buy, why not encourage instead of discouraging it?

Berenson had indeed written a discouraging letter to Mrs Gardner on the eve of Prince Chigi's auction.[57] In response to her cabled enquiry as to whether the Botticelli was worth $30,000 (£6000), he advised (incorrectly) that the picture was not in good condition. He also wrote that "even if Chigi sold his picture for £6000, it would cost more than £7000 by the time it was out of Rome," and that the competition was so intense that she would have to pay far more than that:

> Early last month, Agnew's had already offered £7000, and some days later raised the offer to £8000… I think Chigi had up to that moment no intention of selling, not realizing what prices would be offered. But seeing what was offering and how many bidders there were, he had the marvellous idea of sending out a circular to the 24 principal dealers in Europe telling them that on May 24, he would sell his picture.

Berenson continued saying that the Prince had decided to cancel the sale because "a certain dealer offered him a price beyond his wildest dreams… The picture will now sell for not less than £15,000."

"Remember," concluded Berenson, "that I paid only £3000 for your *cassone* [the *Story of Lucretia*] worth several of Chigi's Botticelli. That will give you an idea how prices have risen."[58] Now, having poured cold water on Gardner's enthusiasm and, finding that the expected Rothschild sale was looking far less promising, Berenson had to execute a rapid volte-face.

Fig. 17 / Titian, *Sacred and Profane Love*, 1515, oil on canvas, 118 cm × 279 cm, Rome, Galeria Borghese.

CONCLUSION OF THE SALE TO ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER

On 9 June, maintaining an air of cool professional formality, Colnaghi wrote a letter to Berenson which was obviously intended to be shown to Mrs Gardner in order to rekindle her enthusiasm, announcing the successful purchase of the Botticelli and offering Berenson first refusal on the painting:

> Dear Sir,
> We hasten to inform you, that Prince Chigi's Botticelli has been bought by a small London syndicate against Berlin (Kaiser Museums Verein) for £13,000 after a long struggle. By exercising our utmost diplomacy, we hope strongly to obtain the first refusal for you. Kindly wire to us at your earliest convenience what you wish us to do.
>
> We remain, Sir,
> Yours faithfully P and D Colnaghi.[59]

In his covering letter to Berenson, Gutekunst explained:

> we thought we might write to you the enclosed letter, which will enable you to inform the Lady, that as she evinced such interest in the picture, you inform her of this, the price paid etc and this you will do all in your power to get it insured for her till she come to London to see it. This would be at our place – much much better there, too, than to lose hold over her by letting her buy such an important picture of W [Asher Wertheimer].[60]

So keen were Colnaghi to do business with Mrs Gardner, Gutekunst continued, that they were prepared to offer her the Botticelli at a very modest profit and this fact, he was at pains to stress to Berenson, should be brought to her attention:

> I think you might follow up, what you said about us in your letter by pointing out "you see how useful they are! Here they are already giving me the 1st option of the Botticelli at only £2000 profit/We would take 10% even above cost of £13000)."

The letter closed with a P.S.: "She must not fall into other people's hands. Agnews are making an exhibition of the Italian pictures Murray has saddled them with and which they have not managed to get rid of yet."

Berenson now had the tricky task of going against his earlier advice and persuading Gardner that the Botticelli, previously condemned as overpriced and in poor condition, was in fact "the last universally accepted Botticelli in the market" and "among his Madonnas, the noblest and grandest." Berenson conceded that the price, at around £15,000, was "monstrous", but "Italian pictures have risen at least five times their former value in the last four years." He concluded:

> If you don't take it, the Paris Rothschilds almost certainly will. So, if you can spare the money, you after all would not be paying more than the market value of the picture at present, possessing yourself of a truly great masterpiece and snatching it out of the teeth of worthy rivals.[61]

If Gardner was interested in the picture, with no commitment to buy before she had seen it, she should cable 'YEBOTTICELLI', and Berenson would do his very best to reserve it for her until she could inspect it, but if she felt able to make a decision on the basis of the illustration of it in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, she was to cable 'BUYCELLI' and the picture would be hers.

Fig. 18 / View of the Interior of the Titian Room showing Titian's *Rape of Europa*, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

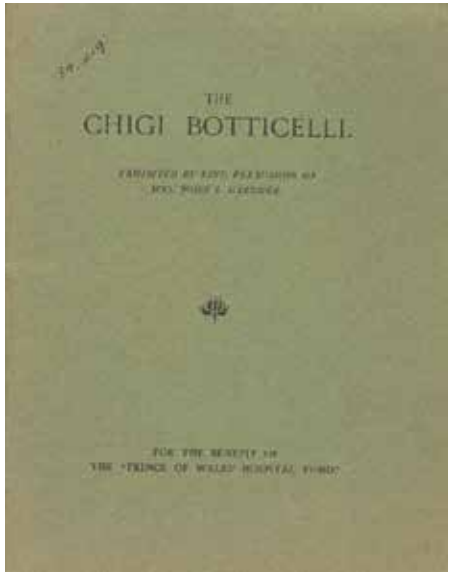
Berenson's powers of persuasion were evidently effective because on 24 June 1899, to Gutekunst's great relief,[62] Mrs Gardner bought the painting for £14,500 a relatively modest profit given the considerable risk that Colnaghi and their partners had undertaken. However, because of the ongoing prosecution of Prince Chigi, Colnaghi thought it prudent to conceal the painting until the legal processes had run their course.

In the meantime, Colnaghi were on the track of an even greater Italian picture: Titian's great masterpiece, *Sacred and Profane Love* (fig. 17) from the Villa Borghese, which they had agreed to buy in July 1899 for the eye-watering sum of 3,175,000 francs (£150,000).[63] Berenson had been carefully priming Mrs Gardner to buy the picture which he said would hang perfectly alongside Titian's *Rape of Europa*, acquired through Colnaghi in 1896, in the new museum which she was planning to build at Fenway Court (fig. 18).[64] But, these negotiations broke down, initially because the colossal price seems to have been a stumbling block with Gardner's trustees,[65] and then because the Italian government stepped in and bought the villa and collections for the nation, signalling a new determination to stem the flow of works of art out of Italy.

The Chigi prosecution was meanwhile trundling through the Italian courts, reaching the final court of appeal in Perugia in January 1901. Speculation in the press, which showed no sign of abating, was becoming increasingly irksome to Gardner. "I wonder if that beast dealer [Colnaghi] who had my Chigi Botticelli in London has leaked and bragged," she wrote acerbically to Berenson in October 1900, "my footsteps are dogged by reporters; and carry newspaper full of it." Three months before the conclusion of the Chigi appeals process, in November 1900, Berenson wrote urging Mrs Gardner to go public and put an end to press speculation:

A day before your last note reached me, I received a letter from Colnaghi's (saying): "Have you read all the reports re the trial of Poor Chigi? There have been a great many notices – accurate as well as fantastic – in the English press… Do you think Mrs. Gardner would consent to let us exhibit the picture for a week or a fortnight… in her name if she likes, or without any name as she pleases? Nobody seems to know where it is… if people ask if it is in America, we say 'No' naturally, so nobody is able to make head or tail of it."

Knowing how little you would be inclined to favour Colnaghi's, I was going to say nothing of their request to you, but I quote it as furnishing a complete answer to your question… would you really not relent to them, and do what to them would be a great favour? They deserve it richly. Without them, my best efforts would not have brought you half the things you now possess… they would send a man to take the picture from Paris, bring it back, and insure it, of course at any figure you would like for the time it was in their charge. It would be an immense card for them.[66]



"The truth," concluded Berenson flatteringly, "is that the picture has excited the whole civilized world, and the press of every great town has attributed its possession to one of their own local collectors."[67] But for the time being Berenson's eloquence fell on deaf ears.[68] Not one to be defeated, Berenson wrote again to Gardner in early December 1900, pointing out that, since his last letter:

> Yerkes [The American collector, Charles Tyson Yerkes] has bought from Agnew's for £10,000 a wretched but old copy after the Chigi Madonna. So there is one for America. But please have no fears that any serious person will ever mistake it for the original… Or if you have any nervousness on that subject do allow the Colnaghis to exhibit yours. This would settle the business for ever – and might have the further effect of discouraging our over-zealous countrymen from buying pictures without first making sure that they were what they were given out to be.[69]

However, this request was also unsuccessful.

On 6 March 1901 when the lengthy Chigi appeals process finally reached its successful conclusion, Edmund Deprez wrote to congratulate the prince,[70] expressing the hope that the Italian government might modify and make more reasonable the regulations on the sale and export of works of art, adding that he regretted that the prince did not have another Botticelli, but hoped that the prince would bear Colnaghi in mind if he ever thought of parting with other pictures.[71]

Subsequently, in late July 1901, Mrs Gardner finally relented, writing to Berenson to inform him that she would, after all, allow her picture to be exhibited in London:

Fig. 19 / Front cover of the catalogue of the 1901 Colnaghi exhibition of the Chigi Botticelli.

Fig. 20 / Thomas Gainsborough, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, ca. 1785-1787, oil on canvas, 101.5 x 127 cm, The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection..

> Some time ago you spoke to me about Colnaghi or someone exhibiting… my Botticelli *Madonna* (The Chigi). If you think well of it, I should like to have it done now, before it is sent to me… I agree with you that perhaps it would be a good way of settling in the public mind the ownership of this much talked of picture. Of course, I don't want an exhibition that would cost money to me. But I fancy that could not possibly be, in view of Colnaghi's fortune made out of me! If you think well of the exhibition, please write to Fernand Robert, 30 rue Joubert, Paris, with directions for sending the picture to London.[72]

What prompted this change of heart is unclear, but the timing was unfortunate, because in late July no one was in London. Berenson replied:

> If only you had spoken before! It really is important to exhibit the Chigi Botticelli. It will be a feather in Colnaghi's cap, but what is important is to make perfectly clear before it crosses the Atlantic that this, and no other, is the Chigi picture. The really propitious moment for exhibiting it would have been a month ago. Now it is perfectly useless because there is not a cat left in London… But if you could let Colnaghi's have the picture toward the end of Sept. for three or four weeks, people would be back, and the effect we desire would be produced. Of course, it will not cost you a penny.[73]

It was eventually agreed that the picture would be exhibited at Colnaghi in November with Berenson suggesting that it should be on show for a whole month, because "a fortnight is certainly not long enough for everybody concerned to hear of it and see it… exhibited at all."[74] Gardner was happy to agree to this, even if there were to be some further complications getting the picture from Paris to London.[75]

When the picture eventually emerged from hiding and was put on exhibition at Colnaghi (fig. 19) it caused a sensation. Parallels were drawn between the disappearing Botticelli Madonna and another famous lady whose disappearance and reappearance had recently been a *cause celèbre*: Gainsborough's *Portrait of Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire* (fig. 20) which had been stolen from Agnews and recovered around this time.[76] Both pictures were exhibited in the respective London galleries in November of 1901. *The Times* observed on 4 November, alluding to Edmund Deprez's disappearance with the painting, that "when a beautiful woman has made a runaway match, and when the law has been noisily invoked to visit everybody concerned with the pains and penalties, the scandal attracts for the moment more notice than her beauty. So it is with this picture." From 1-15 November the painting was shown at Colnaghi in a charity exhibition on behalf of the Prince of Wales's Hospital Trust.

On the day of the Private View, Gutekunst wrote to Berenson that the Botticelli "looks splendid in our gallery in the centre of some tasteful drapery put up for the purpose. A number of people have been to see it and I am quite sleepy and tired talking so much."[77] By 14 November he reported that "the picture draws crowds," including members of the clergy and several girls' high schools.

Shortly after the London exhibition opened, Berenson wrote to Mrs Gardner to say that, "I hear from Paris today from a friend who has been offered the Chigi Botticelli for 350,000 fr. He writes it is a hideous picture, & asks me whether it can be the real one. So you see it is well to exhibit the real one, & put an end to the little game of the dealers."[78] The exhibition, which was proving to be a great crowd-puller, was clearly serving its desired purpose, namely "to clear up once for all the real ownership of the picture," and was due to continue until the end of the month.[79]

However, less than two weeks after its opening, Colnaghi received the news from Berenson saying that Mrs Gardner wanted her painting immediately and the exhibition would have to be closed. The Botticelli was accordingly despatched on the next available steamer from Liverpool to Boston, and what was to have been a moment of triumph for Colnaghi, was brought to a humiliatingly-premature conclusion.[80]

Mrs Gardner's sudden change of heart resulted from the fact that she had learned that Colnaghi's, apparently without her permission, were exhibiting her picture on behalf of their [in fact a royal] charity. On 6 November Gardner wrote a blistering letter to Berenson:

> I am hearing on all sides that my Chigi Madonna is being exhibited for charity in London. This certainly can not be possible! Never in any civilized place has such a liberty been taken by people who pretend they are honest, without the consent of the owner. If that is the case, I demand instantly the money for my own charity and that the picture be sent to me. I have charities (many of them, alas!) to which I have been unable to give anything lately, because of the moneys my pictures were costing me. You must readily see that, if the story is true, it is a most monstrous and most unpardonable offence on the part of the Colnaghi's.

Clearly either Berenson or Colnaghi should have asked Mrs Gardner's permission first, but her extreme reaction to what may have been a breach of etiquette, but hardly a monstrous offence, reveals the depths of her antipathy towards the London dealers; this had been intensifying throughout September because of the difficulties in getting the picture to London, compounded by her frustration at being deprived of her Botticelli for so long. We know from her letters to Berenson that she was also irritated by the enormous and ongoing publicity which the Chigi Madonna had engendered, and in terms of the politics of the heritage, the Botticelli had become a hot topic.[81]

There was no doubt that the Botticelli had left Italy illegally, but dealers were not the only ones to flout Italy's archaic and chaotic export laws, which were more honoured – even by prominent museum directors – in the breach than the observance.[82] The exodus of works of art from Italy during the second half of the nineteenth century, which had greatly enriched museum collections in London and Berlin, as well as, increasingly, private collections in America, clearly had to be stemmed. The question was how to do it. Here opinions were divided over the thorny question of how to balance the rights of owners against those of the state, over what constituted the national heritage, and over what measures should be in place for protecting that heritage. *The Times* put the conundrum most succinctly: on the one hand "property implies the right to dispose of an article at one's own good pleasure," but at the same time, in Italy "if this principle were granted in respect of works of art, nothing would soon be left outside the churches and galleries."

Against those who argued that Italy's export laws infringed the rights of a family to dispose of its own heirlooms the demotically minded *New York Daily Tribune* argued that "there may be some serious doubt as to the right of these heirs of medieval despotism to sell their historic collections, as they would sell furniture or bric-a-brac purchased at last year's sale." On the other hand, the failure of the Italian government to purchase works of art from the impoverished noble families meant, argued the *Tribune,* that "the Italian government plays dog in a manger in preventing owners from selling their works of art abroad when it remains impossible to sell those works to the nation." There were also issues of inconsistency in the application of the law, both between different areas of Italy (reflecting historic discrepancies predating the Unification) and in the judgements meted out to individual owners, as was argued by Prince Sciarra,[83] who like Chigi, had fallen foul of the Pacca Edict in 1892. Sciarra had faced a three-month prison sentence, whereas in the previous year Prince Borghese had escaped from a similar infringement with impunity. The Prince argued that it was inequitable that the rights of primogeniture had been abolished in Italy, while the legal obligations remained in force on Roman princes who could "die of hunger in their unsaleable galleries."[84] Rather than imposing swingeing fines and draconian legislation, a better way, argued Sciarra, would be for the Italian Government to encourage owners to donate a proportion of their collections to Italian museums in return for obtaining export licenses for a certain proportion of foreign sales.

Fig. 21 / Bernard Partridge, *Hans Across the Sea?*, Punch, 1909, London, Colnaghi Archive.

The years following the Chigi case, between 1902 and 1909, saw a progressive tightening up of Italian export legislation with the introduction of a national system of notification, which responded to the need to clarify the export laws in order to ensure greater consistency and control of the outflow of Italian heritage objects.[85] Similar debates were going on Britain, though, while the Italian response was protectionist, the British tendency was towards finding funds for museums to become more effective guardians of the nation's heritage (leading to the founding of the National Art Collections Fund – now The Art Fund – in 1903).

By 1907 the boot was clearly on the other foot, with Britain, which had hugely enriched its cultural patrimony as the result of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, now finding itself more preyed on than predator. This prompted George Bernard Shaw to launch a diatribe against the "American millionaires stripping us of our art treasures," although in fact up to that point Berlin had posed a larger threat to the British national heritage than America.[86] Matters came to a head two years later with another deal in which Colnaghi was involved: the threatened sale of the Duke of Norfolk's Holbein portrait of *Christina Duchess of Milan* to Henry Clay Frick prompted a national outcry in which Colnaghi and the duke were pilloried in the press. However, the most powerful vitriol was levelled against the figure of the Uncle Sam with his bag of dollars trying to drag Holbein's Duchess on to a waiting transatlantic steamer (fig. 21).

Fortunately for the British nation, if not for Frick, she was rescued at the eleventh hour and secured for the National Gallery, following a heroic campaign by the National Art Collections Fund. The significance of this near loss seemed to awaken Britain to the fact that it too, like Italy, had a heritage that required protecting. The debate was not without complications. In a speech delivered at the opening of an exhibition of Old Masters at the Grafton Gallery on 3 October 1911, Lord Curzon pointed out that while the Italian Government were seeking to protect their historic art by export controls, much of the art in Britain was not British and therefore "it would be an intolerable encroachment on individual liberty" to attempt the same in Britain.[87] A Holbein once belonging to Henry VIII was one thing, but to invoke the same protection for works of art that might have been in the country for less than a hundred years (as had been the case with Velazquez's *Rokeby Venus* "saved" by the National Art Collections Fund in 1904) was a trickier issue. Probably more significant, as far as the British establishment was concerned, was a sense that the strict export controls and system of "notification" of heritage items instituted in Italy would threaten the individual property rights of the landowning classes at a time when the British aristocracy, impoverished by the combination of agricultural depression, death duties, and high taxation, desperately needed to be able to turn their heirlooms into cash.[88] So when in 1912, Lord Curzon, pillar of the upper classes, set up a committee to consider these very issues, the recommendations were in favour of the landed interests and a more laissez-faire approach than had been adopted in Italy. Such an approach was even adopted by prominent members of the heritage lobby, such as Dugald Sutherland MacColl, Keeper of the Tate Gallery, who explicitly rejected any kind of "PACCA law like the Italian" as "a tyranny."[89] While some of the witnesses called by Curzon were in favour, or partially in favour, of export controls, these were not really adopted until 1952 when, following the Waverley Report, Britain introduced the first proper mechanism of export licensing.[90] But, with a typically British instinct for compromise, the solutions that were finally introduced in the UK did arguably succeed in creating a regime, including tax incentives, which effectively balanced the protection of the heritage with the rights of owners.

With regard to Italian legislation, it was not until June 1902 that any sort of national system of listing and export control throughout united Italy was enacted with the Pacca Edict becoming the Pacca Law. It was not until 1909 that the law was further tightened requiring all municipalities, religious, charitable, and educational bodies to report all objects of art in their possession to the national authorities, and stipulating that such works of art were to be kept in proper repair on penalty of confiscation by the government. Some thought this legislation had come too late,[91] others that it was overly draconian. Undoubtedly, it helped stem the flow of masterpieces out of Italy.

Fig. 22 / View of the Long Gallery showing Sandro Botticelli's *Madonna of the Eucharist* above a fragment of a mosque lamp, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

AFTERMATH

In early December 1901 the Chigi Madonna finally arrived in Boston and, shortly afterwards, was installed in Gardner's new house in Fenway Court. What she thought of the Botticelli once it had arrived there we do not know. Certainly, there was none of the ecstasy that greeted the arrival of Titian's *Europa* five years earlier.[92] However, she must have appreciated the colouristic qualities of the Chigi Madonna because she placed in front of the work a fragment of a mid-fourteenth-century glass mosque lamp whose colours and gilt correspond to those of the Botticelli (fig. 22)[93] in a similar way to how she had hung one of her favourite Worth gowns beneath the *Rape of Europa* (see fig. 18). Relations between Isabella Stewart Gardner and Colnaghi, which had been cool at the best of times, had taken a down turn after 1901, and in 1902 she stopped buying from them altogether, observing to Berenson with bitter satisfaction that they had "killed the goose that laid the golden egg;"[94] however, when, she decided on the advice of Richard Norton to buy a third 'Botticelli', the *Antinori Nativity* (fig. 23) without Berenson's and Colnaghi's expertise underpinning her purchase, she ended up with what is now generally regarded as substantially a workshop production, so arguably it was Isabella who had killed the goose.

Fig. 23 / Workshop of Sandro Botticelli, *The Antinori Nativity*, ca. 1482-1485, oil and tempera on panel, diameter 76 cm, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 24 / Titian, *Pietro Aretino*, ca. 1537, oil on canvas, 101.9 x 85.7 cm, New York, The Frick Collection.

When the Berensons visited Fenway Court in 1903, they were shocked to see the *Antinori Nativity* hanging opposite the Chigi Madonna. Mary Berenson recorded that it was "a very poor picture" and Bernard "nearly fainted" and "was absolutely petrified with horror and disgust,"[95] although this may have been partially attributable to the realization that he no longer had a monopoly as Gardner's art advisor.

By 1902 Isabella Stewart Gardner's heyday as an Old Master collector was over and she was to concentrate largely on the arrangement of the museum which opened to the public in 1903, paving the way for other American collectors whose private collections were turned into museums such as Frick and the Huntingtons. As for Prince Chigi, he remained a good client of Colnaghi's despite his painful experience in the Italian courts, and in 1906 another picture from his collection, the Titian *Portrait of Aretino*, (fig. 24) found its way, through the agency of Colnaghi and Knoedler, into hands of Henry Clay Frick, marking the beginnings of a new chapter in Colnaghi's dealings with American collectors.

NOTES

1. See Jeremy Howard, "Colnaghi, Bernard Berenson and Mrs Gardner's first Botticelli," in *Colnaghi-Past, Present and Future: An Anthology*, eds. Tim Warner-Johnson and Jeremy Howard (London: Colnaghi, 2016) pp. 21-25.
2. Patricia Lee Rubin, "Pictures with a Past: Botticelli in Boston," in *Botticelli: Heroines + Heroes,* ed. Nathaniel Silver, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2018), pp. 11-31. I extremely grateful to Professor Rubin for making available to me her text in advance of publication.
3. The Colnaghi Archives are now largely housed at Windmill Hill, in the grounds of Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.
4. Quoted in Rollin van N. Hadley, ed., *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner,* (Boston: Northeastern University Press 1987), p. 39
5. In the case of the Holbein portraits of Sir William and Lady Butts (Boston, Gardner Museum). See below p.145. For an interesting discussion of the background to this case and the wider context of Berenson's rather duplicitous relationship with Isabella Stewart Gardner in his dealings with Colnaghi, see Alan Chong, "Isabella Gardner, Bernard Berenson and Otto Gutekunst," in *Colnaghi-The History,* ed. Jeremy Howard (London: Colnaghi, 2010), Chapter 4, especially pp. 30-31.
6. Ionides owned both the Botticelli *Portrait of Smeralda Bandinelli* which had belonged to Rossetti, Rossetti's *Day Dream,* and Burne-Jones's *The Mill.* All three paintings were later bequeathed by him to the Victoria and Albert Museum.
7. Henry James, "Autumn in Florence," *Italian Hours,* ed. John Auchard (New York and London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 245.
8. Meryle Secrest, *Being Bernard Berenson: A Biography* (London: Penguin Books by arrangement with Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), p. 120.
9. See Oliver Tostmann, "Bernard Berenson and America's Discovery of Sandro Botticelli," in *Botticelli 2015-1445,* exh. cat. (Berlin and London: Gemäldegalerie and Victoria and Albert Museum, 2016), p. 106.
10. Although it had been spotted three years earlier hanging in Lord Ashburnham's town house by Mary Costelloe (the future Mary Berenson) and recorded in her notebook, now in the Berenson Archive at Villa I Tatti. The relevant page from the notebook was illustrated in Howard *Colnaghi-The History*, p. 23. I am extremely grateful to Ilaria della Monica, Archivist of the Berenson Archive, for drawing this to my attention.
11. See Berndt Lindemann, "Colnaghi, Bode and the Berlin Museum (Not Forgetting Friedländer)," in Howard, *Colnaghi-The History*, p. 21.
12. According to a letter from Gutekunst to Berenson, 8 June 1899, Colnaghi Archive: no. Col.143, f.45, although Bode made no mention of this in his memoirs.
13. On 20 December, Colnaghi wrote to Ashburnham saying they had received instructions from Barings bank to pay his lordship "£2500 as agreed-reserving £50 as commission," Colnaghi Archive: Letterbook, no. Col/1/4/2, f. 91, Colnaghi to Lord Ashburnham, 20 Dec 1894, f. 91.
14. Colnaghi Archive: Private Ledger, 20 December 1894, p. 157.
15. Colnaghi Archive: Letterbook, no. Col 1/4/2, f. 106, Gutekunst to Berenson, 31 January 1895.
16. Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of Their Works: The Borghese and Doria-Pamphilj Galleries in Rome*, trans. Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes (London: John Murray, 1892), p. 83. First published by Morelli in German as Ivan Lermolieff [pseudonym for Giovanni Morelli], *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei: Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Pamfilli in Rom* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1890), p. 106.
17. Lady Eastlake, for example, in 1858, wrote of him as being one of the "truly great" Florentine masters along with Botticelli, Filippo Lippi, and Filippino Lippi, see Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1980), p. 20.
18. Susanna Avery-Quash, *The Travel Notebooks of Sir Charles Eastlake*, 2 vols. (London: The Walpole Society, London, 2011), p. 281.
19. Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, eds. Thomas W. Gaetghens and Barbara Paul (Berlin: Nicolai,1997), p. 66. Bode apparently was offered the Chigi collection *en bloc* through an intermediary, la Principessa Sciarra, whose husband's later, sensational prosecution for alleged infringement of the Pacca Edict, was a notabl precursor to the Chigi trial. The price quoted was 45,000 francs, although Bode did not make it clear whether this was for the whole collection or just for the Botticelli. Bode wrote that "we were interested in the early Botticelli masterpiece, which 30 years later was sold for twenty-times the price." I am extremely grateful to Professor Gaetghens for drawing this reference to my attention.
20. First in a letter from Gutekunst to Berenson on 6 October 1898, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 107, the second in a subsequent letter written on 28 October of that year. Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 159/60.
21. Ibid., f. 159-160.
22. Letter 10 November 1998, Otto Gutekunst to Bernard Berenson (Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col 1/4/3, f. 175): "We will not lose sight of the Chigi business, which is well in hand."
23. Ibid., f. 202: "We are also quite willing to entertain cooperation with you *and* W [presumably Asher Wertheimer] in the manner you indicate. No news from Chigi! None from me then!!" The Colnaghi account books reveal that the Botticelli was eventually bought in one-third shares by Berenson, Wertheimer and Colnaghi.
24. I am indebted to Patricia Lee Rubin for drawing this to my attention.
25. Norton to Isabella Stewart Gardner, 23 December 1898, in Letters of Richard Norton to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Papers of Isabella Stewart Gardner, 1897-1906, Smithsonian Institution Archives: Archives of American Art, Washington. Quoted by Rubin, "Pictures with a Past," p. 23, to whom I am grateful for this reference.
26. Pardo is mentioned in the office copy of a letter written on 5 Dec 1898, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 219: Colnaghi to Messrs Plowden & Co, Rome:
"Dear Sirs,
We beg leave to confirm our letter of November 17th and to inform you that our friend Mr Enrico Pardo of 126 Corso, Rome, is now negotiating on our behalf with Mr Sanguinetti... for the final disposal of the deposit now in your hands".
It is not clear who Mr Sanguinetti was (possibly the Prince's agent?), and there is no mention in this letter of the Botticelli, but it is quite likely that Colnaghi were arranging lines of credit in preparation for attempting to purchase the painting. Pardo's name appears in the final accounts of the Botticelli transaction.
27. Gutekunst to Berenson, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, ff. 343-344.
28. Gutekunst to Berenson, 14 April 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 396.
29. Colnaghi to Chigi, 15 April 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 401.
30. Deprez to Pardo, 15 April 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 403.
31. Priority here should in fact be given to Morelli who identified the picture in 1890 and published it before Adolfo Venturi. However, the latter undoubtedly provided significant endorsement when he included it "with a beautiful photograph by Anderson of Roma" in *Tesori d'arte inedita di Roma* (Rome, 1896), III. The picture, which was very dirty when seen by Eastlake, was cleaned by Luigi Cavanaghi of Milan, following its first publication by Morelli, and moved from the ground floor to the *piano nobile*, doubtless reflecting its new-found importance.
32. Gutekunst to Berenson, 22 April 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 415: "Pardo may be able to ascertain who else is in the market, Agnew for certain, I think, possibly Richter for Mond."
33. Deprez expressed scepticism to Pardo about whether the rumour of an offer by one of the Rothschilds had substance: "l'histoire de Rothschild de Londres est un conte de fées." Deprez to Pardo, 21 April 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 406. Which corresponded to around £6800 ($34,000) in 1899.
34. Gutekunst to Berenson, 22 April 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 414.
35. 22 April 1899, Deprez to Pardo, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 408: "Je comprends parfaitement le point de vue de son Excellence et j'entre dans les motifs qui lui eût suggéré cette idée. Mais cela ne m'empêche pas de la considerer comme impracticable et même dangereuse, tout de même dans la forme où elle est presenté dans votre lettre. Je veux dire au point de vue des interêts du Prince même, car comment garder le secret si on suit la procedure qu'il indique? Et la vente faite en presence de tant d'écrivains, si le tableau reste à un etranger, comment S.E evitera de tomber sous le coup de l'edit Pacca(?), et, si un des concurrents désappointé commettait une indiscretion, non seulement le Prince pourrait avoir des désagréments, mais l'acheteur, si un étranger, pourrait se trouver dans l'impossibilité d'exporter son tableau."
37. Gutekunst to Berenson, 5 May 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 423: "Deprez wrote a long letter to Pardo asking him to do his utmost to persuade the Prince of the disadvantages of such a proceeding and the risk to him, as it is sure to become known etc, & to try to get a figure named at which he would sell now, and privately, but so far he has apparently not been successful and we fear the sale will be the only means of getting the picture."
38. Ibid.
39. Colnaghi to Messrs Barclay, 18 May 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 435: "Gentlemen. We beg leave to open a credit for 12,000 guineas with your correspondent at Rome, in favour of our Mr Deprez who is going there to complete the purchase of a picture of Botticelli. Should this be effected we shall as usual hold the picture fully insured until payment of the advance."
40. Deprez to Pardo, 1 May 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 419: "Envoyez-moi les dimensions du panneau sans le cadre, c'est pour une malle."
41. Gutekunst to Berenson, 5 May 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 423: "Your share in the Chigi is assured; not so the purchase... Let us know all you know about this. Is there anybody in Florence after the picture? & is it Murray's agent? ...Who by the way told you, or how did you find out that Murray offered L.160,000 [approximately £6400] for the picture? It is a clue or may be if you tell us... Wertheimer feels very strongly in the matter and has made up his mind not to be beaten at any price by Agnews. Murray has gone to Italy, by the way. Bode also is at Florence."
42. Gutekunst to Berenson, telegram 18 May 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 440.
43. Gutekunst to Berenson, 25 May 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 442.
44. The Cellini bust of Bindo Altiviti sold by Colnaghi and Berenson to Gardner in July 1898.
45. "Mrs J" refers to Mrs Jack Gardner, i.e. Isabella Stewart Gardner.
46. Telegram from William McKay to Edmund Deprez at Hotel Marini, Rome, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 446: "Outside limit ten try much less William. P & D Colnaghi."
47. Gutekunst to Berenson, 8 June 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f.454, and, in an official letter of the same date, f. 456.
48. The technique employed was to use a false-bottomed trunk, a stratagem employed later that same year by Bernard Berenson with the Gardner Museum's Piermatteo d'Amelia's *Annunication*. See Nathaniel Silver, *Close-Up-Piermatteo d'Amelia's 'Annunciation'*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2016), pp. 20-21.
49. As recounted in the obituary of Edmund Deprez, *The Times*, 13 January 1915, p. 11.
50. Deprez to Pardo, 6 June 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3: "Cher Monsieur Pardo, Je suis bien arrivé à Londres dimanche soir avec le tableau en excellent états."
51. For a contemporary summary of the legal proceedings against the Prince and the Italian heritage laws see Mario B. Paoli, "La vendita di un Botticelli e le leggi prottetive delle opera d'arte," *Rassegna Nazionale* 90 (1899): pp. 232-243.
52. *The Times*, 4 November 1901.
53. Ibid.
54. *Athenaeum,* 2 March 1901, p. 282.
55. This picture was dismissed as a workshop variant by Herbert Horne, author of the first monograph in English on Botticelli.
56. William McKay to Lord Ashburnham, 25 June 1894, Colnaghi Archives: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/1, f. 4: "May we again trouble your Lordship to view the pictures at Dover Street in favour of Baron Edmond de Rothschild who is on a visit to London."
57. Berenson to Gardner, 23 May 1899, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, pp. 174-175.
58. Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 176.
59. The actual purchase price was less than this – £12,315 including Pardo's commission. But Gutekunst was obviously building in some leeway for negotiation and also, presumably, allowing for the shipping costs.
60. Gutekunst to Berenson, 9 June 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 457.
61. Berenson to Gardner, 12 June 1899, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, pp. 180-181.
62. Gutekunst to Berenson, 26 June 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 465: "My dear Bernhard, I have just received your very welcome wire and am along with the other partners very pleased indeed. I feel greatly relieved; not because I feared we could not sell the picture but because we had to some extent lost heart generally owing to an all-round depression caused by slack business and McKay's illness and so forth."
63. P & D Colnaghi to Canossa, 26 July 1899, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 477: "Ainsi que nous avons dit, déja nous serions acheteurs du Titien 'L'amour divin et l'amour profain' pour la somme de trois millions cent soixante quinze mille francs, prix net couvrant tous frais et commission payable a Marseille, contre livraison du tableau en bonne et intacte condition, sans cadre."
64. Berenson to Gardner, 13 July 1899, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson,* p. 182: "the keystone to an arch of the building to which all along I have devoted my best energies."
65. Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson, The Making of a Connoisseur* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979), p. 307, states that the deal fell through because the money could not be prised from the trustees. However, a report in *The Times*, 27 January 1902, says that the deal foundered because of difficulties getting an export licence.
66. The picture had been entrusted for safe keeping to Fernand Robert, 30 Rue Joubert, Paris, who hid the picture while the Chigi trials were still in process.
67. Berenson to Gardner, November 1900 [undated], Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 234.
68. Gardner to Berenson, 26 November 1900, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 235: "For the present at least-No-No-No to Colnaghi!"
69. Berenson to Gardner, 3 December 1900, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 236.
70. Deprez to Chigi, 6 March 1901, Colnaghi Archive: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f .40: "Monsieur le Prince,Veuillez me permettre de vous exprimer la joie sincère avec laquelle j'ai appris l'heureuse issue du procès desagréable qui vient de se terminer et qui a du vous causer pendant des mois tant d'ennuies."
71. Ibid.: "J'espère que le bruit fait autour de cette affaire portera fruit en ameutant le Gouvernement à modifier dans un sens plus judicieux et raisonnable les lois et le règlement sur la vente et l'exportation des oeuvres d'art en Italie."
72. Gardner to Berenson, 23 July 1901, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 260.
73. Berenson to Gardner, 3 August 1901, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 261.
74. Berenson to Gardner, 3 September 1901, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 266.
75. Berenson to Gardner, 16 October 1901, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 271: "That wretched man Robert who seems to have a personal spite against the Colnaghi's, flatly denies that you have given instructions to deliver up the Botticelli to them. So I have cabled begging you to cable instructions to Robert now."
76. See Rubin, "Pictures with a Past," p. 11. The original article, also entitled "Pictures with a Past" linking the Botticelli and the Gainsborough appeared in the American periodical the *Nation* in December 1901. *The Times* reviewer made the same connection.
77. Gutekunst to Berenson, 2 November 1901, Colnaghi Archives: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 229.
78. Berenson to Gardner, 28 October 1901, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 273.
79. Ibid.

80. P & D Colnaghi to Isabella Stewart Gardner, 18 November 1901, Colnaghi Archives: Letterbooks, no. Col. 1/4/3, f. 253:
"Madam, We beg leave to inform you that in obedience to your wish, the Botticelli picture is leaving tonight under the personal charge of our agent who will see it safely aboard the "Sansonia" the Cunarder sailing tomorrow from Liverpool direct for Boston... We may add in explanation of our cablegram that, under the instructions we originally received, we had arranged for the picture to be exhibited until the end of the present week, as, we understood you wished it to arrive in Boston in the first week of December and proposed accordingly to ship it per "Sylvania" on the 26th Inst. It was only on Friday night we received a telegram from Mr Berenson informing us of your wish to have the picture shipped on the 18th but we at once took steps to have everything ready for an immediate shipment pending the answers to our cablegram. We have the honour to be, Madam, Your obedient servants
P and D Colnaghi."
81. There was even talk that the Italian government might prosecute Deprez and Pardo and bring an action for the restitution of the picture, as stated in an unidentified newspaper report entitled "Boston may lose a picture," 18 Jan 1901, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archive: Botticelli/Chigi Madonna Newspaper cuttings file.
82. Fredrick Burton, Director of the National Gallery, and Wilhelm von Bode, Director of the Berlin Museum, both colluded in the smuggling of works of art from Italy. Bode had an extremely close relationship with the corrupt and extremely successful Florentine dealer Stafano Bardini.
83. In an interview given by Jean Villemer entitled "La Vente d'Un Botticelli-Le Prince Sciarra" which was published in an unidentified French newspaper. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archive: Botticelli/Chigi Madonna Newspaper cuttings file.
84. Ibid.: "C'est une injustice flagrante que le code italien, ayant aboli les majorats, en conserve les obligations pour les collections des princes romains qui peuvent mourir de faim dans leurs galleries invendables." Prince Sciarra's prison sentence and substantial fine, was eventually quashed after he offered to donate around fifteen paintings from his collection to the state museums.
85. For more detail on this see Tino Foffano, "Tutela e valorazzione dei beni culturali," *Aevum* (September-December 2003): pp. 715-727.
86. Quoted by Vivian Wang, "Whose Responsibility? The Waverley System, Past and Present," *International Journal of Cultural History* 15 (2008): pp. 227-269, p. 229.
87. "Lord Curzon and Art Treasures," *The Times*, 4 October 1911, p. 11; quoted by Catherine Usher, "The Curzon Report 1915, Grand Failure of Prophetic Foresight," (MA Thesis, University of Buckingham, 2018), p. 42, to which I am indebted.
88. Even Sir Robert Witt, a prominent member of the National Art Collections Fund, realized that an Italian-style system of export controls would be politically unacceptable in Britain. British Library: Curzon Papers, IOR Mss Eur F/112/62/8, Letter R.C. Witt to Lord Curzon 23 November 1911.
89. Dugald Sutherland MacColl, "The National Gallery," in *The 19th Century and After* (London: Spottiswoode & Co, 1912) p. 24. I am extremely grateful to Catherine Usher for drawing this reference to my attention.
90. See Wang, "Whose Responsibility?" pp. 227-269, and, more generally, Helen Rees, "Art Exports and the Construction of National Heritage in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Great Britain," in *Economic Engagements with Art,* eds. Neil De Marchi and Craufurd D. W. Goodwin (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 200 ff.
91. See Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "Safeguarding the Art Treasures of Italy," *The North American Review* 191 (1910): pp. 15-113. I am very grateful to Clico Kingsbury for drawing this reference to my attention.
92. For a full account of this see the present author's "Titian's *Rape of Europa*: its Reception in Britain and Sale to America," in *The Reception of Titian in Britain from Reynolds to Ruskin*, ed. Peter Humfrey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 189-202.
93. As noted by Hilliard Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 129.
94. Gardner to Berenson, 2 November 1901, Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson*, p. 278. In this astonishingly vitriolic letter Gardner, who was evidently determined to inflict maximum inconvenience and embarrassment on Colnaghi, directed that all the money "he has raised by the exhibition for his charity (Gardner repeatedly referred to the firm of Colnaghi in personal terms, although Dominic Colnaghi had died in 1879) should be placed to my account at Baring's. I will write to them and tell them what to do with it. I will tell them what Colnaghi had the impertinence to do, *without my consent*, and will request them to present the money, in my name, to that charity, that it may not be the loser." She also blamed Colnaghi for delays over the shipment of the Crivelli *Saint George*, though Berenson pointed out in a letter to Gardner (15 November 1901) that "whatever fault there was in the delay in forwarding it to Paris, was due to me rather than them. I regret to have to repeat it again – it is not agreeable to have you think les well of me – but in fairness I must."
95. Rubin, "Pictures with a Past," p. 28; Barbara Strachey and Jayne Samuels, *Mary Berenson, A Self Portrait from her Letters and Diaries* (London: Victor Gollanz Ltd, 1983), p. 112.

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New light on Cecco Bravo, a Medici painter of mythology and landscape

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Fig. 9 Philadelphia Museum of Art

Private Collection
Fig. 1 Image courtesy of Colnaghi, London
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A curious truncation of Aegidius Sadeler's Wisdom Conquers Ignorance

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Jan van Eyck's Genoese patrons and the impact of the lost Lomellini-Triptychon

Aix-en-Provence
Fig. 10 Ste. Marie Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence, France/Bridgeman Images

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Cleveland
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Washington DC
Fig. 27b Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

Painting techniques in the work of Jusepe de Ribera: a study based on development in the artist's style. Approaching the issue

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Figs. 17 Image courtesy of Colnaghi, London

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'…la faccia bella, dolce et delicata tanto quanto la saprete fare': Titian's paintings of the Salvator Mundi and the Temptation of Christ and their patrons.

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Vienna
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Unknown
Figs 1 & 4 Courtesy of a Private Collector
Fig. 8 Photo courtesy of a Chinese Collector

Reflections on a Chinese porcelain cat, seated on bronze cushion, once in the collections of Madame de Pompadour

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Pedro Orrente and the Nine Worthies

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Selling Botticelli to America: Colnaghi, Bernard Berenson and the sale of the Madonna of the Eucharist to Isabella Stewart Gardiner

Boston
Figs. 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22 and 23 Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

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