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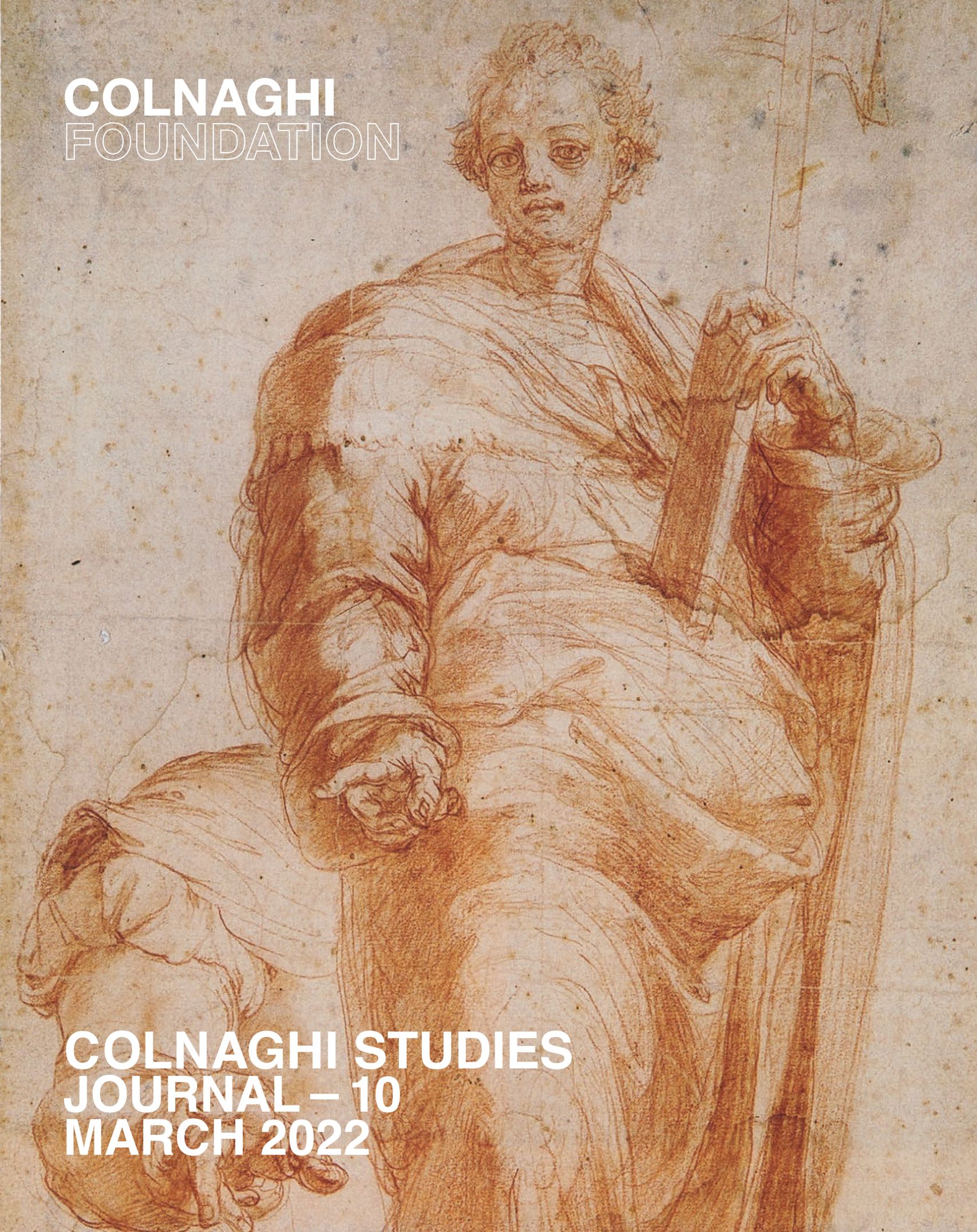

COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL – 10 MARCH 2022

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For George Goldner

A metalpoint drawing of the *Holy Family* by Raphael and observations on his assistants' use of his drawings[1]

PAUL JOANNIDES



Fig. 1 / Raphael, *Holy Family*, ca. 1513, leadpoint and white body colour on a grey ground, on paper, 19.5 x 12.2 cm, New York, Private Collection.

I

The drawing (fig. 1) published here, previously unrecorded, came to light in April 2019 at a sale in Paris, with an attribution to Gianfrancesco Penni.[2] It is obvious – and was duly noted in the sale catalogue – that its composition resembles closely that of the Spinola *Holy Family* by Giulio Pippi, called Giulio Romano (fig. 2; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum), a painting that has long interested me.[3] Indeed, the entry cited my observation of 1982 that a slight black chalk sketch at Windsor by Gianfrancesco (fig. 3) was related to the woman advancing from the right-hand side of the painting, and that connection may have (mis)led the cataloguer to assign the new drawing to Penni. But it is, I hope, quite clear from all I have written that I believe the Spinola *Holy Family* panel to be by Giulio (as does Francis Russell, who discovered the picture, and Tom Henry and, I think, every other scholar who has mentioned it); so he, in principle, would have been the better candidate for a compositional study. However, neither Giulio nor Penni is known to have made drawings in silverpoint (which was assumed to be the medium of the new drawing) – although Penni employed it as an auxiliary medium in a few of the *modelli* he made to Raphael's designs – and among Raphael's immediate followers, it was used only by Perino del Vaga, by whom a single, rather stiff, example is known.[4] Students of Raphael have often remarked that he was the last great Italian draughtsman to wield silverpoint creatively and those few who turned to it later, like Parmigianino, did so for specific aesthetic effect, not as an instrument of thought.

Following close study of the drawing, I concluded that it was an autograph Raphael of about 1512-1513, but with the unusual features that the linework was rather softer in texture than in other silverpoint drawings by the artist and that some lines had a brownish tinge. Subsequent laboratory examination determined that the drawing is in fact executed in leadpoint, which runs more slickly.[5]

II

The Virgin is seated quite low, although she is not a Madonna of Humility. The Child stands between her knees and Saint John kneels reverently before him. Behind Mary sits Saint Joseph: protective, venerable and refined; slightly larger in scale than the other figures, he commands the group by his size and position.[6] His hair is stirred by a light breeze – or a whisper of the numinous – and his right hand rests tenderly on John's shoulder. The group is set in a faintly indicated landscape with an outcrop of rocks at the right and, at the left, tall trees, their trunks suggested by slight verticals and their foliage by flourishes of curves. At the right, in depth, a nude standing man is outlined – his bearded head is observable under magnification – with crossed calves. Whether Raphael planned further to develop this figure – perhaps Zacharias – or to cancel it is conjectural.

Fig. 2 / Giulio Romano, *The* Spinola *Holy Family*, ca. 1517, oil on wood, 78 x 62 cm, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 3 / Gianfrancesco Penni, Sketch for the woman at the right of the Spinola *Holy Family* (detail), ca. 1517, black chalk on paper, window mounted (the sheet size is 30.4 x 20 cm), Windsor Castle, Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

The upper part of the group is drawn openly but economically; the lower part more energetically – in areas agitatedly – with shadows laid in by fast hatching of a kind more familiar from Raphael's pen drawings but seen too in the Louvre's study for the *Sacrifice at Lystra*.[7] Even in the most rapidly executed passages, the control of hatching is firm, modulating dynamically from area to area to establish varied planes and depths. Body-colour is applied liberally, but for illumination rather than modelling; it registers a strong fall of light from the left.

Raphael arrived at his composition without struggle, but he did change the angle of John's head. At first situated a little further back, held upright and turned in towards the Virgin, it was then bent forward to engage directly with the Child. John's right hand rests on the book that the children share, and his forefinger points to a passage for the Child to interpret. John's half-kneeling pose, rigid both in comparison with the movements of real children, and with those drawn earlier by Raphael, presages the rectilinear "classicizing" mode that he came to adopt later in the decade. This *Giovannino*, who could be separated out and modelled in clay or wax, returns in modified form three or four years later in the *Madonna of Divine Love* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte). Such stiffenings of form reveal Raphael's effort to arrest the rhythmical fluency that came so naturally to him, and to juxtapose figures rather than join them. It was an effort Poussin was to appreciate and emulate.



Fig. 4 / Michelangelo, *Jeremiah*, 1511, fresco, Vatican City, The Sistine Chapel.

The Virgin's pose holds special interest, for it is based on Michelangelo's *Jeremiah* (fig. 4).[8] According to Vasari Raphael, favoured by Bramante, surreptitiously studied in the Sistine chapel during one of Michelangelo's absences from Rome. This must have occurred before August 1511 when, on the eleventh day of that month, the first half of the vault was visited by the young Federico Gonzaga.[9] *Jeremiah*, however, was among the latest figures to be painted, and whether Raphael could have gained access while work was in the feverish final stages is doubtful. He probably saw the *Jeremiah* only after the unveiling of the vault in October 1512. If so, it would establish a *terminus post quem* for the *Holy Family* and situate it a little past the half-way mark in Raphael's most intense response to Michelangelo, for it was between 1510 and 1514 that he came to exploit – more rapidly and confidently than any other contemporary – a range of the possibilities offered by the Sistine Ceiling and the Julius Tomb. Raphael's responses can be charted in the Stanza della Segnatura: in the *Parnassus*, the *Justice* wall – especially *Fortitude* – and Heraclitus in the *School of Athens*; in the Sant'Agostino *Isaiah*; in the Prophets and Sibyls in Santa Maria della Pace; and in the black chalk figure studies for the *Resurrection* (compositional drawing in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne) which is generally, but not necessarily correctly, thought to prepare the altarpiece planned for Agostino Chigi's chapel in Santa Maria della Pace. Raphael's Michelangelesque phase concludes with *Moses and the Burning Bush*, of 1514, in the vault of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, after which his preoccupation with Michelangelo's forms diminishes.

In the *Holy Family* the borrowing from Michelangelo is far from slavish: the Virgin's legs are slanted in parallel, rather than in a "V"; but the movement of her shoulder and her left hand are unmistakable. Reference to the grand forms of Michelangelo is combined with new naturalistic research. The relatively unidealized face of the Virgin was surely taken from the same model as a loose black chalk head study made by a member of Raphael's studio at about the same time (fig. 5).[10] More significantly, the type of the Child is an *unicum*: a little older and physically quite unlike the solid, well-fleshed and active babies seen in the Madonnas and Holy Families that Raphael had painted in Florence and Rome. Here Raphael places a little boy of about three-four years old, studied from life, thin, hollow-chested, with long floppy hair. He is far from robust and his fragility is no doubt deliberate, an experiment to establish a new type of the Christ Child. But it seems likely that it also records infant underdevelopment.[11] Such naturalism perhaps responds to a different strand of Michelangelo: Raphael may have known of the vernacular sketches that lay behind the Sistine Ancestors.[12]



Fig. 5 / Associate of Raphael, *Head of a Young Woman*, charcoal on paper, 29.5 x 26.2 cm, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts.





Fig. 6 / Raphael, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1512-1513, metalpoint and white body colour on a grey ground, on paper, 16.1 x 12.8 cm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Fig. 7 / Raphael, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1512-1513, metalpoint and white body colour on a grey ground, on paper, 19 x 14 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection.

III

This rediscovered *Holy Family* is one of a number of metalpoint drawings – there are seventeen others at present count – usually with the addition of body-colour, made on grey ground. This series, which extends from ca. 1509 to ca. 1514, overlaps with, but mostly succeeds, another series of metalpoint studies – nineteen currently known – largely of Madonnas but also for figures in the *School of Athens*, made by Raphael on pink grounds. All members of the grey group are single-sided but a few of the pink group carry pen sketches on unprepared versos. The pink drawings are clustered ca. 1509-1510 but they too extend fitfully until about 1514. Raphael also employed buff grounds on occasion between ca. 1508 and ca. 1514 and, less frequently, green grounds, around 1509-1511. But such groupings and datings, as well as the widespread assumption that Raphael ceased to employ metalpoint after the middle of the second decade are open to revision if, and when, new examples emerge.[13] Whether sheets were coloured in batches, and used as required, or prepared *ad hoc*, is conjectural but the former seems more likely. Size too is conjectural; the largest grey page now measures about 29 x 40 cm, and if this was standard all the others have been irregularly cut by the draughtsman or by later owners, or both, either to fit their subjects or produce charming fragments.

A diverse range of subjects is addressed in the grey series and consistencies in Raphael's choices are not obvious: a grey preparation plus white body-colour would establish a wide tonal range and might suggest interior settings, but some of the drawings were made for exteriors, conceivably crepuscular. In general, the drawings on grey grounds differ in manner from those on pink grounds. Whereas in the pink group the point is predominantly used for speed, fluent contours and pattern-making, in the grey group it is handled more slowly, with a predominant – but not exclusive – emphasis on solid and individualized form, contours that separate rather than connect and, in general, a higher level of finish.[14]

Four of the drawings in the grey group are complete compositions of Madonnas or Holy Families and were made within a year or so of the new drawing. Two, respectively at Oxford and Chatsworth, seemingly a pair but actually of different sizes (figs. 6-7), show the Virgin and Child – or a mother and child, for haloes are absent – seated in an interior: in the latter Raphael lightly sketched, but did not develop, a figure, no doubt Saint Joseph, entering from the right background – a motif that attracted Giulio.[15] The other two, both in the Uffizi, are of the Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph. In the more fully worked *Adoration of the Child* (fig. 8), the Virgin, accompanied by a Joseph who resembles Joseph in our drawing, kneels before the Child, lifting a cloth above him, a motif familiar from the *Madonna di Loreto* and the *Madonna of the Diadem*.[16] This drawing is pricked for transfer and framed both as an arched-topped upright and a roundel, demonstrating Raphael's ability to envisage the same composition in different formats. The other drawing (fig. 9), sketchier, shows a powerful Joseph kneeling behind the Virgin and a small long-haired Child (perhaps the same as in the newly discovered drawing) who, unguided, attends to a book.[17]

In these four drawings, in all of which the actors are full-length, Raphael was trying out groupings more domestic and realistic than hitherto. The twisting movements, virtuoso complications of form, and melodic interactions seen, for example, in the *Alba Madonna* or *Aldobrandini Madonna*, both in part prepared on pink sheets, give way to more rectangular and compact formulations. In these compositions individual elements receive roughly equal stress: triangles and arcs gradually give way to straight lines and right angles and there is an evident and intentional relation to sculpture, both in the round and in relief. The *Madonnas* in Oxford and Chatsworth, for example, both in profile, would transfer well to high or shallow relief. And in both there prevails an emphasis bordering on genre: they are set in plain interiors, and the Child – or child – in both is clothed, in Chatsworth probably in current *bimbimoda* winter-wear. In the Uffizi *Holy Family* too, the Child is clothed and the Virgin, uniquely in Raphael's work, wears a contemporary Roman headdress.[18]



Fig. 8 / Raphael, *Adoration of Child*, ca. 1513, metalpoint and white body colour on a grey ground, on paper, 17.2 x 12.9 cm, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.



Fig. 9 / Raphael, *Holy Family*, ca. 1513, metalpoint and white body colour on a grey ground, on paper, 12.3 x 10.1 cm, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.



Fig. 10 / Unidentified draughtsman after Michelangelo, *Virgin and Child* and other sketches, original ca. 1506, brown pen on paper, 29 x 20 cm, Montpellier, Musée Fabre.

Such realism perhaps pursues another strand of Michelangelism. In the Madonnas at Oxford and Chatsworth the ardour of the maternal embrace surely reflects Madonnas drawn by Michelangelo during his second Florentine period, one of which survives in an original (Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 4112), and another in a copy (fig. 10); both in turn look back to the fiercely maternal images of Donatello.[19] Of the four, only the *Adoration of the Child* stands a little apart, situated in the Florentine lineage of Filippo Lippi, Botticelli and their followers.

IV

The purposes for which these five drawings were intended are unknown, but figs. 6 and 7 were engraved in their original sizes by a still unidentified associate of Marcantonio, and three of the drawings inspired paintings by Raphael's assistants. Raphael's increasing involvement with large and taxing projects reduced his production of Madonnas and Holy Families but demand for them must have remained intense. These drawings might have been made for paintings – commissioned or not – that Raphael intended to execute but which, for lack of time, he was obliged to hand over to others. Alternatively, he may have drawn them as experiments in new modes, and then made them available to his Roman collaborators for use as required. We cannot narrow down the various possibilities because we do not know how the resulting paintings were commissioned or marketed: as by Penni or Giulio *tout court*? By Penni or Giulio to Raphael's design? Or fraudulently, as by Raphael himself? The last seems unlikely since Raphael was forthcoming on his delegation of the *Portrait of Isabella de Requesens,* and we may reasonably – and charitably – suppose that the pictures were sold as by the painters who made them, developed from Raphael's designs.[20]

The most traditional and least ambitious of Raphael's four compositions, the Uffizi *Adoration of the Child*, was the starting point for two painted variants, one, circular, of ca. 1512-1513 (Cava dei Tirreni, Badia della Santissima Trinità), the other, rectangular, a little later (Rome, Galleria Borghese). Both are by Gianfrancesco Penni, and their colour and handling are a blurred reflection of Raphael ca. 1509.[21] Their formats suggest that Penni followed the different possibilities indicated in the Uffizi drawing. There are, however, considerable differences between the composition of the drawing and that of the paintings, and Penni may have based them on a related study by Raphael, now lost, which he developed in a wash drawing.[22]

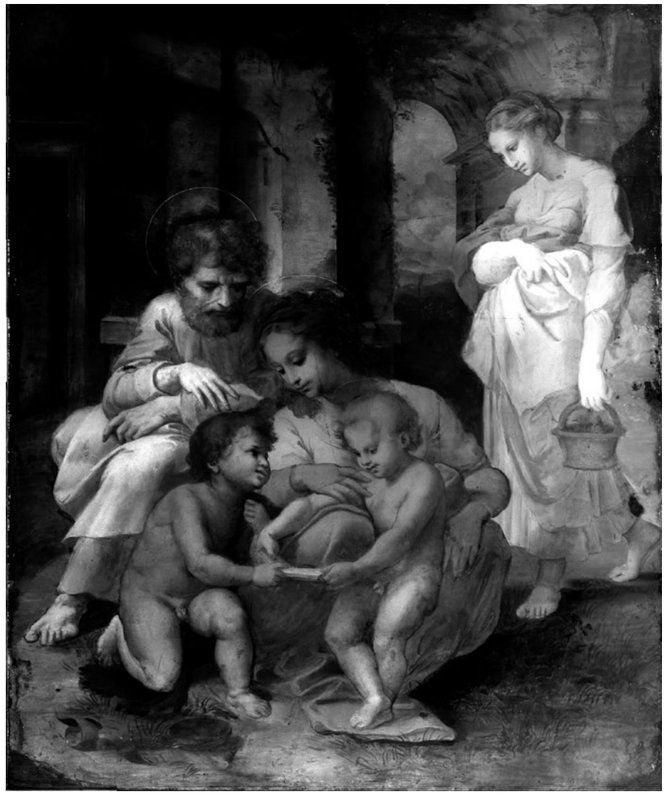
Penni's paintings are pleasant, unassuming and reassuring. A different spirit transpires from the adaptations of Giulio Pippi, an artist infinitely more powerful and uncomfortable. From his identifiable emergence within Raphael's organization, ca. 1515, Giulio's re-orchestrations of his master's compositions in his semi-independent work verge on the disruptive.[23] Thus, his two riffs on Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia*, both reformatted as rectangles, transform radically Raphael's opulent distillation of maternity. In the smaller (30 x 25 cm), probably of 1515 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), Giulio strips the Child, reverses, rigidifies, re-colours and re-lights Raphael's composition, and throws in a borrowing from Mantegna.[24] The second, maybe of a couple of years later (London, Apsley House; 51 x 39 cm), omits Saint John, places the Virgin and Child, now clothed again, in an interior lit by an oil lamp, and shows them reacting to a frontal light source. The composition is again re-coloured, and the Virgin's form is extended. It is likely that Giulio had not seen the *Sedia* in the flesh and that his starting point was a preparatory drawing for it.



Fig. 11 / Giulio Romano, *Virgin and Child with Saint John*, ca. 1517, oil on wood, 126 x 85 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese.

The Spinola *Holy Family* and the Borghese *Virgin and Child with Saint John* (fig. 11) are probably of about the same date, ca. 1517 and are similar in their forms, colour, illumination, figure types and characterizations.[25] In both, Giulio looked to drawings by Raphael of ca. 1512-1513, and to both he added, at the left or right, figures not found in those drawings. The Borghese picture, the largest of the group (126 x 85 cm), follows fig. 6 whose design was transferred verbatim onto the panel but to which Giulio made notable changes in execution.[26] The forms of the now nude Child were inflated, his arms were repositioned, and the Virgin's head was turned outwards towards the Saint John inserted at the left; John's pose, in a minor but significant eruption of Michelangelism, is that of the Taddei Tondo's *Giovannino*, which Giulio would have known from Raphael's copy drawings to which he certainly had access.[27]

Fig. 12 / Infrared photograph of fig. 2.



Infrared photography of the Spinola *Holy Family* (fig. 12) reveals no alterations of any consequence in the underdrawing, so when he made it, Giulio knew what he was intending to do. His painting transforms Raphael's design in spirit and mood, modifying its organization and introducing numerous changes of character and detail. The most fundamental is the revised pose of Saint Joseph, who no longer collects the other figures into a tilted pyramid. He does not usher John forward but sits with crossed arms resting in his lap and minimally active hands. His legs, partly concealed in the drawing, are now fully visible. He is detached rhythmically from the other figures with his body turned to the viewer's left looking down: he is now a presence rather than a participant. The changes made in the Spinola *Holy Family* to the composition laid out in our drawing create a rectangular composition corresponding with a development seen in Raphael's own contemporary work, in designs such as the *Madonna of Divine Love* of ca. 1516 – in whose execution Giulio participated. The result is to turn a pyramidal image into a block-like and lumpier, more ponderous one, countering the clear hierarchy proposed in the drawing. In short, Giulio modifies his master's earlier idea in the light of that master's current ideals, but with his own pungency. Among lesser modifications, of character and detail rather than organization, the face and head of the Virgin have been changed to the heart-shaped type developed in the *Madonna del Pesce* and the *Madonna dei Candelabri*, and while the Child's pose is unaltered, he is now much stronger

and his head type, and hence characterization, is transformed, with his hair now closely cropped. In a piece of genre realism, Joseph's head is that of a recognizable model from whom both Giulio and Raphael made nude studies: in their preparatory drawings for the *Transfiguration*, probably of 1519, this model took the roles of the father of the possessed boy in Giulio's study (Milan, Ambrosiana) and of Saint James the Greater in Raphael's study of Saints James and John (Paris, Musée du Louvre).[28] And it is worth noting that Giulio also transformed the setting of fig. 1, again in the light of Raphael's current interests. Rather than in open countryside, he sets the group before a Roman ruin, as Raphael did in the *Madonna of Divine Love* and the so-called *Madonna of the Long Thigh* (now known only in two engravings).

Giulio's four panels form a closely related group. The Louvre *Madonnina* and the Wellington *Madonna* follow a design by Raphael for the *Madonna della Sedia* but not the painting. The Borghese and Spinola panels follow designs that, so far as we know, Raphael did not execute as paintings.

It is likely that this group was succeeded by – or was overlapped by – another in which Giulio adapted not just designs but finished paintings by Raphael. In the Munro of Novar *Madonna* of ca. 1517 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland), Giulio retains the types and colours of Raphael's *Madonna della Rosa* but repositions obliquely the trio of the Virgin, Child, and Saint John, places them in a sombre landscape before a powerfully rusticated building, certainly of his own design and evidence for his distinctive architectural tastes – and once more unbalances Raphael's intimate and stable arrangement by downward extension. Whether Giulio made other, comparable, variants will remain unknown until and unless further paintings come to light. The culmination of this phase, which may have ceased even before Raphael's death, is the *Madonna della Gatta* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte) probably of 1519-1520, in which Giulio sets the group obliquely, spreads the actors out laterally to unknit the Perla's compact unity, removes them to an elaborately furnished interior, cluttered with objects and animals, which receives more attention than the figures, and photographs it all by flashlight. In Giulio's work, consistently, the numinous gives way to the material, balance to instability and textural variety to quasi-metallic homogeneity; such proclivities can be detected even in his contributions to those paintings in which he worked side-by-side with Raphael.[29]

The discovery of this new *Holy Family* drawing is significant in two main respects. It amplifies our knowledge of the types of Madonna and Holy Family compositions that Raphael was developing early in the second decade, when he was also exploring new physical types. And, revealing a hitherto unknown model for Giulio's Spinola *Holy Family*, it enables us to assess with a little more precision the relations between Raphael's pictorial ideas and those of his most consequential follower, at a specific point on the latter's trajectory.



NOTES

1. I am most grateful to the owner for the opportunity to study this drawing and to David Ekserdjian and an anonymous reader for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.
2. Drouot Estimations, Paris, 12 April 2019, lot 17. The sale catalogue raised the possibility that the drawing was once owned by the illustrious classical archaeologist and philologist Théophile Homolle (1848-1925), Director of the École d'Athènes (twice: 1890-1904 and 1912-1913) and of the Louvre (1904-1911), and that he might have been given it by the great collector of Italian drawings Léon Bonnat (1833-1922).
3. My successive responses to this painting (for which see Francis Russell, "The Spinola Holy Family of Giulio Romano," *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982): pp. 296-298) are: "Giulio Romano and Penni," *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982): p. 634 (in which I wrongly suggested that the advancing woman might have been painted by Penni); "The Early Easel Paintings of Giulio Romano," *Paragone* 419 (1985): pp. 17-46; and Tom Henry and Paul Joannides, *Late Raphael*, catalogue (there are also French and Spanish editions) of an exhibition held at the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, and the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 2012, no. 67, pp. 248-251.
4. Philip Pouncey and John Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, Raphael and His Circle* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1962), no. 156, pp. 91-92.
5. George Goldner and Marjorie Shelley kindly informed me of the results of their technical examination of the drawing. It is evident that "silverpoint" has traditionally been used much too loosely and that without scientific study to determine the precise composition of metallic media, it is safer to use the neutral "metalpoint". Comparable uncertainties have recently been noted between charcoal and black chalk.
6. The type had been established several years earlier, for example in the *Holy Family* drawn by Raphael in 1508 for his friend Domenico Alfani: see Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, *Collections des Palais des beaux-arts de Lille. Catalogue des dessins italiens* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), no. 531, pp. 184-185.
7. Inv. RF 38813; Dominique Cordellier and Bernadette Py, *Inventaire général des dessins italiens. Musée du Louvre, cabinet des Dessins. V. Raphaël, son atelier, ses copistes* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 407, pp. 277-279.
8. Tom Henry and I pointed out (Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, p. 251) that it was unusual for Giulio to quote Michelangelo, but we did not know that the Spinola *Holy Family* was based on a drawing by Raphael.
9. As reported by Isabella's agent Grossetto, who obviously got very confused, for he attributed Michelangelo's ceiling to Raphael (see John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 2 vols. [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003], I, pp. 148-149).
10. Brejon de Lavergnée, *Catalogue des dessins italiens*, no. 550, pp. 194-195. Most scholars interpret this head as of a young man, but the headdress seems to me that of a woman.
11. This estimate of the Child's age respects the result of a straw poll of mothers. Three medical colleagues whom I consulted concurred that the child drawn by Raphael was in some ways abnormal, but they differed in their diagnoses: one thought that it was the consequence of malnutrition, another of Poliomyelitis, the third that it was Achondroplasia.
12. For Michelangelo's Sistine sketches see Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Michelangelo and His Followers in the Ashmolean Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), nos. 9-17, pp. 95-120.
13. The pink series was dubbed the Pink Sketchbook by Oskar Fischel, but it is unlikely that it or the other series ever comprised bound drawing books.
14. The medium will remain uncertain until these drawings have undergone systematic laboratory examination. In rough chronological order they are:
    1. Study for the *School of Athens*, 289 x 397 mm, 1509-1510, Vienna, Albertina, inv. 4883.
    2. *A Mother and Child*, 161 x 128 mm, 1512-1513, Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum, WA1846.20.
    3. *A Mother and Child*, 190 x 140 mm, 1512-1513, Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection, inv. 728.
    4. *The Adoration of the Child*, 172 x 129 mm, 1512-13, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 502E.
    5. *The Virgin Kneeling*, ca. 1512-1513, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 500E (a slight sketch no doubt made in preparation for the *Adoration*).
    6. *The Holy Family*, 195 x 122 mm, 1512-1513, Private Collection (discussed in the present article).
    7. *The Holy Family*, 123 x 101 mm, 1512-1513, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 499E.
    8. *A Turning Woman*, 108 x 119 mm, 1513, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 1325F (a drapery study probably made to clarify part of another Holy Family design).
    9. *The Christ Child and Saint John* for the *Madonna dell'Impannata*, 210 x 208 mm (irregular), 1513-1514, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 2231 (the Saint John revises the composition of the *modello* in metalpoint and body-colour on buff ground, in the Royal Collection, inv. 12742).
    10. *A Horse* for version I of the *Repulse of Attila*, 144 x 106 mm, 1513-1514, Woodner Collection.
    11. *A Horseman* for version II of the *Repulse of Attila*, 197 x 145 mm, 1513-1514, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. 1797.
    12. A *Battle Relief* from the *Arch of Constantine*, 150 x 214 mm, ca. 1514, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 2460.
    13. *Figures from antique gems*, 100 x 140 mm (cut to a horizontal oval), ca. 1514, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 14794F.
    14. *Allegory of Grammar* in the style of an antique gem, 117 x 64 mm, ca. 1514, Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection, inv. 729.
    15. The *Conversion of the Proconsul*, 270 x 355 mm, 1514-1515, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. 9 (912750) 12750. *A Caryatid,* 146 x 98 mm (Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1965.47.5) on pink rather than grey ground was no doubt made in 1514 in preparation for the dado of the Stanza di Eliodoro but was employed instead for the simulated statue niched in the pier at the right-hand side of the *Conversion of the Proconsul*.
    16. The personification of an earthquake in the *Release of Saint Paul*, 114 mm (diameter, cut to a roundel), ca. 1514-1515, New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, inv. 1977.45.
    17. The crowd in the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, 248 x 393 mm, ca. 1514, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. RF 38 813. The study for *Saint Paul* in the same scene, 228 x 103 mm, ca. 1514-1515, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 84.GG.919, is on blue-grey ground and not part of the grey group.
15. In their virtuosity, high-finish and – dare one say? – beauty, the Oxford and Chatsworth Madonnas, refined miniatures in grisaille, would have made welcome gifts.
16. Around this time Raphael devised further Madonna and Holy Family compositions in drawings now lost, with varied mixtures of similar ingredients: one of these no doubt inspired Andrea di Salerno's *Holy Family* in a Neapolitan private collection: see Giovanni Previtali, ed., *Andrea da Salerno nel Rinascimento Meridionale*, exh. cat. (Salerno: Certosa di San Lorenzo, Padula, 1986), no. 19, pp. 42, 124-125 (entry by Francesco Abbate).
17. The Uffizi's grey-ground drawings are acutely analyzed by Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, in *Raffaello a Firenze. Dipinti e Disegni delle collezione fiorentine*, exh. cat (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1984), nos. 24, 35, pp. 46-48.
18. Apart from the *Pala Colonna*, in which, according to Vasari, Raphael eschewed infant nudity to avoid embarrassing the nuns of Sant'Antonio, the Child is clothed only in the *Madonna della Sedia*, close in date to these drawings and a painting that – more than any other Madonna by Raphael – has repeatedly been felt to respond directly to observed life.
19. Musée du Louvre, RF 4112, recto; Montpellier, Musée Fabre, inv. 864-2-195, for which – and for the painting of the same composition – see Paul Joannides, "'Unconsidered Trifles'. Copies after Lost Drawings by Michelangelo," *Paragone* 46 (2002): pp. 3-17.
20. Much of what follows develops – and in a few instances modifies – the discussion in Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, especially nos. 56-58, pp. 216-227.
21. The Borghese painting is still frequently attributed to Perino del Vaga.
22. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, WA1846.68; one of Penni's most pictorial drawings, sometimes attributed to Raphael.
23. See Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, pp. 243-251.
24. A previously unknown repetition of this painting, identical in dimensions, and probably executed within a year or two of the original, is, at the time of writing, in a private collection. Slight changes to the type of Saint John and a modified colour range make it clear that this repetition is not Giulio's own; both suggest that it was executed by a painter who had worked with Penni. The existence of this copy implies that even early and not especially significant paintings of Giulio were favourably received.
25. The Spinola *Holy Family* had some afterlife: a version by Cola dell'Amatrice, also on wood but rather larger than the original at 110 x 70 cm is in the Palazzo del Comune, Amatrice (see Roberto Cannatà and Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina, *Cola dell'Amatrice* (Florence: Cantini, 1991), p. 108 and p. 36, no. 25), and a drawing with varied background was in Gijon. An adapted painting is reportedly in an undisclosed British church, and I have seen a photograph of what seems to be an accurate early copy in a South American private collection. New information about the provenance of the Spinola *Holy Family*, and illustrations of several later paintings dependent from it, are provided by Andrea Zezza and Stefano de Mieri, "Un Polittico de Wenzel Cobergher e qualche traccia di una provenienza napoletana per la 'Sacra Familia Spinola'," *Paragone* 133 (2017): pp. 47-58; and Andrea Zezza, "Raffaello da Napoli alla Spagna, copie e originali," in *Las copias de obras maestras de la pintura en las colecciones de los Austrias y el Museo del Prado: actas del congreso internacional, Museo del Prado, 2017*, ed. David García Cueto (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2021), pp. 54-63, esp. pp. 60-61. These articles establish that Giulio's painting was in Naples in the 1620s (unless it was a copy or another version).
26. Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, pp. 241-244. It is in principle possible that this underdrawing was made by Raphael himself following on directly from fig. 6, but my impression is that it is by Giulio.
27. Raphael's two surviving copies of the Taddei Tondo (Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, inv. 783 and Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 3856) focus on the Virgin and Child but he copied Saint John too and inserted him in the *Madonna del Cardellino* of 1506. See also note 29.
28. Milan, Ambrosiana, F.273 as Raphael; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 3864.
29. Both the *Hertz Madonna* and the *Gatta* include views through a door at the right, a detail adumbrated by Raphael in fig. 7 but omitted in the engraving. The Hertz *Madonna*, which was probably painted after the Louvre *Madonnina* and before the group discussed here, does not reprise a known Raphael design, but the arrangement recalls a sketch by Raphael of ca. 1508 (Uffizi, 501E) and it may have been based on a development of that drawing. That Giulio had access to some pre-Roman drawings by Raphael is shown by his red chalk copy of the Child (Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast, FP13 verso). From Raphael's *Madonna of Humility* (Chantilly, Musée Condé), FR.X.56): see Paul Joannides "Raphael, His Studio and his copyists," *Paragone* 523-525 (1993; published April 1995): pp. 3-29, esp. p. 21, *tavola* 13.

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Perino del Vaga, and the lost Chapel of the Sacrament in Old Saint Peter's[1]

LINDA WOLK-SIMON

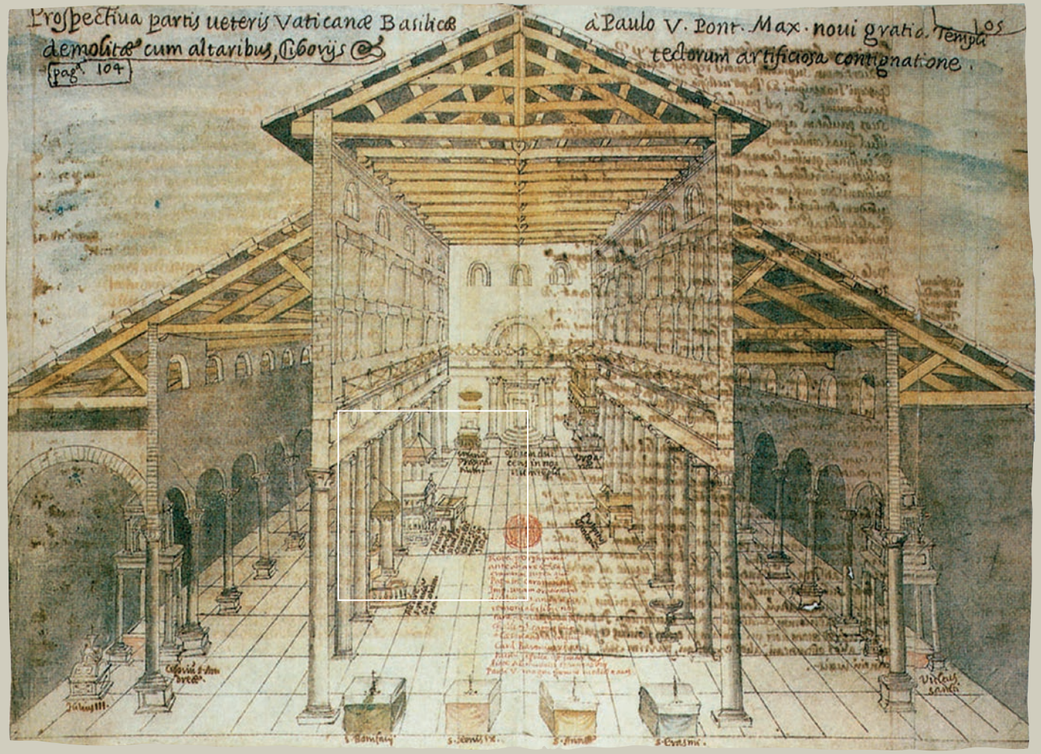


Fig. 1 / Giacomo Grimaldi, *Interior of Old Saint Peter's*, from *Instrumenta autentica translationum sanctorum corporum et sacrarum reliquiarum*, 1613, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barb. lat. 2733, fols. 104v-105r.

In the architectural purgatory that was Old Saint Peter's for much of the sixteenth century, the Chapel of the Sacrament stood between the fifth and sixth columns on the south side of the nave, a space that was shielded from demolition and continued to function – in a truncated state after 1538 – during the ongoing campaign to build the new basilica (fig. 1). It was designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546) and embellished with stucco and paintings by Perino del Vaga (1501-1547), frequent collaborators in Rome in the 1520s, and again in the 1540s when both were in the service of Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549). The project was overseen by the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo of Saint Peter's, which was constituted in 1540 – shortly after the pope approved the foundation of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in a bull of 30 November 1539 – and counted among its founding members Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Cardinal Reginald Pole, and the humanists Girolamo Aleandro, Blosio Palladio, and Pietro Bembo, the latter newly elevated to the purple.[2] Construction began in 1542, and the chapel was consecrated on 19 March 1548 – two years after the death of Sangallo (who had joined the Compagnia and was buried nearby in the left aisle of Saint Peter's), a year after the death of Perino, and one year before the death of their papal patron.[3]

This enigmatic structure would exist for little more than half a century. Deconsecrated on 1 October 1605, it was dismantled soon thereafter in anticipation of the completion of New Saint Peter's, leaving no physical trace of its fleeting presence. However, its general appearance can be conjured from surviving dispersed fragments, records of payment for building materials and furnishings, contemporary written descriptions, and early visual records (figs. 2 and 3).[4] The present discussion will rehearse this evidence, which has been examined in studies by Paola Zampa and Barbara Agosti, introduce some new findings that expand an understanding of the chapel's fabric, and identify biblical, antique, and early Christian source material that Sangallo and Perino referenced in the architectural vocabulary, ornament, and figural elements. It will also situate the Chapel of the Sacrament in the context of Farnese papal patronage in order to give precision to its meaning and purpose.

Described by the chronicler Tiberio Alfarano (1525-1596), a beneficed cleric of the Basilica of Saint Peter's, as a *sacellum* or shrine,[5] and referred to in contemporary sources as the Corpus Christi or Corpus Domini Chapel, the Chapel of the Sacrament was in essence a tempietto some sixteen feet high,[6] shielded above by a pedimented baldachin supported on columns, closed off by a screen of balusters, and entered through an axial door. The altar within the enclosure was consecrated to the apostles Simon and Jude, whose relics were long housed in a martyrium that stood in the location of the new chapel.[7] A number of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century sources record this dedication, which is relevant for reconstructing the chapel's decorative program. In a chapter on "Relikes and Monuments" in his 1581 guidebook *Roma Sancta*, the English priest Gregory Martin records in "S. Peters Churche . . . the bodies of Simon and Jude the Apostles over the Sacrament aultar".[8]



Fig. 2 / Giacomo Grimaldi, *Sacellum Sanctissimi Corporis Christi* (The Corpus Christi Chapel, or Chapel of the Sacrament, in Old Saint Peter's), from *Monumentorum veteris basilicae delineationes et exempla picta vel adumbrate a Domenico Tassellio de Lugo et etiam ab aliis cum didascalies Iacobi Grimaldi*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, vol. A 64, fol. 22r (drawing ascribed to Domenico Tasselli).

Alfarano's detailed plan of Saint Peter's, executed in 1582 and published in 1590, delineates the Chapel of the Sacrament (number 44 on the plan) with a corresponding inscription identifying it as "Sacellum sanctorum Apostolorum Simonis et Iudæ ubi Sanctissum Eucharistiae Sacramentum honorifice custoditus" (the altar of the Apostles Simon and Jude where the most Holy Eucharist is kept), the cross in the margin denoting the presence there of their corporeal remains (fig. 4).[9] The illustrated chronicle of Old Saint Peter's prepared in the opening years of the seventeenth century by the notary and archivist Giacomo Grimaldi as a record of what soon would be demolished, shows the Chapel in the spot specified by Alfarano with an inscription identifying it as the altar of Saints Simon and Jude (see fig. 1). And finally, Giovanni Ciampini's *De sacris aedificiis*, published in 1693, once again recounts the location of the Chapel of the Sacrament and the dedication of its altar to Saints Simon and Jude.[10]

A valuable written account of the Chapel of the Sacrament is offered by Giorgio Vasari near the end of his *Vita* of Perino del Vaga:

> Because of the enthusiasm for the new construction, the Sacrament in Saint Peter's was not being properly honoured. Accordingly, the deputies of the Company of the Sacrament decreed that a chapel should be built for it in the middle of the old church. This chapel was built by Antonio da Sangallo, partly from left-over ancient marble columns, with additional decorations of marble, bronze, and stucco; in the centre, he placed a tabernacle by Donatello, as a further adornment; and Perino made a very beautiful canopy above it, with many small Old Testament scenes alluding to the Sacrament. In the middle of it he painted a somewhat larger scene of the Last Supper, and below, two Prophets.[11]

A template for visualizing the lost chapel, this passage will be referenced, and cross-checked against other sparse threads of information, in what follows.

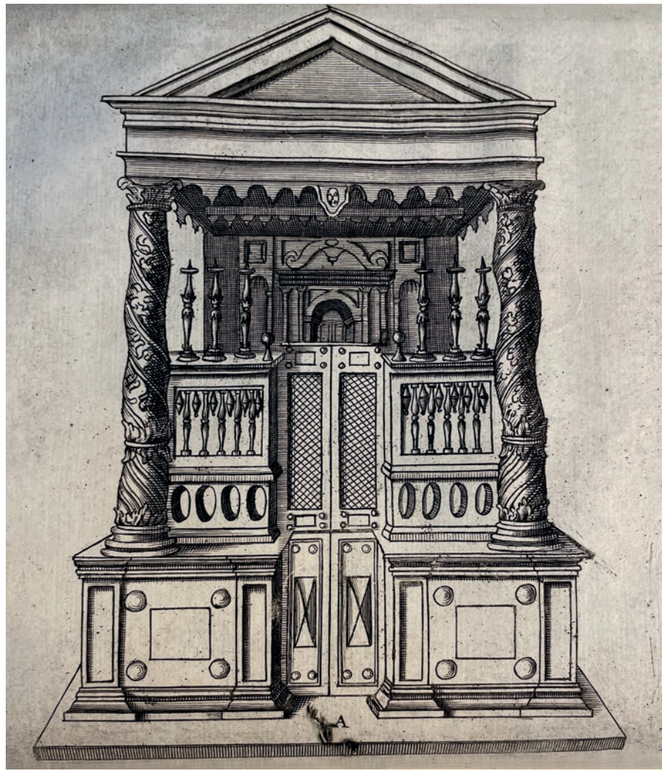


Fig. 3 / Giovanni Ciampini, *The Chapel of the Sacrament in Old Saint Peter's,* from *De sacris aedificiis a Constantino Magno,* 1693, p. 94.

The ancient columns and the tabernacle by Donatello mentioned by Vasari, which survive to the present, were from demolished parts of Old Saint Peter's and the Apostolic Palace and were repurposed by Sangallo, who was overseeing work at the Vatican since 1538 and had access to the stockpile of salvaged remains of old and venerated monuments.[12] Seen at the front corners of the chapel in Grimaldi's depiction (fig. 2), the two spiral columns – long believed (if wrongly) to have come from the ancient Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem – migrated from the shrine of Saint Peter near the apse of the Constantinian basilica, where they had been installed since the fourth century. Protected for a time from the encroaching construction by Bramante's Tegurium erected under Julius II, they were displaced when the eastern part of the nave was closed off by the *muro divisorio* (or "*muro farnesiano*") built by Sangallo on the order of Paul III and the shrine dismantled.[13] (And after the Chapel of the Sacrament was itself deconstructed in the early seventeenth century, the columns were repurposed again by Bernini, who incorporated them in the shallow upper niches in the giant piers of the crossing.)

Donatello's eucharistic tabernacle was also salvage (fig. 5). Commissioned by Pope Eugenius IV, it came from the *cappella parva*, a private chapel in the Palazzo Apostolico whose demolition in 1538 was carried out by Sangallo at the Farnese pope's behest in order to create a grand cluster of ceremonial spaces comprising the Sala Regia, the Scala del Maresciallo, and the Cappella Paolina.[14] The orphaned relic was particularly suitable for repurposing in the new Chapel of the Sacrament given its liturgical function. A record of payment from the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo for its transfer establishes that the marble tabernacle was installed in 1542, the opening stage of the project.[15] It stood above the altar on the rear wall.[16]

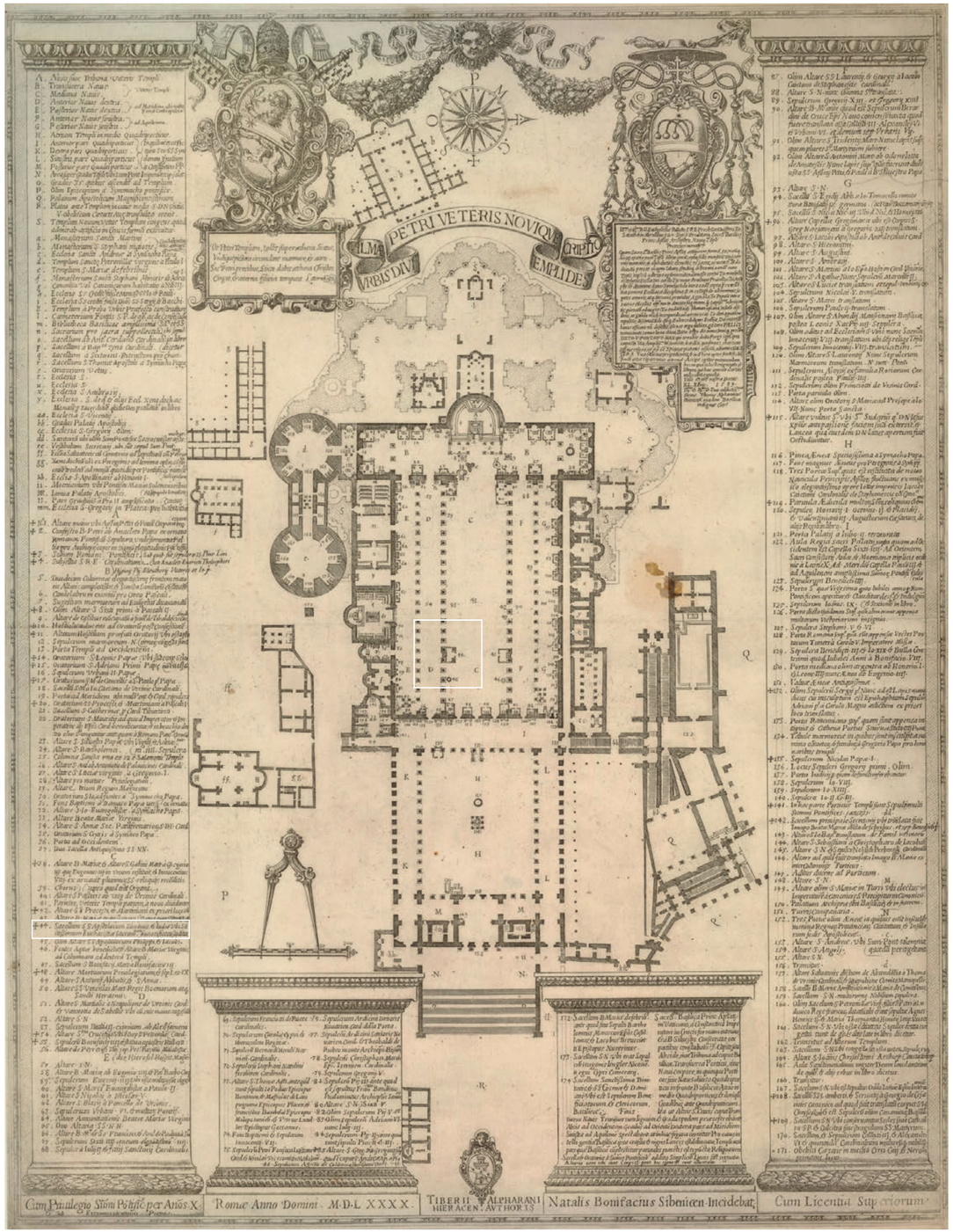


Fig. 4 / *Plan of Old Saint Peter's with its relationship to the new Basilica* (detail), 1590, etching, London, British Museum.



Fig. 5 / Donatello, *Sacrament Tabernacle with the Entombment*, 1432/1433, marble, Vatican City, Saint Peter's Basilica, Treasury Museum.

Vasari states that the ceiling canopy of the Chapel of the Sacrament was decorated by Perino with small scenes depicting Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist with a larger image of the Last Supper – the scriptural source of the sacrament – in the centre, and that two "prophets, one on either side of the body of Christ" (a reference to the scene of the *Entombment* in Donatello's relief, or perhaps to the tabernacle above the altar housing the Eucharist), also by Perino, were on the wall below. Alfarano does not expressly mention the ceiling, but his account is consistent with Vasari's in stating that the chapel was richly decorated with marble, stucco, and paintings. He also provides the further observation that the enclosure was surrounded by bronze columns: the balusters seen in Grimaldi's illustration (fig. 2). These accord with the building materials and architectural elements referred to in records of payment from the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo for the fabrication of the chapel, which itemize bronze – employed for the balustrade, parapet, and candelabra – marble, and "metal" (elsewhere specified as lead) used for the canopy.[17] Listed in addition is a wooden door with a lock. The records of payment also repeatedly refer to the gilding that was extensively used on the stucco, on the tabernacle itself, and on the crowning element above it. A final embellishment referred to in the documents is a gold and silver cross, installed over the entrance in 1546 and seen in Grimaldi's panoramic view showing the structure in the nave (see fig. 1).[18] The descriptions, documents, and images align and together give a reliable idea of the vanished chapel's material splendour.

In addition to specifying the building materials used by Sangallo, the account books of the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo refer extensively to Perino's contribution to the Chapel of the Sacrament. An entry of 18 March 1543 listing work the artist was then about to undertake includes stucco reliefs on the altar wall.[19] This aspect of the decoration must have recalled his lavish stuccowork in the Massimi Chapel in Trinità dei Monti, executed a few years earlier and now lost, as well as the refined, extant stuccoed ceilings of the Sala Regia (ca. 1542-1544) and the Sala Paolina in Castel Sant'Angelo (1545-1547), both carried out for Paul III.[20] As was the stucco of the Chapel of the Sacrament, the latter two are extravagantly gilded. Also mentioned in the same March 1543 entry are two figures framed in stucco on either side of Donatello's eucharistic tabernacle. Vasari's "prophets", these are encountered in greater descriptive detail, though with no mention of their subject matter, in an entry referring to "two paintings of figures in oil on canvas with carved gilt frames" installed in October 1545.[21] They are precisely identified only by Grimaldi, who states that Perino's figures represented the apostles Simon and Jude.[22] This testimony is unimpeachable and also unsurprising, given that the saints' relics were housed in the altar of the Chapel of the Sacrament (conceivably the altar from the pre-existing *sacellum*), which, as discussed, was dedicated to them, and that the Chapel of the Sacrament was alternatively designated the Altar of Simon and Jude.



Fig. 6 / Perino del Vaga, *Study for Saint Jude*, ca. 1543-1545, red chalk on paper, New York, Private Collection.

Fig. 7 / Giulio Romano, *Study for Saint Jude*, ca. 1520, red chalk on paper, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection.



Grimaldi further records that these two paintings from the then-recently deconsecrated chapel had come into the possession of Cardinal Borghese.[23] This notice indicates that Perino's saints survived the chapel's destruction, although they are untraced (a recent proposal to identify them notwithstanding), and their appearance remains a mystery.[24] A valuable indication is provided by a previously unrecognized preparatory drawing by Perino here identified as a study for the lost painting of the *Apostle Jude* (fig. 6).[25] The saint's identity is signalled by the presence of an axe – often represented as a halberd – his principal attribute and the instrument of his martyrdom: the apocryphal hagiography recounts that after being clubbed senseless, Jude was beheaded with an axe.[26] Comparison with a drawing of Saint Jude holding a halberd-axe by Giulio Romano leaves no doubt about this identification (fig. 7).[27] Given the rarity of the subject, the drawing's connection with this commission is certain, making it a critical record of Perino's documented but vanished *Saint Jude.* The redrawn right arm and hand at the left of the sheet establish the importance the artist accorded the saint's gesture. Flanking Donatello's sacrament tabernacle, Saint Jude was portrayed pointing to the Eucharist and also to the altar below it, where his own relics were preserved.

The same 1543 entry in the account book of the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo referred to earlier lists yet another of Perino's contributions to the chapel's decorations: five *storiette* (Vasari's "many" Old Testament ceiling scenes). This establishes that in addition to the Last Supper there were four other narratives. A late pen and ink drawing by Perino with a sketch of a compartmented ceiling gives an idea of a scheme of this type (fig. 8).[28] Whether it is connected with this project is uncertain, but the profile corresponds to the square shape of the baldachin-ceiling of the chapel as portrayed by Grimaldi; the central field would be appropriate for the Last Supper; and the small surrounding rectangular compartments

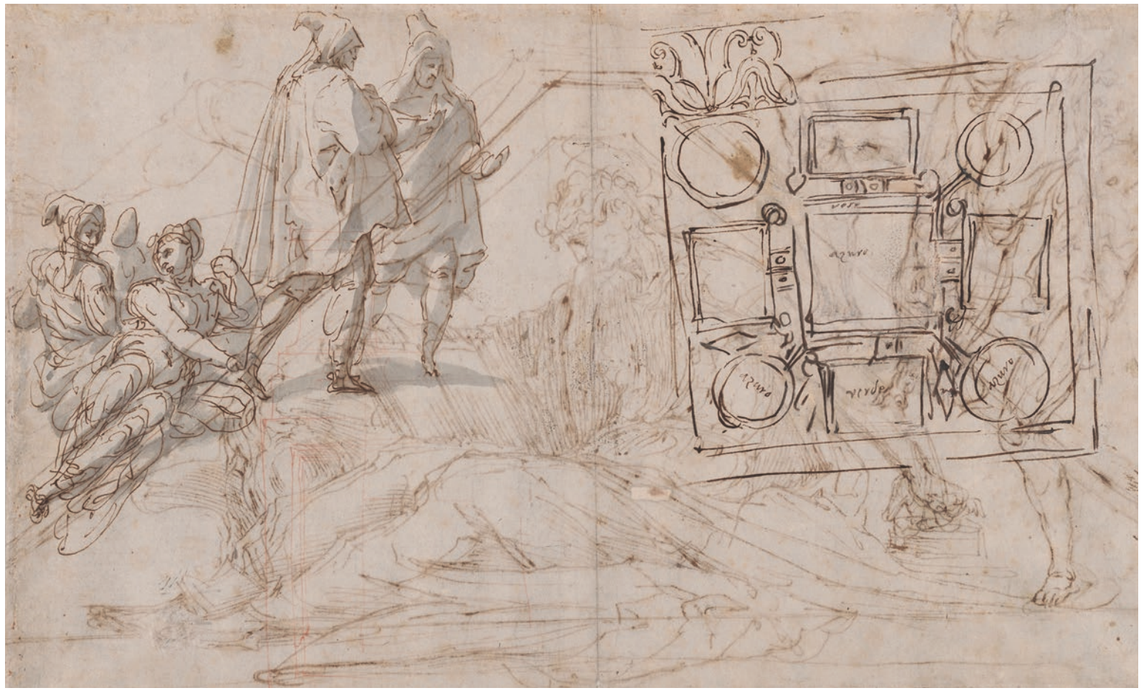


Fig. 8 / Perino del Vaga, *Study for a Compartmented Ceiling*, ca. 1542-1545, pen and brown ink on paper, New York, The Morgan Library & Museum.

are suitable for housing the *storie* illustrating its typological antecedents. If the drawing is connected with the Chapel of the Sacrament, the diminutive, hooded figures to the left (types that appear in many of the artist's late drawings) may be ideas for the Old Testament scenes.[29]

Another drawing by Perino del Vaga, which includes at the lower edge of the sheet a free iteration of Agostino Veneziano's engraving of the *Fall of Manna*, may also relate to the Chapel of the Sacrament commission (fig. 9).[30] This Old Testament subject is the primary typological antecedent of the Last Supper, so there are solid grounds for positing that the drawing, whose function has never been considered, relates to this project. Bolstering this conjecture is an entry in a seventeenth-century inventory of the Farnese Collection listing a series of biblical scenes ascribed to Perino, among them the *Last Supper* and the *Fall of Manna*, which Barbara Agosti, following Grimaldi's report that the *storiette* were acquired by Cardinal Farnese, associates with the dismembered ceiling of the Chapel of the Sacrament.[31]



Fig. 9 / Perino del Vaga, *Sheet of Studies including the Fall of Manna* (detail), after Agostino Veneziano, ca. 1542-1545, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

A God the Father in the "*timpano*" – the semi-circular field on the altar wall above Donatello's relief – was the final piece of Perino's lost decorations. Though absent from both Grimaldi's illustration and the early written descriptions, this crowning element of the tabernacle is mentioned in the Compagnia's account book, and in terms that make clear his authorship.[32]

The *sacellum* form of the Chapel of the Sacrament was based on early Christian shrines. A number of such structures still stood in Old Saint Peter's in the mid-sixteenth century, and some had just been relocated to the new *muro divisorio* erected to shield the western part of the nave from the advancing construction.[33] Foremost in importance was the shrine that had until recently demarcated the tomb of Saint Peter in the apse. That the two ancient spiral columns supporting the pedimented baldachin of the Chapel of the Sacrament (fig. 2) came from that newly inaccessible site signals the inherent association of this new *sacellum* with the old. More broadly, the columns' inclusion in the chapel's fabric announces the archaeologizing character of the structure. Indeed, reference to relevant ancient and early Christian sources, a reflection of the antiquarian sensibility shared by Antonio da Sangallo and Perino del Vaga, imprints virtually every aspect of the chapel's conception.

Evidence of Sangallo's thinking is found in a drawing in the Uffizi, which shows at the lower right two balusters supporting a horizontal railing with Farnese lilies (fig. 10).[34] An annotation in his hand below the sketch – "ferrata per lo corpo di Cristo di Santo Pietro" – indicates that these are studies for the iron grille in the Chapel of Corpus

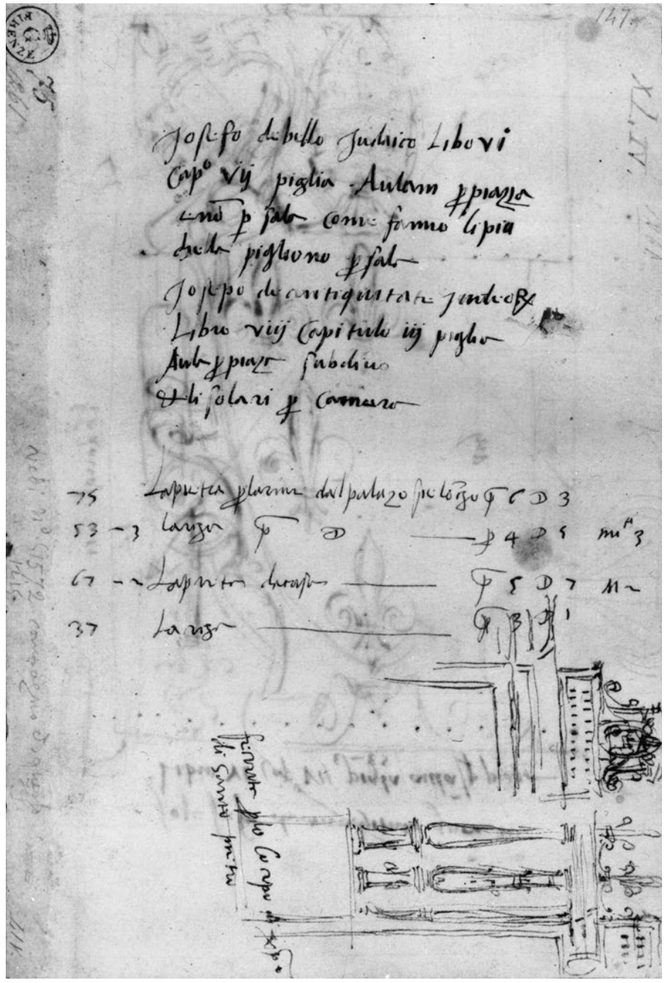


Fig. 10 / Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, *Studies for the balusters and grille work of the Chapel of the Sacrament*, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.

Domini (the Chapel of the Sacrament) in Saint Peter's. The sheet is thus securely linked with this project, as scholars have recognized, and Grimaldi's rendering of the lost structure confirms that such balusters were part of the design as realized (fig. 2). Other annotations by Sangallo at the upper part of the sheet and on the verso (fig. 12) refer to specific passages in the writings of the ancient Jewish historian Josephus: the *Jewish Wars* (Book 6, chapter 7), and the *Antiquities of the Jews* (Book 8, chapter 3, and Book 6, chapter 7). Paola Zampa took note of the literary citations, but not the content of the texts in question, and linked them to Sangallo's planned edition of Vitruvius.[35] Rejecting any connection with the Chapel of the Sacrament project, she contended that the studies and the annotations are unrelated.

What seems certain instead is that Sangallo's conjoining of studies for the Chapel of the Sacrament and references to particular passages of Josephus is neither random nor coincidental. The subject of Book 8, chapter 3, of the *Antiquities of the Jews* is the building of Solomon's Temple. The specified section of the *Jewish Wars* refers to the conquest of the upper city of Jerusalem, which continues in the ensuing chapter of the same book with the looting of the temple. As this is the very structure from which the ancient spiral columns incorporated in the Chapel of the Sacrament were believed to be from, it is likely that both these texts – and particularly the *Antiquities of the Jews* – do, in fact, have a bearing on this project, and that Sangallo was consulting the writings of the ancient historian Josephus as a singularly relevant literary source for understanding the appearance of the destroyed temple from ancient biblical times.[36] Regardless of whether the architectural references culled from Josephus relate to his Vitruvius project, as Zampa maintains, the annotations on the drawing establish beyond doubt that Sangallo was expressly reading authoritative descriptions of the purported source of the *spolia* he was at that moment repurposing in the Chapel of the Sacrament.

The architectural and decorative vocabulary of the Chapel of the Sacrament, to the extent it can be reconstructed, in fact contains myriad resonant echoes of the Temple of Jerusalem and its tabernacle as memorialized by Josephus in the *Antiquities of the Jews*. Writing of this splendid edifice, he describes a structure all of "polished" and "white stone"; a wealth of "precious ornaments"; surfaces covered with "plates of gold" so that "the whole temple shined"; and a "doorway cut out of the wall, with doors of cedar". There were also bronze pillars with "lily-work that stood upon [each]"; ten thousand candlesticks; gold and silver vials; and spiral pillars. "Solomon," Josephus declares, "made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple." Josephus also recounts that, in order to delineate the temple as a sacred precinct, Solomon placed a partition around it. This, he says, "was to exclude the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was … open only for the priests." The chapter of the *Jewish Wars* cited in Sangallo's annotations describes the looting of the Temple, whose riches, enumerated in the immediately following chapter, included gold candlesticks and vessels, and priestly vestments encrusted with precious stones (Book 6, chapter 7). This plunder was transferred to Rome and paraded in a triumphal procession commemorated in a relief on the Arch of Titus near the Forum.

All the details of the temple in Jerusalem enumerated by Josephus had evocative echoes in the Chapel of the Sacrament: the lost structure's altar wall sheathed in stucco to emulate polished white marble; the extensive use of gilding on the stucco and tabernacle; the bronze balusters and grille; the spiral columns; the wood doors; and the candlesticks and plethora of vessels of precious metal. Grimaldi's drawing of the Chapel in fact shows several such bronze candlesticks, reminiscent of those commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for Saint Peter's, as well as numerous small ampullae hanging between the balusters.[37] A quantity of these very implements – "12 silver candlesticks and 8 lamps" – are described in an account of a papal mass followed by a solemn procession in Saint Peter's on the Feast Day of Corpus Domini in 1545, which culminated in the placing of the Eucharist on the altar in the new Chapel of the Sacrament, "where it was positioned most honourably".[38] Even the partitioning of the structure from the nave of the basilica to keep out the multitudes, and demarcate the enclosure as a sacred precinct reserved for priests, calls to mind Josephus's description. Most striking of all is Josephus's suggestive reference to lilies atop columns, the evident source of Sangallo's design for the screen of baluster-columns supporting Farnese fleur-de-lys (see fig. 10). These many parallels made the Chapel of the Sacrament a microcosm of the Temple of Jerusalem, a point amplified below.

The historicizing approach to antiquity that underlies this project inflects other aspects of Antonio da Sangallo's activity, and not just his well-known immersion in Vitruvius. Sangallo has been credited with pioneering "Etruscology", the study of Etruscan art as a defined category of antiquity. That inquiry involved the combing of instructive ancient texts by Pliny and Varro in order to understand and reconstruct Etruscan tombs (specifically the tomb of Lars Porsena in modern-day Chiusi) that were objects of great interest in the sixteenth century.[39] His forays in Etruscan archaeology also assumed a practical aspect, involving the reuse and incorporation of surviving Etruscan walls in Tarquinia, as well as a more scholarly antiquarianism as he attempted to decipher the impenetrable Etruscan language and interpret inscriptions. Sangallo's consulting of the texts of Josephus in connection with the Chapel of the Sacrament demonstrates precisely this antiquarian sensibility: recourse to an ancient source of singular relevance to a current project, in the interest of historical authenticity.



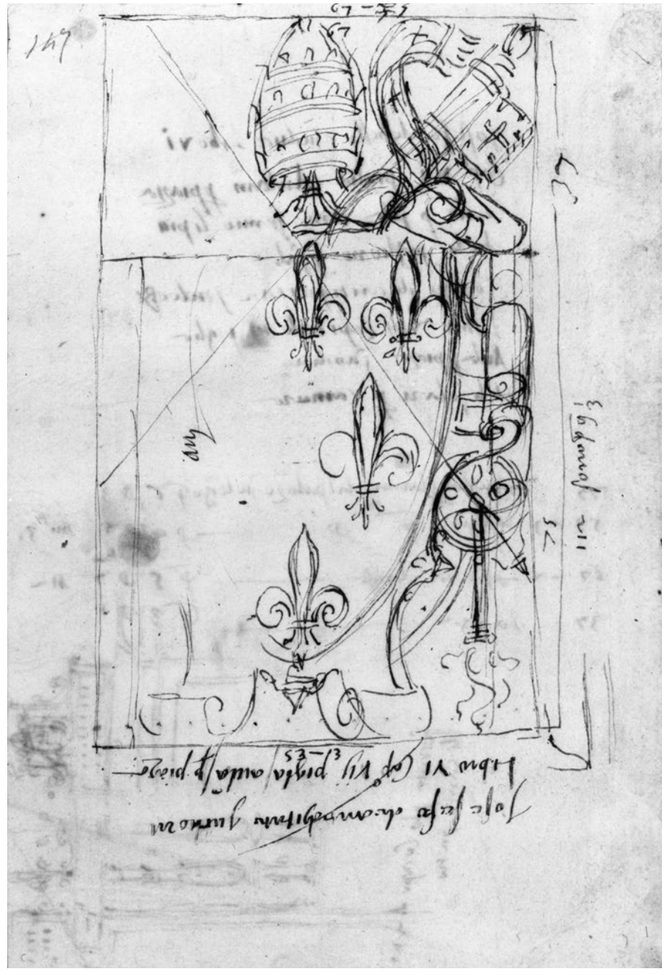


Fig. 11 / Perino del Vaga, *Saint Jude* (detail of fig. 6), and early Christian mosaic fragment from San Paolo fuori le Mura Rome, now Vatican Museums.

Fig. 12 / Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, *Studies for the Chapel of the Sacrament (*verso of fig. 10), Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.

Perino's drawing of Saint Jude (see fig. 6) reflects a comparable impetus: a plumbing of relevant models in order to formulate an archaeologically informed depiction of an early Christian martyr. The apostle's ponderous yet ethereal form, ballooning draperies, and wide-eyed, vacant stare (a distinctive morphology not seen elsewhere in the artist's work) recall mosaics in the early Christian basilicas and medieval churches of Rome, among them Santi Cosma and Damiano, Santa Prassede, San Paolo fuori le Mura, and Old Saint Peter's itself (fig. 11).[40] As such, the Saint Jude drawing is a demonstration of Perino's vaunted fluency in the artistic idiom of antiquity, now defined in the broadest sense to include the sacred art of the early Church. He formulated an authentic image of an early Christian saint by consulting relevant visual prototypes, just as Sangallo created an evocation of a sacred shrine from biblical times by studying relevant archaeological material and literary sources and incorporating apposite and meaning-laden *spolia*. A site-specific hagiography and historiography thus shaped every aspect of the Chapel of the Sacrament. Considered in this context, the structure emerges as a harbinger of the early Christian revival that occurred in Rome in the later sixteenth century, informed by the spirit of the Church Triumphant codified at the Council of Trent.[41]

The resonant ancient architectural elements, like the altar and relics of the holy martyrs – both part of the material fabric of the Chapel of the Sacrament – embodied the very foundations of the Church, and the grounds for asserting the immutable authority of the pope as vicar of Christ on earth and successor to the throne of Saint Peter. These are claims that Paul III – refuting Protestant attacks, asserting papal primacy over dominions both sacred and secular, and championing Catholic doctrine – advanced in the artistic projects he commissioned. When the Chapel of the Sacrament is situated in this historical moment, the overarching concerns expressed during his pontificate and tropes that activate meaning in other Farnese projects surface.



Pope Paul III had a particular devotion to the Eucharist. According to the Welsh traveller William Thomas, who observed papal pomp and ceremony during a sojourn in Rome in 1547, "Corpus Domini is always carried in a tabernacle before him on a white hackney that is taught to kneel both at the setting up and also at the taking down of it."[42] This veneration resounded in the papal bull *Dominus Noster* officially instituting the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose mandate was to ensure that in all the churches of Rome, the "divine sacrament might receive its due homage of reverence and love".[43] Nowhere was this more imperative than in Saint Peter's, where the ongoing building campaign had resulted in the recriminating dereliction of the Eucharist. Closing off the construction zone with the *muro divisorio* preserved the sanctity of the Constantinian basilica while also muffling the din, allowing the faithful to hear the words of the liturgy.[44] This practical intervention in turn prepared the way for the fabrication in the functioning part of the nave of the new Chapel of the Sacrament – a sacred space where, in fulfilment of the papal decree, the Eucharist could be appropriately venerated.[45] Although its construction was funded and overseen by the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo of Saint Peter's, the structure was the initiative of the pope. This is attested by Sangallo's plan, recorded in the Uffizi drawing discussed earlier, to brand the sacred precinct with the Farnese lilies and papal stemma, the latter drawn in large scale and descriptive detail on the verso of the sheet (figs. 10 and 12).[46]

A recurring theme in Pauline imagery central to understanding the localized meaning of the Chapel of the Sacrament is priestly power – an analogue of papal authority – which descended directly from the divine covenant made with Aaron and later with Saint Peter. In a visual demonstration of that sacerdotal lineage, Paul III often had himself portrayed in the guise of an Old Testament priest (fig. 13).[47] Furthering the analogy, the architectural form of the Chapel of



Fig. 13 / Giorgio Vasari, *Paul III Dressed as High Priest Reviewing plans for Building of Saint Peter's*, 1546, fresco, Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Sala dei Cento Giorni.



Fig. 14 / Francesco Salviati, *Tabernacle of the Temple of Jerusalem*, 1548-1549, fresco, Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Cappella del Pallio.

the Sacrament and its closed, sacred precinct, was a symbolic evocation, as already noted, of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem and the tabernacle within, which priests alone could enter. Guido Rebecchini, with reference to other papal commissions, has stressed that Paul III harnessed the imagery of Solomon's Temple to symbolize his own grand building ambitions and their attendant pronouncements of urban, ecclesiastical, and apostolic renewal.[48] A miniature evocation of the Temple, the Chapel of the Sacrament, too, partakes of this appropriation and messaging.

The symbolic meaning of the Temple of Jerusalem for Paul III also explicates a fresco by Francesco Salviati in the vault of the Cappella del Pallio (fig. 14). The private chapel of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, its imagery articulated the preeminent concerns of the Farnese pontificate.[49]

The scene depicts the tabernacle of the Temple. Signifying priestly authority, this detail was meant as a rebuke of the Protestant denial of the efficacy of the sacraments in achieving salvation – and, by extension, as affirmation of the power and immutable authority of the priesthood charged with administering the sacred rites. At the seventh session of the Council of Trent in March 1547, the Protestant aspersions were roundly condemned and the Church's doctrine concerning the sacraments affirmed. The Chapel of the Sacrament in Saint Peter's, which was approaching completion at that moment, was inflected by this triumphalism. That it was erected within the walls of the glorious new basilica rising around the old, an ambitious building campaign funded by the indulgences decried by Martin Luther, must have been a particularly satisfying vindication for the current occupant of the Throne of Saint Peter, who pursued the construction with vigour.[50] In this epic controversy, the *Capella Sacritissimi Corporis Christi* – one of the designations of the Chapel of the Sacrament – had a bit part: in a papal brief issued in 1548, the year of its consecration, it was granted the privilege of indulgences.[51] The new basilica may not have been brought to completion during the pontificate of Paul III, but here, in miniature, was its Farnese-branded herald and avatar.

Like the dismantled *sacellum* of Saint Peter whose memory its spiral columns preserved, the short-lived Chapel of the Sacrament would soon vanish – a final casualty of the campaign to build New Saint Peter's Basilica. But like the shrine of the apostle, it too, had a symbolic – and more enduring – afterlife of sorts in the lexicon of a far grander structure: the colossal gilt and bronze spiral columns and cross-crowned, scalloped canopy of Bernini's Baldacchino.[52]

NOTES

1. I first identified Perino del Vaga's drawing of Saint Jude and connected it with the Chapel of the Sacrament commission in a paper delivered at a symposium at the Frick Collection in 2013. Much of the material in this article was first presented then, and subsequently in a lecture at the Courtauld Institute in May 2018. My thanks to Guido Rebecchini for the invitation to speak at the Courtauld, to Andrew Butterfield for discussing Donatello's sacrament tabernacle, and to Frank Dabell for conferring with me about numerous aspects of my research.
2. On the formation of the Compagnia in 1540, which occurred shortly after the official foundation of the Confraternita del SS. Sacramento (later elevated to an archconfraternity) by papal bull, see Valentina Balzarotti, "Una nota su Pietro Bembo e la Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo," *Bollettino d'Arte* 30 (2016): pp. 81-84. Its principal organizer was Giacomo Ercolano, a priest and beneficed clergy of Saint Peter's, and its statutes and constitution were officially approved by the pope in 1548. See Luigi Marsili, "L'Arciconfaternita del SS. Sacramento nella Basilica Vaticana," in Tiemen Brouwer, Mirko Tocchi and Luigi Marsili, *La Chiesa dei santi Michele e Magno in Borgo S. Spirito e l'Arciconfraternita vaticana del SS.mo Sacramento, Storia e documenti* (Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Capitolo Vaticano, 2010), pp. 38-39.
3. The location of Sangallo's tomb, now lost, near the altar of Saint Petronilla in the left aisle of the nave in Old Saint Peter's, not far from the Chapel of the Sacrament, is recorded by Tiberio Alfarano (Tiberii Alpharani, *De basilicae vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, 1582; ed. and with introduction and notes by D. Michele Cerrati [Rome, 1912], no. 54, p. 188).
4. It was long believed that only the spiral columns and Donatello's eucharistic tabernacle, both repurposed from earlier settings, survived from the Sangallo-Perino Chapel of the Sacrament. However, Barbara Agosti, "Novità su Perino del Vaga e la decorazione della Cappella del Sacramento," *Bollettino d'Arte* 30 (2016): pp. 71-80, has recently proposed to identify three of Perino's lost paintings; see further note 23 below. Another posited survival are the wood doors now in the Sacristy of San Romualdo in Frascati, given to the church by Pope Paul V Borghese, which Valentina Balzarotti believes are the original doors from the Chapel of the Sacrament carved by Antonio Labacco after Sangallo's design ("Antonio Labacco nella bottega sangallesca e i battenti lignei della Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento di San Pietro," in *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane: Architettura e decorazione da Leone X a Paolo III*, eds. Maria Beltramini and Cristina Conti (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2018), pp. 160-161). This interesting hypothesis, which fails to sufficiently account for their lack of resemblance to the doors seen in Grimaldi's depiction of the Chapel of the Sacrament, warrants further investigation (including a consideration of their dimensions, which are not given by the author).
5. Alfarano, *Basilicae vaticanae antiquissima*, p. 64; for biographical information on Alfarano, see pp. xi-xiv.
6. According to the calculation of Agosti, "Novità su Perino del Vaga," who conjectures that it was about fifteen and one half feet (approximately 4.7 metres) tall. Donatello's eucharistic tabernacle, which was incorporated in the structure, is approximately 7 feet (about 2.1 metres) tall.
7. On the original location of the *sacellum* (also referred to in early sources as an *oratorium*) of the Holy Apostles Simon and Jude, see Christine Smith and Joseph F. O'Connor, eds., *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter's: A Study of Maffeo Vegio's 'Remembering the Ancient History of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 91; 159. According to the written *ricordo* of Old Saint Peter's by the fifteenth-century humanist and curial secretary Maffeo Vegio, a canon of the basilica, the altar housed the gold cross of Constantine (melted down by Cardinal Farnese in the sixteenth century)
8. Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta,* 1581, ed. George Bruner Parks (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), pp. 27-28.
9. "in quo eorum Corpora requiesunt;" transcribed in Alfarano, *De basilicae vaticanae*, p. 187. Alfarano's elaborate plan was part of a projected volume, *De basilicae vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura basilicae*, which was only published in the early twentieth century. Engraved by Bonifacio da Sebenico (Natale Bonifacio), the plan was published independently, with papal privilege, in 1590.
10. *De sacris aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis. Synopsis historica Joannis Ciampini Romani* (Rome, 1693), p. 64.
11. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston de Vere (London: Macmillan and Co, 1912-1914), vol. 6, p. 220; translation as in H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), vol. 2, p. 95. Vasari does not mention this project in the *Vita* of Sangallo.
12. A point made by Paola Zampa, "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali nella basilica costantiniana: la cappella del Sacramento," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell' Architettura* 25-30 (1995-1997): p. 169.
13. The spiral columns (*columnae vitineae*), at least some of which were brought to Rome by Emperor Constantine, remained a part of the shrine when it was refurbished and expanded in the sixth century, arranged to form a screen separating the apse from the nave; on this, see John R. Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Peter and its Twelve Spiral Columns," *Journal of Roman Studies* 41 (1952): parts 1 and 2, pp. 22-25. The Chapel of the Sacrament is depicted in a fresco by Giovanni Battista Ricci da Novara in the Chapel of the Madonna delle Partorienti in the Vatican *Grotte*, one of the subterranean spaces carved out of the new basilica in order to house permanently displaced fragments and monuments from Old Saint Peter's (illustrated in Vittorio Lanzani, *Le Grotte Vaticane: memorie, storiche, devozione, tombe dei papi* [Vatican City: Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano, 2010], p. 191, fig. 275). It was founded in 1616 by Pope Paul V (during whose pontificate the Sacrament Chapel was dismantled); see Pierluigi Silvan, "I cicli pittorici delle Grotte Vaticane: Alcuni aspetti poco noti dell'opera di Giovan Battista Ricci da Novara e di Carlo Pellegrini," *Arte Lombarda*, 90/91 (1989): pp. 104-121. The image was presumably not done *dal vero* as the Chapel was already destroyed when the fresco was painted, and must be based on Grimaldi's drawing (fig. 2) or some other ricordo. On the erection of the *muro divisorio* ordered by Pope Paul III and completed in late 1538 or early 1539, see Smith and O'Connor, *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter's*, p. 228, and Guido Rebecchini, *The Rome of Paul III, 1534-1549: Art, Ritual and Urban Renewal* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), p. 39. Sections survive in the grottoes of Saint Peter's; see Lanzani, *Grotte Vaticane*, p. 276, fig. 434. For Bramante's Tegurium, Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spoglia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), Chapter III: "Bramante's Tegurium and Spolia in Sixteenth-Century Architecture," pp. 105-118, and Smith and O'Connor, *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter's,* p. 39.
14. For a recent discussion of this enigmatic relief including its original location in the fifteenth-century *cappella parva* in the Palazzo Apostolico, see Carlo La Bella, "Il Tabernacolo del Sacramento: Un capolavoro di Donatello in Vaticano (1432-1433)," *Archivium Sancti Petri: Studi e documenti sulla storia del Capitolo Vaticano e del suo Clero: Bollettino d'archivio* 9 (Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Capitolo Vaticano, 2010), especially pp. 6-7. The original door or *sportello* covering the niche housing the Eucharist is lost and was substituted at an unknown date by the present late medieval Madonna and Child known as the *Madonna della Febbre*. On the Pauline campaign in the Palazzo Apostolico, directed by Sangallo, see Margaret Kuntz, "Designed for Ceremony: The Cappella Paolina at the Vatican Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62 (2003): pp. 228-255; Rebecchini, *Rome of Paul III*, pp. 39-41.
15. Zampa, "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali," p. 174, n. 14.
16. Some trace of this configuration echoes in the current, eighteenth-century installation of Donatello's tabernacle in the Cappella dei Beneficiati (now part of the Museum of the Treasury of Saint Peter's).
17. Published by Karl Frey, "Zur Baugeschichte des St. Peter. Mitteilungen aus der Reverendissima Fabbrica di S. Pietro," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 33 (1913): pp. 1-153 (p. 66 for the lead used for the canopy), and more recently by Zampa "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali".
    All the known documents and records of payment to Perino relating to projects from his late Roman period (ca. 1537-1547) including the Chapel of the Sacrament have recently been compiled and published by Barbara Agosti and Silvia Ginsburg, *Perino del Vaga per Michelangelo. La spalliera del Giudizio universale nella Galleria Spada* (Rome: Officini Libraria, 2021), "Regesto della vita e delle opere di Perino, dal 1537 al 1547," pp. 94-151.
18. Frey, "Baugeschichte des St. Peter," no. 23, p. 18; Zampa, "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali," p. 173, n. 9. The payment states that the cross was the work of Francesco Padovano.
19. Zampa, "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali," p. 170.
20. The Massimi Chapel decorations do not survive but some idea of the stuccowork can be gleaned from preparatory drawings by Perino in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for which see Elena Parma, *Perino del Vaga tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, exh. cat. (Mantua: Palazzo Te, 2001), nos. 71 and 72, pp. 178-181. For the Sala Regia stuccowork, see Bernice Davidson, "The Decoration of the Sala Regia under Pope Paul III," *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976): pp. 395-423, and for the Sala Paolina, F. M. Aliberti Gaudioso et. al., *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo, 1543-1548*, 2 vols., exh. cat. (Rome: Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, 1981). For both in the context of Pauline patronage, see further Rebecchini, *Rome of Paul III*, pp. 39-40; 61-65. In these years Perino also executed the stuccowork of the ceiling of the Cappella Paolina.
21. Paraphrase of a record of payment referenced by Zampa, "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali," p. 173, n. 7.
22. Grimaldi, as noted in Alfarano, *De basilicae vaticanae*, p. 64, n. 1; repeated in Ciampini, *Sacris aedificiis*, p. 64.
23. Ibid. The Cardinal Borghese in question is Scipione Borghese, who entered the Cardinalate in July 1605, three months before the Chapel was deconsecrated.
24. Barbara Agosti, "Novità su Perino de Vaga," recently proposed that a pair of seated saints in the Borghese Collection, one attributed in modern scholarship to Marco Pino and the other to the circle of Perino, are the missing paintings. However, the fact that they do not self-evidently represent the apostles Simon and Jude, the subjects of Perino's lost works, and bear no resemblance to the drawing by the artist identified here as a study for the Saint Jude (fig. 6), militates against this hypothesis. Moreover, the Borghese saints did not belong to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the provenance Grimaldi in his contemporary account expressly gives for Perino's figures from the Chapel of the Sacrament (see note 22), but to the brothers of Pope Paul V. The saint attributed to Marco Pino is traditionally identified as Saint Peter, and its pendant as Saint Paul; on this and their provenance, see Andrea Zezza, *Marco Pino, L'opera completa* (Naples: Electa, 2003), no. A75, pp. 280-281. Perino's paintings of the apostles Simon and Jude entered the Borghese collection with the correct attribution, as can be inferred from Grimaldi, and their authorship is unlikely to have been forgotten, yet the two saints were ascribed to Michelangelo in the earliest inventory of the Borghese Collection, compiled only fifty years after the Chapel was dismantled (1657), and were never subsequently called Perino. (The modern "circle of Perino" attribution affixed to one of the figures does not reflect their critical history, and as a nebulous – and ubiquitous – catch-all for anonymous mid-sixteenth-century Roman paintings and drawings is of little consequence for this discussion.) These factors conflict with Agosti's conjecture about their origins. Finally, based on reproductions, the Borghese pictures appear to have been transferred to canvas from an original wood panel support. Perino's saints were painted on canvas, as the relevant documents unequivocally establish, so this is a further obstacle confronting Agosti's hypothesis.
25. Unknown before it appeared at auction at Sotheby's in New York in 1999, the drawing's correct subject and function have never been determined. It was first published in the catalogue of the Perino del Vaga exhibition held in Mantua in 2001 (Parma, *Perino del Vaga*, no. 42, p. 145) where it was generically identified as a study of a saint, possibly Saint Peter, and a date of 1534/1536, the last years of Perino's Genoese period when he was also part of the time in Pisa, was proposed. The present author questioned the attribution to Perino on the grounds that comparative material was lacking (Linda Wolk-Simon, review of Elena Parma, *"Perino del Vaga, tra Raffaello e Michelangelo,"* *Master Drawings* 41 [2003]: under no. 42, p. 50), but subsequently endorsed it in a paper delivered at the Frick Collection in New York in 2013 when first proposing the connection with the Chapel of the Sacrament project. It is a unique example of a red chalk figure drawing by Perino del Vaga from the last years of his career.
26. The principal apocryphal accounts of Simon and Jude are the *Passio Simonis et Judae* (for which see Dominique Alibert, Gisèle Besson, Michèle Brossard-Dandré, and Simon Claude Mimouni, "Passion de Simon et Jude," in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, ed. Pierre Geoltrain and Jean-Daniel Kaestli [Paris: Gallimard, 2005], vol. 2, pp. 839-864), and the *Golden Legend*.
27. Chatsworth, Devonshire Collections, inv. 80; see Konrad Oberhuber and Achim Gnann, *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello, 1515-1527*, exh. cat. (Mantua: Palazzo Te, 1999), no. 18, pp. 78-81 (as Raphael), part of a series of drawings of the Apostles, engraved by Marco Dente da Ravenna. Martin Schongauer's engraving of Saint Jude similarly shows him holding a halberd-axe. In Lorenzo Ottoboni's monumental sculpture in San Giovanni in Laterano, he holds a halberd. The tablet-like object held by Perino's saint may be another of his attributes, a miraculous portrait of Christ with which Jude healed the king of Edessa.
28. Morgan Library & Museum, New York, inv. no. 2020.50. The annotations (*azuro* and *verde*) are colour notations. A possible connection with the Chapel of the Sacrament commission was tentatively suggested by Rick Scorza some years ago in conversation with the author.
29. Candidates include two related studies of heavily robed figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 61.180), and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. no. 33.1998; ill. in Parma, *Perino del Vaga tra Raffaello and Michelangelo*, nos. 166 and 167). The latter has on the verso a study of ponderous, hooded female figures seen from the rear, which relates closely to an engraving by Agostino Veneziano, *The Three Holy Women Going to the Sepulcher* (B. XIV.39.33). The same figure group appears in reverse in a sheet of sketches by Perino in the Albertina, Vienna (inv. no. 465).
30. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 627v. The source of this multi-figured composition was recognized by Bernice Davidson, who did not connect the drawing with the Chapel of the Sacrament or any other work by Perino (*Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*, exh. cat. [Florence: Gabinetto Disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, 1966], no. 31v, p. 36; fig. 32). On the recto of the same sheet at the upper right are a pair of quickly sketched standing figures. The pose of the one at the right is close to Perino's Saint Jude and may be an early idea for this figure. If so, the other figure is Saint Simon.
31. Agosti, "Nuove ipotesi," p. 75. According to Baglione, writing a century after the chapel's completion, the *Last Supper* on the ceiling was executed by Marcello Venusti – the first such notice, and a statement not corroborated by documents, which list only Domenico Zaga as Perino's assistant in this commission, or early sources. (In the Farnese inventory of works sent to Parma in 1649, this *Last Supper* is listed as anonymous Neapolitan; see Bertrand Jestaz, *L'Inventaire du palais et des propriétés Farnèse à Rome en 1644* [Rome: École française de Rome, 1994], p. 180.) This may be a transposition of Vasari's statement that Venusti participated in Perino's salvaging and relocation of the *Madonna of Saint Leo* in Old Saint Peter's (see the following note). The same inventory also lists – although separately and not sequentially, indicating that they were not physically grouped together in the Farnese collection – four other Old Testament narratives: the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the High Priest Achimelech giving David the consecrated bread, and Jacob rolling the stone from the well. Of these, only the David scene is an obvious prefiguration of the Last Supper, so the proposed connection of at least some of the scenes with the Chapel of the Sacrament is tenuous; another Old Testament prefiguration, Abraham and Melchizedek, would be expected in this connection but is absent. Finally, it should be noted that one of the Old Testament scenes in question, the *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* (inv. no. 4422), exceptionally, was octagonal like the *Last Supper.* This unusual format suggests that these two scenes may have been pendants, in which

case this *Last Supper* could not be the large central image from the Chapel of the Sacrament (which would not have had a pendant), and that the *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* in any event is unrelated to the other Old Testament scenes recorded in the inventory.

32. Zampa, "Arredi architettonici rinascimentali," p. 170. The sketchily rendered image of what appears to be a salvaged fragment of a blessing Christ (identified incorrectly in the literature as the Madonna and reminiscent, inter alia, of the blessing Christ in the lost apse mosaic of Old Saint Peter's; Ciampini, *Sacris aedificiis*, plate XIII) in a black chalk drawing by Perino datable to the time of Chapel of the Sacrament commission (Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. KdZ5166; repr. in Elena Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga, l'anello mancante* [Genoa: Sagep, 1986], no. C.IX, p. 332 and p. 331, fig. 355; a copy of the drawing also in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 25033, leaves no doubt that the figure is bearded and is therefore not the Madonna) may give an idea of the otherwise unrecorded appearance of this lost element. Subject matter and locus aside, it has been proposed that the Berlin drawing relates to a salvage campaign, possibly Perino's removal and relocation of a venerated frescoed Madonna (the *Madonna of Saint Leo*, later known as the "Madonna del Soccorso") – erroneously believed to be by Giotto – from an altar to the left of the apse of the old basilica, to a location in the right nave beneath the organ in 1543, as described by Vasari, for which see Pietro Zander et. al., *La Madonna "Del Soccorso" nella Basilica Vaticana - Our Lady of Help in St. Peter's Basilica*, trans. Frank Dabell (Vatican City: Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano, 2016), pp. 25; 34-35; 49; for the record of payment for its transfer, p. 148. The inscription commemorating the salvage of the Madonna is preserved in the Vatican *grotte*; ibid., p. 48, fig. 6.
33. Gianfranco Spagnesi, *Roma. La Basilica di San Pietro, il borgo e la città* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2002), p. 81; Smith and O'Connor, *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter's*, p. 229, fig. 29.
34. U75A recto and verso; see the entry by Paola Zampa, in Christoph Frommel and Nicholas Adams, *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his Circle*, vol. II: *Churches, Villas, the Pantheon, Tombs, and Ancient Inscriptions* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 95-96. There is a second study by Sangallo for the iron grille with balusters surmounted by Farnese lilies in the Uffizi (U1572A recto and verso; ill. in Zampa, "Arredi architetonnici rinascimentali," p. 168, fig. 3). A grid with Farnese lilies on the latter sheet is either a study for a grille work screen or for floor tiles.
35. Zampa in Frommel and Adams, *Architectural Drawings*, p. 96, sees the annotations as Sangallo's investigation of architectural terms.
36. Honora Howell Chapman emphasizes that Josephus "recorded details of the Temple and its objects in a very particular way so that they would be respected, admired and not forgotten" – making his writings an exceptionally valuable source for conjuring its appearance (Honora Howell Chapman, "What Josephus Sees: The Temple of Peace and the Jerusalem Temple as Spectacle in Text and Art," *Phoenix* 63 [2009]: pp. 107-130; see esp. p. 126).
37. On the altar service consisting of a silver cross and two candlesticks commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for Saint Peter's, see Clare Robertson, *'Il Gran Cardinale': Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 48-49. Now in the Treasury of Saint Peter's, these objects were presented by Cardinal Farnese as archpriest of the basilica in 1582, but since the eastern end of the church was then out of commission and the new basilica and high altar not yet completed, it is unclear to where they were dispatched. Given Cardinal Farnese's association with the Chapel of the Sacrament, its altar should be considered. It is possible in any event that the candlesticks recorded in the chapel in 1545 (document referred to in the text and cited in note 38 below) were designed by Perino del Vaga, who provided designs for the rock crystals engraved by Giovanni Bernardi for an earlier set of candlesticks for Cardinal Farnese executed in 1539 (coincidentally, the year of the founding of the Compagnia di Corpo di Cristo di San Pietro); see Vilhelm Slomann, "Rock-Crystals by Giovanni Bernardi," *The Burlington Magazine* 48 (1926): pp. 19-20; and Ernst Kris, "Di alcune opere ignote di Giovanni dei Bernardi nel Tesoro di San Pietro," *Dedalo* 9 (1928): pp. 387-399. At least one drawing by Perino for a candlestick is known (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 50.605.30).
38. "dove fu collocato honoratissimamente"; document in the Archivio della Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita del SS.mo Sacramento; published by Marsili, "Archiconfraternita del SS. Sacramento," p. 46. This document of 1545 establishes that the chapel was used before the decorations were completed.
39. Gilda Bartolino and Piera Bocci Pacini, "The Importance of Etruscan Antiquity in the Tuscan Renaissance," in *The Rediscovery of Antiquity. The Role of the Artist,* eds. Jane Fejfer, Tobias Fischer-Hansen, and Annette Rathje (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003), p. 466. See also Stefano Borsi, "Disegni dall'antico di Antonio da Sangallo: le antichità etrusche," in *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane: La vita e l'opera (Atti del XXII congresso di storia dell'Architettura),* ed. Gianfranco Spagnesi (Rome: Centro di Studi per la storia dell'architettura, 1986), pp. 445-454 and 680-684 (plates). Pliny had long been consulted by members of the Sangallo family as a handbook for understanding the Roman ruins they assiduously studied in drawings; see Peter Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 254. Also relevant in this context is Sangallo's similar archaeologically informed effort to reconstruct the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus on the basis of a description by Pliny the Elder, for which see Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Cappella Iulia: la cappella sepolcrale di papa Giulio II nel nuovo San Pietro," in Arnaldo Bruschi, Christoph L. Frommel, Franz Graf von Wolff Metternich, and Christof Thoenes, *San Pietro che non c'è: da Bramante a Sangallo il Giovane* (Milan: Electa, 1996), p. 94.
40. Here it is worth observing that Perino did not resort to a source he surely knew, a red chalk drawing of Saint Jude by Giulio Romano from the time they were both members of Raphael's workshop (see fig. 7) and the related print by Marco Dente; instead, he reinvented the portrayal and invested it with a Paleo-Christian aspect. It is tempting to speculate that the immediate source may have been a mosaic in Old Saint Peter's or some other historically authoritative model.
41. On the early Christian revival in late sixteenth-century Roman church decoration and its symbolic resonance, see Steven Ostrow, "The Counter-Reformation and the End of the Century," in *Rome*, ed. Marcia B. Hall (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 260-262, and Clare Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 217-225. This sensibility informed the late ecclesiastical commissions of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, particularly his plans for the tribune of the church of the Gesù, which were interrupted by his death in 1589; see Linda Wolk-Simon, ""The Finger of God is Here': The Farnese, the Jesuits, and the Gesù," in *The Holy Name. Art of the Gesù, Bernini and his Age*, ed. Linda Wolk-Simon with the collaboration of Christopher M. S. Johns (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2018), pp. 67-68.
42. *The History of Italy by William Thomas (1549)*, ed. George B. Parks (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 49.
43. The papal bull establishing the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament is quoted by Patricia Rubin, "The Private Chapel of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Cancelleria, Rome," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): p. 104. On the early history of the Confraternity and the support of Paul III, see Marsili, "Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento," pp. 37-54; on the pope's granting of the privilege of indulgences, see further Mons. J. B. Bouvier, *A Treatise on Indulgences*, trans. and with an intro by Rev. Frederick Oakeley (London: J. Burns, 1848), pp. 218-220.The pope's early and unflagging support of the Society of Jesus from the time he approved its foundation in Rome in 1539 until his death is not unrelated to this devotion and its efficacy in rebutting Protestant attacks on the authority of the Church. The Society's members were all ordained priests and given authority to administer the sacraments in Rome by the pope, and they shared their papal benefactor's devotion to the Eucharist, celebrating mass in their mother church, the Gesù, even before construction was completed; see Wolk-Simon, "The Farnese, the Jesuits, and the Gesù," pp. 61-73.
44. The noise factor in Saint Peter's and the role of the wall in muffing it, thereby making it possible for the faithful to hear mass, was referenced in a letter of 21 October 1538 to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga from his agent in Rome concerning construction in the Palazzo Apostolico and at Saint Peter's ("in San Pietro si fa un muro assai grosso…, penso che sia stato fatto, et per possere stare in chiesa a udire messa, cosa che con difficultà si faceva prima"); Rebecchini, *Rome of Paul III*, p. 39 and Appendix 2, pp. 215-216.
45. The dereliction of the Eucharist in Saint Peter's on account of the construction of the new basilica was commented on by Vasari, and in language that suggests familiarity with the statutes of the Compagnia.
46. Since the Farnese lilies and stemma envisioned in Sangallo's drawings are absent in Grimaldi's depiction of the Chapel of the Sacrament, they were either unrealized, removed during a later sixteenth-century intervention, or not illustrated.
47. In a conflation of roles, Vasari portrayed the pope as, at once, the high priest of the Temple and the princely patron Zerubbabel who ordered its construction – the Temple itself represented as Saint Peter's – in the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Cancelleria (fig. 13).
48. Rebecchini, *Rome of Paul III*, passim, emphasizes the "the typological allusion to St. Peter's as the new Temple of Solomon" as a constant in Pauline imagery (p. 46), but without reference to the Chapel of the Sacrament.
49. Extensively discussed by Rubin, "The Private Chapel of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese," pp. 82-112. On the Cappella del Pallio, see also Robertson, *'Gran Cardinale'*, pp. 151-158.
50. "Why does not the pope liberate everyone from Purgatory for the sake of love (a most holy thing) and because of the supreme necessity of their souls? This would be morally the best of reasons. Meanwhile he redeems innumerable souls for money, a most perishable thing, with which to build St. Peter's church, a very minor purpose." (Ninety-Five Theses: Thesis 82, October 1517; https://www.britannica.com/topic/indulgence [accessed 25 January 2022]).
51. The Brief of Paul III granting the privilege of indulgences to the Chapel of the Sacrament under the auspices of the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo in Saint Peter's (the same brief in which its constitution was formally approved; see note 2) was issued on 22 September 1548, six months after the structure's consecration. It is published in its entirety in Brouwer, Tocchi and Marsili, *Chiesa dei santi Michele e Magno in Borgo S. Spirito*, pp. 80-82.
52. On the shrine of Saint Peter and Bernini's Baldacchino: http://cargocollective.com/ArtReferencingArt/Marking-the-tomb-of-St-Peter-Rome-Gian-Lorenzo-Bernini-s-Response-to (accessed 25 January 2022).



Fig. 1 / Michelangelo (here attributed to), *Saint John on Patmos*, 1494/1495 (here dated as), tempera and oil on panel, diameter 76 cm, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

Michelangelo's first painted tondo? The Budapest *Saint John on Patmos*

BY COLIN EISLER, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SARAH HARRIS[1]

The authorship of *Saint John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (fig. 1) has regularly been debated for over a century, with most scholars agreeing that it was painted by someone in the circle of Domenico Ghirlandaio. I ascribed the tondo to Michelangelo in a short talk many years ago,[2] but could not then propose its patron, date, or locale. In this study, I would like to suggest the small tondo may be by an approximately twenty-year-old Michelangelo, and that it reflects his youth and training in Ghirlandaio's studio, as well as his exposure to art and a sympathetic patron in Bologna, where he fled from Florence in 1494.

Technical investigations undertaken in 2015 show the remarkable strength of the panel's execution (figs. 2, 3, and 4). The conservation report suggests the painting was made by a "resolute and practised artist" with limited modifications made from the detectable underdrawing.[3] John – without beard, but with a little stubble – appears relatively young, fit, and tan, though the lines around his eyes suggest experience and wisdom. He looks down on his book, quill pen in his right hand, as he is inscribing "APOCALIPS YHS. XV". The Budapest picture's colouristic strength, with its contrasting blues, is striking.

ATTRIBUTIONS AND MYTHMAKING

When purchased by the museum from Emilio Costantini in 1894, along with what may be the original carved and gilded frame, *Saint John on Patmos* was ascribed to Domenico Ghirlandaio.[4] As long ago as 1900, Adolfo Venturi recognized the work's "extraordinarily sculptural qualities".[5] Since then, several critics have seen aspects of Michelangelo's influence reflected in the tondo. The painting's attribution has shifted from Domenico Ghirlandaio to his brother Davide and then to Francesco Granacci, Michelangelo's close friend. The varying attributions to these three (and other) artists and their major details are outlined in the Appendix to this article (pp. 62-63). Currently the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts attributes the work to the circle of Ghirlandaio and dates it ca. 1480-1485.[6]

Though giving the painting to Granacci, Mario Salmi was the first to see the Budapest panel as "*Una eco di Michelangelo giovane*".[7] He compared the head of Saint Roch in a late Ghirlandaio studio altarpiece of Saint Vincent Ferrer (1493) in Museo della Città, Rimini,[8] to that of Saint John, noting how the latter exhibits "*una larghezza eccezionale per il pittore* [Granacci]".[9] Salmi went on to explain this quality as attributable to the possible influence of the young Michelangelo,[10] and suggested that Saint Roch's head might actually be by the young Michelangelo himself because he shared his colleague's chromatic qualities.[11] More recently, Edoardo Villata also proposed Saint John's head was possibly by a young Michelangelo while he was working in the studio of Ghirlandaio.[12]

Early works – even Michelangelo's – are frequently eclectic and imitative, displaying dependence on teachers and determined by a patron's desires. Child prodigies in the visual arts are rare, despite Vasari's views.[13]





Fig. 2 / Ultraviolet fluorescence photograph of fig. 1.

Fig. 3 / Infrared photograph of fig. 1.

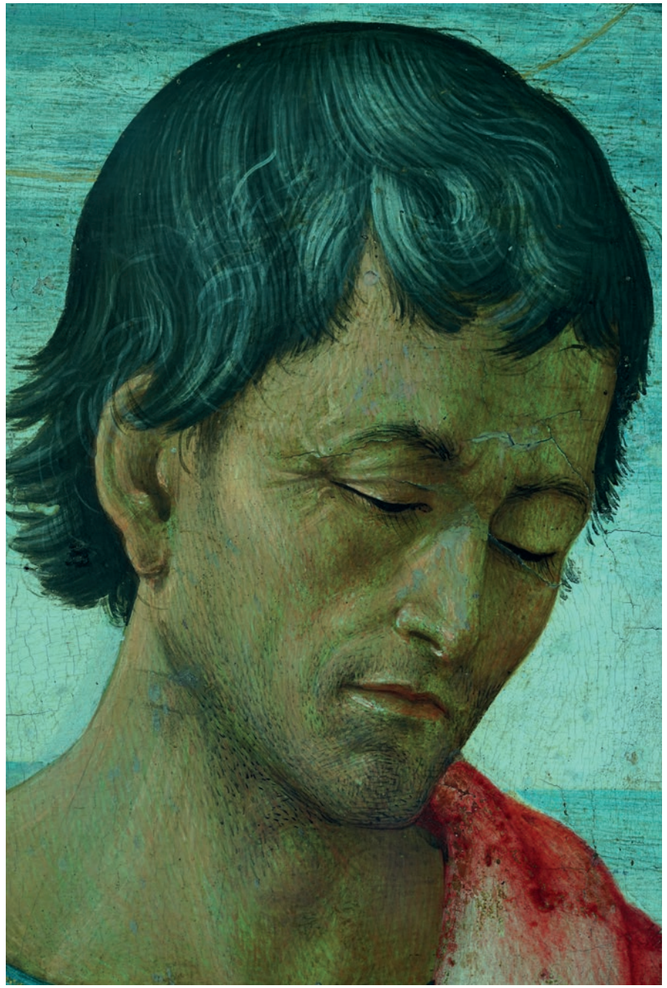


Fig. 4 / Detail of fig. 2, head of Saint John.

Increasingly, scholars have examined Michelangelo's early work with a more critical eye and questioned his biographers and other early scholars' mythmaking.[14] Paul Barolsky has had the wit and courage to acknowledge a distinctly dismaying art historical truth about the young Michelangelo: that he was an "artist who, in the first eight to ten years of his activity … does not appear by any stretch of the imagination to be extraordinary".[15] He further suggested that Michelangelo's early works "take on special interest mostly because they are seen as efforts of an artist who developed into greatness … The twenty-year-old Michelangelo [his approximate age when painting the Budapest tondo] was a minor figure in the history of art."[16]

While excellence can be seen in *Saint John on Patmos*, the figure of Saint John and his halo exhibit some awkwardnesses, especially in the foreshortening, which one would expect in an early work, not a mature one by Ghirlandaio. Furthermore, the style is more expressionistic than that of Michelangelo's master and his studio and reveals a debt to Bolognese precedents. While retaining tried-and-true Ghirlandaio formulae for drapery, pose, and landscape treatments, the tondo moves toward a more ambitious and innovative treatment of physiognomy, psychology, and monumentality.

MATERIALS AND OTHER POSSIBLE EARLY WORKS

Saint John on Patmos measures 76 cm in diameter; this is considerably smaller than Michelangelo's only previously known painting in that shape, the Doni Tondo (Uffizi, Florence, 1504-1508), that has a diameter of 120 cm. Of all the circular compositions included by Roberta Olson in her corpus of Florentine tondi, the Budapest tondo is possibly unique as a painting featuring a single monumental male figure in a landscape setting.[17]





Fig. 5 / Michelangelo, *The Torment of Saint Anthony*, 1487-1488, tempera and oil, 47 x 34.9 cm, Fort Worth, Texas, Kimbell Art Museum.

Fig. 6 / Detail of fig. 1, land- and seascape in the background.

Fig. 7 / Martin Schongauer, *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos*, ca. 1435-1491, engraving, 16.1 × 11.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The earliest surviving panel painting by Michelangelo may be *The Torment of Saint Anthony* at the Kimbell Art Museum (fig. 5) of ca. 1487-1488. The small *Torment* sold for a predictably great sum in 2009,[18] receiving requisite – though not universal – scholarly blessing.[19] Its composition is based upon Martin Schongauer's engraving of the same subject. A strip of land and sea, introduced by the artist along the bottom of the scene, is consonant with Domenico Ghirlandaio's style and similar to the land- and seascape present in the Budapest tondo (fig. 6). If by Michelangelo, *The Torment of Saint Anthony* must have been executed at the age of twelve or thirteen, when the artist was first associated with the Ghirlandaio studio.[20] Vasari recorded that Michelangelo created a "colour added" version of the Northern engraving, enhancing the monsters' realistic qualities by his close study of marine life sold in the Florentine fish market.[21] He may have planned to sell his panel as the German master's original, since Michelangelo – like others – initially resorted to profitable imitation, forgery, or copying.[22]

In addition to their classical heritage, later quattrocento artists often looked to the North for representations of Christian themes, with Schongauer's prints providing an unusually abundant source.[23] Before executing an image of Saint John on Patmos, Michelangelo would almost certainly have studied Schongauer's widely-circulated print of the same subject (fig. 7). Like Schongauer's, Michelangelo's saint is relatively young and clean shaven, though he is more introspective, looking down at the classically formed letters in his book, instead of upwards.







Fig. 8 / Michelangelo, *The Entombment*, 1500-1501, oil on wood, 161.7 x 149.9 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 9 / Michelangelo, *Crucifixion* (detail), ca. 1492/1493, polychromed wood, 139 x 135 cm, Florence, Santo Spirito.

Saint John's legs are also similarly positioned – though facing the viewer and not seen obliquely as in the engraving – and he holds his pen in his right hand and book in his left, as does Schongauer's saint.

Though Michelangelo's painting techniques require further study, advances have provided some insight into the binding medium of some of his ascribed early works. At a time when artists in Tuscany were beginning to incorporate oil into their practice,[24] the Budapest tondo is painted with an oil and egg tempera mixture.[25] The date of *Saint John on Patmos* could fall between that of the *Torment of Saint Anthony*, executed in tempera (possibly with limited oil),[26] and Michelangelo's first mature painting, the Doni Tondo, where both oil and tempera are employed.[27] Additionally, the National Gallery's *Manchester Madonna* (ca. 1494) is painted mainly in tempera, as is the *Entombment* (ca. 1500-1501, fig. 8), also in the National Gallery, London, which appears to include more oil, perhaps following broader changes in painting media occurring as the century turned.[28]

The two unfinished panels at the National Gallery provide conservators and art historians with substantial insight into the practice of Florentine painting around the turn of the sixteenth century. The attributions to Michelangelo of both works are still unsettled, though strong arguments may be made on their behalf.[29] Some similarities may be seen between these two works and *Saint John on Patmos*. Heavy and large eyelids may be a common stylistic feature of the artist's early work; they can be seen in Michelangelo's sculpture of the crucified Christ for the church of Santo Spirito in Florence (fig. 9). The *Saint John on Patmos* has similar heavy lids, with special correspondence in Saint John's eyes and those in the Santo Spirito crucifix. The same is also characteristic of the dead Christ and other figures in the London *Entombment* (compare figs. 4, 8, and 9). All three of these works feature narrow youthful faces, tapering into cleft chins. Furthermore, there are substantial congruences in the nose forms, each with a strong bridge and downward line, ending with a sharp tip and flaring nostril.[30] The curved arrow-like shape of the nostril is also similar in these paintings.

MICHELANGELO IN BOLOGNA

In late 1494 the young Michelangelo travelled from Florence to Bologna via Venice, attempting to escape the destabilizing turmoil following the death of Lorenzo de Medici in 1492 and the rise of Savonarola. Initially shrouded in mystery, this period in Bologna was crucial for the artist,[31] even if it is absent from Vasari's first edition of *Le Vite* (published in 1550). Information was provided however by Asciano Condivi, Michelangelo's friend, fellow student, and biographer, in his publication of 1553.[32] We know the young Florentine received hospitality, financial support, and essential assistance in obtaining an important Bolognese commission from his aristocratic friend, Giovan Francesco Aldrovandi (d. 1512),[33] who "rescued" the insolvent youth, thus allowing him entry upon his arrival at the city's gates.[34] A key advisor to the Bentivoglio, Giovan Francesco was among the city's most powerful individuals and a member of her Council of Sixteen.[35] Having served as *podestà* in Florence "[i]n the happier times of 1488", Aldrovandi was a "welcome guest at Lorenzo de' Medici's court", where he might very well have been first acquainted with the thirteen-year-old Michelangelo.[36]

Whenever it began, the friendship with Aldrovandi opened a novel world to Michelangelo. Generous and well-educated, Aldrovandi may have proved a more personable and less patronizing sponsor than the sculptor's previous daunting Medici protectors. Touchy and class-conscious, the homely artist would certainly have appreciated the Bolognese's unbridled admiration.[37] Aldrovandi – a poet, well versed in the culture of the Trecento, and a passionate admirer of Dante and Petrarch – shared his literary interests with his young protégé. Condivi writes of Aldrovandi and Michelangelo reading together, that time perhaps reflected in the tondo's studious representation.[38]

Aldrovandi's local influence also facilitated the sculptor's receipt of his first major commission: the prestigious order to complete the Arca di San Domenico. The great tomb enclosed the bones of the founder of the Dominican Order, Domingo Félix de Guzmán (1170-1221). His burial site was of particular pertinence to Florence and for Michelangelo, since the Republic was then locked in the grip of the Dominican friar Fra Savonarola.[39] To be entrusted with completing this project, which involved several of Italy's major sculptors beginning in 1265 with Niccolò Pisano (1220/1225-ca. 1284) and ending with Niccolò dell'Arca (ca. 1435/1440-1494), was not only prestigious, but also among the most spiritually significant projects for any Italian artist. Condivi recounted how Aldrovandi asked his young houseguest whether he was equal to the task of finishing the *Arca* by providing its two still missing small marble statues, *Saint Petronius* and a candle-bearing angel of remarkable beauty, harbinger of great works to come.[40] Though not mentioned by Condivi or Vasari in his second edition of *Le Vite*, Michelangelo also carved the figure of *Saint Proculus* (fig. 10).

Though small in size, two of Michelangelo's three marble statues for the *Arca* move away from dependence upon the Gothic and the Ghirlandesque. Powerfully modelled, *Saint Proculus* betrays a dynamic manner influenced by Jacopo della Quercia's work at San Petronio, between 1425 and 1438. In his work for Saint Dominic's tomb Michelangelo assimilated and internalized that sculptor's heroic prototypes.[41] Such romantically-inclined art historians as Frederick Hartt saw Proculus's features as mirroring those of its young sculptor.[42] Virile, with bare, muscular legs and frowning visage, *Saint Proculus* exudes that aggressive masculine intensity later exalted by Michelangelo's biographers as his *terribilità*.[43] The painted representation of Saint John in the Budapest tondo, while exhibiting a more introspective intensity, recalls the sculpted Proculus, particularly in the right hand, which bends gracefully but heavily at the wrist, and the short and thin locks of hair.



Fig. 10 / Michelangelo, *Saint Proculus*, 1494/1495, marble, height 58.5 cm (including base), Bologna, San Domenico, Arca di San Domenico.



Fig. 11 / Francesco del Cossa, *Saint John Seeing the Seven Candlesticks*, ca. 1480, stained glass, Bologna, San Giovanni in Monte.

The Italian tondo – taken from references to the round (*rotondo*) shape – is the term commonly applied to images in a circular format.[44] It is important to understand this as referring to the ocular as well as the cosmic. Combining the capacity to see with that of the visionary, this mystical component of revelation merges the physical and metaphysical. The tondo is particularly appropriate for an image of Saint John as his Revelations are closely and consistently linked to the phenomenon of sight. His twenty-two visions are described as Revelations or their Greek equivalent, *Apocalypse*. "I saw" and "And then I saw …" are the opening lines of most chapters. The tondo-shape most effectively expresses this intersection of the visual and spiritual, made even more explicit here with the inclusion of the saint's scroll and lettering on his codex.[45]

As early as 1490-1491, Savonarola – and therefore many Florentines – was profoundly concerned with the *Apocalypse*, citing the Book of Revelations, where "the hour of fulfillment is near".[46] The Budapest tondo depicts the autobiographical chapter 1: 9-11, emphasizing the saint's seeing and writing:

> I John … was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the Word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. / I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet / Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and what thou seest, write in a book … .[47]

The unique signature on Michelangelo's *Pietà* (Saint Peter's, Vatican City, late 1490s) with its humanistic uncials, is anticipated in the Budapest tondo by the lettering on John's scroll. The titulus above Michelangelo's *Crucifixion* at Santo Spirito utilizes similar lettering; as do other Florentine works that Michelangelo would have seen (including the Sassetti chapel in Santa Trinita, ca. 1485), as well as Bolognese examples, such as Francesco del Cossa's great Apocalypse window.[48]

Saint John on Patmos recalls the glazed oculus devoted to a related apocalyptic subject, *Saint John Seeing the Seven Golden Candlesticks* (fig. 11),[49] designed by Cossa for the church of San Giovanni in Monte. The window was probably executed by the Cabrini workshop for a member of the Gozzadini family.[50] In this papal city, young Michelangelo was first exposed to the achievements of such powerful masters as the Ferrarese painters Ercole de' Roberti and Cossa. Present-day scholarship stresses their school's influence on the young Florentine, but makes little mention of Cossa's great stained glass roundel.

Roberto Longhi first called attention to the significance of Cossa's window for the Budapest tondo, ascribing both window and tondo to the Ferrarese painter Lorenzo Costa, executed during his period of Tuscan influence.[51] Signed with the monogram "C (a)", the San Giovanni window was thus read by Longhi as Costa's, but in this writer's opinion it is far superior to that artist's work. Importantly, Longhi also observed that the window would have been known by, and might have been of special interest to, the young Michelangelo when in Bologna. It is situated in the same church as another work by Niccolò dell'Arca. Cossa was an artist of some significance to Michelangelo's patron, Aldrovandi, as evidenced by an exchange of letters between him and his brother Sebastiano dealing with that artist's death in 1477 or 1478.[52]

The humble pose of the Budapest tondo's exiled Saint John, seated close to the ground, on the rocky terrain, recalls the frescoed figure of Saint John on the vault of the Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella (ca. 1485-1490) by the Ghirlandaio workshop, which at that time included the young Michelangelo (fig. 12).[53] However, the position of the legs, drapery, and feet much more closely reflect those of Cossa's glazed Saint John.

As seen from the interior of the church, the window's saint sends his right leg forward, foot exposed, and big toe curled back slightly, whereas the Budapest Saint John utilizes his left. The former's right knee bends, his right foot near the knee of his left leg; the latter copies this to the right, his version with the foot covered (compare figs. 1 and 11). When Cossa's glass window was viewed from the exterior (albeit with more difficulty), the positions of the two Saint Johns would have been concordant.

Like Cossa's representation, the Budapest Saint John is young and clean(ish) shaven. His demeanour and presence contrast notably with other representations of him, including those bearded Elders found in Ghirlandaio's Tornabuoni vault and in the della Robbia terracotta in the Pazzi chapel. The comparatively youthful Saint John, unusual in earlier Italian art, is more common in the North. As mentioned in comparison with Schongauer's print, John looks intellectual, inwardly focused, studying his work, and preparing to write. He is presented as "a man of wisdom, a humanist scholar whose narrow face and posture reflect absorption and concentration".[54] However, lines around his eyes, slightly thinning hair, and stubble betray the mental and physical toll of his work and exile. These features suggest an individual, not a type.

A Saint John on Patmos was among the likeliest subjects for dedication to Giovan Franesco Aldrovandi since that Evangelist was his patron saint. This makes it tempting to see the Bolognese depicted in the beardless guise of his divinity.[55] As an exile himself, one challenged by a visible and important commission, Michelangelo would have been well suited to realize the complex demands for such a portrayal of the panel's subject.

Though no inventory of Aldrovandi's paintings has yet been located, it is likely that this humanistically-inclined friend and supporter of the young Michelangelo may have placed this image in his *studiolo*.[56] Most tondi were found in domestic settings, though there were some in municipal and public religious sites. Their popularity reached its height in the 1490s.[57] In Quattrocento Italy they often depicted a Holy Family or Madonna and Child, perhaps evolving in part from decorative birth trays given as wedding gifts, or on the occasion of the birth of children. We also see the circular format in architectural settings like the Pazzi chapel and Medici Sacristy. The latter examples are closer in subject to the tondo of *Saint John on Patmos*, and to portraiture.

Whether due to Aldrovandi's patronage and scholarly enthusiasm, or to the influence of Quercia and Cossa, in Bologna a more independent and self-assured Michelangelo evolved. That a single powerful, yet still transitional and experimental panel should incorporate so many aspects close to the Michelangelo of the 1490s – consultation of Schongauer and other Northern sources, Ghirlandesque lines, influences from Bolognese masters, and a connection to his Bolognese patron – along with concordances with other youthful works by Michelangelo, all suggests this burgeoning master as the author of the Budapest *Saint John on Patmos*.



Fig. 12 / Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1485-1490, fresco, Florence, Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella.

NOTES

1. I am grateful for the assistance of Caroline Kelly and Kaylee Kelley in researching and preparing this article.
2. 48th Annual College Art Association (CAA) Meeting, New York City, 1960. This proposal was accepted by the late leading Michelangelo scholar Charles de Tolnay. Charles de Tolnay, "Michelangelo a Firenze," in *Atti del Convegno di Studi Michelangioleschi, Firenze-Roma, 1964,* ed. Charles de Tolnay (Rome: Ed. dell'Ateneo, 1966), p. 10.
3. Technical investigations and conservation report by András Fáy, Chief Conservator of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. See also below, note 25.
4. For an excellent history of the formation of the Italian collection at the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts see Ildikó Fehér, "Károly Pulszky and the Florentine Acquisitions for the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest between 1893 and 1895," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 54 (2010): pp. 319-364.
5. Adolfo Venturi and Domenico Gnoli, eds., *L'Arte*, III (Rome: Danesi, 1900), p. 238.
6. "Saint John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos," Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/saint-john-the-evangelist-on-the-island-of-patmos (accessed 8 July 2021); for a general summary of attributions see also the catalogue entry by Dániel Pócs, "Saint John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos," in *Botticelli to Titian: Two Centuries of Italian Masterpieces 28 October 2009 – 14 February 2010,* eds. Dóra Sallay et al., exh. cat. (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2009), p. 148.
7. Mario Salmi, "Una eco di Michelangelo giovane," in De Tolnay, *Studi Michelangioleschi*, pp. 255-260.
8. As a late product of the Ghirlandaio workshop, the Rimini Altarpiece holds special interest for students of Michelangelo's early painting. Jean Cadogan observed that "the coloristic and technical diversity of these late [Ghirlandaio] workshop products – the frequent use of tempera with a large proportion of oil, a matte, fused facture, and dark, somber tones – also perhaps signals … the tendency toward generalized treatment of surfaces, simplified volumes, and unified tonal ranges visible in the works from the first decade of the sixteenth century by Michelangelo and the young Raphael," in Jean K. Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: Artist and Artisan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 176.
9. Salmi, "Una eco di Michelangelo giovane," p. 258. Salmi inaccurately described several aspects of the Rimini painting, for example when writing that the panel was ordered from Davide Ghirlandaio by Pandolfo IV Malatesta for his chapel at San Domenico, Rimini.
10. Salmi, "Una eco di Michelangelo giovane," p. 258.
11. Salmi, "Una eco di Michelangelo giovane," p. 257. However, Salmi reproduced and captioned that head (his figure 2) as by Granacci. Granacci and Michelangelo worked together from an early age and influence of the one on the other is evident. For example, the late Everett Fahy in 2009 reattributed *Saint John the Baptist Bearing Witness* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) from Granacci to Michelangelo. See Everett Fahy, "An Overlooked Michelangelo?," *Nuovi Studi. Rivista di Arte Antica e Moderna* 14 (2009): pp. 51-67. However, Granacci was not making works of the character of the Budapest tondo; his *Adoration of the Christ Child* (Honolulu Art Museum, ca. 1500) is more reflective of Granacci's practice at the turn of the sixteenth century. James Hall has very recently made the interesting argument that one of Granacci's strongest works, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin) should be dated around 1504-1507 instead of ca. 1494, after the *Manchester Madonna* and showing the influence of the latter Michelangelo work. James Hall, "The *Manchester Madonna* and its influence on Granacci and Raphael," *The Burlington Magazine* 162 (2020): pp. 481-491. This is, of course, far from settled. See, most recently, Paul Joannides, "Michelangelo to 1501," in *Triumph of the Body: Michelangelo and Sixteenth-Century Italian Draughtsmanship*, eds. Zoltán Kárpáti and Eszter Nagy (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2019), pp. 28-29. Granacci's work is based on a design by Michelangelo.
12. Edoardo Villata, "Una Vision Leghista dell'Arte," *Il Giornale dell'Arte* 293 (2009): p. 25. Villata has also noted similarities between Michelangelo's *Crucifixion* and Saint John (pp. 8-9).
13. For artist legends in general see Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); for a recent discussion see Carmen C. Bambach, "The Face and Legacy of a Genius," in *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman and Designer*, ed. Carmen C. Bambach, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017), pp. 232-265.
14. See, most recently, Kárpáti and Nagy, *Triumph of the Body,* pp. 137-173 and William Wallace, "Michelangelo's Late Drawings," in Kárpáti and Nagy, *Triumph of the Body*, pp. 89-109. See on Michelangelo's self-generated mythology also Paul Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose: A Myth and its Maker* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); John T. Spike, *Young Michelangelo: A Biography* (London: Duckworth Books, 2012) is vigilant to the readers' awareness of information sources, while weaving an engaging narrative.
15. Paul Barolsky, "The Strange Case of the Young Michelangelo," *Arion* 21 (2013): p. 103.
16. Barolsky, "Strange Case," p. 104. Anthony Hughes, among others, has warned against "project[ing] backwards" Michelangelo's later reputation. Anthony Hughes, *Michelangelo* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), p. 22.
17. Roberta J. M. Olson, *The Florentine Tondo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 256, 305. See also Sallay, *Botticelli to Titian*, p. 148.
18. The sum was not disclosed, but it was estimated to be more than six million dollars. Carol Vogel, "By the Hand of a Very Young Master?," *The New York Times*, 12 May 2009.
19. See Keith Christiansen and Michael Gallagher, *Michelangelo's First Painting* (Trento: Tipografia Editrice Temi, 2009) (attributing the painting to Michelangelo); Claire Barry, "Examining Michelangelo's *Torment of Saint Anthony:* New Revelations," in Bambach, *Divine Draftsman and Designer,* pp. 266-267 (attribution to Michelangelo); Hughes, *Michelangelo*, p. 18 (attribution to Francesco Granacci). Compare Jill Dunkerton and Michael Hirst, *The Young Michelangelo* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1994), p. 128, n. 5 (Dunkerton notes that while this work almost certainly came out of the Ghirlandaio studio, "it would be disappointing as a very early Michelangelo"), and Joannides, "Michelangelo to 1501," pp. 23-47, esp. p. 27, p. 28, n. 6. (attribution to Granacci).
20. The recent discovery, thanks to hyperspectral photography, of a compositional sketch of the *Birth of the Baptist* (for the Tornabuoni chapel in Santa Maria Novella) in the lower layers of the *Torment of Saint Anthony* confirms that the panel was executed before 11 October 1487, and also before the date (1 April 1488) that Michelangelo was formally apprenticed to Ghirlandaio. Claire Barry, "Examining Michelangelo's *Torment of Saint Anthony:* New Revelations," p. 266. For Michelangelo's father's contract with Ghirlandaio see Jean K. Cadogan, "Michelangelo in the Workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio," *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993): pp. 30-31.
21. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Gaston de Vere (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), p. 646.
22. For Michelangelo as forger see Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michel-Angelo*, ed. Hellmut Wohl, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl, second edition, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 9-14; Vasari, *Lives,* p. 646; Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Robert J. Clements, "Michelangelo and the Doctrine of Imitation," *Italica* 23, no. 2 (1946): pp. 90-99; James Clifton, "Vasari on Competition," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): pp. 23-41; Alison Luchs, "Michelangelo's Bologna Angel: 'Counterfeiting' the Tuscan Duecento," *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): pp. 222-225; G.W. Pigman III, "Version of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): pp. 1-32; Joannides, "Michelangelo to 1501," pp. 25-27; Timothy Clifford, "Michelangelo's Earliest Drawing," in Kárpáti and Nagy, *Triumph of the Body,* pp. 49-65, 56-58; Carmen C. Bambach, "The Young Artist and the Traditions of Fifteenth-Century Art," in Bambach, *Divine Draftsman and Designer*, pp. 31-63, esp. 31-42.
23. Roberto Longhi, *Officina Ferrarese* (Rome: Le Edizioni d'Italia, 1934). Several early Dürers were discovered in Italy after World War II, and it is possible that paintings by Schongauer too may have traversed the Alps.
24. For an excellent overview of the use of oil in paintings by Italian artists of the period, including those in Ghirlandaio's studio see Jill Dunkerton, "Developments in Painting Technique in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy," in Sallay, *Botticelli to Titian*, pp. 61-73.
25. I would like to thank András Fáy for sharing the findings of technical studies of the painting and for his observations, in an email exchange that took place on 21 and 22 March 2017. He reported the following: exposure to different electro-magnetic spectrum filtered light indicates that the binding medium of the Budapest Saint John is an oil-egg tempera mixture in which the pigments were bound and stirred in an emulsion of egg yolk, with a certain amount of drying oil added. Observations of the work's painting technique suggest the same. An organic chemical analysis (FTIR spectrometry) would be necessary to confirm the identification of the binding medium. A careful and comprehensive preparatory sketch must be present underneath the paint. It is visible in visible light as well but can be difficult to distinguish from the undermodelling in paint that is part of the initial phase of the painting process. Some motifs indicate that a stylus was used for the underdrawing; a special drawing tool with sharp ends leaving thin, weak, but straight lines on the gesso surface. The low contrast appearing on the infrared captures suggests a metal, tin, or silverpoint material for the tool used for the sketch prior to the painting phase, rather than a carbon-based material, which would appear more clearly and with more contrast. Although only faintly visible in the infrared photographs, bold lines that follow the folds of the drapery, executed with a brush, can also be seen. These lines in brush, that appear to be part of the initial sketch, are present throughout the lower part of the red cloak of Saint John covering his legs. Its wide folds are executed with lead white, cinnabar, vermillion, and red lake in the shadows. In the initial sketch the lower end of the scroll the apostle is holding was longer; this is faintly but clearly visible in the high-resolution captures. The letters of the inscription were also underdrawn; the placement of the characters was incised or marked with a faint metal point. The painting technique is characterized by individual brushstrokes. Forms in the flesh and the draperies were modelled and built up from semi-transparent brush hatchings, with admirable skill and lightness of execution.
26. According to analysis set forth in the recent exhibition catalogue *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman and Designer,* the *Torment of Saint Anthony* is solely painted in egg tempera, though Keith Christiansen suggested earlier that the painting may be in tempera and oil. On its website the Kimbell Art Museum presents it as "tempera on panel" though in image captions suggests it is in "tempera and oil." "The Torment of Saint Anthony", Kimbell Art Museum, https://kimbellart.org/collection/ap-200901 (accessed 7 July 2021). See also Barry, "Examining Michelangelo's *Torment of Saint Anthony,*" p. 266; Keith Christiansen, "The Earliest Painting by Michelangelo," *Nuovi Studi: Rivista di Arte Antica e Moderna* 15 (2010): p. 45, note 3. For a discussion of the *Torment of Saint Anthony* see Bambach, "The Young Artist," p. 33.
27. The Doni Tondo is often listed as in oils, as by Dunkerton and Hirst in *The Young Michelangelo*, p. 111. A close study of the tondo's technique was provided by Ezio Buzzegoli and Roberto Bellucci, "Michelangelo's Doni Tondo Investigated with Non-Invasive Analytical Techniques," in *Studying Old Master Paintings: Technology and Practice: The National Gallery Technical Bulletin 30th Anniversary Conference Postprints*, eds. Marika Spring (London: Archetype Publications in association with the National Gallery, 2011), pp. 52-58. Dr. Buzzegoli informed me that the tondo's technique is far from certain, stating by email that he is not convinced that this is strictly an oil painting, but that the egg-oil emulsion binder has a high percentage of oil. Ezio Buzzegoli, e-mail message to the author, 20 March 2017.
28. See Jill Dunkerton and Ashok Roy, "The Materials of a Group of Late Fifteenth-Century Florentine Panel Paintings," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 17 (1996): pp. 20-31, 25; Raymond White and Jennifer Pilc, "Analyses of Paint Media," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 16 (1995): pp. 85-95, 87; Hirst and Dunkerton, *The Young Michelangelo*, especially pp. 37-46; 57-71; 83-133.
29. Frank Zöllner, Christoff Thoenes, and Thomas Pöpper have recently suggested that the *Entombment* and *Manchester Madonna* may be by Michelangelo. Frank Zöllner, Christoff Thoenes, and Thomas Pöpper, *Michelangelo: Complete Works* (Cologne: Taschen, 2014), p. 370 (ca. 1492/1493); see also pp. 406-407 for a useful, relatively recent, summary of arguments. See also Carmen C. Bambach, "Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Notions of the Unfinished in Art," in *Unfinished, Thoughts Left Visible,* eds. Kelly Baum, Andrea Bayer, and Sheena Wagstaff, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), pp. 36-41; Nicolas Penny, "La Madonna di Manchester," in Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt et. al., *Giovinezza di Michelangelo* (Florence: Skira, 1999), pp. 15-26; Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
30. The figures who probably represent Joseph of Arimathea and Saint John the Evangelist in *The Entombment* also have similarly shaped noses.
31. For an excellent exploration of the work Michelangelo encountered in Bologna and its influence on his art, see Martha Dunkelman, "What Michelangelo Learned in Bologna," *Artibus et Historiae* 69 (2014): pp. 116-132, and for the atmosphere of patronage and leadership see David Drogin, "Art and Patronage in Bologna's Long Quattrocento," in *A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Bologna*, ed. Sarah R. Blanshei (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 559-600. For a sensitive appraisal of Michelangelo in Bologna see Charles de Tolnay, *The Youth of Michelangelo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), pp. 22-25; see also Giorgio Bonsanti, "Michelangelo Buonarroti: Statue dell'Arca di San Domenico," and Andrea Emiliani, "Michelangelo a Bologna," in Weil-Garris Brandt, *Giovinezza*, pp. 292-296, and pp. 127-137; and Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo: The Achievement of Fame, 1475-1534* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 23-25. See also note 41.
32. Condivi, *The Life of Michel-Angelo,* pp. 18-19.
33. The "Francesco" was added in Aldrovandi's maturity, both to preclude identification with Battista and introduce an additional saintly sponsor.
34. William E. Wallace was among those to question the standard, somewhat romantic accounts of the initial, happy encounter between an indigent Michelangelo and his aristocratic Bolognese rescuer. William E. Wallace, "How did Michelangelo Become a Sculptor," in *The Genius of The Sculptor in Michelangelo's Work,* exh. cat. (Montréal: Musée des Beaux Arts, 1992), p. 157, n. 31. See also Randi Klebanoff, "Michelangelo Revisions: The Arca di San Domenico in Michelangelo's Early Career," in *Coming About – A Festschrift for John Shearman,* eds. Louisa C. Matthew and Lars. R. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2001), p. 90, n. 18, where she observes that this view was already expressed by Karl Frey, *Michelangelo's Jugendjahre* (Berlin: K. Curtius, 1907) and by Giovanni Papini, *Vita di Michelangelo nella vita del suo tempo* (Milan: Garzanti, 1949).
35. For invaluable information of this far too little known figure, see the informative précis provided by Luisa Ciammitti, "Note biografiche su Giovan Francesco Aldrovandi," in Weil-Garris Brandt, *Giovinezza,* pp. 139-141 and no. 37, pp. 292-297.
36. John T. Spike, *Young Michelangelo: The Path to the Sistine* (New York: The Vendome Press, 2010), p. 80.
37. For a critical appraisal of the literary presentation of their association, see the informative note 15 in Randi Klebanoff, "Sacred Magnificence: Civic Intervention and the Arca di San Domenico," *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999): pp. 412-429.
38. Condivi, *The Life of Michel-Angelo*, pp. 18-19.
39. One of the reformer's prophecies was no longer speculative – that Florence would be under threat of the French invasion led by Charles VII. Lorenzo de' Medici had summoned the monk to his bedside for last rites in 1492 and even his Neo-Platonic scholars Pico della Mirandola and Angelo Poliziano selected Dominican habits for their funerary attire. Michelangelo's elder brother Leonardo was a Dominican and throughout his life the artist was to remember Savonarola's voice, sounding like thunder roaring in his ears. Spike, *Young Michelangelo*, p. 51.
40. Condivi, *The Life of Michel-Angelo,* p. 19.
41. See Dunkelman, "What Michelangelo Learned in Bologna," pp. 107-139. The Madonna of the Steps may also follow his Bolognese residence, benefiting from Michelangelo's close observation of Quercia in Bologna. See Colin Eisler, "The Madonna of the Steps: Problems of Date and Style," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964,* 3 vols. (Berlin: Mann, 1967), I, pp. 115-121 and Dunkelman, "What Michelangelo Learned in Bologna," pp. 116-118.
42. Frederick Hartt, *Michelangelo: The Complete Sculpture* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1968), p. 62.

43. Hartt's interpretation may initially seem far-fetched, yet the inclusion of self-portraits was not an uncommon practice; Niccolo dell'Arca supposedly included his likeness in the *Arca*. Self-portraits of the Ghiberti, *père et fils*, appear on their Florence Baptistery doors; the same holds true for Filarete, whose self-portrait can be found on Old Saint Peter's. This visual association between artist and work dates back to Phidias' shield of *Athena* in the Parthenon, upon which he included his self-portrait. See Plutarch, "Life of Pericles," *Loeb Classical Library,* trans. Jeffrey Henderson, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/plutarch-lives_pericles/1916/pb_LCL065.3.xml., line 184 (accessed 8 July 2021).
44. See the extensive discussion by Olson in *The Florentine Tondo* for a rewarding discussion of the term, its origin, and use. Ocular formats were extremely popular in Italy. The great circular windows of the Santa Maria del Fiori were designed by the leading Florentine artists of the time, including Castagno, Donatello, Ghiberti, and Uccello; these works mostly date from the 1430s and 1440s.
45. See Madeline H. Caviness, "A Man with a Dragon from one of the Tribune Oculi of Mantes," *Gesta* 25, no. 1, *Essays in Honor of Whitney Snow Stoddard* (1986): pp. 127-134.
46. Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 78. See also Armando F. Verde O.P., "Lezione o i sermoni sull'Apocalisse," in his *Lo Studio fiorentino, 1473-1503*, 5 vols. (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1973-1994), pp. 4-108, pp. 6-7. See also Ian Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 202.
47. *Revelations* 1:9-11. The authorship of *Revelations* is still controversial. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century images sought to manifest Saint John the Evangelist as its writer. This is reflected in the Budapest tondo where book and scroll pertain to his vision and to the Gospel. *Revelations* was not a popular theme for fin-de-siècle quattrocento monumental or individual patronage, that so often is dictated by either humanistic or popular devotional texts. The great *Revelations* cycle by Luca Signorelli (Chapel of San Brizio, Orvieto Cathedral, 1499-1504), an artist much admired by Michelangelo, and Albrecht Dürer's woodcut cycle (ca. 1494-1498) are two exceptions. Both pertain to chiliasm, belief that the world would end in 1500. See the refreshing piece by Ingrid D. Rowland, "When the Antichrist Came to Orvieto," *The New York Review of Books,* 7 March 2010.
48. Dunkelman has noted the connections between the Pietà and Niccolò dell'Arca's *Lamentation* signature. The *Santo Spirito titulus* is a replacement but there is no reason to think the lettering does not reflect the original or the relic in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.
49. The Cossa window refers to Apocalypse 1:20.
50. See Melissa Barclay, "Rejuvenation at Studio Fenice," *Stained Glass: Quarterly of the Stained-Glass Association of America* 111 no. 3 (2016): p. 44-53.
51. Longhi, *Officina ferrarese,* pp. 54, 182.
52. Lodovico Frati, "*La morte di Francesco del Cossa,*" in *L'Arte*, eds. Venturi and Gnoli, III, pp. 301-302. See also Ciammitti, "Note Biografiche su Giovan Francesco Aldrovandi," p. 139.
53. Salmi called attention to Michelangelo's participation in the Tornabuoni Chapel's frescoes (first proposed by Giuseppe Marchini), his "palestra". Salmi, "Una eco di Michelangelo giovane," p. 257; see also G. Marchini, "The frescoes in the choir of Santa Maria Novella," *The Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953): pp. 320-331.
54. Vilmos Tátrai, "The Science of Painting," in Sallay, *Botticelli to Titian*, p. 117.
55. Santo Spirito's *Crucifixion* appears to have been a gift, as were many of Michelangelo's later drawings; perhaps the tondo was given in gratitude to Aldrovandi. See, for example, on the complexities of the artist's gift giving, patronage, and politics, Maria Ruvoldt, "Michelangelo's Slaves and the Gift of Liberty," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (2012): pp. 1029-1059; Eric R. Hupe, "Michelangelo's *Strozzi Tondo*?: Securing Status with Art," in *Michelangelo in the New Millennium: Conversations about Artistic Practice, Patronage and Christianity*, ed. Tamara Smithers (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 47-75; Alexander Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," *The Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): pp. 647-668.
56. For a valuable discussion of the studiolo as a public and private space and its decoration see Leah R. Clark, "Collecting, Exchange, and Sociability in the Renaissance *Studiolo*," in *Journal of the History of Collections* 25 (2013): pp. 171-184.
57. See Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, esp. chapters 4, 6, and 7; Roberta J. M. Olson, "Lost and Partially Found: The Tondo, a Significant Florentine Art Form, in Documents of the Renaissance," *Artibus et Historiae* 14, no. 27 (1993): pp. 31-65, 51-52; Edward J. Olszewski, "A Possible Source for the Triptych, Lunette, and Tondo Formats in Renaissance Paintings," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 28, no. 2 (2009): pp. 5-11. Olson too raises the question of Saint John's possible original location and purpose, speculating whether it might have been part of a portrait set of evangelists or of an individual patron.



APPENDIX

Year	Author	Article	Opinion
1900	Venturi, Adolfo	*L'Arte*, vol. III (Rome: Danesi, 1900), p. 239.	Close to Domenico Ghirlandaio. Venturi recognized the tondo's extraordinarily sculptural qualities, suggesting a master with experience in medallic relief.
1906	de Térey, Gabriel	*Tableaux anciens du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Budapest* (Budapest: V. Hornyánszky, 1906), no. 54 (1208), p. 13.	Domenico Ghirlandaio
1909	Berenson, Bernard	*The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance: With an Index to their Works*, 3rd edition (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 144.	Francesco Granacci
1914	Crowe, Joseph A. and G.B. Gavalcaselle	*A History of Painting in Italy*, ed. T. Borenius, vol IX (London: John Murray, 1914), p. 160.	Francesco Granacci
1914	van Dyke, John Charles	*Vienna, Budapest: Critical Notes on the Imperial Gallery and Budapest Museum* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 134.	Francesco Granacci
1916	von Térey, Gabriel	*Die Gemäldegalerie des Museums für Bildende Künste in Budapest*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1916), no. 34, p. 107.	Francesco Granacci. Von Térey also quotes Gustavo Frizzoni's attribution to Sebastiano Mainardi.
1925	Venturi, Adolfo	*Storia dell'arte Italiana*, vol. XI (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1925), p. 481.	Granacci. Close to Evangelist roundel in Pazzi Chapel by Lucca della Robbia.
1930	Fiocco, Giuseppe	"La data di nascita di Francesco Granacci e un'ipotesi michelangiolesca," *Rivista d'Arte* 12 (1930): p. 208.	Kept it within Granacci's oeuvre, but described work as a "quasi unico capolavoro", suggesting the influence of Michelangelo, dating it circa 1506.
1930	Francovich, Geza	"Davide Ghirlandaio," *Dedalo* 11 (1930): p. 140 and 147.	Davide Ghirlandaio
1930	Berenson, Bernard	*The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 228.	Francesco Granacci
1931	van Marle, Raimond	*The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. XIII (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1923), p. 162.	Francesco Granacci
1934	Longhi, Roberto	*Officina Ferrarese* (Rome: Le Edizioni d'Italia, 1934), p. 89.	"From the first Bolognese activity of Lorenzo Costa. The Granacci attribution is not justified."
1937	Pigler, Andor	*Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister*, vol. I (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1937), no. 1208 [54].	Francesco Granacci
1940		*Mostra del Cinquecento Toscano in Palazzo Strozzi*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1940), p. 23.	Francesco Granacci
1950	Galetti, Ugo	*Enciclopedia della pittura italiana* (Milan: Garzanti, 1950), p. 1198.	Francesco Granacci
1956	Longhi, Roberto	*Officina Ferrarese* (Florence: Sansoni, 1956), p. 54 and 182.	Longhi believed the Budapest tondo to have been painted by Lorenzo Costa at the time of his Tuscan journey, about a decade after executing the Saint John on Patmos window.
1958	Volpe, Carlo	"Tre vetrate ferrarresi e il Rinascimento a Bologna," *Arte Antica e Moderna* 1 (1958): pp. 23-37.	Volpe followed Longhi's attribution of the Budapest tondo to Lorenzo Costa, dating it after 1496.
1951	Papini, Giovanni	*Vita di Michelangelo ella vita suo tempo*, 6th edition (Milan: Garzanti, 1951), p. 24.	Francesco Granacci – very loosely given.
1963	Berenson, Bernard	*The Selected Letters of Bernard Berenson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), p. 98.	Francesco Granacci
1964	Grassi, Luigi	*Piero di Cosimo e il problema della conversione al Cinquecento nella pittura fiorentina ed emiliana* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1963), p. 151.	Possibly by Granacci, the landscape could be painted by another, possibly Emilian, artist.
1964	Eisler, Colin	Lecture at 48th Annual College Art Association (CAA) Meeting, New York City	Attributed to the young Michelangelo.
1964	Salmi, Mario	"Una eco di Michelangelo giovane," in *Atti del Convegno di studi Michelangeleschi*, ed. Charles de Tolnay (Rome: Ed. dell'Ateneo, 1966), pp. 254-260 and p. 258.	Seen as an "eco di Michelangelo giovane". Salmi ascribes the painting to Granacci after Michelangelo.
1964	de Tolnay, Charles	Letter 3 March, 1964, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Archive; "Michelangelo a Firenze," *Atti del Convegno di studi Michelangileschi*, ed. Charles de Tolnay (Rome: Ed. dell'Ateneo, 1966), p. 10.	Probably Michelangelo ca. 1488.
1967	Fahy, Everett	"Some Early Italian Pictures in the Gambier-Parry Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 108 (1967): p. 137, n. 34.	Master of the Saint Louis Madonna.
1967	Varese, Ranieri	*Lorenzo Costa* (Milan: Silvana, 1967), p. 16.	Varese, in his monograph on Lorenzo Costa, followed Longhi's attribution of the tondo to Costa.
1968	Pigler, Andor	*Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister*, vol. I (Budapest: Szépművészeti Muzéum, 1967), cat. 1208 [54] (in 1968 reissued by Klára Garas).	Francesco Granacci.
1974	von Holst, Christian	*Francesco Granacci* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1974), no. 132, pp. 183-184.	Rejected attribution to Granacci, returned to Davide Ghirlandaio. Related panel to oeuvre of "Master of Santo Spirito", specifically to his Saint John the Evangelist in the Baldelli Altar (presumably this is attributed by Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools*, vol 13, p. 128, fig. 80 to "Benedetto Ghirlandaio (?)").
1983	Mravik, László	*North Italian Fifteenth Century Paintings. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest* (Budapest: Corvina Kiado, 1978), pp. 3-4.	Listed the Budapest panel as the work of a "Painter of Central Italy about 1490-1500"; "Unfortunately, we can only guess at the identity of the artist who painted this remarkable tondo."
1992	Fahy, Everett	In Paola Barocchi, ed., *Il giardino si San Marco: Maestri e compagni del giovane Michelangelo* (Firenze: Silvana Editoriale, 1992), p. 51.	"Unknown Florentine Painter, end of 15th century."
2000	Olson, Roberta J.M.	*The Florentine Tondo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 256.	By the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio; might have belonged to a set of *Four Evangelists* or represented an individual patron saint.
2009	Pócs, Daniel	*Botticelli to Titian: Two Centuries of Italian Masterpieces*, ed. Dóra Sallay, Vilmos Tátrai and Axel Vécsey (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2009), pp. 148.	Workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio. Pócs found the tondo to be a private commission and thought this possibly explained some of its unusual features, such as the youthful Saint John, whose "distinctive, individualized face … may have been a portrait of the client." He concluded: "… it is possible to postulate that the picture was painted in Domenico Ghirlandaio's workshop, with the master's participation, in the early 1480's."
2009	Tátrai, Vilmos	*Botticelli to Titian: Two Centuries of Italian Masterpieces*, ed. Dóra Sallay, Vilmos Tátrai and Axel Vécsey (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2009), p. 117.	Not by Domenico Ghirlandaio himself.
2009	Villata, Edoardo	"Una visione leghista dell'arte," *Il Giornale dell'Arte* 293 (2009): p. 25.	Only Saint John's head worthy of comparison with Michelangelo's wooden crucifix (Casa Buonarotti) and then the same artist's marble Piccolomini Library Saint Paul (Siena).

Antonio Visentini as a view painter

CHARLES BEDDINGTON



Fig. 1 / Antonio Visentini, *The Entrance to the Grand Canal Looking West, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute*, ca. 1752-1753, oil on canvas, 47 x 78.7 cm, Uppark House, West Sussex, Private Collection (Cat. no. 3).

Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, 1st Bt. (1714-1774) of Uppark House, West Sussex, is recorded in Venice on the Grand Tour on 8 July 1751.[1] There, like most British gentlemen visiting the city, he met Joseph Smith (ca. 1674-1770), the foremost provider to them of artistic souvenirs, notably by Canaletto, with whom he seems to have had some sort of contractual agreement through the 1730s. Smith also served as British Consul from June 1744 until 1760. He must have supplied Fetherstonhaugh with the copy of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum* which was destroyed by the catastrophic fire at Uppark on 30 August 1989. The first, 1735, edition of that consists of fourteen etchings by Antonio Visentini (1688-1782) after Venetian views by Canaletto in Smith's private collection, thirteen of the Grand Canal and one of the Molo (see for example fig. 11). Fetherstonhaugh must have commissioned through Smith a set of painted versions of eight of those views, four of which survive, but four were also lost in the fire (figs. 1-3; see catalogue on pp. 82-88, cat. nos. 3-10). Fetherstonhaugh's Account Book records a payment to Smith of £189.99 on 1 January 1753 and another of £17.15 on 16 May 1754 "for Duty on Pictures and China, Freight etc", which may be presumed to relate to those.[2] One must suppose that the patron knew that he was getting copies, not only because Canaletto was based in London at the time,[3] but also because all eight of the paintings were after originals by Canaletto which he must have seen hanging in Smith's house, the Palazzo Smith Mangili Valmarana, formerly Balbi, on the Grand Canal.

The Uppark paintings replicate the prototypes in size and, rather more significantly, with remarkable precision of detail, including colour. Clearly they were painted directly from Canaletto's originals. Those all date from the 1720s, but at a much later date Canaletto modified most of the skies (altering the cloud formations, that thus differ from those shown in Visentini's prints) and updated topographical details. Surely done at Smith's request, these changes may have been mostly carried out in the first half of the 1740s, although the painter certainly amended one painting during his eight-month return to Venice in 1750-1751. The Uppark paintings correspond with the updated forms of their prototypes. Thus *The Grand Canal with Santa Geremia and the Entrance to the Cannaregio* (fig. 2; cat. no. 4) shows Giuseppe Marchiori's statue of San Giovanni Nepomuceno on the corner of the quay in front of the church of San Geremia and the adjacent balustrade, erected in May 1742 and added by Canaletto to Smith's painting. In *The Grand Canal looking North-West from the Palazzo Vendramin – Calergi to Santa Geremia and the Palazzo Flangini* (fig. 3; cat. no. 5), the same detail is included, despite not having been added in the prototype.[4] Although that is the only variation in the Uppark group, it already suggests that the painter of the Uppark views had a mind of his own and was not a slavish copyist.

At the time the Uppark paintings were executed, after Bernardo Bellotto's departure for Dresden in 1747 and before the earliest view paintings attributable to Francesco Guardi (dating from the second half of the 1750s), their painter was the most able imitator of Canaletto active in Venice.



Fig. 2 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal with Santa Geremia and the Entrance to the Cannaregio*, ca. 1752-1753, oil on canvas, 47 x 78.7 cm, Uppark House, West Sussex, Private Collection (Cat. no. 4).

Although he did not have Canaletto's technical dexterity at rendering textures, and, inevitably, his style is more linear, with extensive use of thin black lines in the architecture, he had sufficient skill to make a remarkable attempt to reproduce Canaletto's work stroke for stroke in some areas. That is particularly evident in the different cloths, sails and the billowing shirts, trousers and shawls of foreground figures. Whereas most of Canaletto's clouds are like varying densities of cake icing, the Uppark painter's do not have the same tonal range as Canaletto's and, where caught by sunlight, lack the sharp edges, thus making them flatter. The painter had a very distinct aesthetic, often painting thinly so that the canvas grain is evident, and with none of Canaletto's favoured incising. The most obvious area in which he made no attempt to follow the prototypes stroke for stroke was in the water. The formulae employed by Canaletto to represent ripples on the surface vary from painting to painting in the Grand Canal series. The Uppark painter consistently uses a formula particularly distinctive in its busyness, wherein almost the whole of the canal surface is covered with short horizontal saucer-shaped strokes.

It has been possible to date to identify twenty-two Venetian views by this hand, based on thirteen Canaletto prototypes, all but two of which are components of the series of Grand Canal views painted by Canaletto for Joseph Smith. The other two are separate Venetian views by Canaletto also in Smith's personal collection. The Uppark set of eight is much the largest group by this painter and the present writer has been using for some time the provisional name "The Uppark Master". His other paintings include four pairs: one in the collection of the Banca Intesa Sanpaolo, Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia, on long term loan to the Fondazione Querini Stampalia Venice (as by Canaletto; cat. nos. 11-12); two pairs in the Wallace Collection (figs. 4-7; cat. nos. 13-16) and one pair in a Spanish private collection (see figs. 21 and 22; cat. nos. 17-18). While six of those paintings follow the prototypes closely, two show interesting variations. The Wallace Collection version of *The Grand Canal, Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità* (fig. 4; cat. no. 13) follows the prototype closely, whereas that in a Spanish private collection (see fig. 22; cat. no. 18) has thoroughly and carefully updated architecture to show the view as it would have appeared between 1758 and 1766. Furthermore, there the empty open water in the centre of Canaletto's composition is reduced in size by the addition of an extra rowing boat, with a single oarsman, emerging from behind the sailing boat. In a rare change of colour, albeit only of a small detail, the red hat worn by one of the men in the rowing boat in the left foreground is moved to the head of the other. In the Wallace Collection's *The Grand Canal from the Campo San Vio* (fig. 6; cat. no. 15) the changes are more subtle, only involving the addition of four figures.



Fig. 3 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal Looking North-West from the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi to Santa Geremia and the Palazzo Flangini*, ca. 1752-1753, oil on canvas, 47 x 78.7 cm, Uppark House, West Sussex, Private Collection (Cat. no. 5).

While most of the painter's canvases are of the same size as the prototypes, three are in a much larger format, around 120 cm wide (cat. nos. 19-21). In those the painter's "improvements" to Canaletto's compositions are more pronounced. In a large version of *The Grand Canal, Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità* (cat. no. 21), the empty centre of the composition is reduced not only by a partly seen rowing boat, as in cat. no. 18, but also by a second large sailing boat. This is taken from an engraving by Visentini after a completely different painting by Canaletto, as is a *traghetto* carrying three girls across the canal, which fulfils a similar function of filling an empty centre foreground in *The Rialto Bridge from the North* (see fig. 8; cat. no. 19). Finally, a large version of *The Entrance to the Grand Canal, Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute* (see fig. 23; cat. no. 20) introduces five extra figures, while three "small" versions of the same composition follow Canaletto's prototype closely (cat. nos. 6, 12 and 14).

Several features set this group of paintings attributed to the Uppark Master apart from the work of any other early Venetian copyist of Canaletto's work. All are based on views by Canaletto – none of them made later than the mid-1730s – which had been retained by Joseph Smith for his personal collection.





Fig. 4 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità*, oil on canvas, 47 x 78.5 cm, London, The Wallace Collection (Cat. no. 13)

Fig. 5 / Antonio Visentini, *The Entrance to the Grand Canal, Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute*, oil on canvas, 47 x 78.3 cm, London, The Wallace Collection (Cat. no. 14).





Fig. 6 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal from the Campo San Vio*, oil on canvas, 47 x 78.5 cm, London, The Wallace Collection (Cat. no. 15).

Fig. 7 / Antonio Visentini, *The Dogana and Santa Maria della Salute from the Molo*, oil on canvas, 47 x 79.5 cm, London, The Wallace Collection (Cat. no. 16).



Some works can be dated from the known date of purchase (cat. nos. 3-10). Others can be dated to the 1750s or very shortly after from topographical details updated from the prototypes (cat. nos. 17-18, 19 and 21), and in one case updated on the prototype (cat no. 23). A *terminus ante quem* is provided by Smith's sale of the bulk of his collection to King George III in 1763, since when all the Canaletto prototypes have been in the Royal Collection. All other early copyists of Venetian views by Canaletto were employed, very probably by Joseph Smith, to make copies shortly after the originals were completed and before they were shipped to the (mostly British) patrons who had commissioned them. The versions by the Uppark Master are separated by more than two decades from the originals. In order to make them, the painter must have been granted free access to Smith's home and been allowed to copy the paintings there, a unique privilege which was not even enjoyed by Bernardo Bellotto, Canaletto's nephew. The painter's unhurried access to the prototypes no doubt contributed to the exceptional precision of his copies. On the other hand, while most copyists of Canaletto's work show little ambition to do anything other than copy, the Uppark Master is clearly perfectly comfortable updating topography where necessary, and often adding figures and boats to the compositions to make them more to his taste. Both of these creative aspects of his work are particularly evident in the larger size canvases (cat. nos. 19 and 21).

In 2001 Filippo Pedrocco presented the "working hypothesis" that one of those larger canvases (cat. no. 21) might be the work of Antonio Visentini. The identification of the Uppark Master as Visentini seems to the present writer to have everything to recommend it. Visentini is well known for his work in various areas of the visual arts closely related to view painting, with the exception of view painting itself. He is known above all as an etcher. His best known etchings are those after the very views by Canaletto (for example fig. 9) which were copied in the paintings under discussion. He was a fine draughtsman; among his most exquisite drawings are the forty-four in pen and brown ink in an album in the British Museum, made in preparation for the etchings of both editions of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum* (see, for example, figs. 10-11).[5] Visentini was also an architect and architectural theorist, publishing in 1771 his *Osservazioni di Antonio Visentini Architetto Veneto*. Seven hundred architectural drawings by his hand, of classical buildings and Renaissance churches in Venice, are in the Royal Library at Windsor and in the British Museum.[6]







Fig. 8 / Antonio Visentini, *The Rialto Bridge from the North*, after ca. 1754, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 122 cm, Private Collection (Cat. no. 19).

Fig. 9 / Canaletto, *The Rialto Bridge from the North*, ca. 1726-1727, oil on canvas, 47.5 x 79.9 cm, Royal Collection Trust.

Fig. 10 / Antonio Visentini, *The Rialto Bridge from the North*, early 1730s, pen and brown ink, 25.5 x 42.7 cm, London, The British Museum.

Fig. 11 / Antonio Visentini, *The Rialto Bridge from the North*, etching, from *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum*, 1735.



Fig. 12 / Antonio Visentini, *An Imaginary Palatial Villa with a Reading of Tarot Cards*, ca. 1740, oil on canvas, 207 x 252 cm, Venice, Palazzo Contarini Fasan.

Fig. 13 / Detail of Fig. 8.

Fig. 14 / Antonio Visentini, *Capriccio with Architects* (detail), before 1777, oil on canvas, 130 x 92 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.





It is easy to forget that Visentini began his exceptionally long career as a painter. Trained by Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini before 1708 (when Pellegrini left for England), he is first listed as a member of the Venetian Painters' Guild in 1711 and was elected Prior of the Painters' College in 1726. His recognized oeuvre as a painter is, however, small. It was as a painter of perspective that he was elected to the Venetian Accademia di Belle Arti in 1755. He subsequently served as Professor of Architectural Perspective there, in the years 1764-1766 and 1772-1778. His (signed) *pièce de reception*, a *Capriccio with Architects*, first recorded when exhibited in 1777, remains in the Gallerie dell'Accademia.[7] With figures by the artist himself (fig. 14), it is one of the few published entirely autograph works. Among the others are a set of eight exceptional, huge *capricci* of imaginary palatial villas (see for example fig. 12), a dock and a country convent, most with gentlefolk amusing themselves, and one with washerwomen; located in the portico of the Palazzo Contarini Fasan, Venice, those are datable to the years around 1740 and form one of the great decorative ensembles of eighteenth-century Venice.[8]



Fig. 15 / Antonio Visentini and Francesco Zuccarelli, *Mereworth Castle in an Imaginary Setting*, signed and dated 1746, oil on canvas, 82.6 x 131.4 cm, Royal Collection Trust.

Another *capriccio* of a country convent, in an Italian private collection, is smaller, but in a very similar style.[9] There is also a pair of very much smaller, upright *capricci* last recorded with Knoedler, London, ca. 1930, which are securely attributable to Visentini from their resemblance to drawings at Windsor, as well as the presence of an elegant couple with a dog very similar to a group in the Palazzo Contarini *Capriccio with Washerwomen*.[10]

Visentini's other published *capricci* are all works executed in collaboration with Francesco Zuccarelli (1702-1788), who was responsible for everything except the architectural element. Most of those show real buildings in imaginary settings. In 1746 the two artists executed a series of eleven overdoors showing English Palladian buildings in imaginary landscapes, of which eight remain in the Royal Collection (including *Mereworth Castle in an Imaginary Setting*, fig. 15),[11] and two have resurfaced elsewhere, in the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität, Würzburg, and in a Venetian private collection.[12] A set of four imaginary landscapes to which Visentini contributed buildings (Palladio's Rotonda at Vicenza; the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice; the Libreria di San Marco and the Church of the Redentore; and finally the Venetian Prisons) were once in the Rocchetti Collection, Rome and subsequently passed through the hands of Matthiesen Fine Art, London, to a New York private collection.[13] Other depictions of the Redentore (three) and of Palladio's Rotonda in imaginary settings are also known.[14] Visentini and Zuccarelli also collaborated on depictions of classical monuments in imaginary settings, as is shown by two large canvases which have recently come to light (figs. 16-17).[15] To Visentini may be attributed the main architectural elements, which are all from the Roman Forum and its vicinity: in the first painting the three surviving columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the "Arch of Janus" and the Temple of Vesta can be seen; in the second the Arch of Constantine, the Ponte Cestio, the Temple of Portunus, the Arch of Titus and the Temple of Saturn.[16] The paintings are datable before Zuccarelli's departure for England in 1752.





Fig. 16 / Antonio Visentini and Francesco Zuccarelli, *Classical Ruins, a Fountain and the Borghese Vase in an Imaginary Setting*, mid-1740s, oil on canvas, 122.5 x 155 cm, Private Collection (courtesy of Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox).

Fig. 17 / Antonio Visentini and Francesco Zuccarelli, *Classical Ruins and the Farnese Hercules in an Imaginary Setting*, mid-1740s, oil on canvas, 122.2 x 155.2 cm, Private Collection (courtesy of Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox).





Fig. 18 / Antonio Visentini, with Francesco Zuccarelli and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, ca. 1744-1745, *The Church and Campo of San Francesco della Vigna*, oil on canvas, 142 x 181 cm, Private Collection (Cat. no. 1).

Fig. 19 / Antonio Visentini, with Francesco Zuccarelli and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *The Interior of the Church of the Redentore*, ca. 1744-1745, oil on canvas, 142 x 181 cm, Private Collection (Cat. no. 2).

The only view paintings generally acknowledged to be largely by Visentini – indeed documented as such during his lifetime – show *The Church and Campo of San Francesco della Vigna* and *The Interior of the Church of the Redentore* (figs. 18-19; cat. nos. 1-2).[17] Of even larger size, those are, in fact, also the products of collaboration with Zuccarelli. On this unique occasion, the only known instance of his involvement with the genre of view painting, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770) also contributed.[18] Just as Tiepolo "improved" the view by adding statues to the church of San Francesco della Vigna, so Visentini replaced the large Baroque altar of the Redentore with a more classical one more in line with the taste of the patron, Francesco Algarotti. The two paintings display a perspectival sureness of hand which one expects of Visentini, and indeed the sense of form is more convincing than in many of the depictions of English buildings in imaginary settings, for which the artist had to rely on prints. His contribution is consistent with the paintings of the "Uppark group" as far as comparison is possible. Similar are the texture, the light tone, the colouring, including the distinctive, quite strong russet red which recurs frequently in the Uppark group paintings, and the form of the clouds (although allowances must be made for the considerable difference in scale).

Further comparisons for the Uppark group paintings must be found in the *capricci* entirely by Visentini's hand (fig. 12). Those contain little water to link with the particularly distinctive formula which is used for canals in the Uppark paintings. It may be pointed out, however, that this finicky technique is characteristic of the mentality of an etcher and may be compared with Visentini's exceptionally laborious treatment of water in the album of pen and ink drawings in the British Museum (fig. 10). The *capricci* do, however, provide very clear comparisons with the Uppark group paintings in other respects. Those include the forms of the clouds in the upper part of the sky and the way that they tend to dissolve into horizontal bands of sharply contrasting light and dark towards the horizon, also evident to a degree in the view of *The Church and Campo of San Francesco della Vigna* (compare, for instance, figs. 8 and 12). The figures in Visentini's *capricci* are very much the painter's personal types, whereas those in the Uppark group paintings are intended to be imitations of Canaletto's, even when they are not actually copied from his, and are thus less bulky. They are, however, clearly by the same hand (even though, here again, there are considerable differences in scale with all the *capricci*, other than the small pair only known from black and white photographs).[19] Men often have quite broad hips and their legs a slightly awkward stance. Trousers are often baggy around the buttocks (compare the red trousers of the men seen from behind in the foreground in figs. 12 and 13, and the blue trousers of the man seen from behind at the top of the quay steps in fig. 23, cat. no. 20, one of the figures added by Visentini to this composition).

Clothes tend to wrap around limbs, very delicate strokes indicating light catching the ridges. Girls' dresses sometimes flutter with a life of their own (compare those in the foreground in figs. 8 and 13, cat. no. 19, with those of the visitors to the country convent in the Palazzo Contarini Fasan *capricci*).[20] Raised arms making gestures are frequent. The painter is clearly a lover of intricate detail. Visentini's bright, pretty colouring, atmosphere of gaiety, and in the case of the girls and gondoliers in the foreground of figs. 8 and 13 (cat. no. 19) also the figure style, remind one of his training under Pellegrini.

The posthumous inventory of the collection of Giovanni Maria Sasso (ca. 1735-1803) lists a pair of paintings of "SS. Gio e Paolo" and "il Palazzo Ducale" as the work of "Vicentini", imaginatively described as "finished by Canaletto his master".[21]



Fig. 20 / Antonio Visentini, *Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 78.7 cm, New York, Private Collection (Cat. no. 22).

A view of *Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo* was in a New York private collection several years ago (fig. 20; cat. no. 22). According to Constable, it measures 45.7 x 78.7 cm, while the measurements given in the Sasso inventory, which seem to exclude the frame, correspond to 60.8 x 92.7 cm. It is also difficult to imagine of which painting by Canaletto the pendant showing "the Doge's Palace" could be a copy.

It should come as no surprise that Joseph Smith would have employed Visentini as a copyist of Canaletto. It is the present writer's belief that Smith employed copyists to produce replicas of Venetian views by Canaletto already in the 1730s. Smith's need for such painters to cater for the market for view paintings must have become more pressing after the departure of Canaletto himself for London in 1746, and it may well have been under Smith's influence that the forty-something year old Francesco Guardi first turned to view painting (initially also, almost certainly, copying Canaletto). That would have been in the 1750s, when Smith would seem to have begun to employ Visentini for the same purpose. Visentini had a working relationship with Smith from 1717 until Smith's death in 1770, and owed much of his career to him.[22] As an engraver, it was for Smith that Visentini was, by the late 1720s, making the etchings which were to be published in 1735 as the *Prospectus*, and later the twenty-four further plates for the second edition of 1742, re-titled the *Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus Celebriores*. Almost all of Visentini's work as a draughtsman was for Smith, including architectural drawings, *capricci*, eight drawings of Smith's villa at Mogliano,[23] and the album in the British Museum of pen and ink drawings for the prints after Canaletto. His work as principal illustrator for the Pasquali Press was, in effect, for Smith, to whom the press belonged.[24] As an architect, Visentini was responsible for replacing the Gothic façade of Smith's house with one in the Palladian style, unveiled in October 1751. That was updated in Canaletto's painting, clearly during Canaletto's nine-month return to Venice in 1750-1751, and is shown in Visentini's copy of it (fig. 24; cat. no. 23). As a painter, Visentini worked for Smith on the eleven overdoors mentioned above, which were probably for the villa at Mogliano. It seems very likely that it was Smith who "lent" Visentini to his friend Francesco Algarotti to paint the two large church views (cat. nos. 1-2), around the same time that he relinquished to Algarotti the commission which he had given to Tiepolo of the *Banquet of Cleopatra* now in Melbourne. It is no wonder then that Visentini was the only painter to be favoured with free access to Smith's home. Andrea Memmo recorded in 1786 that it was Visentini who accompanied him on a guided tour of the architectural section of Smith's library.[25] With the restoration to Visentini of his oeuvre as a view painter, the relationship between artist and patron can be seen to be even more intimate, and mutually beneficial, than was previously thought.

The catalogue which follows includes all the paintings by Visentini known to me to date. Hopefully this article will facilitate the identification of others.



Fig. 21 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal, Looking South-West from the Chiesa degli Scalzi to the Fondamenta della Croce, with the Church of San Simeone Piccolo,* between 1758-1766, oil on canvas, 46 x 77.5 cm, Spain, Private Collection (Cat. no. 17).



Fig. 22 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità*, between 1758-1766, oil on canvas, 46 x 77.5 cm, Spain, Private Collection (Cat. no. 18).



Fig. 23 / Antonio Visentini, *The Entrance to the Grand Canal, Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute*, oil on canvas, 80 x 120 cm, Italy, Art Market (Cat. no. 20).

Fig. 24 / Antonio Visentini, *The Grand Canal, Looking North-West from near the Rialto Bridge*, oil on canvas, 48 x 80 cm, Private Collection (courtesy of Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox).



NOTES

1. John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800, Compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 354.
2. I am grateful to Christopher Rowell for these details, which he published in his 1995 guidebook to Uppark. He also found a transcript of the relevant entries in *Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh's General Account Book* in the National Trust archive, which records, as well as the payment of £189.99 to Smith, a payment of £8.6 to Carrington, who was a Picture Cleaner, and, on the opposite page, "Smith for Pictures £160". Anthony Coleridge, "Don Petro's Table-tops: *Scagliola* and Grand Tour Clients," *Apollo* 83 (1966): p. 186, records a further payment to Smith "for Pictures" of £37.17.6 on 13 February 1753.
3. It is just possible that Fetherstonhaugh may have had the opportunity to encounter Canaletto in Venice, as the painter was certainly there on 8 March 1751; by 30 July, however, he was back in London (see Charles Beddington, *Canaletto in England: A Venetian Artist Abroad, 1746-1755,* exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art; London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2006-2007), pp. 9-10.
4. Nor is it added in cat. no. 24.
5. BM 1948,0704.1.
6. Rosie Razzall and Lucy Whitaker, *Canaletto and the Art of Venice* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017), p. 310.
7. Dario Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini. Venezia & Londra*, exh. cat. (Venice: Cà Pesaro, Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna, 1986-1987), no. 369, p. 195, illustrated p. 58; Giancarlo Sestieri, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia nel XVII e XVIII secolo* (Rome: Etgraphiae editoriale, 2015), III, p. 299, fig. 2.
8. Annalia Delneri, "Ammirevole inganno di fantasie architettoniche," in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, pp. 53-69, and nos. 189-193 quater, pp. 363-367; Annalia Delneri in *Capricci Veneziani del Settecento*: *Capricci Veneziani del Settecento,* ed. Dario Succi, exh. cat. (Gorizia: Castello di Gorizia, 1988), pp. 238-239, figs. 16-19, and no. 31, p. 436 ; Sestieri, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia*, pp. 298-303, figs. 1 and 3-6.
9. Delneri in Succi, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia*, p. 239, fig. 20; Sestieri, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia*, pp. 302-303, fig. 7.
10. Delneri in Succi, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia*, pp. 235-236, figs. 14-15; Sestieri, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia*, p. 306, figs. 10a and 10b.
11. Anthony Blunt, "A Neo-Palladian Programme Executed by Visentini and Zuccarelli for Consul Smith," *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (1958): pp. 283-284, figs. 33-39 and 41; Federica Spadotto, *Francesco Zuccarelli* (Milan: Alfieri, 2007), pp. 26-27 and nos. 111-118, pp. 118-120, illustrated pp. 225-228; Razzall and Whitaker, *Canaletto*, pp. 280-282 and nos. 146-150, pp. 300-309 and figs. 94-95.
12. Blunt, "A Neo-Palladian Programme," fig. 40; Delneri in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, pp. 72-76 and no. 194, p. 368; exhibited Crema, Centro culturale Sant'Agostino, see *Officina Veneziana: Maestri e Botteghe nella Venezia del Settecento*, ed. Marco Abate, exh. cat. (Crema: Centro culturale Sant'Agostino, 2002), nos. 24-25, pp. 138-139; Spadotto, *Zuccarelli*, nos. 119-120, pp. 120-121, illustrated p. 229.
13. Delneri in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, p. 78, figs. 65-68; Delneri in Succi, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia*, pp. 247-248, figs. 24-27; Spadotto, *Zuccarelli*, nos. 155-158, p. 127, illustrated pp. 242-243; Dario Succi, *Il fiore di Venezia: dipinti dal Seicento all'Ottocento in collezioni private* (Gorizia: LEG Edizioni, 2014), nos. 199-202, pp. 274-277.
14. Delneri in Succi, *Il Capriccio architettonico in Italia,* pp. 248-249, figs. 28-31; Spadotto, *Zuccarelli*, no. 121, p. 121, illustrated p. 229, and nos. 159-161, pp. 127-28, illustrated pp. 244-245.
15. I am indebted to Brian Allen for bringing these to my attention. They are thought to have passed by descent from John Skeffington Smyth before changing hands into the present ownership (*Catalogue of the Pictures at Mount Henry*, Ms in the family archive, 1897, listed as hanging in the Morning Room; Randal Charles Edward Skeffington-Smyth (1865-1949), *List of the Pictures at North Cheriton Somerset*, ca. 1932, listed as hanging in the Drawing Room. Mount Henry House, built between 1800 and 1840, is at Ballyboggan, Wexford, Ireland).
16. The fountain on the right in the first painting is similar in form to that in a similar position in Bernardo Bellotto's *Capriccio of the Colosseum, the Temple of Castor and Pollux and a Fountain* in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma. In that painting the figures are also by Zuccarelli, and they occupy roughly similar positions to here.
17. As far as I know, these have never before been reproduced in colour, and I am grateful to Edmondo di Robilant for making this possible.
18. Tiepolo provided, in the external view, the pair of gentlemen in the centre foreground, the two young men measuring the left part of the façade of the church, the three figures in its doorway, the seven statues added to its façade, the two masks on the fixed upper parts of the doors, and the fresco on the wall on the far left; in the interior view he was responsible for the three pairs of figures in the foreground to the right of centre, to the left the kneeling beggar and the servant accompanying the young gentleman with a dog on a lead, the seventeen statues in niches and the statue of Christ the Redeemer on the altar.
19. See note 10 above.
20. Delneri in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, p. 60, fig. 42.
21. Antonio Florian, *Catalogo de' quadri del qu. Gianmaria Sasso che si mettono all'incanto nella sua casa al ponte di Canalregio n. 381 presso il palazzo Manfrin ne' modi e con condizioni seguenti* (Venice, 1803), nos. 153-154 (for the sale scheduled to begin on 8 October). Quoted by Filippo Pedrocco, *Il Settecento a Venezia: i Vedutisti* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2001), pp. 145-146, and "Qualche ipotesi per Antonio Visentini pittore e architetto," *Arte Documento* 16 (2002): p. 212. Pedrocco records the dimensions given as "1 piede e nove once di altezza e 2 piedi e tre once di larghezza" (60.85 x 78 cm), while they seem, in fact, to read A-1 - 9 L-2 - 8 (60.85 x 92.73 cm). I am grateful to Francesca Stopper for ascertaining that some, at least, of the measurements are without the frames.
22. Frances Vivian, *Il Console Smith, mercante e collezionista* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1971), p. 10; Dario Succi in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, pp. 15 and 49.
23. George Knox, "Consul Smith's villa at Mogliano: Antonio Visentini and Francesco Zuccarelli," *Apollo* 143 (1996): pp. 32ff., figs. 1-3.
24. Razzall and Whitaker, *Canaletto,* p. 364.
25. Quoted by Razzall and Whitaker, *Canaletto,* p. 320.

CATALOGUE OF VENETIAN VIEWS BY ANTONIO VISENTINI

All paintings listed below are in oil on canvas

Bibliographical Abbreviations

C
W.G. Constable, *Canaletto: Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697-1768*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)

C/L 1976
W.G. Constable, *Canaletto: Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697-1768*, 2nd ed. revised by J.G. Links, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976)

Razzall and Whitaker
Rosie Razzall and Lucy Whitaker, *Canaletto & the Art of Venice*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017)

By **Antonio Visentini** with **Francesco Zuccarelli** (Pitigliano 1702-1788 Florence) and **Giovanni Battista Tiepolo** (Venice 1696-1770 Madrid)

Private Collection (c/o Robilant+Voena, London)

Cat. no. 1 (Fig. 18)
The Church and Campo of San Francesco della Vigna

Cat. no. 2 (Fig. 19)
The Interior of the Church of the Redentore

142 x 181 cm each

Provenance:
Conte Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764); his brother Conte Bonomo Algarotti (1706-1776); his daughter Contessa Maria Algarotti Corniani; sold by the Algarotti family before 1840; Leo Goldschmidt, Milan (ca. 192-1929); private collection; with Robilant & Voena, London.

Exhibited:
Venice, Palazzo delle Biennali ai Giardini Pubblici, *Il Settecento Italiano,* 1929 (exh. cat., nos.22-23, p. 28).

Literature:
Giovanni Antonio Selva, *Catalogo dei quadri, dei disegni e dei libri che trattano dell'arte del disegno della galleria del fu Sig Conte Algarotti in Venezia* (Venice, 1776 or shortly after), pp. 25-26.

Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia* (Bassano: Remondini, 1795-1796), ed. Martino Capucci (Florence: Sansoni, 1968-1974), II, p. 180.

Ettere Modigliani, "Settecento Veneziano nelle raccolte private milanesi," *Strenna dell'Illustrazione Italiana* (1924-1925): pp. 33-52.

Giuseppe De Logu, *Pittori minori veneti del Settecento* (Venice: Zanetti, 1930), pp. 124-125, figs. 88-89.

Mary H. Witt, "A Collaboration by Visentini and Zuccarelli," *The Burlington Magazine* 58 (1931): pp. 294-299, pl. B (the Redentore).

Antonio Morassi, "Documenti, pitture e disegni inediti dello Zuccarelli," *Emporium* (1960): p. 16.

Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Settecento* (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1960), p. 198.

Egidio Martini, *La pittura del Settecento veneto* (Udine: Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1982), p. 535, n. 285, fig. 742.

Dario Succi, "Canaletto & Visentini. Venezia & Londra," in Dario Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini. Venezia & Londra*, exh. cat. (Venice: Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna, Cà Pesaro, 1986-1987), pp. 16 and 17.

Dario Succi, "Francesco Algarotti, Joseph Smith e due eccezionali vedute palladiane a tre mani: Antonio Visentini, Giambattista Tiepolo, Francesco Zuccarelli," and "Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore," in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, pp. 79-94, illustrated.

Annalia Delneri and Dario Succi, "Cinquanta documenti su Antonio Visentini," in Succi, *Canaletto & Visentini*, p. 386.

Rodolfo Pallucchini, "Risarcimento di Antonio Visentini," *Arte Veneta* 40 (1986): pp. 299-302.

Annalia Delneri in *Capricci Veneziani del Settecento,* ed. Dario Succi, exh. cat. (Gorizia: Castello di Gorizia, 1988), p. 240, figs. 21-22.

Massimo Gemin and Filippo Pedrocco, *Giambattista Tiepolo, i dipinti. Opera completa* (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1993), nos. 303-304, p. 365, illustrated.

Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Settecento,* vol. II, ed. Mauro Lucco et al. (Milan: Electa, 1996), pp. 410 and 412, figs. 655 and 657.

Keith Christiansen, "Algarotti's Tiepolos and his fake Veronese," in *Giambattista Tiepolo nel terzo centenario della nascita: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi … 1996*, ed. Lionello Puppi (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1998), pp. 407-408.

Filippo Pedrocco, *Il Settecento a Venezia: I Vedutisti* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2001), p. 145.

Fabrizio Magani, "Artisti di "storia" tra botteghe e accademie nella Venezia del Settecento," in *Officina Veneziana: Maestri e Botteghe nella Venezia del Settecento*, ed. Marco Abate, exh. cat. (Crema: Centro culturale Sant'Agostino, 2002), p. 30.

Filippo Pedrocco, "Paesaggi e vedute," in *Officina Veneziana: Maestri e Botteghe nella Venezia del Settecento*, ed. Marco Abate, exh. cat. (Crema: Centro culturale Sant'Agostino, 2002), p. 64, fig. 8.

Filippo Pedrocco, *Tiepolo* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2002), nos. 171/1 and 172/2, p. 260.

Federica Spadotto, *Francesco Zuccarelli* (Milan: B. Alfieri, 2007), nos. 109-110, p. 26, figs. 23-24, and pp. 117-118, illustrated p. 224.

Paolo Pastres, "Disegni inediti di Francesco Algarotti ed il capriccio con San Francesco della Vigna di Antonio Visentini, Francesco

Zuccarelli e Giambattista Tiepolo," *Atti dell'Accademia "San Marco" di Pordenone* 17 (2015): pp. 567-586, figs. 4-7.

Datable to 1744-1745, after Algarotti's arrival in Venice (for his second visit) at the end of May 1743, when he also gave important commissions to Tiepolo, Zuccarelli, Piazzetta, Pittoni and Amigoni. Among the paintings by Venetian painters acquired by Algarotti on behalf of Count Brühl was Tiepolo's *Banquet of Cleopatra* (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne), the commission for which had been surrendered to Algarotti by Joseph Smith (shortly before 31 January 1744). The particularly cordial relationship between the two in these years is also shown by Algarotti's handing over to Smith of several treasured Castiglione drawings.

The choice of subjects reflects Algarotti's love of Palladio's architecture, while the choice of artists reflects his interest in artistic collaborations.

Pastres ("Disegni inediti"), publishes a sketch by Algarotti of the campo and façade of San Francesco della Vigna in the Biblioteca Bartoliniana of the Archivi storici dell'Arcidiocesi di Udine; made on the back of a letter sent from Bologna on 11 August 1744, that shows no figures and has the character of a first idea for the corresponding painting.

A pair of drawings of the compositions, with variations in the figures in the San Francesco della Vigna, is in a London private collection; one is signed by Visentini on the reverse, dated 18 October 1766 and inscribed as executed for one Thomas Pepper. Another drawing of the Redentore interior composition, with wash, is in the collection of the Courtauld Institute (Witt, "A Collaboration," pl. A).

By **Antonio Visentini**

Private Collection, Uppark House, West Sussex

Cat. no. 3 (Fig. 1)
The Entrance to the Grand Canal Looking West, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute

Cat. no. 4 (Fig. 2)
The Grand Canal with Santa Geremia and the Entrance to the Cannaregio

Cat. no. 5 (Fig. 3)
The Grand Canal Looking North-West from the Palazzo Vendramin – Calergi to Santa Geremia and the Palazzo Flangini

Cat. no. 6
The Entrance to the Grand Canal Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute

The following four paintings were destroyed by fire on 30 August 1989:

Cat. no. 7
The Grand Canal from the Campo San Vio

Cat. no. 8
The Grand Canal, Looking North-West from near the Rialto Bridge

Cat. no. 9
The Grand Canal, Looking North-West from the Fondamenta di Santa Croce

Cat. no. 10
The Grand Canal, from Santa Maria della Carità to the Bacino di San Marco

47 x 78.7 cm each

Provenance:
Supplied by Joseph Smith in ca. 1753/1754 to Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, 1st Bt. (1714-1774), and thence by descent at Uppark.

Literature:
C 251(d), 161(b)1, 184(b), 233(g), 270(b) and under 196.

St. John Gore, "A Grand Tour Collection," *Country Life* 138 (1965): p. 1476.

Edgar Peters Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons,* exh. cat. (London: The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, 1982), under no. 5, p. 31.

Anthony M. Clark, *Pompeo Batoni*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), under no. 154, p. 252.

Alastair Laing, *In Trust for the Nation: Paintings from National Trust Houses,* exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 1995-1996), p. 239.

John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800 Compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 354.

All are based on components of Smith's series of Grand Canal views by Canaletto (**C** 170, 251, 250, 161, 184, 233, 270 and 196; **Razzall & Whitaker** 68, 60, 61, 69, 67, 62, 58 and 66 respectively). There is one significant variation. In cat. no. 4 the view is shown as updated by Canaletto in the prototype, with the addition of Giuseppe Marchiori's statue of San Giovanni Nepomuceno on the corner of the quay in front of the church of San Geremia and the adjacent balustrade, erected in May 1742. The same detail is updated in cat. no. 5, although it was never updated by Canaletto in the prototype.

Banca Intesa Sanpaolo, Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia

Cat. no. 11
The Grand Canal with the Entrance to the Cannaregio

Cat. no. 12
The Entrance to the Grand Canal, Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute

47 x 77.4 cm each

Provenance:
Colonel R. Spencer Hall, The Manor House, Malmesbury, Wiltshire; by inheritance (with four other paintings) to Admiral W.G. Stopford; his son Lt. Col. W.J. Stopford, Blandford, Dorset; Christie's, London, 11 June 1971, lot 50 (6,500 gns. to Leger) and lot 51 (14,000 gns. to Leger); purchased by the Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia in 1972.

Exhibited:
Paris, Musée Maillol, *Canaletto à Venise*, 19 September 2012 – 10 February 2013 (exh. cat. nos. 26-27, pp. 112-15, both illustrated in colour, as Canaletto. Entry by Annalisa Scarpa).

New Orleans Museum of Art, *A Life of Seduction: Venice in the 1700s*, 16 February – 21 May 2017 (as Canaletto).

Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, on long term loan since November 2018.

Literature:
C/L 1976 251(d)4 and 170(b)4, under "Other versions".

Terisio Pignatti, *Canaletto* (Milan and Florence: Martello-Giunti, 1976), no. 79 (*The Grand Canal with the Entrance to the Cannaregio*).

Terisio Pignatti, *Canaletto* (Bologna: Capitol, 1979), colour pl. 25 (*The Grand Canal with the Entrance to the Cannaregio*).

Terisio Pignatti, *Antonio Canale detto il Canaletto* (Florence: Giunti, 1996), p. 198.

Terisio Pignatti, *Antonio Canal detto il Canaletto* (Florence: Giunti, 2001), pp. 196-197 and p. 108, pl. 79, colour (detail of *The Grand Canal with the Entrance to the Cannaregio*).

Alvise Simonato and Pietro Verardo, eds., *La cassa di Risparmio di Venezia: immagini di una storia* (Venice: Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia, 2004), pp. 120 and 122-125, figs. 160-163.

Sofia Barchiesi in *Le collezioni d'arte della Cassa di Risparmio di Padova e Rovigo, della Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia e Friulcassa*, ed. Anna Coliva (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2006), pp. 168-173, both illustrated in colour.

Giovanna Nepi Scirè, *Fondazione Querini Stampalia: Intesa Sanpaolo Collection* (Venice/Turin: Fondazione Querini Stampalia/Intesa Sanpaolo, 2019), pp. 76-81, both illustrated in colour.

Acquired in 1972 with an attribution to Canaletto supported by Lionello Puppi, Rodolfo Pallucchini, Nicola Ivanoff and Giuseppe Mazzariol. That attribution has been retained ever since, except by Constable. The paintings are dated by Barchiesi to 1745-1750 and by Scarpa to "After 1742" and 1745-1750, respectively.

Both follow the Canaletto prototypes in colours and in size and thus correspond closely with cat. nos. 4 and 6.

The Wallace Collection, London

Cat. no. 13 (Fig. 4)
The Grand Canal Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità

Cat. no. 14 (Fig. 5)
The Entrance to the Grand Canal, Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute
47 x 78.5 cm and 47 x 78.3 cm

Provenance:
Acquired by Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford (1800-1870), before 1859.

Literature:
C 203(a) and 170(c)1, as "School versions".

John Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Paintings*, vol. I, *British, German, Italian, Spanish* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1985), nos. P492 and P495, pp. 248-250.

Both follow the Smith paintings in colours and in size. No. 13 follows **C** 203, **Razzall & Whitaker** 65. Cat. no. 14 corresponds closely with cat. nos. 6 and 12.

Cat. no. 15 (Fig. 6)
The Grand Canal from the Campo San Vio

Cat. no. 16 (Fig. 7)
The Dogana and Santa Maria della Salute from the Molo
47 x 78.5 cm and 48.5 x 79.5 cm

Provenance:
Casimir Périer (1811-1876); Christie's, London, 5 May 1848, lot 24 (110 gns. to Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford) and lot 25 (156 gns. to Grisell).

Literature:
C 184(a), as a "School version" and 153(a) as a "Studio version".

John Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Paintings*, vol. I, *British, German, Italian, Spanish* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1985), no. P515, p. 252, no. P512, and pp. 255-256.

While cat. no. 15 follows Canaletto prototype in most details, as well as colouring and size, four figures do not feature in the prototype. In the lower left corner the *sandolo* carries a seated woman with a basket not present in Canaletto's painting, and it is steered by a different gondolier. The gondolier towards the bow of the gondola in the centre foreground, and the man in blue trousers bending over at the bow of the barge carrying bales in the middle distance are also absent from the prototype. cat. no. 16 is a faithful copy of a Smith painting, but it is one of only two by this painter which do not follow views from the Grand Canal series. The prototype (**C** 153) dates from the early 1730s. All four have recently been cleaned by the Hamilton Kerr Institute. I am grateful to Rupert Featherstone

for sharing with me their reports on cat. nos. 15 and 16. They note that the execution differs from that of Canaletto in ways that one would expect of a copy, for instance the sky is painted round the skyline, rather than the skyline being put in over the sky. Less easily explained is a difference in ground between the two paintings. While cat. no. 15 has a red ground throughout, that of cat. no. 16 is more complex, including an intermediary buff layer below the sky, making it appear a deeper and slightly cooler blue. Cleaning has, if anything, enhanced the quality of cat. no. 16, which was classified by Constable as "Studio" of Canaletto, while the other three Wallace Collection paintings were called "School".

Although the Wallace Collection paintings might seem at first glance to be a set of four, they are unquestionably two pairs, as the second pair was sold on its own in 1848.

Private Collection, Spain

Cat. no. 17 (Fig. 21)
The Grand Canal, Looking South-West from the Chiesa degli Scalzi to the Fondamenta della Croce, with the Church of San Simeone Piccolo

Cat. no. 18 (Fig. 22)
The Grand Canal, Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità

46 x 77.5 cm each

Provenance:
With Leggatt Brothers, London, 1954, as Marieschi.

Cat. no. 17 follows the Canaletto prototype (**C** 258; **Razzall & Whitaker** 59) closely. In cat. no. 18, however, the view shown by Canaletto (**C** 203; **Razzall & Whitaker** 65) and reproduced faithfully in cat. no. 13, has been updated to show both of the architect Giorgio Massari's contributions to it. The Palazzo (or Ca') Rezzonico in the middle distance on the right was shown by Canaletto with only two storeys complete and with a temporary wooden roof, the state in which it remained for forty years from 1712. Here, however, it has its third storey added by Massari in 1752-1756. The papal symbols on the coat-of-arms on the façade indicate a date after July 1758, when Carlo Rezzonico became Pope Clement XIII. Massari's Palazzo Grassi, the third building on the left, built between 1748 and 1758 and absent from the Smith painting, is shown complete. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the absence of the two rectangular doors flanking the central arched door on the façade of Palazzo Grassi, which were part of renovations completed, as Pietro Gradenigo recorded in his *Notatori*, on 28 October 1766. That those renovations do not appear to be in progress would seem to argue for a date for the painting nearer to 1758 than to 1766.

The painter has included, in the centre foreground, an additional rowing boat, with a single occupant, emerging from behind the large sailing boat. In the rowing boat in the foreground to the left of centre the man standing in the stern wears a blue rather than a red hat, and the red hat is on the oarsman, formerly bareheaded.

Private Collection

Cat. no. 19 (Fig. 8)
The Rialto Bridge from the North

81.5 x 122 cm

Provenance:
The Earls of Kinnoull; Charles Sedelmeyer (1837-1925), Paris, by 1896; Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, 3 June 1907, lot 109, as Canaletto (11,300 francs); Thomas Humphry Ward (1845-1926), London and Oxford; Marcell Nemes [Marczell von Nemes](1866-1930), Budapest and Munich; his sale, Hugo Helbing, Munich, 2 November 1933 (=1st day), lot 94, as "Bellotto", when acquired by Fritz von Zsolnay, Richmond, London; Christie's, London, 31 July 1939, lot 176, as "Bellotto".

Literature:
C 236(e), as a "School piece".

Stefan Kozakiewicz, *Bernardo Bellotto* (London: Paul Elek, 1972), II, p. 438, no. Z197 "To judge by the reproduction the painting is good technically …. Probably Studio of Canal, c. 1740".

Here the painter's embellishments to Canaletto's composition do more than elsewhere to change the character of the scene. The view has been updated from the prototype (**C** 236; **Razzall & Whitaker** 63) to show at upper left the cap of the campanile of the church of San Bartolomeo di Rialto in the onion-shaped form which it took in 1747-1754. The empty water in the centre foreground of Canaletto's painting has been occupied by a *traghetto* carrying three girls and with two gondoliers. That is taken from a similar position in Visentini's own etching after a different painting by Canaletto, *The Grand Canal, Looking East from the Palazzo Bembo and the Entrance to the Cannaregio to the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi*, painted for John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford and now at Woburn Abbey. Another addition is the second man in the *sandolo* towards the right, standing behind the barrel and holding up a rope, while an "improvement" is that the Palazzo Camerlenghi in the centre is seen more from below, which emphasizes its height and makes it a more prominent focal point.

The painting was possibly acquired by Thomas Hay, 9th Earl of Kinnoull (1710-1787), who was a Lord of the Treasury from 1754 and joint Paymaster of the Forces between 1755-1757.

Art Market, Italy

Cat. no. 20 (Fig. 23)
The Entrance to the Grand Canal, Looking East, with the Church of Santa Maria della Salute

80 x 120 cm

Provenance:
Viscount Hambleden; with the Hallsborough Gallery, London, 1963 (advertised in *The Connoisseur*, 153, 1963); with Galleria Lorenzelli, Bergamo; Gallino Collection; sale, Wannenes, Genoa, 1 June 2016, lot 554, as "Pittore Veneziano del XVIII Secolo".

Exhibited:
Bergamo, Galleria Lorenzelli, *Venezia 700: Francesco Guardi e il suo tempo nelle raccolte private bergamasche*, September-October 1969 (exh. cat. pl. XVI, colour, as Canaletto. Catalogue by Marco Valsecchi; also mentioned by Rodolfo Pallucchini in the unpaginated Introduction to the catalogue).

Literature:
Antonio Morassi, "Settecento inedito," *Arte Veneta* 17 (1963): p. 150, fig. 182, as Canaletto.

Considered in the 1960s to be by Canaletto, an attribution confirmed, according to Valsecchi, by W.G. Constable, who is said to have intended to include it as such in the second edition of his *catalogue raisonné*.

While cat. nos. 6, 12 and 14 follow the prototype closely, here there are five figures which do not appear in the prototype: a gentleman in a blue cloak in the lower left corner; a man in blue trousers walking away from the viewer, by the corner of the quay steps; two men conversing in front of the Salute steps at lower right are replaced by a group of three men, one of them in an unusual tall red hat.

Private Collection, Venice

Cat. no. 21
The Grand Canal, Looking South from the Palazzi Foscari and Moro-Lin to Santa Maria della Carità

70 x 122 cm

Provenance: unknown

Literature:
Filippo Pedrocco, *Il Settecento a Venezia: i Vedutisti* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2001), pp. 145-147, illustrated in colour, as Antonio Visentini (?).

Filippo Pedrocco, "Qualche ipotesi per Antonio Visentini pittore e architetto," *Arte Documento* 16 (2002): pp. 212-215, fig. 1 (colour).

The composition has been updated from the prototype as in cat. no. 18. Here, in the centre foreground, is added a second large barge and adjacent rowing boat taken from the lower right corner of Visentini's own engraving after Canaletto's view of *The Grand Canal, Looking North-West from the Palazzo Pesaro to San Marcuola* (Visentini, *Prospectus*, ed. 1742, II, no. 6, after the painting in a Madrid private collection, **C** 244).

Private Collection, New York

Cat. no. 22 (Fig. 20)
Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo

45.7 x 78.7 cm

Provenance:
(Possibly?) Giovanni Maria Sasso (ca.1735-1803), Palazzo Manfrin, Cannaregio 381, Venice; Lord St. Oswald, Nostell Priory, until after 1970.

Literature:
(Possibly?) A. Florian, *Catalogo de' quadri del qu. Gianmaria Sasso che si mettono all'incanto nella sua casa al ponte di Canalregio n. 381 presso il palazzo Manfrin ne' modi e con condizioni seguenti*, Venice, 1803, no. 153 (for the sale scheduled to begin on 8 October).

C/L 1976, I, pl. 202; II, no. 308(aa), as a "Version ..... 'certainly by Canaletto'" [Constable saw the painting in 1963 and accepted it as by Canaletto].

Filippo Pedrocco, *Il Settecento a Venezia: i Vedutisti* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2001), pp. 145-146.

Filippo Pedrocco, "Qualche ipotesi per Antonio Visentini pittore e architetto," *Arte Documento* 16 (2002): p. 212.

This follows closely, including in colours, the Smith painting (**C 308; Razzall & Whitaker** 74), which is one of only two copied by this painter from Smith paintings other than the Grand Canal series (the other being no. 16 above). The prototype was the only painting from Smith's personal collection to appear among the additional 24 plates in the 1742 edition of Visentini's *Prospectus*.

It is tempting to identify this as one of "Due vedute, 1. SS. Gio e Paolo, 2. il Palazzo Ducale del Vicentini, terminate da Canaletto suo Maestro" which were nos. 153-154 in the catalogue of the posthumous sale of Giovanni Maria Sasso (1742-1803). Pedrocco, *Il Settecento a Venezia* and "Qualche ipotesi per Antonio Visentini", noting the significance of this reference, records the dimensions given as "1 piede e nove once di altezza e 2 piedi e tre once di larghezza" (60.85 x 78 cm). They seem, in fact, to read "A[ltezza]-1-9 L[arghezza]-2-8" (60.85 x 92.73 cm), however, the measurements in this catalogue do not seem to have included frames.

Private Collection, England (c/o Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox)

Cat. no. 23 (Fig. 24)
The Grand Canal, Looking North-West from near the Rialto Bridge

48 x 80 cm

Provenance:
With Agnew's, London; Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart, 7th Bt. (1826-1903), and by inheritance at Fonthill Abbey, Tisbury, Wiltshire, and at Stop Farm, Fonthill Gifford, to his grandson Niel Rimington (1928-2009).

A close copy of the Smith painting (**C** 233; **Razzall & Whitaker** 62), with the same colours and of identical size. Canaletto revised the prototype, probably during his return to Venice in 1750-1751, to show Visentini's own façade, unveiled in October 1751 of Palazzo Mangilli-Valmarana, formerly Balbi, which Smith had leased since ca. 1709 and bought in 1740. That is shown here, as is the updated sky.

Whereabouts Unknown

Cat. no. 24
The Grand Canal Looking North-West from the Palazzo Vendramin – Calergi to Santa Geremia and the Palazzo Flangini

Size unknown (probably ca. 47 x 78 cm)

Literature:
J.G. Links, *Venice for Pleasure*, 6th ed. (London: Pallas Athene, 1998), colour pl. 27.

The composition is close to that of no. 5 above, but it follows the prototype (**C** 250; **Razzall & Whitaker** 61) faithfully in not including the statue of San Giovanni Nepomuceno and adjacent balustrade erected in 1742.



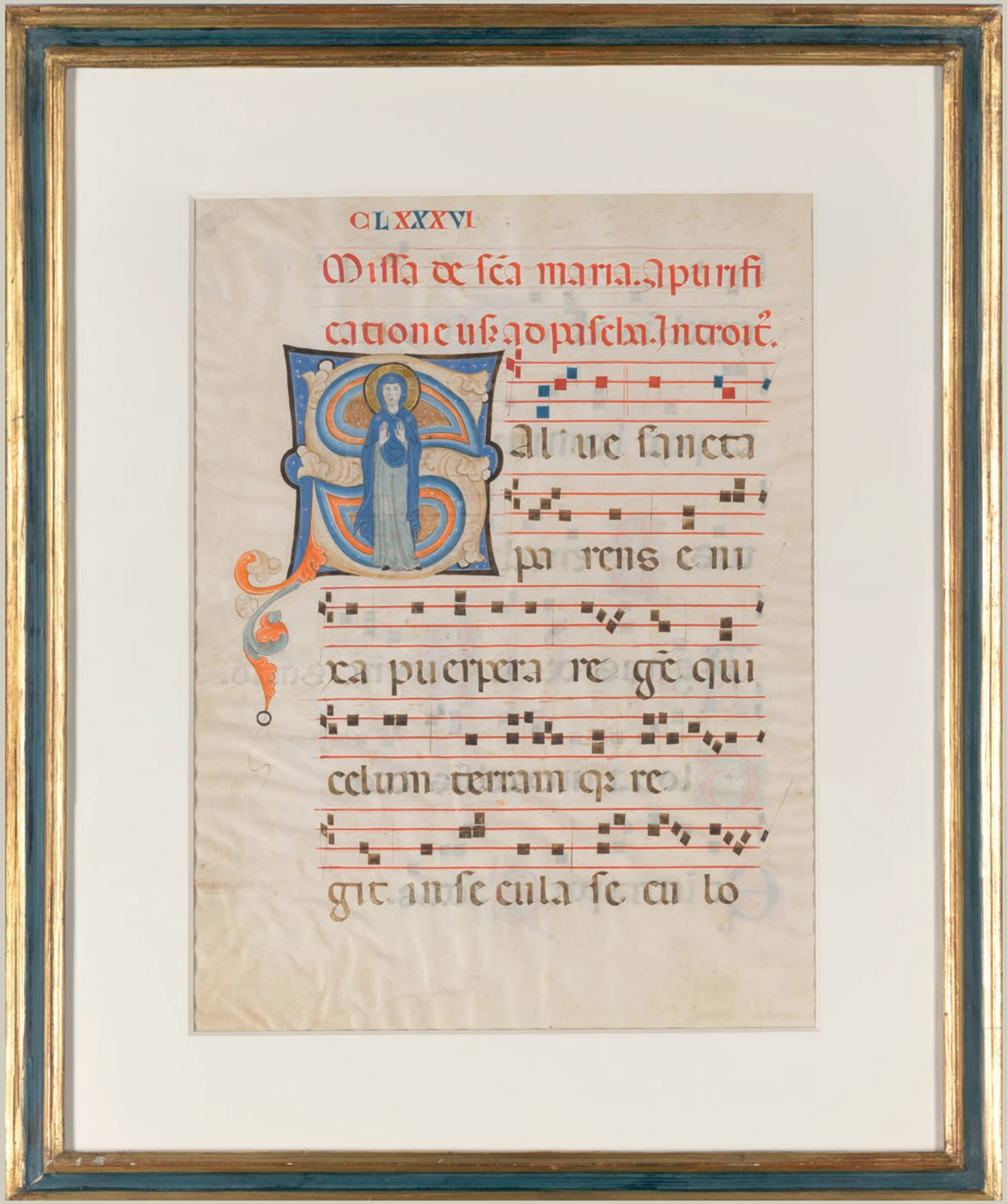


Fig. 1 / Workshop of Cimabue (Master 2 = Grifo di Tancredi?), leaf with Initial *S, Virgin Orans,* from a Gradual, ca. 1290–1295, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 55 x 37.5 cm, Burke Collection, without shelfmark; on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University

The Burke Collection of Italian Manuscript Paintings Edited by Sandra Hindman and Federica Toniolo, with an introduction by Christopher de Hamel London: Ad Ilissvm, 2021

NICHOLAS HERMAN

The design of this splendid volume, with its coloured endpapers, gilded blanks, and full-page spreads, befits the jewel-like nature of the subject it documents: the T. Robert Burke and Katherine States Burke collection of Italian illuminations. It is the latest in a series of publications that has appeared over the last decade, each more sumptuous than the last, which detail the contents of the great collections of medieval and Renaissance manuscript leaves and cuttings remaining in private hands. Each of these projects is unique in its own way: the present volume is distinct by virtue of its impressive roster of seventeen contributors, its lively introduction by Christopher de Hamel, and the extensive, profusely illustrated commentaries – essentially essays – that accompany each catalog entry. At nearly five hundred pages, the amount of attention lavished on each of the forty-three items described is extraordinary.

The Burke Collection, currently on deposit at Stanford University, is as recent as it is small. Its owners mention in a short foreword that their first acquisition was made only in 1998, but the artistic quality of most items is extremely high. With few exceptions, the works are drawn from great Trecento and Quattrocento choir books produced to accompany the chanting of the Mass and the Divine Office at religious foundations in the northern half of Italy. These graduals and antiphonals fell under the knife largely in the nineteenth century, a result of post-Napoleonic tumult and nascent demand from English collectors. The leap from liturgy to bibliomania is recounted with characteristic verve by Christopher de Hamel, who sets the scene with Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* – suitable given the current global pandemic – only to shift to Thomas Frognall Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron* of 1817, with its precocious discussion of Italian miniatures as relics worthy of artistic veneration. The latter figure is a springboard for discussing the great collectors of manuscript fragments past, most notably William Young Ottley (1771-1836) and James Dennistoun (1803-1855), who loom large in the background. Three items in the Burke Collection can be traced back to Ottley (nos. 16, 36, and 39), while at least five stem from the albums assembled by the Scottish antiquary Dennistoun and acquired from his descendants by a young Kenneth Clark (nos. 3, 10, 23, 24, and 30). The historical compass of the cutting *cognoscenti* is small, its members mostly male and of independent means. The Burkes break the mould by being a self-made collector-couple.

The great strength of the Burke Collection is in Florentine and Sienese illumination, represented by fourteen and ten items respectively, present within a larger catalogue section devoted to Tuscany. The rest of the ensemble, divided into regional sections for Umbria, Emilia Romagna, Lombardy, the Veneto, and Lazio, is too selective to offer a comprehensive overview of the deep, multipolar, and intertwined history of illumination in the peninsula. It is more of a breakneck highlights tour. In many ways, it complements the numerically larger collections of Robert McCarthy, Vittorio Cini, and a private Milanese collector, each of which has been chronicled recently.[1]

Throughout the catalogue, there is an effort to link as many items as possible to the names of recognizable illuminator-artists. The personalities invoked include leading lights like Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Simone Camaldolese, Lorenzo Monaco, Fra Angelico (or at least his workshop), Sano di Pietro, and Giovanni di Paolo. A case in point is the association of catalogue number 6 with "Master 2" of the workshop of Cimabue, perhaps Grifo di Tancredi (fig. 1). In reality the evidence of Cimabue directing or overseeing any kind of illumination activity is scant, but the association is at least plausible on stylistic and circumstantial grounds. Other comparisons of illuminations with the monumental arts (especially fresco and panel painting) are more convincing. Twenty-eight of the entries are preceded by short essays, often just one page in length, introducing the respective artist in question, an approach reminiscent of museum catalogues of Old Master paintings. While the practice of book illumination was by nature collaborative, involving multiple specialist painters intervening on the same page, one could argue that the central fields of large illuminated initials, left unpainted until the last moment, had a certain pride of place, justifying the catalogue's focus on singular artists.

By drawing from multiple scholars with precise expertise, deftly corralled by the editors Sandra Hindman and Federica Toniolo, the catalogue is able to showcase deep original research. A by-product of this approach is the inevitable unevenness in tone and voice that one finds throughout the commentaries, which are more like discursive essays than terse, factual reports. In some cases there is overlap between entries by different authors, particularly those concerning Giovanni di Paolo and Sano di Pietro, who appear as distinct artistic hands in items 25 and 26, but as potential collaborators in items 23 and 24.

On balance, we learn more from the unique insights of the contributors than we would from a single generalist author. Authors such as Milvia Bollati, Gaudenz Freuler, and Bryan Keene pay special attention to links with panel painting and fresco, reflecting the intermedial aspect of artistic production in the period. Illuminators like the Leonardesque "Master B.F.", known as such on account of his initials, adapted compositions from works by others on panel (fig. 2). But many others represented in the catalogue, from the Master of the Dominican Effigies to Girolamo dai Libri (his nickname based on his family's association with book illumination), were indeed active across multiple media. While large-scale public images are difficult to compare with the meticulous surfaces of inhabited initials and marginalia, details in predellas or historiated embroideries on the vestments of saints in altarpieces are small enough to enable convincing juxtapositions. The catalogue does not generally draw on technical analysis, which is still a rarity within the field of manuscript studies. However, Stella Panayotova, in discussing works by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci and the Murano Master, draws upon impressive photomicroscopic images captured by Paola Ricciardi at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge and the Fondazione Cini in Venice. Such detailed images, impossible a generation ago, are increasingly useful for differentiating closely related artistic hands. Given the resources available, one wishes that such imaging technology could have been deployed on the entirety of the Burke collection, if only to provide a baseline for further attributions.

In many cases, "parent volumes" or "sister leaves" known elsewhere are duly tracked in the catalogue. Deceptively simple lists are often the product of years of dogged searching by scholars. A single unillustrated leaf from a five-hundred folio liturgical volume produced for Lionello d'Este in the 1440s



Fig. 2 / Master B.F., initial S with *The Stoning of Saint Stephen*, from an Antiphonal (Temporal), ca. 1500–1510, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 16.6 x 16.6 cm, Burke Collection, M 2223_37; on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University

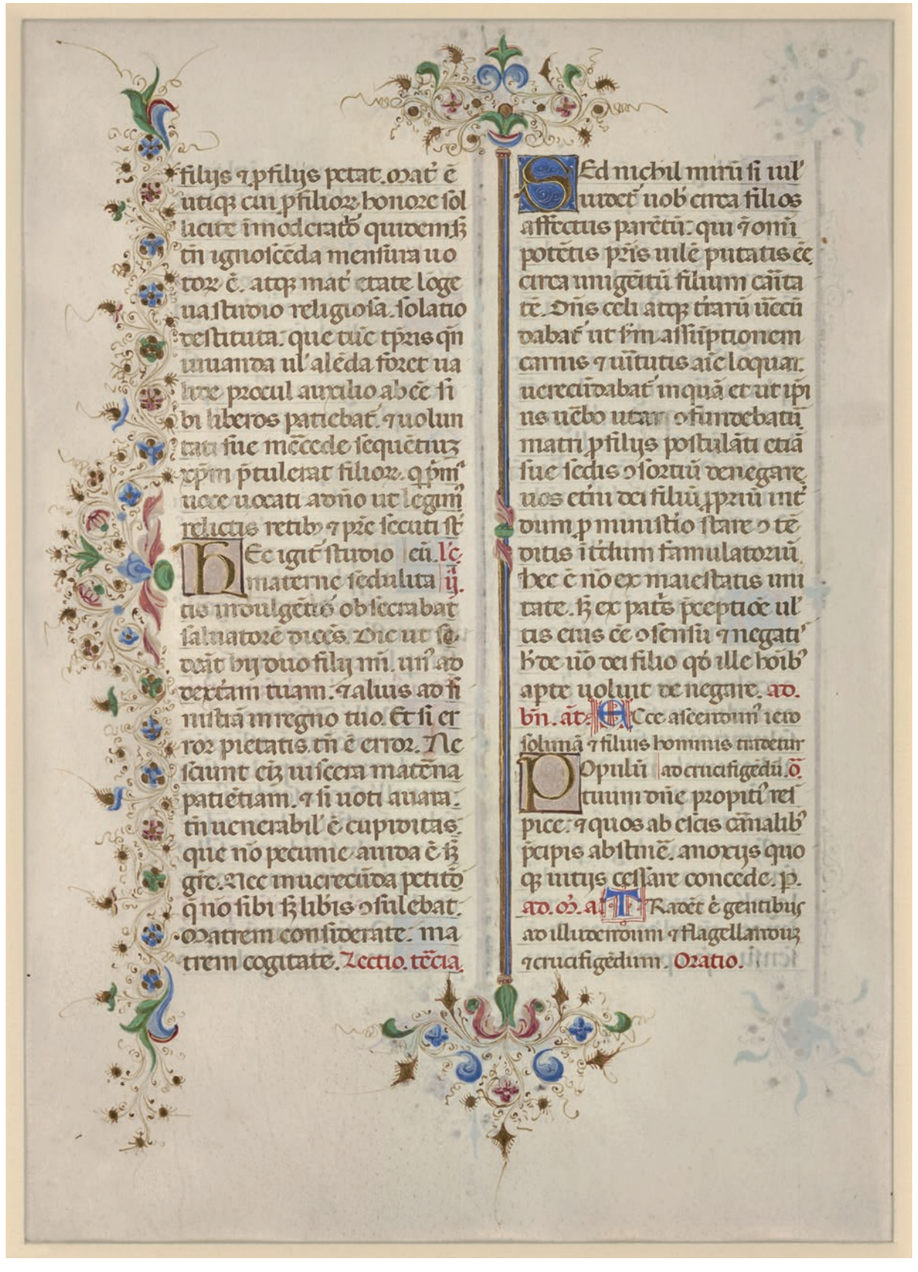


Fig. 3 / Giorgio d'Alemagna (circle), leaf from the Lionello d'Este Breviary, also known as the Llangattock Breviary, 1441–1448, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 27.3 x 20 cm, Burke Collection, M 2223_40; on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University

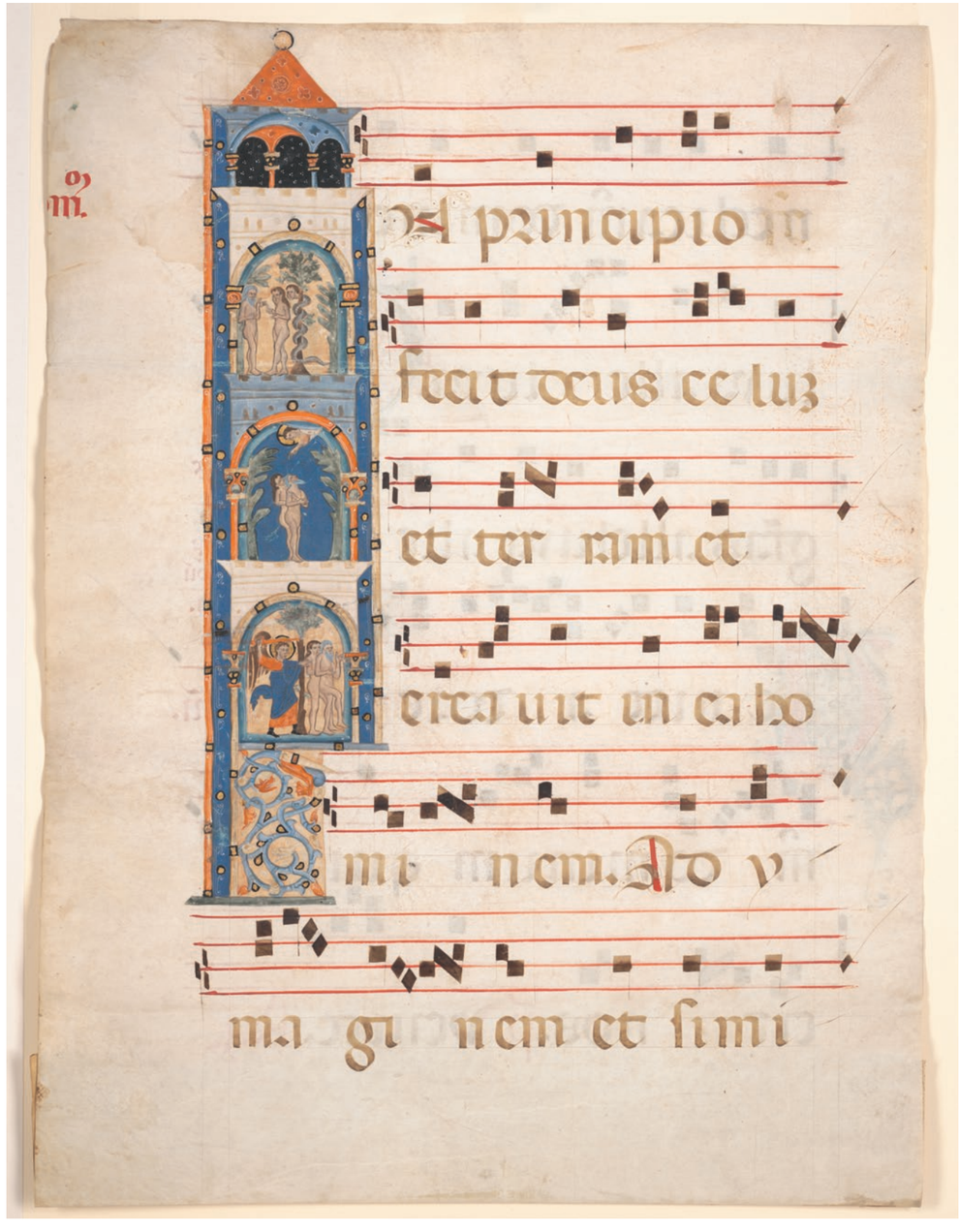


Fig. 4 / Master of Sant'Alessio in Bigiano, leaf with Initial I, *Stories of Adam and Eve*, from an Antiphonal, ca. 1280s, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 57.2 x 37.7 cm, Burke Collection, M 2223_03; on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University



Fig. 5 / Master of the Burke "Saint John the Baptist and the Messiah", initial A with *Saint John the Baptist and the Messiah*, from a Gradual, first half of the fifteenth century, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 25.7 x 17.5 cm, Burke Collection, M 2223_14; on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University.

(the so-called so-called Llangattock Breviary, no. 32; fig. 3), for example, is the starting point for a listing of over one hundred further known leaves, the patient ongoing work of Debra Taylor Cashion. Elsewhere, Sonia Chiodo informs that a leaf with an historiated initial by the Master of Sant'Alessio in Bigiano (no. 5; fig. 4) stems from a spoliated antiphonal still in Pistoia; the page in question, along with others since returned to the local ecclesiastical authorities, was extracted sometime after 1987.[2]

Some mysteries remain, reminding us just how little we know about vast swaths of late medieval book illumination: item number 3 is a great historiated initial A showing a scene previously described as the Ascension or Pentecost, but which in reality represents John the Baptist and his followers awaiting the Messiah (fig. 5). Further, the stylistic attributions and dates that have been attached to it and two sister leaves, also ex-Kenneth Clark collection, have been widely divergent. Here, Tiziana Franco suggests "Umbria (?)" in the first half of the fifteenth century, whereas the image was previously associated with panel paintings and frescoes by Turone di Maxio, active in Verona between 1356 and 1387. Such profound shifts in attribution point to significant losses of *comparanda* to be sure, but also to the slowness of digitization by Italian libraries, which hobbles connoisseurship by making it difficult to locate anchor works. Elsewhere, an imposing leaf from an antiphonal with a charming margin-to-initial Annunciation (no. 7; fig. 6), attributed to Pacino di Bonaguida by Keene, seems to have no immediately identifiable sister leaves. This is despite extensive and careful work undertaken to untangle the gordian complexity of the so-called Pacinesque group of painter-illuminators.[3]

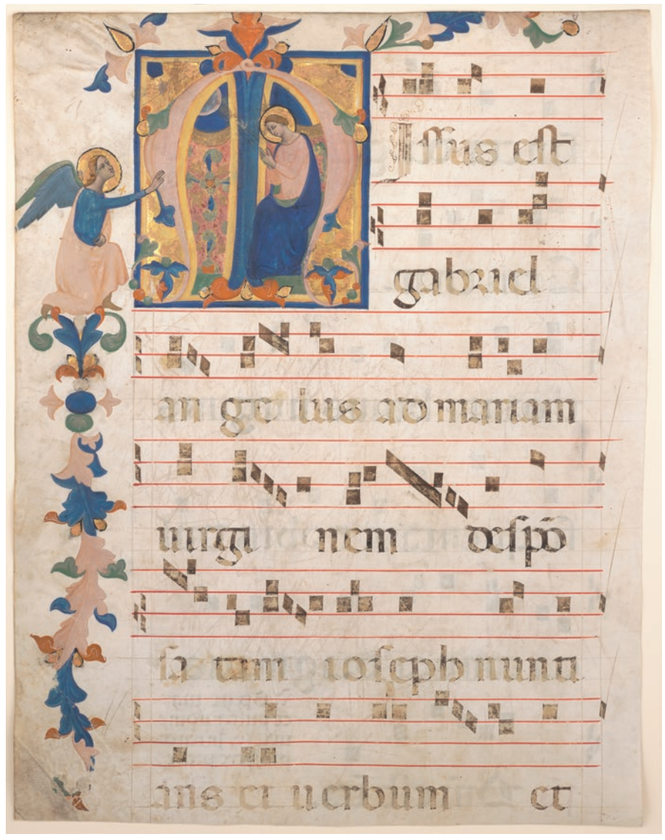


Fig. 6 / Pacino di Bonaguida (attributed), lead with Initial M, *The Annunciation*, from an Antiphonal, ca. 1330-1340s, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 45 x 35 cm, Burke Collection, M 2223_10; on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University.

One small critique – and one that can be leveled at most recent catalogues of this type – is that, despite the lavish programme of comparative illustrations, the reverse side of most leaves is not illustrated. From the point of view of connoisseurship this may not matter much, but when it comes to re-situating tightly cropped cuttings within their liturgical context, the more information the better. Even the high-quality images available through the Stanford Libraries website (the university has long been a leader in digitization initiatives), are limited to a single side. Overall, though, this volume brims with exciting scholarship and readable commentary; its lavish illustrations and handsome format convey a sense of luxury and beauty that is quickly vanishing from the majority of scholarly publications.

NOTES

1. Gaudenz Freuler (with contributions by Georgi Parpulov), *The McCarthy Collection: Italian and Byzantine Miniatures* (London: Ad Ilissum, 2018); Alessandro Martoni, Federica Toniolo, and Massimo Medica, *Le miniature della Fondazione Giorgio Cini: Pagine, ritagli, manoscritti* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2016); Gaudenz Freuler, *Italian Miniatures from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2013).
2. For fuller details, see Sonia Chiodo, ed., *Storie di pagine dipinte: miniature recuperate dai Carabinieri* (Livorno: Sillabe, 2020).
3. For this, see the contributions in Christine Sciacca, ed., *Florence at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Painting and Illumination, 1300-1350*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012).
4. https://exhibits.stanford.edu/burke_mss (accessed 31 January 2022).

Obituary: Ernst van de Wetering (1938 – 2021)

DAVID A.H.B. TAYLOR

Rembrandt van Rijn once said: "Try to put well in practice what you already know, and in so doing, you will in good time, discover the hidden things which you now enquire about." Centuries later this becomes a fitting epitaph from the celebrated Dutch Golden Age master to the great scholar of his work, Professor Ernst van de Wetering, who died on 11 August 2021.



Ernst van de Wetering in 2006.



Ernst van de Wetering studying a painting in 1969.

Van de Wetering, who originally trained as a painter, at The Hague's Royal Academy of Art, dedicated most of his life's work to the study of Rembrandt. He studied art history at the University of Amsterdam, where the subject of his doctoral thesis was Rembrandt's early studio practice, and where in 1987 he was made professor (he retired in 1999).

He was a founding member of the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP) in 1968, where his first role was as a junior researcher, although he ultimately became the organization's chair, from 1993 until it was disbanded in 2011. The project, endeavouring to catalogue the autograph paintings, became the authoritative last word on the artist, and its important art historical contribution, beyond the attributions, is the six volume *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*. Published between 1982 and 2014, the *Corpus* covered the years 1625-1642, the self-portraits and the small-scale history paintings, and it ended with Van de Weterings's own sixth volume, *Rembrandt's Paintings Revisited – A Complete Survey*.

Van de Wetering was especially fascinated by Rembrandt's painting practice and working methods. To hear him talk on the subject, in front of a picture, was a particular privilege, such as when he reconsidered the National Trust's 1635 *tronie* of Rembrandt in a fanciful costume and feathered bonnet (Buckland Abbey, Devon) reproduced here, a project this author was lucky enough to be part of. The picture's authorship had long been questioned. When it was generously gifted to the National Trust in 2010 by Edna Nedas, Lady Samuel (1918-2008; the widow of Lord Samuel of Wych Cross, who in 1987 had left the majority of his remarkable collection of Dutch and Flemish pictures to the City of London Corporation), it was thought to have been painted by a pupil of Rembrandt's, following the Rembrandt



Research Project's decision decades earlier. As part of Van de Wetering returning to pictures that for him had left question marks over their attribution, he suggested cleaning and analyzing the picture, mindful of the advances made in technical research. Over eight months of research at Cambridge University's Hamilton Kerr Institute – which included cleaning, varnish removal, pigment analysis, raking light photography, infrared reflectography and x-radiography – resulted in Van de Wetering concluding that it was indeed by Rembrandt, and it was published as such in the sixth volume of the *Corpus*.

Van de Wetering's analytical style embodied a sort of neo-connoisseurial approach to his subject. He proved that to understand properly an artist like Rembrandt requires substantial time spent studying pictures produced by him, investigating his painting technique, and imagining how he worked. As Van de Wetering once said himself, art historians should strive to look with fresh eyes at their subjects. For him the art of looking, aided by an understanding of how Rembrandt would physically and psychologically produce a painted image, would lead to a deeper knowledge of the artist's processes, as well as those of his studio assistants. This meant his visual examination of a picture came with a significant, layered knowledge of the artist's mind and practice that went far beyond judgement based on initial appearances.

Reaching a conclusion on a work's attribution was never straightforward and so the various scientific advances that could lead to overwhelming technical evidence, and help determine authenticity, were very much welcomed by him. As such he was unafraid to revisit pictures, including both accepted and rejected works, and to sometimes reconsider and contradict earlier conclusions and attributions.

Van de Wetering was generous, funny, passionate, sometimes formidable, and always honest in his thoughts and opinions. His huge part in disseminating a better understanding of the Dutch master, the significance of the attributions and reattributions he was responsible for, and all of his many publications on the subject, not just the *Corpus*, are his important lasting legacy. In Van de Wetering the great Rembrandt had a worthy champion.

PUBLICATION CREDITS

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A Metal Point Drawing of the Holy Family by Raphael and observations on his assistants' use of his drawings
Paul Joannides

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Fig. 7 The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth / Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees / Bridgeman Images

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Fig. 4 Wikimedia
Fig. 11 Ministero della Cultura – Galleria Borghese

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Perino del Vaga, and the lost Chapel of the Sacrament in Old Saint Peter's
Linda Wolk-Simon

Derbyshire
Fig. 7 Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees / Bridgeman Images

Florence
Figs 10 & 12 Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi

London
Fig. 4 © The Trustees of the British Museum

New York
Fig. 6 Image Courtesy of Sotheby's
Fig. 8 Morgan Library & Museum

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Fig. 9 © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Sylvie Chan-Liat
Fig. 11 Courtesy of the author

Rome
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Fig. 3 Courtesy of Colnaghi Studies Journal Editor
Fig. 5 Wikipedia

Michelangelo's First Painted Tondo? – The Budapest *Saint John on Patmos*
Colin Eisler, with the assistance of Sarah Harris

Bologna
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Fig. 12 Wikipedia

Forth Worth, Texas
Fig. 5 Wikipedia

London
Fig. 8 Wikipedia

New York
Fig. 7 Public Domain

Antonio Visentini as a view painter
Charles Beddington

West Sussex
Figs. 1, 2 & 3 National Trust

London
Figs. 4, 5, 6 & 7 The Wallace Collection
Fig. 8 Matthew Hollow
Figs. 9 & 15 © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021.
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Figs. 16, 17 & 24 Private Collection (c/o Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox)

Location unknown
Figs. 18 & 19 Private Collection
Figs. 11, 12, 14 & 23 Courtesy of the author

New York
Fig. 20 Private Collection

Spain
Figs. 21 & 22 Private Collection

Obituary: Ernst van de Wetering (1938 – 2021)
David A.H.B. Taylor

The Hague
Fig. 1 RKD – Photo Collection RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague

Devon
Fig. 2 © National Trust Images/Chris Titmus

Amsterdam
Fig. 3 ANP/PA Images

The Burke Collection of Italian Manuscript Paintings Edited by Sandra Hindman and Federica Toniolo, with an introduction by Christopher de Hamel, London: Ad Ilissvm, 2021
Nicholas Herman

Stanford
Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6 Burke Collection, on deposit at Stanford Libraries, Stanford University.

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