# *From Artist to Audience*

ITALIAN DRAWINGS AND PRINTS
from the 15th through 18th Centuries

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## ITALIAN DRAWINGS AND PRINTS
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*Works from the Darlene K. Morris Collection*

March 4 – April 16, 2016


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Cover: Carlo Urbino (attributed), *Study sheet with Two Standing Men,* ca. 1560. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 14).

Back cover: Diana Mantuana (Ghisi, Scultori), *Farnese Bull* (*The Punishment of Dirce*), 1581. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 16).

Title page: Gaetano Gandolfi, *Saint Anthony the Great,* ca. 1770. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 33).

## *Acknowledgements*

Dickinson College's senior Art History Seminar is unique among undergraduate programs in art history in both process and outcome. It offers students the opportunity to become curators for a semester wherein they formulate, research, write a professional catalogue for, and organize a public exhibition in The Trout Gallery. In the short three-and-one-half months of the fall semester, this process is demanding and always seems a difficult challenge at the start. This year, the images around which the seminar was organized were particularly challenging: Italian drawings and prints from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Many of these works had never been published or exhibited, and they represented both media and artists that required specialized expertise the students did not previously have. The students, however, enthusiastically rose to the occasion and devoted enormous time, energy, and excitement not only to the course material for the seminar, but also to the advanced research and writing of the essays for this catalogue. The thematic approach, installation design, and idea for organizing the catalogue are the result of their collaborative endeavor, and the outcome is something they can collectively be proud of. Their diligence, industry, and good humor throughout the semester made this seminar the most memorable I have taught in my twenty-five years at Dickinson, and I extend here my congratulations to them on a job well done.

*From Artist to Audience* would not have been possible without the continuing generosity and support of Mrs. Darlene K. Morris who has shared her exceptional collection of Old Master and Modern drawings and prints with The Trout Gallery for two prior exhibitions, and has done so here again with some of her most recent acquisitions. It is unheard of for undergraduates to be able to study and work first hand with unpublished drawings from the Italian Renaissance, and equally rare for them to be able to work with etchings and engravings of such high quality. As a scholar of Italian Renaissance art, this is the first time in my own career that I have been involved in an exhibition of drawings and prints—the educational and aesthetic experience for all of us has been extraordinary. We can not thank Darlene enough for her exceptional support of The Trout Gallery through sharing her collection with us, and the unique exhibition that has materialized as a result.

Many colleagues at Dickinson contributed their time and expertise to the seminar and exhibition. The students and I owe special thanks to Phillip Earenfight, Director of The Trout Gallery and Associate Professor of Art History, for his enthusiastic support along every step of the process and for transporting the works himself to the College during the summer of 2015. He was also of great assistance in procuring additional images for the students' essays from Art Resource, New York, and several other museums and collections as noted in the photo captions. We are also indebted to James Bowman, Gallery Registrar and Exhibition Preparator, who made the works available for study by the seminar and on an individual basis for each student when needed. James also matted and framed every image, and shared his informed advice and supervision in all aspects of design and installation process, which formed an important part of the students' experience in the seminar. The professional quality of the installation is a tribute to James' expertise and skill. Josefine Smith, Art & Art History Library Liaison at the Waidner-Boyd Lee Spahr Library, shared her knowledge of databases, resources, and imaginative thinking with the class, and was always available for individual challenges the students encountered in their work. Our thanks to Professor Andrew Bale, Adjunct Professor in Art & Art History and Photographer for The Trout Gallery, for making high quality images available for reference during the semester and for all of the images in the exhibition reproduced in this catalogue. We were most fortunate to have the professional design expertise of Amanda DeLorenzo, Director of Design Services, with whom the seminar met twice as part of the crafting of this elegant and professional publication. We also wish to thank warmly Heather Flaherty, Curator of Education for the Gallery's Educational Outreach Program and Amie Bantz, Associate Curator of Education, for their enthusiastic support of this year's exhibition and for making it available to a wide audience of students and individuals from the larger regional community through a variety of innovative programming. Rosalie Lehman, Susan Russell, and Catherine Sacco deserve our sincere thanks for overseeing all aspects of visitor services.

Finally, without the expertise, patience, and collaboration of Stephanie Keifer, Senior Administrative Assistant for The Trout Gallery, neither the final and meticulous editing of the catalogue, invitations, opening reception, and all issues related to the exhibition would happen. The professionalism and clean copy of the catalogue text are largely the result of Stephanie's hard work, and we owe her our heartfelt thanks.

Melinda Schlitt
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## *Introduction*

Melinda Schlitt

Exhibitions of drawings and prints from the Italian Renaissance or the broader chronological range represented in *From Artist to Audience* (15th–18th centuries), are relatively rare events most often organized and sponsored by the largest and most prestigious museums and galleries. The works are rare and fragile, installation and environmental requirements are rigorous, and loans or existing collections with a thematic consistency are difficult to come by. From 2010 through 2015, for example, significant exhibitions of Italian drawings or prints from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries were held at the J. Paul Getty Museum (drawings, 2010), The British Museum (drawings, 2010), The Art Institute of Chicago (drawings, 2012), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (drawings, 2014), the National Gallery of Art (prints, 2015), and The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (drawings, 2015). The thirty-two Italian drawings and prints from the Darlene K. Morris collection that comprise *From Artist to Audience* at The Trout Gallery constitute a variety and quality of artists, media, and subjects that could rival any of the exhibitions at the prominent museums listed above. Spanning from ca. 1490 to ca. 1770, these works were produced in the principal artistic centers of Italy, including Naples, Rome, Florence, Siena, Bologna, Parma, Ferrara, Venice, and Genoa. Virtually every medium in drawing and printmaking is represented here as well, from pen and ink, wash, gouache, black chalk, red chalk, and graphite, to woodcut, multiple woodblock, engraving, etching, and drypoint. An equally broad range in subjects, both secular and religious, accompany the diversity in medium: independent and multiple figure studies, preparatory drawings for paintings, representations of ancient sculpture, copies after paintings and other drawings, landscapes, allegories, figures of saints, biblical narratives, pastoral themes, prints in imitation of other prints, and visualizations of ancient Roman poetry.

Such a diverse range of artists, regions, chronology, media, and subjects presented a challenge to the student curators in their attempt to formulate a thematic connection between the drawings and prints that was grounded in a demonstrably shared context. After conducting preliminary research on the artists and the nature of drawings and prints from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century, the students decided to organize the works around issues related to function and audience, which most broadly could be characterized as pertaining to the private sphere of the artist (drawings) and the public realm of viewers and collectors (prints). Although there are of course exceptions to this sweeping distinction as there are drawings that functioned in a more "public" context and prints that were more "private" from their inception, this distinction seemed an appropriate and meaningful way to organize the exhibition.

Drawings constituted the foundation of artistic practice, ideation, and invention, and were considered the essential medium to the successful practice of painting, sculpture, and architecture in Italy beginning in the early 1400s. In discussing the origins of painting as the origin of all art in book 2 of his *De Pictura* (1435), the Florentine humanist Leon Battista Alberti cited the ancient Roman rhetorician, Quintilian, who claimed that painting began when the earliest people drew "around shadows made by the sun, and the art eventually grew by a process of additions."[1] During the later fifteenth century until his death in 1519, Leonardo Da Vinci built upon and departed from Alberti's treatise, writing at length about the necessity and purposes of drawing in his own unfinished treatise on painting, a work which was read in manuscript versions by artists for decades before it was formally published: "There are many who have a taste and love for drawing, but no talent; and this will be discernible in boys who are not diligent and never finish their drawings with shading."[2] Among the many things Leonardo discussed about drawing, was the question of what to draw in first acquiring skill and practice in the medium and then how to progress in gaining mastery, which few ever attained:

> Which is best, to draw from nature or from the antique? and which is more difficult to do–outlines or light and shade?...First draw from drawings by good masters done from works of art and from nature, and not from memory; then from work in relief with the guidance of the drawing done from it, and then from good natural models and this you must put into practice.[3]

Leonardo is often credited with developing the medium of red chalk as well as the use of tinted paper for his drawings as they afforded a greater range of tonal contrasts, both examples of which are seen in this exhibition. Alberti's and Leonardo's writings were essential for Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), the prolific painter, architect, and historian who wrote the most comprehensive and important history of Renaissance art beginning with Cimabue in the 1280s and ending with the artists of his own generation in the later 1560s. Filled with a treasure trove of theory, critical evaluation, historical information, and artistic insight, Vasari's *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects from Cimabue to Our Own Times* (1568) expands our knowledge about the practice and purposes of drawing—and prints as

well—during the Renaissance tenfold. Vasari also helped to initiate the practice of collecting drawings by other artists, which he mounted himself in a bound portfolio with hand-drawn ink frames sometimes embellished with gold borders. He referred often, with pride, to "his" collection of drawings in the *Lives*, and Vasari's practice reflected a larger movement among wealthy patrons, rulers, humanists, and other artists throughout Europe who consciously expanded their collecting interests beyond ancient sculpture, coins, manuscripts, and books, to include drawings and prints.[4]

Although *disegno* was the Italian word used most broadly to refer to any drawing, Vasari distinguished between types of drawings by function more so than medium. A *schizzo* (sketch) could be anything from a quick figure study made in the studio to a preparatory idea for a larger composition, in any medium. A *cartone* (cartoon) was a full-scale more finished preparatory drawing made for transfer in fresco, oil, or tempera on panel or canvas, or even a large print or relief sculpture. A *modello* (model), though usually in reference to a physical model for sculpture or architecture, could also be a demonstrative drawing or plan for a painting. The idea of *Disegno* was also developed into an important pedagogical foundation for the theory and practice of art by Vasari and some of his contemporaries, most notably the philosopher and historian Benedetto Varchi. Serving as the organizing principle around which Vasari and his contemporaries founded the first school of art for painters, sculptors, and architects in Florence (1563)—the *Accademia del Disegno*—*Disegno* established a new curriculum for the teaching of art in Florence that was to last for generations and was intended to promote the primacy of a distinctive Tuscan manner in art. Briefly, although the word *disegno* had a variety of meanings between cities and workshops in Italy from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, its theoretical implications as defined in the artistic culture of Florence in the mid sixteenth century was understood as a cognitive process, moving from the perception of sensible particulars to a knowledge and understanding of universal truths. Based in a revision of Aristotelian theories of knowledge, *Disegno* required the concept of practice, since the artist of *Disegno* needed the ability to render visually that which he knew intellectually together with that which he could see. This was a skill that could only be acquired over time, through drawing, by exercising and training the hand and mind together.[5] Vasari gives an adumbrated definition of *Disegno* in the Preface to part three of the *Lives*, the section that begins with the "Life" of Leonardo Da Vinci, which is useful to cite here:

> *Disegno* is the imitation of the most beautiful things in nature, used for the creation of all figures whether in sculpture or painting; and this quality depends on the ability of the artist's hand and mind to reproduce what he sees with his eyes most accurately and correctly on to paper or panel or whatever surface he may be using. The same applies to works of relief in sculpture.[6]

Several of the artists represented in this exhibition, including Pierino Da Vinci, Lorenzo Lippi, and Antonio Domenico Gabbiani, trained in Florence during the first half of the sixteenth century or later studied at the *Accademia del Disegno*.

Leonardo's earlier advice that students begin by studying and copying drawings by "good masters" made from "art and nature," is precisely the practice we see having been undertaken during the first half of the sixteenth century by Vasari and his contemporaries. Young artists frequently exchanged and copied each other's drawings or, whenever possible, arranged to have drawings by "masters" like Domenico Ghirlandaio, Andrea del Sarto, or Michelangelo Buonarroti secretly lifted from their studios at night by apprentices and passed around so that they could be copied and returned before morning. One of the most well-known revelations about the necessity of drawing as fundamental to developing both skill and conceptual invention is found on a sheet by Michelangelo showing two quick pen-and-ink sketches of a Madonna and Child with spaces left next to each for his student, Antonio Mini, to make copies. Mini, who was a rather mediocre draftsman, made two clumsy attempts in faint red chalk next to each of Michelangelo's figural groups, but it is Michelangelo's written directive at the bottom of the page that sums up the urgency and importance of drawing: "Draw, Antonio, draw, Antonio, draw and don't waste time."[7] It is not insignificant in this respect, that Michelangelo was named as the titular head of the *Accademia del Disegno* in 1563, even though he had been absent from Florence for close to thirty years.

For the first exhibition at The Trout Gallery of works from the collection of Darlene K. Morris in 2011, Phillip Earenfight made some observations about drawings and prints in the Introduction to his catalogue that are worth restating here:

> Prints and drawings are often the most intimate and revealing works by an artist. Frequently small in size, they provide a view into an artist's creative spirit on a scale that is individual, direct, and intense...When experiencing a print or drawing, one is struck by the nature of the image, its media...and how it interacts with the paper. The image can be faint, made of whispery lines that appear to blow gently across the surface of the paper, as in the case of drypoints and etchings. Or it may be firm, dark, and embossed deeply into the paper fibers, as with woodcuts and wood engravings. Or it may be direct and gestural, as in the case of drawings, which bear the touch of the artist's hand—revealing the immediate application of pigment to the paper.[8]

In the artificial environment of a museum exhibition like that of *From Artist to Audience*, one would be well advised to keep these points in mind as we are far removed from the worlds in which the artists represented here lived and worked, and the contexts within which their works were used and seen. However, we can—and should—attempt to understand and reconstruct ways of seeing these works that have both historical resonance and contemporary saliency.

One issue that cuts across chronology and media in this exhibition is that of regional practice, or "style," and nowhere is this notion of visual identity more present than in the critical debates that took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about the relative merits of the *Disegno*-inspired Tuscan manner of south-central Italy and that of artists from the more northern regions of Emilia-Romagna and the Veneto. Often characterized broadly as a contrast between "disegno" and "colore,"—the visual and expressive effects of line/contour and color/chiaroscuro—comparisons and contrasts were drawn between the styles of artists like Michelangelo and Titian, or Vasari and Correggio, as representative of regional distinctions. Although these kinds of distinctions were often bifurcated in a manner that blurred important subtleties within an artist's visual language and exaggerated other differences, they nonetheless point to important topics of critical debate among artists and the broader intellectual community of which they were a part. In this context, Vasari's *Lives* served as the manifesto championing the primacy of the Tuscan manner exemplified by artists of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but above all in the paragon of Michelangelo. The primary counter-argument was presented by Lodovico Dolce, the prominent Venetian humanist, historian, poet, and translator who championed the painters of the Venetian school in his *Dialogo della Pittura, intitolato l'Aretino* (1557), where Titian was the exemplar of excellence in style. This debate was further developed and refined during the late sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries by Agostino, Annibale, and Lodovico Carracci as part of their revolutionary "reform" of art in Bologna. Their reform also established the *Accademia degli Incamminati* (Academy of Those who are Making Progress) in 1582, which was designed in deliberate contradistinction to the recently-established Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*. Significant texts were also published during this later period, which extended the literary tradition of Vasari and Dolce, including those by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (*Idea del tempio della pittura*, 1591), Giovan Pietro Bellori (*Le Vite de'Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni*, 1672, which included lives of the Carracci), Carlo Cesare Malvasia (*Felsina Pittrice—Vite de Pittori Bolognese*, 1678), and Filippo Baldinucci (*Notizie de'professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, 1681–1728).[9] Many drawings and prints in this exhibition exemplify qualities of this long-standing regional distinction as well as diverse artistic expression, particularly with respect to issues of technique and style.

The pen-and-ink study of *Male Figures with Putti* (ca. 1530–1550) (fig. 1, cat. 11) from the circle of Baccio Bandinelli, the Florentine sculptor, painter, and draftsman, embodies a commitment to line as a declarative manifestation of anatomical form and relief, evident in the artist's predominant use of contour and crosshatching. The primary figure clearly evokes Michelangelo's idealized male nudes (*ignudi*) from the Sistine Chapel Ceiling (1508–1512) in its character and movement, and the *putti* closely resemble the many *genii* accompanying the Prophets and Sibyls, and also the young children that populate the Lunettes. Furthermore, Michelangelo's unique drawing technique in pen and ink is also imitated here—contour lines of varying intensities articulate the inner and outer depth of limbs, while bold and gestural crosshatching with short parallel strokes suggest the grooves of a sculptor's chisel in marble as they define muscles, bone, and tonal contrast in the drawing. Michelangelo developed this technique during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Florence, and used it often for figure studies in pen and ink. It was adopted by many of his contemporaries working in Tuscany and Rome throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, and came to be identified with the regional style of Florence and Tuscany in figure drawing more generally.

Fig. 1. Baccio Bandinelli, *Male Figures with Putti*, ca. 1530–1550. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 11).

By contrast, the large compositional study on tinted blue paper representing the biblical narrative of *The Brazen Serpent* (Numbers 21:4–9), attributed to the Venetian painter, Jacopo Palma il Giovane (1548–1628) (fig. 2, cat. 23), exhibits the kind of dynamic naturalism and tonal intensity most often associated with the regional identity of northern Italy and the Veneto. Palma Giovane, as he was more commonly known, was said by his biographers to have studied in Titian's workshop, afterwards painting alongside Veronese and Tintoretto beginning in the late 1570s on numerous images for the Doge's palace in Venice where he came into his own as a recognized master. Tinted blue paper was favored by artists from this region for drawings, as it allowed for a great tonal range in combination with carefully gradated media such as we see used here: black chalk, pen and ink, ink wash, and white highlight. Contour lines defining figures and other objects are selectively minimal in this dramatic narrative, and form is rather shaped through tonal shifts across a broad scale from light to dark. The intensity of the human drama is matched by the conviction and intensity of the drawing itself, and one could easily envision the saturated palette and opulent, loose brushstrokes of the painting that might have resulted from this drawing.

Fig. 2. Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Brazen Serpent,* ca. 1570. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 23).

If drawings can reveal the immediacy of an idea or gesture within a unique image, prints could fix an artist's invention into a replicable form characterized by multiplicity rather than singularity. Prints became a primary medium of artistic expression in Italy and throughout Europe beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing well into the nineteenth century. During the chronological period covered in *From Artist to Audience*, prints also satisfied a burgeoning market comprised of collectors, artists, wealthy patrons, and rulers who sought to possess images in every genre, subject, and medium. Prints were the most important medium for the widespread knowledge of other works of art, such as sculpture from ancient Greece and Rome, recent frescoes, tapestries, or altarpieces, and they also became recognized in their own right as a medium for original inventions. Painters often worked directly with a particular printmaker, supplying drawings that were then engraved, printed, and sold as original inventions by the artist. The collaboration between Raphael and Marcantonio Raimondi during the first half of the sixteenth century, one of the master engravers represented in this exhibition, epitomizes this type of professional relationship.[10] Some painters, such as Parmigianino (1503–1540), Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), and Guido Cagnacci (1601–1663)—all represented in this exhibition—practiced etching and printing on their own and produced stunningly sensual and spontaneous graphic expressions that often have the gestural immediacy of a drawing (cat. 9, 10, 17, 25). Printmaking could also be legally complicated, as there were usually several individuals involved in the production of high-quality prints in Italy that would be offered for sale. The "inventor," or artist that created the image, was not necessarily the same as the "engraver," who was in turn not necessarily the same as the "publisher" or the authority granting a "privilege," which was a form of copyright. At times, all of these individuals were included at the bottom edge of an etching or engraving, adding a significant amount of text to the image. To entangle matters further, privileges were most often only recognized within the geographical boundaries of the authority or institution granting the privilege. So, for example, a privilege for a print granted in Venice might not be legally recognized in Rome and hence the print could potentially be copied and sold there by another printmaker, thus infringing on the rights of the inventor and printmaker in Venice.[11] Many lawsuits were filed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for what we today would call, "copyright infringement" or theft of "intellectual property,"

one of the most famous of which involved Albrecht Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi. Three engravings by Raimondi in this exhibition that were copied after prints from Dürer's woodcut series, the *Life of the Virgin* (1501–1505) (cat. 4, 5, 6), illustrate well the issues surrounding these complex legal circumstances.

Of the two hundred fifty engravings that Marcantonio Raimondi (1465–1534) made during his lifetime, around fifty of them are based on compositions by Raphael (1483–1520). The print included in this exhibition of *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* (1517–1520) (fig. 3, cat. 8) is one of the best examples of the Raphael/Raimondi collaboration, and would have most certainly been intended to be purchased by an individual of means as its large size (10 x 14 inches) and brilliant technique would have commanded a high price. Raimondi was the most sought-after engraver of his generation, and is the only printmaker to whom Vasari devoted a rather lengthy biography in his *Lives of the Artists*, often discussing the qualities of his engravings in terms usually reserved for painters. *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* represents Raphael's image of the same subject that he rendered in a full-color cartoon for part of a series of sixteen tapestries commissioned by Pope Leo X in 1515 for the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel. At approximately nine feet tall and nine to fifteen feet wide each, the tapestries represented narrative scenes from the *Acts* of Saints Peter and Paul that would have only been displayed in the Sistine Chapel on rare occasions and seen by a select audience of clerics. Raimondi's print, made soon after the commission had been fulfilled, would have allowed a much wider audience to see Raphael's latest work while at the same time promoting the most recent and grand Papal addition to the Sistine. Raimondi was a master at changing his engraving technique to create visual effects analogous to those that characterized the original image from which he was working, and *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens* is no exception. The volumetric density of figures and complex spatial surfaces created by a new, dynamic architecture in Raphael's original is effectively communicated by Raimondi through tight, parallel lines and precise stippling marks. Furthermore, Raphael's innovative use of color, broad tonal range, and tightly-rendered surfaces in the original cartoon find analogous expression in Raimondi's black-and-white print. Although Raimondi reconfigured some details of the architectural setting and figures, thus making the print his own work, the character and identity of Raphael's invention and pictorial style are unmistakable.

In stark contrast to the hundreds of prints Raimondi made and sold during his lifetime, the painter Guido Cagnacci (1601–1663), who most likely studied with Guido Reni and Lodovico Carracci, is known to have made and printed only two small etchings. Both have been identified as representing an *Allegory of Painting* (ca. 1650s) and are almost identical in size (5 ¼ x 3 inches)—there are two extant impressions of one etching and four of the other, of which one is in this exhibition (fig. 4, cat. 25). These prints were etched and produced by the artist, and were most likely intended for himself and perhaps a small number of friends and colleagues. It is doubtful that they would have been offered for sale, and very likely that they were meant to be seen together as pendants–a "terrestrial" and "celestial" version of Cagnacci's *Allegory of Painting*. In contrast to the rich palettes and oil-laden brush evident in Cagnacci's paintings, this etching is spontaneous, gestural, and almost

Fig. 3. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens,* 1517–1520. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 8).

rough in its sketch-like lines and articulations. At such an intimately small size, one has to bring this print up close in order to see the figures and details clearly, and even then, some ambiguities remain. In fact, the technique and visual surface of Cagnacci's etching make it read more like a drawing, an effect that one also encounters in Annibale Carracci's spectacular etching of *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (1591) (cat. 17). Most interestingly in this regard, a discussion took place in 1631 among artists who were members of the Roman art academy, the *Accademia di San Luca*, which focused on this very ambiguity of whether prints could be officially considered "drawings." Although the documentary record from this particular meeting is brief, the fact that it was a topic of discussion at all with a decisive verdict in the negative (i.e., "prints are not drawings"), speaks to questions about medium and graphic expression during the seventeenth century in Italy that merit further study.[12]

The unusual iconography of Cagnacci's etchings have perplexed scholars who have written about them, but if they are taken together as pendants, their meaning becomes more clear.[13] In the etching for which we do not have a reproduction here, we see a personification of Painting as a composite figure of "Venus Pictura," who holds a brush in her right hand, a palette in her left, and leans over a half-way reclining female nude in a cramped foreground. "Venus Pictura" is herself half nude, and she wears a laurel wreath on her head along with a delicate diadem of small stars. According to E. J. Sluijter, "Venus Pictura" as a personification represents beauty and the seductive, illusory power of painting, and Cagnacci also shows her wearing a chain around her neck with a small mask attached to it as a further symbol of the idea of deception.[14] A small putto peeks out from behind a coat of arms, from which the nude figure in the foreground has taken a star that she holds aloft in the center of the image. Several other stars remain on the coat of arms. Immediately adjacent to the reclining figure, we see a group of objects with vegetation, among which is a bishop's mitre and papal tiara. The figures are grouped adjacent to the entrance of a grand palazzo, apparently in a small side garden, and a partial view of an embellished Pantheon dome can be seen in the background through the columns of the palazzo entrance.

This image can be read as an allegory of the "terrestrial" idea of painting, where patronage by the wealthy and powerful was understood as essential to the artist's success and the success of painting itself. The palazzo, together with the Pantheon dome, clearly suggest a Roman setting, a context which is further supported by the papal tiara and bishop's mitre. The coat of arms from which the reclining nude figure takes a star could very likely refer to the coat of arms of the Altieri family, one of the oldest noble families in Rome and whose family *impresa* was a solid blue field with six gold stars. Branches of the Altieri were also part of the noble classes in Venice and Genoa. The Palazzo Altieri in Rome sat (and still does), very near the Church of the Gesù, and although the architecture in Cagnacci's print is more imaginative than topographic, reference to a palazzo design and to the city of Rome seems unmistakable. The Altieri were important patrons of artists in Rome, and furthermore, Emilio Bonaventura Altieri (b. 1590) was named bishop of Camerino in the 1620s, later ascending to the papacy as Pope Clement X in 1670. Even though Cagnacci died in 1663, an association with the Altieri family as a generic reference to the necessity of enlightened and powerful patronage for the success of painting is not inappropriate to read as the primary meaning of Cagnacci's first etching.

The *Allegory of Painting* in this exhibition represents what I am calling here the "celestial" version of the pictorial ideal (fig. 4). The three figures are far more distinct than

Fig. 4. Guido Cagnacci, *Allegory of Painting,* ca. 1650s. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 25).

those in the "terrestrial" allegory, and their personified identities work together to create a cohesive message for the viewer. Venus Pictura is again represented here with her laurel wreath, starred diadem, chain with mask, and a jeweled arm band, but this time she is in the act of painting a large canvas that sits on an easel. The image on the canvas is faint, but discernable. A loosely-draped female figure, winged and wearing a peaked crown, sits atop an armillary sphere with her left held aloft and her gaze directed upwards. Venus Pictura glances downwards as she touches the midpoint of the canvas with a brush held in her left hand while securing her palette with her right. An armored Minerva, traditional personification of Wisdom, holds a shield aloft and stands directly behind Venus Pictura with eyes directed towards her. In the foreground reclines the largest and most dynamic figure in the etching. Teeuwisse had identified this figure as a "young painter's model," but this identification is not correct.[15] Represented by Cagnacci in a complex contrapposto, this figure looks purposefully at the viewer while reclining on the wide plank of a sturdy wooden scaffold that is set at an oblique angle to the bottom edge of the print. The flowing forelock of hair that visually overlaps the left arm of Venus Pictura together with the large, wooden rudder that rests on the edge of the scaffold behind the figure at the bottom right of the image, unmistakably identify this figure as "Fortuna/Occasio." Connected to the idea of Time, the frequent conflation of the personifications of Fortuna and Occasio in Renaissance imagery blended the notions of chance and opportunity into one figure and concept. Each could appear with slightly different attributes, but their meanings were clear and unambiguous. One had to recognize Occasion when she perchance should appear, and then have the determination and timing to grab her forelock, lest she roll by and be gone forever. Similarly, Fortuna, who usually appeared sitting or standing on a sphere, symbolizing the instability of one's fortune in life, often appeared with a rudder indicating her governance over, or ability to "steer," events in the world. Antonio Correggio depicted perhaps the most well-known image of Fortuna with a rudder in his frescoes of the Camera di San Paolo in Parma (1519).

In looking more closely at Cagnacci's etching, it is clear that the entire scene takes place above the earth as the bent right leg of Venus Pictura rests gently in between two fluffy wisps of clouds. This recognition brings us back to the identity of the figure being painted on the canvas, which also helps to explain the *raison d'être* for the other personifications. Fame, Truth, Honor, or Immortality bear completely different attributes and appearances from Cagnacci's figure, even though some of them also have wings. The crown and armillary sphere (symbol of the universe or heavens), however, lend credence to the suggestion that this figure represents Cagnacci's invention of Eternity. From Ancient Rome on, Eternity appeared in many forms—male, female, with wings or without, holding a globe or sitting on one, bearing a torch, etc.... But a more recent visual tradition deriving from Francesco Petrarca's well-known *trionfi* (mid 1300s), six poems which he wrote in Italian on Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity, might have provided Cagnacci with the foundation for his figure. The *trionfi* found pictorial expression in Italy for over two centuries with ever more embellished visualizations appearing from the mid-fifteenth century into the early sixteenth. One well-known version of *The Triumph of Eternity* by the Florentine painter, Jacopo del Sellaio (1441–1493), although different in purpose and inspiration from Cagnacci's etching, nonetheless includes a draped, crowned, female figure with upturned gaze and a large armillary sphere directly above her head upon which Christ sits. Images such as Sellaio's could have readily provided inspiration for Cagnacci's intimate reflection on his art and his role as a painter that we see in this etching. We might, then, read the image in the following way: "Wisdom will guide and protect Painting as she represents (or creates) Eternity, but that image will only endure if Fortune and Opportunity are recognized and seized at the right moment." This image can also be read metaphorically as a self-portrait of Cagnacci the painter, for it is at us—the audience—that Fortuna/Occasio turns and looks, awaiting our recognition and consent.

The essays that follow in this catalogue address all of the issues outlined above, and more: style, technique, meaning, patronage, function, medium, artistic identity, religion, culture, and visual expression are given full attention by the co-curators through their research and analyses of the drawings and prints on which they worked individually. Collectively, this catalogue presents many of these drawings and prints for the first time to a public audience, the members of which we hope have the opportunity for private reflection and enjoyment of *From Artist to Audience*.

(The catalogue essays appear in the chronological order of the images.)

1 Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture–the Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*," Cecil Grayson, ed., trans. (London: Phaidon, 1972), 63.

2 Jean Paul Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci–compiled and edited from the original manuscripts* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), vol. 1, 243.

3 Richter, *Notebooks*, 244.

4 On Vasari's role in the culture of collecting, see Maia Wellington Gahtan, ed., *Giorgio Vasari and the Birth of the Museum* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

5 See Karen-edis Barzman, "Perception, Knowledge, and the Theory of *Disegno* in Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *From Studio to Studiolo–Florentine Draftsmanship Under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, ed., Larry J. Feinberg (Seattle and London: Oberlin College/University of Washington Press, 1991), 37–48. See also, Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), and Robert Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy: From Techne to Metatechne* (New York; Cambridge University Press, 1997), ch. 1, "Vasari's Concept of *Disegno*," 29–72.

6 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, ed Architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906–reprint, 1981), vol. 4, 8. Translation mine.

7 "*Disegnia Antonio disegnia Antonio disegnia e non perdere tempo*." The drawing is currently in the collection of the British Museum, London, BM 1859–5–14–818. For discussion and a good reproduction, see Leonard Barkan, *Michelangelo–A Life on Paper* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 188–199, fig. 6–16.

8 Phillip Earenfight, *Masterworks: Renaissance, Baroque, and Early Modern Prints and Drawings from the Darlene K. Morris Collection* (Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 2011), vii.

9 On Dolce, see Mark Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). For the Carracci reform, see Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1977).

10 On the relationship between painters and printmakers in the sixteenth century, see Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi–Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), and Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).

11 See David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print–1470–1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), and Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions no. 100 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishing, 2004).

12 *Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR)*, TNC, uff. 15, 1631, pt. 3, vol. 129, fols. 489r-v (Die 29 Augusti 1631), "The History of the Accademia di San Luca, ca. 1590–1635: Documents from the Archivio di Stato di Roma," http://www.nga.gov/content/accademia/en/documents/ASRTNCUFF1516310829.html. On the history of the Accademia di San Luca more generally, see Peter M. Lukehart, ed., *The Accademia Seminars–The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, ca. 1590–1635*, CASVA Seminar Papers 2 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, DC, 2009).

13 The scholarship on Cagnacci's etchings is not abundant. See Daniele Benati and Antonio Paolucci, *Guido Cagnacci: Protagonista del Seicento tra Caravaggio e Reni* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), and Nicolaas Teeuwisse, "A Rediscovered Print by Guido Cagnacci," *Print Quarterly* 26, n. 2 (2009): 153–156. Teeuwisse's short notice is largely descriptive without much interpretation of iconography, although he does suggest the idea of the two etchings as pendants.

14 On "Venus Pictura," see E. J. Sluijter, "Venus, Visus en Pictura," in *Golzius Studies: Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, R. Fakenburg, J. P. Filedt Kok, and H. Leefland, eds., n. 14 (1993), 337–396. The mask as a symbol of deception, or "masking," dates to Roman antiquity and is seen often in Italian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Performances of Italian "mascherate" and, analogously, the English court Masque, share their origins in this concept.

15 Teeuwisse, "A Rediscovered Print," 156.

## *Essay #1*

Samuel Richards

Cosimo (Cosmè) Tura, ca. 1430–1495
*Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1491
Woodcut on paper. Paper is worn and stained around the edges, particularly in the upper right corner.
6 ⅗ x 4 ¾ in. (16.8 x 12.1 cm)

In 1329, with recognition from the Holy See, The Este family reaffirmed its rule of Ferrara and established a period of relative peace for the city and its environs. Cosimo Tura was born in 1430 under the Este ruler, Niccolò III (reigned 1393–1441), and grew to become one of the principal artists in fifteenth-century Ferrara. Throughout his life, Tura and many artists in his circle, worked in several different media, but especially painting, manuscript illuminations, and intaglio printmaking. Tura's skill garnered him a position as one of the court painters to the House of Este. His work for the Este court began during the reign of Borso d'Este (1450–1471), and continued through the rule of Ercole d'Este (1471–1505).[1]

Tura was so well thought of during his lifetime, that the fifteenth-century Ferranese writer, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, wrote several poems in which he praised the quality and effects of Tura's painting, as can be seen in the example below:[2]

> Ecce novis Helene consumitur anxia curis
> Vultque tua pingi, Cosme perite, manu,
> Scilicet in longos ut nobilis exeat annos
> Et clarum egregia nomen ab arte ferat
>
> Look at Helen, she is distressed, a prey to unheard-of worries,
> And wishes to be painted, skilled Cosmè, by your hand,
> In the expectation, of course, she will be made famous for many a year,
> And win an illustrious name from outstanding artistry.[3]

The poem is addressed to Tura himself, rather than indirectly alluding to his work. The portrait of Helen, though imaginary, recalls the ideal of beauty associated with the famous Helen of Troy from Homer's *Iliad*, and suggests that Tura's pictorial skill will do her beauty justice and preserve her image for posterity. The poem testifies to Tura's adept skill at portraiture, and how it will lead to Helen being "famous for many a year."

Tura's reputation extended beyond the Estense lands to Florence, where Antonio Filarete mentioned Tura in his own writings. Antonio Filarete (1400–1465) was a Florentine sculptor, architect, and theorist. He is best known for his

Fig. 5. Cosimo (Cosmè) Tura, *Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1491.
Woodcut. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 1).

*Treatise on Architecture* (1464) in which he first proposed the design of the ideal city of "Sforzinda." Filarete suggested that Tura should be the artist to create the painting for the palace in Sforzinda, and this suggestion placed Tura above all the other reputable artists Filarate mentioned as a part of the city's design. He also referenced Tura as suited to make paintings for the fictional palace inside the ideal city.[4] As "Sforzinda" was intended to be an ideal city, only the most excellent artists would have been invited to produce works for it, let alone for the palace, thus positioning Tura as one of the best artists of the period in Filarete's text.

Tura's skill was not limited to painting–he was also known for his work as a miniaturist and for his woodcuts. The woodcut of *Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 5) demonstrates a printmaking technique where an artist cuts an image into a block of wood so that the raised edges will hold ink and can be pressed onto paper. To print the block, the surface of the

block is covered with ink and is then transferred to paper, textile, or vellum.[5] Prints were generally more accessible than paintings since they could be mass-produced and, as a result, many artists' reputations came from their prints, or prints made after their paintings. Tura's *Saint John the Baptist* woodcut was no exception in this regard.

The scene in the woodcut resembles episodes from the mission of Saint John the Baptist as told in The Gospel of Matthew, when John is preaching in the desert of Judea. Matthew 3:4 states, "Now John wore a garment of camel's hair, and a leather girdle around his waist; and his food was locusts and wild honey."[6]

The Saint is portrayed standing in a desert environment holding a reed staff with his left hand and gesturing up with his right. His head, backed by a halo, is angled up and right staring beyond the scene. Saint John's camelhair clothing is wavy and dense, following the shape of his body from shoulders to knees. Save for the camelhair cloth on his torso, he is draped with a free-flowing tunic that extends from his left shoulder to right shin that leaves his right arm and torso uncovered. The desert is sparse, save for the mostly dead vegetation. Four of the larger plants in the background are erect and branched from bottom to top.

The most unique characteristic of the woodcut is the position of John the Baptist's head, which is shown looking up. Most portrayals of Saint John in the wilderness depict his head looking down, straightforward, or to the side. There is a single instance in the Mission of Saint John the Baptist that would give him cause to look up. Matthew 3:16 states, "And when Jesus was baptized, he went up immediately from the water, and behold, the heavens were opened…"[7] Further, Mark 1:11 expounds on the moment the heavens opened: "and a voice came from heaven, Thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased."[8] A moment of such magnificence would have caused Saint John to not only look up, but also be consumed by great emotion. Moreover, Mark 1:11 gives a more specific reason for the appearance of such reverence in the face of Saint John. Coupled with his right hand gesturing upwards, Tura is most likely portraying the appearance of Saint John the Baptist observing the heavens opening. Neither Matthew 3 nor Mark 1 state explicitly how Saint John the Baptist reacts to the heavens opening, so the woodcut depiction is a rendering of how the artist thought Saint John appeared in the moment.

In Este-Ferrara during the latter half of the fifteenth century, illuminated manuscripts were highly desired among members of the court as well as among the clergy. Members of the noble classes valued the private nature of manuscripts. Isabella d'Este is rumored to have lobbied against the widespread circulation of manuscripts in order to preserve their privileged status.[9] Only the most skilled artists were given commissions to create manuscript illuminations. Cosimo Tura was well sought after for miniatures alongside his Ferranese contemporary, Taddeo Crivelli (1451–1479), the creator of one of the greatest fifteenth century manuscripts, the "Gualenghi-d'Este Hours."[10]

An illuminated miniature of Saint John the Baptist from the text of a Latin Gradual Page in this exhibition, is located on the lower left corner (fig. 6, cat. 2). Thought to be from the circle of Tura in the late fifteenth century, Saint John is framed in an ornamented letter "D." The illumination shows Saint John in a barren desert holding a reed staff, with a ribbon wrapped around it with the Latin text, "Ecce Anus" meaning "Behold the Year" implying a celebration of his feast day, which is reflected in the text accompanying the music. His right hand is gesturing toward the ribbon as he looks down at it, adding further prominence to the celebratory nature of the musical page. Behind his head is a halo, emphasizing his sacred stature. He is wearing a flowing blue tunic and draped with a red cloth. The sky behind him is blue in contrast to the beige sand, rocks, and minor vegetation.

Fig. 6. Circle of Cosimo (Cosmè) Tura, *Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1500. Woodcut, detail. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 2).

This illuminated image of Saint John the Baptist cannot be conclusively attributed to Cosimo Tura, but it is likely painted by an artist within his circle. In his essay, "Tura e il libro miniato" (Tura and the illuminated book), Fabrizio Lollini discusses Tura's work as a miniaturist.[11] He examines illuminations that had been previously attributed to Tura and debates whether they had in fact been completed by Tura

himself. A miniature that is confidently attributed to Tura, for example, is *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (ca. 1470) (fig. 7). This miniature portrays Saint Francis kneeling in what appears to be a river, receiving the stigmata from a small flying Christ. Saint Francis is framed by a fowl-like creature wrapping itself around the scene. Tura creates a sense of dimensionality in this miniature by constructing multiple planes. Following the brook into the background, there is a clerical figure reading a book next to a cottage and around the edges of the brook, Tura devotes significant detail to the foliage. The miniature contains vibrant, deep, and contrasting colors and attention to detail as can be seen by the light rays striking Saint Francis' body coming from the flying Christ. Tura was known for his adornment, rich coloring, and strict attention to detail.[12] The level of quality present in *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* is not, however, present in the miniature from the gradual of Saint John the Baptist. The miniature is not as adorned or highlighted, there is no gold decoration, and the colors are not as vibrant. The figure of Saint John the Baptist is not nearly as detailed and not as precisely drawn in comparison to *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Although it may not have been by Cosimo Tura's hand, the manuscript illumination in this exhibition was certainly made under the influence of Cosimo Tura and his Ferranese School.

Fig. 7. Cosmè Tura, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1470s. Miniature on vellum. National Gallery of Art, DC, Rosenwald Collection, 1946.21.14. Photo © National Gallery of Art.

1 Joseph Manca, *Cosmè Tura: The Life and Art of a Painter in Estense Ferrara* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 14.

2 Stephen J. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics, and the Renaissance City, 1450–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 54.

3 Translated in Manca, *Tura,* 2–3.

4 Manca, *Tura,* 3.

5 David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*—1470–1550 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 21–23.

6 Matthew 3:4, *Oxford Revised Standard Bible*, 1173.

7 Matthew 3:16, *Oxford Revised Standard Bible*, 1174.

8 Matthew 1:11, *Oxford Revised Standard Bible*, 1214.

9 Manca, *Tura*, 31.

10 Kurt Barstow, *The Gualenghi-d'Este Hours: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Ferrara* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2000), 1.

11 Monica Molteni and Fabrizio Lollini, "Tura e il libro miniato," in *Cosmè Tura* (Milano: Frederico Motta Editore S. p. A, 1999), 203–218.

12 Manca, *Tura*, 23.

## *Essay #2*

Paris Humphrey

Marcantonio Raimondi (1480–1534) (After Albrecht Dürer, *Life of the Virgin Series,* 1501–1505)
*The Annunciation,* ca. 1510–1511 (fig. 8)
Engraving on paper
11 7⁄16 x 8 ½ in. (29.1 x 21.6 cm)

Marcantonio Raimondi (After Albrecht Dürer, *Life of the Virgin Series,* 1501–1505)
*The Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1510–1511 (fig. 9)
Engraving on paper
11 9⁄16 x 8 ⅜ in. (29.4 x 21.3 cm)

Marcantonio Raimondi (After Albrecht Dürer, *Life of the Virgin Series,* 1501–1505)
*The Flight into Egypt,* ca. 1510–1511 (fig. 10)
Engraving on paper
11 ½ x 8 ⅜ in. (29.2 x 21.3 cm)

There is scarce documentation about Marcantonio Raimondi's beginnings as an artist. Scholarly sources agree that he was born between 1475 and 1480 in Argini, Italy near Bologna.[1] Giorgio Vasari provides the most abundant information about Raimondi in his biography of him, included within the second edition of the *Lives of the Artists* (1568). Vasari established Raimondi as an apprentice in the workshop of the Bolognese artist, Francesco Francia (1450–1517), where he trained alongside his master's two sons and was "beloved" by Francesco. Vasari portrays Raimondi as Francesco's most skilled student, noting that,

> This Marc' Antonio who was more able in design than his master, handled the burin with facility and grace, and executed in niello girdles and many other things much in favor at that time, which were very beautiful, for the reason that he was indeed most excellent in that profession.[2]

Marcantonio's early work done in Bologna is closely connected with Francesco Francia's style, specifically his neillo prints. In his engravings, Raimondi reflects Francia's tendency in his paintings to have dark, thick contours with tonal shading, creating sculptural-looking forms. Details such as hair and drapery, exemplified in Raimondi's *Life of the Virgin* prints, are rendered as decorative features rather than as accurate objects. Francia's figures have hard surfaces, which are also reflected in Raimondi's figures seen in *Life of the Virgin* prints.[3]

With his master's approval, Raimondi left his workshop and traveled to Venice in order to further his artistic education. During his visit there in 1505, Raimondi saw Albrecht Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* woodcuts, and in 1506 he began to copy them as engravings. He reproduced the engravings so convincingly that they were believed to be done by Dürer himself, leading to a legal battle between the two artists.[4] Venice in the sixteenth century was the printing capital of Italy, and printmaking was the dominant medium for sharing images across Europe. The demand and need for printed images and books often led to uncertainty surrounding authorship and reproduction. Legal battles like Dürer and Raimondi's were not uncommon in Venice during this period. The number of petitions for Venetian book privileges, 215 petitions between 1469 and 1517, reflect the concerns surrounding authorship.[5] A privilege was the Renaissance version of a copyright, based on the legal recognition of the author or artist as the originator of his or her work. Because a governing body granted privileges, they were only credible in

Fig. 8. Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Annunciation,* ca. 1510–1511. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 6).

that government's jurisdiction, which accounts for the increased amount of petitions during this time.[6]

Vasari describes Raimondi's reaction to Dürer's woodcuts when he first came into contact with them, and his subsequent response in his own engravings:

> ...and he was so amazed at the manner and method of the work of Albrecht, that he spent on those sheets almost all the money that he had brought from Bologna. Marc' Antonio, having considered what honour and profit might be acquired by one who should apply himself to that art in Italy, formed the determination to give his attention to it with all possible assiduity and diligence. He thus began to copy those engravings by Albrecht Dürer, studying the manner of each stroke and every other detail of the prints that he had bought, which were held in such estimation on account of their novelty and their beauty, that everyone sought to have some. Then, having copied on engraving plates the same size as the woodblocks which Albrecht had cut, Marcantonio copied there the sign, which Albrecht had made on his works, that is, the letters A. D. He succeeded in capturing Albrecht's style to such an extent that the prints were believed to be by Albrecht, and were bought and sold as such, since no one knew the prints had been made by Marcantonio.[7]

Vasari leaves no question that Raimondi copied Albrecht Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* woodcuts. The real question is whether Raimondi purposely copied Dürer with the intention of publishing his engravings as Dürer's originals. The conflict between Raimondi and Dürer is associated with the practice of printmaking and the concept of copying in the Renaissance. In Vasari's account, Raimondi's purchase and copying of Dürer's woodcuts was based on the opportunity they presented. Albrecht Dürer was a well-known artist with unmatched skill, making him a perfect candidate to copy. Raimondi's imitation of Dürer's woodcuts with the purpose of studying them is plausible, but as the popularity of printmaking was high and issues of authorship gained importance, Raimondi may have had more practical goals in mind.[8] As noted by Thomas Greene, "The first half of the sixteenth century produced the most vigorous and sustained debate over the proper modes and goals of imitation ever witnessed on the European continent."[9] This statement describes the context in which Raimondi produced the *Life of the Virgin* copies.

After Venice, Raimondi traveled to Rome in 1508 where he worked closely with Raphael. The collaboration between the two artists is documented by numerous engraved plates containing both "R. S." for Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) and "M. F." for Marcantonio Raimondi. Copying Raphael's drawings and paintings established Raimondi as an expert engraver, which also led to greater fame and wealth. Raphael created some drawings specifically for Raimondi to engrave,

Fig. 9. Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1510–1511. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 4).

Fig. 10. Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Flight into Egypt,* ca. 1510–1511. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 5).

such as *The Judgment of Paris*. The method of scoring directly on the drawing supports the notion that Raphael had the intention for it to be engraved by Raimondi. The works created by Raimondi and Raphael were well received by an educated group of patrons who were interested in antiquity, literature, and art. They often sought out prints rather than paintings because they were more affordable and could be appreciated for their tonal and textual sophistication, similar to the qualities of a painting.[10] After Raphael's death in 1520, Raimondi continued to work with members of Raphael's workshop, such as Giulio Romano. With the loss of Raphael, Giulio Romano became Raimondi's new source and the similarity to Raphael's manner in Romano's art can be seen also in the prints made by Raimondi.[11] In 1524, Raimondi engraved a series of twenty erotic drawings made by Giulio Romano as part of a book entitled, *I Modi*. These engravings and the text that accompanied them were very controversial, and led to Raimondi's imprisonment by representatives of Pope Clement VIII. He was released in 1525, the same year in which he engraved Baccio Bandinelli's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. But his release was quickly followed by the loss of all his property during the Sack of Rome in 1527.[12] Vasari remarked that, "Marc' Antonio became little less than a beggar, seeing that, besides losing all his property, he was forced to disburse a good ransom in order to escape from the hands of the Spaniards."[13] Raimondi left Rome and returned to Bologna where he later died, most likely, in 1534 and as with his birth, his precise death date remains undocumented.

Raimondi's technique derived from his training in Bologna, but the adaptation of Albrecht Dürer's style is clear in the three engravings in this exhibition.[14] Albrecht Dürer was originally trained in Nuremberg, Germany. He had a traditional apprenticeship, learning the crafts of painting and drawing from his master, Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519). Dürer's early encounter with the engravings in his master's workshop had a significant impact on his artistic career. After completing his apprenticeship, Dürer traveled around Europe to expand his skill and technique. His fascination with the then-noted engraver Martin Schonguer (1448–1491), led him to Germany where the engraver lived. By the time Dürer reached Germany, Schonguer had passed away, but he connected with his wealthy brother, Georg. Georg was well connected in Basel, which was a center for literary publishing, and he introduced Dürer to the world of publishing. His woodcuts were well received and he was hired to work for three publishers in Basel.[15] In 1493, Dürer returned to Nuremberg long enough to get married and copy some engravings he had seen there by the northern-Italian artist, Andrea Mantegna. His reproductions sparked a desire to learn more about Italian art, leading to his first visit to Venice in the summer of 1494. Furthermore, his best friend and well-known humanist at the time, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) led him to Italy, and as noted by Erwin Panofsky, "To Dürer, the lure of Italy was twofold: he would see Pirckheimer who was then a student at Pavia, and he would breathe the air of a southern world where classical Antiquity had been reborn."[16] Pirckheimer studied law and the humanities at prestigious universities such as Pavia and Padua, and introduced Dürer to Greek and Roman literature. Northern artists rarely traveled to Italy, but Dürer desired to learn from the latest innovations by Italian artists.

While in Venice, Dürer developed a passion for the human figure and how it interacted with its surrounding environment, most especially in images by the Italian painter, Antonio Pollaiuolo.[17] He also learned the technique of linear perspective, but did not fully master the science of perspective until his trip to Bologna in 1506. Dürer left Venice in the spring of 1495 and went back to Nuremberg, where he integrated his new style in the production of three series of woodcuts on religious subjects. The *Apocalypse*, the first woodcut series, demonstrated many of the skills he acquired in Italy. Dürer transformed the woodcut as a medium by combining Italian and indigenously northern styles, producing prints unlike anything seen before. His unique style became very popular and his international reputation grew quickly.[18]

Of the three woodcut series, the *Life of the Virgin* series (ca. 1500–1511) was the most sought after because it demonstrated Dürer's newly developed technique.[19] The series begins with three scenes of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, in order to set up the narrative of the Virgin's life. The fifteen stations in the life of the Virgin follows, starting with her *Nativity* and ending with the *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*. Dürer focuses on key themes within the gospels, with more scenes focused on joyful events of the Virgin's life, such as the *Annunciation* and the *Nativity*. Dürer chose the subject matter based on the interests of his patrons and for his own technical opportunities. To connect the narrative with his patrons, who were mostly wealthy humanists, Dürer represented clothing, interiors, and objects to represent Mary as a member of the upper classes.[20] His choice of themes is also connected to the range of subjects and composition it offered. Panofsky suggests that Dürer used,

> a narrative which would justify the presence of peasants and burgher, shepherds and scholars, landscapes and animals and childlike little angels, and where all kinds of architecture, from homely interiors and rustic farmyards to fantastic temples and palaces, afforded opportunity for a display of Dürer's newly acquired skill in perspective.[21]

As mentioned earlier, Dürer learned how to depict nudes draped in clothing and also the basics of perspective during

his trip to Italy. The *Life of the Virgin* narrative offered a huge variety of human figures, landscapes, and buildings for Dürer to practice his newly-acquired technique.

Marcantonio Raimondi mirrors Albrecht Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* series almost exactly. The most notable difference is the medium—engraving rather than woodcut. Both techniques require similar printing processes, but are reversed in imaging technique. The printing process includes rolling ink on the surface of the block or plate and running it through a printing press which transfers the image to paper. Woodcut is a relief printing technique where an artist carves away the portions of a woodblock, which will not be inked. The parts left uncut will hold ink and be transferred to the paper. The marks made on an engraving plate will be inked and transferred to the paper, while the portions untouched will be unaltered when printed. Even though the artist used different techniques, they are visually similar.

I will examine three of Raimondi's copies: *The Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 9, cat. 4), *The Annunciation* (fig. 8, cat. 6), and *The Flight into Egypt* (fig. 10, cat. 5). I compare them to Dürer's corresponding original woodcuts in image and technique, and then with the second print from the original series by Dürer, *Joachim's Offering Rejected*, from The Trout Gallery's permanent collection (fig. 11, cat. 7).

Fig. 11. Albrecht Dürer, *Joachim's Offering Rejected*. Woodcut. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Gift of Ralph and Martha Slotten (1973.2.400) (cat. 7).

*The Annunciation* (fig. 12) is the seventh print in Albrecht Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* series and depicts the angel Gabriel announcing to the Virgin Mary that she will be the mother of Jesus Christ. The interaction between angel Gabriel and Mary takes place in an interior comprised of rounded arches, circular windows, and ribbless vaults, representing a specifically northern architectural style. The

Fig. 12. Albrecht Dürer, *The Annuciation (Life of the Virgin)*, 1511. Woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Charles Pratt, 1957. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

architecture functions as the compositional framework for the entire scene. The viewer is separated from the figures by a large open archway, which acts as a window into the humble interior. In the threshold of the archway are two objects: a vase of lilies associated with the Virgin's purity, and a panel inscribed with Albrecht Dürer's monogram (AD). The interior space is illuminated by the dove above Mary's head, representing the Holy Spirit. Dürer's inclusion of symbolism and everyday objects was intended to enhance the narrative for his contemporary audience. Through the arched window, God the father watches over the interaction. The circular relief encased in the arched ceiling depicts Judith with the head of Holofernes, referencing the Virgin's triumph over the Devil. The chained badger under the stairs has been read by Panofksy as signifying the sin of sloth and laziness.[22]

Raimondi's *Annunciation* engraving appears to be an almost perfect copy of Dürer's original woodcut. The difference between the prints is most apparent, however, in the treatment of the figures. The faces of Gabriel and Mary by Raimondi are bare, with only a small amount of shadowing on the necks. The lack of expressive lines leaves their faces overly round and with a hard exterior. Both of Dürer's faces have lines around the eye and chin creating a softer facial expression. Raimondi transforms Dürer's lines by copying them as straighter, more parallel, and closer together. The angel's drapery illustrates this distinction, as Dürer's shading is softer and more varied, creating a convincing view of the figure's form under the fabric. Raimondi's heavier shadowing sharpens the edges of the cloth, creating an almost sculptural physicality to the figure and drapery.

*The Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 13) traditionally depicts three Kings paying homage by offering gifts to the infant Jesus, and it here represents well Panofsky's description of the entire series:

> ...the *Life of the Virgin* is pervaded by an atmosphere of intimate warmth, tenderness and even humor. But the professional interest of the artist was focused on the problem of three-dimensional space…but with more variety and with emphasis on interiors as well as exteriors, Dürer wished to demonstrate how groups and figures could be coordinated within a correctly constructed and concisely lightened space without impairing either the human values of the narrative or the rules of 'scientific' design.[23]

Fig. 13. Albrecht Dürer, *The Adoration of the Magi (Life of the Virgin)*, 1511. Woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Charles Pratt, 1957. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Even though the figures are centralized, they are dwarfed by the courtyard architecture. Emphasizing architecture is not surprising given Dürer's new aptitude for perspective and interest in how figures interact with their environment. The crowded composition is organized around the complex architecture. The largest group of figures are in an open courtyard, including the Holy Family, two kings, and an unknown figure. The Holy Family is depicted in the foreground on a stone staircase, with each figure placed on a different level. Behind them in an opening, a donkey looks up to the group of three angels hovering in the sky above the scene. Mary and Joseph's focus, however, is on the baby Jesus, as he reaches for the king who is kneeling on the steps in front of them. The hooded king offers a goblet as a gift with his right hand while gesturing to his companion that he should kneel in front of Christ. The third king, on horseback, is in the middle ground under a tattered roof, removed from the interaction. Through the archway and similar to the composition in *The Annunciation,* two distant figures watch.

The difference between Dürer's and Raimondi's line is seen more clearly in *The Adoration of the Magi* than in *The Annunciation.* Looking again at the figures, the treatment of line by Dürer is looser and varies in length and shape. The same comparison can be made between the representations of facial expression as in *The Annunciation.* Mary's face is half in shadow with hatching down her neck and a small cut to signify her cheekbone, giving her expression. Raimondi's, on the other hand, is void of any shadowing or line detail making her skin look hard to the touch and her face unnaturally round. In Dürer's woodcut, the shading is softer and more varied while Raimondi's heavier shadowing sharpens the edges of the cloth. Raimondi's adaptation of Dürer's line makes his figures and objects look more sculptural than the original woodcuts. Dürer depicts Joseph's beard with greater naturalism by using curved hatching and shadowing—the individual hairs are wispier and possess more movement. Raimondi, on the other hand, engraves each tuft of hair with a thick contour line between each, making the beard appear stiff and solid.

After the Magi's warning that King Herod planned to kill all male children under the age of one year, the Holy Family flees to Egypt, which is the narrative depicted in the fourteenth print in the series, *The Flight into Egypt* (fig. 14). *The Flight into Egypt* shows the Holy Family on a difficult journey to Egypt through an exotic landscape. Dürer was the first to depict *The Flight into Egypt* in a "forest interior," as Panofsky described it, and in a woodcut rather than engraving.[24] Most of the prints in Dürer's series focus on architecture and how figures fit into defined space. Without architecture, Dürer focuses here on the plants and shrubberies as an expression of his new attention to detail. Perspective

Fig. 14. Albrecht Dürer, *The Flight into Egypt (Life of the Virgin)*, 1511. Woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Charles Pratt, 1957, 57.531.9. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

is less obvious with the absence of architecture, but its effects are still accurately rendered. The small path, starting from the left and cutting through the forest to the center, adds depth to the composition. Dürer's lines progress from curved to straight, to more compact as the space recedes, creating a believable perspective recession. In comparison, Raimondi used the same kind of line throughout the entire background, creating a more linear effect in the perspective recession. Another issue of texture and space can be seen by comparing Raimondi's depiction of the vegetation, specifically the grapes hanging from the tree between Mary and Joseph. Dürer changed the size and tonal gradation of the fruit in order to create the illusion of three-dimensional volume. The grapes on the side are smaller and have more shadowing than those in the middle, which give the entire bunch volume. Raimondi's sit more on the surface of the page—there is little shadowing or variation, making the grapes look flat by comparison. The thickness of the forest is also indicated by the amount of varied lines creating visual detail. In the foreground of the image, the "dragon tree" or date tree taking over the left side was borrowed from Martin Schongauer, and symbolizes the miracle that angels lowered the branches of a date tree so the Holy Family could pick fruit from it.[25] The donkey and the Holy Family are traditional figures in the narrative, but his inclusion of the ox following the Holy Family is unusual for this subject.[26] The ox is also included in a different engraving by Dürer with four species of animals representing the "four humors," where the ox signifies "phlegmatic sluggishness."[27] In the context of *The Flight into Egypt* narrative, the ox could signify the wariness of the family's long journey to Egypt. The ox could also function as a symbol for the family's apathy, supporting Dürer's intentionally subduing signs of distress typical in a *Flight into Egypt* depiction. Fear is depicted on the angels' faces rather than directly on those of the Holy Family.[28]

*Joachim's Offering Rejected*, the first print in the series, is being exhibited here with the three engravings by Raimondi for comparison. The difference between Raimondi's copies and Dürer's original is clear through their respective treatment of line, as discussed above. Dürer used curving lines to depict the curtains and drapery in the woodcut of *Joachim's Offering Rejected*. This type of loose line is not seen in any of Raimondi's engravings. Raimondi's engraving technique is uniform and extremely linear. Raimondi transforms Dürer's lines by copying them as straighter, more parallel, and closer together. The angel in *The Annunciation* and Joseph in *Joachim's Offering Rejected* are in similar poses but both artists treat their form and drapery differently, as noted above. The difference in facial expressions is also significant. The figures in *Joachim's Offering Rejected* present a range of emotion, as Dürer interprets each character individually with distinct features. Raimondi's figures lack linear detail, making his figures more stiff and sculptural. The same archway as seen in *The Annunciation* and *The Adoration of the Magi* is again depicted in Dürer's *Joachim's Offering Rejected*. The figures are crowded into the foreground, reflecting a similar composition to *The Adoration of the Magi*. In addition to the lack of facial expression, the heavy contouring by Raimondi detaches his figures from one another. In Dürer's *Joachim's Offering Rejected*, the interactions between the figures are more fluid because of softer tonal transitions. Dürer's figures seem to be in communication and aware of one another. In Raimondi's engraving of *The Adoration of the Magi*, the figures are pushed to the front and are separated by thick contours and lack of facial expression.

Raimondi's inclusion of Dürer's monogram in each engraving was the primary reason for the legal battle between the two artists. Vasari recounts the news of Raimondi's copies and use of his personal monogram reaching Dürer:

> When this situation was described to Albrecht in Flanders, and when one of the said copies was sent to him, Albrecht was moved to such fury that he left

> Flanders and went to Venice, where he complained about Marcantonio to the Senate. However, he got nothing but the sentence that Marcantonio could no longer add the name or monogram of Albrecht to his works.[29]

Dürer protected his *Life of the Virgin* series by obtaining a formal privilege in Nuremberg, but the legal implications of the privilege were not valid in Venice.[30] Raimondi was most likely not aware of the fact that his publishers, Niccolò and Domenico Sandri dal Jesus, had a history of abiding legal protections and most likely knew the regional restriction of Dürer's woodcuts' privilege. Niccolò and Domenico also had a history of producing copied editions of well-known books, and continued to do so after they had published Raimondi's *Life of the Virgin* engravings. In Lisa Pon's words,

> The point is not that Niccolò and Domenico have copied from earlier editions, or that acknowledging their source may have held some commercial advantage, but that this type of copying the period under discussion was wide spread, explicit, and unproblematic.[31]

The duo approached the republication of books as detached collaboration with the original artist, so the inclusion of Dürer's monogram was a custom of recognition rather than theft. Dürer, on the other hand, emphasized his original authorship and the connection between artists and their creation.[32] The duo endorsed Raimondi's copying by publishing the engravings with Dürer's personal monogram. Dürer associated the copying of his monogram, (AD) as an attempt to steal his invention. While the monogram, "AD" is present on all Raimondi's engravings, the last print of the series, *Glorification of the Virgin*, includes three signatures: Niccolò and Domenico's NDFS, Raimondi's MAF and Albrecht Dürer's AD, together. The inclusion of Dürer's monogram was thus not intended as deliberate plagiarism, but was rather a recognition of Niccolò and Domenico's legal reproductive rights.[33] The verdict of the legal battle did not require Raimondi to remove Dürer's monogram from the *Life of the Virgin* series, but only restricted his future use of Dürer's name and monogram.[34] But the regulation of having to add a signature illustrates the transformation of thought surrounding artistic property. Dürer was not satisfied with the outcome of his legal battle with Raimondi, so much so that he added a warning in the colophon of his 1511 edition of *The Life of the Virgin* which read:

> Beware you envious thieves of the work and invention (laboris et Ingenii) of others; keep your thoughtless hands from these works of ours. We have received a privilege from the famous Emperor of Rome, Maximilian, that no one shall dare to print these works in spurious forms, nor sell such prints within the boundaries of the Empire...Printed in Nuremberg, by Albrecht Dürer, painter.[35]

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1 Innis H. Shoemaker, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi: Essays* (Lawrence, KS: The Spencer Museum of Art, 1981), xiv.

2 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters and Sculptors & Architects*, trans., Gaston Du C. De Vere, vol. 6 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912–1915), 95.

3 Shoemaker, *The Engravings*, 5.

4 Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 58.

5 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 15–16.

6 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 43.

7 Vasari, *Lives*, 96.

8 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 22.

9 As cited in Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 16.

10 Shoemaker, *The Engravings*, 10.

11 Shoemaker, *The Engravings*, 14.

12 Babette Bohn, "Raimondi, Marcantonio," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T070591?q=marcantonio+raimondi&search=quick&source=ao_gao&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

13 Vasari, *Lives*, 105.

14 Shoemaker, *The Engravings*, 15.

15 Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), 6.

16 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 8.

17 Peter Strieder, "Albrecht Dürer," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T024180pg1?q=Albrecht+Dürer&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

18 *Grove Art Online*, 4–6.

19 Jochen Sander, *Albrecht Dürer: his art in Context* (Munich: Prestel, 2013), 236.

20 Sander, *Albrecht Dürer*, 235.

21 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 96–97.

22 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 100.

23 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 97.

24 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 101.

25 Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser, *The Early Dürer* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 435.

26 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 100.

27 Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 85.

28 Hess and Eser, *The Early Dürer*, 435.

29 Vasari, *Lives*, 96.

30 Vasari, *Lives*, 96.

31 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 53.

32 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 48–58.

33 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 53.

34 Vasari, *Lives*, 96.

35 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer*, 2.

## *Essay #3*

Sara Pattiz

Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola)
(1503–1540)
*Adoration of the Shepherds,* ca. 1525 (fig. 15)
Etching on paper, minor stains in the upper right corner and the lower right corner
4 ⅘ x 3 ⅕ in. (12.2 x 7.9 cm)

Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola)
*Standing Shepherd*, ca. 1520s (fig. 17)
Etching on paper, two small stains in upper left corner
Inscribed "Parmigianino/ superb impression/ B12/ from the Marshall Collection" in pencil verso (Hill-Stone)
4 ½ x 2 ⅞ in. (11.5 x 7.5 cm)

Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, known as il Parmigianino, was born in Parma, Italy in 1503 and was raised and trained by his uncles, Michele and Pier Ilario Mazzola, both of whom were painters. Around 1523, Parmigianino set out for Rome where he studied the artists around him, gaining inspiration from his renowned contemporaries, like Raphael. During the Sack of Rome in 1527, he left Rome for Bologna where his commissions grew along with his recognition, and he eventually returned to Parma in 1531.[1] Throughout his life, he was primarily commissioned to paint frescoes and panels, however, printmaking was also an important part of his career. Nicholas Turner, in *Study of Italian Drawings,* describes Parmigianino's visual language in the following manner: "The graceful refinement of his style makes him one of the most important exponents of Mannerism in Northern Italy."[2]

Parmigianino etched *Adoration of the Shepherds* in ca. 1525 (fig. 15). The *Adoration of the Shepherds* is a scene from a Biblical narrative, described in the Gospel according to Luke, the source that contains Christ's infancy narrative. In the scene, having received a message from an angel of the Lord, the shepherds arrive in Bethlehem to see Jesus shortly after his miraculous birth. In the New Oxford Annotated Bible, the scene it translated as follows:

> So they went with haste and found Mary and Joseph, and the child lying in the manger. When they saw this, they made known what had been told them about this child; and all who heard it were amazed at what the shepherds told them. But Mary treasured all these words and pondered them in her heart.[3]

From depictions in the catacombs, to tenth-century ivory representations, the nativity scene has had a longstanding history of being represented. In fifteenth-century Italy, images of the Adoration scene were prominent in altarpieces and other devotional paintings. This visual tradition is continued in Parmigianino's 1525 etching. As it was a print and not a devotional painting or altarpiece, Parmigianino was able to take a different stylistic approach.

Fig. 15. Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola), *Adoration of the Shepherds,* ca. 1525. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 9).

In his book, *Parmigianino*, David Ekserdjian describes the composition of the etching, writing that it is "both vertical and almost claustrophobic, yet at the same time there is a powerful sense of recession."[4] In analyzing what Ekserdjian sees as the "claustrophobic" visual elements of the etching, the image can be understood more clearly. The background Parmigianino creates is hard to place geographically. He indicates a doorframe in the upper left hand corner, and a leveling or stair in the lower left hand corner. The sense of interior details hint that the scene is taking place indoors,

which is different from the Biblical description that sets the scene in a manger. Although it may be a domestic setting, Parmigianino still provides a sense of incoming light through shadow.

The focal point of the image is the interaction between the Virgin and her Child, alluding to the importance of these two figures above all else. To the left in the foreground, Parmigianino draws the Virgin kneeling and holding on to her Child. The Christ Child and the Virgin are locked together through eye contact. Parmigianino draws the Virgin's full body, using crosshatching and line to indicate the folds of her dress and the shadow hitting it. Crosshatching is the method of drawing lines at different orientations and levels of thickness in order to evoke tonal differences.[5] Parmigianino uses sharp, curved lines to define the muscle in the Virgin's arm and the shape of her bust. Her face is entirely crosshatched and cast in shadow, but through the darkened lines Parmigianino provides detail of her eye, nose, mouth, and ear. The Child she stares at has fewer details, and is cast furthest into the shadow. Parmigianino delicately etches the small hands of the Child, which are almost grasping onto the hand of the Virgin. The Child's garment is given a similar attention to that of the Virgin's in terms of shadow and a representation of drapery. Parmigianino etches sharp, vertical lines across the Child's face, forcing it to recede back further in the background, and helping to create the recession Ekserdjian noted. As with his representation of the Virgin, Parmigianino uses thick lines to highlight the eye and mouth, illuminating the visual engagement between the Mother and Child.

The nine figures Parmigianino draws around the Virgin and Child are all in profile, disengaged from eye contact. Ekserdjian describes this relationship as "willfully obscure," suggesting that Parmigianino intentionally clustered the figures for an entangled effect, creating an intimate setting.[6] Two figures, one in the center behind the Christ Child, and one to the right corner between two shepherds, are cast completely in shadow, pushing them back in space. The two figures in lower-right corner are completely disengaged from the main event. Parmigianino includes them to help offset the sense of depth of the space. Ekserdjian notes that their hats, or Phrygian caps, could be of "iconographic significance."[7] Although the exact meaning is unknown, Ekserdjian is alluding to the idea that the hats might have had religious meaning that would have been understood by contemporary viewers.

In 1525, Parmigianino created a different version of the Adoration scene, also titled *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 16). While these two works have the same title, and are of the same Biblical narrative, the drawing presents some stark contrasts, aside from the obvious size and material differences. As noted before, the etching from 1525 appears to take place indoors. The drawing from 1525 not only has an outdoor setting, but the landscape is also absolutely integral to the effect of the scene. Parmigianino includes columns and architecture that are evocative of ancient Roman design. An illuminated sky and mountainous ranges are added, giving a sense of expansive landscape. Parmigianino emphasizes the difference between foreground and background by having the Adoration scene in the foreground moving at a downward angle, and placing a figure with cattle in the background. Although the scenes are visually different, there are some noticeable similarities. Some figures in the drawing are wearing the same Phrygian caps as in the etching from 1525. In addition, while the figures do not take up the entire frame in the drawing, the "claustrophobic" and enclosed nature of the figures exist in both, evoking a sense of intimacy. The movements of the figures are similar, with hunched backs and faces shown in profile.

Fig. 16. Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola), *The Adoration of the Shepherds,* ca. 1525. Drawing. Graphische Sammlungen, Weimar, B.4 (68). Photo © Graphische Sammlungen, Weimar.

Parmigianino's motive for creating these two different depictions of the same Biblical narrative is unknown. David Franklin suggests that Parmigianino might have wanted to produce another image of the same subject, but in a different format, or using a different technique.[8] It is also possible that Parmigianino's interest in and ability to depict Biblical scenes led to multiple commissions of the same narrative, but in different configurations. Ekserdjian states that Parmigianino often sought to "explore religious iconography in new ways," whether through a series of prints, or different attempts at the same scene.[9] It was rare for Parmigianino to create something completely devoid of religious meaning, making the etching, *Standing Shepherd* (fig. 17), a unique example.

Parmigianino's *Standing Shepherd,* also known as *Young Shepherd,* is an image of a young figure in a rural setting.[10]

Fig. 17. Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola), *Standing Shepherd*, ca. 1520s. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 10).

According to Ekserdjian, Parmigianino etched "a mere half dozen or so scenes whose subject matter is not religious."[11] While Parmigianino etched various Adoration of the Shepherd scenes, these prints are quite different from the single shepherd image. *The Adoration of the Shepherds* etching, as discussed on previous page, involves multiple figures, and the *Standing Shepherd* etching has only one figure depicted, making the visual focus entirely different.

According to Ekserdjian, Parmigianino "displays considerable mastery, on a very small scale, of the etching medium" in the print, *Standing Shepherd.*[12] Parmigianino's etching shows a young shepherd in chiaroscuro. Much like the *The Adoration of the Shepherds* etching, Parmigianino uses a combination of thick and thin lines with a lot of cross-hatching in order to emulate shadow and light. The shepherd is placed in a rural landscape, and with the exception of the head of the dog peering out from the shrubs, is alone. The shepherd is drawn with a youthful, cherub-like face and eyes diverted to the ground. Parmigianino uses crosshatching to place his face in shadow, along with the right shoulder and arm. The shepherd's hair is indicated through a few curved lines, creating the effect of lightly colored curly hair. Parmigianino draws a hat on the figure, different from the Phrygian caps seen in *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, with the right hand almost touching it as if to hold it in place. The right hand also holds a staff, cast in shadow through fine crosshatching. With few economical lines, Parmigianino represents the poncho-like garment the shepherd wears. The lines function to show the angles and movement of the body. He draws the figure's legs almost entirely in shadow with the exception of the toes.

Parmigianino represents the background with an intricate landscape. To the right of the shepherd, Parmigianino puts a tree. The figure's placement near the tree makes his scale hard to understand because the two are similar in height. The tree is almost entirely crosshatched, illustrating that it is entirely in shadow and behind the light into which the shepherd appears to be stepping. The form Parmigianino gives the tree is similar to that of the shepherd. The shepherd's right arm is raised in a curved position, just like the branch protruding out of the tree, making one emblematic of the other. Parmigianino uses multiple thin, sharp lines to reference the sky, and an array of different kinds of line to indicate the ground, grass, and plants, including crosshatching and curved lines. The plant, or bush, on the right of the image blends well with the representation of the dog. Parmigianino has the dog peer out just behind the shepherd's staff. As mentioned before, it is the only other life form in this work of art, emphasizing the rustic nature of the setting, something Parmigianino prefers to include in his shepherd depictions. While there are not as many similar etchings in Parmigianino's work, one similar etching stands out in the trajectory of his career: *Youth with Two Old Men* (fig. 18). In terms of subject matter, setting, and especially technique, the two are alike. Throughout his career, Parmigianino made a variety of "shepherd" prints, like *Old Shepherd Leaning on Staff*, and *Sleeping Shepherd.*[13] *Standing Shepherd* fits into this genre, as does the pen and ink with wash drawing, *Old Shepherd Leaning on Staff* (fig. 19).

Parmigianino's print, *Youth with Two Old Men,* has many visual similarities to *Standing Shepherd.* Primarily, Parmigianino sets the figures in a similarly rural setting. When placed side-by-side, the two works of art almost seem to take place in the same context. In addition, the young figures look very much alike, with the same cherub-like facial features. Though not wearing a hat, Parmigianino draws the young figure in *Youth with Two Old Men* with similar curly locks to the *Standing Shepherd.* The two figures are etched with similar garb, both emphasizing the curves and movement of their bodies. The ground, sky, and trees have a similar appearance, accentuating the same etching technique

Fig. 18. Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola), *Youth with Two Old Men.* Drawing. British Museum, London. Photo © British Museum, London.

by Parmigianino. The description Ekserdjian uses for the setting of *Youth with Two Old Men* applies to both of the etchings. He writes that Parmigianino "manages to suggest atmosphere through a few strokes of the burin in the sky, and to evoke distance by juxtaposing a diminutive tree with the young man."[14] Aside from the evident parallels, there are also differences. Unlike the *Standing Shepherd,* the *Youth with Two Old Men* is made up of more than just the centralized young figure. As told through the attributed title, *Youth with Two Old Men,* the young figure coexists with the two older figures. Ekserdjian describes the relationship between the young figure and the two men, saying, "The figure of the youth, who is shown sitting on what appears to be a draped block, seems to recoil from the two bearded elders."[15] The dynamic movement of the young figure recoiling from the elders does not exist in the *Standing Shepherd*, as there are no visible figures to which the shepherd can respond. Parmigianino creates a more intimate response in the effect of the single figure in *Standing Shepherd*. Also, the *Standing Shepherd* approaches the viewer, while in *Youth with Two Old Men*, Parmigianino depicts an interaction between the figures separate from the engagement of the viewer.

In *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Standing Shepherd*, Parmigianino demonstrates his ability to depict the human form. Through these etchings, Parmigianino seems interested in conveying a level of engagement with the viewer. In *The Adoration of Shepherds,* the interaction between the Mother and Child is enticing and believable because of their direct communication. In *Standing Shepherd*, the single figure is walking, as if towards the viewer. These works of art are quite small, and the viewer is required to get fairly close to them in order to decipher what is represented. This close interaction creates a sense of intimacy, thus enhancing the engagement Parmigianino seems to have intended.

Fig. 19. Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola), *Old Shepherd Leaning on Staff.* Drawing. Art Institute, Chicago. Photo © Art Institute, Chicago.

1 A. E. Popham, *Artists Working in Parma in the Sixteenth Century: Correggio, Anselmi, Rondani, Gatti, Gambara, Orsi, Parmigianino, Bedoli, Bertoja* (London: British Museum, 1967), 36.

2 Nicholas Turner, *Study of Italian Drawings: The Contribution of Philip Pouncey* (London: British Museum, 1994), 43.

3 Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: Revised Standard Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 80.

4 David Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 228.

5 Patrick Kennelly, "Cross-Hatched Shadow Line Maps," *Cartographic Journal* 49, no. 2 (2012): 135.

6 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 229.

7 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 229.

8 David Franklin, *The Art of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 133.

9 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 224.

10 Though it is a literary term, the setting in *Standing Shepherd* is often referred to as "pastoral," meaning it is rural. Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 225.

11 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 224.

12 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 224.

13 Franklin, *The Art of Parmigianino*, 133.

14 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 224.

15 Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, 224.

## *Essay #4*

Isabel Richards

Pierino Da Vinci (attributed) (1529–1553)
*Helmeted Warrior,* ca. 1545
Hill-Stone sales catalogue describes this work as "Drawing in Brown Pen and Ink," yet there is strong visual and technical evidence for the medium as drypoint on trimmed cream paper. The paper is marked above the nose, as well as in the top-right corner. Verso, red chalk rendering of a façade, partial word, with significant stains and markings.
4 ¼ x 4 ¾ in. (10.8 x 12.1 cm)

A young artist's initial training and apprenticeships during the sixteenth century in Italy were significant, molding his style and intellectual development in such a way that became clear in the style of his mature works. For Pierino Da Vinci, this artistic background was significantly defined through his lineage as the nephew of Leonardo Da Vinci (1452–1519).[1] While Pierino never knew Leonardo, who died ten years before Pierino's birth, Pierino's relation remained a clear influence in his early life through the encouragement of his father, Bartolommeo. Vasari describes how at Pierino's birth ca. 1520, his father, Bartolommeo, the brother of Leonardo, prayed that his son be gifted with the same talents as Leonardo. As the young Pierino grew and displayed innate artistic talents, Bartolommeo took this as a sign that "God had heard his prayer, feeling that his brother had been restored to him in his son," thus effectively dictating the path that Pierino's life would take as an artist.[2]

Pierino was initially entrusted to the sculptor, Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560), who "promised to look after the child and teach him carefully." However, according to Vasari, Bartolommeo was displeased with the level of artistic instruction Bandinelli was giving Pierino, and subsequently gave him to Niccolo Tribolo (1500–1550), also a sculptor, "who seemed more ready to take pains to help those who wanted to learn, to be more studious in art, and to be more devoted to the memory of Lionardo."[3] It was with Tribolo that Pierino was able to fully expand and explore his natural skills as a sculptor, the medium for which he was most well known. Early in his artistic career, Pierino traveled to Rome, "hoping to profit by seeing the works of the ancients and Michelangelo," another artist whom Pierino studied and who contributed to his development. Vasari is quick to point out that despite the significance of Pierino's heritage, few knew him as Leonardo's nephew until after he had become famous in his own right, "thus ever afterwards he was known as Il Vinci, for his uncle's sake, and for his own skill."[4] Pierino's artistic career was short lived, as he died at the young age of

Fig. 20. Pierino Da Vinci (attributed), *Helmeted Warrior,* ca. 1545, recto. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 12).

Fig. 21. Pierino Da Vinci (attributed), *Helmeted Warrior,* ca. 1545, verso. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 13).

Fig. 22. Leonardo Da Vinci, *Bust of a Warrior in Profile*, ca. 1475–1480. Silverpoint on prepared paper. British Museum, London, PD 1895,0915.474 (Malcolm collection). Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

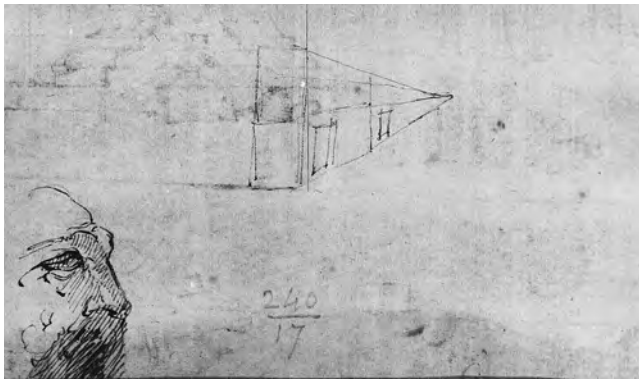

Fig. 23. Pierino Da Vinci, *Head of a Man in Profile to Right,* ca. 1540. Drawing. British Museum. Photo © British Museum.

twenty-four. Marco Cianchi describes Vasari's biography of Pierino as being constructed around "the theme of regret for what the Stars had seemed to arrange so well and Fate instead had so brutally suppressed," and indeed Vasari appears to romanticize somewhat Pierino's life through his famous lineage and the artistic skill that was so briefly revealed.[5] It is in Pierino's sixteenth-century drawing, *Helmeted Warrior* (fig. 20), that we see the artistic inspiration he drew from his uncle combined with his own skill as a draftsman, despite his dominant reputation as a sculptor.

The *Helmeted Warrior* depicts the right profile of a soldier, wearing an ornamented helmet. The warrior's face is boldly chiseled, with a prominent, down-turned nose, bold brow and small, rounded chin that create a strong profile. The soldier is depicted with blank eyes, yet Pierino includes brief details such as a few lines at the corners of his eye to suggest creases in the skin, the indication of a dimple in his cheek, and the slight upwards curve of his mouth, all of which combine to soften the soldier's face and allow for subtle hints at expression. The warrior's helmet dominates the image with its sheer size, solid form, and central positioning. This prominence of the helmet emphasizes the subject of the image and the man's role as a warrior, controlling his characterization as a man of war. A similar facial structure can be seen in Carlo Urbino's folio 54, ca. 1510, from the *Codex Huygens,* in which we see the linear drawing of a male head in profile. Urbino's illustration of a male head shares many characteristics with Pierino's, such as the down-turned, prominent nose, rounded chin, and creased eyes, lending a sense of authority, dignity, and capability to both figures.

The subject of Pierino's drawing is not uncommon, and suggests a possible knowledge of the well-known silverpoint drawing by his uncle, Leonardo Da Vinci, *Bust of a Warrior* (fig. 22), ca. 1475–1480, now in the British Museum. In this image, we see the profile bust to the left of a soldier in heavily embellished, detailed armor. The medium of silverpoint, which was a thin stylus of a soft metal, most commonly silver mixed with copper allowed for a very fine, precise line that could not be corrected or erased.[6] Leonardo manipulated this medium to create a tight, intricate image that differs from the medium and technique of Pierino, which is far more loose with only simple suggestions at details. This variation in line and tightness of the image results not only from a difference in technique between the artists, but also largely from the medium that each artist used. In his discussion of Leonardo's *Bust of a Warrior,* Larry Feinberg traces the inspiration of the work to Verrocchio's "fanciful profile relief of the ancient Persian King, Darius," which Leonardo then elaborated upon in his drawing.[7] Leonardo's illustration of the helmet is extremely detailed and more exaggerated than any actual soldier's at the time, and far more angular in its form than Pierino's, with an extended pointed brim and spiked back reminiscent of a wing. In contrast to the smooth, elegant form of Pierino's helmet, Leonardo creates an intense and threatening appearance for his fictitious warrior through the symbolism of his helmet. While Pierino's image has been cut at the neck of the figure, Leonardo's image includes heavily decorated upper-body armor, with details such as a roaring lion's head on the figure's chest plate, an aspect which

enhances the ferocity of the figure. The apparent aggressiveness of Leonardo's warrior presents a contrast to that of Pierino's, as the expression of the *Helmeted Warrior* appears calmly brave, while Leonardo's figure displays an intensely deliberate, stern expression, with his brows furrowed at the bridge of his nose. Feinberg notes that "the brutish face of (Leonardo's) sketch…either pays homage to a tough, local bravo, a soldier of fortune, or represents some other, thuggish-looking acquaintance of Leonardo,"[8] in an attempt to locate the specific individual of the image, whom he claims Leonardo used as a model in multiple works. In contrast, Pierino's individual is unknown and is lacking any precise signifiers as to his identity. While it is possible that Pierino drew inspiration from his uncle's drawing, *Helmeted Warrior* shows a simplified study of the subject, the loose elegance of which is enhanced by his freer and faster handling of the medium.

In his discussion of the technique of silverpoint that Leonardo uses in *Bust of a Warrior*, Hugo Chapman noted it as "predominantly a linear technique, in which tonal modeling is rendered through changes in the density of the hatching."[9] Yet, in Pierino's *Helmeted Warrior* we see no hatching at all, as he does not attempt to shade or create a sense of volume or density, focusing purely on line as the indicator of form and design within the image. The Hill-Stone Gallery entry describes *Helmeted Warrior* as a drawing in pen and ink. However, upon closer inspection, there is strong suggestion on technical grounds that the medium could very well be drypoint. Drypoint is the technique of drawing directly into a metal plate with a hard metalpoint pen, thus creating a drawing that can also be printed. This technique would have been very useful for practicing artists as a way of creating multiple copies of their preparatory studies, both for proof of ownership as well as for instructional use for students. The extraordinarily thin quality of the line in *Helmeted Warrior* strongly suggests the medium of dry-point, as the fine and smooth consistency and texture and of each mark would have been very difficult to achieve with the less precise medium of ink. The oil bleed on the verso of the image is another indicator that supports this work as a dry-point etching.

The *Helmeted Warrior* is a linear drawing with clean, loose line markings and a lack of shading that creates a simple and bold image. Despite the linearity of the image, Pierino uses many curving, fluid markings, which allow for delicacy and elegance within this portrait of a soldier. Pierino suggests at the texture of the warrior's curly hair in loose, curving sweeps of ink that fall from under his helmet. The helmet itself has a rounded shape, with the repeated swirling forms at both the front and back of the brim, as well as in the detail of the section covering the ear. Pierino includes the most detailed element of the image in the decoration of the helmet, depicting a curving design with possible indications of foliage. The repeated roundness of lines in the images brings a grace to the depiction of this strong, bold warrior, allowing for an aesthetic beauty despite the martial subject.

In his illustration of the warrior's helmet, Pierino uses multiple pen strokes that reduplicate themselves to define the shape of the head, implying a looseness and speed of technique that supports the concept of the image as a study drawing. In the top-left corner there are multiple lines cutting down into the image, the markings of which indicate a fast pace at which they were drawn. Lines also break into the image from lower down on the left edge of the page, cutting into the warrior's helmet. Reba F. Snyder notes how "collectors often cut drawings into several pieces…(as) they thought the presentation of the drawings would be more beautiful" when separated.[10] These lines suggest that the image was cut from a larger sheet on which Pierino had drawn multiple studies that overlapped one another. There are several surviving pages of studies by Pierino that support this practice as a part of his artistic process. One example can be seen in the study sheet *Head of a man in profile to right* ca. 1540 in pen and brown ink, owned by the British Museum. In this study, we see Pierino depicting a similar subject to *Helmeted Warrior* with a male face in the profile to the right in the lower-left corner of the page. The facial features in *Head of a Man in Profile to Right* (fig. 23) are similar only in their rugged strength of shape and line to that in *Helmeted Warrior*, and it does not seem likely that they depict the same figure. However a similar technique of loose, unresolved line markings and the basic form of the image reveal this subject of a male profile head to be one that Pierino took care in reworking and developing.

Another sheet of similar studies by Pierino Da Vinci is *Studies of nude male figures and heads* ca. 1540, in black chalk on paper, also in the British Museum. While the medium is entirely different in this work to that of *Helmeted Warrior*, it displays multiple versions of male heads in profile, emphasizing Pierino's focus on the exploration of this subject. These studies share in the simple, gestural linear technique of both *Studies of nude male figures and heads* and *Helmeted Warrior,* revealing how Pierino's drawing styles remain largely consistent despite a change in medium.

Pierino's study sheets act as an example of the ways in which paper was used by artists during the period, with multiple images sketched out on the same sheet, both on the back and the front. The verso of *Helmeted Warrior* reveals a red chalk drawing of an architectural façade, with informal text written across the sketch. The image has been cut off, however, and from what is left we can see another example of Pierino's artistic preparatory methods, similar to his image

*Head of a man in profile to right,* which depicts a study of a façade alongside the profile drawing of a man's head. The verso drawing of *Helmeted Warrior* also demonstrates how Pierino drew in a variety of media, as red chalk and black chalk were used in *Studies of Male Nude Figures and Heads.*

Pierino's career was cut short by his early death, ca. 1554. However, Vasari emphasizes that "the shortness of Vinci's life ought not…to deprive him of praise," as in his brief yet full career "Vinci shows as much talent in design as Dante displayed in poetical skill in his verses."[11] Despite his reputation as a sculptor, it is clear through drawings such as *Helmeted Warrior* that Pierino was a talented draftsman who took care in his studies to perfect his skill. While it is unclear what *Helmeted Warrior* might have been a preparatory study for, if anything, it is clear through the technique and careful markings on the paper of this small section that the image was intended for the artist's use, and would most likely never have been seen by a wider audience during his lifetime.

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1 Phillip Earenfight, *Masterworks: Renaissance, Baroque, and Early Modern Prints and Drawings from the Darlene K. Morris Collection* (Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 2011), 6.

2 Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of The Painters Sculptors and Architects,* vol. 3, trans., A. B. Hinds, ed., William Gaunt (New York: Everyman's Library, 1963), 182–187.

3 Vasari, *The Lives of The Painters Sculptors and Architects,* 182–187.

4 Vasari, *The Lives of The Painters Sculptors and Architects,* 182–187.

5 Marco Cianchi, "Pierino Da Vinci: his Life and Works in Brief," *Italian History and Culture* 1 (Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze, Fiesole) (1995): 81–110.

6 Hugo Chapman, "Silver Linings," *Apollo: The International Magazine for Collectors* 634 (September 2015): 70–75.

7 Larry J. Feinberg, *The young Leonardo: art and life in fifteenth-century Florence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 47.

8 Feinberg, *The young Leonardo,* 47.

9 Chapman, "Silver Linings," 70–75.

10 Cited in, Stephen M. Doherty, "Materials and Techniques of Renaissance Drawing," *American Artist: Drawing 2,* no. 2 (Fall 2004): 112–127.

11 Vasari, *The Lives of The Painters Sculptors and Architects,* 182–187.

## *Essay #5*

Isabel Richards

Carlo Urbino (attributed), ca. 1510–1585
*Study sheet with Two Standing Men,* ca. 1560
Drawing in pen and brown ink on cream paper. Paper is stained in the corners, with markings above the smaller left figure. Collectors stamp in lower right corner.
5 x 7 in. (12.7 x 17.8 cm)

Born in Crema, Lombardy, ca. 1510, Carlo Urbino is known not only as a painter and draftsman, but also as a theorist and academician.[1] He is identified as the author of the *Codex Huygens,* a manuscript in which he examined Leonardo Da Vinci's theories on perspective and proportion based on the study of the latter's notebooks. Marinelli discusses the *Codex Huygens* as "a text without literary polish, put together by a painter for the use of other painters, to serve as a technical manual and source of…solutions to problems of representation relating to the human figure," concluding that the work was undertaken by Urbino for his own instructional use as a painter.[2] As a result of his interest in and analysis of Leonardo's methods and clear access to some of Leonardo's notebooks, Urbino's drawings demonstrate a pronounced focus on the depiction of the human form in preparation for his paintings. Urbino's sixteenth-century ink drawing, *Study sheet with Two Standing Men,* is one such preparatory drawing that demonstrates a focused effort in the portrayal of the human form, depicting one larger, more detailed and fully realized male figure, with a smaller, more loosely-rendered male figure further in to the left of the sheet.

Although red chalk was a popular medium for preparatory figure drawings among Italian artists during the sixteenth century, ink was also commonly used for such studies, allowing for bolder and more fluid mark-making, with the techniques of hatching and over-layering of lines as opposed to the subtler shading and smudging of chalk. Reba F. Snyder discusses how "artists made their own pens by carving the ends of feathers or reeds…(applying) different amounts of pressure, these could be used to inscribe thin, faint lines, or dark, wide marks,"[3] revealing how there was a great variety in line techniques with the medium that allowed for diverse results in shading, dimensionality, and the depiction of light. Carmi Weingrod notes that while line was "the very essence of ink drawing" for many Italian Renaissance artists, they gradually devised "other techniques to complement their pen work," such as the ink washes that were added to many line drawings in the Renaissance to "define volume, atmosphere, and shadow."[4]

Fig. 24. Carlo Urbino (attributed), *Study sheet with Two Standing Men,* ca. 1560. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 14).

Urbino does not use this kind of technique in *Study sheet with Two Standing Men*, however, he does manipulate the ink to create the effect of chiaroscuro, "a striking new genre of ink drawings" that was also developed during the Renaissance.[5] The larger, dominating figure is depicted in greater detail, with dense, thick line hatching that creates volume and movement in the folds of his robe, which sweeps back as if the figure is mid-motion. While the figures are not rendered with full three-dimensional illusion, the variation in line thickness and density successfully renders the material of the figure's robes as fluid and draped, particularly in the areas above his left knee, around his stomach, and at the folds of his left sleeve. At certain points in these sections, Urbino fills in the space entirely with the ink, creating darker patches to convey depth in the drapery folds. Urbino also uses this technique in the rendering of the figure's eyes, the darkened sockets of which conceal the figure's identity, yet also hint at expression through the shaping of his brow. Urbino creates further shadows through the linear ink strokes that run in

mainly vertical lines across the figure's face, arm, and legs, in an effort to model and shade the figure. These line markings are fairly evenly spaced and have a similar thickness and consistency, suggesting Urbino's purposeful technique. Urbino used similar markings in a horizontal linear pattern behind the larger male figure to place him in his own space separate from the rest of the work, creating depth despite the lack of any defined setting.

The smaller male figure in Urbino's drawing is more roughly handled than the larger one, with looser, less detailed form and markings. Areas such as the figure's right arm, face, and chest display particularly free ink strokes, suggesting the much faster pace at which Urbino was working. The figure is depicted in a nearly identical stance as the larger figure, with the right leg raised, knee bent (as if mid-stride), the right arm extended outwards, turned diagonally away from the viewer, with the figure's head angled down. However, Urbino places a staff or spear-like object in the smaller figure's left hand, with what appears to be a cape or cloak falling behind from his shoulders in very thick, loosely spaced line markings. These variations in the appearance of the figure imply that Urbino was suggesting different possibilities for a final version of the figure, making subtle changes in order to explore different characters or scenarios. The practice of drawing multiple figures or studies on a single sheet of paper was common during the sixteenth century, and Elizabeth Pilliod notes Angelo Bronzino's practice of drawing, "varied modes…on a single sheet, with the earlier mode visible below the mode for the more finished version," showing a progression in technique and idea.[6] The clear relation between the two figures in Urbino's image emphasizes his progression and development in the reworking of the figure through studies such as this one. The identification of these figures or the final work for which they might have been intended is unknown, however, it is clear through the vivid, rougher technique of the artist, and the composition of the image as the study sheet, that the work was intended as a preparatory study.

In Urbino's *Codex Huygens* (fig. 25), we see many examples of figure studies and drawings examining the proportions of the human body as well as perspective. In these folios, Urbino demonstrates a very similar technique in line and marking as in the drawing, *Two Standing Men*, confirming the precision and technical skill with which he approaches his work. For example, in folios 88, 89, and 90 we see very similar handling of drapery in the sketched figures, where Urbino uses a combination of hatching and varying thickness and density of line markings to suggest shadows and volume of form. The draped clothing of the figure to the far-right corner in folio 88 most closely resembles that of the larger standing male figure in *Study sheet with Two Standing Men*, with particular folds seemingly shared between both images. Other folios from the *Codex Huygens* reveal the extent to which Urbino perfected the dynamic contrapposto poses and proportions of his figures, resulting in the convincing depiction of the human form in *Two Standing Men.*

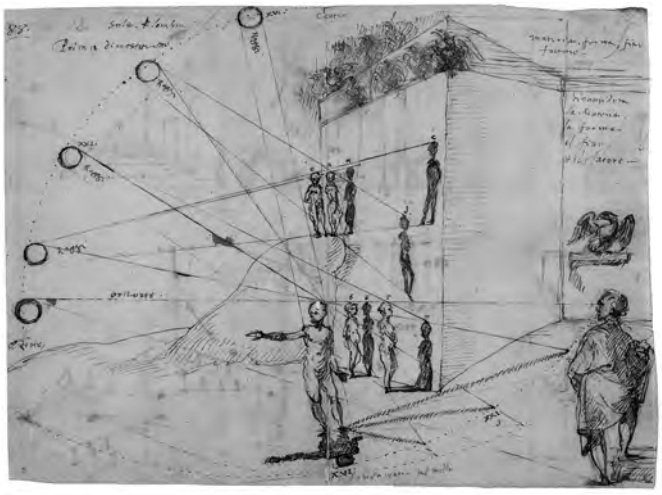

Fig. 25. Carlo Urbino, *Codex Huygens.* Drawing. Morgan Library. Photo © Morgan Library.

Many Italian artists during this period used similar techniques to that of Urbino as seen in *Study sheet with Two Standing Men.* Baccio Bandinelli, for example, was a prolific Florentine sculptor and draftsman during the same period that Urbino was working, and his drawing in this exhibition, *Male Figures with Putti* (cat. 11) can be understood as analogous to Urbino's *Two Standing Men.* When discussing Bandinelli's graphic style and technique more generally, Nicholas Turner described "the assured strokes of the pen used to create firm outlines and bold hatching"[7] in the depiction of the nude form, and indeed, we see a very similar handling of the medium in Bandinelli's line as we do in Urbino's. Analogous to the depiction of two similar yet contrasting figures in Urbino's *Study sheet with Two Standing Men,* Bandinelli depicts a dominant figure to the left of the sheet, that is mirrored in a more loosely handled, unfinished version of the same figure to the right. While the two are nearly identical in pose, the fainter, less detailed figure to the right contains subtle changes in line handling and detail. These changes reveal Bandinelli's reworking and developing of the same image on his study sheet, just as we see in Urbino's image. Bandinelli includes another version of the figure directly beneath the upper-right bust, this time twisted to face the opposite direction, as though he were attempting to clarify the physicality of the figure from all angles. Bandinelli's figures are convincingly modeled through his manipulation of line and medium, as he uses darker areas of hatching to create shadow and depth, creating an enlarged musculature and sense of form not only with the dominant

figure but also within the children represented in the lower half. Bandinelli reveals the same interest in the depiction of physicality and contrapposto stance through the male figure in *Male Figures with Putti* as we see in Urbino's *Study sheet with Two Standing Men*. The practice of including multiple figure studies in Bandinelli's image suggests, according to Turner, "that they were drawn from memory rather than from life."[8] The construction of the image and the varying pen pressure, rougher markings, and level of detail which Bandinelli used all support the notion that this work was a study sheet, perhaps for a later work. The similarity in technique and layering of figures further support Urbino's image as a preparatory study in turn. Thus, just as with Bandinelli's *Male Figures with Putti,* Urbino's preparatory ink drawing, *Two Standing Men,* allows the modern viewer a glimpse into the working process and technique of the Italian Renaissance artist, through the informative and intimate line markings, manipulation of medium, and creation of form.

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1 "Carlo Urbino," *Hill-Stone Inc., Fine Old Master Prints and Drawings*, Catalogue 12 (2009): n. 2, p. 4.

2 Sergio Marinelli, "The Author of the Codex Huygens," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 214–220.

3 As cited in, Stephen M. Doherty, "Materials and Techniques of Renaissance Drawing," *American Artist: Drawing* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 112–127.

4 Carmi Weingrod, "Using pen & ink: Learning from old master drawings, Part 11," *American Artist* 57, no. 607 (1993): 10–15.

5 Weingrod, "Using pen & ink."

6 Elizabeth Pilliod, "Method and Practice in Bronzino's Drawing Modes: From Study to Modello," *Artibus et Historiae* 27, no. 54 (2006): 95–127.

7 Nicholas Turner, *Florentine Drawings of the 16th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 23.

8 Turner, *Florentine Drawings of the 16th Century,* 23.

## *Essay #6*

C. Madeline Fritz

Romulo Cincinnato (1540–1597/1600)
*Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1555–1567
Black chalk under drawing, red chalk, with brown ink outlining figures. Latin text in brown ink above and to the right of the Virgin. Black ink border covers *Romulus Florentinus* in a sixteenth-century hand, and *1(6)25* in the bottom left corner in a different hand. The letter *P* precedes an unknown letter in the bottom right corner of the paper. 5 ¾ x 5 ⅜ in. (14.5 x 13.7 cm)

While there is an unfortunate lack of information regarding Romulo Cincinnato's biography, there are few known events worth noting. The artist was born in Florence around 1540 and died in Spain in either 1597 or 1600.[1] While studying in Florence, he was a pupil of Francesco Salviati, also known as Francesco de'Rossi (1510–1563) who himself had been an apprentice of Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530).[2] In 1567, Cincinnato was called to King Philip II's court in Spain and remained there for the majority of his life.[3] While undated, it is likely that the red chalk drawing *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* was completed before 1567 while the artist was still living in Florence. However, the drawing was probably not made prior to 1555 when Cincinnato would have been fifteen-years-old, an age by which he could have possibly mastered the red chalk medium. Later, while in Spain, a notable artist in Cincinnato's circle was El Greco (1541–1614), who was also an active painter within Philip's court. While at court, Cincinnato painted large frescoes in the grand cloister of the Escorial in Madrid.[4] One of Cincinnato's contemporaries in Florence was Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630), whose *Four Ages of the World* series is featured in this exhibition.[5] (cat. 19, 20, 21, 22)

Cincinnato's figures in *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* evoke the work of Raphael (1483–1520) and Giulio Romano (1499–1546) in their morphology, and Cincinnato's use of red chalk is also similar to examples from both Leonardo and Raphael.[6] Red chalk allowed for great tonal gradation and, as a medium, it is at the higher end of the tonal scale. Both Leonardo and Raphael, like Cincinnato, used red chalk to suggest delicate skin effects, such as dimpling. This quality is especially evident in Da Vinci's red chalk drawing *Head of a Man* (ca. 1503–1505), at the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice, and Raphael's *Mercury Offering the Cup of Immortality to Psyche* (ca. 1517), presently in a private collection, both of which are rendered in red chalk.

Fig. 26. Romulo Cincinnato, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1555–1567. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 15).

Cincinnato's *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* includes a combination of media.[7] The faint black chalk under drawings and dominant red chalk are undoubtedly Cincinnato's, like the layered pen outlining, and this combination of fine shading in red chalk and brown pen outline is typical of the artist, according to Mark McDonald.[8] The Latin script was probably added sometime in the sixteenth century based on the letter formation, although it is impossible to determine if it is in the artist's own hand.[9] The drawing's black borders were added at a later date as they cut through words and go over areas finished in red chalk, as seen in the figure of Saint John. Residual black chalk lines that Cincinnato used as a guide for the red chalk layer of the drawing are visible in several areas. Beginning with Mary's exposed toes in the bottom-right corner of the print, then again in the curling of her dress near Saint John the Baptist's foot, in the ankle of Saint John, and upwards in the folding of Mary's robes across her ribs and back, and then from Christ's left shoulder we can see the faint guidelines move into Mary's upper shoulder and into Saint John's forearm. The outlining is especially thorough in other areas of the drawing, particularly in the hairstyles of the three figures, Saint John's robe, and the edges of Christ's body.

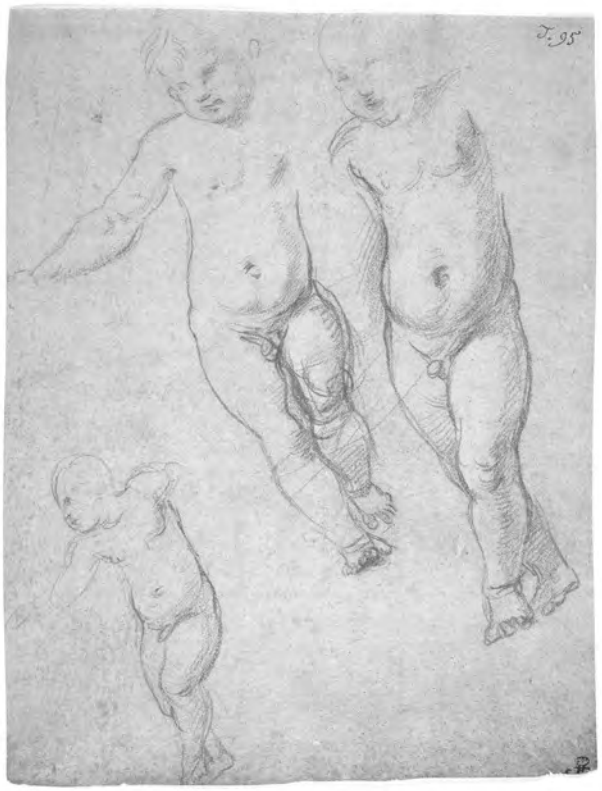

Fig. 27. Raphael Urbino (1483–1520), *Studies of the Christ Child*, 1513–1514. Drawing. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Florence B. Selden Bequest, 1997.75. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 28. Giulio Romano, *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1520–1523. Oil. Galleria Borghese, Rome, Italy. ART91050. Photo © Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Leonardo Da Vinci (1452–1519) is credited with introducing red chalk as a medium as early as 1473.[10] The history of chalk as a medium is evidenced in many artists' notebooks, and all describe sawing thin strips of red ochre from large, naturally-formed blocks of the material. Before putting medium to paper, the sawn chalk sticks were made into a sharp point with a penknife by rounding square corners and sharpening one end to a point.[11] Chalk holders were often used by artists to provide extra length to the medium and because they were "considered essential to the development of drawing technique," according to Timothy Mayhew.[12] By the late fourteenth century, red chalk was a popular medium that allowed for fine detailing, as we can see in the folds of Mary's dress and the gentle shading that suggests the roundness of the toddlers' bodies. Cincinnato was clearly a master of the medium. One can see lines that suggest an impossibly thin point, especially in the modeling of the Virgin's robe around her right knee. Unfortunately, there are few other drawings by this artist in public collections, the majority of which are quick figural sketches. And, while red chalk is a naturally occurring medium, it started to disappear in the early nineteenth century. All natural ochres were increasingly hard to come by for reasons varying from multiple mines destroyed by warfare to economic competition from synthetic, but cheaper alternatives.[13]

A small, red chalk drawing as thoroughly finished as *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* was likely made for the artist's personal use or that of a unique patron as the level of detail in this medium was common to study drawings. Considering the subject of the work, the Madonna holds her son close as Saint John the Baptist offers Christ a section of either an apple or orange. The Christ child is nude while Saint John wears a tunic held together with a looped rope, leaving the right side of his body almost fully exposed. Conversely, Mary wears a long-sleeved, floor-length dress—only her face and neck, hands, and one foot are exposed. The folds and shadows in her dress, particularly below the waist, are heavily detailed and conveyed with great attention. Cincinnato employs two shading techniques: hatching and crosshatching, both varying in line weight throughout the drawing and demonstrating how light defines the folds of the dress. The nudity of the boys adds to their youthful innocence and with soft curling hair, Cincinnato's figures mirror works by Raphael and Giulio Romano of this same tripartite group, especially those figures depicted in the paintings, *La Belle Jardiniere* (1507, Louvre Museum in Paris) by Raphael and *The Holy Family* (ca. 1520–1523, Galleria Borghese in Rome) by Giulio Romano (fig. 28). However, Cincinnato's drawing is most clearly based on the Romano painting, and this doctrinal scene must

have been a well-known image in Italy during the mid-sixteenth century.

It is obvious that Romulo Cincinnato found compositional inspiration from several individual works. The first image was most likely a print attributed to the school of Marcantonio Raimondi, which itself was inspired by a silverpoint drawing from the school of Raphael (ca. early 16th century), presently held at the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology.[14] The other work is the aforementioned painting attributed to Giulio Romano that shares a near exact composition and bears the same title as the Cincinnato drawing (ca. 1523).[15] In the Raphael silverpoint and Raimondi print, only the Madonna and Child are present and the figural poses, while similar, vary in their degree of detail. The Giulio Romano painting, however, predates the Cincinnato drawing and is obviously a part of this subject's compositional evolution. Some decorative objects appear in Romano's painting that do not appear in the drawing, such as several pillows, books, a grey bird, and an unraveling scroll that is held by the Virgin in her right hand. Mary's supporting seat from the Raimondi print is still visible in the painting before it disappears in Cincinnato's drawing. Cincinnato completes Mary's robe and adds anatomical features missing from the painting, such as the Christ child's left leg and the details of Saint John the Baptist's facial profile, and he also removes the other objects. The painting also shows the boys sharing a small apple.

Another image that Cincinnato is likely referencing is a Raphael study of the infant Christ done in red chalk and currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (ca. 1513–1514) (fig. 27). The similarities in the child's pose are quite notable, even though the position of the legs in the Cincinnato drawing is reversed. In Raphael's study, the artist has drafted several views of the child's body, legs, and arms, drawing them from different angles to better portray the child's shifting weight. His right leg is straight and steady, while the left leg is bent and slightly raised while also moving forward. Cincinnato avoids the complications of accurately portraying this pose, and rather hides the left foot of Christ behind his weight-bearing right leg. Underneath the child's right foot, another set of toes is faintly present, either to suggest the toes of the left leg or as a remainder of some anatomical reworking. The Romano painting also evades the issues of this pose in casting the figures in heavy shadow while the dim light barely illuminates Christ's left leg, although this effect may be mitigated by future conservation.

Had it been a pomegranate shared between the two boys, the fruit would become a symbol of resurrection, as James Hall explains: "after its classical association with Proserpine who returned every spring to regenerate the earth," and he continues, "the many seeds contained in its tough case made it also a symbol of the unity of the many under one authority."[16] However, the sharing of an apple is most logical, as apples were commonly used to foreshadow the boys' grim and intertwined futures. In the history of Christian iconography in western art, apples are an allusion to Christ as Redeemer.[17] Borrowing the apple's symbolic representation for the Fall of Man, when held by the Christ child the fruit can be seen as the fruit of salvation. Should an apple be in the hands of Adam, it is the fruit of sin. Oranges are also known iconographic substitutes for the apple.[18] Although the presence of these other two fruits would have been appropriate, the painting secures the idea that the fruit in question is clearly an apple.

The three Latin inscriptions, likely not part of the original composition in red chalk but still from the sixteenth century, reference two Biblical verses. The uppermost body of text, between Saint John's and Mary's heads, in Latin, reads:

> Qui quem gioviam (sic) Dei, hic
> verax est, et iniustitia
> non est in illo

This passage translates as, "This Giovanni of God is worthy of trust and there is nothing unjust in him," and is possibly a reference to the verse in John 1:6–7: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for testimony, to bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him."[19] The entire second part of the phrase, beginning with "hic verax est...," is quoted verbatim from the Latin Vulgate of John 7:18. On the right of the drawing, the first section of text reads:

> fasciculum suum
> super terram
> fundavit

This passage translates as, "He founded his congregation on the earth," and derives from the Book of *Amos* 9:6. The last section of text, immediately under the second group of verses, is:

> qui vocat aquas mare
> effundit eas super
> faciem terre

This passage translates as, "He who calls the waters from the sea, pours them over the face of the earth," and also derives from *Amos* 9:6. The two verses these texts refer to from *Amos* 9:6, read in the original as: "who builds his upper chambers in the heavens, and founds his vault upon the earth; who calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them over the face of the earth— the LORD is his name." A possible reference to Psalm 136:6 is also suggested by the meaning of the text from *Amos*: "to him who spread out the earth upon the waters, for his steadfast love endures for ever."[20] The Biblical text mentions both the Saint John the

Baptist and Christ figures, while also referencing the power of God in his craft and control of the seas. The text prompts the reader/viewer to associate the ability to control the earth's natural forces with the Christ child, further reinforcing notions of reverence and piety towards both the figure of Christ and the Catholic Church.

1 "CINCINNATO, Romulo," n. a., *Benezit Dictionary of Artists-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/search_results?q=romulo+cincinnato&button_search.x=31&button_search.y=8&search=quick&source=oao_benz.

2 Hugo Chapman, "Salviati, Francesco," *The Oxford Companion to Western Art-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T075439?q=francesco+salviati&search=quick&pos=3&_start=1&size=25#firsthit and "SARTO, Andrea del," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/benezit/B00161069?q=Sarto&search=quick&source=oao_benz&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

3 "CINCINNATO."

4 "CINCINNATO."

5 C. Höper, "Tempesta, Antonio," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T083701?q=tempesta&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

6 Bette Talvacchia, "Giulio Romano," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T032677?q=romano&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=5&_start=1&size=25#firsthit; Nicholas Penny, "Raphael," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T070770?q=Raphael&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

7 *Fine Old Master & Modern Prints & Drawings*, catalogue 16 (New York: Hill-Stone Incorporated, 2013), n.p.The catalogue entry states that this work is from the collection of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680).

8 *Fine Old Master*. Mark McDonald is the curator responsible for Italian, Spanish, Mexican, and early French prints and illustrated books at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

9 *Fine Old Master*.

10 Timothy David Mayhew, Steven Hernandez, Philip L. Anderson, and Supapan Seraphin, "Natural Red Chalk in Traditional Old Master Drawings," *Journal of the American Institute For Conservation* 53, no. 2 (May 2014): 89–115.

11 Mayhew, "Natural Red Chalk," 90.

12 Mayhew, "Natural Red Chalk," 90.

13 Mayhew, "Natural Red Chalk," 97.

14 Madeline Cirillo Archer, *The Illustrated Bartsch: 28 Commentary (Le Peintre-Graveur 15 [Part 1]), Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century* (Norwalk: Abaris Books, Ltd., 1995), 20.

15 Emil Krén and Daniel Marx have noted that,"The attribution to Giulio Romano is controversial due to an 18th-century inscription on the back of the panel which refers to Giovan Francesco Penni, another collaborator of Raphael." See,"Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist," *Web Gallery of Art*, http://www.wga.hu/index1.html.

16 James Hall, *Dictionary of Subject and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 249.

17 Hall, *Dictionary*, 30.

18 Hall, *Dictionary*, 229.

19 Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: Revised Standard Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 1286.

20 May and Metzger, *The New Oxford*, 1116, 760.

## *Essay #7*

Samantha Mendoza-Ferguson

Diana Mantuana (Ghisi, Scultori) (1535–1612)
*Farnese Bull* (*The Punishment of Dirce*), 1581
Engraving
Paper: 20 ½ x 16 ⅝ in. (52.1 x 42.2 cm)
Plate: 15 ½ x 10 ¾ in. (39.4 x 27.3 cm)

Diana Mantuana was an engraver born into a family of Mantuan printmakers. In the sixteenth century, the Gonzaga family ruled in Mantua during a period of revitalization and abundance for artists, providing commissions for families like hers.[1] Although Diana was unable to have an apprenticeship in a formal context, she was taught the trade of printmaking and engraving by her father, Giovanni Battista Mantovano.[2] For Mantovano, the practice of engraving was not limited to the means of making money, but rather was a tool through which he could use it as a type of currency to acquire further patronage.[3] Working in the realm of the Mantuan court, Diana's father cultivated relationships for himself as well as his children. In addition, Mantovano had access to drawings by other artists who worked for the Gonzaga family, supplying his children with materials and examples of compositions and subjects. Diana was able to make engravings after drawings and paintings by contemporary artists such as Giulio Romano and Parmigianino, in addition to the architectural and sculptural works of her father. Working in this medium required precise technical skill in addition to acquiring the necessary materials, which were cultivated within a male-dominated profession. Throughout her career, she signed her works "Diana Mantovana incidebat," specifying that she was the engraver of her own work. Mantuana's proficiency as an engraver, her familial and professional connections, and the positive public reception by her contemporaries created an environment that facilitated her successful career in this art.

In 1566, at the age of nineteen, Mantuana met Giorgio Vasari, the esteemed Italian painter, architect, and historian, during his second visit to Mantua for the purpose of revising his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1568). In this revised edition, Vasari discusses Giovanni Mantovano's skill as a sculptor and engraver and moves on to discuss the rest of the family, but naming only Diana. Vasari specifically stated that she "engraves so well that it is a thing to marvel at," and describes her works as "most beautiful."[5] Diana's inclusion in Vasari's *Lives* speaks to the level of skill in her production of engravings, placing her among the top ranks of artists during the second half of the sixteenth century. The validation of having been discussed in Vasari's history was integral to her overcoming challenges within the profession that she faced because of her gender. After moving to Rome in 1575, Mantuana married Francesco da Volterra, an aspiring architect, and began to engrave drawings of his architectural works.[6] Her husband became the main wage earner as an architect working for members of the papal court. While in Rome, Diana and her husband became members of the artist's confraternity of San Giuseppe but as a woman, Diana could only participate in limited activities.[7] In addition to her social connections, Mantuana received a papal privilege for making and marketing her prints, which specifically stated that her engravings were "her inventions."[8] The *Farnese Bull* is one of the few engravings after sculpture that she did in which we can see a variety of techniques and her range of subject matter. Her choice in subject here speaks to the ways in which she used engravings as a mode of social navigation, similar to that of her father.

Fig. 29. Diana Mantuana (Ghisi, Scultori), *Farnese Bull* (*The Punishment of Dirce*), 1581. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 16).

Fig. 30. Apollonius and Rauriskos, *The punishment of Dirce (The Farnese Bull)*, Hellenistic. Sculpture. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy. ART65196. Photo © Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

Mantuana's *Farnese Bull*, dated 1581 in the original plate, is an engraving of the newly-found Hellenistic sculpture excavated in 1546 at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. This life-sized multi-figured work was subsequently moved to the Palazzo Farnese to join the other ancient sculptures collected by the powerful Farnese family, and to further adorn their palace with works from antiquity.[9] Renamed the *Farnese Bull* after its placement in the Palazzo Farnese, the group represents the narrative myth of the punishment of Dirce. This myth tells the story of the twins Amphion and Zethus, who attempted to bind Dirce, the cruel Queen of Thebes, to the horns of a bull sacred to Dionysus in retaliation for the cruel treatment of their mother, Antiope. The *Farnese Bull* was one of the few examples of ancient sculpture that was recognized as a sculptural masterpiece at the time of its rediscovery.[10] This work was among many colossal sculptures and other antiquities intended to decorate the Farnese palace, thus showing the notoriety and cultural prominence of the family.

The engraving is large in size and depicts the sculpture from a frontal view. Mantuana constructs the image so that all seven figures can be clearly seen. The figures are the focal point of the image, occupying the majority of the space and are situated on an elevated mass of rock with items organized around the figures. They are further organized on two levels of rock mass in a pyramid formation, with the bull on its hind legs at the highest point of the image. The bull occupies the middle of the grouping flanked by Amphion and Zethus. To the right, one of the twins wrestles with the head of the bull, positioned with one hand on the horn while the other hand is grasping its mouth. This figure is in a dynamic position as the body is shown in tension along with the movement of the bull. The figure of the other twin on the left of the image is restraining the bull, completely turned away from the viewer. Below the animal is a female figure, partially seated and grasping the leg of the male figure on the right while grasping a leg of the bull with a raised arm covering her face. Each human figure is in motion, responding to the movements of the bull. At the bottom right of the image is a classically-adorned and fully-robed human figure, perhaps a deity who wears a laurel and a sash, seated with a raised hand and motioning towards the action above. The figures occupy an open space, replicating the way the sculpture would have been presented at the Palazzo Farnese or the Baths of Caracalla. In many of Mantuana's engravings, the subjects are not confined to a small space and are often rendered with a simple open sky.[11] Small spherical clouds are situated at the top of the image in small curvilinear shapes and the length of the sky extends to the neck of the bull, taking up little space in the image. The statue itself rests on a lightly rendered rock bed that does not detract from the dominance of the sculpture in the engraving. Below the frame of the image is a Latin inscription, written in the poetic rhyme scheme of an elegiac couplet, a genre often used in the Renaissance for honoring individuals, events, and things:

> Ingentem Dircem Quam Spectas Mamore Ab Uno
> Sculpsit Taurisius Quondam Et Apollonius
> Deinde Advecta Rhodo Est Et Primum Condita In Aede
> Pollio Quam Romae Struxerat Asinius
> Thermarum Inde Antoni Inter Monumenta Reposta
> At Nvnc Farnesi Patris In Aede Sita Est
>
> See powerful Dirce, at one time carved from a single piece of marble by Apollonios and Tauriskos. Afterwards, it was brought from Rhodes and preserved in the house that Assinius Pollio had built in Rome. And from the place of the Antonine Baths, (having sat) among (this) remote monument, it now is allowed (to be seen) in the house (i.e., Palace) of the Farnese.

Elegiac couplet was first used by Greek lyric poets and later Roman poets such as Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid, reappearing during the Renaissance. The text here complements the subject of recovery of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture during the sixteenth century, and refers to the Farnese family's role in the excavation of the work while attributing the work to the Greek sculptors, Apollonius and

Tauriskos.[12] The inscription serves as an informative description of the image above it. It is rendered as if it is a part of the sculpture, bordered by an indentation and creating the illusion that it is chiseled into stone. By referencing the Farnese family in this way, Mantuana distinctly acknowledges the importance of the Farnese, not only in the acquisition of antiquities, but also in their importance as patrons of the arts. Below the inscription is the name of the original printer, C. Duchett, which indicates the first stage of printing associated with the date, 1581.[13] On the right, the phrase "Ioannes Orlandi 1602" has been added, which designates that this print is its second state.[14] The number of printers on the impression suggests that Mantuana's *Farnese Bull* was widely circulated.

Mantuana modified a few elements in the image to provide a more informative view of the sculpture. The medium of printmaking allowed for the circulation of images, and therefore Mantuana's engraving of the newly discovered *Farnese Bull* would have allowed people who might not have access to the Palazzo Farnese to become knowledgeable about the sculpture. The size of the print provides room for the artist to render more intricate detail of the sculpture. Furthermore, the organization of the figures in the sculpture forces a viewer to move completely around it and therefore, Mantuana had to make compositional choices in order to show as much detail as possible. In addition, Mantuana has changed the position of the left arm of Dirce so that she is depicted grabbing the leg of the bull instead of motioning towards it. This modification creates more action between the figures and provides space to depict the face of the figure behind the bull.

Mantuana employs a variety of techniques to simulate the materiality of the sculpture. The dense musculature of the figures is rendered through the use of small groupings of close knit hatchings in the engraving that emphasize the effects of light on stone. The gradation from light to dark shadows is more polarized in order to highlight the material of the work, and she combines groupings of parallel lines and stippling to imitate the characteristics of marble. Unlike Mantuana's engravings after paintings such as *Saint Jerome*, by Gerolamo Muziano (1575), where the transition from dark to light is smoother, Mantuana uses exaggerated contrast to imitate the quality of marble. The hatchings of lines are spread further apart and are engraved in a lighter manner.

After Mantuana's prints, other artists undertook similar figural compositions when representing this sculptural group, including the modification of Dirce's hand or changing the composition of the figures completely. *The Farnesian Bull* (1633) by an unknown artist has a composition similar to Mantuana's *Farnese Bull* in the organization of the figures, the actions of the individual figures, and the rendering of the sculpture in space. Below the image is a Latin inscription describing the myth associated with the sculpture. Although the musculature of the figures is less defined in this later print, the artist uses similar modes of delineation to achieve the materiality of the marble. By contrast, François Perrier's *De Farnese Stier* (ca. 1625) changes the configuration of the sculpture, moving each figure to the opposite location in the work. In addition, Perrier renders a full-body view of the figure in the back of the work. This composition creates more space between the figures, thus depicting greater detail in each individual. Perrier keeps Mantuana's depiction of Dirce in addition to a simply rendered sky and rock bed. The first state of Mantuana's *Farnese Bull* is dated 1581, predating both examples of other *Farnese Bull* prints. Although it cannot be verified that these artists saw Mantuana's prints, the similarities between the works highlight the ways in which artists interpreted and used different techniques to portray sculptural works.

1 Evelyn Lincoln, "Making a Good Impression: Diana Mantuana's Printmaking Career," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 1101–1147.

2 Lincoln, "Making a Good Impression," 1123.

3 Lincoln, "Making a Good Impression," 1107.

4 Lincoln, "Making a Good Impression," 1105.

5 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters Sculptors & Architects*, trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere, vol. 8 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912–1915), 41–42.

6 Lincoln, "Making a Good Impression," 1108.

7 Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 111–147.

8 Lincoln, *Italian Renaissance Printmaker*, 116.

9 Paolo Bellini, *L'opera incise di Adamo* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1991), 242.

10 Bellini, *L'opera incise di Adamo e Diana Scultori*, 34.

11 Carlo Gasparri, "The Farnese Collection of Antique Sculptures," *FMR: International* 25 (2008): 121–151.

12 Bellini, *L'opera incise di Adamo*, 245.

13 Bellini, *L'opera incise di Adamo,* 244.

14 Bellini, *L'opera incise di Adamo,* 244.

## *Essay #8*

C. Madeline Fritz

Annibale Carracci (1560–1609)
*Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, 1599
Etching with red chalk grid on paper. Brown staining on the folds of Mary's dress at the bottom left half of the image, also in front of Joseph's face, above the left pages of his book, and on the column behind him. Artist signature at bottom right corner of plate: *'Anni Car. in. fe. 1599.'*
6 ½ x 8 ⅝ in. (16.5 x 22.1 cm)

Annibale Carracci (1560–1609)
*St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, ca. 1591
Etching and engraving on paper, with light foxing along outside border of image. One of four copies known to exist.
Paper: 10 ½ x 4 ¼ in. (26.7 x 10.9 cm)
Image: 10 x 7 ⅝ in. (25.4 x 19.8 cm)

Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) with his brother Agostino (1557–1602) and their elder cousin Ludovico (1555–1619), founded the *Accademia degli Incamminati* in Bologna, Italy in 1582.[1] All three artists were born in Bologna, and while other members of the Carracci family were also active as artists, none were as prolific and successful as this triumvirate. Each was well known during his lifetime and their combined work established Bologna as an important regional center of art in Italy.[2] The *Accademia* founded by the three relatives was, as Diane Bohlin has remarked, "a painting academy where students could discuss theory, hear lectures from professors from the university, study the anatomy of corpses, and draw from the living model."[3] Beginning as the *Accademia degli Desiderosi*, which had humble beginnings in Ludovico's own studio, the *Accademia degli Incamminati* was largely comprised of a group of intellectuals: artist-scholars and university professors or, as they were known, *dottori*.[4] The painting academy was a defining cornerstone in the Carracci's disaffection with current stylistic trends. The Carracci saw a move away from naturalism in the representation of figures and colorism in many of their contemporaries with an emphasis on abstract and intellectual ideas of what images and figures should be. In contrast, study at the Carracci's *Accademia* emphasized Northern Italian naturalism, primarily drawn from the regional examples of painting in Emilia and Venice, and hence the drawing of live models and anatomical study was emphasized.[5] Besides the human form, artists practicing at the Carracci academy were also encouraged to study and draw figures from life, including plants, animals, landscapes, and architecture.[6] Rather than blending distinct and perfected body parts into an ideal, imagined form, the Carracci stressed the importance of studying and depicting objects in terms of how they appeared in nature, and thus, as C. van Tuyll van Serooskerken noted, "due attention was paid to the sciences of perspective, colour and optics."[7]

Fig. 31. Annibale Carracci, *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, 1599. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 18).

The emergence of the Carracci allowed for a new orientation in the artistic atmosphere in Bologna, and as Bohlin noted, "the best and most original painters active earlier in Bologna were either dead...or had moved elsewhere."[8] Regarding the intellectual atmosphere in the city, the University of Bologna encouraged literary and scientific pursuits. Also, thanks to the university, books and a subsequent print industry were able to flourish.[9] Agostino himself established his own publishing house for prints as they not only allowed for ease in the transportation of ideas and the sharing of print styles, but also, as Bohlin stated, "employed engravers to reproduce book illustrations, portraits, ornamental prints, maps, and whatever else was in demand by the buying public," suggesting that a printing house was also a profitable business.[10]

Annibale and Agostino had begun printing together while having jointly painted the *Rape of Europa* and the *Story of Jason* frescoes in the Palazzo Fava in Bologna, completed in 1584, two years prior to the opening of the *Accademia*. Although it is known that Annibale learned the technique of working with the burin from his older brother, who had been a goldsmith before adopting printmaking as his primary artistic practice, there are distinct differences between the engraving and etching styles of the two artists.[11] While Agostino had an exacting method in which he consistently combined hatching and crosshatching, his brother's prints, from a technical point of view, are an exploration of linear freedom where irregular hatching joined hastily drawn lines, open forms, and a sketchy background.[12]

Concerning other prominent artists active throughout the Italian peninsula, Annibale and Agostino both vehemently protested the declared superiority of Florentine artists as championed in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1568) and instead, favored the style of artists who were active in Venice. Vasari puts Michelangelo's art and demonstrable skill above all others, while the Carracci brothers looked to Titian's formidable example and style.[13] Some of Agostino's notes, shared from Boschloo's text, reveal the Carracci's sentiments regarding both Titian and Michelangelo, conveying that they believed Titian "tried to bring nature to life again in his work."[14] Some of Agostino's marginal notes in a copy of Vasari's *Vite* read:

> This most divine painter (Titian) made things that seem rather made by angels in heaven than by the hand of a mortal human...but if he (Titian) had had to compete with the Ghirlandaios, Broncinis, Lippis, Soggis, Carpolis, Gerigas, Bugiardinis and Vasari's other fellow Florentines with obscure names, like their obscure works, Titian could have easily surpassed them painting with his feet, eclipsing even the divine Michelangelo and Andrea del Sarto.[15]

These same sentiments are apparent in the teachings of the *Accademia degli Incamminati*. Agostino's notes, which are widely believed to reveal the sentiments of both brothers, suggest that along with Titian, Venetian artists such as Tintoretto and Veronese were seen as superior to their Florentine counterparts.[16] For Annibale, Veronese is an especially important model, as can be seen in his print, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (fig. 33).

Paolo Veronese (1528–1588) was a prominent Venetian artist and an older contemporary of Annibale and the *Accademia degli Incamminati*.[17] Anton Boschloo highlighted the link between the two artists: "his (Veronese) orientation towards the material and the visible appealed to him (Annibale)... the vitality radiating from the faces, the warm, but clear, light, the monumentality of the composition, all these he (Annibale) must have admired in Veronese' art."[18] *Madonna and Child with Saint Elizabeth, the Infant Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Catherine* (1565–1570), a painting by Veronese at the Timken Museum, is a work that demonstrates the affinity between Venetian artists and Annibale and their treatment of natural light. Giovanni Bellini, a predecessor to Veronese within the Venetian circle, is the artist responsible for making the handling of light a distinctive quality of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Venetian works. Like Veronese, Bellini uses "light as the pictorial balm," as Paul Hill noted, to unite subjects and objects within a composition.[19] In the aforementioned Veronese painting, a cool glowing light pours over the five figures, varying in its representation from reflective highlights to subdued pools of shadow. Much like Veronese's painting, the manner in which light is represented in Annibale's print determines the mood of the work. The depiction of the figures alone is enough to suggest a calm scene, but the presence of the encompassing daylight lends an additional sense of ease to the composition. In Annibale's print of the Holy Family, he applied light as he had studied its appearances and effects in the natural world, and as was emphasized in the teachings of the *Accademia degli Incamminati* in following his Venetian contemporary, Veronese.[20]

The figures in Annibale Carracci's *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 31) are monumental in scale—they dominate the space of the composition. The two infants, Jesus and Saint John the Baptist, sit atop a cloth-covered basket full of linens that is in the immediate foreground on the left of the image. Between the figures of Mary and Joseph is a small view into a deep landscape. Lightly defined by Annibale's hand, trees and large shrubs cover hills which quickly form faraway mountains that host two separate buildings. Behind Mary's head and above the children, a drawn curtain reveals a more complete view of the encompassing landscape. Saint John is largely cast in shadow with

his arms lovingly clutching the Christ child who reaches both toward Saint John and away from his mother's arms. The babies are round with newborn fat, their stomachs rolling as they squirm. Their expressions, featuring wrinkled brows and downturned mouths, suggest worry at their predetermined futures. Mary looks towards Joseph, but her gaze is settled on something outside of the image's boundaries. Annibale gives intense detail to the voluminous portrayal of her dress: barely does hatching delineate shadows in the folds of her clothing from the knee down, suggesting an almost sculptural physicality. The dress also lends itself to Mary's apparently giant scale as the suggested shape of her right knee is nearly as large as her entire head. Joseph sits, knees up, on the same stone ledge upon which Mary rests. He is reading a thick book and its pages are dark in deep shadow. The book consumes his attention and he pays no heed to either Mary or the restless children. The composition is framed within stone columns that border the lateral edges of the image.

Concerning technique, there are many similarities between Annibale's *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist* and Federico Barocci's *Madonna in the Clouds* (ca. 1581), a print that also combines etching and engraving analogous to some of Annibale's works. It is known that Annibale studied several of Barocci's works, indeed, studying and copying this print when first learning the print medium.[21] Both artists represent light in a similar fashion: bright luminosity and low-key *sfumato* create soft shadows and glowing highlights, particularly evident in the dress of the monumental Mary and Joseph figures. The drawn curtain reveals a landscape that is particularly saturated with light. Compared to both Barocci and Agostino Carracci, Annibale's marks are freer and less forceful in his etching and engraving techniques. Etching is a printing technique that allows for drawing-like results. A metal plate, commonly copper, is coated in a ground, usually a combination of wax, asphalt, and resin, that can be drawn into without flaking.[22] The etching needle is polished to an extent that it can cut through the ground without scratching the metal plate.[23] The plate is then submerged into an acid bath where the exposed metal is corroded away, leaving behind the characteristically coarse lines of the etching technique once the image has been printed.[24] When engraving, a copper plate is also used, but rather than coating it with a protective ground, the artist cuts directly into the plate.[25] It is the tools used to make the lines that give engravings their distinctive appearance. When learning etching and engraving techniques, Annibale blended the two techniques to achieve more naturalistic effects that were less typical of engraving alone, so that by adding etched elements to his engravings, his works convey a greater sense of naturalism and are akin to what an artist would produce in drawing rather than printing.

The importance of light in the image cannot be overstated—its representative presence coats the scene in a rich and unifying daylight. The construction of shadows and highlights throughout the image unites its figures and brings the composition together. For example, the intense light that illuminates the countryside landscape is also cast upon the figures in the foreground. It is also a pure enough light that any glow from Mary's halo is nonexistent, and the nimbus is only a barely-there attribute suggested by a thin line. Also, there is an ephemerality to the figures suggested by light that likely has its origin in Venetian images, as discussed above.

The red chalk squared grid that covers the print is a later addition. It is likely that the print was in the hands of another artist at some point in its provenance, and that s/he had planned to copy the print, either as a drawing or painting, although no known later copies of this image exist. Red chalk was the medium used for copying grids as it does not lend itself well to possible erasure.[26]

Fig. 32. Andrea del Sarto, *Madonna del Sacco*, 1525. Fresco. SS. Annuziata. ART136111. Photo © Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

Compositional elements of this scene are also similar to Andrea del Sarto's fresco, *Madonna del Sacco* (1525) (fig. 32), or *Madonna with the Sack*, in the vestibule of Santissima Annunziata in Florence, Italy. Both works portray Joseph caught in the midst of his book and Mary wearing a robe with wrinkles and folds laboriously detailed. In the Sarto fresco, the sack that Joseph leans against references the Holy Family's flight into Egypt to avoid King Herod's fatal intentions, and the basket full of linens in the Carracci print suggests the same. Also, like the Sarto fresco, Carracci's Joseph figure is entirely engrossed in his reading and pays little attention to the Mother and Child figures. The reading Joseph calls to mind Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling with tome-bearing Prophets and Sibyls, their scrolls and books foretelling the coming of Christ. Through visual association, Joseph becomes a prophetic figure. The informality of the figure-group in both Sarto's fresco and Annibale's print suggests a familial mood, and in both works Mary is maternal

and affectionate. The scale of figures in Sarto's and Annibale's compositions is also comparable: Mary and Joseph are both monumentally scaled, and Mary's proportions are especially accentuated through the heavy draping of her dress.

Multiple versions of this print exist, one of which was engraved by Dominicus Custos, an artist from Antwerp who worked in Prague and Augsburg.[27] Replacing the countryside with a coffered barrel ceiling vault, Custos also adds a margin at the bottom of the print with a Latin inscription:

> Quis puerum puer, infantemque quis
> implicat infans.
> Mater et amplexu quae regit implicitos.
> Caelestes pueri et puri miscintur amores,
> Hos quam mater amet, noverit unus amor.

The phrases read, "What boy embraces a boy, and what child embraces a child. And (there is) a mother who looks after (those) embraced boys with a caress. Celestial boys and pure loves are mixed, let a single love renew them rather than a mother love them." The Latin addition is a poetic description of the image, emphasizing the purity of a divine love that is shared between the children and between mother and child, while also likening it to the love between the faithful and the holy. Although these images are distinct, the Custos version emphasizes the intended religious use of the print, which was to inspire spiritual reflection. While the Carracci version was most likely made with similar intentions, the addition of the red chalk grid in this version shifts the work's purpose from inspiring spiritual reflection to serving as a model for another artist.[28]

In Annibale's *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (fig. 33), an especially rare print, he has depicted the popular Counter Reformation saint amongst boulders and a mix of shrubbery and grasses with two to three trees bordering the lateral edges. The Saint fills the space of the image while a few leaves of vegetation and a mossy closed well separate him from the viewer's space. The covered well functions as a table and a thick book lays open with other small objects scattered about: an inkpot, feather, and roll of paper referencing Jerome's life as Theologian. His left hand holds a rock that is resting on the exposed pages, as though the Saint is about to commence beating his breast in penance. Placed within a rocky landscape, Annibale's composition includes encroaching flora, particularly on the left side of the print and behind the crucifix on the right, which further confines the Saint within the natural setting and suggests that he is far removed from human contact.

Fig. 33. Annibale Carracci, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, ca. 1591. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 17).

Long lines that make up the figure's nimbus blend with his terrestrial setting, repeatedly guiding the viewer's eye back to his expression. Also, the nimbus and enclosed head are at the center of the print's composition, further enforcing a natural movement of the viewer's gaze towards the face of the Saint. The small trees grouped together behind the figure's left shoulder are spindly, but otherwise all other plants are full and verdant, suggested by heavy crosshatching. Surprisingly, the landscape is more wild, rather than strictly desert-like. Saint Jerome's hagiography tells of a period of four years he spent in the present-day Syrian desert, praying, fasting, and beating his chest with a stone to abate his sexual desires. Jerome reveals his lustful yearnings in one of many letters to Eustochium, a Roman noblewoman who studied under Jerome and was later venerated as a saint:

> Now, although in my fear of hell I had consigned myself to this prison, where I had no companions but scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself amid bevies of girl...My face was pale and my frame chilled with fasting; yet my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead...I remember how I...ceased not

> from beating my breast till tranquility returned at the chiding of the Lord...Whenever I saw hollow valleys, craggy mountains, steep cliffs, there I made my oratory, there the house of correction for my unhappy flesh. There, also—the Lord Himself is my witness—when I had shed copious tears and had strained my eyes towards heaven...[29]

While Jerome's own words reveal much of his inner spiritual turmoil, Annibale's image is a precise interpretation of Jerome's experience. The craggy mountains, steep cliffs are clearly present, Jerome's eyes are strained heavenward, and his facial expression reveals his intense emotional state that could suggest he is on the verge of shedding tears. Although his chest is yet to bear bloody bruises from self-penance, he grips the rock resting on the open pages of his book as though he is about to commence this violent process of absolution.

Kneeling, Saint Jerome is looking away from the crucifix and towards the heavens. A dropped jaw combined with an upward gaze is evidence of the Saint's forthcoming divine visionary experience. A similar expression can be seen in a painting entitled *The Vision of Saint Jerome* (before 1603) at The National Gallery in London. Completed by one of Annibale's own pupils, Domenico Zampieri, known as "Domenichino" (1581–1641), the painting shows Saint Jerome within a rocky cave-like setting. A pointed finger marks the page of his opened book while an angel descends from the upper-left corner. Both Domenichino and Annibale's images reference the Saint's journey into the desert where he purports to have experienced a holy vision in which an angel descends from the sky, sometimes trumpeting, but always admonishing Jerome for his love for classical texts.[31]

*Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* is an extremely rare print–there are only four known versions of the work, including the one in this exhibition. Clearly not intended to be widely circulated, the techniques Annibale employed are unlike many of his other, more finished prints. Here, his style is intensely vivid and the varying length and energy of his lines are largely gestural. The tree branches and surrounding foliage near the cave opening in the top-right corner are indicative of the artist's drawing and etching style where the delineation of the basic shapes of tree canopies and the undulating surface of a trunk are suggestive of the swift speed of the artist's hand when defining this area. The face, beard, and chest of the Saint have been handled both quickly and carefully with a mix of stippling, hatching, and crosshatching that vary in intensity as one technique fades into the other, and together suggesting a palpable density to the Saint's body. Throughout the image, the weight of the artist's marks are fairly consistent (excluding the figure's face and beard, and the bottom edge of the print) and the rendering of the body of Saint Jerome is woven into that of the surrounding wilderness. The aesthetic energy of the image is intense and dramatic, evident in the forced focus on the figure's head and facial expression.

Although the figure in Annibale's print is depicted with receding, unruly hair, as though he has spent a great deal of time in the wilderness, the Saint's physicality shows no evidence of intense weathering or hunger, as if Saint Jerome is only at the beginning of his four-year ascetic retreat into nature. Annibale depicts Saint Jerome well-muscled and rounded, rendered by stippling across the chest that blends into crosshatching. Draping from the figure's shoulders, a robe is loosely wrapped around his body. Behind Saint Jerome there are several closed tomes piled upon another rock in the middle ground. In the top center of the print the small area of exposed sky and the angular crosshatching against a border-like line imply a cave setting. The artist's hatching creates geometric planes suggesting a rocky and angled surface, much like the mouth of a cave. A bit of sky reveals some birds flying by, their size suggesting the depth of the cave where the Saint is shown.

Annibale Carracci had made another print of Saint Jerome several years earlier. Entitled *Saint Jerome at Prayer* (1583–1585) (fig. 34), this print is currently at the National Gallery in Washington, DC, and portrays the Saint as an erudite scholar. The figure in this print is reading a book beneath an overhanging crag where a branch heavy with leaves fills the top-left space of the composition. Here, Jerome's halo is a simply enclosed outline of a circle. His hands are gnarled, and while his right prepares to turn the pages, his left holds his glasses in place. The body mass of the figure is hidden beneath a thick cloak that drapes heavily over his shoulders and down his arms, leaving only his hands and a sliver of his chest exposed. Jerome's beard nearly blends into his cloak as Annibale's loose combination of curling and linear marks increase in density and melt into the dark crosshatching of the figure's only clothing article. Again, this portrayal of Saint Jerome depicts him more as an introspective scholar rather than as an ascetic who is moments before beginning blood-penance. The technique here is also notably distinct from that in *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*.

Agostino Carracci had engraved his own version of Saint Jerome (1602, The British Museum). While Agostino's version of the Saint is an exacting combination of hatching and crosshatching, Annibale's print combines these two techniques with stippling. In Annibale's work, some forms are left open as is evident in the foliage filling the small cave window to the sky and the blades of various grasses in the bottom-left corner. Agostino's Jerome figure has an impressive, albeit impossible, musculature. Annibale's version is still well muscled, but his physique is conveyed in a more natural manner, as if drawn from a live model. Depictions of the Saint in a rocky setting were popular in Venice and

Fig. 34. Annibale Carracci (Italian, 1560–1609), *Saint Jerome at prayer*, 1583/1585. Engraving on laid paper. National Gallery of Art, DC, Gift of Kate Ganz, 2008.104.2. Photo © National Gallery of Art.

throughout Northern Italy, and because Annibale had actively studied works by Northern Italian masters, such as Veronese and likely his painting *Saint Jerome* (ca. 1580, Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice), such a composition was obviously important to Annibale's own version of this scene. Agostino's version and Annibale's two prints include the Saint in a rocky setting, either within a cave or underneath a crag. And, technically, while Agostino mainly practiced engraving, Annibale often mixed engraving with etching, as previously mentioned.[32] The combination of these two techniques gives the print an intermediate grey tone, allowing Annibale to achieve a specific tonal gradation without preparing the paper prior to printing.

In the wake of the Counter Reformation, as Sue Reed noted, stories about the saints and all subsequent imagery, "were given rigorous critical assessment" to better establish Christian truths.[33] While the Roman Church was struggling to maintain hold of followers, the Council of Trent required that all art move away from decorative qualities and excessive embellishments and towards a strictly scripturally-based presentation of religious scenes.[34] To be precise, John Paoletti explains:

> the decrees of the Council of Trent stipulated that art was to be direct and compelling in its narrative presentation, that it was to provide an accurate presentation of the biblical narrative or saint's life, rather than adding incidental and imaginary moments, and that it was to encourage piety… but in general all (treatises) called for a style different from the courtly conceits of Mannerism.[35]

Therefore, religious scenes were simplified in their presentation, and this shift marks a renovation of the Catholic Church and its attempt to bring people back into its institution. Depictions of Saint Jerome as a penitent were popular as the effects of the Counter Reformation placed renewed emphasis on penance and other Catholic sacraments commonly rejected by recently formed Protestant sects. Violent acts of contrition, like Saint Jerome's stone breast-beating, and other depictions of human agony had "an essential homiletic purpose," as Michael Mullett observed, and "hagiographic art had depicted the widest range of forms of torment in the fullest detail."[36] Mullett continues to explain the didactic potential of violence in religious works:

> the utilitarian instructional purpose of (such works), wrote Emile Mâle, "intended to assist the instructors in the tempering of souls, and the images of torture scenes were used as a preparation for martyrdom." Once more it becomes evident that it was the goal of instruction that set the tone of much of what we think as typical of Catholic baroque.[37]

More specifically, a penitent could find courage to carry out his or her own acts of repentance in looking upon the image of Saint Jerome. While the Church condemned works that featured false doctrinal imagery, art was still understood as a powerful devotional tool that was fundamentally didactic in presentation, and artists were encouraged to depict religious subjects in a clear and accessible way.[38]

Representations of saints served as personal vehicles for direct contact to God and prints specifically were an important tool to the Catholic Church as they were able to be mass produced and have widespread availability. More specifically, prints allowed Catholic doctrine to move from the confines of the church building and mass and into the homes and private lives of the public, from *chiesa* to *casa*. And while this specific print was not mass produced, persuasive visual imagery of Christian atonement by the Church's fathers, like that of Saint Jerome on the cusp of blood-penance, could now easily be spread throughout the Italian peninsula and beyond.

1 Diane D. Bohlin, *Prints & Related Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonne* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press & the National Gallery of Art, DC, 1979), 38.

2 Bohlin, *Prints,* 27.

3 Bohlin, *Prints*, 38. For more information regarding the Accademia and the Carracci's practices see Heinrich Bodmer. *L'accademia dei Carracci* (Bologna, 1935), n.p. See also, Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1977).

4 C. van Tuyll van Serooskerken, et al., "Carracci," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T014340?search=quick&q=Carracci&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

5 Serooskerken, "Carracci."

6 Serooskerken, "Carracci."

7 Serooskerken, "Carracci."

8 Bohlin, *Prints*, 29.

9 Bohlin, *Prints*, 28–29.

10 Bohlin, *Prints*, 30–31.

11 Bohlin, *Prints*, 34, 37.

12 Bohlin, *Prints*, 39.

13 Anton W. A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent* (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1974), 44.

14 Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci*, 44.

15 Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci*, 44. "Questo divinissimo pittore (Titian) ha fatto di quelle cose che paiono piutosto fatte dagli Angeli del cielo che di mano di un huomo mortale...ma se havesse havuto a concorrere coi Ghirlandai, Broncini, Lippi, Soggi, Carpoli, Geriga, Bugiardini et altri suoi (Vasari's) fiorentini di nome oscuro, come d'opere, poteva facilmente superargli in dipinguendo coi piedi, levando però il divin Michelangelo e Andrea del Sarto."

16 Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci*, 44.

17 Alessandra Zamperini, *Paolo Veronese* (London: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2014), 7, 27.

18 Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci*, 73.

19 Paul Hill, *Venetian Colour: Marble, Mosaic, Painting and Glass 1250–1550* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), 155.

20 Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 12.

21 One of Annibale's prints that recalls Barocci's *Madonna in the Clouds* is in the permanent collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, titled as *Madonna and Child in the Clouds*. Accession number: 1985-52-3447.

22 M. B. Cohn. "Etching," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T026850?q=etching&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

23 Cohn, "Etching."

24 Cohn, "Etching."

25 Amy Namowitz Worthen, "Engraving," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T026291?q=Engraving&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

26 Timothy David Mayhew, Steven Hernandez, Philip L. Anderson, and Supapan Seraphin, "Natural Red Chalk in Traditional Old Master Drawings," *Journal of the American Institute For Conservation* 53, no. 2 (May 2014): 91.

27 "CUSTOS, Dominicus." *Benezit Dictionary of Artists-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/benezit/B00045447?q=custos&search=quick&source=oao_benz&pos=3&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

28 Another interesting adaptation of the original Carracci print is demonstrated by an anonymous engraver who copied the reading Joseph figure exactly and placed him in a densely wooded setting. The hugging children and basket have disappeared, and instead Mary breastfeeds an infant Christ.

29 Philip Schaff, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York: Scribners, 1886–1900), Reprint, ed., Alexander Roberts (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), online copy at Christian Classics Ethereal Library, paragraph 7 of letter 22 to Eustochium, http://www.ccel.org/search/fulltext/Schaff%2C%20A%20select%20library%20of%20the%20nicene.

30 "DOMENICHINO," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/benezit/B00052580?q=Domenichino&search=quick&source=oao_benz&pos=1&_start=1&size=25#firsthit.

31 Schaff, in paragraph 30 of letter 22 to Eustochium. Saint Jerome describes his visionary dream that makes him forget his love of Classical literature.

32 Bohlin, *Prints*, 38–39. It is known that Agostino assisted Annibale with his first prints.

33 Sue Welsh Reed, *Italian Etchers of the Renaissance & Baroque* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989), 106.

34 John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002), 452.

35 Paoletti and Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 452.

36 Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), 203.

37 Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 203.

38 Paoletti and Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 452–455.

## *Essay #9*

Rebecca Race

Antonio Tempesta, *The Four Ages of the World*

Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630)
*Aetas Aurea* (The Golden Age), 1599
Etching with engraved text
Artist's signature signed in plate lower left: *Anto temp Fiorent fec.* Publisher's signature: signed in plate lower right: *Nicolo Van aelst / formis Romae 1599.*
Wove paper with thread margins adhered to sheet of laid paper
8 ¾ x 13 ⅜ in. (22.5 x 33.8 cm)

Latin text:
Aetas Aurea
Postquam regna senex coeli Saturnus haberet
Omne malum tenebris alsa segebat humus.
Et secura novo florebant gaudia mundo
Paxque coronatis vecta regebat equis.
Non clypeus ensis erat sine vomere tellus
Obvia foecundos pandit amica sinus.

English translation:
The Golden Age
After old Saturn held power in the heavens
The whole evil land fell into cold darkness.
And joys free from fear were flourishing in the new world,
And peace ruled, carried forth by garlanded horses.
There was no sword, no shield; the friendly familiar earth
Spread out bounty without a ploughshare.

Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630)
*Aetas Argentea* (The Silver Age), 1599
Etching with engraved text
Artist's signature signed in plate lower right: *Anto tempes fecit / A E*
Wove paper with thread margins
Minor paper loss in lower right corner
8 ½ x 13 ⅜ in. (21.8 x 33.8 cm)

Latin text:
Aetas Argentea
Ast ubi Saturnus tenebrosa in tartara missus
Tosus et invicto sub Jove mundus erat
Lubrica (sic) sum vicibus succedunt tempore certis
et gemit attrito vomere durus ager.
Condita mortales scrutantur viscera terrae
Rimantes varias coeca (sic) per antra domos.

English translation:
The Silver Age
But when Saturn had been cast into the shadowy underworld
And the world was under the sway of invincible Jupiter,
I, Juppiter, make slip the (earth's) changes that advance by fixed time, and the hard field groaned, worn down by the ploughshare. Mortal offspring (were) kept safe (as they) explored the earth, searching randomly for homes that were caves.


Fig. 35. Antonio Tempesta, *Aetas Aurea* (The Golden Age), 1599.
Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 19).


Fig. 36. Antonio Tempesta, *Aetas Argentea* (The Silver Age), 1599.
Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 20).

Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630)
*Aetas Aenea* (The Bronze Age), 1599
Etching with engraved text
Artist's signature signed in plate lower left: *Anto temp Fior*
Laid paper with thread margins
8 ⅝ x 12 ¾ in. (21.8 x 32.8 cm)

Latin text:
Aetas Aenea
Terita succedit soboles cui nomen ab aere
Tempora quae secum deteriora tulit
Hic vagus horri sono (sic) credens se navita ponto
mercibus intacta pauperat arabiam.
Signat humum trepidus sub longo limite mensor
sanguineusque urget pectora Martis amor.

English translation:
The Bronze Age
A third (age) follows, to whom the lesser age
Brings with itself offspring from bronze.
This roving sailor, believing himself on the horrible sounding sea,
Deprives untouched Arabia of goods.
The jumpy surveyor marks the land under a long boundary
marker, just as bloodstained love bears down on the breast of
Mars.

Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630)
*Aetas Ferrea* (The Iron Age), 1599
Etching with engraved text
Artist's signature signed in plate lower left: *Anton temp Fiorent fec.*
Laid paper with thread margins
Minor paper loss in upper margin
8 ¾ x 13 ⅜ in. (22.4 x 33.8 cm)

Latin text:
Aetas Ferrea
Ferrea progenies duris caputi extulit antris
Invehit haec mundo protinus omne nefas
Horrida per cunctas errant incendia terras
et ferrus admissis Mars agitatur equis.
Victa iacet Pietas virtus, Rectique decorum
Mox subeunt fraudes, vis, scelus, Ardor opum.

English translation :
An Iron race emerges, cloaked, out from harsh caves
This race brings sin immediately to all mankind.
Horrible passions wander through all lands
and cruel Mars is being driven by horses having been urged on.
(With) Piety defeated and virtue of proper decorum dead,
Soon fraud, power, crime, and love of wealth, ascend.


Fig. 37. Antonio Tempesta, *Aetas Aenea* (The Bronze Age), 1599.
Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 21).


Fig. 38. Antonio Tempesta, *Aetas Ferrea* (The Iron Age), 1599.
Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 22).

The Florentine artist, Antonio Tempesta, worked as a painter, draftsman, and printmaker. At the beginning of his artistic career at the *Accademia del Disegno* in Florence, Tempesta was initially taught by Giovanni Stradano, also known as Joannes Stradanus, a Flemish painter and printmaker who was active in the court of Cosimo I de'Medici in Florence during the middle of the sixteenth century.[1] After studying with Stradano, Tempesta was a pupil of the Italian draftsman and painter, Santi di Tito, who was also an active member of the *Accademia* and produced several important altarpieces in Florence. While Tempesta was enrolled as a student, he also worked alongside the Italian artist and historian, Giorgio Vasari, on the interior paintings of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence during which time Vasari was the chief court painter to Cosimo I de'Medici.[2] After studying in Florence for four years, he went to Rome in 1580 to begin his own professional career. During his first years in Rome, Tempesta was commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII to paint frescoes in the Vatican Palace where Matthijis Bril, a Flemish painter known for his landscape scenes, worked alongside Tempesta.[3] Pope Gregory XIII subsequently commissioned Tempesta to complete religious frescoes in several churches in Rome. From 1583 to 1585 Tempesta painted the entrance wall of the SS Primus and Felicianus Chapel, in the fifth-century church of Santo Stefano Rotundo in Rome.[4] Here, Tempesta depicted the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin,* a subject that was rare in Italy at this time but common in the Netherlands, having been notably represented by the Netherlandish artist, Bernard van Orley ca. 1520–1535.[5] From the onset of his career, Tempesta was intrigued by artists of the Netherlands, a fact that is evident through his stylistic references. Tempesta had a particular interest in etching and engraving because the fine lines used in both techniques allowed him to compose vast spatial environments with precise and varied detail.

The late sixteenth century in Rome was an ideal time to enter the print industry. In this cosmopolitan city, there were many wealthy citizens as well as frequent visitors from abroad who constituted a large clientele for prints. People often traveled to Rome for religious and political reasons, as the city was the capital of the Papal States and the administrative center for the Catholic Church. As a result of the city's function, Rome was a cosmopolitan city and was one of the most active postal centers in Europe. Consequently, publishers in Rome were able to sell prints to an international audience. In his book, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*, Michael Bury discusses the audience for prints in sixteenth-century Rome, noting that "There was on the one hand a large and changing clientele, on the spot, to visit the shops and buy. On the other hand there was an encouragement to think internationally and to maintain connections throughout Europe."[6]

Beginning in the 1530s print publishers in Italy played a dominant role in print production.[7] These publishers would commission drawings from well-known artists who were often also printmakers, and the publisher would issue the print from an original engraved or etched plate in multiple copies for a profit. These copies were produced in the publisher's workshop and, as a result, collectors or artists could purchase the same print across Europe. Tempesta worked with several Roman publishers, although his principal publisher was Nicolas van Aelst, a Flemish born artist who came to Rome to set up a print and publishing shop. Nicolas van Aelst had a network of contacts in Rome, Brussels, and Antwerp for whom Tempesta produced many prints.[8] The compositional and stylistic similarities between Tempesta's *Four Ages of the World* series and prints and drawings from Northern Europe can be attributed to commissions from Northern clients through the agency of van Aelst.

After 1589, Tempesta created more than 1,500 prints, beginning with religious subjects and eventually moving to more secular themes. There was an increasing demand for religious prints after the Council of Trent, the nineteenth council of the Roman Catholic Church, which lasted from 1545 to 1563 and defined the key statements on the Church's teachings in response to the Protestant Reformation and its impact in Europe.

Tempesta produced 220 engravings of scenes from the Old Testament that quickly circulated throughout Europe.[9] During Tempesta's lifetime, the Papal Administration had strict controls over images of religious and political subjects, which had to undergo approval prior to being published.[10] To avoid censure and in order to introduce new subjects to the Roman public, Tempesta began to depict secular subjects such as hunts, battles, and landscapes in the early 1590s for a circle of private collectors.[11] Tempesta took risks by developing his own ideas, and once they were proven popular among his patrons and collecting public, he could convince publishers to buy his plates directly or commission him to produce more designs.[12] In the highly competitive market for prints, Tempesta's depiction of new subjects in Rome gave him a unique advantage. To increase his productivity, Tempesta began etching in 1589, a process which was faster than engraving and allowed him to react more quickly to demands from his buyers. The artist had become frustrated with the slow process of engraving and thus transitioned to a new technique.[13]

Tempesta drew upon the beginning of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the subject for his print series in this exhibition, *Four Ages of the World*. Ovid's epic poem, written

in Latin during the first century B.C., is composed of mythological stories that narrate the formation and history of the world, revolving around the theme of transformation.[14] Many artists drew upon Ovid's text during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for this theme, and they depicted how human behavior and the surrounding environment changed through the narrative of the four ages of the world. During Tempesta's lifetime, the poem was translated into several languages, including English and Italian, with differing images accompanying the text. In sixteenth-century Europe, texts paired with corresponding images became increasingly popular and artists often would interpret Ovid's *Metamorphoses* visually, without the textual accompaniment.[15]

Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovid) was born in Sulmo, Italy in 43 B.C., one year before the assassination of Julius Caesar.[16] It was a tumultuous time in Rome, as civil war broke out after Caesar's death. At age 12, Ovid was sent from his small hometown in the mountains of central Italy to Rome, one hundred miles away, to be educated for a political career. Upon Ovid's arrival in Rome in 31 B.C., the Battle of Actium took place in which Octavian, who would soon become the Emperor of Rome under his new title, Augustus, defeated Cleopatra and Marc Anthony.[17] During Ovid's lifetime, Augustus remained Emperor of the new Roman Empire. Although Augustus' ambitions as a ruler included reestablishing the previous virtues of the Republican era, he was often a ruthless leader who compromised political inquiry and free expression.[18] While in Rome, Ovid studied poetry and public speaking. Augustus supported the traditional polytheistic religion of Rome during Ovid's lifetime, and this source offered much material for Ovid's poetry.[19]

At the peak of Ovid's career, he began writing his *Metamorphoses*. Ovid tells the history of the world chronologically, beginning with its creation and ending with the assassination of Julius Caesar. In *Metamorphoses*, Ovid includes nearly every hero and heroine from Greek and Roman mythology and thus the text also served to preserve the Greco-Roman legacy of mythology.[20] Ovid drew from ancient literature and developed his ideas after studying texts by other Greek and Roman poets such as Hesiod, Vergil, Horace, and Catullus, however Ovid would alter individual stories by previous authors and astonish his contemporaries.[21] In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid communicates the narrative clearly to his readers and there is a sense of historical movement in which each story has some relationship to the previous one.

The four ages of the world–Golden, Silver, Bronze, and Iron–serve as metaphors for the progress of time as Ovid describes the successive stages of a declining world through an assortment of various mythological tales where the poet often compared events from ordinary life to ancient myth.[22] After Ovid completed his *Metamorphoses* he wrote, "Wherever Roman power extends in conquered lands, I shall be on people's lips: in fame through all the ages—if poets' prophecies have any truth in them—I shall live."[23]

By the fourteenth century, Ovid's narratives had come to the attention of the most important Italian poet, Dante. Dante considered the *Metamorphoses* as a literary model of style and refers to the text in his *Divine Comedy*.[24] With the onset of the Italian Renaissance in the fourteenth century, people were eager to study and revive ancient texts such as *Metamorphoses*. During this time, Ovid was one of the first ancient authors to be translated into Italian and as a result, the text influenced a number of later Italian poets including Sannazaro, Ariosto, Tasso, and Guarini.[25] Italian artists from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Raphael, Perino del Vaga, Correggio, Titan, and Pietro da Cortona used Ovid's text as an inspirational source for the subjects in many of their paintings.[26] By 1597, Ovid's text had even been set in an Italian opera. Ovid provided the material used in the first ever opera performance by Jacopo Peri in the opera entitled, *Daphne* and composers of later operas often drew from the same subject matter.[27] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* became an integral part of Italian culture and history as it was repeatedly used in Italian literature and art.

Scholars throughout Europe were widely acquainted with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by the sixteenth century. Further, the text became increasingly popular in Rome during the Italian Renaissance as it was invoked with an aim to renew the city's link with its ancient past. Among Roman artists, the subject matter for prints was commonly local and was based on inventions by artists and writers who worked in the city.[28]

The Netherlandish printer, Collard Mansion, issued the first edition of Ovid's poem with accompanying woodcut images in 1481, and the Northern market for *Metamorphoses* increased dramatically as a result. Between 1500 and 1599 about one hundred versions of Ovid's poem were paired with images that were published and circulated.[29] The German printmaker, Virgil Solis, made a series of prints based on Ovid's text in the 1540s, but these images were not published until 1563 along with the text. Yet, Solis' woodcuts were prevalent throughout Europe and the woodcut blocks were used for another twenty-five editions of Ovid's text until 1652. The editions were translated into German, Dutch, Flemish, and Spanish, making the text and images available to a widespread audience.[30] The popularity and multiplicity of Virgil Solis' depictions likely had an impact on the interpretation of Ovid's text by other artists. Other Northern European artists such as Lucas Cranach the Elder (1530) and Bernard Salomon (1557) depicted the four Ages based in Ovid's text, in a manner similar to that of Tempesta, but with

fewer details. Tempesta was aware of the earlier representations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that were circulating in Northern Europe, and likely had these earlier works in mind when beginning his own.

Tempesta's *Four Ages of the World* series is composed of four prints that represent a progressive decline in the "value" and prestige of metals. The series begins with the Golden Age (*Aetas Aurea*) in which the earth is untouched by human beings and fully sustains the human race. In the Silver Age (*Aetas Argentea)* the four seasons are introduced and humans must provide food and shelter for themselves. Next, in the Bronze Age (*Aetas Aenea)* industrialization is introduced and people develop a sterner disposition. In the last age of the series, The Iron Age (*Aetas Ferrea),* life is dominated by warfare and domestic strife.[31] The four prints in the series are etchings that Tempesta completed in 1599. Below the images on each print is an accompanying Latin text in verse that references Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* but not precisely, and provides a literary source for the viewer to understand the imagery. From Nicolas van Aelst's signature on the bottom-right corner of the Golden Age along with the inscription *formis Rome 1599*, we are able to confirm that he published the prints in Rome. Tempesta never released his plates individually to publishers, and instead put them in series ranging from as few as four to as many as one-hundred-fifty.[32] Because the publisher's name is only inscribed on the first print of the series, the four prints can be understood as comprising a complete set. In order to confirm authorship, Antonio Tempesta commonly signed his prints in the plate, and the artist's signature can be found on each print in the *Four Ages of the World* series. In the Golden Age Tempesta engraved *Anto temp Fiorent fec* in the lower-left corner of the plate, and similar signatures are located on the rest of the prints within the series. *Fiorent* refers to Fiorentino, Italian for Florentine, and *fec* is abbreviated for the Latin word *fecit* to indicate Tempesta made the imagery himself in the plate. Both Tempesta and Nicolas van Aelst engraved their signatures, rather than adding it with ink after the image was produced in an effort to protect their copyrights to the image and prevent forgery by other artists.

In Tempesta's *Four Ages of the World* series, he visually interprets Ovid's text as it might be relevant to contemporary Italy. Ovid saw Rome as a city declining before him, which many scholars see as evident in his text, and Tempesta can be seen to depict a similar perspective. Ovid begins his text with the creation of the world and concludes the *Metamorphoses* in his own age under Augustus with a determined ruler and the aftermath of civil war. Likewise, Tempesta's print series begin with the Golden Age, the creation of the world, and ends in the Iron Age, where humans are dressed in contemporary attire of sixteenth-century Rome and engulfed in warfare. As Tempesta's print series unfolds, the artist's assessment about the behavior of humanity is apparent.

In the first print of the series, *Aetas Aurea* (Golden Age) (fig. 35), humans live in harmony with nature. The earth provides abundant berries and acorns for humans and animals to survive on. On the left side of the foreground two figures climb a tree to pick fruit. A small child below the tree gathers fruit that has fallen on the ground and brings it to his mother who is nursing a baby. Earth remains untouched and humans live in their most natural state without any form of technology or industrialization. An impossible mix of species exists in the Golden Age: lions, elephants, camels, horses, turkeys, peacocks, rabbits, pig, and deer live together in this mythological land. Spring is everlasting and a gentle breeze draws the leaves of the tall trees in the background.

In the Golden Age, Tempesta depicts the figures and animals in pairs to symbolize harmonious relationships. The artist used compressed narration to depict multiple events happening simultaneously so as to reveal how male and female interact cohesively with each other. A pair of standing figures to the left of the middle ground embraces each other lovingly and behind them, another pair of figures are lying on a hill engaged in a conversation. In the center of the print are a male and female with their two small children in between them. The mother uses a stick to force fruit to fall from the tree for her children to gather on the ground. On the right side of the foreground, a male leans into the lap of a female as she rests her arm on his shoulder. The figures in the Golden Age are playful as well. In the central foreground, a woman flirts with a man as she holds a branch with attached fruit just out of his reach. The lion and panther next to the pair are playful in a similar manner that mimics the figures. A lion is typically an aggressive animal, yet in the Golden Age the lion lives peacefully with humans and other animals that would naturally be its prey. In the Golden Age, humanity is innocent and primal in a world where relationships and reproduction are the only concern. Tempesta's Golden Age imagery both elaborates upon and departs from the Latin inscriptions included below the image. The Latin verses describe the context of the Golden Age and foreshadow what is to come in the future. According to Ovid, the Golden Age existed under the reign of the ancient Roman god, Saturn, however after Saturn's fall, a new and lesser race is introduced.[33] The first two lines of Latin verse on the print, "Postquam regna senex coeli Saturnus haberet / Omne malum tenebris alsa segebat humus," translate as "After old Saturn held power in the heavens, the whole evil land fell into cold darkness." Tempesta included this text to refer to the end of the Golden Age in which Saturn's reign ends, and to allude to the Iron Age, the last age in the series, when the world is filled with violence and greed. By contrast, Tempesta

does not foreshadow the future ages in his Golden Age imagery. The artist provides information for the viewer through text that is not obvious only through the Golden Age imagery, giving the imagery and text equal importance and helping the reader understand the visual narrative.

The next inscribed line refers to the current age: "Et secura novo florebant gaudia mundo," which translates as "And joys free from fear were flourishing in the new world," and emphasizes peace and the lack of threats in the Golden Age. The reference to a creation of a new world informs the reader of the context outside of the imagery. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the earth was created out of a chaotic mass and humans and animals were formed to inhabit the land. Tempesta represents the concept of a new world in his depiction of an impossible mix of animal species. A diverse grouping of animals is able to co-exist in this mythological world and there is a lack of a hierarchy among the living creatures. However, Tempesta's pairing of animals throughout the Golden Age print may also refer to the story of Noah's Ark from *Genesis*. In *Genesis*, prior to the flood that destroyed the land, Noah is instructed by God to build an ark and take two of every type of animal, "And of every living thing of all flesh, you shall bring two of every kind to the ark, to keep them alive with you; they shall be male and female."[34] The grouping of animals in twos seems deliberate and is emphasized by the repeating pairs throughout the landscape. Although there is clearly a male and female lion in the central foreground, the sexes of the other animals are difficult to determine. Several of the animal pairings are surrounded by their offspring, which Tempesta includes to indicate reproduction, and further suggest pairs of the opposite sex. Although the *Four Ages of the World* series is based on Ovid's text, Biblical themes are also arguably represented.

The animals in Jan van Kessel's oil painting, entitled *Boarding the Ark* (ca. 1660) (fig. 39) and located today in the Museum of Fine Arts in Rennes, France, are strikingly similar to the animals portrayed by Tempesta in the Golden Age. Van Kessel, who studied at the Flemish school during the seventeenth century, is known for his precise representations of nature.[35] In the central foreground of van Kessel's painting, the artist depicts a male and female lion playing with each other, similar to the pair of lions in the foreground of Tempesta's Golden Age. However, Jan van Kessel's lions appear more aggressive as the male opens his jaw and exposes his teeth. Yet, both Tempesta and van Kessel's pairing of lions are physically intertwined in a similar manner. In the Golden Age, the female lion wraps her body around the male as he turns his neck toward her. In van Kesssel's painting, the female lion playfully follows the male in a circular path. Jan van Kessel and Tempesta also include a turkey in the right foreground of both their works that is paired with a nearby hen. In both works, the turkey is placed at about the same distance from the right margin of the image and both birds face outward toward the left side, providing the viewer with a three-quarter view of the bird. Jan van Kessel's turkey appears to be almost identical to Tempesta's. Throughout the entire expanse of Jan van Kessel's painting, he depicted an exotic mix of species, with pairings of animals within the foreground, middle ground, and background, similar to those of Tempesta. Both artists create a rich, dense landscape where the viewer is able to examine the immense amount of detail and identifiable aspects of a diverse group of animal species.

Tempesta and van Kessel both show an interest in

Fig. 39. Jan van Kessel, *Boarding the Ark*, ca. 1660. Painting. Musée des Beaux Arts Rennes. AA371261. Photo © Gianni Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

different types of birds, in their precise representations of these animals. For example, van Kessel depicts a number of birds situated within tree branches in the left foreground. Two notably identifiable birds included by van Kessel are a pair of colorful parrots. Van Kessel creates a soft texture within their red, green, and blue feathers through his use of white highlights on the birds' bodies. The artist also pays close attention to the rigidity of the birds' tails through the use of black paint in a long straight line defining the tails, as they hang below the tree branch. In the Golden Age, Tempesta includes a peacock with a long intricate tail that hangs off the tree branch in a similar manner. Tempesta, like van Kessel, used extensive detail within the bird's feathers to make the animal easily identifiable. The peacock's tail has distinct markings that are known today as eyespots, depicted by Tempesta in repetitive circular forms with central spots throughout the bird's tail. The detail included by both artists, notably seen in the representations of birds, reveals the artists' observations and knowledge of different animal species. As a result, van Kessel's *Boarding the Ark* and Tempesta's Golden Age served as visual forms of encyclopedias for viewers and

artists. During Tempesta and Jan van Kessel's lifetimes, many viewers of their works had only observed such an exotic mix of animal species, such as lions, peacocks, camels, and parrots through imagery. Art was a window through which viewers could view and learn beyond their own experiences, and therefore this kind of imagery was highly appreciated and valued.

Prior to both Tempesta and Jan van Kessel's depictions of animal species, Ovid discussed a variety of animals in his *Metamorphoses* and his text provided names for creatures during the first century B.C., such as the Argus pheasant and the python. Ovid also established names for several different moths and butterflies in his text. Wilmon Brewer, author of *Ovid's Metamorphoses in European Culture*, explains the connection between Ovid's text and the scientific identification of species: "The effect of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* did not end with literature and art but appeared also in the modern science of zoology."[36] Tempesta was likely inspired by the discussion of exotic animals in Ovid's text, which is demonstrated through his representation of them in the Golden Age. Furthermore, the remarkable parallels between the portrayal of animals in Tempesta's Golden Age and Jan van Kessel's *Boarding the Ark* suggests that the Flemish painter might have derived ideas from the Italian artist.

The pairing of animals in Tempesta's prints within the *Four Ages of the World* series may allude to the wicked behavior of humans during the Iron Age, the last print in the series, and potentially the decline Tempesta saw during his own age in Rome. In the Biblical story of Noah's Ark in *Genesis*, God creates a flood to punish humans for their evil behavior on earth.[37] Although the humans in the Golden Age are innocent and just, Tempesta is aware of the violence, warfare, and trickery that will come in the last age of the series where the artist may have alluded to the regression of Rome. Tempesta continuously foreshadows the future through the four successive ages, creating a sense of historical movement. In the last verse on the Golden Age print, the artist foreshadows the future while also describing the current age: "Non clypeus ensis erat sine vomere tellus / Obuia foecundos pandit amica sinus." This verse translates as: "There was no sword, no shield; the friendly familiar earth spread out bounty without a ploughshare." In the peaceful Golden Age, no weapons or forms of protection are necessary. However, in the Iron Age, the world is engulfed by warfare with weapons depicted continuously throughout the scene. The different types of weaponry represented by Tempesta and included in the text are noteworthy because they reveal technological advancement through the ages. In the Iron Age, humans are more advanced and use guns rather than swords, which were used in the previous ages. In the Golden, Silver, and Bronze Ages, forms of weaponry are not visually depicted, but are mentioned by Tempesta in the text on the Golden Age print. In the Iron Age, weapons are clearly visible: two men in the right foreground hold guns while another man in the central foreground reloads his weapon with gun powder. In the middle ground and foreground, almost every man is holding a gun and those without weapons are lying dead on the ground. Through the successive ages, Tempesta reveals the potential dangers that come with invention and innovation.

In the last line of text on the Golden Age print, "Obuia foecundos pandit amica sinus," which translates as "Spread out bounty without a ploughshare," the reference to a ploughshare directly refers to the agricultural world in the Silver Age, where Tempesta depicts a man using a ploughshare within a field in the central middle ground. By referring to future events in the text, Tempesta forces the viewer to think of the Golden Age not only as a single print, but also in the context of the entire series. Otherwise, and without the Latin text, the artist does not visually allude to transformation during the future ages in the Golden Age imagery. As a result, the Latin text inscribed on the prints is essential to understanding the larger narrative of the series.

In the second print of the series, *Aetas Argentea* (The Silver Age) (fig. 36), summer, fall, winter, and spring are introduced and humans' relationship with nature is altered. Tempesta's use of compressed narration allows him to represent four seasons in one print. In the Silver Age, humans must be innovative in order to survive. In the right foreground and left middle ground, men build shelters for warmth with natural materials, such as tree trunks and large pieces of wood for the shelter's support and wheat stalks for the roofs. The shelters are incomplete and men are in the process of building them, a sign that winter is coming, but has not yet arrived. Men must also learn the art of agriculture in the Silver Age, as the earth no longer continuously provides an abundance of food. Two men harvest heads of lettuce from a garden in the left middle ground. In the central middle ground, in preparation to plant seeds, a man ploughs a field, an activity depicted by the artist to allude to spring. Several other men carry wheat stalks that were recently harvested at the conclusion of the summer. On the right side of the foreground a man carries a pile of wheat on his shoulder while he climbs up a wooden ladder to complete the roof of a shelter. Unlike the wild animals in the Golden Age, animals are domesticated in the Silver Age, used as food, and are no longer considered equal to humans. For instance, a woman prepares a meal in the right foreground as she cooks a bird over the fire. Life in the Silver Age is more cultivated and less primal; as a result, humans are clothed with garments and are no longer in the nude as they were in the Golden Age. However, most of the figures are not fully

clothed. The men only have a piece of cloth wrapped around their waists and the women have cloth loosely draped around their bodies. The placement of clothing on the figures in the Silver Age by Tempesta reflects the transition out of a primal world, into a more civilized one.

Unlike the paired figures in the Golden Age, males and females are physically separated in the Silver Age and tend to different responsibilities. While the males perform physical labor, the females tend to domestic tasks. Women gather around a fire in the foreground and prepare a meal while other women take care of the children. In the foreground, a woman sits by the fire with a small child in her lap, and another woman sits underneath the shelter in the foreground with a child as well. Meanwhile, men rush to complete the shelter in the right foreground and left middle ground. Males and females no longer spend leisure time together, as they did in the Golden Age, because they are occupied with various tasks and, as a result, a disconnect between the two sexes is clear in the Silver Age imagery.

Although the humans in the Silver Age are more technologically advanced, it is considered a lesser age in comparison to the Golden Age, due to the gradually declining behavior of the humans, a point that is reiterated by the degradation of metallic value from gold to silver. It is ironic that an advancing world is also viewed as declining and may suggest that human beings are best in their most primal state. As humans advance, a sense of unity is lost, represented by the separation of males and females in the Silver Age imagery. Humans become occupied with daily tasks that take up most of their time, bringing a focus to the individual.

Although the humans are no longer in pairs, Tempesta still depicts several pairings of animals in the Silver Age. In the right corner of the foreground, two goats rest by the shelter and two horses stand nearby, in the left foreground. To the left of the horses are two sheep and beyond the sheep, in the left middle ground, two rams playfully fight with each other. Though the pairing of animals in the Silver Age imagery is not as repetitious as it was in the Golden Age imagery, with the few pairs of animals still depicted, the artist may indicate that the world is still in its early stages, and he may also be referring to the story of Noah's Ark in *Genesis* when Noah had to group animals into pairs before the flood. However, as in the Golden Age, the pairings of animals may also foreshadow the Iron Age.

In the text included by Tempesta on the Silver Age print, the artist describes the response of nature in reaction to humanity's manipulation of the land. The second line of the second verse, "et gemit attrito vomere durus ager," translates as: "and the hard field groaned, worn down by the ploughshare." Tempesta personifies the earth, implying that nature is alive and reacts adversely to agricultural activities. Before this age, nature remained untouched by humans, however, in the Silver Age, the relationship between nature and humans has changed, as the humans now need to perform difficult physical labor in order to survive. This age poses challenges for humanity in that people must work in order to overcome, which is suggested by Tempesta's description of the earth as "tough." In contrast, the ploughshare used by the figure in the central middle ground is described as "smooth." Tempesta includes the contrast in these descriptors to suggest that the earth should remain untouched, yet humans develop the technology to manipulate the environment. The man preparing the field in the central middle ground strains his body as he leans over in an uncomfortable position for long periods of time to guide the ploughshare through the field while the horse pulls the tool across the ground. Another man with an arched back, in the left corner of the foreground, strains his body in a similar position as he rakes the ground and appears to have been working for hours by the agony seen in his facial expression.

As a result of physical labor and the lack of an abundance of food provided by the earth, the figures are more muscular and physically fit in the Silver Age. The change in body type among the female figures in the Silver Age is significantly noticeable. Although the women are not depicted performing physical labor, less food is available in the Silver Age and the humans must adapt to changing seasons. In the Golden Age, the females have plump, Rubenesque bodies. However, in the Silver Age their muscles are well defined. Tempesta outlines the calf muscles of the standing female figure in the foreground with curvature and dark shadows. The same female figure extends her arms out as she cooks a bird over the fire, which the artist includes to reveal her toned arms, unlike the females in the Golden Age who have fuller, less muscular arms. Tempesta depicts a drastic transformation in culture between the Golden and Silver Ages through a change in behavior, physical attributes, and an alteration of the landscape.

Although Tempesta successfully portrayed the characteristics of the Silver Age, representations of the Silver Age by other artists do not convey the distinctions between the Golden and Silver Ages as clearly as Tempesta's imagery does. The Italian painter, Pietro da Cortona, painted a fresco series of the four ages of the world (ca. 1641) for the Pitti Palace in Florence. However, there are major distinctions between Tempesta's and Pietro da Cortona's depictions of *The Silver Age* (fig. 40). Cortona does not reveal the Northern European landscape style that Tempesta represents in his print series. Although there is a clear distinction between foreground, middle ground, and background in Cortona's fresco, he uses less compressed narration within his fresco and fewer intricate details to portray the animals and vegetation, unlike

Fig. 40. Pietro da Cortona, *The Silver Age*, fresco from "The Four Ages of Man," 1637. Painting. Gallerina Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy. ART96730. Photo © Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Tempesta. In Cortona's *The Silver Age*, the figures in the left foreground consume harvested fruit and a man directly behind them grips an animal he recently killed for food. The two figures in the distance, located in the central middle ground, are hunting an animal, but it is not the central focus of the painting. Although Pietro da Cortona depicts the hunting of animals, the art of agriculture adopted by the humans during the Silver Age is not shown, while it is clearly represented by Tempesta. Another difference between the depictions of *The Silver Age* by both artists is within the female figures. In Pietro da Cortona's *The Silver Age* fresco, the females have full, Rubenesque bodies, similar to the females in Tempesta's Golden Age print, but they are unlike the muscular females depicted by Tempesta in his Silver Age print. The reclining female in the foreground of Pietro da Cortona's fresco appears as though she belongs in the Golden Age as she lies in a relaxed position with a piece of red drapery wrapped around her plump body. Cortona does not represent intense physical labor as Tempesta does and, as a result, the characteristics of the Silver Age are unclear. Within Cortona's fresco, shelters are not represented; hence, the introduction of the four seasons that occurs in the Silver Age is not visually obvious in the scene. Tempesta clearly depicts the transition from the Golden to Silver Age by including agricultural developments and shelters, as well as compressed narration to represent multiple seasons simultaneously whereas the defining characteristics of the Silver Age depicted by Pietro da Cortona are somewhat indistinct.

Pietro da Cortona seems less concerned with portraying the changes in landscape, vegetation, and animals in the Silver Age, and is rather more attentive to the figural form. As a result, the transformation between the Golden and Silver Ages is much more difficult to decipher and requires the viewer to carefully explore Cortona's painting, examining the small figures in the background and noting the subtle changes in the humans in the foreground. Pietro da Cortona's focus on the figural form, rather than the landscape, is seen throughout his fresco series, not only in his Silver Age imagery but also in his Golden, Bronze, and Iron Age frescoes. This concentration on the figural form by the artist may be attributed to a lasting Renaissance preoccupation with depicting the human body. During the Italian Renaissance, artists were inspired by Greek and Roman figural sculptures of classical nudes and commonly reproduced the classical nude in frescoes and paintings. However, in Tempesta's *Four Ages of the World*, Tempesta does not only focus on the figural form, but equally distributes the figures and landscape throughout the composition of each print, focusing instead on the narrative. Unlike Cortona, Tempesta's prints do not have a central focus. Instead, Tempesta represents several scenes within the same composition through compressed narration. As a result, Tempesta's prints represent a more comprehensive narrative based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* when compared to Pietro da Cortona's fresco series of the ages.

In the third age of the world, *Aetas Aenea* (The Bronze Age) (fig. 37), industrialization is introduced. Society is no longer primarily agricultural and humans are now capable of forming tools from metals such as copper and bronze. In the right middle ground, blacksmiths are inside a workshop creating tools for construction and several tools are seen throughout the image—an axe lies on the earth in the foreground, two men use a handsaw to cut a piece of wood in the left foreground, and another man uses a hammer to chisel a large stone in the lower left corner. As a result of more efficient tools, the landscape has changed significantly, and humans have the capability to cut down trees rapidly. The shelters are more sophisticated in the Bronze Age and are built of stone instead of wood and wheat as they were in the Silver Age. With stronger building materials, the humans are able to build stronger, more durable structures. Tempesta reveals technological progress in the Bronze Age with the depiction of a tall building on the right middle ground that is used as a look out to view potential invaders coming from afar. Forms of protection are depicted by Tempesta to reveal

threats of violence in the Bronze Age and to suggest humanity's behavior is not only declining in the land, but also in other parts of the world. Humans also actively claim the land and establish boundaries in the Bronze Age. For instance, men in the foreground work to build a stone wall to protect the land. In the right middle ground, a surveyor directs two men to measure the land with a border marker made out of string. This area of the print directly relates to the text below the Bronze Age imagery. The first line of the third verse, "Signat humum trepidas sub longo limite mensor" translates to: "The jumpy surveyor marks the land under a long boundary marker."

Similar to the Silver Age, males and females tend to separate tasks in the Bronze Age. Tempesta depicts fewer females to signify an industrialized working society where women fulfill domestic responsibilities. Two women in the foreground are washing clothing in the river and the scene is dominated by male figures. The artist also excludes children in the Bronze Age imagery, drawing the viewer's focus away from familial relationships and toward a working society. In this age, the figures are fully clothed in garments that are contemporary to Tempesta's time, and attire is used to demonstrate class distinctions. The surveyor in the middle ground is holding a staff to indicate his authority over the two men he is directing who kneel on the ground below the surveyor following his instructions. In the Bronze Age, humans have the technology to build ships out of wood and a river flows through the area where men are working, feeding into a larger body of water. In the background, two large ships sail away from land and several smaller boats are filled with men, which may be used to carry materials for trade, such as tools and metals, to the larger vessels. Tempesta may have depicted ships to suggest travel to other parts of the world and participation in a global trade industry. The artist describes the sailors in the second Latin verse on the bottom of the print, "Hic vagus horri sono (sic) credens se navita ponto mercibus intacta pauperat arabiam," which translates as: "This roving sailor, believing himself on the horrible sounding sea / Deprives untouched Arabia of goods." From this inscription, the reader can deduce that the sailors in the Bronze Age have roamed the sea and have discovered Arabia, taking advantage of the resources and goods that country has to offer.

Tempesta may indicate contact with the Middle East in the Golden, Silver, and Bronze Ages by depicting palm trees and camels within the landscape of each of these three prints. A palm tree blends in with oak trees in the right background of the Golden Age. To the left of the central tree, a single camel grazes in a field in the distance. In the Golden Age, people do not have the technology or reason to travel, however, the minimal depiction of these Middle Eastern species may be included by Tempesta to foreshadow contact with other, currently unknown lands in the future ages. In the Silver Age, a palm tree is represented in the central background and four camels graze in the field nearby. There are no ships in the Silver Age, but there is a river that flows through the inhabited area, which Tempesta may include to suggest travel to other parts of the world. Next, in the Bronze Age, Tempesta may shift both the palm tree and camels from their placement in the background on the Silver Age print, into the middle ground of the Bronze Age print, to signify that these species have been integrated into this society.

The palm tree and camels are more prominent in the Bronze Age in comparison to their presence in the previous ages, to suggest frequent contact with the Middle East, and specifically Arabia. These Arabian species are clearly symbolic in the Bronze Age imagery because of how the palm trees and camels stand out within the landscape among the other indigenous plants and animals. In the Bronze Age print, a palm tree stands in front of a tree that is native to the area, which is continuously depicted by Tempesta in the Bronze Age and throughout the series. The foliage on the indigenous tree located behind the palm tree, and the foliage on the other trees depicted within the print, specifically in the upper left corner, visually contrast and do not naturally belong in the same environment. The artist depicts the palm tree's rough tree trunk with rigid horizontal lines and white highlights to distinguish the sharp edges on the tree's bark. The palm leaves are stiff when compared to the flexible foliage on the surrounding trees that sway in the wind. Tempesta represents the native trees in the upper left corner with smooth bark through the use of long fluid lines to compose the trunks. The difference in texture between the two different trees, represented by Tempesta, emphasizes the fact that these two types of trees belong in different climates. The camels, also an outstanding species within the Bronze Age imagery, are shaded with dark tones and contrast with the lighter tone of the river behind them, bringing the viewer's focus to these animals. The camels are physically separated from the other animals in the Bronze Age print and are not visibly under human control like the other animals in the scene, such as the horses with saddles in the foreground, the bulls towing a slab used for carrying materials in the left middle ground, and the goats that reside in a fenced off area in the middle ground. Instead, the camels are free to roam, appear out of place, and seem unsure of their surrounding environment.

In the Bronze Age, the division between foreground, middle ground, and background is noteworthy as Tempesta creates separate areas in the imagery for working and domestic life. In the foreground and middle ground, men work to produce tools, protect their land, and cultivate

livestock. However, in the background, Tempesta depicts homes across the river and on the mountainside to which people retreat after a hard day's work. Fewer women are depicted in the Bronze Age when compared to the previous ages, because they are likely tending to domestic tasks. In the Bronze Age imagery, Tempesta brings visual focus away from familial aspects by composing the homes in the far distance with loose, gestured lines, without tonal contrast, and toward industrialization with his prominent lines and range of tonal values in the foreground.

As time progresses, the Bronze Age is considered even lesser within the context of human behavior than the Silver Age, which is also indicated by the decrease in metallic value from silver to copper. Humans in the Bronze Age are far from their once primal selves, and the only representation of unity among them is through physical labor. In this age, humans assert their dominance over the land but are unaware of the decline of humanity that is to come in the Iron Age.

In the fourth print of the series, *Aetas Ferrea* (Iron Age) (fig. 38), the world is dominated by violence and acts of evil. The Latin text on the print is directly related to the Iron Age imagery and Tempesta no longer needs to foreshadow events in the future. The second line of the first verse, "Invehit haec mundo protinus omne nefas," translates as: "This race brings sin immediately to all mankind." In this age, iron is used to produce guns and war is underway in the middle ground and background. In the Bronze Age, the land is protected with stonewalls and lookout structures, depicted by Tempesta to indicate that enemies exist in another land, but in the Iron Age, the enemies have arrived and a war is taking place. In the Silver and Bronze Ages, smoke is depicted by Tempesta as a sign of innovation, seen above a fire, and coming out of a blacksmith's workshop. However, in the Iron Age, smoke is a symbol for destruction as buildings and ships burn in flames and men fire guns at one another. Tempesta represents humans as greedy and selfish in the final print of the series. In the left middle ground, a man lies dead as another searches through the dead man's clothing for valuable belongings. Further, the men in the foreground are unresponsive to the war that is occurring behind them and act as if the violence is not a concern, with their backs facing the fighting as they carry on a conversation. However, the bulls and horses react to the violence and run away to safety; this is the first time the artist clearly portrays fear within the animals and lack of human control over them.

Pairings of animals are absent from the Iron Age imagery as humanity is finally corrupt and Tempesta no longer foreshadows decline in the future ages. The Iron Age is representative of the wicked behavior of humans prior to the flood in the story of Noah's Ark. This analysis of the imagery forces the viewer to think of the series as a unified whole and conclude that the events in the Golden, Silver, and Bronze Ages led to the fall of humanity in the Iron Age. The first line of the third verse on the Iron Age print refers to an end of spirituality: "Victa iacet Pietas Virtus Rectique decorum," translates as: "(With) Piety defeated and virtue of proper decorum dead." Piety often has a religious connotation, meaning faithful devotion, which everyone in the Iron Age lacks. No form of devout behavior is depicted and individuals act impulsively to fulfill selfish desires.

Representations of family and unity are absent from the Iron Age imagery, and the only relationship Tempesta depicts between males and females is an inappropriately sexual one. Under the shade of the large tree in the right foreground, two men take advantage of a helpless woman. As one man reaches under the woman's dress, another man raises his fist over her as a threat. Similar to the Bronze Age, no children are present in the Iron Age. The artist may have intentionally excluded children because they are representative of innocence and reproduction, and the Iron Age is driven by cruelty and violence. In the Golden and Silver Ages, children also represent the unity of males and females, which is also missing from the world during the Iron Age.

Tempesta's Iron Age is characterized by sweeping movement to represent dynamic action within the print, a quality seen in other prints by Tempesta in addition to his *Four Ages of the World* series. His etching from 1598, entitled *Ostrich Hunt* (fig. 41), is representative of the artist's well-known depictions of hunting scenes. Tempesta commonly portrayed hunting events after 1590, which gave him the opportunity to depict scenes with exaggerated movement.[38] Several men on stampeding horses rush to kill a fleeting ostrich while dogs chase the large bird. In the background, another ostrich bolts from men on horses with long, sharpened spears. The birds' wings are extended outwards in an attempt to escape the attack, yet the surrounding men trap

Fig. 41. Antonio Tempesta, *Ostrich Hunt*, 1598. Etching. British Museum, London, Great Britian. ART433772. Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

them. Similarly, in Tempesta's Iron Age print, animals flee the scene as a battle occurs in the center of the image. On the left side of the Iron Age, horses and bulls run away from the violence and seek shelter in the forest. The artist likely studied live animals as well as numerous depictions of animals during his career, and therefore was able to represent them convincingly in movement. In *Ostrich Hunt*, Tempesta also represents movement in the swaying vegetation in the background, which adds to the widespread action of the scene. A palm tree is seen in the central background of *Ostrich Hunt*, a plant also depicted by the artist in his *Four Ages of the World* series. The palm trees in Tempesta's *Ostrich Hunt* may be included here to indicate a species introduced from the Middle East and demonstrate contact with other lands, similar to the ages series.

Similar to the way in which the palm trees may be associated with the Middle East, the representation of an ostrich suggests a specific region of the world, as these large birds are not indigenous to Italy, but are rather native to Africa.[39] More specifically, the Arabian ostrich was commonly hunted during Tempesta's lifetime.[40] As discussed before, in Tempesta's Bronze Age print, the second verse of the Latin text translates as: "This roving sailor, believing himself on the horrible sounding sea, deprives untouched Arabia of goods." Although this verse appears on the Bronze Age print, a work completed a year after Tempesta's *Ostrich Hunt*, in both works the artist refers to the Arabian Peninsula. The idea of contact with the Middle East, suggests not only trade and cultural exchange, but also how the impossible mix of animal species depicted in the Golden Age represent an ideal world. An ostrich, an unfamiliar animal in Italy and Northern Europe, would spark interest in and curiosity about unknown places for the viewer. Representations of unfamiliar species by Tempesta allowed his audiences in Italy and Northern Europe to see non-native plants and animals through his imagery.

As mentioned above, Tempesta's initial training as an artist in Florence was under the guidance of the Flemish painter, Giovanni Stradano.[41] Tempesta often studied Stradano's work, and resemblances between the two artists are clearly seen in their respective works. For example, Stradano depicted several scenes of ostrich hunts, a theme that was prevalent in Northern Europe during the sixteenth century. However, Tempesta suggests a more exaggerated movement in his *Ostrich Hunt* than Stradano does in his paintings, with his use of fluid lines, depiction of animals in mid-air, and more extreme tonal contrasts, techniques which are also seen in Tempesta's Iron Age imagery. Tempesta used Stradano's subject, but evokes intense action to create drama within his hunting scenes, such as in his *Ostrich Hunt* and the battle scenes in the Iron Age imagery. The combination of extreme movement and non-native species represented by Tempesta attracted a large clientele for his prints in Italy and Northern Europe.

The *Four Ages of the World* series is stylistically similar to an etching by Jan and Lucas van Doetecum, after the painter and printmaker known for his landscapes, Pieter Bruegel the Elder. In *Soldiers at Rest* from 1556 (fig. 42), located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, there is a clear distinction between the foreground, middle ground, and background by Jan and Lucas van Doetecum's inclusion of intricate detail and a recession of tones within the image, similar to Tempesta's print series. In *Soldiers at Rest*, dark tones in the foreground are created with deep etchings in the metal plate to distinguish those areas with less light in the landscape. The artists' use of contrast allows the viewer to determine the direction of light within *Soldiers at Rest*. Light enters the scene from the right side of the work, as the right half of the central tree is illuminated and there is no light on the reverse side of the trunk. A similar effect occurs on the smaller trees in the right corner of the foreground. In the foreground, dark tones are also used to create shadows within crevices along the hillside and to outline the figures, creating shadows around their forms. Tonal contrast within the landscape and figures in the foreground, create three-dimensionality within the scene and differentiate the foreground from the middle ground and background, creating an expansive landscape similar to the effect we see in Tempesta's print series. The trees and other plants in the foreground of *Soldiers at Rest* are depicted with extensive detail, as in the leaves on the central tree and in the roots and branches below the tree. In the middle ground, there is less tonal contrast, and in the background the landscape and atmosphere are composed of loose gestured lines, an area in the work lacking tonal contrast and clearly defined forms, an effect also seen in Tempesta's print series. An especially similar characteristic

Fig. 42. Johannes van Doetecum, *Soldiers at Rest (Milites Requiescentes)*, ca. 1556. Etching and engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926, 26.72.56. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

between the etching after Pieter Bruegel and Tempesta's Silver Age and Bronze Age is the representation of towering mountains in the background shaded with light hatching, where the artists suggest an unknown expansive landscape soon to be explored by humans.

In *Soldiers at Rest,* the figures are miniscule relative to the entire scene, forcing the viewer to question the humans' relationship with nature, a theme repeated throughout Tempesta's age series. The artists display how the surrounding environment has added to the humans' exhaustion by depicting the large central tree towering over the fatigued figures that rest on top of a hill. In the lower-right foreground, the figures recently ascended up the steep hillside and now have a view of the world below them. In this respect, *Soldiers at Rest* is similar to Tempesta's *Four Ages of the World* series in which humanity's relationship with nature is considered throughout the series. This relationship may be compared to the changing dynamic between humans and nature in each age within the series, beginning with the transition from the Golden to Silver Age.

Tempesta and Jan and Lucas van Doetecum represent the surrounding landscape as a reflection on humanity's relationship with nature. However, in *Soldiers at Rest*, the artists dramatize the scene by depicting minuscule figures in relation to a vast, dominating landscape. Less concentration on the figural form and a stronger focus on the landscape reveals a Northern European interest in landscape scenes. However, Tempesta, who was certainly influenced by Northern European landscape styles, includes details in both the landscape and figures, and distributes the two equally within each print in the series. As discussed before, Pietro da Cortona reveals a strong interest in rendering the human figure, specifically in his Silver Age fresco, whereas Jan and Lucas van Doetecum display an interest in depicting vast landscapes. Tempesta's age series serves stylistically as a middle ground between Pietro da Cortona's fresco, with a focus on the figural form, and Jan and Lucas van Doetecum's *Soldiers at Rest*, with a focus on the surrounding environment. Tempesta may have combined both Northern European and Italian styles in his *Four Ages of the World.*

Tempesta's *Four Ages of the World* may also be compared to works by Paul Bril, an artist born in Flanders who came to Rome in 1582, where he played a crucial role in the development of landscape art. As a contemporary of Tempesta, Bril helped form the basis of Tempesta's landscape style.[42] In Bril's landscape drawing, entitled *Wooded Ravine with Distant Harbor View* (late sixteenth century), located today in The Morgan Library in New York, the foliage on the trees is almost identical to the foliage on the trees depicted by Tempesta in the *Four Ages of the World* series. Both Bril and Tempesta carefully depict each leaf, making the foliage appear full and soft as it sways in the wind. In the Silver, Bronze, and Iron Ages, there is a distant body of water depicted with loose, gestured lines by Tempesta, giving the landscape in the background an unfinished quality, very similar to the background of Bril's drawing. Unlike Tempesta's prints with many figures throughout the scene, figures are absent from Bril's drawing. However, Tempesta used drawings by Bril as a foundation for his landscapes and added figures in movement to create a narrative. Tempesta's working relationship with Matthijs Bril while completing frescoes together in the Vatican Palace in the early 1580s, may have led Tempesta to discover the work of Matthijs' brother, Paul.[43]

Through the use of etching, Tempesta was able to reproduce his drawing style in prints.[44] The thin, fluid lines created by a needle drawn across a ground produce similar effects to those created by pen and ink which Bril used in his drawing, *Wooded Ravine with Distant Harbor View*. However, with an image created by etching, Tempesta had the ability to produce multiple copies of the same image and make a greater profit through the sale of his prints throughout Italy and Northern Europe.

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## *Essay #10*

Samuel Richards

After Francesco Vanni (1563–1610) (Possibly by Andrea Andreani)
*Madonna and Child*
Chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks (olive, black) on cream wove paper. The paper is worn and stained.
10 ¼ x 8 ¼ in. (26 x 21 cm)

Siena was one of the most significant Italian artistic centers throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. With the decline and eventual collapse of the 400-year Republic of Siena in 1555, Siena's rival, the Duchy of Florence, absorbed Siena into its domain and with it, the city's artistic tradition.[1] In this "new" Siena, Francesco Vanni (1563–1610) became the most important Sienese artist of the late sixteenth century. During the aftermath of the Counter-Reformation, there was an increased demand for Catholic-sponsored art. Vanni's reputation resulted in him garnering many commissions from churches and confraternities. His skill had even earned him commissions from the Holy See and from as far away as Salzburg.[2] He first studied under his stepfather Arcangelo Salimbeni (ca. 1536–1579) and then under Giovanni de'Vecchi (1536–1614). Salimbeni was a Sienese painter, largely overshadowed by his son, Ventura Salimbeni (1568–1613) and his step-son Francesco Vanni. Giovanni de'Vecchi was another important painter whom Vanni is thought to have met in 1579 while accompanying his stepfather to Rome. After his father died when he was sixteen, Vanni began studying under Giovanni de'Vecchi. By 1586, Vanni had left Rome for Siena where he spent the majority of the remainder of his life.[3] Although he is primarily known as a painter, Vanni also tried his hand at printmaking. The woodcut of the *Madonna and Child* (fig. 43) in this exhibition, however, is not by Francesco Vanni, although it bears many close stylistic hallmarks of the artist, Andrea Andreani (1540–1623), who was one of the first printmakers in central Italy to make chiaroscuro woodcuts of the type we see here. There are only three prints known to have been made by Vanni himself: *The Virgin Adoring the Sleeping Child* (ca. 1595), *Saint Catherine of Siena* (ca. 1595), and *Saint Francis Consoled by a Musical Angel* (ca. 1595), all of which are etchings.[4]

In the woodcut here, the Madonna is praying over her sleeping child in a sparse non-descript location. Above the Christ Child's head, there appears to be an overhanging fabric that continues behind the Virgin. Through tonal gradation, the artist emphasizes the contours of the "fabric" and creates a sense of dimensionality that pushes the

Fig. 43. After Francesco Vanni, *Madonna and Child,* ca. 1590s. Chiaroscuro woodcut. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 24).

Madonna forward. Mary's hair is braided and wrapped in the back of her head, covered slightly by a veil. Behind her head is an illuminated halo that emphasizes her head and divides her from the fabric in the background. Over her tunic is a flowing cloth that wraps around her body. The artist used a defined line extending from her wrist to the back of her neck to separate the border of the cloth and divide it from the tunic. Even with the line, the tunic and shoulder cloth are difficult to distinguish from one another. Her arms are held at her chest, hands joined together and her fingers splayed like steeples. Beneath her hands, the Christ Child is lying on his left side with his legs firmly crossed. Like his mother, the Christ Child's head is backed by a halo. The light emitting from the halo emphasizes the child's flowing curly hair, as his left hand grasps the cloth while his right hand rests on his side.

The print of *Madonna and Child* is a chiaroscuro woodcut, a printing technique that is intended to emulate the effects of chiaroscuro drawing. (The word "chiaroscuro" means "light-dark": chiaro [light] and scuro [dark]). To create this effect in a woodcut, an artist uses one block for line and


Fig. 44. Francesco Vanni, *Virgin Adoring the Sleeping Child*, 1573–1610. Drawing. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-38.286. Photo © Rijksmuseum.

additional blocks for tone. By using one or more blocks, an artist can portray various levels of shading similar to those created in a wash drawing. For a multiblock woodcut, the line block carries the "lines," meaning the crosshatching and contours found in the print—there is no added tonal gradation save from that created by the paper.[5] The *Madonna and Child* is cut from two blocks: olive and black, with the paper serving to create the white highlights.[6]

To create dimensionality in the print, the artist used three different types of hatching: linear hatching, contoured hatching, and crosshatching. The linear hatching is predominant on the left side of the Virgin. Extending almost from the bottom to the top of the print there is an empty plane, save for the linear hatching. The contoured hatching is most evident around the edges of the figures, where the artist used thicker lines to outline both the Virgin and her child. For example, beginning in the lower left corner, there is a thick contour line that continues up and over the shoulder of the Virgin to define her body, while crosshatching defines the "fabric" behind Mary's head, on her clothes, to her right and on the legs of the Christ Child.

On June 30, 1591, the Compagnia di Santa Caterina in Siena commissioned Francesco Vanni to decorate a *cataletto* (funeral bier) for them. Of the four panels he created, one was *The Virgin Adoring the Sleeping Child* (1591), the painting after which the woodcut was based.[7] Compositionally, the woodcut and the painting are very similar, including the ambiguous background. In the painting, Mary is wearing a red tunic with a dark blue cloth draped over her shoulders and arms. Her veil is translucent and extends down from her head where it encircles her neck, the front falling just above her bosom. Instead of grasping cloth like in the woodcut, the Christ Child's hand is holding one of the roses at his side. In a woodcut, an artist would not have been able to create a translucent veil with the same effects as in an oil painting. In order to keep the veil, the tunic, and shoulder cloth separate, the artist adapted and changed them in the woodcut. Unlike the painting, the veil is difficult to discern from the Virgin's tunic and shoulder cloth around her neck, as the print is limited in its tonal scheme. To separate the tunic and shoulder cloth, the artist used contoured hatching to define the edges of the shoulder cloth, particularly from her right wrist to neck.

The woodcut is without some of the details present in Vanni's painting, however the artist added a compositional variation. In Vanni's painting the figures are close to the picture plane with the Virgin Mary's clothes extending beyond the frame. In the woodcut, the artist chose to depict the scene from farther away, allowing a more expansive view of the scene. This more distant depiction allowed the artist to construct a pyramidal composition through the contoured hatching. This pyramidal composition serves to draw the viewer's eye into the work and create a sense of balance. In the *Madonna and Child*, this composition draws the viewer's eye beginning in the bottom left corner, climbing up and around the head of the Virgin Mary, and ending just above the head of the Christ Child.[8]

Of the three prints Vanni is known to have made, one was also based on this same 1591 painting, *The Virgin Adoring the Sleeping Child*. His etching by the same title (ca. 1595) (fig. 44), intriguingly diverges more from the painting than does the woodcut by a different artist (possibly Andreani). The composition of the etching, however, is the same as in the painting and woodcut. Like in the woodcut, Vanni sacrifices the roses in lieu of Christ grasping the cloth in his etching. The greatest variance from the painting is in the background. From the middle left side and continuing behind Mary to the middle right, a curved line divides the background of the printed design in two, save for the text at the bottom. The lower half only contains linear hatching, and the upper half is far more detailed. Immediately behind Mary's head is a thinly drawn halo, similar to the halo seen in

the woodcut. Encircling the halo are nine delicately drawn stars, and surrounding the stars and halo is a singular large star with visible rays. Just beyond the rays of this star, is a semicircular arrangement of what resembles cherubim or putti. It is clear that the three works represent the same devotional scene, but the Vanni etching is the most dissimilar among the three.

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, "Siena," *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/543288/Siena.

2 John Marciari and Suzanne Boorsch, *Francesco Vanni: Art in Late Renaissance Siena* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 1.

3 Marciari and Boorsch, *Vanni*, 5–6.

4 Marciari and Boorsch, *Vanni*, 78, 103, 105.

5 David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print – 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 21–23.

6 Phillip Earenfight, *Masterworks: Renaissance, Baroque, and Early Modern Prints and Drawings from the Darlene K. Morris Collection* (Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 2011), 8.

7 Marciari and Boorsch, *Vanni*, 78.

8 Christopher W. Tyler, "Some principles of spatial organization in art," in *Spatial Vision*, Brill Publications 20, Issue 6 (2007): 509–530.

## *Essay #11*

Samantha Mendoza-Ferguson

Marco San Martino (ca. 1620–1700)
*Shepherd and Shepherdess*, (ca. 1620–1700)
Etching
4 ⅜ x 6 ½ in. (11.1 x 16.5 cm)

Marco San Martino was born in or around Naples and trained primarily as a painter. Seventeenth-century Neapolitan painting was characterized by dramatic expression, naturalism, and chiaroscuro, key elements in the work of Caravaggio.[1] In addition to Caravaggio's model, artists in Naples studied the classicising styles of Bolognese artists, synthesizing their stylistic and thematic sensibilities with indigenous Neapolitan traditions. Traveling around different regions in Italy, San Martino was not associated with a specific stylistic "school." However, despite his lack of a direct stylistic association, he established his reputation as a painter of landscapes and was known for his religious, mythological, and genre etchings.[2] After 1641, San Martino moved north towards Rimini and Bologna where he was known to be active, frequenting the studio of Domenichino, an important painter associated with the Carracci school.[3] The Carracci were known for having developed landscape imagery as a recognized genre and subject in its own right. Many of San Martino's etchings show familiar iconographic characteristics and techniques where created intimate landscapes featuring peasants, muleteers, and the underclasses interspersed with poultry, packhorses, cows, and other animals.

San Martino's *Shepherd and Shepherdess* (fig. 45) depicts two figures, a shepherd and shepherdess who are reclining in a pastoral setting with animals and cottages. The image of a shepherd and shepherdess reclining in nature evokes sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pastoral motifs familiar in painting and prints. The construction of this genre of landscape requires certain conventions of representation, special organization, and pictorial construction that invite the viewer to engage with a fictive Arcadian realm.[3] The rendering of natural landscapes known to the viewer help to evoke this imaginary world with conventional elements such as trees, bodies of water, cliffs, and countryside cottages. In the pastoral landscape, motifs of leisure and serenity separate the figures from a realm that is relatable to the audience, creating an ideal image of daily life. The composition of the landscape is constructed in an intimate way, depicting a few figures in a vast landscape. The figures are protected within the "locus

Fig. 45. Marco San Martino, *Shepherd and Shepherdess*, (1620–1700). Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 26).

Fig. 46. Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), *Three Ages of Man*, 1512–1514. Painting. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland. Photo © Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.

amoenus," a grove that provides shelter from the harsh aspects of urban society.[4] Typically, the grove can be seen in a pastoral image but in *Shepherd and Shepherdess*, the figures are already occupying this space. The viewer is thus intimately involved in the idyllic space of the figures.

The composition of the image is dominated by the figures, giving access to the private world of the shepherd and shepherdess. The shepherdess fills half of the space of the foreground, leaning against the right edge of the image frame. To the left of the shepherdess, the shepherd reclines with his back facing the viewer with his head slightly turned towards the dog and goat that are to his left. These two animals are proportionate to the figures, which draws more attention to the foreground and middle ground. The grouping of the figures dominates the composition, thus emphasizing their importance. On the left, a small, loosely-rendered cottage is situated on a hill. Cottages and other natural elements fill the background. The shepherd, shepherdess, and animals are seated on an elevated platform separate from the architectural elements in the image. Their large proportions contrast with the size of the goats depicted below the cliff, towards the bottom left of the image. These animals are walking down a hill towards an area out of reach to the viewer. The shepherdess plays the flute while looking towards the area directly across from her into a space beyond the image. The presence of the flute in the image evokes pastoral themes of music and poetry reminiscent of Titians' *Three Ages of Man* (1512–1514) (fig. 46). This painting depicts the three stages of life: infancy, adulthood, and old age. In the right of the foreground, the age of infancy is shown as resting babies being watched over by Cupid. Adulthood follows and is depicted by two lovers positioned in the left of the foreground. Between infancy and adulthood, old age is illustrated through an elderly figure holding two skulls, which serve as memento mori, a symbolic reminder of death. Titian constructs a fictive setting to depict themes of human mortality and love. The imagery in the painting evokes both pastoral and lyrical poetry through the integration of an idyllic landscape and humanist themes. In the left of the foreground, the figures representing adulthood are shown with the largest proportions. These figures are intimately involved; the male figure is reclining in a classically-inspired nude fashion while the female figure is in contemporary dress playing the flute. The spatial organization of this painting mirrors *Shepherd and Shepherdess*, placing human figures as the central subjects engaging in a fictive realm. In both images, the figures are situated in lush environments, characterized by rolling hills, trees, and foliage.

In literary works of poets such as Hesiod and Virgil, pastoral landscapes were settings for songs, depicting herdsmen as singers.[5] Shepherds were idealized figures that represented an ideal humanity by engaging appreciatively with nature and through this way of life, man was able to cultivate the arts of music and poetry. Venetian artists such as Titian and Giorgione created a popular pictorial language for this literary genre.[6] The relationship between the landscape and the human figure became an integral aspect of the construction of the pastoral, articulating a space through which humanity is able to lead a simple and innocent way of

life. The compositional structure and relationships of these pictorial elements offer spectators "inviting occasions for escape and reverie,"[7] as described by John Dixon Hunt. Because this fictive space presents a state of innocence, the pastoral often leaves the viewer with a feeling of loss and the longing for an imaginary time when humanity leads a truthful existence within nature.[8]

San Martino demonstrates a variety of techniques in order to render texture in this image. The contrast from light to dark between the foreground, middle ground, and background articulate the texture in the etching. The background elements are more loosely composed in comparison to the figures in the foreground, which by contrast are rendered in techniques such as crosshatching, curvilinear lines, and groupings of dots. Each individual line is clearly defined from the lines that are parallel and perpendicular. San Martino creates depth and shadow through the positioning of hatchings on the face and body of the shepherdess. In addition, the depth of the lines in the figures adds a dimension of weight to the image. The darkest areas of the etching begin at the right of the image and become lighter moving towards the left. The elements farthest away from the shepherd and shepherdess have thinner and lighter lines rendered more closely together. The contrast in the image further emphasizes the portrayal of distance and guides the movement of the composition. Many of San Martino's etchings create intimate, personal, and fleeting sensibilities because of the lack of multiple strikes and the lack of differentiated states of the images.[9] In this medium, San Martino was able to work rapidly without revision. In the majority of his etchings, the outlines of the image correspond to the plate mark and the absence of printer's names suggests that San Martino himself made the impressions of these images.[10] The number of etchings made by San Martino compared to the small number of paintings he produced shows his interest in working in this medium. The image is small and meant for an audience of one. Although prints are often considered as works meant for multiple audiences, the intimate size and simple composition of *Shepherd and Shepherdess* create an image for a restricted audience.

The organization of the image is reminiscent of Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with a Shepherd and Shepherdess* (ca. 1636), a pastoral painting depicting a shepherd and shepherdess in a vast landscape accompanied by a herd of animals. In this painting, the two figures are situated in the bottom right of the foreground sheltered from the glare of the sun by large trees and dense foliage. To the left of the figures, a herd of animals grazes the field wandering to the left towards the sunny area of the image. The middle ground of the image is an elevated architectural structure and a rounded cliff with a small horizon in the distance. These two elements in the landscape are separated by a bright sky. In this pastoral image, the grove is a distinguished part of the spatial organization. The composition draws the viewer towards the two figures reclining in the bottom right of the foreground. These works represent pastoral sensibilities through the fictive elements of bucolic imagery, a literary genre describing the care of cows and livestock, and the representations of shepherds and shepherdess situated in an ideal landscape.

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1 James Voorhies, "Art of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in Napes," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/npls/hd_npls.htm (October 2003).

2 "SAN MARTINO, Marco," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/benezit/B00160506.

3 Paolo Bellini, *The Illustrated Bartsch 47 Commentary Part 1, Italian Masters of the 17th Century* (New York: Abaris Books, 1987).

4 David Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi: On the Construction of Meaning in Landscape," in *The Pastoral Landscape: Studies in the History of Art* 36, *CASVA, Symposium Papers 20* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 160–177, 69.

5 Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi," 173.

6 Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 22.

7 John Dixon Hunt, "Introduction: Pastorals and Pastoralisms," in *The Pastoral Landscape: Studies in the History of Art* 36, *CASVA, Symposium Papers 20* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 11–20, 14.

8 W. R. Rearick, "From Arcady to Barnyard," in *The Pastoral Landscape: Studies in the History of Art* 36, *CASVA, Symposium Papers 20* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 137–159, 139.

9 Bellini, *The Illustrated Bartsch 47*, 380.

10 Bellini, *The Illustrated Bartsch 47*, 380.

## *Essay #12*

Sara Pattiz

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1664)
*Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat*, late 1640s
Etching on paper, minor stain in upper-right corner
4 ½ x 3 ⅜ in. (11.3 x 8.5 cm)

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione was born in Genoa, an artistic center and important port city in northwestern Italy. Throughout his formative years in Genoa, Castiglione studied under Giovanni Battista Paggi and Sinibaldo Scorza, two Italian artists who served as his mentors.[1] Around 1632, Castiglione settled in Rome with the hope of becoming a distinguished artist.[2] In Rome, Castiglione attended sessions at the Accademia di San Luca, the Roman painter's academy, and was able to develop his own visual style.[3] Gradually, he became known for his paintings of animals, landscapes, and mythological subjects.

By 1637, Castiglione returned to Genoa where he soon married and had children. He further developed his reputation as a leading Genoese artist and received a Genoese knighthood in 1642. Not only did the knighthood grant Castiglione noble status as an artist in Genoa, but also it gave him the ability to gain wealthy new clients. During this time, artists were recognized for their cultural achievements, and other artists, like Caravaggio and Massimo Stanzione, received the privileges of knighthood as well.[4] Also, during this time, Castiglione began to focus on the art of printmaking. In the book, *Castiglione: Lost Genius,* Timothy Standring and Martin Clayton explain that Castiglione preferred printmaking because he was able to incorporate "the full breadth of his aesthetic experiences in his prints."[5] He could bring together multiple subjects and ideas into one print. Castiglione sought to build his identity as one of the most creative printmakers in Italy. As a result of this concentration on printmaking through the 1640s, Castiglione produced a print series of small studies of exotic heads.[6] Standring and Clayton state that these etchings were meant to show Castiglione's skill and "ability to produce a rich chiaroscuro of dramatic lighting," where chiaroscuro is understood as the distribution of light and dark tones to imitate light and shadow.[7]

Castiglione's interest in "exotic" heads possibly developed because of the foreign traders he would have encountered in Genoa. Genoa was a major center for trade during Castiglione's life, having a natural harbor located at the northernmost point of the western Mediterranean. Because of the port, Genoa had an international population, including Flemish, Dutch, Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, and


Fig. 47. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat*, late 1640s. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 27).

African people.[8] In addition to the possible influence of local trade, Standring and Clayton point out that Castiglione's "principal cue" was the "well-established genre in northern art generally referred to as *tronies*—these were not portraits of individuals, but rather 'character heads,' often showing exaggerated facial expressions."[9] The *tronies* genre leaves the viewer with something entertaining and humorous, but also visually interesting, evoking the artistic skill of the printmaker. The point was not to represent an accurate portrait of an individual, but rather a character type. The Castiglione print under consideration here, *Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat* (fig. 47), was a part of this series. In addition to *Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat,* the etching has been referred to as *Young Woman Wearing a Plumed Turban*, *Facing Right*, and *A young woman wearing a turban.*[10] The discrepancy in these titles highlights the ambiguity of the image as regards to the gender of the figure.

In *Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat*, Castiglione uses very fine, nervous lines to depict his figure in

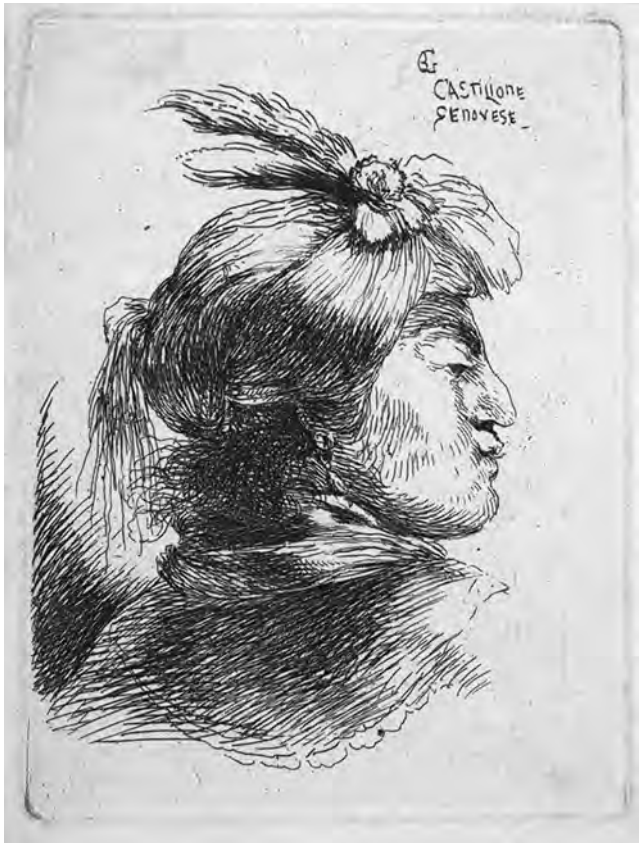


Fig. 48. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Small Exotic Head*, ca. 1645/1650. Etching. National Gallery of Art, DC, Alisa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1991.135.1. Photo © National Gallery of Art.

profile. This technique is referenced by Anthony Blunt in his article, "The Inventor of Soft-Ground Etching: Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione." Blunt writes that the "texture of the line" in Castiglione's prints are "not that of an ordinary etching" and almost have "the quality of a pencil line."[11] Castiglione's skill as a printmaker is obvious through his use of detail in the turban/headdress. He includes feathers on the headpiece located in the upper middle, rendered with multiple loose lines, thus giving them a sense of movement and energy. He draws the feathers attached to the front of the turban, connected by a flower just above the figure's forehead. Sharp, small lines indicate petals, and a darkened center indicates the flower's center. Below the flower, Castiglione etches what appears to be a gem resting on the figure's forehead. He indicates a sense of shadow and luminosity through partially darkening the round ornament. The headdress is the most evocative element in what makes this portrait "exotic." Though there is no documentation about these images, the visual models he drew upon most likely came from the diverse community Castiglione was surrounded by in Genoa.

Castiglione etches the turban focusing on the direction of lines, and the effect of shadow. The turban is drawn wrapped around the figure's head, with a loose tie in the back, and hair softly coming out of the top, looking almost like a horse's tail. He uses fewer lines on the front half of the turban than the back half, alluding to light hitting the front of it, while the back is cast in shadow. The relaxed nature of the lines in the turban visually connects it to the figure's free-flowing hair. The two are almost inseparable, as if the turban is just a complex hairstyle. Castiglione uses crosshatching to sketch the hair, effectively animating it. The hair is drawn to continue onto the figure's neck and chest. While some scholars identify this figure as a woman, the inclusion of chest hair alludes to the figure as most probably male. Ultimately, because there is no contemporary documentation, there is some ambiguity about this print. The dark lines Castiglione includes coming from the right hand corner and moving up the right perimeter essentially reference the figure's hair, and he uses a similar technique to sketch them. They blend in with the figure's bust and neck, allowing Castiglione to depict the figure as believably floating in the space.

Below the neck, Castiglione includes a brief suggestion of attire resting on the figure's shoulders. While the fabric and length are difficult to discern, the garment is made evident through use of round lines, moving at a slant from the left shoulder to the right shoulder. The garment is attached with a button or ornament at the center of the chest. The flower-like quality is again seen here, as it was in the turban's ornament. The face is the one area of the figure not overtaken with constant lines and crosshatching. Crosshatching is a method an artist uses to evoke tonal differences by drawing lines at different orientations and levels of thickness.[12] Castiglione uses one thin line to illustrate the profile, moving from the forehead, to nose, lips, chin, and neck. The nose is long, and the lips are plump, evoking the *tronies* style. He draws dots to reference color and shadow on the face, almost like pointillism. He uses heavy pressure to create a dark eyeball and line around the eye, while he applies softer pressure to draw the lid and eyebrow, creating a lighter shadow. Castiglione further includes crosshatching beneath the chin to help show the direction of the light.

This portrait aligns with the others in the series of small studies of exotic heads. As a whole, the studies include many of the elements outlined in the above description, like crosshatching to depict shadow, and lack of a visible background. The etching, *Small Exotic Head,* (ca. 1645/1650) (fig. 48), is a good visual resource for comparison.[13] In terms of their similarities, the figures are both in profile with their faces looking to the right. Castiglione etches both with extravagant turbans and flowing hair. He uses the same quality for the line to draw the hair and turban, nearly connecting the elements visually, and pushing them

together so that it is hard to make them out as individual elements. He draws the figures with long noses and pronounced lips, using the *tronies* influence in both and renders the turbans with feathers and flower-like details.

Aside from the clear similarities, there are also differences, demonstrating that the series highlighted Castiglione's technical range. While both have an indication of light, the direction is different in the shadow on the left in the *Small Exotic Head*. Furthermore, the *Small Exotic Head* is shown with its back to the viewer, while *Portrait of a figure* has its chest facing the viewer, in a more welcoming stance. Castiglione is able to make the specific facial elements different, as if to convey a different mood in each. The *Small Exotic Head* has a more arched eye and eyebrow, as if to show a more serious, and perhaps suspicious, appearance. Despite the slight differences, the heads are of the same sensibility, just like the rest of the series.

In the book, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, Paolo Bellini, Walter L. Strauss, and Adam von Bartsch cite that the creation of the exotic heads "was inspiried by similar etchings by Rembrandt and Lievens," and was started in Genoa, and completed in Rome.[14] *Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat* is evocative of the entire series as it includes many of the visual details in the other prints of the series, including, but not limited to, the print *Small Exotic Head.* Castiglione exudes movement in his line through the soft-ground etching that Anthony Blunt pointed out. Ultimately, the print is a good example of Castiglione's effort to depict understandable *tronies.*

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1 Timothy J. Standring and Martin Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2013), 17.

2 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 25.

3 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 34.

4 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 54.

5 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 65.

6 The title most associated with the series is *Small Studies of Heads in Oriental Headdress.* At the time, the use of the word "oriental" was common, however today it is inappropriate. Castiglione produced two of these series during his career. See Paolo Bellini, Walter L. Strauss, and Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Abaris Books, 1982), 50.

7 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 81; Janis Callen Bell, "Chiaroscuro," *Grove Art Online-Grove Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T01639.

8 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 17.

9 Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius*, 81.

10 Bellini, Strauss, & von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 50; Standring and Clayton, *Castiglione: Lost Genius,* 90.

11 Anthony Blunt, "The Inventor of Soft-Ground Etching: Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione," *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 821 (August 1971): 475.

12 Patrick Kennelly, "Cross-Hatched Shadow Line Maps," *Cartographic Journal* 49, no. 2 (2012): 135.

13 The title most assoiciated with this etching is *Small Oriental Head.* Bellini, *The Illustrated Bartsch,* 49.

14 Bellini, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 48.

## *Essay #13*

Isabel Richards

Lorenzo Lippi (ca. 1606–1665)
*Young Woman Holding a Jug,* ca. 1645
Drawing in red chalk on trimmed cream paper. Paper is worn and stained around the edges with significant creasing in the upper right corner. Stains on the woman's back, upper-left corner, and in front of the woman's skirt towards the left of the paper.
Signature in the lower right corner added at later date.
11 x 15 ½ in. (27.9 x 39.4 cm)

Drawings by seventeenth-century Florentine artist Lorenzo Lippi capture the pursuit of dedicated figure drawings as preparatory studies for paintings, as can be seen in the red chalk drawing *Young Woman Holding a Jug* (fig. 49). Florentine drawings that survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can reveal an artist's process of design and method that were an integral part of artistic practice in that city. Primarily a painter, Lippi studied under Matteo Rosselli, one of the founders of Florentine "style" in the seventeenth century.[1] Rosselli completed many red chalk drawings as studies for his final works, such as *Woman and Child Asleep in a Landscape,* ca. 1610, and *Bust of a Cloaked Male,* ca. 1620, the practice of which we can assume Lippi observed and studied as a part of his artistic training and education at the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*, to which he belonged. Founded in 1563 by Cosimo I de'Medici and heavily shaped in its curriculum by Giorgio Vasari, the *Accademia* placed specific focus on artists working under Cosimo's patronage, and emphasized the intellectual and artistic study of anatomy through drawing. The use of red chalk was not common in Italy until the early sixteenth century, as artists began to move away from metalpoint "towards the more convenient and tonally flexible media of red and black chalk."[2] Despite its prior popularity, the technique of metalpoint (more commonly known as silverpoint) was gradually abandoned in favor of this freer medium of chalk, which allowed for greater and more subtle variations in shading and tone, and thus a softer depiction of the human form in preparatory drawings such as we see in the work of Rosselli and Lippi. Furthermore, silverpoint as a medium could not be erased or changed, while chalk allowed for more flexible manipulation.

In his discussion of life studies as preparatory sketches of the human form, Phillippe Costamanga notes the common characteristic in Florentine draftsmanship of using "short, parallel strokes to model (the) face, as well as longer, rapidly drawn lines to suggest secondary passages."[3] Yet, in

Fig. 49. Lorenzo Lippi, *Young Woman Holding a Jug,* ca. 1645. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 28).

Lippi's chalk drawing we see a wider variety of line techniques throughout the image. In the depiction of the woman's hair and face, Lippi handles the red chalk delicately with soft and minimal markings. A single line constructs the contours of her profile, creating a serene face with a calm yet concentrated expression that is entirely believable and human, as the woman focuses on the task at hand. There is only a subtle smudging of the chalk to depict the shape of her hair, which appears to be fastened up in a bun on the back of her head. Despite the graceful features of her face, the rest of the figure is weighty and massively scaled by comparison, with her bent form suggestive of her height and stature. The woman's arms are extended out to support the jug she holds, with one hand pinching the rim, while the other cups the base. The shading under her arm implies that the jug rests on a ledge, which is barely visible as a result of possible fading over time, or erasure by the artist. The inclusion of the ledge, however, makes the woman's pose possible, as her

Fig. 50. Lorenzo Lippi, *Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well*, 1644. Painting. Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo © Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.

twisted stance supporting the weight of the jug would have been problematic to hold for any length of time.

Lippi depicts the figure's arms and legs as thick and sturdy, implying strength through her pose and the ease with which she holds the jug with extended arms. Her hands and arms are large in comparison to the delicacy of her face, possibly indicating her lower status in society and thus suggesting the character and intended subject of the final painting. On close inspection of the drawing, it is clear that the pose of the figure has been reworked, as 8.5 cm beneath her left hand there is the faint indication of a previously-drawn hand that is not entirely lost. The thumbnail is most clearly visible, with the hand at a slightly rotated angle attached to an extended arm reaching down from the woman's knee. Beneath the hand are faint traces of the outline of her skirt fabric. These markings indicate that the position of the figure had been reworked and altered, and thus the work was not a loose first attempt, but a focused study. The paper has also been worn and repaired in the bottom right corner where we see the addition of a signature that has been written over an erasure marking. It is unclear whether the signature reads "Lippi" or not, and it could have been added by a dealer, collector, or other artist at a later date.

It is in the drapery of the figure's clothing that we see the most variety in shading and line. Multiple folds and creases are suggested through thicker, rougher line markings, contributing to the volume and shape of the figure that is suggested underneath her clothing. The woman's sleeves are thickly rolled up at her elbows, reinforcing the idea that she is at work, perhaps filling the jug with water. Lippi includes details in the figure's attire that enrich our sense of her identity, such as the laced-up bodice of her apron and the buckles on her shoes, all of which contribute to her individuality and personality. The tonality of red chalk is one of the principal reasons for the rise in the popularity of the medium, as the increased lights within the material's tonal range allowed the artist to create depth through the layering and manipulation of the medium. Lippi smudges and applies the chalk in varying degrees of intensity, creating a wide tonal range within the drawing that provides depth, three dimensionality, and warmth to the image.

The practice of preparatory red chalk figure studies was a common part of Lippi's artistic process, particularly in the representation of women. Lippi's seventeenth-century red chalk drawing, *Kneeling Female Figure* in the British Museum, is a good comparative example as it depicts a woman of almost identical physicality and appearance to the figure in *Young Woman Holding a Jug.* Just as is depicted in *Young Woman Holding a Jug,* Lippi creates weighty, voluminous drapery through a combination of thick, rough hatching and softer shading and smudging of the red chalk as in *Kneeling Female Figure.* Furthermore, the *Kneeling Female Figure* is also dressed in a laced bodice over her looser dress, with a similar hairstyle, though Lippi has taken more care to depict the woman's face and hairstyle with decisive markings in *Kneeling Female Figure.* The woman kneels on one leg, with the right leg extended outwards to support herself as she raises her right arm directly out as if offering or reaching for something. The study, *Kneeling Female Figure,* is clearly a preparatory drawing for Lippi's oil painting, *Lot and his daughters,* ca. 1640s, in the Uffizi in Florence, in which we see an almost identical transfer of the woman in the red chalk drawing, *Kneeling Female Figure,* into the painted scene with only the most subtle shifts in posture and detail.

The direct link between Lippi's preparatory studies and final paintings implies that the depiction of a young woman holding a jug was a common motif of his, and thus suggests that the drawing, *Young Woman Holding a Jug,* was most likely also a preparatory drawing for a painting. The presence of a woman holding a jug is common in Lippi's paintings, as is seen in the 1644 painting, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well,* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 50). As is typical of the woman we see here, the young woman is dressed in a variation of a thickly draped gown, with uniquely detailed shoes and upswept hair. The consistency between these figures implies that the image of a young woman holding a jug or vessel of some sort was one with which Lippi experimented with and perfected, further

supporting the notion that *Young Woman Holding a Jug* is a preparatory study for such a work.

Although Lippi's figure study appears naturalistic and believable, it is difficult to know whether or not it was drawn from life. Miles Chappell notes in his discussion of Lippi's works that the "tradition of life drawing transformed Florentine draftsmanship to such an extent that it later became impossible to distinguish genuine life studies from figure studies that were reworked from an artists imagination."[4] During the early stages of most artists' careers, it was a common practice to copy the works of other masters in order to perfect their skill. Along with the fact that this practice was standard at the time, Lippi's drawing could suggest that his figure study was not drawn from a live model. The stance and pose of Lippi's *Young Woman Holding a Jug* would have been impossible for a model to hold for any length of time, and this challenge is a problem that Charles Rosenberg discusses as a disadvantage for artists in using a posed figure. Rosenberg notes how many Renaissance drawings reveal the use of "various devices, such as a box to support the model's foot," however when this was not enough, "motionless, inorganic models" were used in the place of human models.[5] Artists employed techniques in their workshops for drapery studies such as the use of linen soaked in glue and draped over a lay-figure to allow the artist to create extensive, detailed studies of motionless drapery for them to study.[6] Through the use of constructed models such as these, artists could focus on specific, detailed areas, studying "how the relief of the folds could be shown by the cast of shadows and in particular by the fall of light."[7] It is difficult to be certain whether Lippi's drawing was made from a model, and while it is possible that props could have been used to create an inorganic model, the lines of the drawing imply a speed that suggests Lippi's image could equally have been sketched from life. Regardless of whether or not Lippi drew from a live model, the work remains an effective depiction of the human form and clear demonstration of the artist's technical and aesthetic skill.

Despite the drawing's substantial size of 11 by 15 ½ inches, almost every aspect of Lippi's *Young Woman Holding a Jug* contributes to its function as a study for the use of the artist alone. Although the medium of red chalk itself acts as an indicator of the work's preparatory nature, it is the subtle variation in markings and softness of shading that create a delicacy and elegance in the work that is otherwise fairly loose and unfinished, with traces of reworking visible through indications such as the remnants of the woman's thumbnail. These erasures and markings across the paper are suggestive that the work is most certainly a study. In Lippi's finished paintings that include similar female figures, there is often a Biblical narrative, such as with *Lot and His Daughters*. However, stripped from the setting and accompanying figures, *Young Woman Holding a Jug* could be the simple depiction of a young contemporary woman going about her daily chores. In this way, the drawing is an indication of the final image that Lippi is building towards. Yet, despite the original design of the work as a preparatory work, the image can now be seen as aesthetically beautiful and enlightening in its own right, as Lippi's drawing allows the viewer's insight into the intimate working process of the artist preparing for what might have been a more public image.

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1 Miles L. Chappell, "Some Works by Lorenzo Lippi," *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 4–8.

2 Janet Ambers, *Italian Renaissance Drawings; Technical Examination and Analysis* (London: Archetype Publications in Association with the British Museum, 2010), 47.

3 Philippe Costamanga, "The Formation of Florentine Draftsmanship," *Master Drawings* 43, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 276.

4 Chappell, "Some Works by Lorenzo Lippi," 274.

5 Charles M. Rosenberg, "The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 937–941.

6 Rosenberg, "The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist," 48.

7 Rosenberg, "The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist," 52.

## *Essay #14*

Samantha Mendoza-Ferguson

Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1606–1680)
*An Extensive Wooded Landscape* (1606–1680)
Drawing in pen, brown ink, brown and blue ink wash, heightened with white gouache on brown prepared paper laid onto linen and backed with 18th-century paper.
Linen exposed in several areas and irregular border torn at edges
16 ¾ x 12 ¼ in. (42.5 x 31.1 cm)

Fig. 51. Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, *An Extensive Wooded Landscape*, (ca. 1640s). Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 29).

Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi was a painter and architect from Bologna. During his youth, Grimaldi stayed with the Carracci family in Bologna and eventually studied in their Academy. Through the drawings of Titian and Annibale Carracci, Grimaldi was exposed to Venetian traditions of painting and Bolognese styles of landscape painting. After studying in Bologna, Grimaldi took these styles and sensibilities of draftsmanship to Rome where he became an accomplished fresco painter. Known for his decorative landscapes, Grimaldi received many commissions to decorate the palaces of prominent families in Rome, forming connections with the Borghese, Sanatcroce, Falconieri, and the Medici.[1] Grimaldi also found a ready market for his landscape etchings with "amatori-collezionisti."[2] Grimaldi produced many etchings and drawings of landscapes and became known for his depictions of the countryside.[3] While studying with the Carracci, Grimaldi was exposed to the landscape styles of Annibale and Agostino Carracci, both of whom followed the traditions of Venetian painters such as Titian and Giorgione, creating drawings and prints with low-lying country-sides, watercourses, quiet riverbanks, and mountains towering on the horizon.[4]

In *An Extensive Wooded Landscape* (fig. 51), Grimaldi constructs a fantastical image of a landscape contrasting a limited representation of human presence with the commanding presence of nature. In the tradition of Renaissance pastoral landscapes, Grimaldi creates an imaginary realm representing detailed and recognizable aspects of the natural world, such as foliage and hills, that permit the viewer to engage imaginatively with the image.

The idea and expression of the pastoral has a long tradition, originating as a literary genre in Greek and Roman antiquity through the works of poets such as Theocritus, Hesiod, and Virgil. This genre of poetry evoked a longing for an ideal life removed from urban centers, and is characterized by idyllic landscapes with close attention to the relationship between human beings and nature.[5] In these literary works, landscapes were settings for songs often depicting herdsmen as singers.[6] Nature was an integral aspect of this idealized life, providing a space for meditation, leisure, and cultivation of the arts. John Dixon Hunt describes the pastoral as a "celebration of workday shepherds and shepherdesses tending to their flocks (formulating) a classicizing view of rustic life."[7] Analogously, Paul Alpers explains how this carefully constructed image of life was "incompatible with the artificial conditions of society at large,"[8] and thus the pastoral brings

forth sentiments of an intangible world characterized by the innocence and simplicity of life in a fictional Golden Age. Imagery of the pastoral was revitalized in sixteenth-century Venetian art, but rather than representing shepherds in Biblical narratives, artists showed them as engaged in idyllic landscapes, thus becoming secular symbols of the pastoral.[9] Landscapes were indicative of a non-urban setting but after the sixteenth century, landscapes moved from subsidiary roles in the backgrounds of paintings to an enveloping part of the composition.[10] Artists like Giorgione and Titian developed the visual counterpart of the literary Arcadian mode.[11]

Following in the stylistic traditions of the Carracci and other artists in their circle, Grimaldi invoked pastoral elements such as dense trees, small bodies of water, and winding paths into his formation of this landscape image. The construction of a pastoral landscape requires a setting that invites the viewer into the image. The landscape then suspends reality through poetic/pictorial devices evoking a world that never existed, and creating an image consumed by nature. The pastoral landscape compels the viewer to experience a sense of longing for something unrecoverable. This fictive realm portrays a place of leisure, where physical exertion and labor do not exist.[12] The pictorial rendering of a pastoral landscape gives visual language to the tradition of pastoral poetry.

Nature dominates Grimaldi's pictorial space; dense trees frame the image from top to bottom, overpowering the minimal human presence in the drawing. Two seated figures, a man and a woman, occupy the bottom right of the image in the foreground, facing a winding path ahead. A small group of figures continues down the path and are about to move out of sight as they wrap around a bend, articulating the length and depth of the road before them. The view of this path is disrupted by its curved shape as well as groupings of trees and cliffs depicted at various distances, emphasizing the vastness of the landscape. The parallel trees that frame the image accentuate the vertical orientation of the drawing. Grimaldi's pictorial organization dramatizes the ways in which the natural environment dominates the image. The spatial organization moves inwards through the dynamic obstruction of sight. The rendering of the shrouding trees, the winding road, and the mountainous formation in the distance articulates the depth in the image. Grimaldi layers the planes of the image in a circular formation where each component of the image is balanced by a complementing form. In this manner, Grimaldi moves the viewer's eye through the landscape. The mountain in the middle ground that occupies the space between the foreground and the middle ground is the farthest form in the distance, which is flanked by a sweeping cliff and is nestled under the leaves of a tree in the middle ground. The winding path leads to a cluster of hills and mountains, which occupy the middle ground of the image. The layers of the hilly path in the foreground depict the shade of the trees and the path moves outwards into the distance, retreating deep into the picture plane. This landscape does not resemble a specific location because it is an entirely constructed space, as each element enhances the composition.

The positioning of the figures complements the ways that the "hills and trees recede into space along alternating plains of light and dark,"[13] as described by Phillip Earenfight. The lack of architecture or any other visual remnants of city life formulate an image of a natural world separate from aspects of daily life. The monumental size of the trees, the lushness of the surrounding foliage, and the mountain formations in the background limit the sight of the sky, which creates an intimate and serene environment for the human figures. The composition separates the figures from what is beyond the formations in the distance; they are separate from the quotidian aspects of urban life. Grimaldi invokes a sixteenth-century Venetian pastoral motif, a "locus amoenus,"[14] meaning a beautiful place and typically represented by a grove, which creates a space of comfort and seclusion for the figures. The two human figures occupy the grove, an imaginary location depicting a space where human beings are harmoniously engaging with nature. According to John Dixon Hunt, this motif is a "sacred space in nature where one or more trees, distinctive earth forms such as caves and boulders, and water springs or brooks are designated."[15] This motif is an important aspect of the pastoral pictorial tradition that further highlights the landscape as a fictive realm set off from a harsher world.[16] In addition, the groupings of trees are situated only in the foreground with the figures providing even more distance from the other elements in the environment such as the mountains in the distance. The tunnel-like perspective emphasizes the ways in which the figures in the image are shielded from the sky as the line of sight is obstructed by the fullness of the trees. In addition, the circular composition creates a larger sense of seclusion from a realm that exists outside of this image. Following the Carracci, painters like Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, and Domenichino, Grimaldi developed his representations of ideal landscapes creating intimate yet expansive environments where spatial progression has been slowed down.[17] This style of pictorial construction manifests differently as Grimaldi changes mediums.

Grimaldi represented the pastoral idea in etching, painting, and drawing. In the medium of etching, Grimaldi formulated similar compositions depicting groupings of trees, curving roads, small human figures, and limited views of the sky. In both his prints and drawings, Grimaldi represents a relationship between humans and nature, with the landscape

forming the dominant presence in the image. Many of Grimaldi's pastoral prints are executed in a detailed manner with similar renderings of foliage, figures, and composition to the drawing in this exhibition. The majority of his prints are pastoral themes that contrast a small descriptive foreground area with foliage, curving trunks, ferns, and mountains in a distance, as well as a limited vision of trees in a horizontal orientation that create the atmosphere. *An Extensive Wooded Landscape* differs from the Grimaldi's typical pastoral etchings in its vertical orientation and lack of open space in the foreground. His graphic works represent the serenity of the countryside, a world moving slowly in a vast open landscape. Although Grimaldi's etchings present similar themes and motifs, the composition of the drawing is more dynamic due to the richness and density of the trees and foliage. For example, in the etching, *Landscape with Three Boys by a Brook* (fig. 53), Grimaldi represents familiar pictorial elements such as groupings of trees, small bodies of water, mountains, a winding path, and a small horizon in the distance. The composition of the etching is more spacious with small architectural elements, creating a vaster landscape for the viewer to examine.

In addition, the physicality of this drawing presents a more tactile quality similar to that in a painting, as it is on a thin sheet of brown prepared paper backed with linen. The layering of paper onto linen creates a canvas-like quality, providing the artist with various textures on which to render pictorial representations of natural elements. In addition, Grimaldi uses various types of pens, ink, and washes to construct the image. His use of brown ink and wash, white highlight, and blue wash create multiple ranges of tone in the work. He contrasts dark and light tones to portray the depth in the image, making the foreground darker and more compact. The preparation of the paper and use of multiple media to render the image, creates a rich, finished quality reminiscent of Grimaldi's frescoes at the Villa Falconieri in Rome where his lush wall frescoes in the Spring Hall create an illusion of a fictive realm. Claude Lorrain's etching, *Shepherd and Shepherdess Conversing in a Landscape* (1651) (fig. 52), illustrates similar compositional devices to those used by Grimaldi in his drawing. Lorrain draws the viewer in at the lower right of the image where the two figures sit, and then moves us back into space through the animals, river, and distant mountains. Trees extend upwards and inward on the left and right of the middle ground, and an expanse of sky fills the distant background above and in between the mountains and city in the distance. Both works display similar pictorial qualities with respect to space and movement, adding richness to the landscapes that effectively create a contemplative, imaginary world for the viewer.

Fig. 52. Claude Lorrain, *Shepherd and Shepherdess Conversing in a Landscape*, 1651. Etching. National Gallery of Art, DC. Rosenwald Collection, 1943.3.4614. Photo © National Gallery of Art.

Fig. 53. Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, *Landscape with Three Boys by a Brook, 17th century.* Etching. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Sopher Collection, 1988.1.279. Photo © Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

1 Phillip Earenfight, *Masterworks: Renaissance, Baroque, and Early Modern Prints and Drawings from the Darlene K. Morris Collection* (Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 2011), 42.

2 Anna Maria Matteucci, *Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2002), 204.

3 Matteucci, *Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi*, 43.

4 Per Bjurström, "The Carracci Brothers and Landscape Drawing," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 71, issue 4 (2002): 204–217.

5 Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 22.

6 Alpers, *What is Pastoral?*, 22.

7 John Dixon Hunt, "Introduction: Pastorals and Pastoralisms," in *The Pastoral Landscape: Studies in the History of Art* 36, *CASVA, Symposium Papers 20* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, DC, 1992), 11–20.

8 Alpers, *What is Pastoral?*, 32.

9 Hunt, "Introduction: Pastorals and Pastoralisms," 11.

10 W. R. Rearick, "From Arcady to Barnyard," in *The Pastoral Landscape: Studies in the History of Art* 36, *CASVA, Symposium Papers 20* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, DC, 1992), 137–159.

11 Hunt, "Introduction: Pastorals and Pastoralisms," 11.

12 David Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi: On the Construction of Meaning in Landscape," in *The Pastoral Landscape: Studies in the History of Art* 36, *CASVA, Symposium Papers 20* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, DC, 1992), 160–177.

13 Earenfight, *Masterworks*, 42.

14 Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi," 169.

15 Hunt, "Introduction: Pastorals and Pastoralisms," 12.

16 Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi," 169.

17 Bjurström, "The Carracci Brothers," 211.

## *Essay #15*

Samuel Richards

Giovanni Battista Spinelli (1613–1658)
*Biblical Subject* also identified as *Saint John Preaching in the Wilderness* (Early 17th century)
Pen and brown ink, framing lines with brown wash on backed paper. Noticeable foxing and grey discoloration in the lower left and center. There are some losses to the paper in the upper and lower right edges where the backing sheet is exposed.
10 x 14 in. (25.4 x 35.6 cm)

Giovanni Battista Spinelli was an Italian painter and draftsman who is known for his large altarpieces and history paintings. For the majority of his life, and especially between 1640 and 1655, Spinelli lived in Chieti and Naples. According to the painter and biographer Bernardo de'Dominici (1683–1759), Spinelli was from a noble family as he had carried the title, *Cavaliere* (Knight) and was the last of six disciples of the important Neapolitan painter, Massimo Stanzione (1585–1656).[1] Stanzione was one of the leading artists in seventeenth-century Naples, garnering many commissions from prominent patrons.[2] One of Spinelli's greatest strengths was his ability to achieve what de'Dominici referred to as his believability through color and use of chiaroscuro. Spinelli's painting, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (before 1660), depicts the Christ Child in a manger with Mary praying over him and surrounded by the shepherds who have come to worship. In this work, Spinelli used primarily warm hues, ranging from red, yellow, to browns and tans. As a contrast, Spinelli added cool color accents, such as blue and green to some of the figures' clothing. Using gradations of color, he created the appearance of an artificial light source outside of the right side of the picture frame that dramatically illuminates the darker Biblical narrative in the center.

Spinnelli's attention to detail in painting was evident also in his drawing. In the drawing in this exhibition (fig. 54), the focal point is an elderly man who seems to be preaching in the center of a larger group of people. His hair is voluminous and his beard is curly and long. The cloth on his body is heavy and draping, only defining his body at his waist where it is tied. To further emphasize the man's oration, his arms are outstretched, expanding his commanding presence. He is encircled by twelve other figures of varying ages, heights, and dress. To the preaching man's right is a huddled mass of ten figures, three of whom may be children. On the left, there is a tree that some of the men are leaning against and/or holding on to. The observers are organized in three different rows based on height, with the tallest at the left. The tallest figures are standing on the far left, the shorter or kneeling in the middle, and the rest are seated to their right at the feet of the preaching man. To the right of one of the seated observers is a dog, which is also looking at the preaching man.

Fig. 54. Giovanni Battista Spinelli, *Biblical Subject* also identified as *Saint John Preaching in the Wilderness*, Early 17th century. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 30).

On the preacher's left is a man seated on the ground, leaning against a tree and gesturing with his left hand at a woman standing above him. In the shadow of the tree, there is what appears to be a man and a girl in conversation. The man and girl are the farthest recessed figures in the drawing and are at a direct diagonal to the dog, the farthest forward figure. Drawing a line from the dog to the two figures behind

the tree, the composition follows a semi-circular arrangement around the preacher, which pushes him to the foreground.

The exact subject of this *Biblical Scene* is unknown. For the sale of the drawing, Freeman's Auction House entitled it *Saint John Preaching in the Wilderness*. The Freeman's attribution is problematic, however, because it does not provide clear iconographical evidence to support the identification.[3] Saints usually have identifying attributes or are depicted in a familiar setting that can be used to identify them.[4]

Scenes of *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*, ordinarily, include a bearded man with a reed staff wearing a camel hair garment, such as is shown in the woodcut by Cosimo Tura in this exhibition. Without any identifying or specific attributes, we are left with an elderly bearded man preaching to a group, a scene that could also be associated with the narratives of several other saints, such as Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Both Giovanni Baglione's (1571–1644) drawing, *Saint Peter Preaching* (n.d.) and Raphael's (1483–1520) tapestry cartoon, *Saint Paul Preaching in Athens* (1515) include a bearded man preaching to a crowd. Although differing in structure and composition, the core narrative behind the Baglione and Raphael images are very similar to what we see in the Spinelli drawing—a bearded man preaching to a crowd. But, this singular similarity no more makes the Spinelli drawing Saint John the Baptist over Saint Peter or Saint Paul.

A Spinelli drawing currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection, *The Martydrom of Saint Andrew* (1630–1660) (fig. 55), follows the same style and technique as the drawing in this exhibition. Unlike the *Biblical Scene*, *The Martydrom of Saint Andrew* does not appear to have been finished. For example, the figure on the right that appears to be hanging from a crucifix is very thinly drawn and not completed. The figures in the Saint Andrew drawing wear the same heavily draped, generic clothing present in the *Biblical Scene*. Most of the figures are attentively looking at Saint Andrew, although some are not focused on him and look in other directions. This drawing does not appear to be scored, however, it is backed. There is a later annotation in pen and dark brown ink in the lower-left corner that incorrectly attributes the work to Rembrandt van Rijn. *The Martydrom of Saint Andrew* does not have the same organizational structure as the *Biblical Scene*. In the *Biblical Scene,* the large group of observers on the preacher's left are organized by height next to a tree. In the *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, observers to Saint Andrew's right are clustered around what looks like a tree. As a result, *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* appears less "artificial" than the Biblical scene because the observers are not precisely organized in specific rows.

Drawings in seventeenth-century Italy were most often made as artist's studies or in preparation for a painting. As sketches, these drawings were intended to be seen only by the artist and perhaps by other artists within their studio. To make a drawing easier to copy or transfer for a painting, an artist would often apply a square grid overlay. By dividing the drawing up into quadrants, greater accuracy was ensured.[5]

We know, however, that the Spinelli drawing in this exhibition was singled out as an outstanding example of the artist's graphic style and compositional invention, as it was precisely copied and reproduced in an important eighteenth-century publication. In 1774, Italian artist, Stephano Mulinari, published a book entitled, *Disegni originali d'eccellenti pittori esistenti nella Real Galleria di Firenze incisi ed intagliati nella loro grandezza e colori* (Original drawings of existing excellent painters in the Royal Gallery of Florence incised and engraved in their [original] size and color). This book included a full-scale aquatint etching of Spinelli's *Biblical Scene*. The book included fifty image plates, and was funded by and dedicated to Pietro Leopoldo de'Medici, The Grand Duke of Tuscany. As the title states, it only included works by the most "excellent painters," indicating the stature that Giovanni Battista Spinelli must have held to garner a spot in this limited edition publication. In printmaking, the printed image will always be the reverse of what was drawn on the plate or block. Artists directly copy a work onto a plate so that the print appears as the inverse of the original image. The published reproduction of Spinelli's drawing, however, is not inverse, which means that Mulinari etched the drawing in reverse onto the plate so that it would appear as the original. Such a process would have been painstaking, requiring considerable skill given the accuracy of the reproduction. In addition to this direct design copy, the print also emulates closely the tonal quality of the drawing. The print demonstrates aquatint, which is used to create tonal gradations in etched plates. To create these gradations, the plate is coated with resin that is heated until it melts. When the acid is applied it eats around the mounds that the heated resin created on the plate. The arrangement of the mounds, resulting from the time the plate spent in the acid, then allows the plate to hold more or less ink in certain spots.[6] Spinelli and his drawing must have been held in high esteem to have garnered such reverence a century after he lived.

Fig. 55. Giovanni Battista Spinelli, *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew,* 1630–1660. Drawing. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, David L. Klein, Jr. Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1983.61. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

1 Sebastian Schütze and Thomas Willette, *Massimo Stanzione: L'Opera Completa* (Naples: Electa, 1992), 174.

2 Schütze and Willette, *Massimo Stanzione*, 9.

3 Freeman's Auctioneers & Appraisers, "St. John Preaching in the Wilderness, Lot 8," in *European Art & Old Masters* (Philadelphia, 2014), n.p.

4 See my mention of Panofsky in the essay on Gandolfi (essay #18) for a discussion on iconography and iconography in regard to Saints.

5 Claire Van Cleave Claire, *Master drawings of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 28.

6 Antony Griffiths, "Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France," *Print Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (1987): 255.

## *Essay #16*

Paris Humphrey

Domenico Giovanni Tiepolo (1727–1804)
*Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn,* 1753
Etching on paper, signature in plate at lower-left side of the image: "Tiepolo inc et fecit" (Tiepolo engraved and printed [it]).
Paper: 10 ⅜ x 8 ⅜ in. (26.4 x 21.3 cm)
Plate: 9 ⅜ x 7 ⅜ in. (23.8 x 18.7 cm)

Domenico Tiepolo, born in Venice in 1727, is better known as the son of the famous painter, Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770). Domenico's father had an important role in the development of Domenico's skills as an artist. His training began in the early 1740s in his father's workshop, where he learned by copying Giambattista's paintings and drawings. When Domenico began experimenting with printmaking in 1744, he quickly mastered the medium. Domenico was influenced by the immensely popular Venetian painter and printmaker, Canaletto (1697–1768), who was known for his *Vedute*, a popular genre depicting Italian landscapes and cityscapes. Canaletto published multiple prints during the time that Domenico Tiepolo began to develop his etching technique. Scholars know that Domenico studied the technical achievements illustrated in the *Vedute,* because the Tiepolo family had a record of them having been in their private collection. By the late 1740s, his skill was comparable to that of a professional printmaker working in Venice. Domenico's recognition as a printmaker correlates with his first independent work as a painter, a commissioned series of paintings from The Oratory of the Crucifixion in San Polo, Venice. Domenico painted twenty-four canvases of the *Via Crucis* (Stations of the Cross), which were images from the narrative of the Passion of Christ. After two years of work, Domenico completed the commission and in the same year, he published fourteen etchings after his *Via Crucis* series (1749).[1] *Via Crucis* is a precursor to Domenico's *Flight into Egypt* series of prints, one of which I will examine in this essay.

It was in Würzburg that Domenico first represented his own personal style, inspired by the example of his father. His series of twenty-four etchings depicting the *Flight into Egypt*, published in 1753, established his reputation.[2] Domenico designed a completely new and extended version of the *Flight into Egypt* narrative, described by curator Colta Feller Ives in the following manner: "Domenico composed twenty-four different picturesque variations, or caprices, on a single theme in an impressive demonstration of his limitless invenzione and fantasia."[3] Although there is not a precise order to the series, Domenico treats each print as its own, independent narrative. A number is etched on each plate which was necessary for the publication rather than to clarify the narrative sequence.[4] His choice to create his own narration is closely connected with his father's *Capricci* etching series. The *Capricci* series was composed of ten prints made between 1733 and 1749.[5] The Rosenwald Catalogue suggests that the series is not based on a specific narrative or

Fig. 56. Domenico Giovanni Tiepolo, *Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn,* 1753. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 31).

iconography, but rather on an invented story by Giambattista. There is no specific order or narrative to the plates, which are rather organized following their aesthetic qualities. This structure is also the manner in which Domenico organized his *Flight into Egypt* series.[6] He presented a unique interpretation of the traditional religious narrative, which is reflected in the title he gave the series: *Idee pittoresche sopra la fugga in Egitto di Giesu, Maria e Giuseppe* (Picturesque Ideas on the Flight into Egypt of Jesus, Mary and Joseph).[7]

The narrative of the Holy Family's journey when depicted in art, is usually called the *Flight into Egypt*. Even though the story is mentioned in only one Gospel (Matthew 2:1–12), it had been depicted frequently in art for centuries.[8] Domenico's sequence of twenty-four narrative scenes is closely related to the idea of the "picturesque" in the eighteenth century. This term's earliest and primary use as of 1564 meant, "as in or like a picture," but its meaning has also been debated by scholars. Uvedal Price (1747–1829), an English landscape designer who wrote about the picturesque suggested a way in which we can think about Tiepolo's series:

> he explained the delight we get from Picturesque stimuli (which are greatly characterized by roughness and variety—expressible in the visual texture of foliage, for example) in terms of the "irritation" of the optic nerve, which we experience as a pleasure, and which Price links to "curiosity"[9]

These suggestions of roughness and variety can be seen in Domenico's use of quick scratchy line to depict both figures and landscape in the print. The idea of the picturesque in the eighteenth century was also connected to ideas of invention and fantasy. Domenico's creation of a new interpretation of this religious narrative was intended to demonstrate his creativity as an artist. A contemporary of the artist, the eighteenth-century Venetian chronicler Giannantonio Moschini, claimed that Domenico produced these etchings to counter the argument that he suffered from a "poverta di fantasia," meaning he was "deficient in the power of invention." Domenico's title, *Idee pittoresche*, also supports the claim by Moschini that the purpose of the series was to illustrate the artist's imagination and connection with eighteenth-century "picturesque" literary value.[10]

The second etching in the series, *Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn* (1753) (fig. 56) is the subject of my analysis. This episode in the series is an invented but logical extension of the traditional *Flight into Egypt* narrative. The etching that comes before *Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn* is *Joseph Relays to Mary God's Command to Flee*, which depicts Joseph telling Mary that they must escape to Egypt. The Holy Family is inside, Joseph is to the far right near the door to the room and is motioning to Mary who is sitting in a chair with baby Jesus on her lap. Two angels kneeling behind Mary's chair are moving toward the mother and child to help with their departure. The same two angels can be seen in the dark doorway in the next scene, *Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn.*[11] In *Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn*, Domenico imagines the moment directly after the Holy Family hears the news as they depart from the inn. There are four figures in addition to the Holy Family: starting from the left, a young boy standing behind an older man, two angels in the doorway and on the right, another angel with a donkey approaching the family. The Holy Family exit from a dark room guided by two angels into a rustic landscape. Compositionally, the Holy Family is placed in the center of the scene and is framed by the door from which they came. Our focus is on Mary and Joseph who are emphasized because of their sharp tonal contrast with the background. Mary's drapery has few light markings but with little shadow, making her the lightest figure in the scene. She is positioned in front of the empty room which is almost black because of Domenico's thick crosshatching. He creates a darker tonality in Joseph's textured clothing and beard, which contrasts with the white door he is placed in front of. Even though Mary and Joseph differ tonally, Domenico depicts the Holy Family as a connected group.

The Christ child is carried by Mary, almost disappearing under her drapery and Joseph's grip unifies him with the mother and child. Their attention is directed to the man to their right behind the tree. This bearded man is an invention of Domenico's, as he is not mentioned in the religious gospel. He has taken his hat off exposing his balding scalp, and a wrinkled face showing his old age. His clothing and beard identify him as a part of the upper-middle classes, and the removal of his hat can be interpreted as a sign of respect for the Holy Family. The old man and the couple seem to be in a conversation, and the man could possibly be the innkeeper saying farewell to his guests. The innkeeper is supported by the small boy standing close behind him mostly hidden by the tree. Due to the innkeeper's old age and the boy's interest in the interaction we could suggest that he is the innkeeper's helper.[11] The artist was known to incorporate witnesses from everyday life in order to create original interactions and to further engage the viewer.[12] Inclusion of ordinary people is seen throughout the series, such as the old woman with a basket of eggs in *Joseph Kneels with the Child Before Mary on the Donkey,* the shepherd herding sheep in *The Flight with the Holy Family at the Right*, and the group of figures in *The Flight, Holy Family Walking with Angel*. These characters are not part of the Biblical narrative, but rather result from Domenico's imagination. The addition of these characters can also be associated with the idea of curiosity that Price related to the picturesque. The presence of the two figures

creates uncertainty for the viewer, as it is not clear who they are or what their purpose is. The inclusion of both the innkeeper and small boy is therefore typical of Domenico.

The surrounding environment reflects an energized uncertainty, illustrated by the quick etching technique. Domenico's treatment of the landscape follows the "roughness and variety" that Price describes as typical of the picturesque, and which is demonstrated by the tree on the left of the image. Domenico's variation of line, form, and thickness in depicting the plants demands attention from the viewer. The dense amount of crosshatching and the compositional placement of the tree gives it added importance. The tree's intricate markings create the rough texture associated with bark, and the leaves seem to be stretching toward the center, threatening to take over the image. These leaves pull our eye over to the Holy Family, then to the angel and the donkey to the far right. The angel hovers above the ground, drapery flowing around him, making him seem weightless as he brings the donkey to the Holy Family, which is their means of escape to Egypt.

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1 Linda Wolk-Simon, "Domenico Tiepolo: Drawings, Prints, and Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 54, no. 3 (Winter 1996–1997): 1, 3–68, 6–7.

2 Colta Feller Ives, "Twenty-Four Picturesque Ideas of the Flight into Egypt," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, New Series, no. 5 (January 1971): 195–203; 195.

3 Diane H. Russell, *Rare Etchings by Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, DC, distributed by Macmillan, 1972), 93.

4 Wolk-Simon, "Domenico Tiepolo," 18.

5 Wolk-Simon, "Domenico Tiepolo," 20.

6 Ives, *Twenty-Four Picturesque Ideas*, 196.

7 Russell, *Rare Etchings*, 93–94.

8 Ives, "Twenty-Four Picturesque Ideas," 196.

9 Ives, "Twenty-Four Picturesque Ideas," 197.

10 Russell, *Rare Etchings*, 94.

11 Russell, *Rare Etchings*, 94.

12 Wolk-Simon, "Domenico Tiepolo," 9.

## *Essay #17*

Sara Pattiz

Antonio Domenico Gabbiani (1652–1726), attributed
*Head of the Madonna*, ca. 1700–1726
Drawing in black chalk on paper, light foxing
#4 written in lower-right corner connected to the original collection. Ink signature "Gabbiani" over original signature. Inscription on verso: *Madonna dal collo lungo del Gran' Principio Ferdinando de' Medici copiata dall quadro originale di mano del Parmigianino / Antonio Domenico Gabbiani*
16 ⅝ x 11 in. (42.3 x 28.7 cm)

Antonio Domenico Gabbiani began his artistic studies in Florence, learning under notable Florentine artists during the later seventeenth century, including Justus Sustermans, and Vincenzo Dandini. In 1673, he went to Rome where he studied for five years under the renowned Italian artist, Ciro Ferri. In 1681, after his time in Rome, and after spending a few months in Venice, Gabbiani returned to Florence where he established his reputation through private and public commissions. His drawings from his time survive in great number.[1]

Gabbiani's drawing, *Head of the Madonna* (fig. 57), is copied after Parmigianino's well-known painting, *Madonna della collo lungo,* or *Madonna with the Long Neck,* ca. 1534–1540*,* now in the Uffizi, Florence (fig. 58). The drawing is the same scale as the head of the figure in the painting, and is inscribed in Italian on the back in pen and ink by Gabbiani's nephew, Gaetano, who died circa 1750: *Madonna dal collo lungo del Gran' Principio Ferdinando de' Medici copiata dall quadro originale di mano del Parmigianino / Antonio Domenico Gabbiani.* (*Madonna of the Long Neck* [owned] by the Grand Prince Ferdinand de' Medici, copied from the original painting in the hand of Parmigianino / Antonio Domenico Gabbiani.) This inscription indicates that this drawing was in the collection of the Tuscan Grand Duke, Ferdinando de' Medici, son of Cosimo II de'Medici. The Medici family was widely known for its political power and long-standing commitment to art. By virtue of being documented as part of this important collection, the drawing can most likely be considered as a finished work of art, rather than a study.[2]

Fig. 57. Antonio Domenico Gabbiani (1652–1726), attributed, *Head of the Madonna*, ca. 1700–1726. Drawing. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 32).

As stated in the inscription, Gabbiani's drawing is after the Parmigianino painting known as *Madonna with the Long Neck.* Gabianni copied the head of the Madonna in the painting using black chalk. He is so delicate with his use of chalk that the drawing almost appears to be rendered in graphite. His accuracy with the medium at such a large scale is precise, and he includes only the necessary details. Through use of crosshatching, Gabbiani indicates directional shadow and light. Crosshatching is the method of drawing lines at different orientations and levels of thickness in order to evoke tonal differences, used for shadow and shadowing.[3] Gabbiani also indicates folds in the chin and neck of the Madonna through the same technique and defines the hair on the Madonna with precision and accuracy. He creates the appearance of curly hair through consistent use of small, rounded lines. Some are made darker and some lighter to indicate shape and movement through the hair, from the head down to

Fig. 58. Parmigianino (Francesco Mazzola), *Madonna with the Long Neck (Madonna della collo lungo)*, 1534–1540. Uffizi, Florence, Italy. ART31634. Photo © Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

the neck. In the original painting, Parmigianino depicts the Madonna wearing a headband ornamented with pearls. Gabbiani re-creates the effect of shiny pearls through drawing the round, circular shape of each pearl, and then suggests light using small, darkened shadow marks underneath each pearl on the Madonna's forehead. Gabbiani provides a slight indication of dress on the Madonna through use of just a few soft lines below the neck and some crosshatching and line on the right shoulder, thus alluding to the rest of the Madonna's body in the original painting. Although monochromatic, all elements of the drawing create a parallel effect to that of the painted Virgin's head in Parmigianino's altarpiece.

Parmigianino's *Madonna with the Long Neck* was commissioned by Elena and Francesco Baiardo on December 23, 1534 for a funerary chapel in Santa Maria dei Servi in Parma.[4] By the eighteenth century, the painting was in the Medici collection and was central to Parmigianino's legacy, making it an ideal choice for Gabbiani to draw. The painting is an innovative depiction of a familiar subject, the Virgin and Child. Parmigianino elongates the figures to create unnaturalistic human proportions. In the book, *Parmigianino: His Works in Painting,* Sydney Freedberg described the figures as exceeding "natural probability," adding that the Madonna's seated pose "is in itself illogical."[5] The decisions Parmigianino made in terms of shift in scale are intentional, and true to his aesthetic goals. For example, the neck of the Madonna is one feature that is implausibly exaggerated, and the painting received its modern name because of the exaggerated length of the Madonna's neck.[6] In her essay, "On Beautiful Women," Elizabeth Cropper discusses how Parmigianino's painting is connected to Agnolo Firenzuola's book on the ideals of female beauty, *Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne* (1542). Firenzuola was most well known for his writings that focused on the elements of love, ideal beauty, and poetic style.[7] In terms of the Madonna's neck, Parmigianino follows Firenzuola's tenant of beauty, which states that a neck "must be long and slender, round, and ivory-white." Cropper continues to point out how Parmigianino follows these poetic ideals regarding the neck, writing, "If a woman lowers her head, as the Madonna does, fine lines like little necklaces form in the flesh, all of which is deliberately portrayed by Parmigianino."[8] Essentially, the "illogical" neck is one of Parmigianino's ways to depict ideal beauty.

The Virgin's body in the painting is large and weighty, taking up the majority of space. Parmigianino paints the Christ child in her arms, nude and long, and he is given a long, curved form that is similar, though smaller, in comparison to the Virgin's. The curved form of the child visually references the Madonna's curved neck. The angels that are painted to surround the Madonna and her child come only from the left corner, and only one has a full body visible, while six other heads are discernible. The first angel is painted holding a vase, as if presenting it to the Virgin. Parmigianino includes a depiction of a tiny Saint Jerome in the right corner. Parmigianino paints all of the figures with pale skin and rosy cheeks, and dresses the Madonna in weighty garb, using rich blue and a light ivory. The curtains in the background on the left side show Parmigianino's understanding of color, as red fades into the brown. The painting appears to focus around the head of the Madonna, as Sydney Freedberg points out:

> If there is any place in which the design may be felt to concentrate a measure of its energy it is the head of the Madonna, which in a sense contains such expressive point as the picture may have.[9]

By drawing the head from this painting, Gabbiani was selecting the most recognizable element of the painting.

Cropper, in her above-mentioned essay, explains the importance of the Virgin in Parmigianino's *Madonna with the Long Neck*:

> An analysis of Parmigianino's vision of perfection must begin with the Virgin herself. The aspects of her beauty that are most familiar are her elongated proportions, the curving arcs of her body, and her long slender neck, this last having already become by the late seventeenth century the identifying feature that gave the painting its name.[10]

These "aspects of beauty" are also depicted in Gabbiani's drawing, as he chose to focus on the Virgin alone. Cropper demonstrates how the ideals in Firenzuola's treatise can be seen to correlate with Parmigianino's *Madonna with the Long Neck*, as the artist was most likely inspired by contemporary notions of poetic beauty. As Cropper suggests,

> According to Firenzuola, one of the most essential parts of a woman's beauty is her hair. The hair must be thick, though fine, long and curly, and it should be blonde, ranging from gold and honey, to the color of bright sunshine.[11]

Parmigianino constructs the Madonna's beauty through the way in which he conceives of her hair. In addition, Cropper notes Firenzuola's quote on a woman's mouth, and argues that Parmigianino perfectly represents this ideal:

> The mouth must be smallish, and neither angular nor flat. The vermilion lips should be fairly equal, neither one projecting over the other, and when seen in profile they should meet at an obtuse angle, more obtuse than the angle where the lower lip meets the curve of the chin.[12]

With the exception of a few elements these ideals also align with Gabbiani's drawing, *Head of the Madonna*, as he evokes the same level of detail as Parmigianino.

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1 Paolo Bellini, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Abaris Books, 2005), 17.

2 The Hill-Stone sales catalogue states that Gabbiani might have made this drawing as a part of his idea of publishing a series of reproductive engravings. "Antonio Domenico Gabbiani," *Hill-Stone*, cat. 15, no. 11 (2012).

3 Patrick Kennelly, "Cross-Hatched Shadow Line Maps," *Cartographic Journal* 49, no. 2 (2012): 135.

4 David Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 12.

5 Sydney J. Freedberg, *Parmigianino: His Works in Painting* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1950), 90.

6 Marcia B. Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 13.

7 Elizabeth Cropper, "On Beautiful Women, Parmigianino, Petrarchismo, and the Vernacular Style," *Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976): 374–394, 383.

8 Cropper, "On Beautiful Women," 384.

9 Freedberg, *Parmigianino*, 93.

10 Cropper, "On Beautiful Women," 376.

11 Cropper, "On Beautiful Women," 374.

12 Cropper, "On Beautiful Women," 383.

## *Essay #18*

Samuel Richards

Gaetano Gandolfi (1734–1802)
*Saint Anthony the Great,* originally titled *Head of an Evangelist,* ca. 1770
Etching on paper, staining around the edges of the top left and top center.
4 ½ x 4 in. (11.4 x 10.2 cm)

During the eighteenth century, Bologna was one of the Papal States in Northern Italy. Under the sovereign rule of the Pope the Bolognese School of painting thrived, producing artists such as Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) and Gaetano Gandolfi (1734–1802).[1] Gaetano Gandolfi was a painter, draftsman, sculptor, and printmaker. He was born in the parish of San Matteo della Decima on an estate where his father was an agent for the landowner. For a better education, his father sent both he and his brother, the artist Ubaldo Gandolfi, to Bologna where they later enrolled in the *Accademia Clementina.*[2] At the *Accademia*, Gandolfi studied under the esteemed Ercole Graziani the Younger.[3] In 1760, Gandolfi went to Venice for a year to study, after which he settled in Bologna.[4]

The etching of *Saint Anthony the Great* (fig. 59), is modeled directly after Gaetano Gandolfi's painting, *Bust of an old man with a Rosary* (1755). In the etching, Saint Anthony's body is draped with a tunic, exposing only his head, neck, and hands. His head is craned to the left in the direction of the light that illuminates his body. His lit face displays an expression of desire, curiosity, and temptation for whatever is beyond the picture frame. His right arm is clutching a staff that resembles the flowering rod of Saint Joseph, an object we see in other images by Gandolfi, such as *Sacra Famiglia* (ca. 1776), *Holy Family,* and *Saint Joseph* (n.d.). His fingers are boney, knobby, and slim, interwoven with rosary beads like a knotty thin branch entwined with a vine. In the background, the parallel lines are etched and converge to give the illusion of depth and space. Using numerous darting and thin strokes, Gandolfi builds the appearance of dimensionality in the figure and other objects such as the staff, book, and rosary beads.

The advent of printmaking in the fifteenth century made it possible to reproduce a single image on a mass scale. Artists, such as Gaetano Gandolfi, took advantage of the reproductive quality of printmaking and used the medium as a tool to disseminate their designs and names across Italy and Europe.[5] For the print of *Saint Anthony the Great*, Gandolfi used the intaglio printmaking technique of etching. To make an etching, a metal plate is first covered with an acid resistant ground, usually wax, paint, or varnish. The artist then uses an etching needle to scratch through the ground to the metal below. When the design is finished, the plate is dipped in an acid bath that bites the unprotected metal. Once the ground is removed, the metal plate can be printed.[6] Etching enables an artist to create fine, fluid lines with greater ease than in a woodcut or engraving.[7]

Fig. 59. Gaetano Gandolfi, *Saint Anthony the Great.* Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 33).

Gaetano took advantage of the versatility of etching when he copied his own painting, *Bust of an old man with a rosary,* which is also, most likely, a representation of Saint Anthony. A print is always the opposite of the design in the plate. Rather than drawing the design in reverse on the plate for this image, Gandolfi copied the painting directly, so that the etching appears as the inverse of the original work. For the painting, Gandolfi chose a very warm color palette primarily in hues of red, yellow, tans, and browns. The warm colors present a sharp contrast to the black ink of the etching, giving Saint Anthony a more subtle appearance. In the etching, the figure's hands appear boney and brittle, while in the painting they appear soft and supple.

Saint Anthony was born ca. 250 AD in Middle Egypt.[8] After his parents' death, his devotion to God burgeoned and became zealous in his devotion to "good." In Saint Athanasius of Alexandria's biography of Saint Anthony, the author states: "But the Devil, the hater and envier of good, could not bear

to see such resolution in a young man, but set about his customary tactics also against him."[9] It is the Devil's "tactics" that most artists who portray the temptation of Saint Anthony represent. Throughout his life, Saint Anthony went on several journeys, many in absolute solitude such as his retreat to the tombs near his village and his life in the desert. The Devil once sent "the phantoms of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, and of serpents, asps, and scorpions, and of wolves…"[10] In this threatening moment, Saint Anthony was steadfast in his devotion and faith for God. In return the Lord came to his aid: "For he looked up and saw as it were the roof opening and a beam of light coming down to him. The demons suddenly were gone…" After about twenty years of solitude, Saint Anthony emerged and returned to his monastery, where "…he zealously applied himself to his holy and vigorous exercises."[11] Until the end of his life in 356 AD, Saint Anthony never wavered in his devotion to God.[12]

Gandolfi's painting of Saint Anthony is currently at the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart in Germany. The description of the painting on the museum's web site suggests that the subject may be the Temptation of Saint Anthony during his time as a Hermit.[13] The identification of Gandolfi's figure as Saint Anthony is a convincing one, especially when considering the iconographic cues in the image.

The composition of the figure in the etching of *Saint Anthony the Great* is nearly identical to Gandolfi's representation of Saint Joseph in several of his other paintings, including *The Holy Family, Saint Joseph,* and *Saint Joseph with baby Jesus.* Those three paintings include clear representations of a Saint shown as an elderly bearded man, with a very similar receding hairline, gaunt features, holding a staff, and wearing a tunic with drapery. By rendering the figure of Saint Anthony in the same manner as his other male saints in the paintings cited above, it is difficult not to confirm his similar divine identity. In addition, both Annibale Carracci and Taddeo Crivelli (1425–1479) made paintings representing Saint Anthony that are very close in their portrayal of the figure and identifying objects to Gandolfi's painting and etching.[14] Caracci's *Christ appearing to Saint Anthony* (1598) (fig. 60), depicts Saint Anthony receiving a vision of Christ during one of the Devil's torments. In this image, Saint Anthony is lying down next to a large tree surrounded by demons and creatures sent by the Devil. His hands are slightly extended off his chest and to his right there is an open book on the ground. Saint Anthony's face is illuminated, emphasizing his strenuous emotional state. Capturing his gaze is a vision of Christ in the sky. Similar to Gandolfi's depiction of Saint Anthony, Carracci shows a balding, greying Saint Anthony with a beard and a book. Furthermore, Carracci gave Saint Anthony's face illumination to highlight his state of mind, as did Gandolfi. Carracci is one of the most distinguished late sixteenth-century Bolognese artists, and Gandolfi studied much of his work in Bologna throughout his life.[15] Taddeo Crivelli's *Saint Anthony Abbot* (ca. 1469) depicts Saint Anthony alone in a cave with a pig roaming outside. He is wearing a black robe and is holding a staff with his left hand and rosary beads with his right. While the grey hair on his head is receding, his grey beard extends beyond his torso. Unlike the Carracci painting, Crivelli's work includes rosary beads and excludes a book. As a pair, the Carracci and Crivelli depictions include each of the three representational objects present in the Gandolfi etching: the staff, the rosary beads, and the book. Having been devoted to scripture since the age of eighteen, depicting Saint Anthony with a book is his most common iconographic attribute.[16] Although not as distinct as the rosary beads or the staff, the book lends credence to the identification of Gandolfi's figure as Saint Anthony. The Carracci and Crivelli works predate Gandolfi's, thus setting precedents for Gandolfi's representations of Saint Anthony.

Fig. 60. Annibale Carracci, *Christ appearing to Saint Anthony,* 1598. Painting. National Gallery of Art. Photo © National Gallery of Art.

In the etching, Saint Anthony is gripping a string of rosary beads. The origin of the rosary is subject to debate.[17] According to *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, the rosary is alleged to date back to the thirteenth century. However, the earliest documented mention of the origin of the modern rosary can

be found in the writings of the Frenchman Alan de la Roche (ca. 1428–1475), a Roman Catholic theologian.[18] Regardless of whether the rosary originated in the thirteenth or fifteenth centuries, there is a millennium between the life of Saint Anthony and the first origin of the rosary. As the rosary was not contemporary to Saint Anthony in his lifetime, Gandolfi must have put the rosary in his works for a purpose. In Catholicism, the rosary is considered an instrument of devotion due to deep contemplation it summons from the worshipper.[19] According to Catholic tradition, Heaven has aided those who have been devoted to spiritual reverence for God through the rosary in times of exceptional danger.[20] It was Saint Anthony's great piety that caused the Devil to start his tormenting such as when he sent the phantoms to Saint Anthony in the tombs.[21] The rosary is the object Gandolfi uses to portray Saint Anthony's devotion to God. Both the rosary and Saint Anthony are associated with spiritual reverence and overcoming of difficulties. As one of the most prominent features of Catholic spirituality, a viewer in eighteenth-century Italy would know that a figure associated with the rosary must be someone with strong devotion to God. In conjunction with the book, staff, and preceding imagery of Saint Anthony, the rosary confirms the temptation narrative in Gandolfi's images.

In his essay, *Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*, Erwin Panofsky proposed his method on how best to distinguish subject matter and meaning in Renaissance Art. He outlines three stages of analysis: primary or natural subject matter, secondary or conventional subject matter (iconography), and intrinsic meaning or content (iconology).[22] Panofsky's second stratum, secondary or conventional subject matter (iconography), best reinforces the identification of the figure as Saint Anthony. The second stratum is the praxis of identifying and classifying combinations of motifs and their specific associations to determine stories and allegories within a work. The iconography of the work is the identification of the narratives and their allegorical meaning. For example, Panofsky states: "It (secondary or conventional subject matter) is apprehended by realizing that a male figure with a knife represents Saint Bartholomew, that a female figure with a peach in her hand is a personification of veracity…"[23] In Gandolfi's etching, it is the secondary subject matter that allows for the attribution of Saint Anthony. Based on the established apprehension that an elderly bearded man with rosary beads, a staff, and a book is a representation of Saint Anthony, the iconology of the scene can be identified as a depiction of Saint Anthony rather than a generic figure.[24]

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1 Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) was the most acclaimed of the Carracci family of painters and one of the most significant artists of the late sixteenth century. See Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carraccci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, DC, 1979), 61.

2 Ubaldo Gandolfi (1728–1781) was an Italian painter, sculptor, engraver, and draftsman. Like his brother, he was given commissions throughout Bologna and is known as one of the most influential artists of eighteenth-century Bologna. See Mimi Cazort, "Ubaldo Gandolfi," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T030596pg1?q=Ubaldo+Gandolfi&search=quick&source=oao_gao&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

3 In the 1720s, Ercole Graziani attained a venerable reputation and great success at the Accademia Clementina, culminating with the position as director in 1727 and later principal in 1730. He was so well thought of that Pope Benedict XIV ordered a copy of his Saint Peter Consecrating St Apollinaris as Bishop for the church of Sant'Apollinare in Rome. See "Graziani, Ercole, II," *Grove Art Online-Oxford Art Online,* http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T034165?q=Ercole+Graziani%2C+II&search=quick&sourceoao_gao&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

4 Mimi Cazort and Giovanna Perini, *Bella Pittura: The Art of the Gandolfi* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1993), 12.

5 David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print – 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 103.

6 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,* 27.

7 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 28.

8 Robert T. Meyer, trans., *Saint Athanasius: The Life Of Saint Antony* (New York: Newman Press, 1950), 3.

9 Meyer, 22. *Saint Athanasius of Alexandria* (ca. 298 – 2 May 373) was an Egyptian theologian and leader. He composed many writings throughout his life including a biography of Saint Anthony the Great entitled *Life of Anthony the Great.*

10 See Edward R. Hardy, "Saint Athanasius," *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/40590/Saint-Athanasius.

11 Meyer, *Saint Athanasius*, 28.

12 Meyer, *Saint Athanasius*, 33.

13 Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, *Bildnis eines alten Mannes mit Rosenkranz*, http://onlinekatalog.staatsgalerie.de/detail.jsp?id=9708FF174313906FE1B5B0801FC42B1E&img=1.

14 Taddeo Crivelli was one of the most significant fifteenth-century painters and illuminators in Ferrara. He produced the *Gualenghi-d'Este Hours* (ca. 1469), one of the most grand books of hours ever made. Kurt Barstow, *The Gualenghi-d'Este Hours: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Ferrara* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2000), 1.

15 Donatella Biagi Maino, *Gaetano Gandolfi* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi, 1995), 15.

16 Rosa Giorgi, *Saints and Their Symbols* (New York: Abrams, 2011), 14.

17 In Roman Catholicism, rosary beads are a string of prayer beads used to count the associated prayers. The prayers are, in order: a recitation of fifteen sets of Hail Marys, all of which have to be preceded by Our Father, and then a Glory be to the Father. During each set the worshipper must contemplate the Mysteries of the Rosary. W. A. Hinnebusch, "Rosary," *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 12 (Detroit: Thomson/Gale, 2003), 373.

18 Hinnebusch, "Rosary," 374.

19 Andrew Alphonsus MacErlean, *The Catholic Encyclopedia: an international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church*, vol. 13 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 184.

20 MacErlean, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*,189.

21 Meyer, *Saint Athanasius*, 22.

22 Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: papers in and on art history* (New York: Doubleday Press, 1955), 28–31.

23 Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology," 28–29.

24 Furthermore, given the illumination of his face, it would not be inconceivable to hypothesize that Gandolfi is depicting the scene when the roof opened in the tomb and the "beam of light" came down upon him.

# Exhibition Catalogue

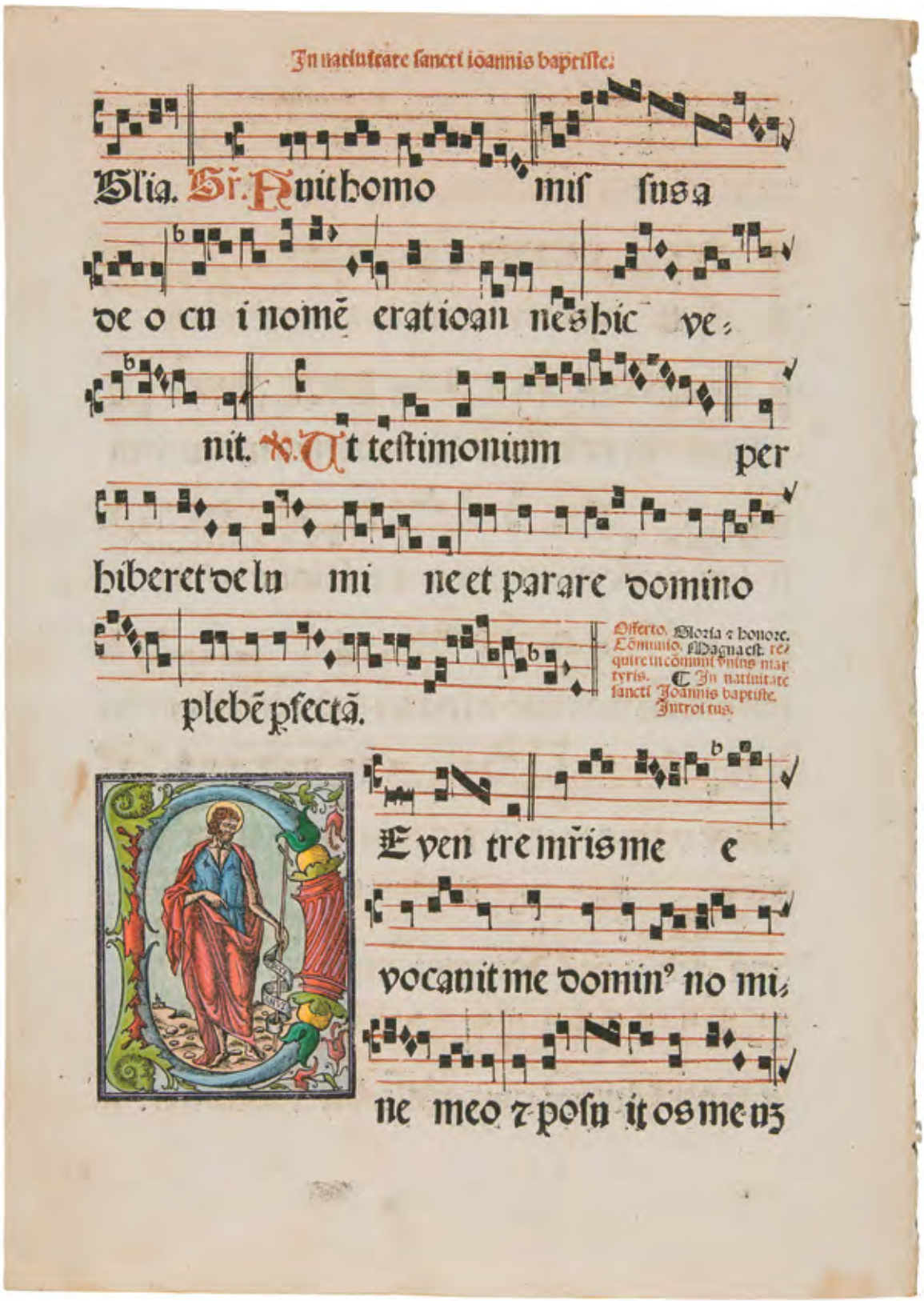
All works courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection

**1**

**Cosimo (Cosmè) Tura (attributed)** (Italian, ca. 1430–1495)

*Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1491.

Woodcut. (Essay #1)




**2**

**Circle of Cosimo (Cosmè) Tura** (Italian, ca. 1430–1495)

*Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1500.

Gradual Page with Hand-Colored Woodcut. (Essay #1)


**3**

**Circle of Cosimo (Cosmè) Tura** (Italian, ca. 1430–1495)

*Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1500.

Gradual Page with Hand-Colored Woodcut. Detail.

**4**

**Marcantonio Raimondi** (Italian, 1480–1534)

*The Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1510–1511.

Engraving on paper. (Essay #2)

**5**

**Marcantonio Raimondi** (Italian, 1480–1534)

*The Flight into Egypt,* ca. 1510–1511.

Engraving. (Essay #2)

**6**

**Marcantonio Raimondi** (Italian, 1480–1534)

*The Annunciation,* ca. 1510–1511.

Engraving. (Essay #2)

*7*

**Albrecht Dürer** (German, 1471–1528)

*Joachim's Offering Rejected,* 1501–1505.

Woodcut. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Gift of Ralph and Martha Slotten (1973.2.400). (Essay #2)

**8**

**Marcantonio Raimondi** (Italian, 1480–1534)

*Saint Paul Preaching at Athens,* 1517–1520.

Engraving. (Introduction)

**9**

**Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola)** (Italian, 1503–1540)

*Adoration of the Shepherds,* ca. 1525.

Etching. (Essay #3)

**10**

**Parmigianino (Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola)** (Italian, 1503–1540)

*Standing Shepherd*, ca. 1520s.

Etching. (Essay #3)

**11**
**Circle of Baccio Bandinelli** (Italian, 1493–1560)
*Male Figures with Putti,* ca. 1530–1550.
Drawing. (Introduction)

**12**

**Pierino Da Vinci (attributed)** (Italian, 1529–1553)

*Helmeted Warrior,* recto, ca. 1545.

Drawing (possibly drypoint). (Essay #4)

**13**

**Pierino Da Vinci (attributed)** (Italian, 1529–1553)

*Helmeted Warrior,* verso, ca. 1545.

Drawing. (Essay #4)

**14**

**Carlo Urbino (attributed)** (Italian, ca. 1510–1585)

*Study sheet with Two Standing Men,* ca. 1560.

Drawing. (Essay #5)


**15**

**Romulo Cincinnato** (Italian, 1540–1597/1600)

*Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1555–1567.

Drawing. (Essay #6)


**16**

**Diana Mantuana (Ghisi, Scultori)** (Italian, 1535–1612)

*Farnese Bull (The Punishment of Dirce)*, 1581.

Engraving. (Essay #7)

**17**

**Annibale Carracci** (Italian, 1560–1609)

*Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, ca. 1591.

Etching. (Essay #8)

**18**

**Annibale Carracci** (Italian, 1560–1609)

*Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist,* 1599.

Etching. (Essay #8)


**19** **Antonio Tempesta** (Italian, 1555–1630), *Aetas Aurea* (The Golden Age), 1599. Etching with engraved text. (Essay #9)


**20** **Antonio Tempesta** (Italian, 1555–1630), *Aetas Argentea* (The Silver Age), 1599. Etching with engraved text. (Essay #9)


**21** **Antonio Tempesta** (Italian, 1555–1630), *Aetas Aenea* (The Bronze Age), 1599. Etching with engraved text. (Essay #9)


**22** **Antonio Tempesta** (Italian, 1555–1630), *Aetas Ferrea* (The Iron Age), 1599. Etching with engraved text. (Essay #9)

**23**

**Jacopo Palma il Giovane (attributed)** (Italian, 1544–1628)

*The Brazen Serpent,* ca. 1570.

Drawing. (Introduction)

**24**

**After Francesco Vanni (Andrea Andreani ?)** (Italian, 1563–1610)

*Madonna and Child,* ca. 1590s.

Chiaroscuro woodcut. (Essay #10)

**25**

**Guido Cagnacci** (Italian, 1601–1663)

*Allegory of Painting,* ca. 1650s.

Etching. (Introduction)


**26**

**Marco San Martino** (Italian, ca. 1620–1700)

*Shepherd and Shepherdess*, ca. 1620–1700.

Etching. (Essay #11)


**27**

**Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione** (Italian, 1609–1664)

*Portrait of a figure in profile wearing an exotic hat*, late 1640s.

Etching. (Essay #12)

**28**

**Lorenzo Lippi** (Italian, ca. 1606–1665)

*Young Woman Holding a Jug,* ca. 1645.

Drawing. (Essay #13)

**29**

**Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi** (Italian, 1606–1680)

*An Extensive Wooded Landscape*, ca. 1640s.

Drawing. (Essay #14)

**30**

**Giovanni Battista Spinelli** (Italian, 1613–1658)

*Biblical Subject,* also identified as *Saint John Preaching in the Wilderness,* early seventeenth century.

Drawing. (Essay #15)

**31**

**Domenico Giovanni Tiepolo** (Italian, 1727–1804)

*Mary and Joseph Preparing to Leave the Inn,* 1753.

Etching. (Essay #16)

**32**

**Antonio Domenico Gabbiani** (Italian, 1652–1726)

*Head of the Madonna*, ca. 1700–1726.

Drawing. (Essay #17)

**33**

**Gaetano Gandolfi** (Italian, 1734–1802)

*Saint Anthony the Great,* originally titled *Head of an Evangelist,* ca. 1770.

Etching. (Essay #18)


INGENTEM DIRCEM QVAM SPECTAS MARMORE AB VNO
SCVLPSIT TAVRISIVS QVONDAM ET APOLLONIVS

DEINDE ADVECTA RHODO EST ET PRINCOMITA INAEDE
POLLIO QVAM ROMAE STRVXERAT ASINIVS

THERMARVM INDE ANTONI INTER MONVMENTA REPOSITA
AT NVNC FARNESI PATRIS IN AEDE SITA EST

Claudii Duchetti formis.

Ioannes Orlandi formis romæ 1602.