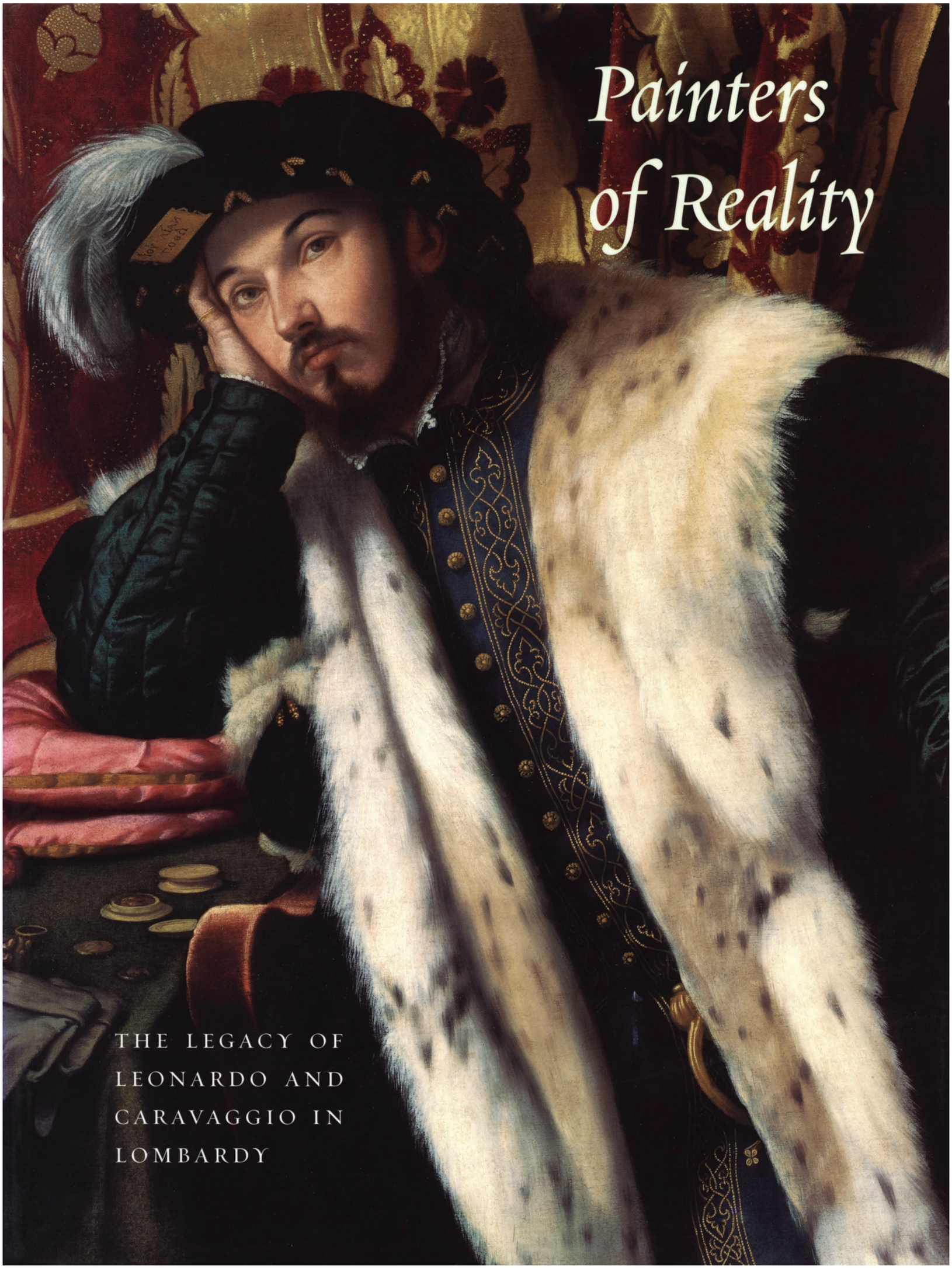

Painters of Reality

THE LEGACY OF LEONARDO AND CARAVAGGIO IN LOMBARDY

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THE LEGACY OF LEONARDO AND CARAVAGGIO IN LOMBARDY

Edited by ANDREA BAYER

With contributions by ANDREA BAYER, MINA GREGORI, MARTIN KEMP, LINDA WOLK-SIMON, ENRICO DE PASCALE, GIULIO BORA, MARIO MARUBBI, KEITH CHRISTIANSEN, LAURA LANZENI, ROBERT S. MILLER, *and* ANDALEEB BADIEE BANTA

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Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1597–98 (detail of cat. no. 65). Private collection

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Sponsor's Statement

An exhibition of paintings is always an expression of ideas that are formed by the interaction of art and culture. This is particularly true of "Painters of Reality," whose catalogue is a virtual history of naturalism in North Italian painting.

The possibility of seeing in a single museum exhibition the masterpieces of Foppa, Leonardo, Caravaggio, Fra' Galgario, and Ceruti evokes strong emotions. The more than 135 works on display, executed between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century by artists who were Lombard by birth or adoption, demonstrate one of the features that make our region so unique—that, although these artists espoused a variety of aesthetic philosophies, they were all faithful to the "natural truth" invoked by Vasari.

With "Painters of Reality," Lombardy confirms its position as a genuine wellspring of art. In the words of Roberto Longhi, the curator of the celebrated 1951 exhibition in Milan entitled "Caravaggio e i caravaggeschi," this is an art that reveals and exalts "the real and nothing but the real." Realism not only provides powerful pictorial experiences; it is also a symbol of the Lombard culture and character, which are characterized by a positive, creative approach to life.

The government of Lombardy will continue to pursue a cultural policy that welcomes exhibition proposals from the entire region, whether from the public or the private sector. Such a policy encourages the integration of extraordinary events such as this exhibition with our social and artistic fabric, and as a result reenergizes both the making and the study of art.

The fact that "Painters of Reality" has been organized in collaboration with the prestigious Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which will host the exhibition from May to August 2004, attests to the importance of the culture of Lombardy as well as to the region's dedication to its artistic heritage. This is a time of hope in which we aspire to make our region one of the major venues on the international art scene. The knowledge that our "painters of reality" will travel to New York confirms the vitality of our culture, which has captured the imagination of one of the world's greatest museums.

Roberto Formigoni
President of the Region of Lombardy

RegioneLombardia

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Director's Foreword

SLIGHTLY MORE THAN fifty years ago, Roberto Longhi, Renata Cipriani, and Giovanni Testori organized a groundbreaking exhibition entitled "I pittori della realtà in Lombardia," held from April to July 1953 at the Palazzo Reale in Milan. As they themselves admitted, they were not the first to use this evocative title. Their friend the brilliant French curator Charles Sterling (who was later the author of an indispensable catalogue of the French paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art) had already named an exhibition held at the Orangerie in Paris in 1934 "Les peintres de la réalité en France au XVIIe siècle." Sterling's intention had been to draw the public's attention to that side of seventeenth-century French art *not* represented by Poussin and "l'idéal classique." As Paul Jamot said in his preface to the catalogue, their aim was to concentrate on artists, "less elevated in appearance, but who did not bring less honor to France," artists who "voluntarily kept very close to nature." These included the Le Nain brothers, shown in depth along with Georges de la Tour; still-life painters, such as Lubin Baugin; and various followers of Caravaggio. Jamot continued rather grandly, "Those who have eyes to see and a heart to feel will know and recognize a very noble aspiration: a search for truth without taking sides, without compromises, in a sentiment of sympathy that unites all men."

Longhi acknowledged his debt to the objectives of this earlier enterprise—to study artists who kept close to nature—when conceiving his own, but he and his colleagues were at pains to differentiate their undertaking. First and most obviously, their analysis was of the Italian "painters of reality" and commenced in the Cinquecento (sixteenth century). The opposition they proposed was not really with the classicism of Raphael, Michelangelo, and Titian. Instead, the succession of artists they hoped to illuminate eschewed the artificial appearance of Mannerist art (Moroni's portraits versus Bronzino's) and later the theatrical rhetoric of the Baroque, choosing instead the "reality that is around us." They believed these artists to have been best represented in Lombardy, among painters working in Milan and above all in the neighboring cities of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona. Longhi had previously pointed out that Lombard artists of the sixteenth century had had a fundamental impact on Caravaggio's development as a painter, to such an extent that he arrived in Rome "with his revolutionary manifesto in his pocket," in the critic's felicitous phrase. And artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Fra' Galgario, Evaristo Baschenis, and Giacomo Ceruti, continued to mine a rich, deeply established tradition of naturalism in the areas of portraiture, still life, and genre painting.

This exhibition thus represents the third time that "painters of reality" will be called upon to evoke a group of artists working over a long period of time in one geographical area and tied to each other by a common approach and objective. The project was initiated a number of years ago, when Professor Mina Gregori of the Fondazione Longhi in Florence and Keith Christiansen and Andrea Bayer of The Metropolitan Museum of Art first discussed the merits of revisiting this aspect of Lombard painting for a new generation and a new audience. In the fifty intervening years since the Milan show, much study has been devoted to these artists, resulting in a series of fine exhibitions on aspects of the theme, including portraiture (Varese 2002), genre painting (Brescia 1998), still life (Milan 1999), and monographic exhibitions on artists such as Ceruti (Brescia 1987), Savoldo (Brescia 1990), Sofonisba Anguissola (Cremona 1994), Baschenis (Bergamo 1996 and New York 2001), and Fra' Galgario (Bergamo 2003). One must also mention the burgeoning field of Caravaggio studies, particularly those

focusing on his formation in Milan and his earliest years in Rome. Our curators hoped to build on this research and to explore important avenues that Longhi neglected or considered of less relevance. The entire first section of the exhibition, "Leonardo and the Idea of Naturalism," fills one such major lacuna. Another, the study of Lombard drawings, especially those done "dal naturale," or from life, figures largely in the first section as well. For Professor Gregori this exhibition also provides the opportunity to synthesize some forty years of research on Lombard painting, research that has itself set the standard in the field. Thus the complete panorama, from Leonardo in 1482 (when he abandoned Florence and moved to Milan) to Ceruti in the 1730s, will be examined afresh, with, we trust, a coherent story to tell. It is entirely appropriate that this tale be told in Cremona, a city that was central to the artistic developments under discussion.

As can be seen from the exhibitions listed above, Lombard artists have continued to be appreciated primarily in the region where they lived and worked. In New York they are generally less well known, this despite their great popularity in the Anglo-Saxon world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Henry James could, for example, build the plot of an entire short novel, *The Outcry* (1911), around the sale of a treasured painting in an English country house that purports to be a portrait by Moretto da Brescia. Since the names of these artists have subsequently come to mean far less to our museum public, we hope that this exhibition will prove to be a revelation. It should be a thought-provoking introduction to one of the great regional schools of Italian painting, one which, through the training of Caravaggio and Annibale and Ludovico Carracci in northern Italy in the 1580s, had a profound impact on the course of Baroque painting in Rome and eventually throughout Europe.

We are deeply indebted to our curators, Andrea Bayer, Keith Christiansen, and Mina Gregori, for so skillfully implementing their original concept. It has been a pleasure to work with APIC (Associazione Promozione Iniziative Culturali di Cremona), the co-organizer of the exhibition. Thanks also go to our contributing authors, especially Linda Wolk-Simon, who has undertaken to write an essay on Lombard drawings and naturalism; Martin Kemp, who has considered Leonardo in the context of naturalism; Enrico De Pascale, who has written on the core group of Longhi's original "painters of reality" active in Bergamo and Brescia; and Giulio Bora, who has described the artistic situation in Cremona and Milan during the age of Caravaggio. Keith Christiansen's entries on Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci are critical to an understanding of the entire argument, as are Mario Marubbi's to the complicated issues of painting in Cremona and Milan. We are also grateful to Ivana Iotta, Director of the Comune di Cremona Sistema Museale, for hosting the exhibition in the principal galleries of the Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone."

The generosity of many institutions and private collectors has made this exhibition possible. To all of them we wish to express our sincere gratitude. We would particularly like to thank the following, either for the scope of their loans or for the central importance of their loans to the exhibition: Her Majesty the Queen, the Royal Library, Windsor Castle; Jacopo Lorenzelli, Bergamo; Laura Roncalli Parenzan, Bergamo; the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo; the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia; the Salvadego Molin Ugoni family, Brescia; Silvano Lodi, Campione; Luigi Koelliker, Milan; the Pinacoteca and Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan; the Castello Sforzesco, Milan; the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; the Nivaagaards Malerisamling, Nivå, Denmark; and the Galleria Borghese, Rome.

The Metropolitan Museum is delighted that the Regione Lombardia and its president, Roberto Formigoni, and Ettore Albertoni, its Assessore alle Culture, have acknowledged the importance of this exhibition to the understanding of Lombard art and culture by becoming its sponsor. The Museum also gratefully acknowledges the William Randolph Hearst Foundation and The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation for their additional support of the exhibition and The Drue E. Heinz Fund for its contribution toward this catalogue.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

President's Foreword

AFTER MORE THAN thirty exhibitions in a decade, with this project APIC (Associazione Promozione Iniziative Culturali di Cremona) has embarked on a new endeavor that represents our greatest challenge to date. It was conceived in cooperation with The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which under the direction of Philippe de Montebello is one of the world's most renowned cultural institutions. The important and successful exhibitions in which we have participated in the past have led to associations with prestigious museums in Italy and Europe, but "Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy" offered us the challenge of a real co-production for the first time. The process was arduous and complex, but the results have been felicitous. Originated and planned by two institutions (the Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone" in Cremona and the Metropolitan Museum), the exhibition has been accomplished with a single purpose and methodology. Its subject is fascinating, and its paintings and drawings of the highest quality.

"Painters of Reality" was born of the passion and great intelligence of its curators, Mina Gregori, Keith Christiansen, and Andrea Bayer. It traces the roots of Lombard naturalism from the second half of the fifteenth century, when Leonardo and the Brescian painter Vincenzo Foppa were active in Milan, through the sixteenth century and the very early period of Caravaggio's career there in the 1580s, and ends in the eighteenth century with the work of Fra' Galgario and Giacomo Ceruti. In its entirety, the exhibition presents an unbroken legacy that grew out of the contributions of many artists, from generation to generation, who were bound together by a common interest in the observation of reality. With more than 135 works from the greatest museums and private collections in the world, the exhibition offers a group of masterpieces by artists of exceptional importance and appeal as well as an opportunity to examine the Lombard roots of a naturalism that eventually gained widespread popularity throughout northern Italy. The project is therefore important both as an exploration of our culture and as a tool of academic inquiry. At the same time, it is a fitting tribute to Mina Gregori, who throughout her career has dedicated much of her boundless energy and scholarly talent to the subject of this exhibition.

Visitors to "Painters of Reality" will be able to admire unquestioned masterpieces as well as lesser-known paintings and drawings, and for that we owe a great debt of gratitude first to the show's curators and then to Philippe de Montebello for making it possible to bring these works of art to Cremona. We are similarly indebted to the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and the Region of Lombardy—Roberto Formigoni, its president, and Ettore A. Albertoni, the Assessore alle Culture, Identità e Autonomie—for the contributions they made to the project in the spirit of public-sector cooperation. It is imperative that we also thank the museums, in Italy and elsewhere, the appropriate superintendencies, and the private collectors who lent works of art to the exhibition.

We are also sincerely grateful to the authors of the essays and entries in the catalogue that accompanies the show and to all the scholars who participated in this project in one way or another. Thanks are due as well to the architects Antonio and Michele Piva, who oversaw the installation of the exhibition, to Villaggio Globale International, and to Electa for putting together the valuable catalogue.

The Fondazione Comunitaria of the Provincia di Cremona offered this project their invaluable support as did our official sponsors—Sperlari, Centropadane, and Lameri Cereals. We are no less grateful to the sponsors who provided their indispensable services to the exhibition—Telecom Italia, Air Dolomiti (a partner of Lufthansa), Axa Art, and Sicurcrema.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the officers of the organizations that make up the Associazione and especially those at the Provincia di Cremona (with special thanks to its vice-president, Giovanni Biondi, and to Marco Dossena, the Assessore alla Cultura, and Lorenzo Saradini, Assessore al Turismo) and to the city of Cremona (the mayor, Paolo Bodini, and the assistant mayor, Luciano Caon, as well as Paolo Paroni, Assessore alla Cultura, and Luigi Baldani, Assessore al Turismo). We need also to express our thanks to Alfeo Garini, president of the A.P.T. del Cremonese, and to his colleagues there, to the Camera di Commercio di Cremona, to Giovanni Gagliardi, Renzo Rebecchi, and at the Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone" to the director, Ivana Iotta, to Mario Marubbi, the gallery's conservator, and all of the museum's staff. I am also grateful to Elisa Gregori and Danila Manotti, the cultural affairs officers at APIC, and to Chiara Cauzzi, Cinzia Manfredini, Barbara Sozzi, Piero Lombardi and Alessandro Ferrari.

Indeed, we must thank all those who shared in this enormous undertaking with us, for they bore witness to an important event in the cultural relations between Italy and the United States. Our work stands as evidence of the cultural and civic commitment that both unites and strengthens our two countries at a time of general anxiety and great uncertainty in the international arena.

GIAN CARLO CORADA
President of the Province of Cremona and of APIC

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THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE of the exhibition has been very fortunate to have received the assistance of many friends and colleagues during its research and planning stages as well as during the writing of the catalogue. We would like to thank the various superintendencies, directors of the lending institutions, collectors, and scholars who assisted us in the loan process. We are also particularly grateful to the following for their assistance and support: Ronni Baer, Joseph Baillio, Pier Luigi Begni Redona, Carla Bernardini, Prince Giberto Borromeo, Princess Bona Borromeo Arese, Emily Braun, David Alan Brown, Cecilia Cametti, Carlo Capponi, Dawson Carr, Giovanni Cerbara, Luisa Cervati, Anna Coliva, Giuseppe Costa, Patricia Courtney, Giuseppe Cremascoli, Anthony Crichton-Stuart, Frank Dabell, Arnalda Dallaj, Anna Di Gennaro, Rita Dugoni, Elizabeth Easton, Seth Fagen, Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, Maria Teresa Fiorio, Elena Fontana, Francesco Frangi, Marina Geneletti, Laura Giles, Geraldine Glynn, Antonio Gregis, Alessandra Gregori, Silvana Grosso, Suzanne Haddad, Ellen Handy, Anny-Claire Haus, Alexia Hughes, David Jaffé, Daniel Katz, Zdenek Kazlepka, Ian Kennedy, David Koetser, Deborah Krohn, Deborah Lepp, Elena Lucchesi Ragni, Pietro Marani, Roberto Mauri, Silvia Meloni Trkulja, Piotr Michalowski, Franco Montali, Theresa-Mary Morton, Giuseppe Napoleone, Mons. Marco Navoni, Nils Ohrt, Kim Pashko, Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, Timothy Potts, Cinzia Profeti, Count Andreas Magnus Raczynski, Mons. Gianfrancesco Ravasi, Janice Reading, Joseph Rishel, the Honorable Lady Jane Roberts, Francesco Rossi, Andrea Rothe, Mr. and Mrs. Errol Rudman, Francis Russell, Matthew Rutenberg, Gracia Sánchez Fernández, Eli Sassoli de Bianchi, Vanessa Sellers, Serena Sogno, Renata Stradiotti, Carl Strehlke, Emilie Sullivan, Alicia B. Thomas, Diego Tiraboschi, Francesca Valli, Marco Voena, and Laurie Winters.

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The exhibition has been organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and APIC (Associazione Promozione Iniziative Culturali di Cremona).

Painters of Reality

Defining Naturalism in Lombard Painting

ANDREA BAYER

TWO FAMOUS PASSAGES from seventeenth-century texts make evocative connections between naturalism and Lombard painting. Written by contemporaries of the artists represented in this exhibition, they might almost act as epigraphs to our discussion. The first is an oft-repeated anecdote related by the biographer Carlo Ridolfi (1594–1658) in 1648 concerning the renowned Venetian artist Titian and Giovanni Battista Moroni, a highly successful portraitist from Bergamo. From the fifteenth century, Bergamo was one of the western outposts of the Venetian empire and was governed by Venetian officials, although geographically it is much closer to Milan, the chief city of Lombardy, and had previously been ruled from that city. According to Ridolfi, Titian told a group of governors about to depart for Bergamo that they should have Moroni paint them if they wanted portraits done "from nature," a phrase that was slightly expanded by a later biographer to a "true and natural likeness."[1]

The second quotation comes from a fragment of a treatise on painting written about 1607–15 by Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570–1632), a prominent man of letters active in Bologna and Rome in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[2] A passage devoted to Agucchi's views on the different schools of Italian painting divides them as follows: "the Roman school, of whom the finest are Raphael and Michelangelo, has followed the beauty of sculpture, and come close to the art of the ancients. But the Venetian painters, and those of the city of Treviso, whose head is Titian, have instead imitated the beauty of nature, which they have before their eyes. Antonio of Correggio, the first of the Lombards, imitated nature even more, because he followed it in a way that was at the same time tender, simple, and equally noble, and in his own manner. The Tuscans worked in a style different from those mentioned."[3]

Clearly, these two notable critics not only regarded Lombard painting as frequently characterized by a pronounced naturalism, but also distinguished this school from the other principal ones then active in Italy. In this essay, I will discuss both the evolution of this point of view, as heard in contemporary voices, and the main themes that unite the paintings and drawings presented here under the rubric of naturalism. It seems almost superfluous to point out that a vast array of artists with different interests and styles—Mannerist, Baroque, classicizing—worked in Lombardy over the more than two centuries, from about 1500 to about 1740, represented here. Instead, to quote the authors of a recent catalogue on Lombard portraiture, "This is not a matter of tracing an exhaustive history of the art of those centuries, but rather of flagging, within that history, a sort of precious and resistant red thread, characterized by an inclination toward working directly from natural data, by fidelity to the truth of things."[4] Or, as

AMBROGIO FIGINO
Metal Plate with Peaches and Vine Leaves
(detail of cat. no. 73)

Fig. 1
The regions of northern Italy

Roberto Longhi said in the catalogue for "I pittori della realtà in Lombardia," the exhibition he organized in 1953 in Milan and which has given us the name for our own, the aim is to concentrate on those artists in Lombardy who worked with "an approachable simplicity, a penetrating attention, a certain calm faith in their ability to express the 'reality' around them directly, without stylistic mediation."[5]

It is important to say a word about the geographical entity encompassed in the term "Lombardy" (fig. 1). Lombardia, a major region in north central Italy, derives its name from the early medieval "Longobardia," which referred to the broad swath of the upper peninsula that was dominated by the Longobards (as opposed to the area known as "Romania," under Byzantine rule). The region's current borders, set at the time of Italian unification in the nineteenth century, are now firm and comprise the cities of Milan, Varese, Como, Pavia, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Mantua. These, excluding Mantua (dominated by the courtly culture of the Gonzaga family), are the subject of this exhibition. The artists included in our sweeping overview were all active in these artistic centers. However, during the Renaissance, "Lombardy" would have been considered a more elastic term, not necessarily determined by political divisions, which tended to change. Parma, for example (now in the region of Emilia-Romagna), was part of the duchy of Milan—and hence Lombardy—until 1545, when the duchy of Parma and Piacenza was created by the Farnese family. Nonetheless, as we have seen, Agucchi (writing long after 1545) classified Correggio as a Lombard artist, although he was born in a small town near Parma and was primarily active in that larger center. Even Bologna, part of the Papal States from 1506, could be considered part of Lombardy. Likewise, artists from the Venetian-ruled cities of Brescia and Bergamo would often be categorized as Lombard (see pages 105–6 in this volume). In the present essay, this larger geographic area will be considered.

This blurring of boundaries led Giorgio Vasari to lump together artists working in Ferrara, Modena, Parma, Mantua, Cremona, Milan, and Brescia in a chapter of his magisterial *Vite* (Lives of the artists, 1550/1568) entitled "The Ferrarese Artists

Benvenuto Garofalo and Girolamo Carpi and Other Lombards."[6] Vasari differentiated all the extensive territory treated in that chapter from the other regions he had visited: Rome, Tuscany, part of the Marches, Umbria, the Romagna, and Venice. With this in mind, it becomes clearer how Ludovico, Agostino, and Annibale Carracci—with family roots in Cremona but born and trained in Bologna—would consider themselves Lombard artists. So would Michelangelo Merisi, known as Caravaggio after his hometown in the diocese of Cremona, east of Milan, despite the fact that he left his native region for Rome while still quite young. As Longhi so aptly put it, Caravaggio arrived in Rome "with the manifesto for his revolutionary realism already in his pocket."[7]

It is well known that Vasari's somewhat cavalier attitude to the "other Lombards," as well as to the artists of Venice, provoked a widespread critical reaction. Chief among the numerous works written by local authors responding to Vasari were Ridolfi's previously cited book on the biographies of Venetian artists, Carlo Cesare Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice* (1678) on the Bolognese, and Alessandro Lamo's *Discorso . . . intorno alla scoltura, e pittura . . .* (1584) on the Cremonese. It is in these books, and in the extensive recorded reaction to the art reforms brought about by the Lombards Caravaggio and the Carracci at the end of the sixteenth century, that the most considered thought was given to defining the particular qualities of the North Italian regional schools of painting.

In examining Lombard painting through the eyes of contemporaries, it must first be acknowledged that Vasari was actually quite perspicacious about much of the painting he saw in Lombardy (in the broader sense, as he understood the region). He singled out "naturalness" as a quality of many of these works, and on at least three occasions implied that it was a defining characteristic of a particular Lombard artist. Thus, an altarpiece by the Brescian Girolamo Romanino was praised for its impressive imitation of "natural things," as were the extremely lifelike heads in the *Conversion of Saint Paul,* a painting by Romanino's compatriot Moretto da Brescia, then at the Mint of Milan. Intriguingly, Vasari also noted a similar quality in the work of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, known as Sodoma (1477–1549), who spent much of his career in Siena but was born and trained in Lombardy. Vasari remarked on Sodoma's facility in painting "natural portraits with the vivid coloring that he learned in Lombardy," attributing this naturalness to the artist's training in northern Italy. Similarly, the biographer reported that when the Ferrarese artist Garofalo (Benvenuto Tisi, 1476?–1559) went to Rome, he cursed his fate at having been hitherto exposed only to the Lombard manner of painting; Vasari went on, however, to express the consolatory thought that Garofalo was expert at "painting naturally and from life every detail, like those who know the correct way of imitating and observing nature." Finally, when Vasari spoke of Correggio—to his eyes the first in Lombardy to paint in the *maniera moderna*—and the impact that he had on others, it was always to stress the combination of beauty and naturalness (*vago e naturale*) in his art.[8]

Beyond these evocative but rather vague characterizations, Vasari identified two more specific areas in Lombard painting in which naturalism was preeminent: landscape and portraiture. The first was exemplified for him by the work of Bernardino Marchiselli, called Bernazzano (1492–1522), the painter of the marvelous landscape in the great *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 2), executed about 1520 in collaboration with one of Leonardo's most distinctive followers in Milan, Cesare da Sesto. Bernazzano's landscape, with its panoramic view of mountains and rivers, was very much inspired by Flemish examples (and indeed, until recently, the Milanese Bernazzano was thought

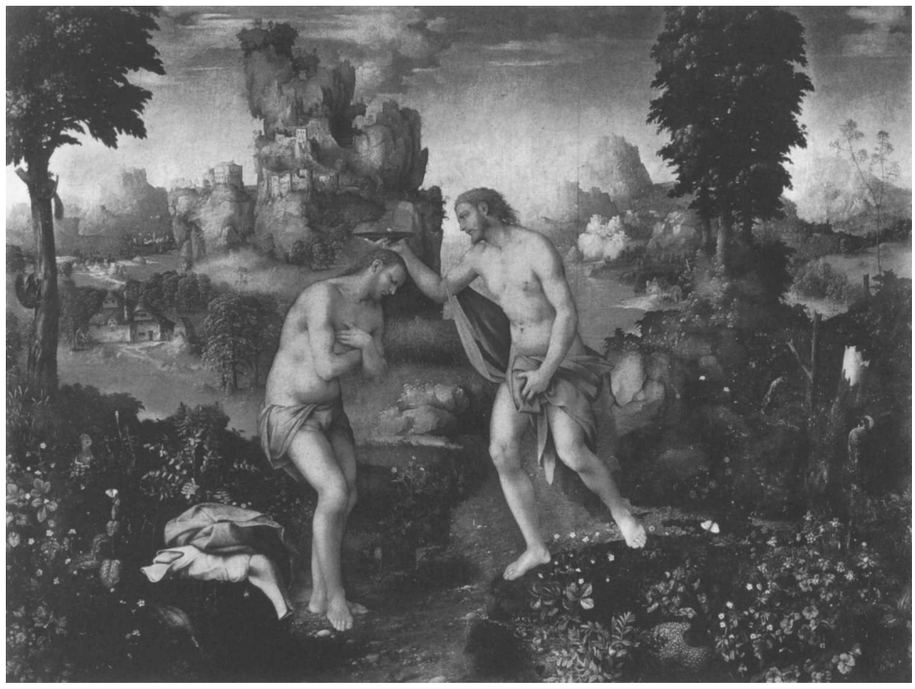

Fig. 2
CESARE DA SESTO (1477–1523) and BERNAZZANO (1492–1522)
The Baptism of Christ, ca. 1520
Oil on panel, 6 ft. 6 in. × 8 ft. 7¼ in. (198 × 262 cm)
Collezione Gallarati Scotti, Milan

to have been a Fleming). It was as a painter of "landscapes, grasses and animals" that Vasari knew Bernazzano, whose frescoed landscapes in a courtyard in Milan he had heard to be of particular beauty. Although Vasari had not seen these, he related an anecdote about them that draws on a well-known stock theme employed by ancient writers on painting. In these landscapes by Bernazzano, there was a field of strawberry plants—"ripe, green and in flower"—that were so attractive to some peacocks that the birds actually tried to peck at them, leaving holes in the plaster of the wall.[9] Pliny, of course, had told a similar story in his *Natural History* (35.36) about Zeuxis' painting such convincing bunches of grapes that birds attempted to eat them.

The connection between Zeuxis and his grapes and Bernazzano and his strawberries is made even more explicitly by the Milanese painter and author Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1592) in his *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura, scultura, ed architettura* (Treatise on the art of painting, sculpture, and architecture), published in 1584. A chapter entitled "The Virtue of Color" begins with Pliny's account, then repeats Vasari's. Next, extending the story line to consider the landscape of the *Baptism,* Lomazzo singles out the wonderfully painted birds, "so natural, that when the painting was placed outside in the sun, some birds flew around it believing them to be alive and real." In all these accounts, the illusionism of naturalistic details is thought to be so complete that the real and the imagined can no longer be distinguished. It is particularly striking that both Vasari and Lomazzo, in identifying Bernazzano as an exemplar of such realism, selected an artist from Leonardo's circle in Milan who would have known the master's nature studies (fig. 3). Lomazzo also made another crucial point for the North Italian context when he noted that Bernazzano's use of color was the factor that enabled the artist to depict things "as if they were real."[10] Vasari may have deliberately chosen to include his short note on Bernazzano at the end of his *vita* of Dosso and Battista Dossi, two brothers active from about 1514 at the court of Duke Alfonso I of Ferrara. Vasari greatly appreciated Dosso's lush and

painterly landscape style (much inspired by Titian), saying that it was considered the finest in all Lombardy,[11] and it was certainly the ability to paint landscape that brought the two together in his mind.

The most telling expression of the importance of landscape painting in northern Italy may be found in the *Dialogo di pittura* written by the Venetian artist Paolo Pino in 1548. Pino's description of the "poetry" of painting includes a long passage devoted to landscape, stating that it should make the viewer not only believe in but "see the sky adorned by the Sun, the Moon and the stars, the rain and snow, the fog caused by winds, water and land. It makes you take pleasure in the variety of the spring, the beauty of the summer, and shrink back from the representation of the cold and the humid autumn season."[12] This sensitivity to the evocation of atmospheric conditions was an abiding concern for Venetian painters—think of Giorgione's *Tempest*. However, Pino's greatest admiration is reserved for the landscape painting of Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, a Brescian who worked in Venice but was closely attuned to Lombard and Flemish art. In a passage beginning with a discussion of the "imitatione del naturale" (imitation of nature) and then returning to the subject of depicting landscape, Pino speaks of the strengths of the Flemish in that area and the beauty of Titian's landscapes. He then adds, "Messer Gierolamo of Brescia [Savoldo] was most learned in this aspect, and some sunrises could be seen from his hand with reflections of the sun and certain shadows, and with a thousand most rare and ingenious descriptions. These effects gave an even truer image in his hands than [in those of] the Flemish" (fig. 4).[13] Thus Pino progresses from a general admiration for skillful painted landscapes to praise for the truthfulness of Savoldo's depictions, which was achieved by an uncommon attention to the effects of light. Indeed, many contemporaries were fascinated by Savoldo's use of light and especially admired him as a painter of nocturnes. Vasari saw a Nativity in a Venetian collection that had a "very lovely effect of light," and in the next century Ridolfi mentioned a "nocturne capriccio of half figures in which we observe several reflections produced by one light."[14]

During the trip that Vasari made to northern Italy in 1566 in preparation for the second edition of the *Vite,* he seems to have been particularly impressed by his

Fig. 3
LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)
Spray of Blackberries
(detail of cat. no. 16D)

Fig. 4
GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO (active by 1506, d. 1548)
Saint Jerome, ca. 1527
Oil on canvas, 78 × 87 in. (198 × 221 cm)
National Gallery, London
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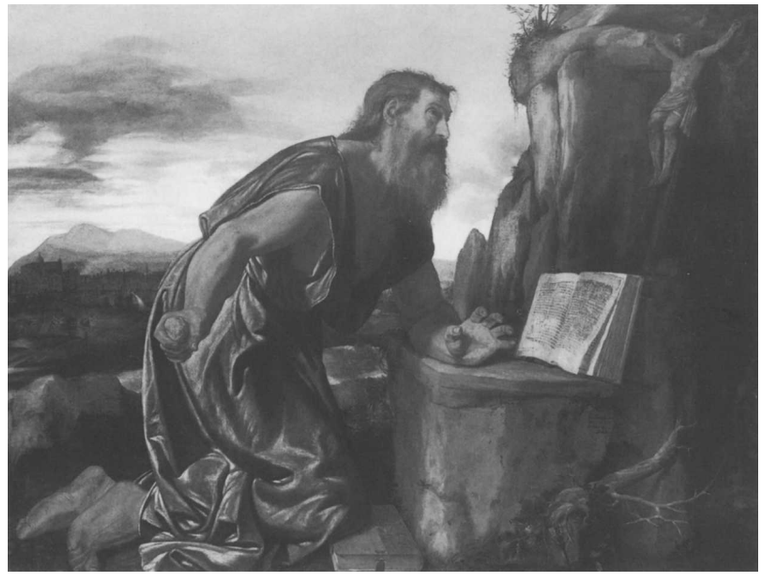


meeting with the Anguissola family in Cremona, a number of whom were prominent portraitists. Members of the Cremonese nobility, Amilcare Anguissola and his wife, Bianca Ponzoni, had six daughters and a son, who were given an artistic education; the most talented of them was the gifted Sofonisba. Vasari was enchanted by this unusual family and gave his full attention when he was able to see any of their works. Sofonisba's earliest works were generally portraits of her immediate circle, the kind of subject typically approved for a woman trained to be an artist. Two of her great family portraits are extant, and Vasari described both of them. The first shows three of her sisters playing chess, with an elderly housemaid looking on (fig. 5; cat. no. 55); the second portrays her father seated with her sister Minerva and her brother, Asdrubale (Nivaagaards Malerisamling, Nivå, Denmark). Struck by their naturalism, Vasari resorted to expressions often employed to convey that quality to the reader. Of the first he said, "They seemed truly alive, and nothing was lacking in them except speech," and of the second, "This also was so well done that they seemed to breathe and to be extremely alive."[15]

Later authors were equally taken with these paintings and characterized them in a similar manner. For example, because *The Chess Players* belonged to Fulvio Orsini and then to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, important collectors in Rome, it was known to the biographer Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697), who wrote of it in the late seventeenth century. Baldinucci was interested in how Sofonisba had combined portraiture and narrative in the same composition, and he reiterated that the figures "seemed truly alive."[16] Lomazzo, who was also aware of his contemporary's work, spoke more generally of the qualities of her portraits in the *Sogni e ragionamento...*, a book probably written in the 1560s. Admiring their combination of verisimilitude and art, he made an interesting connection between them and the portraits of Titian.[17]

Lomazzo's realization that art and nature are combined in Sofonisba's work is indeed relevant to Titian's own views of art, and importantly it provides a counterpoint to the Venetian painter's remark about Moroni, her contemporary in nearby Bergamo, in whose work he found only "nature." Despite the positive spin that a later Bergamasque biographer, Francesco Maria Tassi (1716–1782), would put on the anecdote (see page 109 in this volume), it is clear that Titian cannot have meant to be entirely complimentary to Moroni. He himself would never have painted a likeness that did not go beyond nature, and his ironic tone forces us to be aware that

Fig. 5
SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
(ca. 1532–1625)
The Chess Players
(cat. no. 55)

Fig. 6
GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
(1520/24–1578)
Abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova
(detail of cat. no. 36)

the perceived "naturalness" of some Lombard painting could be seen as a limitation as well as a strength.

The distinction drawn between art and nature, and the degree in which they should be combined, is a core issue of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art theory and of central importance to the artists under review here. Returning to Moroni and Sofonisba Anguissola, one sees how complex this dichotomy could become. Moroni would seem to have been determined to cling to "nature" alone in his unforgiving portrait of the elderly Abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova, dated 1557 (fig. 6; cat. no. 36). This noble Bergamasque woman, who founded a Carmelite convent in the town of Albino, is painted in an unidealized fashion, true in its depiction of her outward appearance (Berenson noted her "superbe laideur," while Italian descriptions have focused on her goiter). In his decision to paint her this way, Moroni would certainly have been carrying out the sitter's wishes, as details of her biography make clear. Not only did the abbess found a convent following her early widowhood, but this institution, Sant'Anna, was run in a strict enough fashion to be one of the few in Bergamasque territory to escape censure during the pastoral visit of Cardinal-Archbishop Carlo Borromeo in 1575. The prelate's disquiet at the lax life and general disorganization of many of the other local monasteries and convents led to an order that they find new quarters in the city, where they could be more closely supervised.[18] Clearly, the rigor and sobriety of the revered founder of Sant'Anna held weight even beyond her death.

The austerity of Abbess Lucrezia's portrait therefore reflects current religious and societal concerns, to which Moroni was quite sensitive. For example, a Madonna and Child by Giovanni Bellini, probably from the 1480s (fig. 7), that belonged to the abbess was used by him as the inspiration for a painting executed for a neighboring church (fig. 8). Moroni's divergences from the Bellini, with its tender rapport between mother and child and extensive, light-filled landscape, are remarkable. Moroni's two figures sit more rigidly, and the Madonna looks out at the viewer rather than at the Child. The figures are set in an unornamented, austerely architectural niche, and the whole is less overtly beautiful, more somber, and more focused on the figures as devotional images. The sobriety and manifestly devotional character are important reminders of how greatly the teachings of the Council of Trent (1545–63), and of the Catholic reform movements that led up to it, affected painters such as Moroni, who was one of the principal artists active in Trent during the Council (see cat. no. 35). Lucrezia's likeness would have satisfied the requirements for portraiture put forward by Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, who wrote a treatise elaborating on the Council's decrees on art. Paleotti's belief that the only people who should be represented in portraiture were those whose "moral goodness or Christian saintliness would be an incitement to virtue" was hardly a prescription for idealization or sensuality.[19]

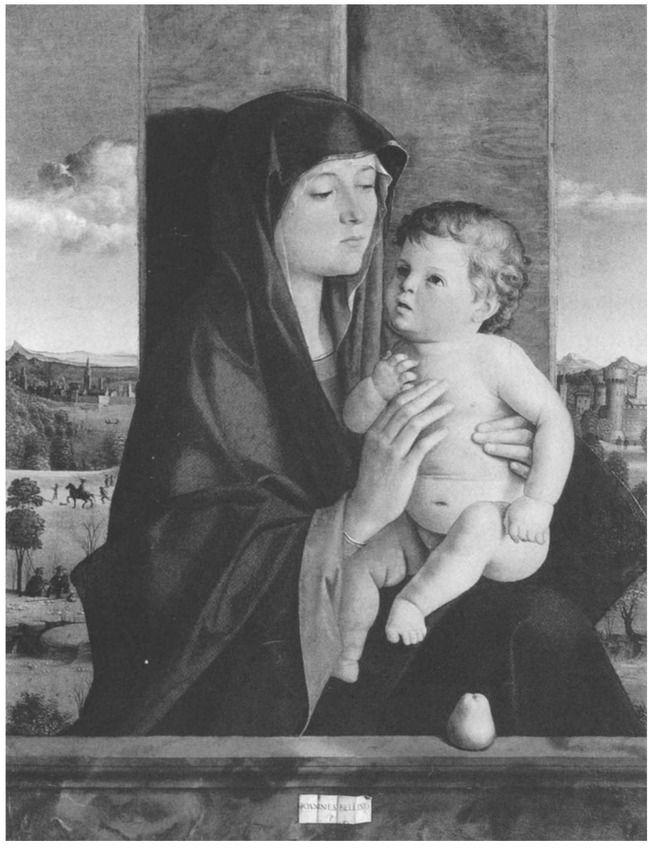
Despite all this, it would be unfair to see Lucrezia's portrait as lacking in art. Although simple and almost monochromatic, Moroni's image is remarkably elegant and subtle. There is a deliberate reference to classical form in the *tabula ansata* attached to the ledge in front of the sitter, and the delicate lettering of the inscription appears against a mottled marble backdrop. As in so many Brescian paintings, the tonality is cool, built around a medley of grays with innumerable transitions in tone throughout the background and fictive stonework. Above all, the light coming in and bisecting the back wall (a motif that was to become Caravaggio's trademark) is used to animate

the abbess's face, sympathetically capturing her inward gaze. Moroni filters nature even more decisively in the full-length portrait of Gian Lodovico Madruzzo (cat. no. 35), with its marked formality and its references to earlier works of art, both German and Italian. In fact, none of Moroni's works merely replicate what the artist saw before him. Nonetheless, we can readily understand why Longhi would have wanted the portrait of Abbess Lucrezia for his exhibition of realist painters in Lombardy. Stressing its rare qualities, he reminded his viewers that they should not forget that "this fidelity to the human 'document' in all its variety was unique in its time, when portraits were usually of a rhetorical and changeable stamp; as in the coldly encomiastic Medicean portraits by the Tuscan 'mannerists,' or the sumptuously burning praise of the Titianesque or Venetian courtly portrait."[20]

A further consideration of Sofonisba's accomplishments leads in a somewhat different direction. As we have seen, Vasari praised the naturalness of her portraits, and Lomazzo their combination of nature and art. But another admirer—no less than Michelangelo—recognized a different quality: the expressive potential of her portraiture and genre subjects. The artist was first brought to Michelangelo's attention by her father, who worked hard at promoting her work. The two surviving letters that Amilcare wrote in 1557 and 1558 to the great Florentine artist suggest that the two had an even more extensive connection and that Michelangelo had been given one of Sofonisba's drawings.[21] In 1562 Michelangelo's great friend Tommaso Cavalieri sent another of her drawings to Cosimo I de' Medici. As reported by Vasari, this work had the same subject as the famous sheet now in Naples (cat. no. 92), "a young girl who laughs at a boy who cries, because, having put a bucket full of shrimp in

Fig. 7
GIOVANNI BELLINI
(1431/36?–1516)
Madonna of the Pear (Morelli Madonna), ca. 1488
Oil on panel, 33¼ × 25¾ in. (84.3 × 65.5 cm)
Gallerie dell'Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

Fig. 8
GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
(1520/24–1578)
Madonna and Child, 1567
Oil on canvas, 43¼ × 34⅝ in. (110 × 88 cm)
Private collection, Brescia



front of him, one of them had bitten his finger."[22] In the letter that accompanied the drawing, Cavalieri described Michelangelo's part in its genesis. After seeing a drawing by Sofonisba in which a young person was shown laughing, he remarked "that he would have wanted to see a boy crying, which was much more difficult, and having written this, she sent him a portrait of her brother, whom she had studiously made cry."[23] This drawing, Cavalieri added, was not just beautiful but showed powers of invention.

As Mina Gregori has emphasized, this incident demonstrates, first, that Sofonisba's work was appreciated for more than its verisimilitude—indeed, was valued for an aspect central to the Florentine tradition, *invenzione,* or invention.[24] Second, Michelangelo's comments touch on the matter of expressivity and on the difficulty of describing states of emotion (crying being even more difficult than laughing). The importance to an artist of being able to describe states of mind, even extreme ones, was a crucial part of Leonardo's legacy to painting in Milan and Lombardy (see page 17 below). In Sofonisba's work, that ability appears in a powerful synthesis with a gift for observing and capturing the appearance of her sitters. Along with children in more extreme emotional states, her paintings include happy, engaging youths, as in *The Chess Players,* which depicts her sister Europa standing behind the players and smiling. This kind of expressivity was integral to the early genre paintings that began appearing in Lombardy at least as early as Bernardino Luini, whose *Boy with a Puzzle* (fig. 9), painted before 1532, shows a smiling child, whose gaze engages the viewer as he demonstrates the workings of a toy. Most significantly, the same combination of careful observation and the depiction of visible states of emotion came to the fore in several directly related paintings, ranging from Vincenzo Campi's *Fish Sellers* (cat. no. 59), in which a small boy's hand is being pinched, to Annibale Carracci's *Two Children Teasing a Cat* (fig. 10; cat. no. 69). In the latter, two children maliciously hold a crayfish over a cat's ear; both smile now, but the animal's retribution will probably be swift. The great success of the picture lies both in its keen observation of the young models—the flow of light over their hands, the swiftly painted white collars—and in the sense of narrative potential achieved through action, gesture, and facial expression.

The burgeoning awareness that the naturalism of the Lombard school of painting contributed to its distinctive character was expressed in a more systematic way by seventeenth-century writers. This issue was of concern primarily because the authors were trying to make sense of the great changes brought about by Caravaggio and the Carracci in the 1580s and 1590s. In some cases, as previously noted, they were defending their own traditions against the hegemony of Florence and Rome. In others, the heritage of Lombardy—*tutto soggetto al naturale* (completely subject to nature)—seems to be criticized, especially as manifest in the work of Caravaggio.[25]

The seeds of this revolution were initially sown when the Carracci themselves, but also numerous other artists from central Italy and elsewhere, began to make serious study trips north of the Apennines. To be fair, the principal goal of these trips was immersion in the art of Veronese in Venice and of Correggio in Parma. For the Carracci these travels were explicitly—indeed famously—part of a deliberate program aimed at studying selected artists active in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Various authors also report that the Sienese artists Ventura Salimbeni (1568–1613) and Francesco Vanni (1563–1610) similarly went to Lombardy to study and to perfect their art, as did the Florentine Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613) and Jusepe de Ribera

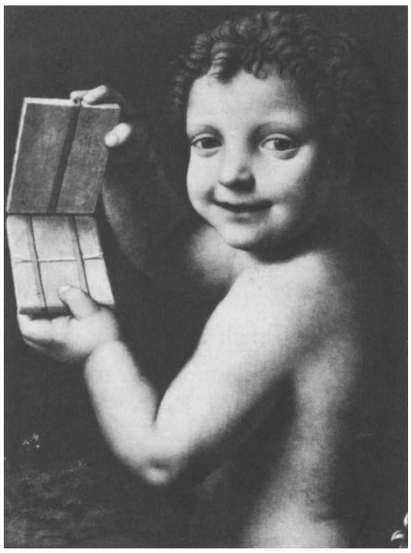


Fig. 9
BERNARDINO LUINI
(ca. 1480/85–1532)
Boy with a Puzzle, 1520s
Oil on panel, 26 × 20 in.
(66 × 50.8 cm)
Elton Hall Collection,
Peterborough, England

Fig. 10
ANNIBALE CARRACCI
(1560–1609)
Two Children Teasing a Cat
(detail of cat. no. 69)

(1591–1652), a Spaniard who had settled in Rome. From Correggio they hoped to learn to emulate Lombard *colore* (probably seen by them as relating to Leonardo's legacy in northern Italy, in both his paintings and writings), as well as to introduce what Malvasia called "a certain Lombard softness and fleshiness" into their works.[26] Venetian painting also left its mark on these artists, and possibly on Caravaggio. The biographer Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643) reported that before coming to Rome Caravaggio traveled to Venice and that his earliest works had soft shadows and tones that made them seem almost Giorgionesque.[27] (The artist and writer Federico Zuccari famously said of Caravaggio's paintings of Saint Matthew in the Contarelli Chapel that there was nothing new in them, as they were in the manner of Giorgione.) These remarks reveal that a broad range of North Italian artists were seen to possess affinities in color and tonal painting that imparted a soft, natural appearance to their works.

According to some observers, it was not necessary to venture beyond this North Italian field of study—certainly not as far as Rome—to become a good painter. Malvasia makes this point quite assertively: "One can become a good painter even though he has not studied in that city [Rome], having contented himself with only the paintings of Lombardy, Venice, and other places, despite the fact that Vasari many times in his Lives would like to persuade us of the contrary."[28] Malvasia's polemical stance, directed against Vasari, emphasized that his region, Bologna, had its own traditions and its own area of excellence. The heroes of the biographer's *Felsina pittrice,* Ludovico and Annibale Carracci, introduced complex reforms in painting during the 1580s, but these lie in great part outside the boundaries of this study. However, both Malvasia's attempt to characterize regional style and his discussion of the Carracci's early struggles are relevant here. For example, he was well aware of a certain "inerudite Lombard simplicity" found in the work of some local artists. Ludovico himself had questioned

this manner of painting, along with the "statuette-like style," a term Malvasia coined to describe the Mannerist artists then active in Bologna.[29] Malvasia was probably thinking of specific artists in his use of the first phrase, one of whom may have been Bartolomeo Passarotti (1529–1592), whose comic genre scenes are an important parallel development to the works in this exhibition.

At the same time, as Malvasia tells us, the Carracci themselves were accused early in their careers of presenting serious subjects in a "low and trivial" manner. It is worth quoting him more fully on these early professional snubs, which shed light on contemporary responses to the remarkable naturalism of the works emerging from the Carracci studio. Any inexperienced painter, so these critics said, "could very easily get some porter to pose in the nude or with a piece of drapery, and then just reproduce him directly on the canvas, and so with a small endowment of imagination gain much acclaim among those with little understanding of art; that this was a style to use in a life class not in an altarpiece."[30] Somewhat later, Agostino Carracci is said to have remarked to his cousin Ludovico, "Let's hope to God that in our way of painting, which is so attached to nature, we aren't making some terrible blunder."[31]

In his exasperated annotations to Vasari's text, Annibale Carracci called the Tuscan author ignorant for not understanding that the great artists of the past drew their inspiration directly from nature, and not secondhand by drawing after the antique.[32] As Charles Dempsey has put it, this attachment to nature meant in practice "drawing constantly from the model, in whole or in part, nude or clothed, it meant drawing animals and plants, it meant drawing in the country, drawing lakes, hills, rivers, fields, towns, and mountains, *e insomma ogni cosa creata* [and, in sum, every created thing]."[33] The reputation for naturalism that Annibale took with him to Rome in 1595 (always only partially accurate, and much transformed by him once there) formed part of the broader opinion that that characteristic sprang from his northern "Lombard" origins. Agucchi made this perfectly clear when he said in his treatise that the Carracci used their study tours of Lombardy and Venice to learn to imitate nature at the same level as the great artists who had preceded them there. To Agucchi, Annibale's study of pure nature and the study of other artists working in a naturalistic vein were comparable.[34]

But it was certainly Caravaggio who ratcheted up the polemical impact of naturalistic painting, and whose approach provoked the most vehement reaction. There are many clues suggesting that contemporaries thought of Caravaggio as a Lombard painter, as his professional name would surely have reminded them. Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), the great Roman biographer and antiquarian, began his *vita* of Caravaggio in the *Vite de' pittori . . .* (1672) with a well-known passage comparing the artist to the ancient Greek sculptor Demetrios of Alopeke, who was more interested in imitation than in the beauty of things.[35] The discussion of Caravaggio's earliest years in Lombardy that immediately followed stressed his training in the painting of portraits, as well as a purported trip to Venice, where, Bellori likewise believed, he was deeply influenced by the work of Giorgione, "the purest and simplest in the representation of natural forms with few tints."[36] Caravaggio's first experiences in Rome after his arrival in 1592 were then described. These included his stint as a painter in the extensive *équipe* of the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640), who put him to work painting still-life elements such as flowers and fruits—naturalistic subjects by definition, and just emerging as one of the major genres of painting in Lombardy

(fig. 11). Bellori singled out as an example of a still life by Caravaggio "a carafe of flowers with transparent water and glass and with the reflections of a window of a room";[37] such optical effects are exactly in line with those being sought by Lombard painters. In a portrait by Fede Galizia, for example, the spectacles of the historian Paolo Morigia reflect the windows of the room in which he sits (fig. 12). It was still-life painting that elicited one of Caravaggio's most controversial remarks. According to Vincenzo Giustiniani, a writer and a great collector of the artist's works, Caravaggio insisted that it was as difficult to make a good painting of flowers as it was to make one of figures.[38] This punctured the existing hierarchy of subjects, which had history and sacred drama at its apex, by suggesting that these themes were comparable to still life, the genre Caravaggio was thought to have brought with him from Lombardy.

Bellori's survey of Caravaggio's earliest endeavors is immediately followed by the record of his other highly polemical statement, questioning the importance of copying the paintings of Raphael or antique sculpture and asserting his own reliance on the study of nature alone. Given Bellori's admiration for the antique and for contemporaries working in a classicizing style, such assertions made Caravaggio the antihero of his *Vite*.[39] Bellori's juxtaposition of an account of Caravaggio's early years with a discussion of the artist's theoretical positions was perhaps meant to suggest that these strongly formulated ideas were based on attitudes formed during his training in Milan.

Earlier in the seventeenth century, well before Bellori, other writers had tried to formulate definitions for the various schools of painting in order to understand how Roman art had been transformed before their very eyes. Agucchi, whose classification of the four schools of painting began this essay, greatly influenced Bellori. For Agucchi, the issue arose out of his admiration for Annibale Carracci and for the Bolognese artist Domenichino, a student from the Carracci academy who became a member of Agucchi's household in 1604. Although Agucchi was one of the first to articulate the classicizing theory of the "bello ideale" (ideal beauty), he also recognized in the artists whom he esteemed the fundamental importance of their early experiences in Lombardy, with its naturalism and "colorito Lombardo" (Lombard color).[40] Naturalism was acceptable to that extent, but Agucchi flinched at what he perceived as Caravaggio's uncompromising stance on the subject. It was in a critical spirit that he compared Caravaggio to the sculptor Demetrios, whose realism had been described and condemned by Quintilian, among others. Caravaggio, according to Agucchi, "left behind the Idea of beauty, [being] inclined to following similitude completely" (fig. 13).[41] Instead, Agucchi argued vehemently for painting that brought together nature and ideal beauty, believing that the Bolognese artists working in Rome had achieved that goal. His division of the painters of Italy into regional schools (for which he had an ancient precedent in Pliny) allowed that the peninsula was "plurilingual," with each region contributing in its own artistic language, and that these could be unified to create a national language in the hands of certain great talents, such as Annibale.[42]

Another author who dealt with these issues from the vantage point of Rome in the first decades of the seventeenth century was the Sienese doctor Giulio Mancini (1558–1630). Writing as an amateur, Mancini collected material for two books on art, partly to protest Vasari's limited scope but also to extend the field of biographical study beyond the mid-sixteenth century and to be of assistance to collectors (he wrote very interestingly on where to hang paintings). His *Alcune considerazioni appartenenti alla pittura…* (written about 1617–21, but circulated only in manuscript) contains both

individual biographies and a classification of four schools of contemporary painting. These are divided by style rather than by region, with each headed by a leading personality; not surprisingly, one was led by Caravaggio, another by the Carracci.[43]

Caravaggio's manner of painting is defined in the *Alcune considerazioni* by its habitual use of a specific system of lighting (deriving from one source high above the figures and bisecting the back wall of the room in which they are posed) and by its reliance on studio models, which the painter always kept before him as he worked. Although Mancini did not suggest that these traits were associated with Caravaggio's training in Lombardy, he did cite one of the artist's earliest genre paintings, the *Buona Ventura* (*Fortune Teller*; Musée du Louvre, Paris), as an example of the finest product of the school led by Caravaggio. Furthermore, from our own vantage point, we know that Caravaggio saw paintings with a similar system of illumination before arriving in Rome, most notably Moretto's affecting *Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee* in Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia (fig. 15).

Conversely, Mancini's discussion of the Carracci revolves around the regional characteristics they brought to their work. He says of them that they "joined together the manner of Raphael with that of Lombardy, in that seeing nature they mastered it, took the best from it, leaving the worst, bettered it, and with natural light gave it color and shadow with movement and grace."[44] Thus, for those who were in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century, and caught up in the remarkable artistic events of those decades, Lombard naturalism was seen as one of the key elements, arriving there in the "pockets" of the revolutionaries.

Fig. 11
FEDE GALIZIA (1578–1630)
Crystal Fruit Stand with Peaches, Quinces, and Jasmine Flowers
(detail of cat. no. 77)

Fig. 12
FEDE GALIZIA (1578–1630)
Portrait of Paolo Morigia
(detail of cat. no. 74)

What was said in Milan itself of the qualities of Lombard painting? Of course, within that great capital city and its territory, artists moved in many directions, and no definition could encompass them all, especially over a long period of time. Certainly, Lombard artists were considered to have particular expertise in certain areas, including the study of perspective, for which artists such as Bramantino, working in the early sixteenth century, were lauded.[45] But overall, diversity and breadth of interest and influence were the norm.

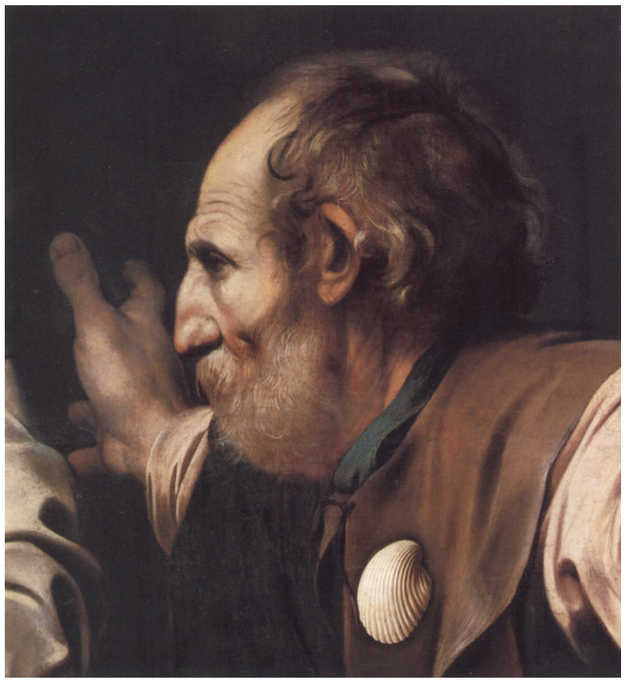


Fig. 13
CARAVAGGIO
(1571–1610)
The Supper at Emmaus
(detail of cat. no. 66)

Lomazzo's writings make this clear. After his career as a painter in Milan was sidelined in 1571 by encroaching blindness, he devoted the later decades of his life to his writings, which were often maddeningly prolix and complex. Of these the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* and the *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1590) were probably the most influential, but others, such as the enigmatic *Rabisch* (1589), are also significant to our discussion (see pages 18–19 below). Since Lomazzo set out to write about the principles of art, not about artists' lives, much of his work has a more abstract and theoretical character than that of the other authors examined here. Nonetheless, his writings are a good guide to the theories of painting that circulated in Milan in the latter half of the sixteenth century, especially since he was a leading figure of the artistic community and close to most of the other painters of his generation. Here I will address only those aspects of his thought that pertain to the traditions of Lombard painting and naturalism.

One author has called Lomazzo a "relativist," for he was able to find merit and distinction in an impressively wide range of artists and styles.[46] His overriding metaphor was that of a "temple" of painting, supported by seven columns of art "governors": Michelangelo, Leonardo, Titian, Mantegna, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Raphael, and Polidoro da Caravaggio. Each is associated with a different planet (there is an astrological base to some of his theory) and a different characteristic: in turn, drawing, light, color, perspective, expression, grace, and force. The selection covers the entire geographical gamut of Italian art, ranging from the Piedmontese artist Gaudenzio, who was active mostly in Lombardy, through Venetians, Florentines, and others, and ending with a Lombard artist active in southern Italy (see cat. no. 21A–D). Lomazzo also wrote eloquently of how four artists—Michelangelo, Titian, Raphael, and Correggio—had perfected painting, and thus he may have believed that artists of different regions contributed equally, although distinctively. It is quite possible that this idea was of inspiration to the Carracci, who hoped to combine the qualities of these geographically diverse masters in their art.

Especially revealing is Lomazzo's commendation of the work of the local artist Gaudenzio for its "expressivity." Indeed, one of the principal threads running through his writings is an emphasis on the representation of motion (*moti*) of all kinds, above all motions of the soul—what Lomazzo called "moti delle passioni dell'animo." By this term he meant the visible manifestation of emotions that could be captured in paint (in his systematic way Lomazzo lists eleven of these, ranging from love and hate to fear and anger). This topic had been much discussed by Leonardo in his writings, where he elaborated on the statement, "That figure is most praiseworthy which best expresses through its actions the passion of its mind."[47] Its striking revival later in the century indicates both how important Leonardo was to Lomazzo's theories and how relevant he continued to be for Milanese artists of the following generations. Lomazzo cited as his principal example of the "moti delle passioni degli animi" the apostles in Leonardo's *Last Supper,* whose facial features and gestures were copied by countless followers seeking to understand these effects (cat. no. 19A–J). Likewise, he specifically praised one of the *leonardeschi,* Cesare da Sesto, for his ability to graphically represent all the *moti* that were so important for a subject's true representation.[48]

Lomazzo believed that the expression of the *moti,* including those of the soul, constituted the "spirit and the life of art" and that to capture them the artist had to study from nature. To make this point, he repeated a long anecdote concerning Leonardo's search for a way to capture natural vivacity of movement through the study of the live model in his studio. In this case, what Leonardo wanted to paint was a scene of peasants laughing—a concept later revived in certain images by Vincenzo Campi. Thus Leonardo organized a feast at his studio, at which he told the maddest and most ridiculous stories, making all those present split their sides with laughter. After observing everything carefully, he then went off to make his drawing (significantly, working not directly from the model but from memory). According to Lomazzo, a viewer who apprehended the state of mind of a depicted figure would then share in the experience of that figure. Thus one would laugh with one who laughed, think with one who thought, and feel sorry for one who cried—a theory that Lomazzo drew from an ancient source, the poetry of Horace.[49]

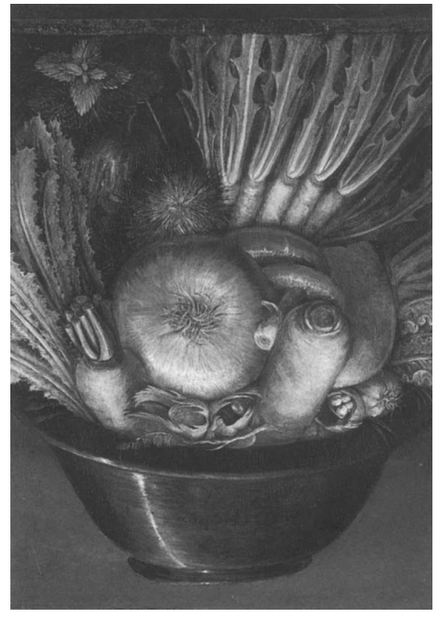
Later, in book six of the *Trattato,* which is dedicated to the practice of painting, Lomazzo tells a related anecdote. Discussing compositions portraying happiness and laughter, he describes at length a lewd and apparently very funny scene involving four louts and a cat said to be painted by Michelino da Besozzo (active 1388–after 1450), whom Lomazzo called one of the great artists of his day. Michelino, who worked principally in Pavia and Milan, was renowned by his contemporaries for his naturalistic paintings of animals and birds; however, Lomazzo's text suggests the wider scope of the artist's naturalistic approach by making a specific connection to a later period. Michelino's laughter-producing composition is linked to the kind of which Leonardo spoke and is even compared to Leonardo's own drawings of "old people, and misshapen male and female boors laughing" (cat. no. 18A,B), which in Lomazzo's day were owned by another Milanese artist, Aurelio Luini.[50] From this we can deduce a constant tradition in Milan, from the early fifteenth through the late sixteenth century, of naturalistic genre scenes that relied for their impact on the power of the artist to suggest the state of mind (often an exaggerated one) of those represented.

There is, indeed, a large body of comic pictures painted in Lombardy, exemplified by the genre scenes of Vincenzo Campi (cat. no. 59), that rely for their effect largely on their sharp observation of everyday life.[51] They are often called "pitture ridicule" (ridiculous paintings), after a passage in Paleotti's treatise that alludes to contemporary comic theory and to Bolognese paintings reflecting it. Although tied to local comedic literature, rarely were these paintings designed merely as bawdy or boisterous jokes. They may have had moralizing overtones, often based on wordplay or proverbs, and to Paleotti and other religious reformers, they were even meant to inspire the Christian viewer to virtue by making vice ridiculous. It seems unlikely that Leonardo, or indeed Lomazzo, would have considered them so didactic.

This seems clear when we return to the drawings that Lomazzo said Luini owned, which were of the type generally now called grotesques (cat. no. 18A,B). These risible creations, whose origins and significance in Leonardo's work have also been analyzed at length, were studied and copied ad infinitum in Milan after the artist's death.[52] Drawings of grotesques did not play a central role in Lomazzo's principal treatises, with their orthodox thinking and emphasis on artistic decorum, or in his commissioned altarpieces and frescoes, but they were of deep inspiration to a whole other, quite separate, side of his life and work. This was his participation in the iconoclastic society known as the Accademia della Val di Blenio (or Vall de Bregn), which offered its members an escape from the sometimes stifling atmosphere of Milan under the strict spiritual guidance of Carlo Borromeo from 1565.[53] Founded in 1560, the academy was made up of artists, craftsmen, writers, and other educated men. Lomazzo became their "Abbot" for life and is represented as such in a self-portrait (cat. no. 82). The academy itself was named for one of the valleys that led through the Alps from Lombardy to Switzerland, and its members pretended to be *facchini,* the porters who did heavy carrying of goods in the region. The academicians spoke and wrote in the obscure dialect of the valley, their most notable publication being *Rabisch,* a collection of verses and texts describing the organization. Having placed themselves under the protection of Bacchus, the group met not in studios or palaces but in *osterie,* or taverns, some fifty-eight of which are described in one of their poems. Because the members of the group recognized its subversive character, they took various precautions to remain anonymous and unknown to the authorities. Nonetheless, few of the members were asked to participate in Borromean projects, and in 1581 Aurelio Luini was actually prohibited by the archbishop from working.[54]

The members of this rather wild and unorthodox group are noteworthy in the current context because of the aspects of art they appreciated and fostered, namely, the more casual and natural side of Leonardo's work, and above all the comic and grotesque. Beyond this, as Francesco Porzio has pointed out, their entire organization set out to collapse the distance between the elevated and the lowly or uncultivated, as when, for example, these artists and writers posed as porters. As a result, they insisted on the intrinsic merit of subjects and genres that were simple and tied to real life.[55] Their very use of the term "Rabisch," dialect for "arabesque," for the collection of writings about themselves must allude to the meaning it had for painters, namely, "bizarre garlands of leaves, flowers, fruits and animals."[56] The word would conjure up the natural world, the less serious margins of a work of art, and the play of fantasy that helps artists create such "arabesques." It is not at all a leap from a *Rabisch* to Giuseppe Arcimboldi's *Vegetable Gardener* (fig. 14; cat. no. 56), which functions

Fig. 14
GIUSEPPE ARCIMBOLDI
(1527?–1593)
The Vegetable Gardener (L'Ortolano)
(cat. no. 56)



compositionally turned right side up or upside down; in addition, Leonardo's studies of physiognomy and the grotesque also influenced Arcimboldi's approach to drawing and painting.[57]

When Longhi and his colleagues chose paintings for their 1953 Milan exhibition, the selection was dominated by portraits, still lifes, and genre paintings. The main body of the show opened with portraits by Moroni ("so real, simple, documentary as to communicate the sense of having known the sitters"),[58] which were followed by portraits by the Bergamasques Carlo Ceresa and Fra' Galgario. Still-life painting was exemplified by the musical canvases of Evaristo Baschenis, also from Bergamo, which Longhi famously compared to "fragment[s] left over from some unknown sacred tragedy by Caravaggio."[59] A significant group of works by Giacomo Ceruti splendidly represented genre painting in Lombardy.

As this essay has suggested, the curators of the present exhibition have cast the net wider when considering the various directions that naturalism took in Lombardy. Thus, we not only cover all the subjects and artists presented by Longhi, but also add several others of importance. The first and third sections of this volume examine the continuing significance of Leonardo's legacy to naturalism in Milan. Among the subjects discussed are nature studies, the transcription of the "movement of the soul" in drawings and paintings, humor and physiognomy, and portraiture and still life. In addition, the impact of Leonardo's optical studies and his notes on reflections and other effects of light is shown to have had a major afterlife in Lombardy. In the second section, devoted to painting in Brescia and Bergamo—for Longhi, the direct precedents to Caravaggio—sacred painting with a strong emphasis on everyday reality is introduced. This theme also remains crucial through the third section, which presents painting in Cremona and Milan in the decades preceding, during, and immediately following Caravaggio's brief career. In this third section, portraiture and still life are the most powerful vehicles of naturalism. In the last section, we return to the "painters of reality" as Longhi perceived them, with a formidable group of portraits and genre scenes. Those by Ceruti, who was active in Milan, Brescia, and Venice, seem to straddle two worlds, one already much closer to the Enlightenment (see the essay by Enrico De Pascale in this volume). In each of these sections, we have selected works that demonstrate the myriad ways in which Lombard artists "imitated nature even more" than the other schools of painting in Italy. In a parallel fashion, I have tried here to show that their contemporaries were aware of this, and to set down the ways in which they expressed their belief that one had to go to Lombardy to see things done "dal naturale."

Notes

1. Ridolfi 1648, p. 131; Tassi 1793, vol. 1, p. 166.
2. For Agucchi's *Trattato della pittura,* see Mahon 1947, pp. 231–77; for his role in the Roman art world, Ginzburg Carignani 1996–97.
3. "la Scuola Romana, della quale sono stati li primi Rafaelle, e Michelangelo, hà seguitata la bellezza delle statue, e si è avvicinata all'artificio degli antichi. Ma i Pittori Vinitiani, e della Marca Trivigiana, il cui capo è Titiano, hanno più tosto imitata la bellezza della natura, che si hà innanzi à gli occhi. Antonio da Correggio il primo de' Lombardi è stato imitatore della natura quasi maggiore, perche l'hà seguitata in un modo tenero, facile, & egualmente nobile, e si è fatta la sua maniera da per se. I Toscani sono stati autori di una maniera diversa dalle gia dette." In Mahon 1947, p. 246. This passage was then quoted in its entirety in Giovanni Bellori's fundamental *Le vite de pittori* (1672). See Mahon 1947, pp. 44–45, n. 19a–19b.
4. "Non si trattava dunque di tracciare una storia esauriente dell'arte di quei secoli, quanto piuttosto di segnalare, all'interno di quella storia, una sorta di filo rosso prezioso e resistente, caraterrizzato da una propensione alla ripresa diretta del dato naturale, da una fedeltà alla verità delle cose." Frangi and Morandotti 2002, p. 20.
5. "una semplicità accostante, una penetrante attenzione, una certa calma fiducia di poter esprimere direttamente, senza mediazioni stilizzanti, la 'realtà' che sta intorno." Longhi 1953, p. 11.
6. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 457–529. I would like to thank Enrico De Pascale for his helpful thoughts on this subject.
7. "col manifesto già in tasca della rivoluzione realistica." Longhi 1953, p. VIII.
8. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 504, 506, 380 ("ritratti di naturale con quella sua maniera di colorito acceso, che egli avea recato di Lombardia"), 461, 464 ("ritrasse dal vivo e naturale ogni minuzia, come quelli che conosceva la diritta essere imitare ed osservare il naturale"), 470.
9. "far paesi, erbe, animali"; "mature, acerbe e fiorite." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, pp. 101–2. On Bernazzano, see Carminati 1998, pp. 310–14.
10. "tanto naturali, che essendo posta quella tavola fuori al sole, alcuni uccelli gli volarono intorno credendoli vivi e veri"; "come se vera fosse." Lomazzo 1584, bk. 3, chap. 1 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 320–21.
11. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 97.
12. "ma vedere il cielo ornato del Sole della Luna, & delle stelle, la pioggia, e neve, le nebie causate da venti, l'acqua, & la terra. Vi fà dilettare nella varietà de prima vera, nella vaghezza dell'estate, et ristringervi alla rappresentatione della fredda, & humida stagion del verno." Pino 1548 (1946 ed.), pp. 86–87.
13. "Messer Gierolemo Bresciano in questa parte era dottissimo, della cui mano vidi già alcune aurore con rifletti del sole, certe oscurità con mille discrittioni ingeniosissime, & rare, le qual cose hanno più vera imagine del proprio, che li Fiamenghi." Ibid., pp. 145–46.
14. "finta di notte, molto bella." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, p. 507. "un capriccio di mezze figure finte di notte, nelle quali osservansi alcuni lumi cagionati da un lume." Ridolfi 1648, p. 255. The latter observation, with its emphasis on Savoldo's manipulation of light, is of great interest, because it suggests that Ridolfi was aware of Savoldo's indebtedness to Leonardo, whose paintings, and perhaps writings, the artist could have known in Milan. I thank Martin Kemp and Marina Wallace for their assistance in translating the passage from Ridolfi.
15. "che paiono veramente vive, e che non manchi loro altro che la parola"; "ed anche questi sono tanto ben fatti, che pare che spirino e sieno vivissimi." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 498–99.
16. "che paiono veramente vive." See Rossana Sacchi in Varese 2002, no. 6.
17. See ibid., no. 7.
18. Belotti, Bravi, and Soglian 1996, vol. 1, p. 116.
19. "le persone le quali o con bontà morale o con santità cristiana potessero essere incitamento alla virtù." See Morandotti 2002a, p. 99.
20. "questa fedeltà al documento umano nelle sue varietà è cosa unica a quei tempi, di solito devoluti a una ritrattistica di stampo retorico e alterante; fosse nella gelida encomiastica del ritratto mediceo dei 'manieristi' toscani, o nella accesa e sontuosa apologetica del ritratto aulico tizianesco e veneziano." Roberto Longhi in Milan 1953, p. 21.
21. Sacchi 1994–95, pp. 364–65.
22. "una fanciullina che si ride di un putto che piagne, perchè avendogli ella messo innanzi un canestrino pieno di gamberi, uno d'essi gli morde un dito." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 81. This is in the *vita* of Properzia de' Rossi, a woman artist from Bologna.
23. "che harebbe voluto vedere un putto che piangesse come cosa molto più difficile, et essendole scritto, lei li mandò questo quale è un ritratto di un suo fratello fatto piangere studiosamente." Sacchi 1994–95, p. 370.
24. Gregori 1994–95, pp. 11–12.
25. Bellori 1672 (1976 ed.), p. 32.
26. "un certo morbido e carnoso lombardo." Malvasia 1678, annotated translation in Summerscale 2000, p. 85 and n. 10. On these artists' trips, see Dempsey 2000b, pp. 7–16, and p. XVII for similar interests among contemporary northern artists and El Greco; pp. 86–87 for the difficulty in correctly understanding the term Lombard *colore*.
27. Baglione 1642, p. 137.
28. Malvasia 1678, annotated translation in Summerscale 2000, p. 84.
29. Ibid., p. 85, n. 9.
30. Ibid., p. 92.
31. Ibid., p. 114.
32. G. Perini 1990, p. 161; Dempsey 2000a, p. 199.
33. Dempsey 2000b, p. 48.
34. Agucchi in Mahon 1947, p. 248.
35. The earlier years of Caravaggio's life are discussed in Bellori 1672 (1976 ed.), pp. 211–14. Agucchi made the same comparison to Demetrios; see Agucchi in Mahon 1947, p. 257.
36. "il piú puro e 'l piú semplice nel rappresentare con poche tinte le forme naturali." Bellori 1672 (1976 ed.), p. 213.
37. "una caraffa di fiori con le trasparenze dell'acqua e del vetro e coi riflessi della fenestra d'una camera." Ibid. The complex development of independent still-life painting in Lombardy is discussed throughout this catalogue; see especially cat. nos. 62, 73, and 77–80. For a further discussion, see Alessandro Morandotti in Colorno 2000 and Milan 1999–2000.

38. Giustiniani ca. 1620 (1981 ed.), p. 42.
39. Dempsey 2000c, p. 101.
40. Ginzburg Carignani 1996–97, pp. 125–26.
41. "hà lasciato indietro l'Idea della bellezza, disposto di seguire del tutto la similitudine." Agucchi in Mahon 1947, p. 257. Lomazzo also criticized Demetrios as a painter of portraits, saying, in a chapter on portraiture that Demetrios could not accept the dissimulation necessary for a fine portrait, being more "curious to represent likeness rather than beauty" ("più curioso di rappresentar la simiglianza che la bellezza"). Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 51 (1844 ed.), vol. 2, p. 371.
42. Ginzburg Carignani 1996–97, p. 126.
43. Mancini ca. 1617–21 (1956 ed.), pp. 108–10. The third school is headed by the Cavaliere d'Arpino, and the last contains a group of heterogeneous artists.
44. "hanno congionto insieme la maniera di Raffaello con quella di Lombardia, perchè vede il naturale, lo possiede, ne piglia il buono, lascia il cattivo, lo migliora, e con lume naturale gli dà il colore e l'ombra con le movenze e gratie." Ibid., p. 109.
45. Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 13 (1844 ed.), vol. 2, pp. 133, 135, in which he calls the Lombard painters the greatest modern masters in perspective.
46. Porzio 1998, p. 29.
47. Leonardo 2001, p. 144, no. 390.
48. Lomazzo 1584, bk. 2, chap. 3 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 186–88: "Delle passioni dell'animo, loro origine, e differenza" (Of the passions of the soul, their origins, and difference); bk. 2, chap. 2 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, p. 183, for the "passioni degli animi" of the apostles in the *Last Supper*; and bk. 2, chap. 1 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, p. 177, for Cesare da Sesto.
49. Lomazzo 1584, bk. 2, chap. 2 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, p. 178, "lo spirito, e la vita dell'arte"; bk. 2, chap. 2 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, p. 176, for the anecdote about Leonardo; and bk. 2, chap. 1 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, p. 173, for the quotation from Horace's *De arte poetica*.
50. Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 33 (1844 ed.), vol. 2, pp. 221–24: "Composizioni delle allegrezze, e risi" (Compositions of happiness and laughter); and p. 223: "vecchi, e villani e villane deformi che ridessero."
51. See, for example, Wind 1974 and Paliaga 2000–2001, two of the many recent studies of these pictures.
52. See Edinburgh, London 2002–3 and Forcione 2003.
53. See Lugano 1998, the catalogue of an exhibition that has brilliantly brought this group to life.
54. Isella 1998, p. 117.
55. Porzio 1998, p. 26.
56. "bizarre intrecciature di foglie, fiori, frutti, animali." Quoted in Isella 1998, p. 115.
57. Berra 1998, pp. 57ff. Arcimboldi seems never to have belonged to the academy, but he had numerous ties with its members before leaving for Vienna in 1562.
58. "così veri, semplici, documentarî da comunicarci addirittura la certezza di averne conosciuto i modelli." Longhi 1953, p. v.
59. "un frammento residuo di qualche ignota tragedia sacra caravaggesca." Ibid., p. x.

Caravaggio and Lombardy: A Critical Account of the Artist's Formation

MINA GREGORI

MUCH OF EUROPEAN CULTURE has come, although not in a provincial sense, from the regions of Burgundy, Seville, the Danube, and the Île-de-France, and the same is true of the provinces of Lombardy and the Po Valley."[1] Francesco Arcangeli's words, written in 1957, seem to me the most appropriate way to introduce the subject of this exhibition and to convey the breadth and depth of its aims. The works included here reflect the special relationship between the artists from this region and the natural world; while all made their own unique contributions, they also carried forward age-old traditions of art making. The geographical area in which each of these artists worked is easily identified, but their broader relationship with the Po Valley is harder to categorize, at least in terms of the qualities they might have used to define themselves and their part in a common culture. That culture encompassed a broader sense of "Lombardy" that included the Po Valley (see pages 4–5 in this volume), and the people who understood that would, for example, have defined Correggio as a Lombard artist and would have remembered that the Carracci came from Cremona.

It is impossible to discuss the rich history of Europe without considering how much of it derives from specific provinces with their own distinctive characters. Lombardy was an agrarian society of feudal origin, although it also had vibrant and even bellicose cities. These simple roots help to explain the region's essentially empirical sensibility, found in the plainspoken nature of its language, which neither equivocates nor embellishes, and in the sense that life and death run their own measured, inevitable course. Defined in its widest sense to include the Po Valley, Lombardy was able to draw on the culture of the great universities at Pavia and Padua. The academic traditions there were firmly rooted in Aristotelian thinking, despite the repeated incursions of Platonic thought from central Italy. I believe it was precisely these philosophical roots that created a pervasive kinship with physical reality throughout the cities of northern Italy and that had, in turn, a decisive influence on the arts, giving them their unalterable character.

Each of the various cultural centers mentioned above offered innovative ways of seeing art and expressing concepts that could be understood and accepted elsewhere, even in times and places far removed. In judging the cultural legacy of Lombardy and evaluating its impact, one realizes that the growing recognition of the importance of Caravaggio and of his concept of naturalism, both in Italy and Europe, was almost automatically a reflection of the achievements of that province.

CARAVAGGIO, *The Supper at Emmaus* (detail of cat. no. 66)

It is not by chance, then, that the scope of recent research has been significantly broadened to include not only Caravaggio but also his native region. Such work has

both confirmed and extended Roberto Longhi's first steps in that direction, outlined in his famous essay of 1929 entitled "Quesiti caravaggeschi." Longhi's article was preceded by earlier pieces that also pointed in the same direction, including his 1917 article "Cose bresciane del Cinquecento" as well as brief references scattered throughout other texts. Yet it should be said at the outset that Longhi chose not to offer his own analysis or synthesis of the artistic culture of Lombardy; instead, he went to the heart of the matter, guided by a broad interest in art that ranged from Impressionist paintings to Caravaggio, the latter having been the subject of his university thesis in 1911.

As was typical of Longhi's polemical if not tendentious approach to the subjects that interested him, his 1917 and 1929 essays on Caravaggio's predecessors cut through the uncertainties that characterized nineteenth-century criticism—from Alexis-François Rio, who appreciated Moretto da Brescia's work, to Giovanni Morelli and Bernard Berenson, who were incapable of seeing beyond the Brescian painters' perceived dependence on the Venetians. The last position was not entirely unreasonable, since there is no doubt that these artists were introduced to the "maniera moderna" in Venice, where they also learned to use color in a way that distinguished them from other Lombard painters. Longhi also made a clear distinction between Moretto and Savoldo and the painters who were born and worked in Venice.

The chapter Berenson dedicated to the school of Brescia in his *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (1907) is also relevant in this regard. Although his introduction is remarkable for its concise and reasoned observations, it soon becomes generic and unfocused as he draws comparisons with Venetian painters that confuse the points he is trying to make rather than elucidating them. He couples Romanino with his pupil Moretto, whose work he admires although he ascribes its quality to "the genial influences of Venice."[2] He is correct, however, in noting that what most distinguishes Moretto's paintings is the influence of Foppa's dark, silvery-gray tonalities—a remarkable insight based on firsthand observation. Berenson also points out Moretto's inferior draftsmanship and the inconsistent quality of his work. Longhi enthusiastically endorsed the connection between Moretto and Foppa, and he ignored Romanino completely, regarding him as too closely tied to the Venetian manner to be placed among a small group that included Moretto and Savoldo (and later Lotto). Longhi credited Moretto as the leading master of the Brescian school of painting. Unlike Savoldo, who settled in Venice, Moretto, the artistic heir of Foppa (who had returned to Brescia in 1489), stayed in his native city, where he had a number of pupils including Giovanni Battista Moroni, the outstanding painter from Bergamo.

Longhi's 1917 essay began by exploring the appreciation that nineteenth-century writers felt for Moretto. Citing Luigi Lanzi in passing, he then lingered on the observations of Rio, who in his revised and extensively expanded 1861 edition of *De l'art chrétien* defined Moretto as "one of Italy's greatest painters."[3] Rio also noted the artist's distance from the Venetian style and saw in him a "hint of sadness which when it appears in his paintings lends them an inexpressible charm."[4] Writing from a strongly Catholic cultural perspective, Rio also noted Moretto's "calm and noble imagination, a spirit at once tender and serene, and a greater aptitude for meditation than for the intuition of sublime things."[5] Longhi's observations on the Brescian school are expressed in more modern and more visual terms, yet they also seem to echo the French author's moral gravity: "The Brescian school of painting in the early decades

Fig. 15
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee,
ca. 1550–54
Oil on canvas, 81½ × 55⅛ in.
(207 × 140 cm)
Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia

of the sixteenth century was perhaps the most intelligent and inquisitive in northern Italy at that time. Its undeniable interconnectedness and its evident distinction from contemporary Venetian painting, its faithfulness to earlier traditions as well as its ability rapidly to assimilate the new, and its spread throughout nearby territories (sometimes running in its veins was the energy that Lotto was spreading through Italy across an area as individual as his figures) were even more interesting problems that have not been identified until now."[6]

Longhi himself said he agreed with what Lanzi wrote about Moretto in 1809, namely, that after a Titianesque phase the artist "developed a style that was so entirely new and so engaging that certain dilettantes have gone to Brescia just to see and enjoy it . . . ; Moretto's method of using color is surprising for its novelty and effect. Its principal characteristic is a lovely play of relatively small but well-balanced areas of light and dark. He applies himself thus in both his figures and backgrounds, and in the latter he sometimes depicts clouds of similarly opposed colors."[7]

Morelli also noted the same personal, intimate qualities in Moretto's work that Rio had described. The circumstances of this great connoisseur's discovery of the artist, now hard to imagine, are worth recounting. In 1857 Morelli wrote to his friend Nicolò Antinori that he was studying the still unknown Lombard masters; in a letter to Austen Henry Layard in 1865 he stated his particular liking for Moretto, describing him as "an eminent genius" and "one of the purest, most harmonious, and noble painters of the sixteenth century."[8] These conclusions, even phrased in nineteenth-century terms, appear to foreshadow how later scholars would regard aspects of Moretto's mature style (fig. 15). Morelli's conversion (and so it was) to Lombard studies, and to the study of Moretto in particular, came at the same time and with the same sense of fervor with which his friends and correspondents were rediscovering the art of the "Primitives." These were also the people who were

entrusted with acquiring pictures for the National Gallery in London, and the first painting by Moretto they bought was the splendid portrait of a man identified by Pier Virgilio Begni Redona as Count Fortunato Martinengo Cesaresco (cat. no. 33). It entered the National Gallery in 1858 and was followed the next year by the altarpiece the *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint Bernardino and Other Saints*. A year later, the museum acquired the first in a magnificent series of portraits by Moroni, who, after his training with Moretto, worked with him as an associate for several years.

The preceding examination of nineteenth-century criticism, Berenson, and Longhi's early essay on the Brescian painters, and Moretto in particular, clarifies the relationship between the young Longhi and his predecessors. It also demonstrates the ways in which he stands apart from them in his identification of this new field of study in Italian art. Moretto emerges from the 1917 essay as the standard-bearer of the Brescian school, for reasons that now seem clear. Longhi also used his article to lay the foundations for considering Lombardy as a cultural center within a larger European context, an idea that Arcangeli would later develop further.

Longhi's text is particularly important because it spells out its methodology so precisely, drawing a critical distinction between his own approach to studying these artists and that of earlier scholars, for whom "the Brescians were still buried" within the "throng of Titian's followers." In comparing Moretto and Romanino, for example, he based his analysis on "specifically 'visual' differences" rather than on the psychology of the painters, as had formerly been the case.[9] This insistence on innovative visual effects later allowed Longhi, in his "Quesiti caravaggeschi," to intuit how Moretto's "decisive stylistic development led to what would later be Caravaggio's achievement."[10] In the same essay, Longhi noted that Moretto's work foreshadowed the advent of still-life painting as an independent genre, and that the Milanese Ambrogio Bergognone's offered a foretaste of landscape painting. This idea had appeared even earlier, however: in his 1917 text, Longhi characterized this period as one in which such stirrings would develop into independent genres no longer bound by any traditional ties to subject matter. And in fact Longhi's method of analysis proved to be the most appropriate means for a close reading of Caravaggio's work since, in fact, it coincided with the painter's own artistic principles.

Longhi established the direct association between Foppa and Moretto, which Berenson had previously suggested, and then turned his attention from Moretto to Foppa. In formulating the first analysis of Foppa's style and that of his immediate descendants, Longhi offered the connoisseur (and the reader who might aspire to become one) a guide to interpreting the artistic culture that had paved the way for Caravaggio and his new concept of painting—a task no less arduous today than it had been when the artist first appeared, about 1592, in Rome.

The passage in Longhi's 1917 text that defines Foppa's Brescian and Lombard qualities is worthy of a brief examination. Longhi focuses on the artist's fleeting attention to effects of light and (in a seemingly paradoxical affirmation) on his "superior ineptitude at 'composition'" and "extreme indifference, both sweet and harsh, to the 'ideal' construction of form, whether in a linear, plastic or perspectival sense." Foppa preferred "figures that were neither confronted directly, rationally constructed nor symmetrical but rather 'cursive' and created without rules," and his use of light was "uninhibited and accidental."[11] All this suggests

that the artist had very little affinity for the structured world of either Mantegna or the Tuscans.

Other observations that Longhi made concerning the paintings of Moretto and Savoldo also correspond to the approach that might be taken by a connoisseur experienced in recognizing Caravaggio's works. His use of the expressions "studies of form" and "new impressions of form"[12] in regard to Moretto's paintings were meant to recognize that both artists avoided the time-honored practice of drawing. Instead, they responded to the situation created by the introduction of the "maniera moderna" and the abolition of perspectival construction, beginning with the appearance of Giorgione and his followers in Venice. In addition, the influence of Leonardo should not be discounted in this context, for he was also of great importance to Brescian painters. Moretto's paintings are noteworthy more for their superb passages of realism and their "cursive" Lombard style than for their handling of anatomy, perspective, or composition. The same quality is found in Savoldo's foreshortening of a hand, as in the *Prophet* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), "expressed not three-dimensionally but almost 'pictorially.'" Longhi suggested that these were the principal innovations of the two Brescian painters and in his conclusion added that the only parallel for them could be found in Lotto's "most innovative studies."[13]

Longhi provided a broader view of this problem in his subsequent essay "Quesiti caravaggeschi," adding other "reluctant" artists to this group along with Moroni, a "committed" one. He then turned to discussions of another provincial school of painting, that in Cremona, and of a few selected examples of Milanese art. In its essence, however, his thesis was the same as it had been in the earlier "Cose bresciane del Cinquecento." Based on "visual" observations, this essay provided the foundation for a memorable historical narrative that began with a discussion of Lombard painting and ended with the emergence of Caravaggio and his universal appeal.

Longhi's reconstruction of a Lombard school of painting follows a path through several cities in that province. It starts, as we have seen, in Brescia and then moves briefly to Bergamo (two cities in the Venetian Republic that bordered on the duchy of Milan). He discusses the Cremonese school but avoids Mantua, since it was the seat of a court (that of the Gonzaga family) with its own culture and thus not comparable with the other Lombard cities, which were tied together in one way or another by common interests. Interestingly, Milan, the capital of the duchy, seems to have had no precise cultural definition, and Longhi shows that it was of little influence in the long trajectory of Lombard art, which he traces from the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth. In commenting on Brescia, he points out that its style of painting was distinct from that of Venice, and then he demonstrates that the city was disinclined to embrace the penchant of both Florentine artists and Mantegna for idealization and draftsmanship. Instead, it held tenaciously to its own deeply rooted tradition—one shared by the entire Po Valley—based on the observation of nature and sustained in the late fifteenth century by artists such as Foppa.

Foppa is an appropriate starting point for this discussion, since his own artistic roots extend into the expressive Late Gothic style of Lombard art. He is also emblematic of the tradition of Tuscan rationalism, which had been brought to Lombardy in the fourteenth century by Giotto. This style had, however, been interpreted differently by various Lombard artists; Giovanni da Milano stands out as one particular example, but the same is true of his contemporaries.

The striking lighting effects in Foppa's work that establish him as a forerunner of Caravaggio can be most clearly seen in *The Crucifixion* (fig. 16) and the *Saint Jerome* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo). Longhi also identified other qualities in Foppa, reflected in the narrative scenes he frescoed in the Portinari Chapel in the church of Sant'Eustorgio, Milan, which seem to point more directly toward Impressionism (the landscapes retain this quality even after the removal of vegetation that had been added later to make them richer). Longhi was also correct in emphasizing Foppa's anticlassical and antiheroic character, which is confirmed by a comparison between the narratives in the Milanese cycle and Mantegna's frescoes in Padua, with their tireless rigor. Indeed Vasari tells us that Mantegna was criticized by Francesco Squarcione because his paintings did not have "living figures but ancient statues of marble or other suchlike things."[14] Looking at this question again in light of current scholarship, one realizes that Foppa did not frequent Squarcione's circle in Padua or that of the antiquarian humanists, for his work contains little that might have derived from those contacts.[15] The most important pieces of evidence in this regard are two works destined for Florentine clients. The first is a fresco fragment that was detached from the Banco Mediceo in Milan and is now in the Wallace Collection, London. This engaging work, entitled *The Young Cicero Reading* (ca. 1462–64), was a commission from Francesco Sforza, perhaps intended to honor Cosimo de' Medici. Based on Plutarch's reference to Cicero's precociousness, Foppa's painting was one of several frescoes with "modern" themes derived from ancient stories. Among the others was *Trajan Rendering Justice to a Widow,* a subject that resonated with the ethical and charitable concerns of Milan in the fifteenth century. That the patron would have selected a humanist subject for this particular location seems to be confirmed by the second work. There, a group of angels was chosen to be represented in relief in the Portinari Chapel, a project financed by the Florentine banker Pigello Portinari, who, according to Luisa Giordano and Mauro Natale, also oversaw the work.[16] These angels were inspired by *all'antica* dancing figures but were apparently conceived not by the painter but by the client.

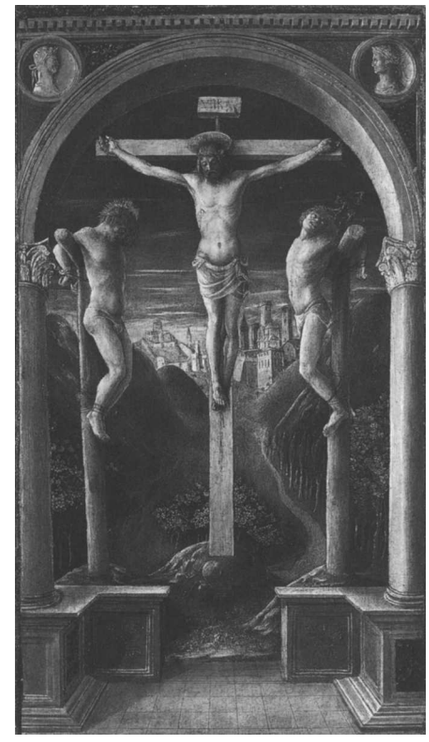


Fig. 16
VINCENZO FOPPA (1427/30–1515/16)
The Crucifixion, ca. 1450
Tempera on panel, 27⅛ × 15¼ in. (69 × 38.8 cm)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo 30

According to early sources, Foppa was an eminent Milanese master of perspective, both in theory (he was the author of a treatise on painting and studied the construction of the human body according to geometrical schemes) and in practice. Longhi neglected this aspect of his work, but it has been underscored in studies by Marisa Dalai Emiliani, an excellent essay by Giulio Bora, and the research inspired by the recent conservation of the artist's work.[17] Even within the articulated perspectival theme of the frescoes in the Portinari Chapel, Foppa handles figures and objects in a deft and casual manner, and there is a felicitous sense of light (perhaps reflecting a trip to Florence). The buildings are domestic-looking and make no real reference to antiquity, for Foppa does not share Mantegna's keen interest in archaeological evocations. Indeed, scholars have noted that he has more sympathy for Jacopo Bellini's modern cityscapes, and even more for the views of Padua in the earlier work of Altichiero. In his later works, and especially in the frescoes painted from about 1477 to 1486 in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Brescia, Foppa gives his figures an extraordinarily intense psychological presence—even more than in the autograph parts of the Portinari frescoes—that reflects an awareness of human destiny. This expressivity places the Brescian frescoes among the most important achievements of humanism as it

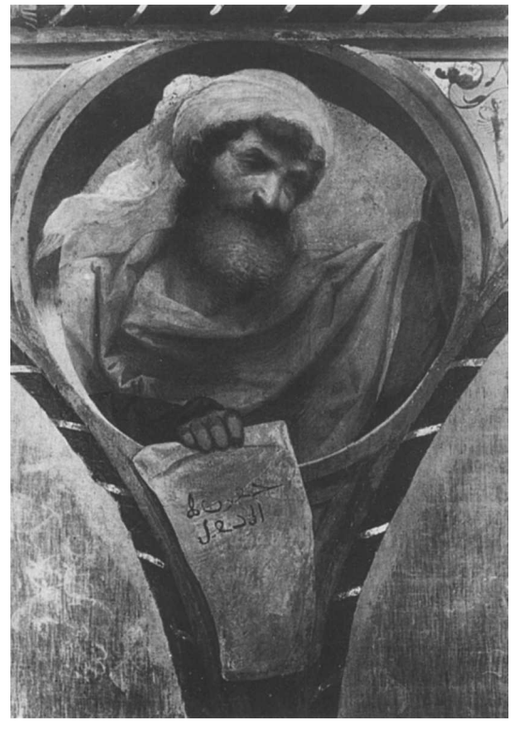
Fig. 17
VINCENZO FOPPA
(1427/30–1515/16)
Saint Matthew, ca. 1477–86
Fresco
Santa Maria del Carmine, Brescia

Fig. 18
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
A Prophet, ca. 1525
Fresco transferred to canvas, approximately 50¾ × 36⅝ in. (129 × 93 cm)
Private collection, Brescia

had been understood by Masaccio. Again though, there is no sense of antiquarianism in Foppa's work, here perhaps because of the influence of Northern art. The *Saint Matthew* (fig. 17) is a particularly good example, and its profoundly human meaning was later captured by Moretto in one of the prophets he painted for the palace chapel of the patron Mattia Ugoni (fig. 18). The result of studying these works is the surprising revelation that there was surely something of Masaccio's art in the revival of Brescian naturalism.

Another significant factor in Foppa's work is the debt his religious paintings owe to Flemish art. This connection is not unexpected and offers further evidence of the artist's interest in capturing the effects of light. The figures in his *Adoration of the Christ Child* (cat. no. 25), which was part of a larger decorative complex, are enveloped by a diffused light and have an archaic devotional sense, with occasional echoes of Northern art. At the same time, the animals display a rustic realism lacking in conventional representations of the Holy Family. The same sort of irresistible, offhand manner characterizes the donkey in the fragmentary *Flight into Egypt,* executed according to a design by Foppa for one of the stained-glass windows of Milan Cathedral.

Leonardo da Vinci spent much of his life in Lombardy and is represented in this exhibition by a number of drawings (cat. nos. 15–18), yet he stands apart as something of an anomaly in the history of Lombard painting that Longhi sketched out. There is not enough space here to explain why Longhi did not consider the great Tuscan artist's extended presence in Milan, from about 1482 to 1499/1500 and then from 1508 to 1513, even if only to round out his picture of naturalistic concerns in sixteenth-century Lombardy. But it is surely necessary to acknowledge this great artist, whose legacy is obviously complex but whose existence Caravaggio cannot have ignored, given the importance Leonardo attached to the empirical observation of



nature. Caravaggio would also have used Leonardo's artistic stature as a yardstick against which to measure himself.

As Longhi was formulating his ideas about the "visual" qualities of Lombard painting, Leonardo must have seemed to him an elusive figure, even though the *Last Supper* was available for study in Milan. Yet he would have considered the figures in that ruined painting principally within the context of central Italian formalism, both in terms of their facial features and their expressions; as such they displayed few of the characteristics he was seeking as precedents for Caravaggio. From this point of view, the work of Leonardo and his Lombard followers was of little relevance (despite its significance for local culture during the first decades of the sixteenth century) in understanding the period leading up to the art of Caravaggio, with the exception, perhaps, of certain subject matter and the Flemish-based treatment of light and reflective surfaces. In 1952 Longhi expressed his stern and detailed feelings about Leonardo and his intellectual contradictions in a short essay that deserves to be more widely known: entitled "Difficoltà di Leonardo," it is a reflection on a lecture by Eugenio Garin.[18] Most notably, Longhi insists on Leonardo's "valiant anthropomorphism that soon extended to all of the terrestrial world including the elastic stalk of a wildflower and the curly, backward sweeping wisps of the ocean wave . . . and the swirling, clustering clouds . . . , to say nothing of his real and imaginary animals."[19] The passage that follows turns from these images to Leonardo's studies of horses and horsemen for the *Battle of Anghiari,* which Longhi describes as the work of a "vital" and "animistic" genius.[20] Such terms seem to me to correspond at least in part to what Martin Kemp refers to in his essay for this catalogue as Leonardo's "hypernaturalism."

The recent conservation of the wall above the *Last Supper* has revealed some fragments of the vegetal decoration above the main scene (see fig. 40). Taken together with the admirably described remains of an authentic still life on the supper table, including transparent glasses and other tableware, these constitute readily accessible examples of Leonardo's naturalism that render unnecessary any further investigation into the complexities of his approach to natural phenomena.

Leonardo's influence in Lombardy (a subject much discussed nowadays) lies in the faith he placed in the direct observation of nature. Instilled in the artist in Florence, this quality remained the intellectual property of that city through the days of Galileo. In Leonardo it was no doubt further stimulated by the intellectual milieu of northern Italy. To find this, one must go beyond the drawings and scour the most recondite parts of the artist's notebooks, as Kemp has done—an endeavor that would have been of little use to Longhi in the years he was examining pictorial innovation and differentiating between styles.

Yet Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura* and his drawings were preserved in Lombardy, and memories of Leonardo's style survived in the workshops of other painters. Indeed, Vasari (who as a Tuscan could not fail to take note) tells us in his *Lives* that Leonardo's legacy was held in high esteem. However, like Berra (1993) and Porzio (1998),[21] I cannot help but wonder if this interest in Leonardo's fragmentary (and thus stimulating) speculations was not a later phenomenon. As Porzio has also noted, it could be datable to the period in Milan when specific kinds of artistic activity were enthusiastically revived as part of a pan-European resurgence in scientific curiosity and research. This brings us slowly closer to the years of Caravaggio's youth. For example, he knew the *Codex Huygens* (fig. 19), which Carlo Urbino, a friend and

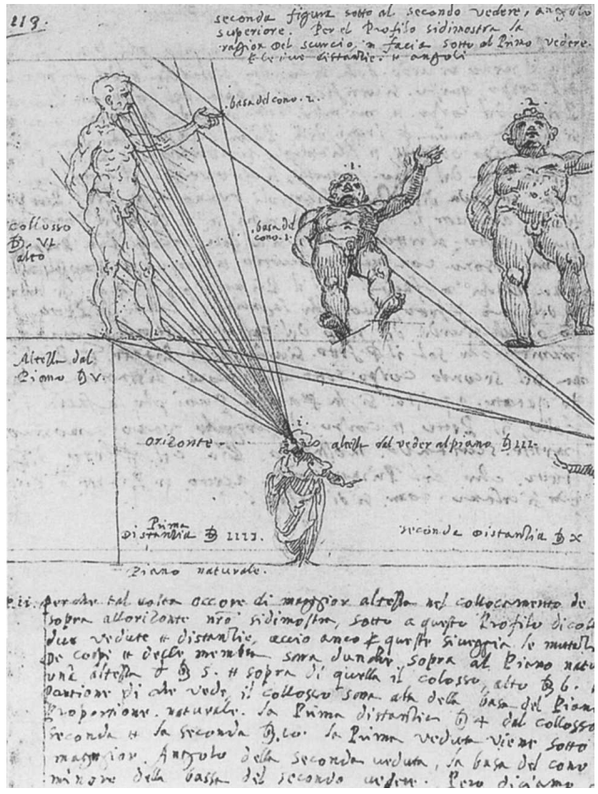


Fig. 19
CARLO URBINO
(ca. 1510/20–ca. 1585)
Drawings from the *Codex Huygens,* ca. 1570
Album page, fol. 113r
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York M.A. 1139

colleague of Bernardino Campi, had assembled about 1570, probably by working from Leonardo's ideas and drawings, according to Erwin Panofsky.[22] In addition, Lomazzo's treatises, written between 1584 and 1590, contain the statements and opinions of the great Florentine, expressed in an ideal dialogue. Leonardo was thus evidently still perceived as the supreme master to have worked in Lombardy.

Leonardo was certainly important as a model and stimulus for Caravaggio and his revolution. Yet he was also one of the protagonists, or indeed the prime mover, of the "maniera moderna," the term Vasari uses for the radical transformations in artistic style he describes in the introduction to the third part of his *Lives.* Vasari continues with a description of two of Leonardo's works that correspond—one in subject matter and the other in the depiction of dew on a transparent vase with flowers—to two paintings by Caravaggio, demonstrating that the latter artist had read Vasari's biography of Leonardo.[23] A little further on in his life of Leonardo, the author describes how in order "to give the highest relief to the works that he made, [Leonardo] went so far with dark shadows, in order to find the darkest possible grounds, that he sought blacks which might make deeper shadows and be darker than other blacks, that by their means he might make his lights the brighter."[24]

At the end of the same biography, Vasari returns specifically to this aspect of Leonardo's art, stating that "he added to the manner of colouring in oils a certain obscurity, whereby the moderns have given great force and relief to their figures."[25] This innovation, which is defined better by the English phrase "dark manner" than by the Italian *sfumato,* became an essential part of the depiction of atmosphere in the "maniera moderna." The *Virgin of the Rocks,* Leonardo's first work in Milan, executed between 1483 and 1486, provides a good example of this technique, which is discussed

Fig. 20
GIROLAMO ROMANINO
(1484/87–ca. 1560)
The Last Supper (detail), 1540s
Oil on canvas, 9 ft. 9 in. × 6 ft. 4 in.
(293 × 193.2 cm)
Santa Maria Nuova, Montichiari
(Brescia)

elsewhere in this catalogue (see the essay by Martin Kemp). Furthermore, Leonardo's desire to eliminate the mathematical abstractions involved in fifteenth-century perspectival constructions—the depiction, for example, of receding floors—was an innovation that came to be understood and interpreted in various ways to achieve different artistic effects. Yet this synthetic and revolutionary approximation of how the human eye perceives reality remained above all an affirmation of naturalism.

To reiterate a point recently made in relation to Romanino's *Last Supper* at Montichiari (fig. 20), it is also important to look at how artists before Caravaggio responded to Leonardo, especially the painters from Brescia in the first half of the sixteenth century.[26] As noted earlier, the Brescian artists working in Venice were a new generation of painters who largely rejected the teachings of Foppa (a point made startlingly clear in the recent Foppa exhibition),[27] although they remained faithful to him in some respects. Soon their interpretation of the compelling stylistic innovations spreading throughout northern Italy began to set them apart from their Venetian counterparts as well. It seems very likely that the changes the Brescian painters adopted paralleled the restless experiments of Lotto, who had also left Venice, and that these artists were also responding to the interest in studying nature and optical phenomena that emerged from Leonardesque circles in Milan. This suggests that they were aware of the expedients proposed by Leonardo in Lombardy: how to make figures stand out by contrasting light and shade and how to obtain results unlike the chiaroscuro effects based on purely plastic considerations, as seen in central Italy, and unlike the surface realism of Venetian painting. Leonardo's premises could be pushed further than the master himself had gone, although this did not happen among his circle of followers. As Kemp notes (see page 72), Leonardo proceeded no further because of his own desire to achieve a sense of harmonious unity in his work. He also had a predilection for examining and then reproducing specific and minute details, a practice that can also be seen in his

followers (as, for example, in the foreground Bernazzano painted in his and Cesare da Sesto's *Baptism of Christ* [fig. 2]) and one that foreshadowed the endeavors of the natural scientist.

Moretto must have become aware of the stylistic possibilities offered by Leonardo's work soon after his collaboration with Floriano Ferramola on the organ shutters at Santa Maria in Valvendra, Lovere, which began about 1516. His works in the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento of San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia, undertaken at the same time as Romanino's (from 1521), reveal him to be a reflective and inquisitive artist. It has long been suggested, and indeed seems to be the case, that Moretto was engaged in these works in a dialogue with Lotto, just as the latter artist was about to leave Bergamo. Moretto turned to Lotto, for example, for the facial expressions in at least two of his apostles in his *Last Supper*—a surprising similarity that appears not to have been noted before—and also borrowed from him the variable quality of the light in the same work. Nevertheless, the ultimate prototype for the painting is Leonardo's mural of the same subject in Milan, as can be seen in the handling of the transparent glasses and the wrinkles and shadows in the brilliant white tablecloth. These qualities indicate a new mastery of optical effects that was likely inspired by Leonardo, despite Moretto's Venetian sensibility and his distinctive handling of paint.

Begni Redona also noted that Moretto must have known Leonardo's work in Milan.[28] The elegant, pensive blond-haired angel (which reappears later in the *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints* in Santi Nazaro e Celso, Brescia) in Moretto's *Elijah Comforted by an Angel* (fig. 21), located just beneath the *Last Supper,* derives from the angel in Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks*. Perhaps even more interesting is how sharply Moretto silhouetted his prophets against the sky in the chapel in Brescia (fig. 23). Here he has the opportunity to vary highlights and shadows; in rendering the muscles, for

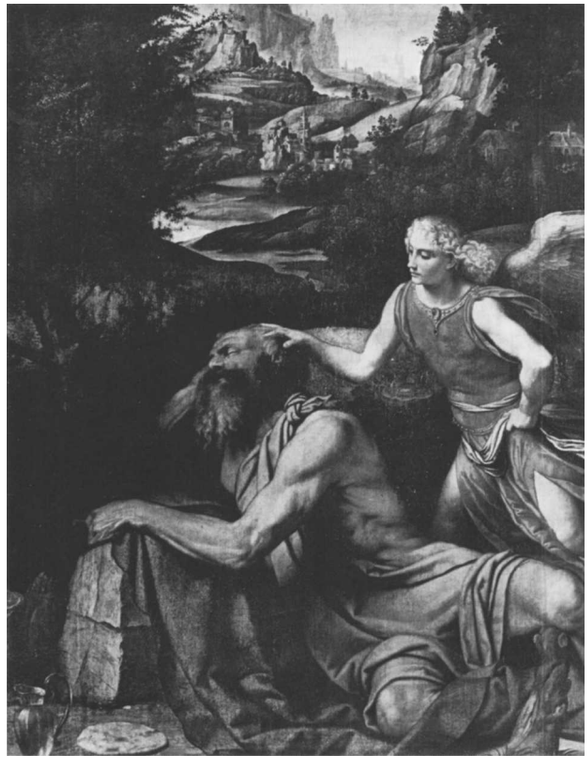


Fig. 21
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
Elijah Comforted by an Angel
(detail), 1521–24
Oil on canvas, 83⅛ × 95⅝ in.
(211 × 243 cm)
San Giovanni Evangelista,
Brescia

Fig. 22
ANDREA PREVITALI
(ca. 1480–1528)
The Annunciation, ca. 1500–1510
Oil on canvas, 8 ft. 6 in. × 5 ft. 5 in.
(261 × 165 cm)
Santa Maria Annunziata del
Meschino, Ceneda (Treviso)

example, he cares less about creating a sense of three-dimensionality than about emphasizing variations and subtle changes in color. The *Drunkenness of Noah* (cat. no. 32) offers an instance of similar effects, as well as a figure whose nakedness is surprisingly realistic and unmediated by classical prototypes. Moretto's paintings in Brescia anticipate the work of those North European artists who would later come to Rome and attempt to interpret Italian formalism with a Northern eye. Here, too, the notion of a particularly Lombard sensibility—the "Lombard eye"—comes inevitably into play, for a group of especially gifted artists enriched their work with what they had experienced of the extraordinary natural beauty and artistic patrimony that Italy had offered them.

How else, if not by the "Lombard eye," does one explain the luminous perspective and alpine lighting in the work of the Bergamasque painter Andrea Previtali? These qualities, so apparent in Previtali's masterful *Annunciation* in Ceneda (fig. 22), have been associated with Bellini as well as with Lotto. Although the work seems to depend on Venetian models, it differs from them in its sketchiness and must therefore date to the period before Lotto was in Bergamo (1513–25). The handling of light in Previtali's *Trinity* from Almenno San Salvatore, near Bergamo, demonstrates his ability to paint in a purely Lombard vein. The *Trinity*'s perspective and iconography, its Flemish elements, and its traditional composition all suggest that even if Previtali were looking at Venetian paintings, he was also aware of the perspectival experiments conducted by central Italian artists, by the Canozi from Lendinara, and even by Antonello da Messina. Previtali's composition and his handling of light—which, as in Flemish paintings, filters through the windows in the background—are both closely

paralleled in Marco Costanzo's *Trinity,* tentatively dated to 1495 (Museo Regionale di Palazzo Bellomo, Siracusa). The similarity between Previtali's painting and the work of this noteworthy Siracusan artist suggests they shared a common prototype, perhaps a work by Antonello.

At San Giovanni Evangelista, the face, upper arm, and forearm of Moretto's prophet Micah (fig. 23) are represented in shadow against a lighter ground, creating a strong sense of relief but one that is more optical than plastic in its effect. In the seventeenth century, Francesco Maria Paglia noted a similar quality in the *Gathering of Manna* with its figures "so strongly separated from the background" (a comment clearly made by an observer who was also a painter).[29] This optical effect is derived not from the Venetians, from Leonardo, or even from Michelangelo—perhaps, more correctly, it is derived from all three. What it really is, though, is a Lombard quality, and identifying it allows us to understand the complex naturalism and curiosity that characterized Brescian painting in these years of profound artistic transformation.

The work of Giovanni Agostino da Lodi also reveals a fairly precocious dependence on Leonardo's style, particularly his technique of contrasting light against areas of shadow. This artist came of age in Milan, where he knew other followers of Leonardo, including Boltraffio and Solario, before moving to Venice. The solemn figures in his *Christ Washing the Feet of His Disciples,* painted in 1500 (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), are more austere, silent versions of those in the *Last Supper,* as well as evidence of the stylistic journey the artist made from Milan to Venice. As Magnabosco Ricciardi has already noted, this painting is the source of the earliest works of Savoldo, who would soon become the strongest proponent in Venice of Moretto's style.[30]

Savoldo worked on two different scales: some of his pictures are small, like those of Northern artists, including the *Crucifixion* (cat. no. 44), perhaps his first work; others, in the Italian manner, are lifesize and even larger. This variety reflects the diversity of his sources—Venetian, Emilian, and Florentine—which kept him apart from

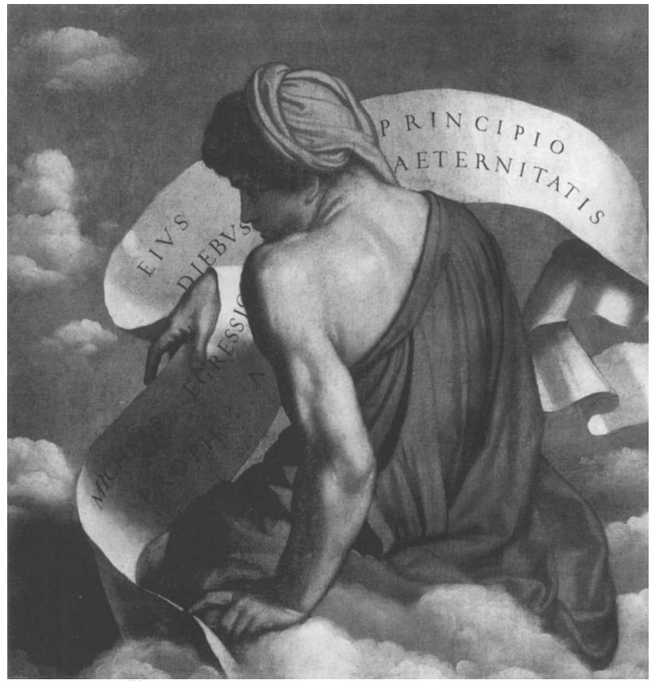


Fig. 23
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
The Prophet Micah, 1521–24
Oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 50⅜ in.
(130 × 128 cm)
San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia

the style and tonalism of Venetian painting, even though he worked in Venice. His small-scale works found a following in the early seventeenth century among artists working to revive landscape painting, and Caravaggio would profit from studying his handling of heavy, broadly curving drapery. Savoldo's night scenes, such as *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (cat. no. 46), served as a model for Caravaggio's second stylistic phase, presenting him with what Longhi always called the "cursive" definition of forms in a luminous setting.

Interestingly, Moretto and Savoldo often came to similar formal solutions in their works, a coincidence that implies a common method and allows us to make some general observations. These formal solutions—the foreshortening of a hand in Savoldo's work, the articulation of a collarbone in Moretto's—suggest that the two artists painted either wholly or in part without preparatory drawings. (Many of the same characteristics are found in Caravaggio's work, but there they must be considered differently.) As an artistic center with its own, remarkably autonomous style, Brescia was not as affected by Giorgione's new technique (as Vasari described it) as other cities that sent its young apprentices to Venice. In addition, there was no real graphic tradition in Brescia, a situation apparently confirmed by the quality of the drawings produced there and by their very scarcity.

Romanino's graphic work offers something richer (cat. nos. 48, 49). It is only recently that this artist, who was Moretto's master, has been included in the discussion of Caravaggio's sources—indeed, Longhi had rejected this possibility because of the Venetian quality of Romanino's work. Giovanni Testori's reflections on Romanino's artistic liberty and the markedly expressive dialect and individuality of his pictorial language have changed this position. In a recent study of Testori's ideas, Alessandro Nova (1994) has recognized in Romanino's work a unique interpretation of a prevalent anticlassical current. Most relevant for us, however, is what Caravaggio may have learned from Romanino, and the answer lies in his *Toothpuller* (cat. no. 68), a painting from his last and most agitated period. Testori was the first to give this work to Caravaggio, an attribution that is now almost universally accepted. The painting was well known in the seventeenth century, and Testori suggests that the crowded interior scene might as well have taken place in Romanino's territory, in a tavern in Breno in the Via Camonica, where Romanino executed his late, violent frescoes representing the lives of the martyrs. Perhaps the most complete way to answer the question posed above is to reconsider the parallel trajectories of the lives of Romanino and Caravaggio—an exercise that reveals the painters of another center, Cremona, as the connective element between Caravaggio and the other artists discussed here.

The prosperity of Cremona enabled it to search for the most qualified fresco painters in northern Italy to represent the life of the Virgin and scenes from the Passion on the tall walls of the nave of its cathedral. The artists who answered this call included those who lived in the city as well as those who would move there to work on the project. Furthermore, the phenomenon of families of artists who passed their craft from one generation to the next is characteristic of Cremona. It assured a sense of continuity in the local style and contributed to the success and the renown, noted by Lanzi, of the school run by the Campi family, who were considered the Carracci of Lombardy.

Cremona's relationship with Venice (it was part of the Republic from 1494 to 1509), the presence there of eccentric artists such as Giovan Francesco Bembo, Altobello

Melone, Romanino, and Pordenone, and its proximity to the important centers of artistic production in the lower Po Valley, including Parma and Mantua, all contributed to making the city a complicated and unique center of artistic production. Its complexity is, for example, relevant to the origins of Sofonisba Anguissola's style, as well as to her success in a city whose importance as an art center depended on its political status within the duchy of Milan. The unbroken continuity of artistic style from one generation to the next up to the time of the Counter-Reformation, when Cremona was still significant as an ecclesiastical center, brings us from the Campi to Caravaggio's early years without any real stylistic changes in the local school of painters. The circumstances under which the town of Caravaggio came to belong to the diocese of Cremona are also of interest, since such affiliations were more important then than they are today.

The longest-lasting and most successful of the artist families in Cremona, on both an artistic and a social level, was certainly that of the Campi. Of the three brothers—Giulio, Antonio, and Vincenzo, who died in 1591, one year before Caravaggio left Lombardy—Antonio was the best educated, as evidenced by his history of the city, entitled *Cremona fedelissima* (1585). Giulio worked with Camillo Boccaccino in the suburban church of San Sigismondo, and in 1541 the two artists installed the decorations to celebrate Emperor Charles V's entry into the city.

The commissions won by Giulio and Antonio outside of Cremona testify to the fame and respect they had garnered within the duchy of Milan. Their younger brother, Vincenzo, began his career as a competent portraitist but eventually came to work with Antonio on his ecclesiastical commissions. Of particular interest here, however, is the work the Campi succeeded in obtaining in Milanese churches beginning in the 1560s. A letter of 1564 containing an introduction from Carlo Borromeo indicates that the Campi had already established a relationship with the archbishop, who had been in Milan briefly in that year and was to settle there permanently in 1566.

Antonio's paintings in the churches of Milan (see fig. 24) offer many surprises and some pertinent material for those interested in tracing the development of his style away from the courtly Mannerism of his work in Cremona toward a new kind of naturalism. In these works, Antonio experimented with a style that was less focused on the figure but rich with idioms. This new naturalism was at times raw and brutal; at others it was an evocation of antiquity or a study in the effects of nocturnal illumination. These tentative experiments in a fresh mode of representation mark an early episode in the movement to reform art, which developed in the 1560s and 1570s under the auspices of Cardinal Borromeo. The young Caravaggio was interested in many of these innovations, especially those that resulted in substantial formal and morphological changes. He must also have been attracted to the directness of an image not mediated by drawing. The artistic heritage the Campi brought to Milan also made a deep impression on Caravaggio in that it connected him to the naturalistic painters of the early sixteenth century—to Lotto, Moretto, and Savoldo. It was the beginning of the end of Mannerism.

The fact that Caravaggio was probably born in 1571 rather than 1573 and the relative certainty with which we can fix his arrival in Rome—which happened, as Giovanni Pietro Bellori reported, just after his twentieth birthday[31]—necessitate a more careful examination both of the formative years he spent in Lombardy and of the works he may have made there, which are unfortunately undocumented. In short, it is more than likely that Caravaggio was already an adult when he arrived in

Rome (an artist could head up a workshop at eighteen), and Bellori tells us that he worked in Lombardy as a portraitist, a genre that depends on an ability to imitate nature. Research into the earliest years of Caravaggio's career can now be conducted with a greater understanding of the humanist and artistic culture in Lombardy as well as of the activity of painters who both preceded him and were his contemporaries.

Although Caravaggio was born in Milan and spent his early years there, his family came from Caravaggio and still owned property there. Thus it is important to consider the relationship his family, and especially his maternal grandfather, maintained with the marquises of Caravaggio. This connection meant that throughout his life the artist had the support of important families, including the Colonna and the Doria, who were related to the marquis of Caravaggio. A document discovered by Pevsner indicates that the young Caravaggio's family placed him as an apprentice with Simone Peterzano in 1584.[32] The boy must have displayed a very promising talent from early on, for his mother sold land in Caravaggio to finance his training.[33] The choice of Peterzano can be explained as a preference for a painter from Bergamo, a fellow countryman who had come to Milan after spending time in Venice with Titian, to whom he declared his allegiance in inscriptions on his paintings. Peterzano's skill as a draftsman (see cat. no. 97; fig. 64) and his ability to shape young artists also suggest that he was a good teacher.

The young Caravaggio's interest in the works of the Campi brothers, both in Milan and elsewhere, is even more significant. These paintings represented a full-bodied, perhaps even brutal, attempt at the anti-Mannerist style encouraged by Carlo Borromeo. (By employing the word "brutal" here, I mean to underscore the fact that tragic representation came into being in North Italian art under the cruel banner of Mantegna and Cariani—it is reasonable to ask if Caravaggio might not have seen Cariani's *Road to Calvary* [cat. no. 24]—and this banner was passed in turn to Giulio Romano, Callisto Piazza, Antonio Campi, and then finally to Caravaggio.) Caravaggio seems also to have retained some memory of these first artistic impressions until the last years of his life. The young artist's interests led him to look at the sources that had helped to form the Cremonese painters and thus at stylistic trends in eastern Lombardy (or the western Veneto) in the first half of the century. His exploration back through time was typical, according to Friedlaender's famous observation, of artistic reform movements at the end of the sixteenth century. Mining first the work of the preceding generation, these reformers then looked further back, replacing the culture of their fathers with that of their grandfathers.

The artistic situation that Caravaggio found in Milan in the 1580s, first as a young apprentice and then as a painter, was a compromise with Mannerism, and his own divergent interests should be considered a sign that the movement to reform painting was already under way. Caravaggio committed it to his memory, returning to it later as he began to make narrative works after the paintings rooted in scientific experimentation that he executed for Cardinal Del Monte.

Recent scholarship suggests that Caravaggio spent a more extended period of time—from 1588 to 1592—in northern Italy as an independent master before going to Rome. (He was apprenticed in Milan in 1584, and the average apprenticeship lasted four years. Thus, his apprenticeship would have been completed in 1588, but this temperamental youth may not have stayed with his master for all of that time.) Caravaggio could easily have made numerous trips throughout northern Italy during this period,

such as the one he undertook to Mantua to see the works of Giulio Romano.[34] The fruits of what he witnessed appear years later, the result of his prodigious memory, in the works he made in Rome and especially in southern Italy, Sicily, and Malta. The establishment of an earlier date of birth for the artist strengthens the largely Lombard character of the Caravaggesque revolution, at least as it pertains to painting.

The cultural situation Caravaggio found in Milan can be illuminated by examining three factors: his apprenticeship in Peterzano's shop; information recently discovered concerning the city that must have had a direct impact on the very young artist; and the events and topics under discussion there in the 1580s. That Peterzano returned from Venice to Milan in 1574 is revealed by the public commissions he received. His Venetian experience can be traced in several secular pictures inspired by Titian and Veronese. Caravaggio borrowed the most naturalistic elements of these works, as well as their subtle suggestions of eroticism, and also learned the technique of painting on canvas from them.[35]

The development of Peterzano's style through the 1570s and 1580s is easily traceable. Remnants of the Venetian manner are visible in the brushwork in his frescoes at San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore, and the influence of Tintoretto appears in the broken brushstrokes and the strong contrasts of light and dark. The frescoes at the Certosa di Garegnano (1578–82) indicate that Peterzano then developed a sophisticated Mannerism, although a certain rustic quality in them reflects the artist's interest in the Brescian and Cremonese trends that dominated art in Milan after the arrival and growing success of the Campi there. Peterzano's rather severe compositions and his modest color range of subdued tones inspired by Moretto represent his contribution, mediated by his experience of the Campi, to the Counter-Reformation climate fostered in Milan by Archbishop Carlo Borromeo.

That Caravaggio's teacher was a stimulating, vivacious artist is apparent from the information we can glean from the previously mentioned document of 1584, namely, that he taught both portraiture and the grotesque in his shop. Traces of what Peterzano must have taught Caravaggio as well as evidence that the younger artist studied his master's drawings—which Caravaggio likely copied as part of the customary method for teaching young artists—can be found in his early *Bacchino malato* (cat. no. 63). Nor does the mannered contrapposto that Peterzano sometimes pushed to the edge of ambiguity ever really disappear from Caravaggio's early half figures or from his nudes—the *Saint John the Baptist* in the Capitoline Museum, for example, or the secondary figures in the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome). Even Caravaggio's inimitable blending of flesh tones seems to derive both from Moretto and from techniques learned in Peterzano's shop. The latter were in turn based on an imitation of the works Titian executed during the middle years of his career, the period of his most solid style and the one most imitated, even after he moved on to his late, largely misunderstood pictorial creations.

Yet there were other things that a gifted young apprentice training in Milan in the 1580s would certainly have noticed. In 1587, for example, Giuseppe Arcimboldi returned from a successful stay at the Habsburg court that added to his prestige and assured him an important position in the local cultural scene. In 1591–92, just as Caravaggio was about to leave Milan, Arcimboldi dedicated his *Vertumnus* to Rudolf II, portraying the emperor as an assemblage of vegetables in order to symbolize his power

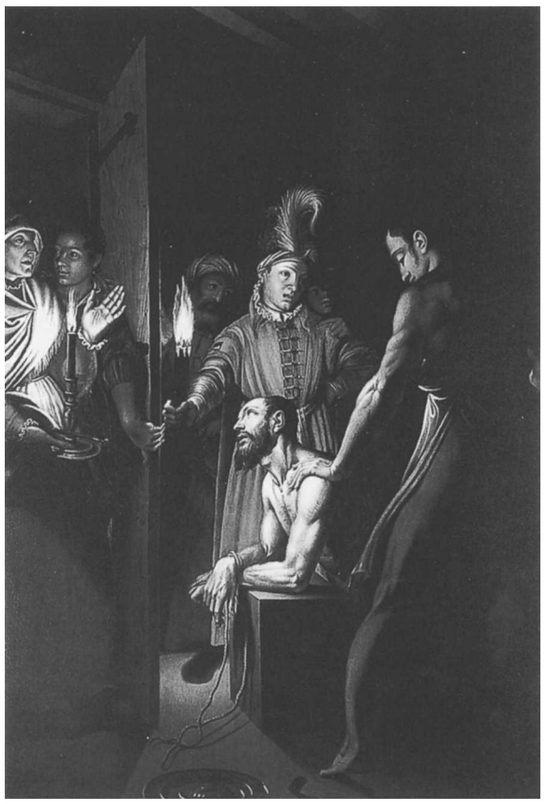


Fig. 24
ANTONIO CAMPI (1523–1587)
The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, 1571
Oil on canvas, 9 ft. 2¼ in. × 6 ft. 3⅝ in. (280 × 192 cm)
San Paolo Converso, Milan

to bestow wealth on his subjects. While Arcimboldi's sophisticated compositions of heads fashioned from vegetables and animals are essentially antinaturalistic, they also reveal a keen ability to capture the reality of flora and fauna (see cat. no. 56). This skill must have been honed during the years he spent in the North, working among sharp-eyed painters specializing in the scientific representations preferred by their Habsburg employers. Lomazzo in particular appreciated this quality of Arcimboldi's work, along with his unique subject matter, and it seems very unlikely that Caravaggio would not also have taken note of it. Similar qualities of naturalism had already been explored in Venice and had then reappeared there with the return of Giovanni da Udine (cat. nos. 13A,B, 14) to northern Italy in 1534. The Veronese artist Jacopo Ligozzi worked along the same lines for the Medici court in the 1570s, as did the Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, employed by the Tyrolean archduke. The legacy of Dürer is certainly of relevance in this context because of the relationship that developed between Italian and Northern court art, which intersected first in Venice and then throughout the Adige Valley. Finally, Lomazzo's reflections on the use of light, published in the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (1584) and the *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1590), were also certainly familiar to Caravaggio.[36]

Ambrogio Figino was the greatest proponent of a Mannerist style among the artists working in Milan in the last part of the sixteenth century, and his strong interest in formal qualities is evident in his drawings (cat. no. 95; figs. 36, 62, 63). A painting of the Virgin that he executed for San Fedele in Milan is widely recognized as the model for Caravaggio's *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* (Galleria Borghese, Rome). The composition, in which the Christ child places his foot over that of his mother who in turn stretches hers out to crush a serpent, derives from a theological

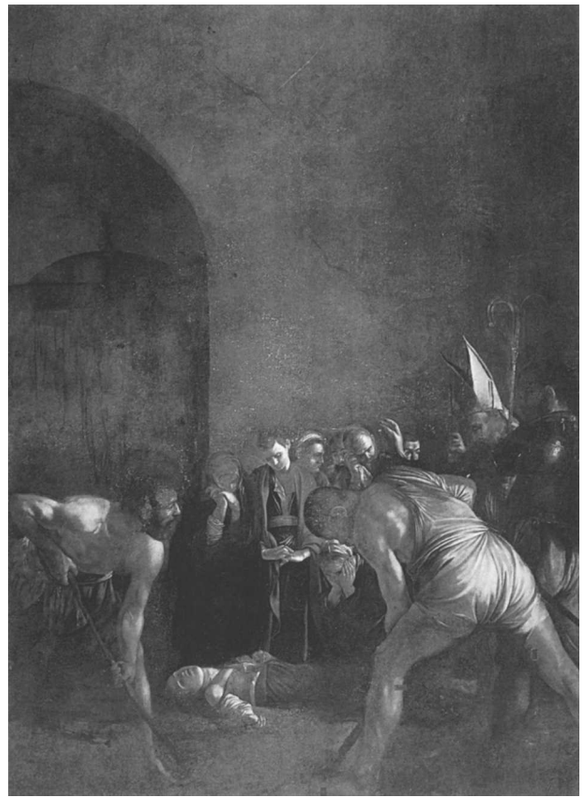


Fig. 25
CARAVAGGIO (1571–1610)
The Burial of Saint Lucy, 1608
Oil on canvas, 13 ft. 4½ in. × 9 ft. 10 in. (408 × 300 cm)
Museo di Palazzo Bellomo, Siracusa

concept. Yet the figures have a clarity that springs from the Lombard sense of the concrete, employed by Figino to modify the formalism of Michelangelo. Among Figino's drawings are studies of carafes (cat. no. 95), for a work either lost or still unidentified, that achieve singular optical effects, and Caravaggio consistently borrowed their forms for his works. The shadows cast by Figino's carafes are similar to those in Caravaggio's *Mary Magdalen* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome) as well as in the still life painted by a follower (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford), who must have had close and long-standing ties to the Lombard painter.

It is even more fruitful to trace the precedents for Figino's studies, since it allows us to reach back into the first half of the sixteenth century, to Romanino's *Last Supper* (fig. 20). The extraordinary passage of optical brilliance in this painting is an exception in Romanino's work, and it stands out to such an extent that it may well be the result of a rethinking of Leonardo's model in the *Last Supper*. Caravaggio certainly took several specific motifs from Figino's work, but what is more intriguing is that he seems to have known and perhaps even visited often with Antonio Campi. He surely studied Antonio's works in the churches of Milan (fig. 24), as is suggested by the *Burial of Saint Lucy* (fig. 25), and must also have visited Cremona. By the 1580s, however, the careers of the Campi were almost finished: Giulio was dead, although Antonio continued to work until 1587, and Vincenzo until the early 1590s, the eve of Caravaggio's departure for Rome.

Figino was also the center of a literary circle that included Gregorio Comanini, who dedicated his treatise on painting to the artist. This complex artistic and literary culture produced a painting, "a fruit dish with peaches and grape leaves on panel" (as described in a 1672 inventory of the Mazenta collection),[37] to which Comanini

dedicated a madrigal published in a collection of poetry in 1594. With this work (cat. no. 73), Figino became the first still-life painter in Lombardy, and its date, between 1591 and 1594, indicates that it is a very early example of that genre anywhere in Europe. The literary framework of this painting is paralleled by an actual verse—a madrigal by an unknown author—that is inscribed on its back. This second verse clarifies the "cultured" occasion and circumstances that led to the creation of this unique work; it also links the image to the representation of fruit in antiquity, a practice that refers to the *xenia,* or offerings for guests. The literary and humanist origins of this "gift," borne on plates or in fruit bowls, can be first traced to North Italian art at the end of the fifteenth century. In altarpieces by Bergognone (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) and Moretto (Sant'Andrea, Bergamo), this offering is reserved for the divinity, and elsewhere for great personalities like Isabella d'Este. This interpretation of the "gift" offers an explanation for the birth of still-life painting that is as important as the symbolic weight of Flemish still lifes. It serves, too, as a likely interpretation of Caravaggio's *Basket of Fruit* (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) and *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (Galleria Borghese, Rome).

Recent research into the complex components of Milanese culture at the end of the sixteenth century contributes to our understanding of Caravaggio's early Roman works on both intellectual and symbolic levels, and it must go hand in hand with investigations of the optical qualities of these paintings. The symbolism of these works is underscored by the novelty of Figino's small painting and its humanist origins. Tinged by the Counter-Reformation precepts of Federico Borromeo, it expresses the transience of things that Comanini noted in his poem dedicated to the picture, which speaks of "frutto cadmo e frale" (fruit bruised and frail).

Notes

1. "la civiltà d'Europa è, non provincialmente, nutrita per buona parte dalla provincia borgognona e dalla provincia sivigliana, dalla provincia del Danubio e dalla provincia d'Ile de France; altrettanto dalla provincia 'lombarda' o 'padana.'" Arcangeli 1957, p. 33.
2. Berenson 1907, p. 124.
3. "l'un des plus grands peintres dont l'Italie puisse se glorifier." Rio 1861–67, vol. 3 (1861), p. 297.
4. "une certaine teinte de tristesse qui se retrouve quelquefois dans ses tableaux et qui leur communique un charme inexprimable." Ibid.
5. "une imagination calme et noble, une âme à la fois tendre et sereine, et plus d'aptitude à la méditation qu'aux intuitions sublimes." Ibid., p. 295.
6. "la Scuola bresciana di pittura nei primi decenni del Cinquecento è forse la più ricca d'intelligenze e ricerche quasi secrete che vanti in quel tempo l'Italia settentrionale. Le sue incontrastabili relazioni, e la sua altrettanto evidente distinzione dalla pittura veneziana contemporanea, le sue fedeltà a tradizioni anteriori, e le sue rapidissime percezioni del nuovo, le sue rifrazioni altrove in terre non troppo distanti, lo scorrere talora nelle sue vene del fluido che Lotto andava spargendo in Italia secondo una topografia capricciosa come le sue forme, sono altrettanti deliziosi quesiti che non esattamente sceverati fin qui." Longhi 1917 (1961 ed.), p. 327.
7. "divenne autore d'uno stile così nuovo nel suo tutto, e così pieno di adescamenti, che alcuni dilettanti solo per godere di essi han veduto Brescia . . . ; Quanto al colorito il Moretto siegue un metodo, che sorprende per la novità e per l'effetto. Il più che lo caratterizzi è un graziosissimo giuoco di bianco e di scuro in masse non grandi, ma ben temperate fra loro, e ben contrapposte. Usa egli di questo artifizio così nelle figure, come ne' campi; ove finge talvolta nuvole di colori similmente opposti." Lanzi 1809, vol. 3, pp. 128–29.
8. "un éminent génie"; "un des peintres les plus purs, les plus armonieux, les plus nobles du seizième siècle." Quoted by Mina Gregori in Bergamo 1979, p. 27.
9. "i bresciani si nascondono ancora nello 'stuolo dei Tizianeschi' "; "differenze specificamente 'visuali.'" Longhi 1917 (1961 ed.), pp. 328, 329.
10. "il suo avviarsi deciso verso le soluzioni che saranno del Caravaggio." Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 113.
11. "superiore incapacità negativa di 'composizione' "; "L'estrema indifferenza dolce e rude alla costruzione 'idealistica' della forma, fosse in senso lineare, o plastico, o prospettico"; "una forma, non già composta, simmetrica, affrontata, ma 'corsiva' e senza precetti"; "l'impiego spregiudicato e accidentale della luce." Longhi 1917 (1961 ed.), pp. 330–31.
12. "studi di forma"; "nuove impressioni intorno alla forma." Ibid., p. 336.
13. "uno scorcio rappreso di mano"; "espressa non plasticamente ma quasi 'pittoricamente' "; "gli studi novissimi." Ibid., pp. 340, 342.
14. "somiglianza di vivi, ma di statue antiche di marmo o d'altre cose simili." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 3, p. 389; translated in Vasari 1568 (1996 ed.), vol. 1, p. 559.
15. But see Settis, Farinella, and Agosti 1987, p. 527.
16. Giordano 1999; Natale 1999.
17. Dalai Emiliani 1971; Bora 1999; Mattioli Rossi 1999.
18. Longhi 1952.
19. "strenuo antropomorfismo che presto si estende all'intero mondo sublunare: fino allo stelo elastico del fiore di prato, fino alla chioma arricciata e ritrosa dell'onda marina . . . fino alle nubi vorticose e 'grupolenti' . . . , a non parlare degli animali, veri o immaginarj." Ibid., p. 11.
20. "vitalistico"; "animistico." Ibid.
21. See Berra 1993; Porzio 1998.
22. Panofsky 1940.
23. Gregori 1972.
24. "dar sommo rilievo alle cose che egli faceva, andava tanto con l'ombre scure a trovare i fondi de' più scuri che cercava neri che ombrassino e fussino più scuri degli altri neri, per fare che 'l chiaro, mediante quegli, fussi più lucido." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 4, p. 26; translated in Vasari 1568 (1996 ed.), p. 630.
25. "aggiunse costui alla maniera del colorire ad olio una certa oscurità, donde hanno dato i moderni gran forza e rilievo alle loro figure." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 4, p. 50; translated in Vasari 1568 (1996 ed.), pp. 639–40.
26. This point is discussed further, in the context of Romanino's *Last Supper,* by Gregori 2002–3, p. 26.
27. Brescia 2002.
28. Begni Redona 1988.
29. "ben' distaccano dal campo." Paglia 1675–1713 (1967 ed.).
30. Magnabosco Ricciardi 1984.
31. Bellori 1672 (1976 ed.), p. 213.
32. Pevsner 1927–28.
33. Berra 2002.
34. Gregori 1989.
35. Gregori 2002.
36. Gregori 2000a.
37. "una fruttiera di persici con foglie di vite, in tavola." See Berra 1989b, p. 9, n. 3.

Naturalism in Lombard Drawing from Leonardo to Cerano

LINDA WOLK-SIMON

And above all I advise my young compatriots to take to heart the study of drawings and sketches by the great masters. Paintings are often... disfigured or damaged by time or by the hand of a restorer, so much so that in many instances we are no longer able to recognize the manner and the spirit of the artist under the veil that covers his work. In original drawings, however, the whole artist appears before us, that is to say, unmasked, without artifice: and his spirit with all its excellence as well as its defects immediately reveals itself to us.... And the study of original drawings is not only indispensable for understanding individual artists; it also serves to imprint in our soul, and with precision, the unique characteristics of individual schools, because particular traits, both spiritual and material, of different artists and different schools are more clearly recognized in drawings and sketches than in paintings.[1]

THE RENOWNED nineteenth-century Lombard art historian and collector Giovanni Morelli issued this exhortation to study drawings by the great masters in the introduction to his volume on Italian paintings in the state museums of Munich and Dresden, which followed his survey of the Borghese and Doria-Pamphilj collections in Rome. Writing under his preferred pseudonym, Ivan Lermolieff, Morelli enlisted this publication as a vehicle for championing his new, scientifically grounded method of connoisseurship, which relied on morphological details as signposts on the path to attribution. Unlike his early disciples Jean Paul Richter and Bernard Berenson, however, Morelli—despite this pronouncement—did not concern himself foremost in his published writings with the attribution of drawings, treating the subject instead as a series of asides to his discussion of paintings. Given this reticence, his avowed faith in their unrivaled capacity to reveal not only an individual artist's true character and personality (an "unscientific" approach he seems elsewhere to renounce) but also the defining characteristics of an entire school is noteworthy.[2]

Morelli had comparatively little to say on the unifying traits of the Lombard style as manifested either in paintings or in drawings.[3] And in the century that has intervened since the appearance of his pioneering studies on Italian painting, followed shortly by such progeny as Berenson's ambitious survey of drawings by Florentine painters, Lombard drawing as a whole has received scant critical attention—particularly outside of Italy—in comparison with the abundance of publications and exhibitions devoted to the other principal regions and schools of Italian draftsmanship.[4] (The lingering prejudice voiced by the judgmental and highly influential Berenson, who summarily dismissed all Lombard draftsmen as inept and firmly held to the belief

CESARE DA SESTO
Study of a Tree
(detail of cat. no. 11)

that any good drawing could only be Florentine,[5] may account in part for this state of affairs.) An encyclopedic survey of Lombard drawing lies well beyond the scope of the present discussion, but as a fragmentary prolegomenon this essay will touch on the major themes of the exhibition—what Morelli might have deemed the "caratteri peculiari" of Lombard art, had he been inclined to move beyond the narrow confines of the pseudoscience he called morphology—insofar as they are present in a selection of drawings from Leonardo to Cerano.

Prologue: Leonardo and Sixteenth-Century Lombard Drawing

It would not be hyperbole to say that the presence of Leonardo da Vinci in Milan from 1481/83 to 1499, and again from 1508 to 1513, was the single most decisive factor in shaping the course of Lombard drawing for almost a century. The artistic themes to be considered here under the broad rubric of naturalism, and the categories of graphic production that emerged in the first decades of the sixteenth century in the major artistic centers of Lombardy in the service of this new naturalism, all may be seen to have originated in some manner in Leonardo's activity during his years in Milan. Whether known directly by the artists in question, or through the work of pupils and followers who served as intermediaries in the transmission of his style, Leonardo's paradigm inflected developments in Lombard draftsmanship until the end of the Cinquecento. Then, a new set of artistic exigencies, bred of the vigorous reform movement that took hold in Milan, eclipsed his particular brand of naturalism, with its empirical foundation, recasting it in the language of "icastic" verisimilitude—a mimetic realism intended to provide moral and spiritual instruction.[6]

Nature Studies: Plants and Animals

Leonardo championed painting as "the sole imitator of all the manifest works of nature . . . which with philosophical and subtle speculation considers all manner of

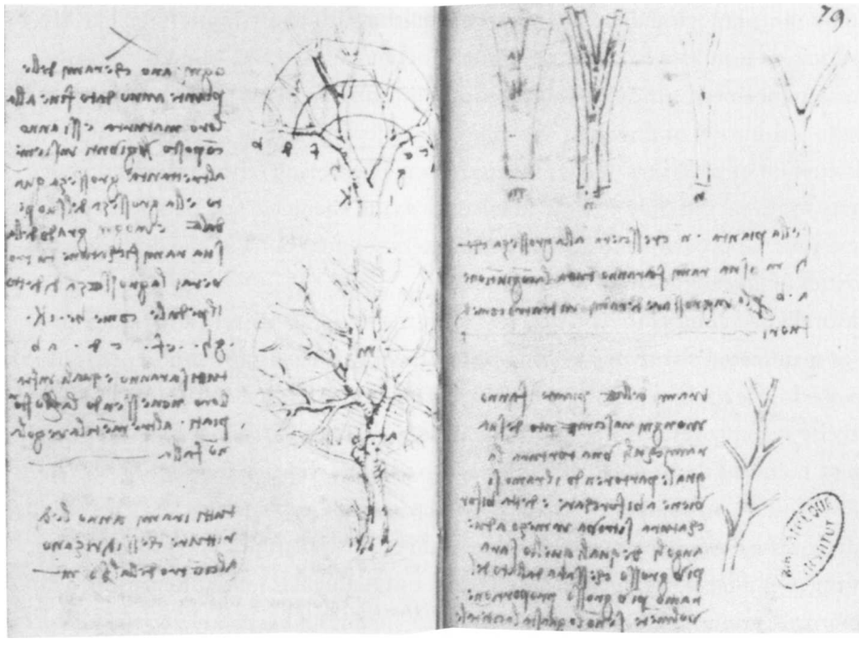


Fig. 26
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
Notes and drawings on the branching patterns of trees
Manuscript M, fols. 78v, 79r
Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris

Fig. 27
AURELIO LUINI (ca. 1530–1593)
Studies of Trees
Pen and brown ink, 11 × 7⅜ in. (280 × 188 mm)
Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
Cod. F 264 inf. n.29r

forms: sea, land, trees, animals, grasses, flowers, all of which are enveloped in light and shade."[7] His writings and his drawings, which take up each of the constituent parts adumbrated in this passage, vividly communicate his profound knowledge of the natural world. Leonardo's botanical studies—even those that began life as preparatory ideas for paintings (see cat. no. 16A–D)—were exploratory essays undertaken to advance his scientific understanding of plant life.[8] A clear demonstration of Leonardo's study of nature as an end in itself is to be found in a folio from one of his manuscripts in which the artist both wrote and drew—in a seamless, organic whole—his observations on various branching patterns of trees (fig. 26).[9] In their critical engagement with the microcosmic structure of nature, Leonardo's botanical investigations signal a profound break from the lively but fundamentally decorative and stylized displays of flora present in North Italian art from the late fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century.

This new, empirically based naturalism—seen not only in Leonardo's plant studies but also in his renderings of animals (see cat. no. 15), insects, and other aspects of the physical world—was part of the prodigious legacy he bequeathed to subsequent generations of Lombard artists. A drawing of a tree by Cesare da Sesto, self-evidently recorded from an actual specimen, captures the form and spirit of Leonardo's nature studies to such a degree that it was at one time ascribed to the master (cat. no. 11). Multiple trees portrayed in comparable realistic detail are seen in a similar study by the Lombard painter Aurelio Luini (fig. 27).[10] This sheet evidences the continuation of a Leonardesque, descriptive mode of drawing from nature into the last decades of the sixteenth century, just as Tanzio da Varallo's red chalk landscape drawing of a

slightly later date (cat. no. 99) ultimately descends from Leonardo's panoramic topographical renderings.[11] Unique in Tanzio's graphic oeuvre, it is not a generic terrain but a straightforward *ricordo* of a specific place;[12] as such, it is the counterpart of his figure drawings, which partake of the naturalistic pictorial conventions and objective realism of seventeenth-century Lombard art (see cat. no. 98).

Cesare da Sesto not only drew trees; like Leonardo he also drew animals. Employing the red chalk medium favored by Leonardo for its capacity to achieve descriptive naturalism (and for this reason also employed by Cesare in his numerous studies of arms, hands, and other anatomical details; see cat. no. 10), he produced unwaveringly direct graphic jottings of a bull (cat. no. 12; fig. 28) and a donkey that proceeded from firsthand study of his languorous subjects. In the same vein are two black chalk drawings of bulls by the Cremonese genre painter Vincenzo Campi (fig. 29), graphic records of his affinity for rustic subjects observed from everyday life.[13]

The portrayal of animals had an established history in Lombard art that long preceded Leonardo's arrival in Milan. The painter, architect, and illuminator Giovannino de' Grassi (active by 1380s, died 1398), who was for many years attached to the *Opera* of Milan Cathedral, produced a sketchbook containing wash drawings of animals, a creation he prized enough to inscribe with a formal signature.[14] Michelino da Besozzo (active 1388, died after 1450), working in and around Milan for much of his career, was celebrated in his day and famed long after his death for his naturalistic depictions of animals and birds: the writer and collector Marcantonio Michiel in 1530 recorded the existence in the Casa Vendramin of a "libretto in quarto" by the artist containing colored drawings of animals.[15] But these artists' animal drawings, which are mostly on vellum and originally belonged to sketchbooks or bestiaries, are examples of a "repertorial naturalism"—one based in artistic convention rather than firsthand observation[16]—and are most closely allied to the late medieval tradition of manuscript illumination. A next step was taken by Pisanello (born by 1395, died 1455), who eschewed the naturalistic conventions of his Lombard predecessors in favor of drawing animals, perhaps for the first time, from life, though within the strictures of a refined,

Fig. 28
CESARE DA SESTO (1477–1523)
Seated Bull
Red chalk, 4⅞ × 6⅞ in. (124 × 175 mm)
Royal Collection, Windsor 12364

Fig. 29
VINCENZO CAMPI (1530/35–1591)
Two Studies of Bulls
Black chalk, 5¾ × 3⅞ in. (147 × 98 mm)
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 835 orn

Fig. 30
GIOVANNI DA UDINE
(1487–1564)
Parrot, ca. 1520
Fresco
Prima Loggia, Vatican Palace

courtly artistic style. No longer formulaic but not yet the product of objective critical detachment, his animals exemplify a "poetic" naturalism. Leonardo's drawings of bears, horses, and other beasts, in contrast, are products of an empirical naturalism, born of the same spirit of scientific inquiry as his botanical and anatomical studies.

By far the most famous sixteenth-century "Lombard" painter of plants and animals was the Friulian-born artist Giovanni da Udine, who spent the most productive years of his long career outside northern Italy. Though he is rarely considered in the context of North Italian naturalism, his consummate gifts as a painter of still-life details tie him to this tradition; his inclusion in this discussion is thus not as anomalous as it might initially seem. Little is known of Giovanni da Udine's artistic training and activity prior to the onset of his fruitful collaboration with Raphael in Rome about 1515. The Tuscan biographer Giorgio Vasari, who met the elderly artist at the end of his life, reports that his first master was Nature: accompanying his father on hunting expeditions, the young Giovanni would draw "dogs, hares, goats, in sum every sort of bird and animal he could lay his hands on; he was able to depict these in so lifelike a fashion that all were dumbfounded."[17] A period of study with Giorgione followed, but the irresistible lure of Rome cut short Giovanni's stay in Venice. Finally, in addition to Nature and Giorgione, a third formative influence was invoked by Vasari: the example of an unknown Flemish painter who inspired the young artist to achieve a heightened naturalism in his depictions of plants, fruits, and flowers, thereby perfecting his skill as a still-life specialist.[18]

While the biographer may be guilty of inventing a trope to account for Giovanni da Udine's early training, the facts of which were largely unknown to him, he appears to have crafted this narration to signal the fundamentally "Lombard" (as opposed to central Italian) character of this aspect of his art. Celebrated as the supreme purveyor of the new Roman *maniera all'antica,* Giovanni was equally esteemed by his contemporaries, foremost among whom was Raphael himself, for his other specialization (one in which he was likewise unrivaled)—the naturalistic depiction of animals, landscapes, and still-life details (fig. 30). A quintessentially Lombard specialty, that gift was not fostered in Rome but rather in his native northern Italy, where the empirical study of nature had its basis in Leonardo's investigations. (Giovanni may have had occasion to see some of that artist's drawings firsthand in Venice and, depending on when his Venetian sojourn occurred, may actually have met Leonardo, who was in Venice in 1500, at which time he is believed by some scholars to have made the acquaintance of Giorgione, Giovanni's purported Venetian master.)[19] Portrayed with an objectivity and realism that reflect their inspiration "dal vero," Giovanni da Udine's brilliant watercolor drawings of animals, birds, and plants continue in the tradition of Leonardo's nature studies (cat. nos. 13A,B, 14).[20]

A large cache of drawings originating mostly from the Milanese workshop of Simone Peterzano includes three remarkable yet somewhat enigmatic botanical studies executed in oil on paper (cat. no. 100A–C). The array of fruits and flowers consists of cherries, pea pods, figs, peaches, pears, lilies, and a squash. Exhibiting an extraordinary freshness, these objects were undoubtedly studied from nature.[21] Their informal character suggests that the studies were created to serve a utilitarian function—that is, they were models for paintings and not independent works—an assumption supported by the arbitrary *mise en page* and the untidy character of each sheet. If their precise purpose is unclear, their final source of inspiration is not: the

careful attention to chromatic and illusionistic effects and the delicate veils of light and shadow ultimately recall the fruits and other still-life objects deployed along the table before Christ and his disciples in Leonardo's *Last Supper* (fig. 39).

Both the exact date and the authorship of these botanical studies are unknown. Some scholars believe they were executed by an unidentified artist in Peterzano's circle in the late sixteenth century and are therefore exceptional artistic records announcing the emergence, at that precise moment, of still life as a full-fledged, independent genre. That argument proceeds to the observation that similar and in some instances nearly identical botanical specimens, represented with a like concern for verisimilitude, recur in the paintings of Caravaggio, who, as a member of Peterzano's workshop in the mid- to late 1580s, would have seen, and perhaps even made, similar studies. Rejecting this early date and any connection with the circle of Peterzano (and therefore with Caravaggio), others believe these botanical studies are by an anonymous seventeenth-century Lombard artist—visual records, therefore, of an established artistic tradition of still life rather than of its first flowering.[22] Accordingly, any connection with still-life details in Caravaggio's paintings would be derivative rather than preparatory. Whatever the case, these works assume an importance belied by their modest size and number, existing as rare if not unique records of the burgeoning interest in naturalistic still-life details that characterizes Lombard painting of the period.

This discussion of nature studies has made repeated reference to the seminal importance of the *Last Supper* for the formulation of still life in Lombardy.[23] Its influence resonates in drawings of a vastly different type by the late-sixteenth-century Milanese painter and draftsman Ambrogio Figino, whose early activity from 1564 to about 1570 in the workshop of his teacher Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo included the production of drawings after Leonardo. (Figino also appears to have inherited part of Lomazzo's collection, which contained drawings by Leonardo and his followers.)[24] On the verso of one of his characteristic double-sided sheets of lively pen studies, Figino drew four vessels and their cast shadows, each a virtuoso still-life detail (cat. no. 95). The metallic surfaces of the two lower vessels and the transparent but likewise reflective bodies of the pair of glass carafes are deftly rendered. Figino also described more complex optical effects—light refracted as it passes through the transparent glass and pools on the implied supporting surface, or shimmering as it bounces off the mirrorlike objects. It hardly needs to be said that an analogous concern with the reflective properties of various implements of this type was one of the striking features of the *Last Supper.* (But in the event that his nod to Leonardo went unrecognized, Figino included freehand transcriptions of the heads of two of the apostles in reverse at the upper left.) The murky pool of wash in which each of the four vessels is silhouetted further evokes Leonardo, whose demonstrations of chiaroscuro were of particular interest to Figino, as to his teacher.[25]

Lomazzo lauded Figino as "eccellente nei lumi," a praise that numerous contemporaries echoed.[26] That skill was perfected during his long years in Lomazzo's workshop, where the study of the various effects of natural light, and of Leonardesque chiaroscuro, was a consuming undertaking. Like his paintings, this and others of Figino's drawings document his interest in the pictorial qualities of light, as well as his early forays into the new artistic realm of still life (see cat. no. 73).[27] (Here it is interesting to note that various still-life passages in Caravaggio's paintings include carafes nearly identical to those drawn by Figino.) These pursuits were ultimately born of Leonardo—of his

naturalistic botanical studies and formulation of chiaroscuro a century earlier—whose legacy remained a dominant force in the artistic ambient of late-sixteenth-century Milan, in large part through the theoretical writings of Lomazzo, a Lombard partisan advancing the cause of a newly conceptualized Lombard school. In the work of Figino's contemporaries Fede Galizia and Arcimboldi, still life became an autonomous genre (in painting if not in drawing), legitimized by the "metaphysical naturalism" of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, which saw in even the most minute and mundane details of nature evidence of the hand of the Divine Creator.[28]

Genre Themes in Lombard Drawing

An abiding interest in ordinary themes culled from everyday life rather than from the lofty reaches of history, mythology, or theology is one of the hallmarks of North Italian art and a major theme of this exhibition. Abundantly manifest in paintings of the period, this interest also informs aspects of sixteenth-century Lombard drawing. Leonardo figures more marginally in this narration, despite the fact that many of his so-called caricatures and grotesques exhibit decidedly humorous exaggerations that cannot have failed to amuse his contemporaries (cat. no. 18A,B). However, recent research has revealed that he did, on at least one notable occasion, take pen to paper to depict a lowlife genre subject: an unsuspecting elderly man tricked by Gypsies, one of whom reads his palm while his cohort, a leering hag, relieves their prey of his purse (fig. 31).[29]

Gypsies were a familiar fixture of Milanese street life in Leonardo's day. Regarded as an increasingly acute problem in the early 1490s, they were declared "bandits, ruffians, and charlatans," and were finally banished from the duchy by an official edict in April 1493.[30] The deceitful trickery of these and other unsavory

Fig. 31
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
A Man Tricked by Gypsies
Pen and brown ink, 10¼ × 8⅛ in. (260 × 205 mm)
Royal Collection, Windsor
12495

characters like cardsharps—a favorite subject of Caravaggio and his contemporaries a century later (cat. no. 64)—thus was not an artistic topos but a type of imagery inspired at least in part by reality (and also by its reflection in contemporary lowlife forms of entertainment such as theater). Leonardo's composition, which was widely disseminated—presumably through copies—and spawned a number of variants and echoes by later sixteenth-century artists, both Italian and Northern,[31] stands at the beginning of a long and preeminently Lombard pictorial tradition.

It cannot be said that Lombard draftsmen (who as a rule were less prolific than their central Italian counterparts) produced vast quantities of drawings of genre subjects. However, they did demonstrate a greater interest in such themes than their contemporaries working in Florence, Rome, and even Venice, where genre scenes tended to be cloaked in the language of pastoral idylls rather than earthy realism.[32] This inherently Lombard interest is expressed in preparatory studies for genre paintings on the one hand, and in independent depictions of quotidian subjects on the other. A drawing of a pastoral concert by the Brescian painter Girolamo Romanino (cat. no. 49) is close in both subject and spirit to his diverting, if damaged, frescoes in the Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent, one of which represents a group of flute players.[33] While the satyr playing a viola da braccio may evoke the pastoral *poesie* of Giorgione and Titian, the close parallels with the frescoes in Trent[34]—secular scenes enacted by robust figures in contemporary dress—that provide the context for Romanino's drawing suggest that this is less a Venetian-inspired eclogue than a Lombard scene of contemporary life outfitted with the trappings of Arcadia.

Another sheet by the same artist showing a pair of nude men (cat. no. 48) is more ambiguous. Attempts to identify a biblical, mythological, or allegorical subject have thus far proved futile; in the absence of a more compelling hypothesis, the likelihood remains that Romanino here intended nothing more than a bawdy depiction of two inelegant, lumpish, naked "Tarzans," as one scholar has descriptively characterized them.[35] That the sketch on the verso, which has bled through to the recto, is a caricatural portrait of a man (who, with his exaggerated slope of a nose and protuberant chin, recalls Leonardo's grotesques) further indicates that this sheet should be recognized as a "genre drawing."

Some genre subjects by Lombard draftsmen are straightforward preparatory studies for paintings. Vincenzo Campi's *Study of a Woman* and *Ricotta Eaters* (cat. no. 93; fig. 67), both of which closely relate to known paintings by this Cremonese artist who specialized in genre themes, exemplify this type of utilitarian drawing.[36] Others elude strict categorization. Two highly finished, thematically related sheets by another Cremonese artist, Sofonisba Anguissola, who was praised by Vasari for her deftness at "drawing, coloring and painting from nature,"[37] that is, for her distinctly "Lombard" naturalism, were created either as composition studies for lost or unexecuted works or, more probably, as independent graphic productions (cat. nos. 91, 92).[38] Sofonisba was a celebrated portraitist and many of her multifigured tableaux straddle the boundaries delineating genre and portraiture. Such is the case with these drawings of a child bitten by a crayfish, to the evident amusement of his older companion, and an elderly woman learning the alphabet while mocked by a young girl; both are representations of contemporary figures, seemingly observed from life, engaged in ordinary, even mundane activities.

With their comic or satirical overtones, these compositions show affinities with a type of Lombard genre painting, the "pittura ridicola" (humorous, often bawdy lowlife

scenes) referred to by contemporaries like Gabriele Paleotti in his ambitious treatise, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* (1528), and Lomazzo in his *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (1584).[39] It is possible that some layer of allegorical or moralizing content may have also been intended, as scholars have suggested with regard to similar genre scenes by Vincenzo Campi, Annibale Carracci, and Caravaggio, among other North Italian artists.[40] Regardless of whether or not this is the case, Sofonisba's drawings are signal pictorial documents in the evolving North Italian genre tradition. Occupying a midpoint in the Leonardo-Caravaggio continuum, they incorporate elements seen in the works of both artists: the juxtaposition of youth and beauty with decrepit old age in the *Old Woman Studying the Alphabet* (cat. no. 91) appropriates a favorite contrapposto topos of Leonardo,[41] while the startled child grimacing as he is bitten by an amphibious assailant anticipates both the composition and the subject matter of Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (Fondazione Longhi, Florence).[42]

An engaging sequence of genre drawings by the Lombard-born painter Polidoro da Caravaggio presents straightforward visual snippets of daily life, unburdened by any didactic, moralizing, or allegorical overtones (cat. no. 21A–D), of a type unheralded in earlier Lombard art. Washerwomen, blind beggars, cardplayers, children intently huddled around a schoolmistress or dancing with joyous abandon—these and other scenes of lower-class workaday activities were portrayed by the artist with extraordinary freshness and immediacy, and with the sole (and quite novel) purpose of recording the world around him. (All the drawings in question appear to be independent works rather than designs for paintings or prints.)

Other than his birthplace, the small town of Caravaggio in Lombardy, virtually nothing is recorded about Polidoro's early years prior to his arrival in Rome about 1517/18, when he joined Raphael's workshop. Vasari did not personally know the artist, who was murdered by a malevolent assistant in Messina about 1543, but he was well acquainted with a number of his former *compagni* in the Raphael workshop who could have provided him with biographical information. It is therefore significant that the account of his artistic beginnings presented in the *Vite* is limited to the comment that Polidoro—whom Vasari introduces as Polidoro da Caravaggio *da Lombardia*—"non fatosi per lungo studio, ma stato prodotto e creato dalla natura pittore" (was not formed by long study, but was produced and created a painter by nature).[43]

This narration demonstrates that Polidoro da Caravaggio, like Giovanni da Udine, his fellow "Lombard" in the Raphael workshop, was understood by contemporaries to be an exponent not of the Roman or central Italian style, with its foundations in the art of Raphael, Michelangelo, and the antique, that Vasari championed throughout the *Vite*—what he succinctly anointed "questa maniera di Roma"—but rather of an alternative, "Lombard" style that was instead founded in nature.[44] Remarkably unlike anything produced by other members of the Raphael workshop (including Raphael himself), Polidoro's genre drawings are a visual testament of his Lombard heritage—one that he shared with his more famous compatriot from Caravaggio, who would later take up some of the same subject matter.[45] Considered against this backdrop, Polidoro's celebrated, and completely unprecedented, landscape frescoes in the Cappella di Fra Mariano Fetti in San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome, become more than archaeologizing demonstrations of a Roman *all'antica* style: they are a Lombard artist's ruminations on a quintessentially Lombard subject—the world of nature—imprinted but not fully transformed by the poetic language of classical antiquity.[46]

Naturalism in the Depiction of Devotional Subjects: *Affetti*, Verisimilitude, and Drawing after the Live Model

Miracolosa, famosissima, and *divina* are some of the superlatives that early observers of Leonardo's *Last Supper* in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazia in Milan invoked to describe this iconic work, which was famed above all for its dramatic unity and for the affecting, emotive aspect of Christ and the apostles.[47] Leonardo attained this expressive pitch through a copious series of preparatory studies exploring the figures' gestures and expressions (fig. 32). These show his preoccupation with probing the "scienza degli affetti"—with capturing the emotional state of each figure in the manner described in his writings. In an often-quoted passage from his fragmentary and posthumous *Trattato della pittura*, Leonardo articulates his notion of the "moti mentali" (motions of the mind), remarking that "the good painter has to paint two principal things, that is to say, man and the intention of his mind. The first is easy and the second difficult, because the latter has to be represented through gestures and movements of the limbs.... That figure is most praiseworthy which best expresses through its actions the passion of its mind."[48] Visual demonstrations of his notion of the "scienza degli affetti," Leonardo's preparatory studies for the *Last Supper* were vastly influential prototypes for sixteenth-century Lombard draftsmen, both for their technique and for their expressive character.

Fig. 32
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
Head of Saint James and Architectural Studies
Red chalk, pen and brown ink, 9⅞ × 6¾ in. (252 × 172 mm)
Royal Collection, Windsor
12552

Leonardo's corpus of preparatory drawings for the *Last Supper* probably included a group of head studies of Christ and the apostles, now lost, executed in colored chalks (*pastelli*). The French artist and poet Jean Perréal (ca. 1450/60–1530), who seems to have been the first to produce drawings "au crayon," may have introduced Leonardo to this new technique. Twice present in Italy in the 1490s, Perréal is apparently referred to in a notation in one of Leonardo's manuscripts in which he reminds himself to get from "Gian di Paris il modo di colorire a secco" (Jean of Paris the method of coloring with dry pigment)—a passage that has been construed as a reference to the pastel technique.[49] That Leonardo produced such drawings expressly for the *Last Supper* has been inferred from a reference in Lomazzo's *Tratatto della pittura*: "I cannot fail to mention another way of coloring known as with pastello [colored chalk]. This is done with sticks composed of colored powder of which all [colors] can be made. It is used on paper and was much employed by Leonardo da Vinci, who drew the exquisite and miraculous heads of Christ and the apostles in this way on paper."[50] According to this late-sixteenth-century account, then, Leonardo extensively employed the technique of colored chalk, the support used was paper, and the subject of these studies was the heads of Jesus and his disciples, the protagonists of the *Last Supper*.

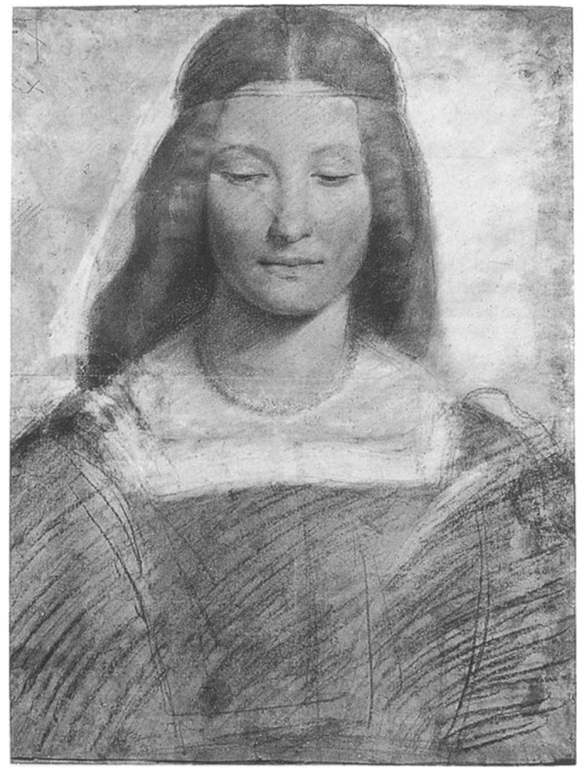
As already noted, no such preparatory works by Leonardo for the *Last Supper* survive,[51] although his famous, slightly later portrait drawing of Isabella d'Este provides a general idea of how a study by Leonardo executed in colored chalks would have looked (fig. 33). This lacuna calls into question the accuracy of Lomazzo's testimony. One explanation is that the drawings he had seen were not by Leonardo, but rather were one of the early series of heads (which, if they are after lost originals by the master, further point to their erstwhile existence) such as that now in Strasbourg which has been variously attributed to Boltraffio or Giampietrino, two of his Milanese followers (cat. no. 19A–J). It is also possible that the works seen by Lomazzo—who was writing in the same century and milieu in which Leonardo had lived, and who may well have been repeating the established early, authoritative history that had accompanied

Fig. 33
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
Isabella d'Este
Black, red, and white chalk, yellow pastel (?), over leadpoint, on prepared paper, 24¾ × 18⅛ in. (630 × 460 mm)
Musée du Louvre, Paris MI 753

Fig. 34
GIOVANNI ANTONIO
BOLTRAFFIO (ca. 1467–1516)
Study of a Young Woman
Brown, yellow, ocher, red, and ivory pastel over charcoal on prepared paper, 21 × 16 in. (533 × 405 mm)
Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
Cod. F. 290 inf. 7

the drawings—were subsequently lost.[52] In either case, what is significant for the present discussion is that since the sixteenth century, Leonardo had been credited with introducing color to drawings of the human physiognomy, an innovation that allowed for heightened exploration of *affetti* and a more compelling naturalism and verisimilitude. Only such an imposing model could have spawned the new, distinctly Lombard, category of graphic production, chalk drawings of heads, that emerged in his wake.

Leonardo's written advice that "the artist should first exercise his hand by copying drawings from the hand of a good master" was the same method he instructed his pupils to follow.[53] The extant corpus of head studies by Boltraffio, the Master of the Pala Sforzesca, Marco d'Oggiono, and other *leonardeschi,* executed in the meticulous silverpoint technique Leonardo had exported from Florence, are the tangible products of this didactic process.[54] When chalk eclipsed silverpoint in Leonardo's practice in the mid-1490s, the effect on his followers was profound. Boltraffio, the master's most gifted pupil and author of the most accomplished silverpoint head studies in a Leonardesque mode, immediately responded. His compelling study of a female head (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), executed in black and colored chalks and employed as the model for the Virgin in the *Casio Altarpiece* (Musée du Louvre, Paris),[55] is the artist's earliest known drawing in the new medium. Significantly, the subject is no longer an idealized type such as those Boltraffio had treated in his numerous silverpoint drawings, but rather a portrait of a particular individual (probably his sister-in-law Laura Pandolfi), endowed with a palpable physicality and rendered in a newly realistic manner. Another, virtually lifesize—and strikingly lifelike—drawing of a female head and torso by Boltraffio (probably likewise a portrait, which in this case served as a model for his painting *Saint Barbara*) is an even more forceful demonstration of the pictorial and naturalistic possibilities of *pastelli* (fig. 34).[56]



Other Milanese followers of Leonardo also embraced the new medium. In a drawing of the head of a bearded man, Andrea Solario employed a subtle range of colored chalks to convey the physical characteristics of human flesh, lips, and hair, thereby imparting to the figure a lifelike verisimilitude rivaling Boltraffio's (cat. no. 22). As the hastily sketched, truncated hand at the lower left of the sheet signals, Solario here takes up Leonardo's exploration of *affetti*: concerned foremost with gesture, expression, and naturalistic appearances, this imposing sketch harks directly back to the studies for the *Last Supper,* with their intense focus on heads and hands as conveyors of emotional states (see cat. no. 19A–J). The undeniably Christlike aspect of the grave, reflective figure leaves little doubt that Solario had those exemplars in mind.

Bernardino Luini, arguably the most thoroughly Leonardesque of the *leonardeschi,* showed the same appreciation for the descriptive capacity of the new colored chalk medium. His brilliant drawing of a woman holding a fan at once evokes and surpasses Leonardo's chalk portrait of Isabella d'Este (figs. 35, 33).[57] The dual focus on the figure's face and hand, those passages of Luini's beautiful portrait that are worked up in color, also follows Leonardo's precedent. Solario's and Luini's drawings, like those of Boltraffio, are unthinkable without Leonardo's pioneering example, which found its last expression at the end of the sixteenth century in Ambrogio Figino's colored chalk head studies. The close-up, intimate portraits of the artist and his sister (fig. 36) both convey an uncanny sense of the sitters' real, physical presence and are consummate statements of the *verismo* that contemporaries admired in his painted portraiture, as attested in the speech delivered by one of the interlocutors in Gregorio Comanini's eponymous dialogue, *Il Figino o vero del fine della pittura* (1591).[58]

Somewhat more distant though nonetheless direct descendants of Leonardo's head studies are the chalk drawings of heads by the Brescian painter Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, whose small and homogeneous graphic oeuvre, with one exception, consists entirely of drawings of this type (cat. nos. 50–53). Somber and intense, Savoldo's head studies endeavor to describe not only the outward, physical appearance of the subject but also the inner state that animates that outward appearance. Once again Leonardo's notion of the "scienza degli affetti" is apposite. Luini has been

Fig. 35
BERNARDINO LUINI
(ca. 1480/85–1532)
Portrait of a Woman (Ippolita Bentivoglio?)
Pastel and black chalk over charcoal, 16¼ × 11⅛ in. (414 × 284 mm)
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 59

Fig. 36
AMBROGIO FIGINO
(1548–1608)
Portrait of the Artist's Sister Caterina Figino
Black and red chalk, pastel, on faded blue paper, 12¾ × 8⅝ in. (325 × 220 mm)
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan
Nap. 906; Reg. cron. 869; Inv. dis. 258

Fig. 37
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
Study of a Right Foot with Lines of Proportion
Red chalk, 3⅞ × 2¾ in. (99 × 70 mm)
Royal Collection, Windsor
RL 12635

proposed as the intermediary responsible for transmitting elements of Leonardo's prototypes to Savoldo, whose drawings are nonetheless most often seen as products of a Venetian tradition, closely allied to the work of Titian and Lotto.[59]

While sharing similarities with Venetian draftsmanship, Savoldo's head studies (at least some of which were observed from life) also adhere to an expressly Lombard idiom. Lacking the soft, painterly character and broad handling of Titian's chalk drawings, they exhibit a solid modeling and *rilievo*—a concern with describing the plasticity of forms that recalls Boltraffio and contemporary Lombard art.[60] In their earthy realism, these works also demonstrate a more extreme naturalism than anything seen in Venetian drawings of the period. Moreover, his shadowy, nuanced chiaroscuro, a hallmark of his paintings as well as his drawings, traces its origins to Leonardo. Finally, the immediacy that Savoldo achieves as a result of the intense focus on the head to the exclusion of all other details signals the most profound debt to Leonardo, who viewed the head as the repository of the soul,[61] a belief that his own powerful head studies fully convey. The conclusion that Savoldo's drawings are "intrinsically Lombard" is ineluctable.[62]

The affecting devotional style of Leonardo, of which the *Last Supper* is the supreme archetype, proceeded from the new attention to naturalistic effect that informed his scientific and artistic innovations alike. Not only did Leonardo rely on the varied and compelling portrayal of human emotion as encapsulated in gesture and expression to achieve this end, he also sought to convey a sense of his subjects' lifelike physical aspect. His early use of colored chalks is one manifestation of this ambition to achieve greater verisimilitude. So too are the drapery studies he produced throughout his career, which illustrate his written admonition that "draperies that clothe figures must show that they are inhabited by these figures, enveloping them neatly to show the posture and motion of such figures."[63] Such drawings were another component of the prodigious legacy Leonardo bequeathed to Lombard artists, beginning with his immediate followers in Milan (cat. no. 9A,B). Also falling within this framework are his red chalk studies of anatomical details such as feet, arms, and hands (fig. 37; cat. no. 10)—the latter vehicles of expression and "moti mentali"—that served as models for artists like Cesare da Sesto, who among all Leonardo's followers was the one to most fully appreciate the naturalistic appearance that red chalk could impart. Despite their disparate nature, all three types of drawing sprang from a common impetus: the forging of a devotional style grounded in the visual language of reality, the efficacy of which was tied to the compelling exploration of *affetti*. In this lie the antecedents of much that would occur in later Lombard painting.

Federico Borromeo, the Reform Movement in Milan, and Later Lombard Drawing

Endeavoring to defend the integrity of the Lombard tradition against the "foreign" challenge posed by Vasari's apotheosis of the central Italian manner, the Milanese painter-theorist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo championed the art of Leonardo and his followers as a paradigm. This was not only a theoretical precept but also an artistic principle, of which Lomazzo's cartoon *Head of a Bearded Man* (fig. 38)—Leonardesque in its subject matter, recourse to dramatic chiaroscuro to achieve the effects of *rilievo*, and use of colored media—is a visual pronouncement.[64] That a Lombard style as codified in the works of Leonardo and his Milanese pupils constituted a viable counterweight

Fig. 38
GIOVANNI PAOLO LOMAZZO (1538–1592)
Head of a Bearded Man
Charcoal, wash, and black chalk, heightened with white, 22¼ × 16⅞ in. (565 × 430 mm)
Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti, Turin 347

to the Romano-Tuscan tradition, and their works a worthy component of a newly formulated artistic canon, became the institutionally sanctioned view promulgated at the Ambrosiana, the museum, library, and academy established by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milan to promote artistic reform in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent.[65] His private collection, which was augmented to form the core of the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (established in 1618), included a significant number of works by Leonardo's followers, particularly Bernardino Luini. Borromeo considered Leonardo to be a master of *affetti,* and the Lombards especially accomplished in the depiction of "sweet, intimate, and affective devotional scenes"[66]—that is, in achieving a decorous and efficacious naturalism—a view that was codified with the foundation of the Ambrosiana.

The teaching academy of the Ambrosiana, the Accademia del Disegno, was officially established in 1620. Its *conservatori* were all ecclesiastics appointed by Borromeo, but three artists were elected as Maestri, among them Giovanni Battista Crespi, known as Cerano. His tenure as professor of painting was not an unqualified success, for Cerano failed to attend meetings regularly, evidently because he found Borromeo's views on artistic reform limiting rather than inspiring.[67] But a drawing by Cerano of Saint Carlo Borromeo (cat. no. 94) is emblematic of Cardinal Federico's attitude on the didactic role of art as a medium for commemorating *il vero,* which for Borromeo meant historical truth, itself a vehicle of spiritual instruction.

Cerano produced his monumental drawing in connection with a project conceived by Federico Borromeo to establish a *sacromonte* dedicated to his cousin and mentor Saint Carlo Borromeo, an early champion of post-Tridentine ecclesiastical reform, in his birthplace of Arona. Comprised of some thirty chapels on a mountainside commemorating events from Carlo's exemplary life of pastoral care and spiritual

devotion, the *sacromonte* was to culminate in a colossal bronze statue of the saint looking out at Lago Maggiore.[68] Most striking in the drawing is the realism of the figure, whose individualized, distinctive features are at once recognizable.[69] This work (and the sculpture for which it served as a model) was, then, intended to be an authentic image, one that by virtue of its very authenticity, or *verismo,* acquired a moral and spiritual authority imparted by its subject. No longer the straightforward naturalism of Leonardo and his Lombard followers, *il vero* was transformed in the drawings of Cerano and his contemporaries into an efficacious tool in the crusade for ecclesiastical reform and its corollary, artistic reform—the mission of Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana.[70] Numerous drawings by Cerano and his Lombard contemporaries—studies for frescoes, altarpieces, and other devotional images—have as their subject Saint Carlo Borromeo, whose many lifelike representations reflect the extent to which this particular form of naturalism was harnessed by the Church to serve its didactic program of renewal and reform.[71]

Conclusion

Naturalism is a distinctive strain in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lombard draftsmanship, evident in certain drawings by certain artists working in the wake of Leonardo's protracted presence in Milan. A recurring characteristic rather than an all-encompassing rubric, it nonetheless emerges as one of the "caratteri peculiari" in a survey of drawings by masters of the Lombard school. That term, introduced at the beginning of this essay, is Morelli's, and though the great Lombard critic himself seldom ventured any specific characterizations (one interesting exception is a passing comment about Romanino),[72] that early partisan of the Lombard school Federico Borromeo did, discerning as quintessentially Lombard lifelike and affective devotional images. Ironically, Morelli, when discussing the early attribution to Leonardo of two portraits in the Ambrosiana, issued one of his typically superior pronouncements, dismissing as deficient the critical acumen of Borromeo and his contemporaries: "We can scarcely be surprised that in Cardinal Federigo Borrommeo's day these portraits should have passed for works by the same master; for art-criticism, like every other kind of criticism, was then at its lowest ebb."[73] But Morelli's judgment was overly harsh. Those particular spurious attributions aside, Borromeo had indeed aptly described one aspect of Lombard art, its affecting naturalism—a feature that Morelli, with his myopic emphasis on form, evidently failed to appreciate. Morelli also left to others the systematic study of drawings by the Italian old masters, professing at the conclusion of the second volume of his *Critical Studies* that "literary work has always been distasteful to me, but I shall feel amply rewarded for all my trouble should these 'Critical Studies' induce even a small number of students to devote themselves to the laborious but most interesting task of studying the original drawings by the great masters."[74] In the case of Lombard drawing, more than a century later that "laborious but most interesting task" still warrants undertaking.

Notes

1. "E sopra tutto consiglio ai miei giovani compatrioti di prendere a cuore lo studio dei disegni e schizzi dei grandi maestri. Le opere dipinto sono di consueto . . . così sfigurate, o dalle ingiurie del tempo o dalla mano del restauratore, che tante volte non siamo più in grado di vedere la maniera e lo spirito dell'artista sotto il velo che copre l'opera sua. Nei disegni originali al contrario tutto l'uomo appare davanti a noi, per così dire, senza maschera, senza artifizii; e il suo spirito c'suo pregi e co'suoi difetti si revela immediatamente alla mente nostra. . . . E lo studio dei disegni originali non è soltanto indispensabile per la conoscenza dei singoli maestri: esso serve altresì ad imprimere nell'animo nostro con maggior precisione i caratteri peculiari delle singole scuole, poiché si ravvisano molto più chiaramente nei disegni e schizzi che nelle pitture i tratti particolari tanto spirituali quanto materiali dei diversi maestri e delle diverse scuole. . . ." Morelli 1886, pp. 10–11 (my translation). A rather free and condensed English translation of this passage is found in Morelli 1892–93, vol. 2, p. 8.
2. Some Italian drawings in Dresden are surveyed at the end of the volume, with most of the attention focused on Domenico Campagnola. While Morelli expressed firmly held opinions on matters of attribution in the case of certain of these drawings, the discussion is essentially a brief epilogue. Other pages here and in the pendant volume are peppered with references to drawings by specific artists, but always in the context of a discussion of paintings. Morelli was, however, an avid drawings collector who owned more than 250 sheets, including numerous examples by Lombard artists, and he authored a catalogue of his own collection. He also intended to prepare a volume of critical studies on the subject of Italian drawings, but did not live to complete it (Morelli 1892–93, vol. 1, p. 22). His private correspondence is rich in commentary on drawings (see Bora, Rodeschini Galati, and Agosti 1988; Milan 1994–95). Morelli's conception of "morphology," a term he borrowed from Goethe to communicate the scientific basis of his method of attribution, has long since fallen into disuse in the study of paintings but is still apposite in the field of drawings connoisseurship.

   In promoting his "scientific" method of studying form to arrive at attributions, Morelli was dismissive of contemporary art critics such as Charles Blanc for claiming to have fathomed such intangibles of an artist's personality (in this case, Leonardo) as "'la tournure, le génie singulièrement complexe'" (Morelli 1892–93, vol. 1, pp. 69, 70, quoting Blanc). In a similar vein is his remark that "unprejudiced students will, I think, acknowledge that I have done well to protect against the persistent and arbitrary attribution to Leonardo of countless unauthentic drawings and paintings, due in some cases merely to their supposed 'geistigen Inhalt' (inward qualities)" (Morelli 1892–93, vol. 1, p. 178).
3. Morelli included Parma in his definition of "Lombard," but his short discussion focuses on Sodoma, who is subjected to a morphological analysis, and more briefly on Bernardino Luini and Giampietrino (Morelli 1892–93, vol. 1, pp. 79–92).
4. The drawings of Leonardo and his Milanese followers have been extensively discussed, particularly in recent years (see, for example, Pedretti and Dalli Regoli 1985, Bora 1991, Bora 2003, and Marani 2003), and a number of the individual artists to be considered here—Savoldo, the Campi, and Figino among others—are well studied as draftsmen. The school of Cremona has been the object of much scholarly attention (Cremona 1985; Bora 1988), and Cremonese drawing was the subject of a recent exhibition and catalogue, though it was considered autonomously rather than as part of a broader examination of North Italian draftsmanship (Cremona 1997–98).

   Nonetheless, it remains that almost all the overviews of Lombard drawing published to date are collection-based catalogues, which are of necessity limited to the scope and holdings of the proprietary institution (see, for example, Ragghianti 1966; Valsecchi 1975; Washington and other cities 1984–85, which is not exclusively devoted to Lombard drawings; and Milan 1986). Little of a synthetic nature surveying the sixteenth-century Lombard school as a whole has been undertaken (but see the perfunctory treatment in New York 1994, pp. 50–60). A notable recent exception is the ambitious catalogue by Giovanni Agosti (2001). Bora 1971 should also be cited in this context: a collection-based catalogue, it nonetheless adopted a thematic approach and introduced related drawings from other institutions. But the scope of the discussion was by choice limited to its strict thematic focus on Lombard Mannerists, and only those few artists (primarily Camillo Boccaccino, Antonio and Bernardino Campi, and Lomazzo) who fit this stylistic classification were discussed. Seventeenth-century Lombard drawing has been treated in a more wide-ranging fashion (see, inter alia, Bora 1973), but the bibliography is once again slim in comparison with that devoted to Bolognese or Roman drawings of the same period.
5. Discussed by Agosti 2001, pp. 20–21, citing Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 121. Berenson's dismissal of Lombard draftsmanship allowed as its one redeeming grace the fact that North Italian artists left comparatively few drawings.
6. See the discussion by Ann Doyle-Anderson and Giancarlo Maiorino in Comanini 1591 (2001 ed.), pp. ix–xviii. The "icastic," or the literal-figurative, is the antithesis of the fantastic and pleasurable, which in the debate devised by Comanini is represented by the art of Arcimboldi. The interlocutor Stefano Guazzo defines an icastic imitation as that which "imitates something formed by nature, such as a man, a beast, a mountain, a sea, a plain, and other similar things." In contrast, he continues, "the one who paints a fanciful creation of his own, never before drawn by anyone else, at least as far as he knows, makes a fantastic imitation." Comanini 1591 (2001 ed.), p. 17.
7. Leonardo 2001, p. 13, no. 9. Leonardo here engages in the *paragone* debate, advocating the relative merits of painting over sculpture.
8. On Leonardo's botanical studies, see Emboden 1987 and Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 537, who notes that "Leonardo's knowledge of botanical science about 1508–10 seems to have far surpassed that of the leading professors of the subject then teaching at the renowned universities of Padua and Pisa." Leonardo may have intended to organize his botanical drawings and writings into a treatise.
9. See Paris 2003, no. 148, ill.
10. See the entry by Bert Meijer in Washington and other cities

1984–85, no. 44. According to the painter and theoretician Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, Aurelio Luini owned Leonardo's *"Saint Anne" Cartoon* (National Gallery, London), as well as an album with fifty Leonardo red chalk drawings, probably grotesques and caricatures; see Bora 1991, p. 206.

11. In Leonardo's graphic oeuvre, Tanzio's drawing may be compared with the *Study of Alpine Peaks* (Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. no. 12414; Clark 1988, p. 213, ill.).
12. E. Testori 1995, p. 120, observes that "the steep, mountainous terrain recalls that of the artist's native Varallo and may depict a peak called Tagliaferro."
13. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nos. 835 orn (fig. 29), 836 orn; see Cremona 1985, no. 2.14.2; and Paliaga 1997, nos. 68, 69. The drawing of two bulls is an exact replica of a study by Vincenzo's brother Antonio Campi (Castello Sforzesco, Milan) that served as the design for the background of an engraving by Agostino Carracci for Antonio's *Cremona fedelissima . . .* (1585), as Bora first noted; see Campi 1585.
14. Biblioteca Civica A. Mai, Bergamo, Ms. delta vii, 14 (inscribed *Johininus de grassis designavit* on fol. 4v).
15. "il libretto in quarto in cavretto con li animali coloriti fu de mano de Michelino milanese" (the small quarto volume in vellum with colored animals was by the hand of Michelino Milanese); Michiel 1884, p. 221. Michelino da Besozzo's work shows close affinities with that of Stefano da Verona, who was, as recently demonstrated, the son of Jean d'Arbois, court painter of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy (see Karet 2002). This raises the issue of the Northern impetus behind the naturalism of Michelino and other Late Gothic Lombard artists, a subject beyond the scope of the present discussion.
16. Forlani Tempesti 1991, p. 26.
17. "cani, lepri, capri, ed in somma tutte le sorti d'animali e d'uccelli che gli venivano alle mani: il che faceva per sì fatto modo, che ognuno ne stupiva." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 549–50. Documents discovered in the late nineteenth century revealed that the artist's first master was in fact Giovanni Martini, a local painter in Udine to whom he was apprenticed in 1502. This fact was unknown to Vasari, and no works from this early period of Giovanni da Udine's career have been identified.
18. The precise identity of the "Fiamingo chiamato Giovanni" mentioned by Vasari (1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 6, p. 550) remains open to debate. Two suggestions, Jan van Scorel and Johannes Ruysch, have not met with widespread acceptance. Regardless of the identity of this mysterious "Fleming called John," it is significant that Vasari specifically credits Giovanni's exposure to Flemish painting as the impetus for overcoming the dryness that marked his early depictions of plants, fruits, and flowers.
19. Leonardo's documented visit to Venice in March 1500 was in connection with his employment by the Republic to conceive a system of defense against the Turks for the Friuli region, whence Giovanni da Udine hailed; the two artists therefore may also have met somewhere on mainland Venetian territory. The mathematician Luca Pacioli, a friend of Leonardo, accompanied him to Venice as well as to Mantua and referred to this trip in his edition of Euclid's *Elementa* (Venice, 1509). Vasari did not expressly mention Leonardo's Venetian visit, but he did note affinities between Giorgione's manner and that of Leonardo. On these points, see Marani 1992, p. 23.
20. Giovanni da Udine's fundamental importance to the evolution of the Italian still life accounts for the former, erroneous attribution to him of a number of early flower paintings. These were subsequently attributed to Giacomo Recco, and most recently to Tommaso Salini; see the entries by Alberto Veca in Munich, Florence 2002–3, pp. 108–9.
21. See most recently Rome 1995–96, no. 1, and the entries by Filippo Maria Ferro in Milan 1999–2000, nos. 1–3. The large corpus of Peterzano workshop drawings, which belongs to a cache numbering more than a thousand sheets, came mostly from the church of San Celso in Milan, where the artist had worked (see Fiorio 1974 and Bora 2002). Many of the drawings are figure studies for paintings by Peterzano, but the range in quality indicates that they are by a number of hands—including, possibly, that of the young Caravaggio, who was in the workshop at the relevant time, as various scholars have noted. The search for drawings by this notorious non-draftsman has therefore reasonably focused on the Peterzano group as a starting point.
22. This is the opinion of Giulio Bora (verbal communication). A page from one of Leonardo's manuscripts (Institut de France, Paris, Ms. 2, fol. 2r) that contains similar colored studies of cherries and pea pods has been cited as the direct precursor of these botanical sketches (Marani 1995–96, p. 27; Milan 1999–2000, p. 66). However, Carmen Bambach has informed me that both she and Pietro Marani believe that those passages are not by Leonardo. It is possible that the studies are later additions by a hand contemporary with the anonymous author of the similar Peterzano workshop botanicals. In this context it is of note that this manuscript, originally in the possession of Leonardo's devoted follower Francesco Melzi, was in Milan and belonged to Cardinal Federico Borromeo during the period in question (see Valsecchi 1975, p. 37).
23. The still-life details from the painting have been clarified as a result of the recent restoration, although the full effect of these naturalistic passages is irretrievably lost. On Leonardo's importance for the inception of the still-life tradition in Lombard art, see Marani 1995–96 and Gregori 2002–3, p. 27.
24. See Bora 1991, p. 206.
25. A point made by Alessandro Morandotti in Varese 2002, p. 86.
26. Contemporary encomia to Figino's brilliant light effects are quoted by Alessandro Morandotti, ibid.
27. Figino as one of the early practitioners of the new genre of still-life painting is discussed by Longhi 1967.
28. On Borromeo's "metaphysical naturalism" and the optimistic spirituality it implies, and the promulgation of this view at the Ambrosiana, see Jones 1993, pp. 8, 207–8. For Borromeo's views on still-life painting, see Jones 1993, pp. 81–82.
29. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. no. 12495. Long a matter of debate, the correct subject of this drawing was recently identified by Martin Clayton (Edinburgh, London 2002–3, no. 41). Though Leonardo was not inordinately preoccupied with such subjects, it is conceivable that some of his other generically described "grotesque" drawings will come to be more accurately recognized as genre scenes. See, for example, *Two Grotesque Profiles Confronted* (Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. no. 12490; Edinburgh, London 2002–3, no. 27), which shows an enigmatic scene enacted by two figures of a different scale. Many of Leonardo's "grotesques" are fragments of larger

sheets, such as *Head and Shoulders of a Man Facing Right* (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Cod. F 263, inf. 78; ill. in Milan 2001, no. 35), which shows the truncated face of a second figure at the upper right and indications of the edge of a collar or drapery of a third, unseen figure at the lower right.

30. Edinburgh, London 2002–3, p. 96, quoting the contemporary record cited in Arlati 1989.
31. As discussed by Clayton in Edinburgh, London 2002–3, pp. 98–99.
32. One exception is the work of Jacopo Bassano.
33. Forlani Tempesti 1991, p. 89.
34. Nova 1994, nos. 59–61.
35. Agosti 2001, p. 471.
36. Insofar as this exploration of Lombard naturalism concerns artists working in Cremona, the discussion of the Campi is limited to Vincenzo, the purest genre painter among them. Bernardino, Antonio, and particularly Giulio were responsive to Mannerist influences from outside the sphere of Milan—the art of Giulio Romano in Mantua and Parmigianino in Parma—which offered an alternative pictorial language to Lombard naturalism.
37. "disegnare, colorire, e ritrarre di naturale." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 81.
38. No painting by Sofonisba of either subject is known and the technique of the two sheets suggests that they were created as presentation drawings. However, the coincidence of subject matter linking the *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* (cat. no. 92) with Annibale Carracci's painting *Two Children Teasing a Cat* (cat. no. 69) is suggestive. It is not impossible that Sofonisba planned a painting of this sort, though this seems unlikely since both works appear to be presentation drawings—finished works of art in their own right.
39. Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, p. 274.
40. This seems particularly likely in the case of the *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish*. The offending creature may in fact be a scorpion, as suggested below (see cat. no. 92). According to Pliny the Elder, the scorpion's sting was lethal to virgins and almost always fatal to matrons (*The Natural History of Pliny,* trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley, vol. 3 [London, 1855], bk. 11, "The Various Kinds of Insects," s.v. scorpions).
41. As noted in Cremona 1985, p. 172, and Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, p. 270. This duality, or contrapposto, in Leonardo's so-called grotesque drawings is discussed by Clayton in Edinburgh, London 2002–3, p. 79.
42. Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, p. 274.
43. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 141–42 (italics mine).
44. So described in his *Vita* of Perino del Vaga, the quintessential practitioner of "questa maniera di Roma"; Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 605. Polidoro's Lombard roots would seem to explain his rather surprising designation by Lomazzo (his fellow Lombard) as one of the seven "governors" of art, an august cast otherwise predictably comprised of Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, and Mantegna—and improbably, Gaudenzio Ferrari (another Lombard); Lomazzo 1590, chap. 11 (1974 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 112–15.
45. Polidoro's biography contains a number of coincidental parallels with the life of Caravaggio, as already remarked by Bellori, who commented that they hailed from the same town and had similar early careers that brought them to Rome (Bellori 1672 [1976 ed.], p. 212). Both also went on to Naples and eventually to Messina.
46. On Polidoro's landscapes in San Silvestro, see Ravelli 1987; Leone de Castris 2001, pp. 212–18. Parallels exist with another Lombard artist who came to Rome later in the sixteenth century and likewise introduced elements of Northern-inspired landscape painting—the Brescian-born Girolamo Muziano. See the discussion of the landscape details in his frescoes in Santa Caterina della Rota, Rome, in Marciari 2002, pp. 113–14. Also relevant here is the landscape drawing by Tanzio da Varallo discussed in this essay and in catalogue number 99, and those of Annibale Carracci and his Bolognese followers. Landscape is another distinctly Lombard genre: witness Bernardino Luini's frescoes in San Maurizio, Milan, of about 1530 and those few Italian landscape drawings that exist from the sixteenth century.
47. On the "fortuna critica" of the *Last Supper,* see Milan 2001, pp. 29–34.
48. Translated in Leonardo 2001, p. 144, nos. 388, 390. On the "moti mentali," see also most recently Bambach 2003, p. 16.
49. The so-called Ligny Memorandum; Codex Atlanticus, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, fol. 699r; translated in Leonardo 2001, p. 265, no. 656. On the question of Perréal as the source for Leonardo's use of colored chalk, see Fiorio 1997; Pietro Marani in Milan 2001, p. 103; and Marani 2003, pp. 181–82. The last questions, without dismissing, this chain of influence.
50. "Non tacerò anco d'un'altro certo modo di colorare, che si dice a pastello, il quale si fa con punte composte particolarmente in polvere di colori, che di tutti si possono comporre. Il che si fa in carta, e fu molto usato da Leonardo Vinci, il quale fece le teste di Cristo, e degli Apostoli a questo modo eccellenti, e miracolose in carta." Lomazzo 1584, bk. 3, chap. 5 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 328–29; translated in Marani 2003, pp. 180–81. Pietro Marani in Milan 2001, pp. 103–4, suggested that Lomazzo may not necessarily have been referring to pastels here, but to drawings executed in "rosso su rosso," or red chalk on red prepared paper, the technique employed in the studies of the heads of Judas and Bartholomew (Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. nos. 12547, 12538; ill. in Edinburgh, London 2002–3, nos. 53, 54). However, given that his mention of Leonardo's use of pastel in studies of the heads of Christ and the apostles occurs in the chapter expressly devoted to different ways of painting in color, and that he prefaces his mention of the pastel medium by describing it as "un'altro certo modo di colorare," this seems unlikely.
51. A badly damaged and extensively restored colored chalk drawing of the head of Christ is the sole possible candidate, although its ruinous condition precludes any meaningful discussion of its authorship (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Reg. Cron. 862; see Washington 1983–84, no. 5, and Milan 2001, no. 40). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Brera drawing was considered an autograph work by Leonardo. By the early twentieth century, it was demoted to "school of Leonardo," although some scholars continued to maintain that the work was a much altered original drawing by the master. In the most recent literature it is classified as "Leonardo and followers," or "Leonardo and later reworking."
52. Lomazzo's concluding observation on Leonardo's use of *pastelli,* "But how difficult is it to color in this new manner and how easy is it for it to be ruined!" ("Ma quanto è difficile il colorire in questo nuovo modo, tanto è egli facile a guastarsi") alludes to the fragile and perishable nature of such works. Lomazzo

1584, bk. 3, chap. 5 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, p. 329; translation as in Marani 2003, p. 181.

53. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. A, fol. 90r (ca. 1490–92); quoted in Bambach 2003, p. 8. That Leonardo put this advice into practice is confirmed by the contemporary account of the historian and collector Paolo Giovio, who explained that Leonardo cultivated proficiency in his pupils by having them execute drawings in his manner; only when full command of his technique was achieved was the pupil (who must also have attained at least twenty years of age) permitted to paint (on this, see Fiorio 2000, p. 132).
54. Marani 1998b; Bora 2003; Marani 2003; New York 2003, nos. 122–26.
55. For which, see Fiorio 2000, nos. B3–B11; Agosti 2001, no. 34.
56. Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, no. 127, with earlier bibliography. Although employed by Boltraffio as the model for *Saint Barbara* (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz), the drawing was almost certainly not initially conceived as a preparatory study.
57. As elaborated by Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, no. 131.
58. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Nap. 906; Reg. Cron. 896; inv. dis. 258; see the entries by Simonetta Coppa in Milan 1986, nos. 12, 13. Taking the side of painting versus poetry in a *paragone* debate, Comanini's speaker, Father Ascanio Martinengo, praises the realism of Figino's portraiture by evoking the topos of the birds and the grapes: the ancient painter Zeuxis depicted a bunch of grapes so realistically that the birds were fooled. He then recounts that he had "been told that he [Figino] did a portrait of a gentleman that is so lifelike and such a good likeness that the gentleman's dog believed the picture was his master[.] The dog capered and jumped around it, wagging its tail, with the result that, if someone hadn't hidden the portrait from him, the loving animal could easily have destroyed it." Comanini 1591 (2001 ed.), p. 36.
59. This view was articulated by Rearick (1976, pp. 78–80), who sees some of Savoldo's head studies as general *ricordi* of Leonardo, but aligns Savoldo's work as a draftsman with the graphic style of Titian and characterizes his naturalism as Venetian-inspired. Following the pioneering thesis of Longhi, the Lombard alternative has recently been stressed with regard to Savoldo's activity as a painter (see Keith Christiansen in New York, Naples 1985 and the essay by Andrea Bayer in the present volume) and has also been recently reevaluated with respect to his drawings (see the brief comment by the present author in New York 1994, p. 55, n. 2, and note 60 below).
60. Agosti (2001, pp. 196, 252, 255–56), following the arguments of Alessandro Ballarin, has emphasized the ties of Savoldo's drawings to the Leonardesque tradition and has posited Boltraffio as an important source of influence on Savoldo as a draftsman, specifically mentioning the latter's use of pastel as evidence of that influence. In this line of thinking, similarities with the drawings of Lotto are explained by his common debt to a Leonardesque model.
61. On the latter point, see the discussion of Leonardo's complex formulation of the *sensus communis* by Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 414.
62. So described by Agosti 2001, p. 19.
63. Translated in Leonardo 2001, p. 153, no. 409.
64. See Turin 1982, no. 52; Milan 2001, no. 84.
65. Jones 1993, passim; see esp. p. 104, on the Lombard canon and Borromeo's conferring on Leonardo the status of founder of the Milanese school, and p. 218, on Borromeo's particular interest in North Italian, including Venetian, painting.
66. Ibid., pp. 121–22.
67. Ibid., pp. 49–51, 103–4, 148–50.
68. On the Arona *sacromonte,* see Neilson 1971, who first connected Cerano's drawing with this aborted project.
69. Cardinal Federico Borromeo's collection included a number of portraits of his illustrious and venerated relation, including "un ritratto del Beato Carlo Cardinale di altezza di poco meno/di un braccio, e di larghezza di un palmo et mezo, il quale/si pou chiamare la più vera effigie di lui" (a portrait of Blessed Cardinal Carlo slightly less than one *braccia* high, and one and a half *palmi* wide, which is the truest effigy of him), mentioned in a codicil to his will, dated September 15, 1607, and preserved in the Ambrosiana (transcribed in Jones 1993, p. 339). This "most lifelike" effigy, or a similar contemporary portrait, may have served as the model for Cerano's *Saint Carlo*.
70. This view of the didactic-commemorative role of art is anticipated in Comanini's dialogue, in which the literary Figino articulates the point of view that painting can both delight and instruct: "the same [image] delights by its resemblance to the natural, and benefits us by refreshing our memories of some honourable deed" (Comanini 1591 [2001 ed.], p. 89), the latter essentially approaching Federico Borromeo's definition of *il vero* as history.
71. Other works by Cerano depicting Saint Carlo Borromeo are discussed under catalogue number 94. The saint himself believed that portraits should be as realistic and lifelike as possible.
72. "Romanino's nature was simple in the extreme, and genuine and unaffected, hence the language of his art is of the same quality as the dialect of his native place." Morelli 1892–93, vol. 1, p. 284. Of Moretto, Morelli remarked, "I consider that the master always preserved his Brescian character" (1892–93, vol. 1, p. 286), though without amplifying on the defining traits of that character.
73. Ibid., p. 184.
74. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 294.

Leonardo and the Idea of Naturalism: Leonardo's Hypernaturalism

MARTIN KEMP

Painter, you should know that you cannot be good if you are not a master universal enough to imitate with your art every kind of natural form, which you will not know how to do unless you observe them and retain them in your mind. Hence, as you go through the countryside see that you exercise your judgement upon various objects and in turn look now at this thing and now at that, making a compound of different kinds of things chosen and selected from among those of less value.

Leonardo da Vinci[1]

THE LATE SIR ERNST GOMBRICH, some thirty-five years ago, told me the story of when he was sitting in a café with Ludwig Heydenreich, the distinguished German scholar of Leonardo. Heydenreich was extolling Leonardo's powers of observation, his miraculous "eye," his success in extracting knowledge from seeing, and his ability to represent what he saw without resort to inherited convention.[2] Gombrich, as we might expect, argued that this empirical interpretation was flawed, and that Leonardo's method of representation relied upon a series of developed strategies, even contrivances, in which schemata for the portrayal of three-dimensional forms on flat surfaces were refined experimentally according to a process of making and matching.[3] He also stressed that Leonardo's observations were structured through inherited concepts of how nature was thought to operate. In short, Leonardo's was no "innocent eye." Gombrich, "rather cruelly" as he recalled, invited Heydenreich to look out of the window and asked his companion if anything he saw out there looked like a Leonardo painting. He did not tell me Heydenreich's reply, presumably because he thought that the only valid answer was self-evident.

Leonardo himself, for all his insistence that art should be a "mirror" of nature, would have been on Gombrich's side. On one occasion, following an elaborate discussion of the effect of the "darkness of the earth" on a spherical object suspended above it, Leonardo adds one of those characteristic asides that occur when even he senses that he might be moving beyond the realms of utility: "Here the adversary says that he does not want so much science and that it suffices to practice copying things from nature. To this it is replied that nothing more deludes us than to place faith in our own judgement without any other reasoning, as may be proved by the way in which experience is always the enemy of alchemists, necromancers and other simple minds."[4] For Leonardo "experience" was not a passive business but involved something akin to "experiment"; that is to say, observation in the context of testing an explanation. He never drew any "effect" without the drawing serving simultaneously as an implicit or explicit analysis of "causes."

Observation in the service of painting also introduced a special analytical level of its own, since good art relied upon selection in the cause of beauty, as the quotation at the head of this essay indicates. The observer of "every kind of natural form" aspires to make "a compound of different kinds of things chosen and selected from among those of less value." Leonardo's imitation of nature was, therefore, a highly directed process, controlled by the deeper truths of "cause" and beauty that lie behind natural appearance.

The context for my conversation with Gombrich was his paper "The Form of Movement in Water and Air," which he had generously shown me in draft.[5] He insisted that the water drawings by Leonardo were not some kind of miraculous photographs snapped by a preternaturally quick eye but complex compounds of seen effects and presumed causes, the causes in this case being the Aristotelian laws of fluid dynamics. The graphic expression of Leonardo's researches, like his anatomical "demonstrations," they were highly synthetic, in the sense of the synthesis of form on the basis of what he called *ragioni* (reasons or principles).

LEONARDO DA VINCI, *Spray of Cranberry* (detail of cat. no. 16B)

What is true of his science is as true of his paintings. His works of art represent a remaking of visual appearance on the basis of a deep understanding of natural law—not just optical laws but also those that determine such things as the curling of hair, the branching of trees, the forms of draperies, the nature of the "body of the earth," and even the "motions of the mind."

It was, therefore, a very special kind of naturalism that Leonardo made available to his successors, both through his own works and through his teaching. What his successors took as Leonardo's "lessons" relied upon a series of factors that determined a rather different "Leonardo" from the one we see through our eyes. These factors involve both what was available to be seen and the frameworks for viewing. Milanese painters could thus see the *Last Supper*, with the extraordinary realism that all early accounts stress, and appreciate not just the gesturing figures in perspectival space but also the superb still life on the table—worthy of Zurbarán or Chardin—and the brilliant characterization of the tablecloth, with its embroidered pattern and alternating convex and concave folds (fig. 39).[6] They could see the supernaturalistic vegetation and fruits in the

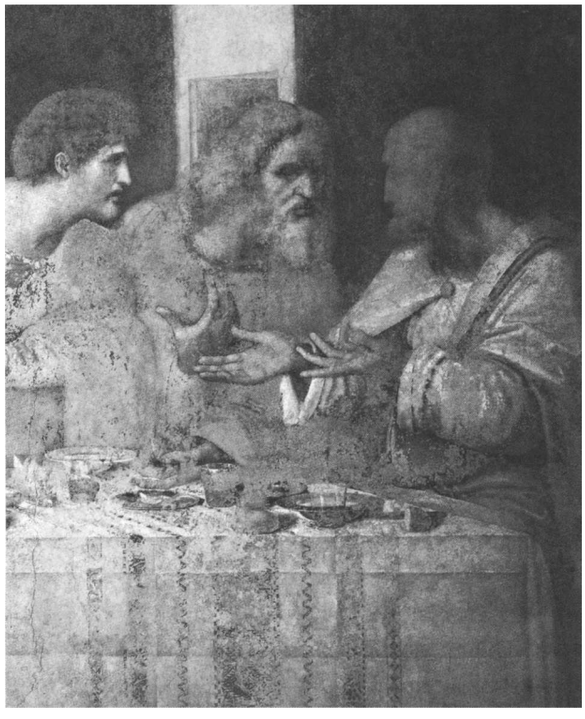


Fig. 39
LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)
The Last Supper (detail), begun ca. 1495
Tempera fresco
Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan

Fig. 40
LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)
The Last Supper (detail of lunette), begun ca. 1495
Tempera fresco
Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan

lunettes above (fig. 40), which those who knew the Sala delle Asse in the Castello Sforzesco would have recognized as a trademark of Leonardo. Whichever of the versions of the *Virgin of the Rocks* they might have seen, they would have been able to delight in comparable, trademark passages of naturalistic rendering. They would also have recognized the emphatic *rilievo* (relief or plasticity) on which Leonardo set such store and which resulted from his repertoire of optical "tricks" to model forms in light and shade and to separate them from their backgrounds in an enhanced manner.

This selective emphasis on the naturalistic impact of Leonardo on his North Italian contemporaries is, I believe, largely in keeping with the tone of the so-called *Trattato della pittura* (Treatise on painting). Piously compiled by Francesco Melzi, Leonardo's aristocratic Lombard amanuensis, the work must reflect what his closest pupil considered to be the priorities in his master's teaching.[7] From our perspective, it seems to contain overly much on exhaustive details of the appearance of particular features in nature under every kind of illumination and with observers in every possible position relative to the objects and the light. Leaves, trees, and landscape bulk so large that we might be forgiven for thinking that Leonardo was an obsessional painter of vegetation and scenery. As it happens, the paintings attributed to Melzi are characterized by emphatic renderings of leaves and flowers.

I will be taking this emphasis seriously as a real guide to what Lombard contemporaries and successors could

and did glean from Leonardo. I will look at the way in which his pictorial practice intersects with his written accounts of how to portray natural details. The thrust of his efforts was directed toward the production of a kind of naturalism that is not literally like nature as we see it but rather achieves a special level of conviction on its own terms. The artist effectively operates as what he calls a "second nature."[8] He develops a series of procedures that function on the flat surface of his panels to create a heightened or synthetic naturalism—what I will be calling his "hypernaturalism." It is a form of naturalism that deeply affected North Italian painters during the sixteenth century, and it might justly serve as a motto for the young Caravaggio.

The Young Specialist

Leonardo's debut as a painter seems to have been as a specialist in the rendering of eye-catching passages of naturalism. His contribution to Andrea Verrocchio's San Salvi *Baptism,* now confirmed with reasonable security by technical analysis, centered on scintillating effects of light on surfaces.[9] The angel in the foreground, which the early sources agree is by Leonardo, presents a feast of light, shade, and texture, rendered in places with an almost impressionistic touch that emphasizes translucency,

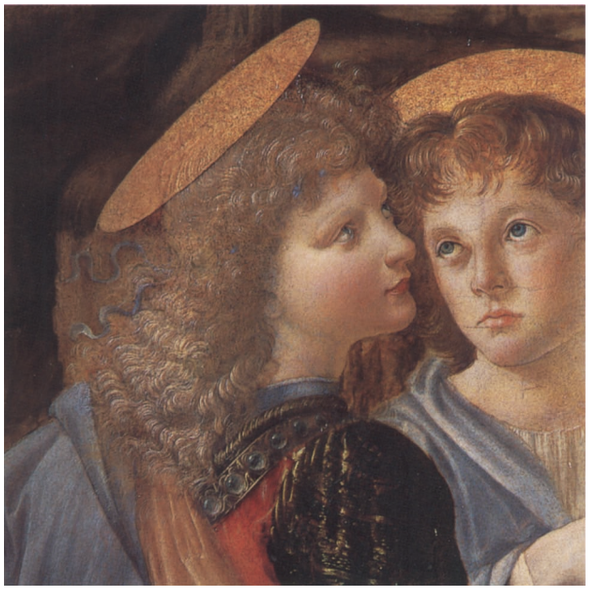


Fig. 41
ANDREA VERROCCHIO (1435–1488)
The Baptism of Christ (detail), ca. 1470–75
Tempera on panel, 70⅞ × 59⅞ in. (180 × 152 cm)
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence 1890, n. 8358

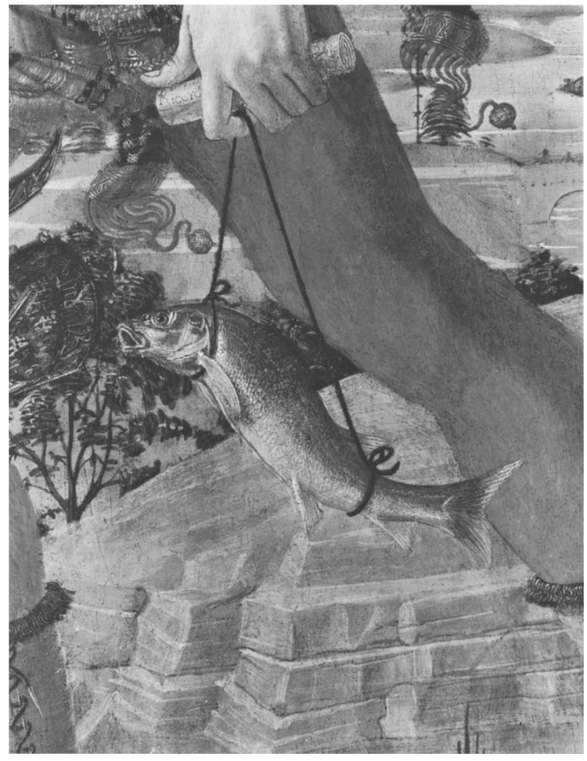


Fig. 42
ANDREA VERROCCHIO (1435–1488)
Tobias and the Angel (detail), ca. 1470–80
Tempera on panel, 33⅛ × 26 in. (84 × 66 cm)
National Gallery, London 781

refraction, and reflection rather than the literal sculpting of form. Whereas the hair of Verrocchio's angel exhibits the wiry definition of a metalworker's draftsmanship, Leonardo tells of the interplay between the life of the hair and the optical vitality of *lustro* (luster or sheen) as it reflects off his angel's wavy tresses (fig. 41). At the neck of the angel's garment, a series of hemispherical beads is rendered with radiant conviction. The external and internal reflections and the diffuse glimmers of refraction are beautifully characterized as the light moves across and through the translucent glass. When Leonardo used oil glazes to go over the surfaces of the waters in the foreground and background of the *Baptism,* he endowed them with a comparable blend of optical vitality and the inherent life of forms. No subject, static or moving, remained inert under the touch of his brush or pen.

It is this sense that he is portraying light and shade as living agents in their own right (and not merely as adhesive adjuncts to sculptural form) that supports the attribution to the young Leonardo of the fish in Verrocchio's *Tobias and the Angel* (fig. 42).[10] Its scaly skin, deeply furrowed by

the string on which it is suspended, glistens in just the way that the skin of a freshly caught fish does, when still moist from the waters. Someone has not only looked very hard but has developed pictorial means of a kind only previously attained by Netherlandish masters.

Indeed, Netherlandish touches are apparent throughout Leonardo's early work, though his intellectual framework of design, using perspective and other aspects of the Florentine "science" of painting, is very different from that of his Northern predecessors. And the framework of viewing is also likely to have been different. For an educated Italian viewer, such virtuoso delusions as the fish would have evoked those passages in the writings of the Roman author Pliny that exulted in naturalistic detail. Birds peck painted grapes, and even painters are induced to try to draw back painted curtains. Leonardo's own later anecdotes of dogs excitedly greeting their painted masters and of babies happy to see portraits of their parents stand precisely in this tradition. It is likely that Verrocchio, whose paintings were what we would call team efforts, knew exactly how and when to employ his protégé's special strengths to most impress the humanist viewers of his works—to say nothing of any cats who might drool over a tempting fish.

Such early instincts to render light effects with scrupulous intensity were carried through remorselessly into Leonardo's later written prescriptions. One example, relevant for the watery effects in the *Baptism,* will stand for many. He is thinking about the very complex effects of what we can see under shallow water in relation to what we see reflected on its surface. This was a problem with which Piero della Francesca had grappled in his own *Baptism.*[11] Leonardo uses a diagram to help the reader understand (fig. 43).

> Let the pool *nmtu* have pebbles or plants or other opaque bodies on the bed of the clear water, which takes its light from the solar rays which come from the sun, *d.* And let one area of pebbles have over it the shadowy image which is reflected in the surface of this water, and let one area of the pebbles have over it the image of the air *bcsm.* I say that the pebbles covered by the shadowy image will be more visible than the pebbles that are covered by the brightness of the light image, and the reason is that . . . the visual power of the eye is overwhelmed and impaired by the illuminated portion of the water in which the air is reflected, and, correspondingly, the visual power is amplified by the dark portion of this water. . . .
>
> Thus the effects described above only arise from causes that are remote from the water and the images, because it only arises with the eye. . . .[12]

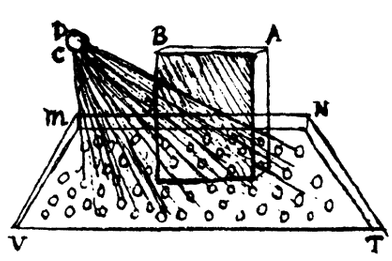


Fig. 43
After LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519), *Pebbles Seen under Water,* based on the Codex Urbinas (139r). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

What is remarkable and innovatory in Leonardo's answer to this particular question is that it does not just rely upon the optics of "what is out there" but also integrally embodies what we call "subjective effects"—that is to say, effects resulting from the perceptual apparatus with which we have been equipped. This concern with subjective effects became more prominent in his thoughts about the imitation of nature as he gained increasing understanding of *deceptiones visus* (visual deceptions), as described in the writings of the medieval Islamic philosopher Alhazen (Ibn al-Haytham).[13]

Leonardo's obsessive mastery of natural appearance, whether objective or subjective, is taken to its highest levels in those surviving notes compiled by Melzi in the *Trattato* that concern light on leaves, branches, and trees. Mostly they date from late in Leonardo's career. It is on these, and how they relate to his pictorial practice, that I will concentrate in our quest to understand how Leonardo constructed his special kind of "hypernaturalism."

Detail in Theory and Practice

The most obvious register of space in paintings is linear perspective. However, the *Last Supper,* finished about 1497, is the final Leonardo painting in which the geometrical optics of perspective occupies a prominent place. There are a number of reasons for this, ranging from the subjects he was asked to paint to his increasing doubts about the universal validity of the painter's construction in registering how we actually see space.[14] Other spatial clues, which had always played a conspicuous role in his art, now needed to carry an increased burden. These clues involve the use of light and shade to achieve modeling, local foreshortening, the scaling of forms, and the group of effects that we categorize as "aerial perspective."

When he was depicting vegetation, "aerial perspective" was crucial, involving all its facets: a general diminution in the potency of images as they pass through the air; a reduction in color saturation; a loss of detail; and the

Fig. 44
LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)
Study of a Tree
Red chalk, 7⅝ × 6 in. (19.3 × 15.3 cm)
Royal Collection, Windsor 12431v

intervention of atmosphere, which resulted in a loss of distinctness and a progressive "blue-ing" of distant forms. With respect to the loss of detail, Leonardo wrote and depicted some particularly beautiful observations on what happens when we progressively move away from a tree. In succession, as we lose sight of the individual leaves, we cannot see the leaves for the bunches, and the bunches for the tree (fig. 44). We eventually end up by not being able to see the trees for the wood. The note on the illustrated page deals in detail with leaves and backgrounds (in a way that is not altogether easy to follow):

> That part of a tree which is against a shadowy background is all of one colour [tone], and where the density of leaves and branches is greater, there it is darker because there is less imprint of the air. But where the branches are against other branches, there the luminous parts show themselves more clearly, and the leaves shine as the sun illuminates them.[15]

In those many paintings in which natural detail is in the foreground, aerial perspective is not the most potent register of space and plasticity. Modeling and foreshortening become the key tools, not least in achieving the all-important separation for the backgrounds. Leaves are notably tricky, because of the very complex tonal, coloristic, and spatial effects involved when they are seen in nature, bunched together in trees and plants, often against other green vegetation. Leonardo went to extraordinary lengths to consider how he could use every possible resource to characterize vegetation with compelling plasticity. From his extensive notes, a small selection will give a flavor of his endeavor:

> The first shadows which the first leaves make on the second leafy branches are less dark than those made by these second leaves on the third leaves, and accordingly these shadows cause the third leaves to overshadow the fourth, and from this it arises that the illuminated leaves which have as their background the third and fourth leaves show themselves as of greater relief than those that have as their background the first shaded leaf. If the sun is *e* and the first leaf illuminated by this sun is *a* [fig. 45A], which has as its background the second leaf, *b*—taking the eye as *n*—I say that this leaf stands out less clearly, having as its background the second leaf, than if it were to project further and have as its background the leaf *c*, which is darker through having more leaves interposed between it and the sun, and it would stand out further if it had as its background the fourth leaf, namely *d*.[16]

Fig. 45A–C. *After* LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519), based on the Codex Urbinas. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
A. *Illumination of Leaves in a Tree* (fol. 253v)

A leaf with a concave surface seen in reverse from below sometimes appears half shaded and half transparent. For example let *po* be the leaf [fig. 45B] and the light *m* and the eye *n*. The eye sees *o* as shaded, because the light does not strike the leaf at equal angles [i.e., perpendicularly] either on its upper or reverse surfaces. *P* is the light [portion] which shines through to the reverse.[17]

B. *Shadow, Luster, and Transparency in a Leaf* (fol. 260v)

When trees are seen against the sun, on account of the transparency of the leaves, those towards the edges of the trees will show themselves as being of a more beautiful green than they originally were. Towards the centre, the tree will appear strongly darkened [fig. 45C]. Those leaves [towards the centre]

C. *Transparency and Shadow in Leaves* (fol. 260v)

will not be transparent and will be the ones to display their upper surfaces and will acquire very pronounced lustres.[18]

The shadows in transparent leaves seen from the under side are the same shadows as on the right side of this leaf, they will show through to the under side together with lights, but the lustre [reflected light] can never show through.[19]

The level of detailed attention is uncompromising, even obsessive.

Some of the effects, in practice, become mutually contradictory for the artist who wishes to achieve emphatic clarity of modeling. As is the case elsewhere, some of Leonardo's observations of optical effects best remain the province of *speculatori* (speculators or natural philosophers) rather than practitioners.[20] The transparency of leaves is an example: "Never paint leaves transparent to the sun, because they are confused; and this is because on the transparency of one leaf will be seen the shadow of another leaf which is above it."[21] Even Leonardo, toward the end of his career, had to acknowledge that his beloved painting could not simultaneously embrace every possible optical effect without collapsing into a chaos of visual cacophony. The artist must select those things that serve his ends best.

When we look at his brilliant characterization of leaves and flowers in his paintings, as in the two versions of the *Virgin of the Rocks* (figs. 46, 47) and in the better-preserved portions of the Sala delle Asse, we can see how Leonardo has selectively exploited those effects which enhance the modeling and foreshortening of the leaves.

Typically, the different orientation of the curved planes of a leaf on either side of its central vein is handled in a particularly emphatic manner. Undulations in the surfaces of the leaves are modeled with great deliberation. Not least, he uses all his range of tricks to separate the leaves from their backgrounds, whether of other leaves or more distant planes. The key trick involves "edge contrast":

If you see a body, the illuminated part of which is set against and terminates on a dark background, that part of this light appears of greater brightness that terminates on the dark background. . . . And if the said illuminated part is surrounded by a bright background, it will appear less bright than formerly. . . . The same occurs with the shadow, in that the boundary of that part of a shaded body that is set against a bright place . . . appears much darker . . . and if the said shadow terminates on a dark background, it will appear brighter than formerly.[22]

To add to the impression of relief in a painting you should place between the simulated figure and the visible [background] object on which its shadow falls a border of clear light which divides the figure from the darkened object. . . . Always ensure that you are able to arrange the bodies against backgrounds where the dark part of the bodies is offset against a light background and the illuminated part against a dark background.[23]

Again and again he contrives the distribution of light and shade so as to set bright boundaries with enhanced contrast against dark backgrounds, and vice versa. This method became and remained a constant standby of later generations of still-life painters.

It is noticeable how often, when he depicts whole plants or details of leaves and flowers in his drawings and

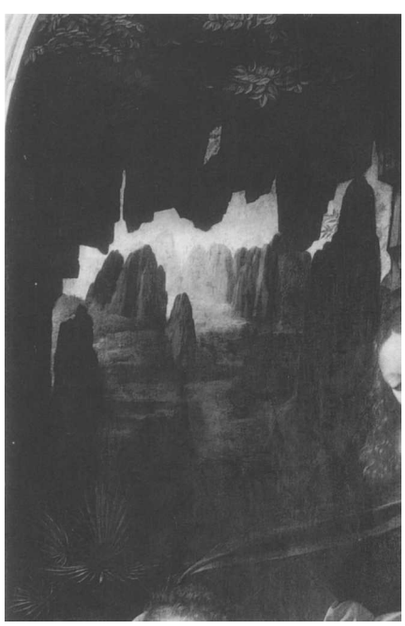


Fig. 46
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
The Virgin of the Rocks (detail), 1483–86
Oil on panel, 78⅜ × 48 in. (199 × 122 cm)
Musée du Louvre, Paris 777

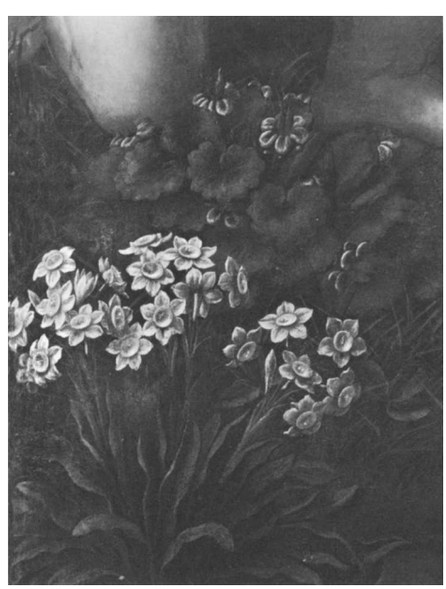


Fig. 47
LEONARDO DA VINCI
(1452–1519)
The Virgin of the Rocks (detail), ca. 1493–99, 1506–8
Oil on wood, 74⅝ × 47¼ in. (189.5 × 120 cm)
National Gallery, London 1093

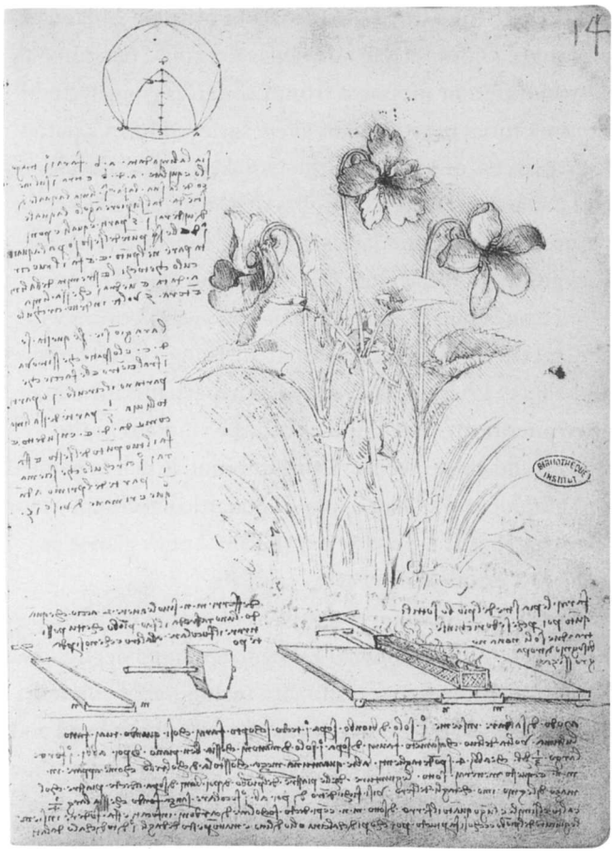


Fig. 48
LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)
Study of Violets, Geometry, and Soldering, ca. 1488
Ink and pencil on album page. Manuscript B. fol. 14r
Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris Ms 2173

Fig. 49
LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)
Studies of Flowers, ca. 1483
Pen and ink over metalpoint, 7¼ × 8 in. (18.3 × 20.3 cm)
Gabinetto Disegni dell'Accademia, Venice

notebooks, Leonardo adds background shading, hatching a darkened substratum against which the natural forms can stand out in heightened relief (see cat. no. 16). The sheet from Ms. B in the Institut de France that contains *Viola canina* and *Viola odorata* (fig. 48), datable to about 1488, shows that he was adopting this technique of background hatching during the period when he was working on the *Virgin of the Rocks*.[24] A drawing in Venice (fig. 49) involves the inking-in of most of the silverpoint underdrawing, which may itself have resulted from a process of transfer from another sheet or series of sheets. It may well be that the compilation of the sheet was undertaken by Melzi, who faithfully followed the lines of an original Leonardo drawing or drawings. In any event, the ink lines serve in effect to render the plants with the kind of metalworker's wiriness that Verrocchio had exploited in his sculpture of acanthus leaves and other naturalistic detail. As the years went by, such hypernaturalistic effects became ever more enhanced in Leonardo's paintings. The flowers in the left foreground of the second version of the *Virgin of the Rocks* (fig. 47), apparently not delivered until 1509, have surrendered something of the impressionistic vitality of those in the earlier version in favor of rigorously consolidated effects of *rilievo* and edge contrasts, which endow the forms with the artist's own special kind of synthetic naturalism.

The net effect of emphatically portraying key effects that register space and plasticity, while at the same time selecting out those that produce optical confusion, is to create a heightened sense of reality within the parameters of the picture. We are invited to feel, in a Plinian manner, that we could pluck the flowers and leaves from the surfaces of his panels.

Detail and Universality

> But since we know that painting embraces and contains within itself all things produced by nature or whatever results from man's passing actions—and ultimately everything that can be taken in by the eyes—he seems to me to be a pitiful master who can only do one thing well. For do you not see how many and various are the actions that belong just to men? Do you not see how many different animals and trees, too, and grasses and flowers there are, the diversity of mountainous regions and plains, fountains, rivers, cities, public and private buildings, machines designed to benefit mankind, various costumes, decorations and arts? All these things have a claim to be of equal use and value to him whom you would call a good painter.[25]

Leonardo was not of course a painter of still lifes. There was no such genre in his day. Nor was he a painter of pure landscapes. The telling of "fictions that signify great things" was the chief designated job of an Italian Renaissance painter, and human figures were obviously central to that aim.[26] However, for Leonardo, no part of the total fabric of a picture could be ignored. The correct portrayal of every part demanded the same scrupulous attention. He was particularly rude about Botticelli's neglect of landscape:

> He is not universal who does not love equally all the elements in painting, as when one who does not like landscapes holds them to be a subject for cursory and straightforward investigation—just as our Botticelli said such study was of no use because by merely throwing a sponge soaked in a variety of colours at a wall there would be left on the wall a stain in which could be seen a beautiful landscape. . . . And the painter in question makes very sorry landscapes.[27]

We might well imagine what he would have thought about Michelangelo's barren "landscapes" on the Sistine Chapel ceiling.

Using an analogy that Leonardo would have recognized, one naturalistic note out of place, one false chord of color, or one ruptured harmony of proportion would put the whole picture out of tune, since we can see all the pictorial harmonies in one glance (as he repeatedly stressed). Thus, the naturalism of the "still-life" elements on the table in the *Last Supper* is absolutely vital and integral in the painting's total effect. If they did not utterly convince, the portrayals of the disciples, however effective in themselves, would be crucially undermined.

This insistence, which can be intuited from his paintings even in the absence of his obsessive notes, was very much there for painters to see in his available Milanese paintings. Differently attuned viewers could of course extract different messages from Leonardo's hugely ambitious pictorial practice. Not a few suffered from a pathological excess of sfumato—the "smoked" effect developed by Leonardo to soften contours that were not marked in nature by sharp boundaries or strong contrasts with the background. Of the close followers, only Bernardino Luini came close to the judiciousness and decorum with which Leonardo used sfumato. If anything, the techniques and effects I have characterized as hypernaturalism exercised a more creative impact than the sfumato in the shorter and longer terms. This exhibition is rich in painted and graphic works that exploit Leonardo's techniques for the achieving of emphatic naturalism. Let us glance at just a few examples.

Boltraffio's drawing of the head of a woman, perhaps Laura Pandolfi (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence), though in the sfumato technique of colored chalks, deliberately gives enhanced relief to the head and shoulders by darkening the abutting background on the left and lightening it on the right. In a similar way, the chalk studies sometimes attributed to him for the heads of disciples from the *Last Supper* (cat. no. 19A–J) ensure that their profiles are set against strongly contrasting backgrounds, independently of their actual settings in the mural. Luini adopted exactly the same expedient in endowing the Magdalen's all-important jar of ointment with a sense of hypernaturalism, as a "still-life" detail, in contrast to the veiled spirituality of her head (cat. no. 5). Melzi, for his part, seems to have delighted in flowers that exhibit the wiry contours and contrasty modeling of Leonardo's later style (cat. no. 6). Hypernaturalism, like sfumato, could reach self-parodying levels, as shown by the *Girl with Cherries,* attributed to Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis (cat. no. 7), in which individual features of flowers, drapery, hair, and head are indiscriminately enhanced to the detriment of any sense of pictorial unity.

Looking at these and other later artists featured in the exhibition, including Caravaggio himself, it is clear that Leonardo's selective techniques of hypernaturalism struck home regularly and potently in northern Italy. In this context, they can be seen to have deeply affected one of the major currents that ran into the Early Baroque.

Notes

1. "Adunque conoscendo tu pittore non poter essere bono se non sei universale maestro di contraffare con la tua arte tutte le qualità delle forme che produce la natura, le quali non saprai fare se non le vedi e ritrarle nella mente, onde, andando tu per campagne, fa che 'l tuo giudizio si volti a' varii obbietti, e di mano in mano riguar-dare or questa cosa, or quell'[altra], facendo un fascio di varie cose elette e scelte infra le men bone." Trans. in Leonardo 2001, p. 202, no. 524.
2. This is necessarily a simplification of Heydenreich's views, for which see Heydenreich 1974.
3. Gombrich 1960.
4. "Dice qui l'adversario che non vole tanta scienzia, che gli basta la pratica del ritrarre le cose naturali; al quale si risponde che di nessuna cosa è che più c'inganni che fidarsi del nostro giudicio sanz'altra ragione, come prova sempre la sperienzia, nemica delli alchimisti, negromanti et altri semplici ingegni." Trans. in Leonardo 2001, p. 95, no. 249.
5. Gombrich 1969.
6. For outstanding reproductions of details from this and other paintings by Leonardo, see Zöllner 2003.
7. Leonardo 1995; and Farago 1991.
8. "seconda natura." Trans. in Leonardo 2001, p. 202, no. 525.
9. Natali 1998.
10. D. A. Brown 1998, pp. 51–52.
11. Kemp 1996.
12. "Sia che 'l pelago *nmtu* abbia giara, o erbe, o altri corpi ombrosi nel fondo della chiarezza della sua acqua, la quale pigli li suoi lumi dalli razzi solari ch'escono dal sole *d,* e che una parte di giara abbia sopra di sé il simulacro oscuro, il quale si specchia nella superfichie di tal acqua, e che un'altra parte di giara abbia sopra sé il simulacro dell'aria *bcsm,* dico che la giara coperta dal simulacro oscuro sarà più visibile che la giara ch'è coperta dalla chiarezza del simulacro chiaro; e la cagione si è che . . . perché la virtù visiva è superata et offesa dalla parte aluminata dell'acqua, per l'aria che in lei si specchia, e così è aumentata tal virtù visiva dalla parte oscurata d'essa acqua. . . .

    Adunque quel ch'è detto di sopra non nasce se non da cause remote da tali acque e da tali simulacri, perché sol tal cosa nasce da l'occhio. . . ." Trans. in Leonardo 2001, pp. 171–72, no. 456.
13. Kemp 1992, pp. 156–57.
14. Kemp 1977.
15. Pedretti 1987, no. 8v (Royal Library, Windsor Castle, inv. no. 12431v).
16. "Le prime ombre che fa le prime foglie sopra le seconde de' rami fronduti sono meno scure che quelle che fan esse foglie ombrate sopra le terze foglie; e così quelle che fanno esse terze foglie ombrate sopra le quarte; e di qui nasce che le foglie aluminate, che hanno per campo le terze e le quarte foglie ombrose, si mostrano di maggiore rilevo che quelle che hanno per campo le prime foglie ombrate. Come se 'l sole fusse *e,* e la prima foglia aluminata da esso sole fusse *a,* la quale ha per campo la seconda foglia *b,* secondo l'occhio *n;* dico che tale foglia spiccarà meno avendo per campo essa seconda foglia, che s'ella sportassi più in fori et avessi per campo la foglia *c,* ch'è più scura per essere interposte più foglie infra lei et il sole. E più spiccarebbe s'ella campeggiassi sopra la quarta foglia, cioè *d.*" Trans. in Leonardo 2001, pp. 183–84, no. 484.
17. "La foglia di superficie concava veduta da riverscio di sotto in su, alcuna volta si mostrerà mezza ombrosa e mezza trasparente; come: *po* sia la foglia et il lume *m* e l'occhio *n,* il quale vedrà *o* adombrato, perché il lume non la percote infra angoli equali, né da dritto né da riverscio, e 'l *p* fia aluminato da dritto, il qual lume traspare nel suo riverscio." Ibid., pp. 184–85, no. 486.
18. "Quando le piante fieno riguardate di verso il sole, per la trasparenzia delle sue foglie esse inverso li stremi si dimostraranno di più bello verde che prima non era; inverso il mezzo parrà forte oscuro, e le foglie che non fieno trasparenti fieno quelle che ti mostreranno il loro dritto, e piglieranno lustri molto evidenti." Ibid., p. 185, no. 487.
19. "L'onbre che so nelle foglie transparenti, vedute da riverscio, son quelle medesime obre che son dal diritto d'essa foglia, la quale traspare da riverscio insieme colla parte luminosa, ma il lustro mai può trasparere." Leonardo 1970, no. 427.
20. See Kemp 1992, pp. 156–57.
21. "No finger mai foglie transpareti al sole, perchè son confuse e questo accade perchè sopra la trasparetia d'una foglia vi si stanpirà l'onbra d'una altra foglia che li sta di sopra." Leonardo 1970, no. 429.
22. "Se vedrai un corpo che la parte aluminata campeggi e termini in campo oscuro, la parte d'esso lume che parirà di maggiore chiarezza fia quella che terminerà co' l'oscuro . . . e se detta parte aluminata confina col campo chiaro, il termine d'esso corpo aluminato parrà men chiaro che prima. . . . E questo medesimo acade a l'ombra, imperò che 'l termine di quella parte del corpo adombrato che campeggia il loco chiaro . . . parrà di maggiore molta oscurità . . . e se detta ombra termina in campo oscuro, il termine de l'ombra parrà più chiaro che prima. . . ." Trans. in Leonardo 2001, p. 101, no. 269.
23. "Del agumentare la pittura nel suo rilevo, usarai fare, infra la finta figura e quella cosa visiva che riceve la sua ombra, una linea di chiaro lume che divida la figura da l'oscurato obbietto . . . e sempre fa che tu t'ingegni d'acomodare i corpi in campi che lla parte d'essi ch'è oscura termini in campo chiaro, e la parte del corpo aluminata termini in campo oscuro." Ibid., p. 209, no. 540.
24. For the identification of plants in Leonardo's paintings, see Emboden 1987; for a balanced assessment of his plant studies, see Ames-Lewis 1997.
25. "ma conoscendo noi che la pittura abbraccia e contiene in sé tutte le cose che produce la natura, e che condu[c]e l'accidentale operazione degli omini, et in ultimo ciò che si pò comprendere con gli occhi, mi pare un tristo maestro quello che solo una figura fa bene. Or non vedi tu quanti e quali atti sieno fatti da li omini? Non vedi tu quanti diversi animali, e così alberi et erbe, fiori, varietà di siti montuosi e piani, fonti, fiumi, città, edifizii publici e privati, strumenti opportuni a l'uso umano, varii abiti e ornamenti et arti? Tutte queste cose appartengano d'essere di pari operazione e bontà usate da quello che tu voi chiamare bono pittore." Trans. in Leonardo 2001, p. 201, no. 522.
26. "finzione, che significarà cose grande." Ibid., p. 33, no. 52.
27. "Quello non fia universale che non ama equalmente tutte le cose che si contengono nella pittura; come se uno non li piace li paesi, esso stima quelli essere cosa di brieve e semplice investigazione, come disse il nostro Botticella, che tale studio era vano, perché col solo gittare d'una spunga piena di diversi colori in un muro, esso lasciava in esso muro una macchia, dove si vedeva un bel paese. . . . E questo tal pittore fece tristissimi paesi." Ibid., pp. 201–2, no. 523.

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO
Milan, ca. 1467–Milan, 1516

1. Portrait of a Notable, Traditionally the Poet Gerolamo Casio
Ca. 1500–1510
Oil on panel, 22⅝ × 16¾ in. (57.5 × 42.5 cm)
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
Contini Bonacossi 28

In 1498 Isabella d'Aragona, widow of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, called Boltraffio "molto experto" in portraiture, an assertion fully borne out by this half-length portrait. One of his most compelling works, it was first identified in the Frizzoni collection in Bergamo in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1908 the great historian Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri suggested that the sitter here is the same as in a famous portrait in the Brera, which demonstrably depicts the Bolognese poet Gerolamo Casio (1464–1533) (although the crown of ivy and the lines from a poem by Casio written in 1523 on the *cartellino* were added after the artist's death), and many authors (for example, Reggiani Rajna 1951) have accepted this identification. Casio was Boltraffio's most significant patron, commissioning a great altarpiece for the church of the Misericordia, Bologna, in 1500 (now Musée du Louvre, Paris), as well as portraits, including one of the youthful poet at Chatsworth. Their relationship was a close one, and in 1525 Casio published an epitaph for the artist (*Libro intitulato Cronica,* no. CLXXVIII), calling him the "finest student of Leonardo da Vinci" and adding that his brush made every man more beautiful than in nature.

Yet, as Fiorio has asserted (2000, p. 128), the identification is by no means sure. The notable differences between the portraits of Casio at the Brera and at Chatsworth can be explained by the former's being part of the realist tradition in Lombard portraiture and the latter's being imbued with courtly, idealized qualities relating more closely to Leonardo's ideal types (D. A. Brown 1983–84). The present portrait is without any attribute alluding to the poet or his work. The man is dressed rather simply in black, with a narrow white collar and a black *berretto* pulled almost to his eyebrows; it may be that he is a magistrate. All attention is drawn to his face, which is painted with remarkable subtlety. Light entering from the left leaves part of the left side of the face in shadow and defines with almost miraculous precision the shape of the nose, lips, mouth, and double chin. Although reticent in expression, the face vibrates with life, while the slight twist of the neck and shoulders contributes to the sense of animation. In all these ways Boltraffio was probably following Leonardo's lead, but his portraits have their very own sense of gravity, elegance, and wide tonal range within a generally limited palette.

The close observation of the features puts this painting firmly within Boltraffio's distinguished group of realist portraits (see also cat. no. 2), but the quality of the artist's observation has conceivably elevated the gentleman's beauty above mere nature. The painting is usually dated to a year soon after 1500.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Malaguzzi Valeri 1908, p. 194; Malaguzzi Valeri 1917, pp. 86, 90; Reggiani Rajna 1951, pp. 356, 379; Fiorio 2000, no. A22; Alessandra Scappini in Milan 2000–2001, no. III.20

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO
Milan, ca. 1467–Milan, 1516

2. Portrait of a Young Man
Ca. 1500–1510
Oil on panel, 19¼ × 15⅜ in. (49 × 39 cm)
Collezione Borromeo, Isola Bella
Cremona only

This outstanding depiction of an unknown man has long been considered one of the most significant and characteristic of the small group of portraits painted by Boltraffio after about 1500 that are notable for their intense naturalism (see also cat. no. 1). These must surely have been influenced by the dramatic events of 1499–1500 in Milan, when the Sforza court had to flee and numerous artists, including Leonardo and Boltraffio, left the city. In 1500 Boltraffio went to Bologna, where he undertook an altarpiece for his patron the poet Gerolamo Casio. While there, he would have had the opportunity of seeing the most recent art in Emilia, particularly that of Francesco Francia. It is striking that at the same moment Leonardo—along with, it is sometimes conjectured, Boltraffio (Fiorio 2000)—moved on to Venice, where his work had an immediate impact on Giorgione, especially in the field of portraiture (Ballarin 1983). Indeed, it can be said without too much exaggeration that these were the years in which portraiture in northern Italy entered a new, modern phase, one that was recognizably part of Vasari's "maniera moderna." Boltraffio's sculptural, intensely naturalistic portraits are an important element of this development, and as such need to be considered alongside Lotto's earliest portraits, and as significant precedents for Savoldo (Magnabosco Ricciardi 1985 and Magnabosco Ricciardi in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990).

This appealing portrait of a man with a broad nose and clear gaze, sober in attire and attitude, has been part of the Borromeo collection since the nineteenth century, but its earlier history is unknown.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Reinach 1905, p. 126; Magnabosco Ricciardi 1985; Ornella Magnabosco Ricciardi in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. IV.8a; Fiorio 1998, pp. 160–61; Fiorio 2000, no. A21

CESARE DA SESTO
Sesto Calende, 1477–Milan, 1523

3. Saint Jerome
Ca. 1520–23
Oil on panel, 31 × 23 in. (78.7 × 58.4 cm)
Southampton City Art Gallery, England
2/1958

Of the artists considered in this exhibition, Cesare da Sesto was among the most profoundly influenced both by Leonardo and by central Italian art and artistic practice. Although born near Milan and presumably trained there, he was in Rome by 1508 and spent a considerable amount of time in southern Italy. There is little documentation of his movements, but during the final years of his life, after about 1520, he worked in a productive studio in Milan, where this fascinating portrayal of Saint Jerome in penitence was probably painted (Carminati 1994; it is sometimes dated earlier in the decade).

Cesare worked out his compositions in preparatory drawings and figure studies, and this painting was preceded by a study of the full figure of the saint reading that appears on one sheet of the brilliant sketchbook now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (F.M. II 44), as well as by a red chalk drawing on prepared paper for Jerome's head in which his melancholic psychological state is explored (Albertina, Vienna). Yet the blocky pose of the saint, with the torso seen frontally but the head in profile and the left arm stretched entirely across the chest, is clearly based on Michelangelo's Cumaean Sibyl on the Sistine Chapel ceiling, which the artist probably saw on his second trip to Rome. The pose and musculature of this Michelangelesque figure may have had an immediate impact in Milan, for a sculpture of Jerome probably carved by Cristoro Solari soon after 1519 for the city's cathedral seems to have been influenced by it (Agosti 1990, p. 177).

The saint sits on a rocky bench covered with grasses and plants; a tree spreads behind him with a vast mountainous landscape opening up to either side. Inspired by Leonardo's example, Cesare drew landscape elements from life (cat. no. 11), and several of his most beautiful works include such spreading trees, including the so-called *Madonna of the Tree* in the Brera, with which this painting is sometimes compared. At this later stage in his career Cesare worked alongside a specialist in landscape painting named Bernazzano (see pp. 5–6 in this volume), whose greatest achievement was the spectacular landscape in the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 2) that the two painted for the Mint in Milan. That sweeping panorama is noteworthy for its attention to naturalistic detail, but above all for its emulation of Flemish examples. It has been suggested that the landscape here may also be by Bernazzano (Suida 1929), and the two views do indeed have some elements in common. Cesare's remarkable accomplishment in the *Saint Jerome* is to have wed his Roman figure into a landscape whose roots are in Leonardo and northern Europe.

The painting, which may have been sold in Paris in 1742, gained some fame after 1870, when it entered the Cook collection in Richmond, England; the number of extant copies attests to its popularity (Carminati 1994, pp. 203–6).

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Suida 1929, pp. 164, 218; Marani 1987, pp. 130–32; Carminati 1994, pp. 121–22, 203–6, 260–61, no. D86; Carminati 1998, p. 318

BERNARDINO LUINI
Dumenza, near Luino, ca. 1480/85–Milan, 1532

4. Saint Sebastian
Ca. 1512
Oil on panel, 41¼ × 17 in. (104.8 × 43.2 cm)
Private collection
New York only

Luini's measured compositions, indebted to Leonardo and Raphael but having their own elegance and rhythm, were enormously influential in Milan from about 1515 to the end of the 1520s. His earliest, largely undocumented, years have been difficult to untangle, however. In his *Trattato* (bk. 6, chap. 48), Lomazzo wrote that Luini studied with the minor Milanese painter Stefano Scotto; it is also likely that the young artist had some contact with Andrea Solario. Those who accept that he was the painter of a Virgin and Child with Saints dated 1507 and signed "Bernardinus Mediolansis" (Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris) also believe that he must have spent some of his formative years in the Veneto and was particularly informed about painting in

Verona (Bora 1998a, p. 326). It is only in 1512 that documented works begin to appear in and around Milan.

Ottino Della Chiesa (1956) has argued most fully that this beautiful, rarely seen panel, along with three others (Collezione Borromeo, Isola Bella), was probably a lateral element of an unknown altarpiece painted by Luini just before his first documented work, a fresco for the abbey of Chiaravalle, near Milan. The other panels depict Saint Peter, Saint Martha, and a bishop saint, each standing before an identical architectural niche; that of Saint Sebastian includes at the left a portion of the decorated pilaster that separated the saints (their exact arrangement has not yet been clarified).

This panel demonstrates the young artist's clear understanding of contemporary Milanese painting. In its subtle yet precise description of space and perspective—the saint standing on a pavement projecting forward from the architecture, the branches moving forward as well, the head deliberately foreshortened—the work demonstrates that Luini had looked carefully at the paintings of the older artists Bramantino (active by 1490, d. 1530) and Bernardo Zenale (ca. 1464–1526). At the same time, there is a remarkable study of the fall of light, especially notable in the definition of the neck and torso and in the shadows cast across the pavement and architecture. This use of light as a fundamental descriptive tool is also an important element of the Lombard tradition, beginning with Vincenzo Foppa and then reinforced and elaborated by Leonardo's example.

Binaghi Olivari (in *Pinacoteca di Brera* 1988) has questioned the attribution of this painting to Luini, rightly pointing out that it is unlike the *Saint Sebastian* fresco fragment painted for the Milanese convent known as the Vetere (now Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), with which it has been compared and which she dates to about 1520. She has unconvincingly suggested instead the name of the Veronese painter Gian Francesco Caroto (ca. 1480–ca. 1555), an argument tied in with her dismissal of the 1507 altarpiece mentioned above.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Suida 1939, p. 332; Ottino Della Chiesa 1956, pp. 13–15, 76; Berenson 1968, vol. 1, p. 228; Mauro Natale in *Museo Poldi Pezzoli* 1982, p. 92, under no. 42; Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari in *Pinacoteca di Brera* 1988, pp. 213–14, under no. 125l

BERNARDINO LUINI
Dumenza, near Luino, ca. 1480/85–
Milan, 1532

5. The Magdalen
Ca. 1520–25
Oil on panel, 23⅛ × 18⅞ in. (58.8 × 47.8 cm)
National Gallery of Art, Washington,
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961.9.56

In the early seventeenth century, this painting was part of the great collection put together by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, archbishop of Milan. It appears in 1607 in a codicil to his will as part of his donation to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, which the cardinal had dedicated that same year. In his *Musaeum* (1625) Borromeo compares this painting to a well-known image by Titian, the *Penitent Magdalen,* also in the collection (now considered workshop of Titian; Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan), in which the saint, her torso wrapped in her long tresses, gazes upward to heaven. Despite the drama of Titian's imagery (and although we know its potential indecency did not trouble him), the cardinal found Luini's version the more satisfying one: "There is so much life and spirit in this head that Titian's Magdalen nearby seems what one might call bloodless, not a woman, but a ghost of a woman. The face of Luini's Magdalen is by no means energetic, but nevertheless the painting is successful as a whole; the saint gazes at the viewer, and opens the small vessel very suitable for anointing the Savior's body" (see Jones 1990 for a translation of the full text).

Thus in a post-Tridentine context, Luini's refined, quiet portrayal of the saint was found to be moving and conducive to meditation, and Borromeo valued it highly as such. Also recognizing its close connection with Leonardo (and by his appraisal demonstrating the continued influence of Leonardo's work in Milan), the cardinal wrote that it "displays Leonardo's design, from which Luini perhaps took up the outline and representation" (Jones 1990). The composition may derive from Leonardo's far more dynamic *Sketches for a Saint Mary Magdalen* (Courtauld Institute Galleries, London), but is more likely related to a lost work or merely conceived in a Leonardesque mode; indeed, its strongest connections are with compositions by other followers of Leonardo, such as Solario and Boltraffio. Luini's own interest in Leonardo seems to have increased in the early 1520s when, after the elderly artist's death in France, his heirs, Francesco Melzi and Salaì, returned to Milan with manuscripts and paintings (Bora 1998a). At around that time, for example, Luini probably carried out his painted copy (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) of Leonardo's great cartoon *The Virgin and Child with Saints Anne and John the Baptist,* which his son Aurelio later owned. The early 1520s is also the most likely date for this Magdalen, given its connection to the Saint Barbara in Luini's fresco *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), dated 1521 (Shapley 1979). It most closely compares, however, with the beautiful *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), possibly done from the same model, who wears a similarly brilliant green gown, and likewise one of his most Leonardesque creations.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Shapley 1979, pp. 288–89; Jones 1990; Jones 1993, pp. 74–75, 248–49; Bora 1998a, p. 354

Attributed to
FRANCESCO MELZI
Milan, 1491/93–Vaprio d'Adda, ca. 1570

6. La Flora
Oil on panel, 25⅝ × 21⅝ in. (65 × 55 cm)
Galleria Borghese, Rome 470

This fascinating, albeit damaged, painting of the goddess of flowers and gardens is an important document of Leonardesque painting in Rome. Its attribution has been very uncertain, and some in the past have considered it a copy. Only recently has Herrmann Fiore (in Bergamo 2000 and Milan 2000–2001) argued for a reevaluation of its historical significance. It was part of the collection of paintings owned by the successful artist Cavaliere d'Arpino (for whom Caravaggio worked in 1593) that was sequestrated by the papacy in 1607 and given as a gift to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. The inventory drawn up for that purpose includes the *Flora,* unattributed as are the other items, along with Caravaggio's *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and *Bacchino malato* (cat. no. 63). An analysis of the inventory demonstrates that Arpino was deeply interested in North Italian, specifically Lombard, painting and—not unrelated—in paintings of flowers and fruits, which were the subjects that Bellori said he demanded of the young Caravaggio, fresh from Lombardy. Herrmann Fiore has gone on to suggest that all three paintings may have once hung together in an arrangement whose meaning was perhaps tied to classical sources. Furthermore, recent technical study has shown that the painting is almost certainly not a copy, as the figure was begun as a saint with a halo and very different drapery and was then transformed into the goddess as the artist worked on the panel.

The attribution to Melzi, however, is still open to debate. Although he was an integral part of Leonardo's workshop and one of his principal heirs, Melzi's generally accepted painted oeuvre is very restricted (Marani 1998a). The imagery here is in line with his two most notable works, the *Flora* (or *Columbine*) (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg) and the *Vertumnus and Pomona* (Staatliche Museen, Berlin). Of particular note is the intense botanical interest shown in these paintings—each flower readily identifiable and closely observed—which springs directly from association with Leonardo, as does the goddess's half smile. Leonardo, with whom Melzi traveled to Rome in 1513, may have introduced his companion to the great antique sculptures of the Muses found in Hadrian's Villa and brought by Leo X to the Villa Madama (now Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid). Leonardo admired these (Marani 1999, pp. 259–61), and the way that the drapery falls in the *Flora,* describing the volume of the breasts beneath, may be inspired by these monumental classical sculptures.

At the same time, the work closely resembles a painting of Flora by Bernardino Luini (Queen's Collection, Hampton Court), and both the play of light and the subtlety of the modeling of skin and flowers are beyond anything seen in the works by Melzi mentioned above.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: de Hevesy 1952, p. 249; Della Pergola 1955, no. 147; Marani 1998a, p. 378; Kristina Herrmann Fiore in Bergamo 2000, p. 67; Kristina Herrmann Fiore in Milan 2000–2001, no. III.34

Attributed to
GIOVANNI AMBROGIO DE PREDIS
Milan, ca. 1455–Milan, after 1508
Possibly by
GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO
Milan, ca. 1467–Milan, 1516

7. Girl with Cherries
Ca. 1491–95
Oil on panel, 19¼ × 14¾ in. (48.9 × 37.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1890 91.26.5

This charming panel, of uncertain attribution, was painted by a follower of Leonardo in Milan. It shows a young woman wearing a wreath of ground ivy, with its tiny blue flowers, and holding a basket of fruit that includes cherries and pears. In the nineteenth century it was attributed to Leonardo himself, the figure being identified as Pomona, the Roman goddess of fruit (Lomazzo had recorded a "laughing Pomona" that Leonardo was said to have painted). When Roger Fry exhibited the painting at the Metropolitan Museum in 1906, he attributed it to Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis, a portraitist of the Sforza, and later Habsburg, courts.

Both the imagery and its treatment are deeply indebted to the brilliant example set by Leonardo's portraits and figure studies. The close attention paid to the hand, with its outstretched fingers; the slight twist of the head, with eyes glancing past the viewer; and the subtle fall of light over the flesh are all inspired by his *Cecilia Gallerani* (Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Kraków) of about 1490. The studied quality of the hands was probably achieved through carefully rendered sketches, also likely following precedents in Leonardo's graphic oeuvre. Similarly, the vibrant sense of life in the girl's curls is a testament to Leonardo's love of the movement of hair, which he saw as analogous to water currents and other paradigms of motion and which he studied in many drawings. All the above were meant to enhance the naturalness of the figure, who appears to be alive and moving subtly through space.

The persistent attribution to de Predis seems unpersuasive. Although the painter of this panel remained tied to an older generation of painters and was scarcely influenced by Leonardo, he was obviously grappling with Leonardo's ideas. The work belongs to a group of fine paintings of disputed authorship that may have been done by the young Boltraffio, one of Leonardo's most gifted students (an earlier hypothesis now elaborated by Ballarin in a series of unpublished lectures given most recently in Naples in 1998). Boltraffio's earliest working years are difficult to reconstruct, as only one documented altarpiece survives, and that was done in collaboration with another member of Leonardo's workshop. Yet it is clear that from the outset Boltraffio was a keen observer and a brilliant draftsman. He could plausibly have produced the group of paintings mentioned above around 1491–95, just before truly hitting his stride about 1500 with a number of magisterial works (see cat. no. 2).

The lower part of the painting, including the girl's left hand and the bowl of fruit, has sustained some damage that may be due to an exposure to heat.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: D. A. Brown 1983–84, p. 104; Zeri 1986, pp. 54–55; Fiorio 2000, p. 92; Bayer 2003, pp. 16–19

ANDREA SOLARIO
Milan, ca. 1477–Milan, 1524

8. Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist
Ca. 1506–7
Oil on panel, 22½ × 18½ in. (57.2 × 47 cm)
Signed at lower right: *ANDREAS DE/ SOLARIO/ F.*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 32.100.81

This image of Salome about to receive the Baptist's head on a silver charger is at once gruesome and exquisitely refined. It was painted by one of the leading artists active in Milan at the beginning of the sixteenth century, whose work was shaped by an early trip to Venice, by his exposure to Leonardo's art in Milan in the 1490s, and by Flemish painting. This panel, of which there are several close variants (see Zeri 1986), was possibly painted during the artist's trip to France from 1507 to about 1509, where he worked for Cardinal Georges I d'Amboise, the uncle of the French governor of Milan. Recent research has suggested that the subject was of particular interest to the Amboise family (Venturelli 1997): from 1503 to 1512 Georges's brother Aimery was the grand master of the Order of the Knights of Saint John, and it may be no coincidence that devotional paintings focused on the saint's martyrdom became popular in Milan and France in precisely those years.

Although there are many such depictions by Milanese artists, it is rare to see one with such a daring composition, in which the executioner is so severely cropped that only his outstretched arm is seen. This arm, with its clenched fist and rough drapery, is an unsettling synecdoche for the man as a whole. It is also one clue to the pervasive influence that a lost composition by Leonardo probably had on this and other Milanese depictions of the subject (see Bayer 2003). Here, both the enigmatic character of Salome's gaze and the modeling of her flesh are indebted to Leonardo's work, as is her elaborate coiffure, braided and spilling over her shoulders, which reflects his studies for the head of Leda. Above all, it was probably Leonardo's example that led Solario to emphasize the contrasts among the figures—note, for instance, Salome's pearly skin tones, the Baptist's greenish head, and the executioner's ruddy arm—a dynamic that grew out of Leonardo's interest in the contrast of beauty and ugliness and what that contrast can imply about a figure's character. To a Renaissance viewer, Salome's beauty was of course ambiguous, as she combined in herself both admirable and reprehensible qualities.

The high finish of the surface of this painting and its refinement of detail are characteristic of Solario. As Berenson pointed out, the surfaces are similar to those perfected by the artist's brother, the sculptor Cristoforo.[1] Above all, Salome's jewelry and the ornamentation of her dress are painted with the utmost precision and care. It was this descriptive brilliance that probably made Solario's works so coveted in France and Milan, and led at one time to this painting's being mistakenly attributed to a Flemish artist.

AB

1. Bernard Berenson, "The Michael Friedsam Collection," unpublished ms., p. 88, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Cogliati Arano 1966, p. 42, no. 30; Zeri 1986, pp. 60–61; D. A. Brown 1987, pp. 165–70, no. 40; Bayer 2003, pp. 14–16

A

B

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO
Milan, ca. 1467–Milan, 1516

9. Two Studies of Drapery

A. *Drapery Study*
Metalpoint and brown wash on blue prepared paper, 9⅞ × 7⅜ in. (251 × 187 mm)
Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford
23 0048

B. *Drapery Study (Study for the "Madonna Litta")*
Metalpoint with touches of white on blue prepared paper, 11¼ × 8⅜ in. (285 × 213 mm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett 4090

Boltraffio was Leonardo's most gifted pupil. Several contemporary sources document their affiliation: Leonardo himself, in a note of 1491, refers to him familiarly as "Gian Antonio";[1] the Bolognese poet Gerolamo Casio, an intimate of Boltraffio, proclaimed with some hyperbole that he was "the only student of Leonardo da Vinci";[2] and Vasari records that Boltraffio trained with the master. His drawings of the early to mid-1490s, and most of the paintings he executed in that decade, are demonstrations of a pure Leonardesque idiom. According to Paolo Giovio, Leonardo cultivated such proficiency on the part of his pupils by having them execute drawings in his manner. Only when full command of his technique was achieved was the pupil—who must also have attained at least twenty years of age—then permitted to paint (Fiorio 2000, p. 132; Linda Wolk-Simon in New York 2003, p. 650).

Boltraffio's silverpoint drawings are demonstrations of this practice of emulation as it was prescribed in the studio-cum-academy in Milan that was the Achademia Leonardi Vinci. Executed in the exacting technique that Leonardo had imported from Florence, the works in question are predominantly head studies, but two drapery studies in silverpoint are also known. That at Christ Church, Oxford (A), is preparatory for an early painting of the Madonna and Child (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan) by Boltraffio, which has been assigned to the period from about 1485 to the 1490s. The stylistically analogous sheet in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (B), is a study for the drapery of the Virgin in the *Madonna Litta* (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), a much-discussed work that had a complex genesis: designed by Leonardo, it was executed under his supervision by one of his close followers, almost certainly Boltraffio (on this, see most recently Françoise Viatte in New York 2003, under no. 44).[3]

Boltraffio's drawings recall the drapery studies that the young Leonardo produced in Florence when he was attached to the orbit of Verrocchio—virtuoso exercises undertaken to accurately visualize three-dimensional volume and the interplay of light and shadow (see Viatte 2003 and Françoise Viatte in New York 2003, nos. 13–17, with earlier references). Unconcerned with underlying human form, those studies lavish careful attention on every angle and turn of the cloth, capturing the effects of deep pools of shadow and highlighted edges of folds. Such pictorial considerations remained central to Leonardo's practice during his years in Milan and were among the lessons he imparted to his pupils there, as Boltraffio's studies demonstrate. The example now in Oxford (A), in which drapery is treated—as in Leonardo's studies—as an autonomous entity independent of any underlying corporeal armature, is particularly evocative of those earlier models.

The Florentine architect, sculptor, and theorist Filarete (ca. 1400–ca. 1469) remarked that "drapery . . . has to do with the study of nature" (quoted in Viatte

2003, p. 112). Leonardo undoubtedly shared this belief, which informs his drapery studies and those of his pupils.

LW-S

1. Bibliothèque, Institut de France, Paris, Ms. C, fol. 15v.; see Leonardo 1970, vol. 2, pp. 438–39.
2. Casio 1525, carta 46; quoted in Fiorio 2000, p. 132.
3. Closely related to both the Berlin and Oxford drawings is another silverpoint drapery study in the British Museum, London (inv. no. 1895-9-15-485; Fiorio 2000, no. C10, ill.; see also Marani 2003, p. 167). Connected with Boltraffio and Marco d'Oggiono's collaborative altarpiece depicting the Resurrection (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz), it has been variously attributed to both artists.

SELECTED REFERENCES: (A) Byam Shaw 1976, p. 39 (as close follower of Leonardo); Fiorio 2000, no. B1 (as Boltraffio); Marani 2003, pp. 165–67. (B) Bora 1991, p. 208 (as Boltraffio?); D. A. Brown 1991, p. 28 (as attributed to Marco d'Oggiono); Schulze Altcappenberg 1995, pp. 110–12; Fiorio 1998, p. 137 (as Boltraffio); Fiorio 2000, no. B2; Marani 2003, p. 165

CESARE DA SESTO
Sesto Calende, 1477–Milan, 1523

10. Studies of Feet
Red chalk, heightened in white, on red prepared paper, 8½ × 10 in. (216 × 255 mm)
Inscribed in black ink at lower left: *84*
Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera, Milan

Cesare da Sesto's mature style is characterized by a fusion of Lombard naturalism—the legacy of Leonardo—with the idealized, classicizing manner of Raphael and his contemporaries in Rome. This synthesis of Lombard and Roman elements is evident in his drawings. A sketchbook that the artist executed mostly during his Roman sojourn (see cat. no. 12) contains numerous studies after figures and compositions by Raphael and Michelangelo, and others inspired by the antique. Interspersed with those ruminations on the artistic marvels of ancient and modern Rome, and providing a counterpoint to them, is the occasional display of naturalism, which proceeded instead from Cesare's Lombard background. Examples of the latter include a study of a standing bull (cat. no. 12) and the leafy tree in a drawing of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. These passages provide a link to other drawings by the artist in a naturalistic vein, such as the Windsor *Study of a Tree* (cat. no. 11).

In the course of designing the *Last Supper,* Leonardo produced an extensive series of studies of heads and hands, those aspects of the human figure that he deemed the most expressive conveyors of his subjects' "moti mentali," or motions of the mind (see discussion under cat. no. 19A–J). Executed primarily in chalk, those drawings established a formidable artistic precedent for Lombard draftsmen of the sixteenth century, beginning with Leonardo's immediate followers in Milan. One of the artists who most closely assimilated his practice of producing red chalk figure drawings, including detail studies of hands and limbs, in order to achieve the most compelling, lifelike anatomical representation was Cesare da Sesto. An important group of drawings by him in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, testifies to his mastery of both Leonardo's preparatory practice and his innovative "rosso su rosso" technique (red chalk on red or pink prepared or tinted paper; see Torrini 1992; Annalisa Perissa Torrini in Venice 1992, nos. 91–97; Marani 2003, pp. 177–79). The intensive study of gesture that was central to Leonardo's exploration of *affetti* and "moti mentali" was also adopted by Cesare in his red chalk drawings. Both artists extended this investigation to include careful study of feet, Leonardo in a drawing in Windsor (fig. 37) and Cesare da Sesto in this sheet in the Brera, a fairly recent addition to his graphic oeuvre, which exemplifies his practice of drawing from life.

Carlo Amoretti, an early chronicler of Leonardo's life and work, recorded the existence in the Appiani collection in Milan of a drawing by Leonardo "pinti a pastello [. . . di] due bellissimi piedi" (painted in pastel . . . [of] two beautiful feet; Amoretti 1804; quoted by Bora 1991, p. 211). No such drawing is known today, but given the subject and technique of the Brera drawing, and the fact that Leonardo's "rosso su rosso" technique was sometimes confused with pastel, it is not impossible that Amoretti may have been referring to this study of feet by Cesare da Sesto, a versatile and accomplished draftsman, and the follower who most brilliantly emulated Leonardo's graphic style.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: Milan 2001, no. 65

CESARE DA SESTO
Sesto Calende, 1477–Milan, 1523

11. Study of a Tree
Pen and ink over black chalk on blue paper, 15⅜ × 10⅜ in. (392 × 265 mm)
Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Royal Library, Windsor Castle 12417

Leonardo's projected treatise the *Trattato della pittura* includes a lengthy discourse on the subject of trees. Proceeding from acute firsthand observation, it addresses a myriad of topics such as the shape and branching patterns of various deciduous species; the color and refractive properties of leaves; and the appearance of trees viewed in different types of light, atmospheric conditions, and range of distances (Leonardo 2001, pp. 175– 89, nos. 462–97, and in this volume, pages 69–70). The meticulously described tree seen in this accomplished study, observed at close proximity, calls to mind the passage in which he remarks that "trees at the first distance send their true shapes to the eye, and the lights, lustres, shadows and transparencies of each cluster of leaves arising from the terminal twigs of the trees are readily apparent" (translation as in Leonardo 2001, p. 186, no. 489).

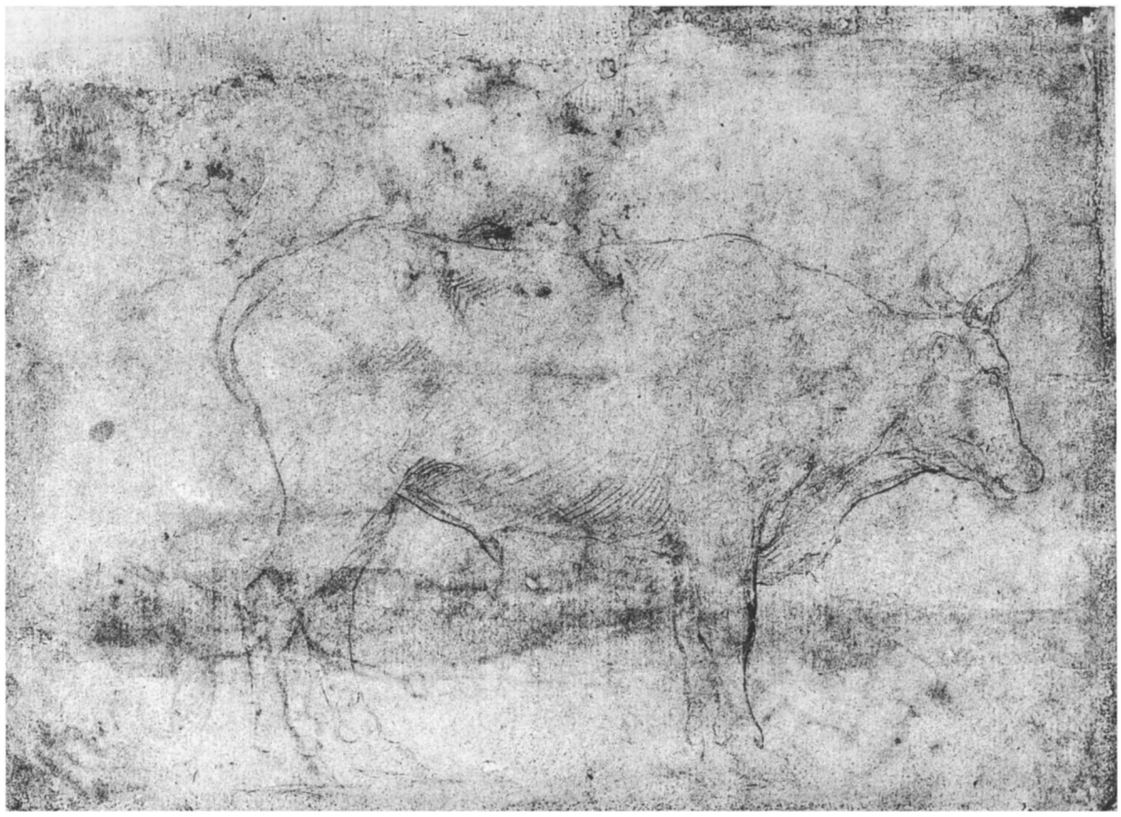
Given the subject and the suggestive affinities with Leonardo's writings, it is understandable that the Windsor drawing was long considered to be by his hand. However, since the middle of the previous century it has been recognized as the work of Leonardo's gifted Milanese follower Cesare da Sesto, to whom it was ascribed on the basis of its close similarities to the tree in the *Temptation of Eve* in a sketchbook by the artist now in the Morgan Library (see discussion under cat. no. 12; New York 1965–66, no. 39; Carminati 1994, no. D31). Nonetheless, so close in spirit to the commentary of the never completed *Trattato della pittura* is this study that it conceivably may have been executed as a demonstration of the artist's familiarity with Leonardo's precepts.

Depicted in splendid isolation with careful attention to the nuances of form and texture, light and shadow, and exhibiting a fidelity to nature that suggests it was copied "dal vero," the Windsor *Tree* has the character of an independent exercise rather than a preparatory study for a painting.[1] Nonetheless, similar trees figure prominently in a number of Cesare da Sesto's compositions, such as the *Madonna of the Tree* (Brera, Milan; Carminati 1994, no. 10), the *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist and George* (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Carminati 1994, no. 7), the *Adoration of the Magi* (Capodimonte, Naples; Carminati 1994, no. 16), and the *Saint Jerome* (cat. no. 3). These examples underscore the prominent strain of naturalism in his art, which culminated in the splendid, collaborative Gallarati-Scotti *Baptism* (fig. 2) with its consuming attention to elaborate botanical detail, and, in Cesare's graphic oeuvre, in the Windsor *Study of a Tree*.

LW-S

1. The particular type of tree represented here has to my knowledge never been identified. It appears to have been pruned, suggesting that it is probably a fruit orchard tree, perhaps a cherry or a pear, as suggested by Steven Sinon, Reference Librarian, New York Botanical Garden (verbal communication), who noted similarities with the tree in Cesare's drawing and depictions of cherry and pear trees in various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gardening manuals and illustrations.

SELECTED REFERENCES: New York 1965–66, p. 36, under no. 39 (as Cesare da Sesto); Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 1, p. 64; Malibu, New York 1980–81, p. 38, no. 22; Torrini 1992, p. 405, n. 45; Annalisa Perissa Torrini in Venice 1992, p. 414; Pedretti and Trutty-Coohill 1993, p. 61; Carminati 1994, no. D95



CESARE DA SESTO
Sesto Calende, 1477–Milan, 1523

12. Study of a Bull
Red chalk, 5⅝ × 7¼ in. (143 × 184 mm)
Recto: *Studies of Saint John the Baptist and Other Figures*
Pen and ink
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
II, 56, f. 4v

A little-known example of Cesare da Sesto's draftsmanship, this study from the Morgan Library sketchbook appears on the verso of an unrelated sheet of pen and ink studies and is closely related to another drawing of a bull in the Royal Library, Windsor (fig. 28; Carminati 1994, nos. D48, ill., D93). Traditionally attributed to Leonardo, that study was recognized as the work of Cesare da Sesto largely because of its similarity to the Morgan Library *Bull*. The verso of the Windsor drawing has a quick but engaging sketch of a donkey. Like the bulls in the Windsor and Morgan drawings, it is observed from life with a disarming freshness and immediacy.

Another drawing by Cesare relevant to this discussion of naturalism is a fragmentary page from the Morgan sketchbook with pen and ink studies of a cat (Carminati 1994, no. D56). The subject immediately calls to mind Leonardo's series of pen and ink sketches dealing with the theme of the Virgin and Child with a cat (New York 2003, nos. 18, 19, figs. 128–30). His prancing, writhing felines are more animated than the plump, contented cat in Cesare's sketch, but both are based on actual animals. Leonardo's studies ultimately led to a painting, the *Virgin and Child with a Lamb,* by a member of his circle, possibly Cesare da Sesto (Marani 1987, p. 14; Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 292, fig. 129). Whatever his identity, the author of that work originally intended to show the Christ child embracing a cat, as X-radiographs and the incongruously feline body of the lamb both attest. Cesare's drawing of a cat might have been conceived in connection with a composition of this type—a possibility suggested by the Leonardesque study of precisely this subject on the recto. In any case, the drawing of a cat, like the studies of bulls and a donkey, provides graphic evidence that the artist grounded elements of his subject matter in a faithful observation and recording of the natural world.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Pedretti and Trutty-Coohill 1993, p. 63; Carminati 1994, no. D49

GIOVANNI DA UDINE
Udine, 1487–Rome, 1564

13. Two Studies of Birds

A. *Study of a Parrot and Small Sketches of Parrots and a Praying Mantis*
Red chalk and gouache, pen and brown ink, black chalk and watercolor, 11⅞ × 8⅝ in. (300 × 219 mm)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right: *6*; in reddish ink on mount: *GIOVAN DA'VDINE*
Verso: *Studies of a Parrot and Other Birds*
Red chalk and gouache, pen and brown ink, black and red chalk
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm NM384 (recto), 385 (verso)
New York only

B. *Study of a Flying Sparrow*
Red chalk and gouache (partly oxidized pigment), 5⅜ × 6⅝ in. (138 × 168 mm)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right: *4*
Verso: *Studies of Antique Sculpture*
Pen and brown ink
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm NM389/1863
New York only

Drawings by Giovanni da Udine are rare. Most of the surviving examples, generally assigned to his tenure in Raphael's workshop (ca. 1515–20) and its aftermath in Rome, represent birds, animals, and still-life details (see cat. no. 14), the types of subject matter in which he specialized. These two sheets, together with six other studies of birds and insects ascribed to the artist, were acquired by the great Swedish collector Count Carl Gustav Tessin in Paris in 1741 at the sale of the vast and celebrated collection of Pierre Crozat (1665–1740). In a manuscript inventory of his acquisitions, Tessin described them as "peint d'après nature" (painted after nature). He also noted that they were "tirées du livre que Jean d'Udine avoit peint pour Raphael" (taken from the book that Giovanni da Udine painted for Raphael; see Bjurström and Magnusson 1998, under no. 455). In reporting this provenance, Tessin was undoubtedly invoking a long-standing and authoritative tradition that extended back at least to the time of Crozat's ownership; there is no reason to doubt that these two drawings of birds originally formed part of the sketchbook of "uccelli di tutte le sorti" (birds of all sorts) by Giovanni da Udine mentioned by Vasari (Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 6, p. 550).

The large study of parrots and a praying mantis (A), which has on the verso an additional study of the parrot as well as sketches of other birds—all, evidently, drawn from life—is among the most appealing of Giovanni's surviving drawings. Spontaneous and informal, the quick pen and

A (recto)

A (verso)

B

ink sketches on the recto capture various movements of the parrot. These culminate in the large, finished watercolor and gouache study at the center—a highly realistic "portrait" of an actual parrot, a species of bird that his patron Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21) kept as part of his menagerie in the Vatican Palace, and that the artist would have had ample occasion to observe firsthand. The mantis in the same drawing underwent a similar metamorphosis, from sketchy studies to the more articulated, strikingly lifelike version done almost entirely in watercolor at the lower edge of the sheet.

The second sheet (B) has been cut down but is of a piece with the *Parrot*. Executed in the same technique, with colored pigment applied over a sketchy red chalk underdrawing, the soaring sparrow is another demonstration of the fidelity to nature that characterizes Giovanni da Udine's portrayal of animals and birds, a verisimilitude enhanced—here as elsewhere in his drawings—by the unusual use of color. Evidencing a striking naturalism unseen in drawings by any of Raphael's other followers, Giovanni's technique speaks to his North Italian origins and his gifts as a still-life painter. (The pen and ink sketch on the verso shows an antique sculpture, Praxiteles' *Apollo Citharoedos,* that was known through several Roman copies [Bjurström and Magnusson 1998, under no. 455]; it thus documents the alternative but equally important component of the artist's style—his immersion in classical antiquity—and his other specialization in the Raphael workshop).[1]

The Stockholm drawings may have been made in connection with the uncannily realistic birds that populated Giovanni's decorations in the Vatican Palace, such as his frieze in the Sala dei Palafrenieri, the frescoes in the eponymous Sala dei Papagalli, and the vaults and pilasters of the Logge of Leo X, the latter described by Vasari as "seeming, in their coloring, with their feathers, and in all other parts living and real, . . . of every sort known to nature."[2] The most suggestive affinities are to be observed with the little-studied Prima Loggia, where Giovanni painted all manner of birds (parrots and sparrows among them), beasts, fruits, and flowers, transforming the space into a lush pergola-cum-aviary (see fig. 30; Dacos and Furlan 1987, pp. 102–7). None of the correspondences are exact, however, and it seems unlikely that Giovanni's studies of birds, observed from nature, were executed as preparatory designs for a specific work. A more probable scenario, given the ubiquity of birds in his decorations, is that this specialist painter of animals and still-life details created these drawings to serve as a sort of model book for repeated use—that engaging *libro* of "uccelli di tutte le sorti" mentioned by Vasari which, the biographer says, was a source of great pleasure and amusement to Raphael (Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 6, p. 550).

LW-S

1. The *Apollo Citharoedos,* an influential model in early-sixteenth-century Rome, was reprised in frescoes by Raphael and Baldassare Peruzzi and copied in drawings by other members of Raphael's circle. See Bober and Rubinstein 1986, pp. 35–36, fig. 35. The cropped form at the left presumably represents another, unidentified ancient Roman sculpture. Dacos in Dacos and Furlan 1987, p. 250, considers the verso to be by another hand. Since the drawing was bound in a sketchbook until at least the mid to late sixteenth century, and the sculpture is shown in the state in which it existed before its restoration, which occurred while the sketchbook was still intact, it is unlikely that the drawing could have been made by anyone other than Giovanni himself.
2. "per dir così, al colorito, alle piume, e in tutte l'altre parti vivi e veri, . . . di quante ha saputo fare la natura." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, p. 553.

SELECTED REFERENCES: New York, Boston, Chicago 1969, no. 13; Dacos and Furlan 1987, nos. 18, 19, 22; Dacos 1989, p. 59, fig. 54; Nesselrath 1989, p. 240, n. 9; Stockholm 1992, nos. 42, 43; Wolk-Simon 1994, p. 393; Bjurström and Magnusson 1998, nos. 455, 456

GIOVANNI DA UDINE
Udine, 1487 – Rome, 1564

14. Studies of Nuts
Brush and wash, watercolor, over traces of black chalk, 10½ × 7⅛ in. (268 × 180 mm)
Moravská Galerie, Brno B2870
New York only

Giovanni da Udine enjoyed an unrivaled fame in his lifetime, and in the centuries following his death, as a painter of plants, animals, landscapes, and inanimate objects. If that reputation is somewhat difficult to appreciate today because many of his works—above all the abundantly decorated pilasters in the Vatican Logge—are damaged, inaccessible, or both, enough survives by this still-life specialist of the Raphael workshop to render comprehensible Vasari's ecstatic praise of his unsurpassed gifts, and his elegy of Giovanni's work as "the rarest and most excellent painting of its type ever seen by the mortal eye."[1]

Vasari expressly mentions a sketchbook by Giovanni containing drawings of birds, of which several pages survive (cat. no. 13 A,B). There are no comparable contemporary references to botanical studies by the artist, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that he did make such drawings in connection with his encyclopedic painted displays of "various sorts of fruits and of flowers, of endless variety, and of all manner, quality and color that nature produced in all parts of the world in every season."[2] A compelling candidate is this delicate, little-known watercolor study of hazelnuts seen in different arrangements and at different stages of flowering. Like the bird drawings, the sheet would seem to be an exercise in observing and recording "dal vero" an aspect of the natural world rather than a preparatory design for a painting. One of the earliest pure botanical studies, and as such a direct descendant of Leonardo's drawings of plants, this remarkable sheet demonstrates the naturalistic strain of Giovanni da Udine's art—the affinity for "tutte le cose naturali" that was instilled by his pre-Roman, North Italian experience.

LW-S

1. "la più rara e più eccellente pittura che mai sia stata veduta da occhio mortale." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, p. 554. The most important surviving works by Giovanni da Udine that testify to his consummate gifts as a still-life painter are: the musical instruments at the center foreground of the *Saint Cecilia Altarpiece* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), the splendid fish and birds in Raphael's *Calling of Peter and Andrew* tapestry cartoon (Her Majesty the Queen, on permanent loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), and the garlands of fruit and flowers delineating the compartments of the vault of the Loggia di Psiche in the Villa Farnesina, Rome, all carried out in collaboration with Raphael between 1515 and 1518.
2. "varie sorti di frutti e di fiori che vi sono senza fine, e di tutte le maniere, qualità e colori, che in tutte le parti del mondo sa produrre la natura in tutte le stagioni dell'anno." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 553–54, here describing part of the lost decorations of the Vatican Logge pilasters.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Kusáková-Knozová 1969, no. 131; Dacos and Furlan 1987, pp. 24–25, no. 1; Dacos 1989, p. 63, fig. 58

LEONARDO DA VINCI
Vinci, 1452–Amboise, near Tours, 1519

15. Studies of a Bear Walking
Metalpoint on pink–light brown prepared paper, 4 × 5¼ in. (103 × 134 mm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975
1975.1.369

His consuming interest in all facets of the natural world prompted Leonardo to observe and record various species of animals. A number of his drawings capture anatomical details or the movements of cats and dogs, and his obsession with horses is well known. Dragons and other fanciful creatures also piqued Leonardo's imagination, but even the mythical beasts encountered in his sketches proceeded from close observation of real animals. Such was a practice that Leonardo himself advised in his unfinished treatise the *Trattato della pittura* when explaining how to make a fictional animal appear real or natural:

> You know that it is impossible to fashion any animal without its individual parts, and that each of these in itself will bear a resemblance to those of other animals. Therefore if you wish to make your imaginary animal seem natural, let us say it was a serpent, take for the head that of a mastiff or a hound, the eyes of a cat, the ears of a porcupine, the nose of a greyhound, the brow of a lion, the temples of an old cock and the neck of a turtle (as translated in Leonardo 2001, p. 224, no. 573).

Bears are the subjects of six of Leonardo's animal studies: this delicate metalpoint of a bear walking, the front left paw redrawn in larger scale at the lower left;[1] a closely related, fragmentary sketch of a bear's head in the same technique (private collection, Great Britain), both executed in the early to mid-1480s; and four anatomical drawings of dissected bears' paws, also in metalpoint but on blue rather than pink prepared paper and believed to date from the period 1485–90 (Royal Library, Windsor; see Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, pp. 359–61).[2] The latter group is probably connected in some manner to Leonardo's planned treatise on comparative anatomy, in which he intended to discuss variations in the "hands" of different animals, citing as one example the bear (see Forlani Tempesti 1991, p. 239, n. 3; Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 361, n. 5).

The rather tame-looking animal seen in the Lehman drawing may have been a live (though presumably domesticated) bear that Leonardo was able to observe firsthand, as the hastily sketched and redrawn contours of the rear legs suggest—and at fairly close range. But it is also possible that the artist based this sketch on a dead bear that he endowed with a live countenance, an alternative supported by the beast's rigid pose. In either event, there is little doubt that Leonardo had ample opportunity to see live bears, which populated the mountainous regions of both Tuscany and Lombardy in his day and were hunted in the Chiavenna valley, near Lake Como (an area he frequently visited), by methods he described in a note in the Codex Atlanticus (Clark and Pedretti 1968–69).

His bear drawings and the related remarks on bears in his various writings—like his anatomical and botanical studies—demonstrate that, for Leonardo, true knowledge of his subject could proceed only from a detached, even clinical scrutiny of nature. As such, these studies of a bear, executed at the moment of his first journey to Milan, herald the advent of the empirical naturalistic tradition in Lombard art, whose origins lie in Leonardo's practice.

LW-S

1. Beneath the drawing of the bear there is a vague and unrelated sketch of a seated woman. On this underdrawing, see Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 360.
2. Most scholars have followed Clark and Pedretti's dating of the two bear drawings to the period about 1485–90, and the anatomical studies of bears' paws to about 1490–92. Bambach, however, assigns the bear drawings to the period about 1481–83 (therefore locating them to the time of Leonardo's move from Florence to Milan), and the anatomical studies to the years 1485–90.

SELECTED REFERENCES: New York 1965–66, pp. 27–28, under no. 18; Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 1, p. 52, under no. 12372; Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 80; Pedretti and Trutty-Coohill 1993, no. 5; Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, no. 43

A

LEONARDO DA VINCI
Vinci, 1452–Amboise, near Tours, 1519

16. Four Botanical Studies

A. *Spray of Blackberry*
Red chalk on pink paper, 6½ × 7⅜ in. (165 × 188 mm)
RL 12420

B. *Spray of Cranberry (Viburnum opulus)*
Red chalk with traces of white on red prepared paper, 5⅝ × 5⅝ in. (143 × 143 mm)
Annotated at upper left in reverse script: *acero frutti/ dj corallo*
RL 12421

C. *Study of Two Plants (Catha palustris and Anemone nemorosa)*
Pen and black ink over traces of black chalk(?), 3⅜ × 5½ in. (85 × 140 mm)
RL 12423

D. *Spray of Blackberries*
Red chalk touched with pen, 3½ × 2⅜ in. (90 × 60 mm)
RL 12425

Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Royal Library, Windsor Castle

A long-germinating composition, Leonardo's celebrated *Leda and the Swan* was initially contemplated about 1503–4 and finally executed a decade or more later. The original appearance of the lost painting is echoed in a number of subsequent replicas and variants, and its complex evolution is documented in a well-studied corpus of preparatory drawings. Among these are an elaborate series of plant studies undertaken by Leonardo in connection with the lush and varied vegetation that blanketed the ground around the amorous couple. Ten of these botanical drawings (at least some of which may initially have formed part of a sketchbook; see Malibu, New York 1980–81, pp. 35–36), executed in red chalk on reddish prepared paper, pen and ink, or ink over chalk, are in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Malibu, New York 1980–81, nos. 13–20); four examples from that group are included in the exhibition.

Delicate and meticulous renderings of varied, readily identifiable species of flora—oak branches, anemones, blackberries (here A and D), and cattails among them—Leonardo's botanical sketches are executed with the same fidelity to nature, and in the same objectively descriptive manner, as his anatomical drawings. That a vast scientific knowledge underlay his botanical investigations has recently been emphasized (see Emboden 1987; Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, under no. 100); in the case of the *Leda* studies, this is reflected in the fact that all the plants depicted were appropriate to watery ground—that is, to the riverbank where the mythological narrative takes place. Leonardo well understood that

B

C

different types of plants grew in different environments: his excursus on mountains includes the observation that "plants and trees will be paler to the extent that the soil which nourishes them is more sterile and deficient in moisture" (as translated in Leonardo 2001, p. 175, no. 462). The effulgent foliage of the *Leda* studies demonstrates the inverse of that scientific proposition.

His chosen subject of Leda and the Swan was something of a metaphor in Leonardo's mind for the generative and transformative powers of nature—metaphysical themes that some of the botanical studies seem to have given him license to explore. The slender, stylized plumes of foliage deployed in graceful, swirling patterns in the famous *Star of Bethlehem,* for example (Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, no. 100), bespeak a departure from the straightforward transcription of nature. Leonardo's botanical investigation never lost its empirical foundation, however. His notes from the period 1508–12, years during which the *Leda* was still in gestation, reveal his desire to systematically organize his plant studies, arguably in preparation for compiling an illustrated treatise on botany (see Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, under no. 100, with earlier references).

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Malibu, New York 1980–81, nos. 17 , 18; London 1996–97, under nos. 40–42; Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, under no. 100

D

LEONARDO DA VINCI
Vinci, 1452–Amboise, near Tours, 1519

17. Head of a Man in Profile Facing to the Left
Ca. 1490–94
Pen and brown ink over charcoal or black chalk, 4¾ × 2 in. (120 × 50 mm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1909 10.45.1
New York only

One of Leonardo's abiding interests was human physiognomy. He repeatedly touched upon the subject in his theoretical writings, and a spectrum of facial types, from the youthful, heroic, and idealized to the aged, distorted, and grotesque, is delineated in his drawings. Unlike the apostles in the *Last Supper* and the related, lost preparatory studies (see pages 54–55, fig. 32, and cat. no. 19A–J in this volume), most of his drawings of heads are fundamentally not concerned with expressive or emotional content—what Leonardo termed the "moti mentali" (motions of the mind)—but rather with external appearances (Martin Clayton in Edinburgh, London 2002–3; see, for example, pp. 53, 73). This consideration may account in some measure for the frequency in his drawings of faces seen in profile rather than in three-quarter or frontal view. A convention inherited from ancient coins and cameos and adopted in fifteenth-century Italian portraiture, the profile pose allowed for a recognizable transcription of outward physical appearance, but precluded any meaningful exploration of character or of the inner workings of the soul. It was therefore ideally suited to Leonardo's preference, in drawings of this kind, for a descriptive rather than expressive mode of portrayal.

With few exceptions, Leonardo's many head studies (as distinct from his "caricatures"; see cat. no. 18A,B) are not portraits of individuals but rather representations of types. The present work is an example of one such type that occurs in a number of his drawings—the once heroic, now aging, mature man. The irregular contours indicate that the sheet has been cut down and is possibly fragmentary; in its original state the man may have been paired with another of Leonardo's stock types, shown in right profile. This arrangement is seen in such drawings as *An Old Man and a Youth in Facing Profile* (Edinburgh, London 2002–3, fig. 10) and in his grotesque heads (see cat. no. 18A,B), many of which seem to have been initially conceived as pairs.

The possibility also exists that this drawing was originally part of a multifigured tableau such as the celebrated sheet in the Royal Library, Windsor, whose narrative subject, a man tricked by Gypsies, has only recently been recognized (see pages 51–52 and fig. 31 in this volume; Martin Clayton in Edinburgh, London 2002–3, no. 41). Dated to about 1493 and therefore contemporary with the Metropolitan *Head* (Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 418), that drawing is likewise executed in pen and brown ink; the figures are comparable in scale; and in both works the dense, sculptural hatching of the faces is juxtaposed to the loose and sketchy rendering of the garments. In the absence of corroborating evidence this suggestion remains speculative, but it is significant that low-life genre subjects—one of the hallmarks of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lombard art—were part of Leonardo's repertoire.

If its original context can no longer be determined owing to the drawing's cropped state, it is clear nonetheless that Leonardo initially conceived a more caricatural profile: black chalk underdrawing shows a grotesquely elongated proboscis and jutting lower jaw, features abandoned in the final design.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, no. 60, with earlier bibliography

LEONARDO DA VINCI
Vinci, 1452–Amboise, near Tours, 1519

18. Two Caricatures

A. *Old Woman with Beetling Brow Wearing a Tall Pointy Hat, in Bust-Length Profile*
Pen and brown ink, glued onto secondary paper support, 2¾ × 2¼ in. (69 × 56 mm)

B. *Snub-Nosed Old Man with a Cowled Hat, in Bust-Length Profile*
Pen and brown ink, glued onto secondary paper support, 2½ × 2⅛ in. (65 × 53 mm)

Private collection
New York only

Leonardo's writings reveal his fascination with unusual, misshapen faces—what he called "visi mostruosi" (grotesque or monstrous faces)—a fascination mirrored in his drawings and corroborated in the sixteenth-century accounts of Vasari and Lomazzo. His notes mention particularly distinctive or memorable physiognomies that had caught his eye, such as the "fine head" of one "Cristofano da Castiglione[, who] lives at the Pietà," and the "fantastic face" of Giovannina, a resident of the hospital at Santa Caterina (as translated in Leonardo 2001, p. 264, nos. 644, 647). That both these subjects resided in hospitals implies that their faces were of the grotesque variety commonly associated with those on the margins of society.

The posthumous *Trattato della pittura* includes a more descriptive, analytical discussion of faces and their constituent parts. Particular attention is lavished on noses, which Leonardo classifies according to type, discerning no fewer than ten variations in profile faces and eleven in full face, among

A

B

them "straight, bulbous, concave, flat, thick in the middle, thin in the middle, with the tip thick and the root narrow, or narrow at the tip and wide at the root."[1] These and other physiognomic variations are to be understood, he instructs, only by observing "from nature." For that express purpose, the artist is advised to carry on his person "a little book in which you have noted such features."

A keen observer of extreme, exaggerated facial formations, Leonardo produced numerous small sketches of "visi mostruosi." Vasari, who owned some of these grotesque caricatures, provides a narrative account of the manner in which they were created, reporting that the artist "was so delighted when he saw certain bizarre heads ["teste bizarre"] of men, with the beard or hair growing wildly, that he would follow one that pleased him a whole day, and . . . on arriving home, he drew him as if he had him in his presence" (Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 4, p. 26; as translated in Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 452). His account corroborates what Leonardo himself says in his discourse on the subject of grotesque faces—that they were observed from life.

Writing a quarter century later, Lomazzo, too, mentions Leonardo's "monstrous faces" ("faccie mostruosi"), referring to the delight Leonardo took in observing "deformed, laughing old people and criminals" ("vecchi, e villani e villane deformi che ridessero." Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 33 [1844 ed.], vol. 2, p. 223) and noting the existence of an album of fifty such drawings then in the possession of the painter Aurelio Luini in Milan. Proceeding from his intense observation of the deformed subjects he actively pursued, Leonardo's grotesque "caricatures" (which are in fact more accurately described as portraits, since they are more or less objective transcriptions of peculiar faces rather than humorously exaggerated depictions of specific, recognizable individuals) are, then, yet another manifestation of his fascination with the world around him.

Leonardo's so-called caricatures were influential virtually from the moment of their execution (most have been roughly dated to about 1495–1506/08) and were widely copied well into the eighteenth century (see Bora 1991; Forcione 2003, passim, and Varena Forcione in New York 2003, nos. 136, 137; see also Edinburgh, London 2002–3, pp. 73–74). The largest concentration of autograph drawings of this type, originally consisting of more than twenty examples, is preserved in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth. A small number from that group, including the present studies, were sold at auction in 1984. Although almost all Leonardo's originals exist today as single heads, as these two works illustrate, it has been convincingly proposed that the figures were originally conceived as groups, usually as a facing pair although in some cases as a trio (Forcione 2003, p. 205, with earlier references; Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, under no. 73). The sheets were cut up sometime in the late sixteenth century, probably by Leonardo's faithful follower and amanuensis, Francesco Melzi (see cat. no. 20), who until his death in about 1570 owned most of the master's drawings and notebooks,[2] or by their subsequent owner, the sculptor Pompeo Leoni, who acquired the bulk of Leonardo's drawings in 1590 and assembled them in albums (Forcione 2003, p. 205). An etching by Wenceslaus Hollar records the original arrangement (in reverse) of the pair to which the elderly female subject seen here belonged (New York 2003, fig. 172): it shows that her companion was a balding male in a cowled robe, his profile distinguished by a flattened nose and protruding lower jaw—an amusing inversion of her beaklike upper lip and receding chin. The original disposition of the simianlike, snub-nosed old man is unknown.

LW-S

1. For a full transcription of this passage, written by Leonardo about 1508–10, see Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, p. 452.
2. The excision of grotesque caricatures from the Codex Atlanticus (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan) was almost certainly undertaken by Melzi, who is believed to be responsible for inscribing each with a number, ranging from 1 to 69. Several of these are in the Royal Collection at Windsor; see Edinburgh, London 2002–3, p. 83, nos. 31–36.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Jaffé 1994, no. 883 (820D, 820A); Carmen Bambach in New York 2003, nos. 70, 71

After LEONARDO DA VINCI
Vinci, 1452–Amboise, near Tours, 1519

19. Heads of Christ and the Apostles from "The Last Supper"

A. *Head of Saint James the Less*
22¼ × 17 in. (565 × 433 mm)
New York only

B. *Head of Saint Andrew*
22⅛ × 17 in. (562 × 432 mm)
Cremona only

C. *Head of Judas*
22⅛ × 17⅛ in. (562 × 435 mm)
Cremona only

D. *Head of Saint Peter*
22⅛ × 17⅛ in. (562 × 435 mm)
New York only

E. *Head of Saint John the Evangelist*
22⅛ × 17 in. (562 × 432 mm)
New York only

F. *Head of Christ*
22⅛ × 17⅛ in. (562 × 434mm)
Cremona only

Pencil, black chalk, pastel, and watercolor
Musées de Strasbourg, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins

A

B

C

E

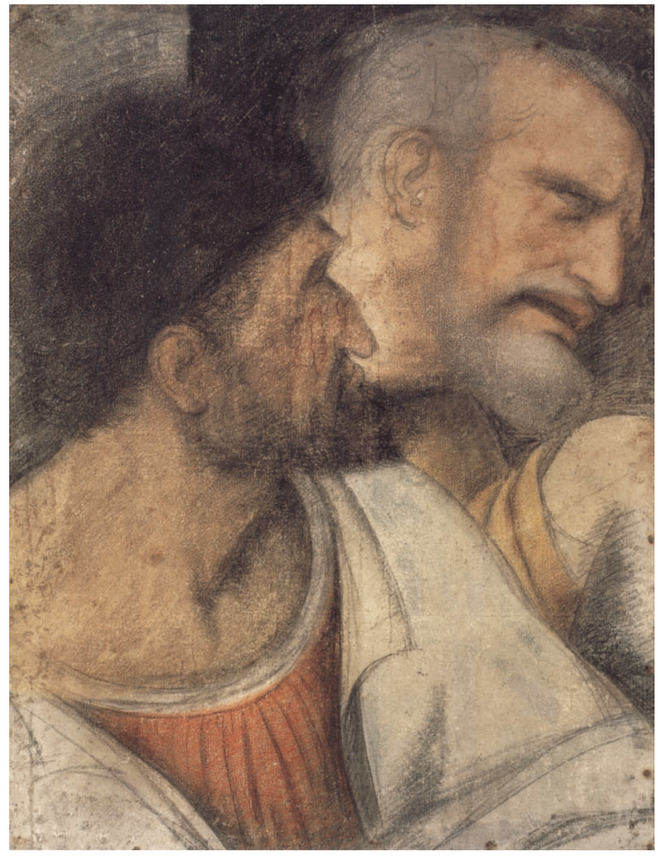
D

F

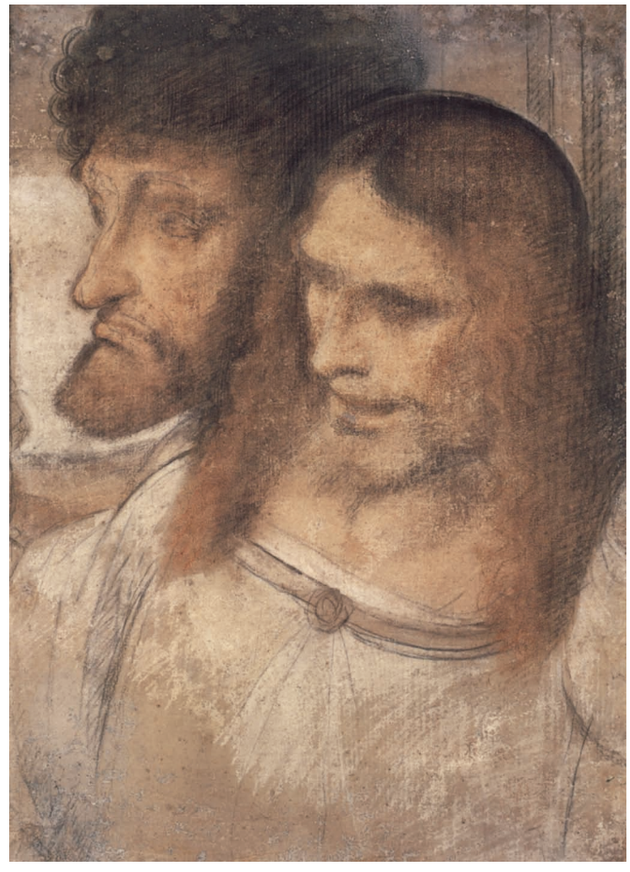
G. *Heads of Judas and Peter*
26¼ × 20 in. (666 × 508 mm)

H. *Heads of Saints Thomas and James the Greater*
24½ × 17⅞ in. (623 × 453 mm)

Black, brown, and red chalk, retouched in charcoal
Ackland Art Museum, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 77.53.1, 2



G



H

I. *Head of Saint James the Less*
Black, brown, and red chalk and watercolor on light gray prepared paper, 25⅛ × 18¾ in. (637 × 475 mm)
New York only

J. *Head of Saint John the Evangelist*
Black, brown, and red chalk and watercolor on light gray prepared paper, 25¼ × 18½ in. (640 × 470 mm)
New York only

Private collection

I

J

No work of art has been more expansively written about, or more widely quoted, replicated, and paraphrased, than the *Last Supper* in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The many copies it generated are one measure of the fame accorded Leonardo's celebrated composition virtually from the moment of its completion. Given the disintegrated state of the mural (the process of decline having begun before the work was even finished, as a result of Leonardo's unsuccessful experimental technique), the earliest of these copies also serve as valuable historical documents, preserving long vanished or subsequently repainted details of the original. Most important in this respect is the canvas painted about 1515 by Leonardo's Milanese follower Giampietrino (Royal Academy of Arts, London; see Milan 2001, no. 53), which records the entire composition, down to the remarkable assemblage of still-life objects arrayed across the table, in meticulous detail. (Another early, faithful copy at Castellazzo, near Milan, attributed to Andrea Solario, was destroyed in 1943.) A fascinating corpus of colored chalk heads of the figures in the *Last Supper,* a number of which are present in the exhibition, is likewise of considerable interest in reflecting something of Leonardo's original conception, although the nature of their relation to his preparatory drawings for the mural, and to the mural itself, remains a puzzle.

The monumental chalk heads of Christ and the apostles here under discussion fall into two circumscribed groups. One is represented by the six studies today preserved in Strasbourg (A–F), and the other by a series of eleven sheets, eight of which were formerly in the collection of the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar, now dispersed among a number of public and private collections (G–J). Once believed to be preparatory drawings by Leonardo for the *Last Supper* or, in the case of the ex-Weimar series, fragments of his original cartoon, both sets were definitively recognized as copies in the late nineteenth century. This reclassification threw open the interrelated questions of their dating, attribution, and function—all of which continue to be debated to the present day.[1]

It is not difficult to understand how these drawings could have been regarded as autograph works by Leonardo. Patently connected with the *Last Supper,* they are executed in the new technique of colored chalk, or *pastelli,* that Lomazzo explicitly states was "much employed by Leonardo da Vinci, who drew the exquisite and miraculous heads of Christ and the apostles in this way on paper."[2] Moreover, with their intense focus on gesture and expression, the drawings illustrate Leonardo's conception of the "moti mentali" (the inner, emotional state of a figure that informs its outward, physical appearance), which was central to the affective, dramatic pitch of the *Last Supper* in its original state. Finally, the figures' striking naturalism—imparted by their monumental scale, their compellingly lifelike expressions, and their realization in color—is yet another reflection of their Leonardesque pedigree. If Lomazzo's claim that Leonardo produced preparatory studies in pastel for Christ and the apostles is true, the drawings would undoubtedly resemble these chalk heads. Circular logic leads to the conclusion that these works therefore provide the most faithful and authentic records of Leonardo's original drawings. This in turn suggests that the *Heads of Christ and the Apostles* were executed close in date to the *Last Supper* by an artist or artists conversant with Leonardo's technique and ideas, and with the original appearance of the mural.

That both the ex-Weimar and Strasbourg *Heads* are copies after Leonardo is certain. But are they copies after the painting of the *Last Supper* or after the lost preparatory drawings? Both scenarios have been posited, with visual evidence adduced to support each view. A number of the drawings show the main figure framed by a randomly cropped shoulder or hand—anatomical parts belonging to the adjacent apostle in the mural that have no organic relevance in a preparatory drawing of a single figure. This would point to their being copies after the mural. Yet some of the drawings differ from the corresponding passages in the finished work. Christ in the Strasbourg drawing (F) is shown beardless, whereas in the painting he is bearded. The abbreviated profile of Peter to the left of Saint John in the drawing from the same group (E) is represented with a different aspect and at a different angle from that seen in the mural (and in the Strasbourg and ex-Weimar drawings of this figure), suggesting an alternative prototype. And a significant pentimento in the hand resting on the shoulder of Saint John from the ex-Weimar series (J) implies that the source of this passage was possibly a preparatory design, where such a change would have occurred. The status of the heads vis-à-vis Leonardo's mural thus remains ambiguous, but the spirit of his intentions is preserved in their style, technique, and preeminent concern with exploring a range of *affetti.*

Assuming, once again, the erstwhile existence of colored chalk drawings by Leonardo for the figures in the *Last Supper,* it is reasonable to postulate that such works would have been faithfully copied by his pupils. This practice would be entirely in keeping with Leonardo's pedagogical method as recounted by Paolo Giovio, who relates that he instructed his pupils to copy his drawings as a means of attaining artistic proficiency and mastering his technique. While this narrative has been considered specifically with regard to various pupils' adoption of silverpoint, which Leonardo introduced from Florence and employed during his early years in Milan, the practice of having the pupil copy, with utmost fidelity, the master's drawings did not vanish with his abandonment of that laborious medium. It is precisely that practice of emulation, in fact, that provides one plausible explanation for the existence of these mysterious but compelling drawings.

LW-S

1. The attribution question is too convoluted to rehearse here. To synopsize, the range of suggestions has included Leonardo's accomplished pupil Boltraffio (proposed at different times in connection with both groups), his follower Giampietrino (for the Strasbourg series), and anonymous copyists working in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. For the exhaustive historiography, see Milan 2001, pp. 192, 196–98.

2. "e fu molto usato da Leonardo Vinci, il quale fece le teste di Cristo, e degli Apostoli a questo modo eccellenti, e miracolose in carta." Lomazzo 1584, bk. 3, chap. 5 (1844 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 328–29; as translated in Marani 2003, pp. 180–81.

SELECTED REFERENCES: (A–F) Geddo 1998 (as Giampietrino); Fiorio 2000, no. D44 (as not by Boltraffio [Giampietrino?]); Alessandro Rovetta in Milan 2001, nos. 54–59 (as Lombard artist), with earlier bibliography. (G, H) Washington 1983–84, nos. 6, 7; William M. Griswold in New York 1994, under no. 46; Fiorio 2000, nos. C7, C8 (as attributed to Boltraffio); Alessandro Rovetta in Milan 2001, nos. 60, 61 (as anonymous sixteenth–eighteenth-century artists after Leonardo), with earlier bibliography. (I, J) Washington 1983–84, under no. 6 (as Boltraffio?); D. A. Brown 1987, no. 98 (as after Leonardo); William M. Griswold in New York 1994, no. 46a, b (as Boltraffio)

Francesco Melzi

Milan, 1491/93–Vaprio d'Adda, ca. 1570

20. Two Grotesque Heads: An Old Woman with an Elaborate Headdress and a Man with Large Ears

Pen and brown ink, 2⅛ × 3⅞ in. (54 × 99 mm), lower margin irregular

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Mrs. Edward Fowles, in memory of Edward Fowles, 1975 1975.96

The Milanese nobleman Francesco Melzi was Leonardo's pupil of long standing, his artistic heir, and—for the half century between the master's death in 1519 and his own about 1570—the conscientious guardian of his legacy as preserved in his drawings and notebooks which, according to Vasari, he "cherished like relics" ("che le ha care et tiene come per reliquie." Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 4, p. 35). It was Melzi who undertook the Herculean task of systematically organizing Leonardo's vast and copious notes into the posthumous *Trattato della pittura,* and who arranged and ordered Leonardo's drawings, most of which remained in his possession until he died (see Leonardo 2001, pp. 1–2, on the manuscripts; Edinburgh, London 2002–3, p. 83, on the early organization of the drawings).

Melzi worked as a painter during his lifetime, but he is primarily known today as a copyist of Leonardo's drawings. A capable draftsman, he successfully emulated his teacher's technique of tonal modeling in chalk (see New York 2003, no. 120) and occasionally attempted to imitate Leonardo's left-handing diagonal hatching. Such is the case with this pair of grotesque heads, which are copies after two of Leonardo's "visi mostruosi" (see cat. no. 18A,B). Formerly in the Pembroke collection, the drawing formed a group, now dispersed, with eleven other pen and ink copies after Leonardo's grotesque caricatures that has been attributed to Melzi with some confidence. Melzi also produced red chalk copies of his master's grotesque heads (Edinburgh, London 2002–3, nos. 38, 39). A number of both his pen and ink and chalk copies reproduce original drawings by Leonardo that are now lost.

Many of these heads were conceived by Leonardo as pairs, though most were cut down to create a series of individual sketches sometime in the later sixteenth century, perhaps by Melzi himself; it is possible that this drawing records the original arrangement of one such divorced pair. Leonardo's prototype for the old woman with flattened nose and toothy underbite is at Chatsworth (New York 2003, no. 73b); that for the pug-nosed man is untraced. A number of later copies, both drawings and etchings, after both heads are known; unlike those by Melzi, most cannot be ascribed to a recognizable hand and are classified as anonymous copies after Leonardo.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: Alison Manges in New York 2003, no. 121

POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO
Caravaggio, near Bergamo, ca. 1499–
Messina, ca. 1543

21. Four Drawings of Genre Subjects

A. *Schoolmistress with Her Pupils* (recto);
Group of Figures Holding Books (verso)
Red chalk, 6⅞ × 10⅞ in. (173 × 277 mm)
Department of Prints and Drawings,
The British Museum, London
P&G 213; 1957-4-13-1

A (recto)

A (verso)

B. *Young Men Dancing around a Woman* (recto); *Studies of a Figure against a Landscape Background, a Nude Man Embracing a Tree Trunk, and an Angel with a Palm Frond* (verso)
Red chalk, 8¾ × 7⅜ in. (222 × 186 mm)
Inscribed on verso: *Pontormo*
Biblioteca-Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan
Cod. F 266, inf. 1v

B

The Lombard-born painter and draftsman Polidoro da Caravaggio began his career in Raphael's workshop in Rome, collaborating with Giovanni da Udine (cat. nos. 13A,B, 14) and other assistants on the decorations of the Logge of Leo X in the Vatican Palace (ca. 1517–19). Following Raphael's death in 1520, he became the unrivaled specialist in a quintessentially Roman type of decoration—monochrome painted facades densely embellished with classical scenes intended to evoke, in both form and subject matter, ancient relief sculpture. After the devastating sack of Rome in 1527, Polidoro fled to Naples, ultimately settling some three years later in Messina, where he remained until his death. (Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 5, p. 152, reports that he had resolved to return to Rome but was murdered on the eve of his departure.) The archaeologizing classicism of Polidoro's Roman manner did not survive his removal from the Eternal City, and his later works, both drawings and paintings, exhibit a hauntingly expressive, highly personal style that betrays little trace of the experience of Rome.

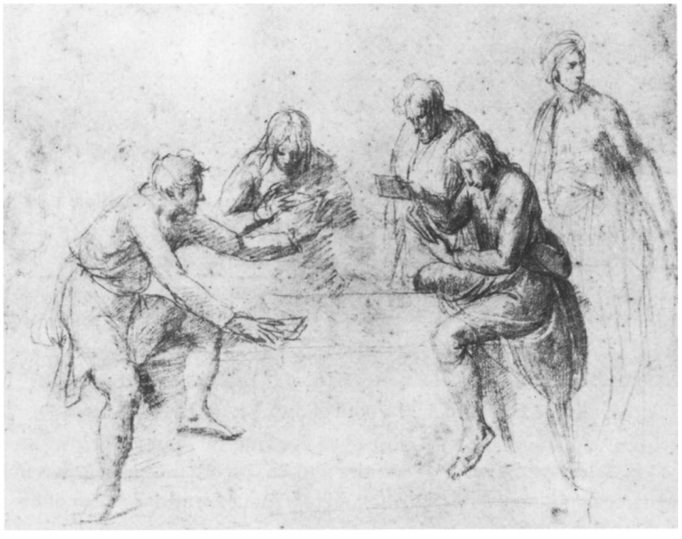
If much is known about Polidoro's activity in Rome, Naples, and Messina, his artistic beginnings are, in contrast, obscure. Noting that he was a native of Lombardy, Vasari offers the laconic and uninformative comment that Polidoro was not formed by long study, but rather was created a painter by nature (Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 5, pp. 141–42). This invocation of a literary convention as a substitute for factual information was perhaps contrived to mask his ignorance of the painter's early biography, but it is significant nonetheless. Here is expressed the contemporary perception that Polidoro's style was grounded in *nature* rather than in *art* (a foundation that allied him squarely with the Lombard tradition), and that it sprang from what is elsewhere in the *Vite* characterized as *ingegno* (innate talent), as opposed to its antithesis, *arte* (acquired skill), the corollary of *buon disegno*—the most prized faculty of the central Italian tradition that Vasari championed. The fundamental duality between nature and art that is a recurring topos of the *Vite,* and of which the Lombard versus the Tuscan dialectic was but one permutation, was thus embodied in the artistic persona of Polidoro.

His Lombard heritage (the credential that justifies his inclusion in this exhibition) is to be discerned in Polidoro's landscape studies and in his many drawings of genre themes, a selection of which are included in the exhibition.[1] Astonishing for the freshness of their imagery, all are executed in red chalk (a medium favored by Leonardo and his Lombard followers because of its naturalistic descriptive capacity) and, though undated on external evidence, can mostly be assigned on stylistic grounds to the mid-1520s (Leone de Castris 2001, p. 224). The awkward figures and rough technique of the Ambrosiana *Young Men Dancing* (B) and a similar sheet in the same collection (Leone de Castris 2001, no. D168, fig. 274) suggest a somewhat earlier date for those two examples, however, while other drawings of quotidien subjects certainly date from Polidoro's years in Naples and Messina. His interest in what are broadly characterized as genre themes was thus not limited to a circumscribed moment of his decade in Rome, but endured throughout his career.

Polidoro took up a broad range of subjects in his genre drawings. Washerwomen (a favorite motif treated in at least four different studies), seamstresses, women reading, a schoolmistress instructing her young pupils (A, recto and verso), card-playing and other amusements (B, D), mourners in a procession, travelers in a landscape, and mothers and children (C) are among the humble cast of characters. Virtually all the subjects were observed from life (Leone de Castris 2001 consistently describes them as drawn "dal vero") and are portrayed in straightforward, unidealized terms. There is no evidence that these works were executed as a series or as preparatory studies for paintings. Rather, they seem to have been drawn for the sole and innovative purpose of recording scenes from everyday life in a highly naturalistic

C

C. *Three Female Figures* (recto); *Studies of Putti* (verso)
Red chalk, 5⅜ × 7¼ in. (136 × 183 mm)
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
1954.42, P.II.477



D

D. *Cardplayers*
Red chalk, 6⅝ × 8¼ in. (167 × 211 mm)
Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris 6095

pictorial language, one that anticipates the innovations of Caravaggio and the Carracci at the end of the century. If such subjects would become commonplace in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and even nineteenth-century art (Corot has been invoked in discussions of Polidoro's genre scenes), they were all but unprecedented in Polidoro's day, and alien to Raphael, his followers, and other artists working in Rome in his wake in the 1520s. (Not coincidentally, the notable exception to this generalization is another North Italian who journeyed to Rome in that decade, Parmigianino [1503–1540], whose vast graphic oeuvre includes the occasional genre subject.)

Because no record of his pre-Roman activity exists, it is difficult to assess how much importance should be ascribed to Polidoro's North Italian roots. The question will continue to be debated, but the extant visual evidence—of which the drawings exhibited here are but a representative sampling—points to an unarguable conclusion: Polidoro showed a proclivity, unparalleled in the work of any other Italian painter or draftsman of his generation, for subjects culled "dal vero." It is axiomatic that such subjects are traditionally associated with the Lombard school, and therefore reasonable to postulate that this artist from Caravaggio, like his later compatriot and namesake whose career followed a similar geographic trajectory, drew inspiration from that legacy.

LW-S

1. Pace Leone de Castris (2001, p. 241), who dismisses the Lombard origins of Polidoro's naturalism as seen in his landscapes and genre studies of the 1520s, ascribing this tendency instead to the (reciprocal) influence of the Dutch painter Jan van Scorel, who was present in Rome in the period in question and whose importance for Polidoro has long been noted, above all by Meijer 1974.

SELECTED REFERENCES: (A) Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 213; Ravelli 1978, nos. 92, 93; Leone de Castris 2001, no. D137. (B) Giulio Bora in Washington and other cities 1984–85, no. 49; Leone de Castris 2001, no. D167. (C) Parker 1956, no. 477; Ravelli 1978, nos. 70, 71; Leone de Castris 2001, no. D186. (D) Ravelli 1978, no. 94; Paris 1983–84, no. 113; Leone de Castris 2001, no. D227

ANDREA SOLARIO
Milan, ca. 1465–Milan 1524

22. Head of a Bearded Man
Black, red, and yellow chalk on brownish paper; repaired losses, 14¾ × 10¾ in. (374 × 273 mm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1906 06.1051.9

About twenty drawings are known by Andrea Solario, one of the most accomplished of Leonardo's Milanese followers. This damaged but imposing study has been connected with the standing apostle at the far right of the artist's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Sacrestia Nuova of the Certosa at Pavia (D. A. Brown 1987, p. 289). An inclined head and bearded countenance are common to both figures, but their gestures differ: the apostle in the altarpiece indicates the Virgin's empty sarcophagus with arms extended, whereas the man in the drawing (whose averted, contemplative gaze also departs from the painting) raises his hand to his chest in introverted self-acclamation. Such a pose would have no iconographic relevance in a scene of the Assumption, in which the assembled witnesses typically react in exaggerated astonishment and disbelief to the sight of the Virgin's vacated tomb. It therefore seems likely that Solario executed this drawing for some other purpose and subsequently employed it as the model for the apostle in the altarpiece (Linda Wolk-Simon in New York 2003, no. 129).

The Metropolitan's drawing reveals the pervasive influence of Leonardo. This is evident in the softly modeled forms, in the enveloping sfumato, and above all, in the use of colored chalks—a technique pioneered by Leonardo and adopted by some of his Milanese pupils and followers, notably Boltraffio (see page 55 and fig. 34 in this volume), Luini, and in this important example, Solario, all of whom recognized the medium's potential for achieving greater naturalism. The subject matter and the figure's bust-length format likewise proceed from Leonardo's chalk drawings, specifically the preparatory studies for Christ and the apostles in the *Last Supper* (see cat. no. 19A–J), which were singled out for particular praise by Lomazzo (1584, bk. 1, chap. 10 [1844 ed.], vol. 1, pp. 80–81). In emulation of Leonardo's paradigm, Solario's contemplative figure has a seemingly tangible presence and an affecting, emotive aspect communicated through the tilted head and vaguely sketched hand deployed in a rhetorical gesture suggestive of speech. That the figure appears to represent Christ or an apostle strengthens the presumably intended evocation of Leonardo.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Suida 1945, p. 18; Paris 1985, p. 91, under no. 53; D. A. Brown 1987, pp. 253, 270, n. 98, 288, under no. 74, no. 77; William M. Griswold in New York 1994, p. 52, and no. 45; McGrath 1994, pp. 64–65, 123–24, 140; Linda Wolk-Simon in New York 2003, no. 129

Brescia and Bergamo: Humble Reality in Sixteenth-Century Devotional Art and Portraiture

ANDREA BAYER

SIR JAMES HUDSON, working in Turin for the British government during the years of the Italian Risorgimento, was a passionate collector of Renaissance painting who, along with a small group of British dealers and other collectors, avidly toured northern Italy in search of paintings in the 1850s and 1860s. In 1863 he went with the great connoisseur Giovanni Morelli "on a campaign into the Bergamasco and Bresciano"; in the same year he wrote to the renowned archaeologist and collector Sir Austen Henry Layard, "To me the masters of that school have made the closest approach to nature without being a whit less poetical than their colleagues of the other Italian schools."[1] This perceptive point of view was shared first by Sir Charles Eastlake, director of the National Gallery in London from 1855, who acquired a rather astonishing number of paintings from both Brescia and Bergamo for the gallery, and then by the brilliant young Italian art historian Roberto Longhi, who beginning in 1917 devoted some of his most persuasive early articles to the painters of these two cities. Longhi argued that the Brescian and Bergamasque artists had to be separated from the Venetians, with whom they had usually been associated, and seen instead both as true Lombard painters and as important harbingers of "the terrible naturalism of Caravaggio, last of the 'Lombards.'"[2]

Longhi followed a trail from the founder of the Brescian school, Vincenzo Foppa (1427/30–1515/16), through Caravaggio (1571–1610) and beyond, ultimately viewing the artists of Brescia and Bergamo as the core of the Lombard "pittori della realtà" (painters of reality), as set out in the landmark 1953 exhibition that he helped to organize. In the introduction to the catalogue of that exhibition (and elsewhere) Longhi was careful to specify that in no sense was he attempting to present an overall picture of artistic developments in these cities—indeed he excluded certain artists categorically—but rather that his remarks concerned only those who painted with an "enduring simplicity, a penetrating attention, a certain calm belief in the ability to directly express, without any stylizing mediation, the 'reality' that is around us."[3] Since Longhi wrote these words, some fifty years ago, there has been a great deal of research seeking explanations for the distinctive, assertively naturalistic appearance of so many paintings produced in Brescia and Bergamo in the sixteenth century. Social and religious contexts and literary parallels have been examined in detail, as has the transmission of style from one place to another, and from one generation to another.[4] Along the way, many subtle exceptions to Longhi's initial insights have been explored, such as the persistent influence of Venetian painting in Bergamo throughout the first half of the century.[5] Yet although the situation appears more complex to us now, the links in a chain of naturalism that Longhi picked out so long ago are still clear.

Throughout the period under discussion, Brescia and Bergamo were the two great western outposts of the Venetian land empire, known as the *terraferma*. Once dominated by the Milanese, the cities had pledged their allegiance to the Venetian state in 1426 and 1428, respectively. They remained tied to Venice, save for a few insecure years during the War of the League of Cambrai (1509–16), until the fall of the Republic in 1797. Bergamo, the smaller of the two, is usually described as having a less significant indigenous community of painters. Nonetheless, it saw some remarkable periods of artistic patronage and activity, often centered on artists whose origins lay in the environs of the city. Brescia had a formidable and influential school of local painters. Painting in both cities during the sixteenth century is characterized not only by the vein of naturalism being discussed here but also by a push and pull between the Venetian and Milanese traditions.

LORENZO LOTTO, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (detail of cat. no. 29)

Fig. 50
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee, 1544
Oil on canvas, 9 ft. 11¼ in. × 19 ft. 6¾ in. (303 × 596 cm)
Museo Diocesano, Venice

From Longhi's point of view, the following artists were the principal *pittori della realtà* working in the region in the sixteenth century: for Brescia, Vincenzo Foppa, Alessandro Bonvicino, known as Moretto da Brescia (ca. 1498–1554), and Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo (active by 1506, d. 1548); for Bergamo, the Venetian Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480–1556), during his period of activity there, from 1513 to 1525, and Giovanni Battista Moroni (1520/24–1578). These artists are presented in this section but others, excluded by Longhi, are also here, for various reasons (see below and cat. nos. 23, 24, 42, 43). Principal among these are Girolamo Romanino (1484/87–ca. 1560) in Brescia and Giovanni Cariani (ca. 1485–after 1547) in Bergamo.

Naming these artists the "precedenti di Caravaggio" (Caravaggio's precursors), Longhi isolated a number of elements in their work that struck him as being of fundamental importance in this regard. These were artistic qualities that he found specifically Lombard in character—that is, allied with painting from the geographic area centered around Milan—and thus distinct from both Venetian and Florentine painting. Perhaps the overriding of these qualities was the artists' absorption in the unvarnished facts of everyday life, even in religious images and even at the cost of challenging some viewers' notions of decorum. This quality emerged, for example, in Longhi's comparison of two paintings by Moretto, the dominant artist active in Brescia in the 1530s and 1540s. The first is a *Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (fig. 50) painted in 1544 for the canons of San Giorgio in Alga, Monselice, in the Veneto, and the second a canvas of the same subject executed about 1550 for the parish church of Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia (see fig. 15). The former, painted with the "sumptuous classicism of the Venetians,"[6] can easily be regarded as a forerunner of Veronese. Indeed, for his patrons in Monselice, who had strong ties to the artistic culture of Padua and Venice, Moretto created a scene of pomp, ceremony, and rhythmic grace. The painting for the Brescian church is the exact opposite. Its setting is so stripped down as to be almost rustic. The figures have been pressed forward to the picture plane so that their presence is palpable, and made even more so by Christ's gesture across space. Two elements are crucial to the powerful immediacy of the work: the prominence of the still-life elements and the

Fig. 51
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
The Conversion of Saint Paul (detail), ca. 1540–41
Oil on canvas, 10 ft. ½ in. × 4 ft. 5½ in. (306 × 136 cm)
Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan

Fig. 52
MORETTO DA BRESCIA (ca. 1498–1554)
The Nativity, ca. 1550
Oil on canvas, 13 ft. 6¼ in. × 9 ft. ⅝ in. (412 × 276 cm)
Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengeo, Brescia 72

calculated use of light. The fruit on the platter, the hunks of bread, the fish head, the metallic plates—all have been carefully studied from life and bathed in a light that isolates them and gives them weight. From the upper right, a slash of light across the back wall falls dramatically across the figures and helps to shape the interior. This lighting device, which would be used repeatedly by Caravaggio, may be the primary element that led Longhi to call Moretto's Brescian *Supper* the most "pre-Caravaggesque" of all the artist's paintings.[7]

One of Longhi's most subtle comments was that Moretto's insistent observation of nature led him to make questionable choices, and even to risk breaching decorum, much as Caravaggio would later do. For example, Caravaggio's *Conversion of Saint Paul,* long criticized for its "horse as protagonist," has a parallel in Moretto's altarpiece for the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan, with its similarly imposing, and narratively important, animal (fig. 51). (In a striking analogy, the artist and theorist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, writing in the 1580s, chronologically halfway between these two paintings, compared the indecorous placement of paintings in religious spaces to overly prominent depictions of the hind parts of horses and other large animals, which he claimed should always be seen in the distance and not close-up.)[8] As Longhi further remarked, Moretto did not shy away from the ugly or brutal, but included them as part of the "physical evidence" he was presenting—another way in which he and Caravaggio are alike. Such evidence encompassed the disadorned and the rustic, as in Moretto's magnificent altarpiece of the Nativity (fig. 52). This representation of the Christ child being bathed among a group of onlookers includes extraordinary depictions of a blind shepherd and a basket overflowing with simple white-and-red linens and blankets. To Longhi, Moretto's painting was a prelude to Caravaggio's late *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Museo Regionale, Messina). (Similarly, the great connoisseur Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle wrote that he thought of Velázquez when he stood in front of Moretto's altarpiece.)[9] Finally, the critic found significant affinities in the portrayals of the two famous barefooted pilgrims in Caravaggio's *Madonna of Loreto* of about 1604–5 (Sant'Agostino, Rome) and the young deaf-mute peasant having a vision of the Virgin in Moretto's *Paitone Madonna* (Santuario dell'Assunta, Paitone). In each, the artist has represented the vision as a concrete event, tied to earthly experience and in no sense hallucinatory.

Longhi's comments on Moretto identified several of the "antichi fatti lombardi" (early Lombard traits) that he had set out to define and describe. Two others of these were of particular importance for Brescian and Bergamasque artists: the approach to landscape and the treatment of light. The first involved the close observation of their surroundings, the plains of Lombardy and, to the north, the foothills of the Alps. An acute sensitivity to topography is found as early as the 1460s in the depiction of the stand of trees and hazily distant lake and mountains in Foppa's fresco the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr* (Portinari Chapel, Sant'Eustorgio, Milan). Later, landscape elements would be crucial to both Savoldo and Lotto, constituting the poetic core of some of their greatest works. Evocative landscape settings were absolutely central to the art of Savoldo, whose knowledge of North Italian art derived from his extensive travels, but whose home

base was Venice for most of his career. His landscapes range from the particularized, pebbly riverbed of the Tigris, where the archangel Raphael has ordered Tobias to kneel (cat. no. 45), to the spectacular panoramas, often with views of the Venetian lagoon, found in such works as the *Pesaro Altarpiece* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). Perhaps inspired by Leonardo's paintings in Milan, Savoldo strove to capture such natural phenomena as the strata of rock formations and the appearance of light shining through leaves and branches, to evoke specific times of the day, and to render deep background landscapes by the use of atmospheric perspective.

Lotto, a Venetian whose art was permanently affected by his long stay in Bergamo, was engaged by the settings (both interiors and landscapes) of his paintings in an equally personal way. They are put together out of an "immense naturalistic repertory"[10] from which the artist selects to delicately but painstakingly describe interiors, furnishings, walls, gardens, and towns. The haunting *Trinity* (cat. no. 28), painted for the church of Santa Trinità, Bergamo, has long been admired primarily for its landscape.[11] Its figure of Christ, backed by a shadowy God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit, hovers over an expansive landscape that encompasses hills studded with trees, a farmstead, and flocks, and then recedes into a blue-green, equally wooded distance. After Lotto left Bergamo and returned to Venice, he painted the beautiful altarpiece *Saint Nicholas with Saints John the Baptist and Lucy* (Santa Maria del Carmine, Venice), a good portion of which is dedicated to a remarkable landscape. Yet the painting did not find favor with its first critic, the Venetian author Lodovico Dolce, who wrote in 1557 that it was a notable example of a bad use of color.[12] While Dolce's remark refers to the entire picture and probably reflects an incompatible admiration for Titian's more harmonious palette, Longhi correctly interpreted it in 1929 as an inability to comprehend the moody, compelling landscape.[13] It has been clear ever since to the majority of viewers that Caravaggio's most lyrical early landscapes, above all those in the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome) and *Saint Francis of Assisi in Ecstasy* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford), owe a great deal to works by Savoldo and Lotto.

The question of "Lombard light" in the paintings of Brescian and Bergamasque artists is both more elusive and more complex.[14] Put simply, Longhi believed that, beginning with Foppa, these painters tended to reject the "lume universale" (universal light) of most Renaissance painters in favor of a concentrated, directed light used to create form. Light thus became another of the means these artists employed to study and describe visual reality. This approach is apparent in many paintings, including Savoldo's *Shepherd with a Flute* (cat. no. 47) and Moretto's Brescian *Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (fig. 15), to which we have already alluded. When considering the fall of light in Moretto's *Supper,* it is crucial to recognize that by the first decades of the seventeenth century, paintings with this approach to lighting were considered characteristic not only of Caravaggio but also of his entire school of painting. In the words of Giulio Mancini, one of Caravaggio's first biographers (see pages 14–15 in this volume), "A characteristic of this school is lighting from one source only, beaming from above without reflections, as would occur from one window in a room with the walls painted black, so that, the light areas being very light and the shadows very dark, they give the picture relief."[15]

The fact that light could be used to create the maximum impression of relief—the illusion of three-dimensionality—was of central importance to Brescian and Bergamasque artists. Longhi did not acknowledge the probability that much of their experimentation with light was inspired by Leonardo and his followers, who were known to these artists both from drawings and paintings in Milan and from preserved texts (see pages 17–18 in this volume). Yet this influence should be taken into consideration, for example, in those works, such as Romanino's *Saint Matthew* (San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia), that explore various light sources, whether emanating from within or from outside the painting. In this nocturnal scene, Romanino studies the highlights and shadows created in an interior lit by candlelight, as well as reflections such as those along the metal candlestick holder. Savoldo's similarly varied light effects were praised by his contemporaries Giorgio Vasari and Paolo Pino in terms reminiscent of Leonardo's writings on sources of illumination and reflections (see discussion under cat. no. 44).

These artists most closely foreshadow practices later associated with Caravaggio in their approach to portraiture and—a related activity—studies from studio models. Moroni, trained in Brescia but active principally in Bergamo and its territories, was one of the greatest Renaissance portraitists, but his art was of a very particular stripe: he built upon the naturalist tendency of his teacher, Moretto,

and was acutely aware of German portraiture as well. It was about Moroni and Titian that the art historian Carlo Ridolfi wrote (see page 3 in this volume), reporting that Titian characterized Moroni's portraits as being "from nature."[16] Later, in 1793, when the Bergamasque biographer Francesco Maria Tassi presented the same anecdote, adding that Titian found Moroni's portraits to be a "true and natural likeness,"[17] it is likely that Tassi took this as a purely positive statement. (In fact, his text goes on to present a more extensive description of Titian's glowing response to a Moroni painting in Venice.) However, Titian's recommendation was only partial. The great Venetian painter certainly believed that a portrait should be more than just a close record of a person's appearance: his portraits are also statements about the sitter's position in society, about his or her glamour and elegance, and about an approach to art that went beyond verisimilitude.

Although Moroni's *Abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova* (cat. no. 36) can be seen—for better or for worse, for the sitter—as a painting "from nature," it is unfair to the artist to leave it at that, as Titian would have us do. For this is a painting of elegance, restraint, and breathtaking technique as well as verisimilitude. Nonetheless, close observation of the sitter is at its heart, as it is in all of Moroni's works, regardless of the sitter's status. Some of his most successful and sympathetic portraits, such as the *Portrait of a Man,* known as *The Tailor* (National Gallery, London), are unusual both for the kind of people portrayed and the manner in which they are shown. Holding shears in one hand and cloth in another, the tailor is simply dressed, but the sword buckle on his belt indicates that he was of a social position that entitled him to wear such a weapon. Although he may have been the head of a guild,[18] his circle was certainly not one of the most elevated in Bergamo. In 1929 Longhi pointed out that Caravaggio's 1590 "portrait of the innkeeper where he had taken shelter" should not come as a surprise, considering that Moroni had painted a tailor some twenty years before.[19] It has subsequently become apparent that other artists working in the same style were equally drawn to portraying friends, associates, and sitters belonging to the middle ranges of society (see cat. no. 30).

Many devotional paintings of the Brescian and Bergamasque schools also derive from close study and observation of the human figure. Savoldo's work is the clearest example, based as it was on drawings made from life (see cat. nos. 50–53). His few extant drawings, almost all head studies in black chalk with heightening, reflect the minutest changes in plane as light sweeps over cheeks, brows, and hair. The results of such painstaking study are evident in the artist's vividly real and present figures, especially in their skillfully foreshortened arms and hands reaching forward through space. Certain paintings must have been based entirely on posed models, some properly individualized as donor figures and others transformed into sacred characters by the meagerest of disguises. The insistence on painting from models brings us back, of course, to a well-known aspect of Caravaggio's studio practice, where painting was done "from life with the model before one."[20] Or, in Mancini's words, "In this way of working, the painters of this school are closely tied to nature, which they always keep before their eyes as they work."[21]

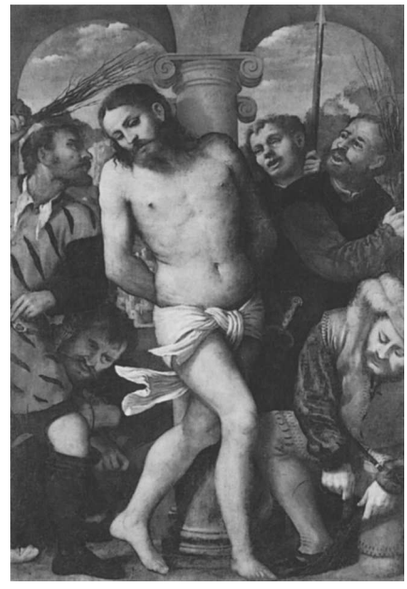


Fig. 53
GIROLAMO ROMANINO (1484/87–ca. 1560)
The Flagellation of Christ, ca. 1540
Distemper and oil (?) on canvas, 70⅞ × 47½ in. (180 × 120.7 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, Anonymous Bequest, by exchange, 1989
1989.86

Increased knowledge of the artists of Brescia and Bergamo has led to a refinement of Longhi's ideas and especially to the possibility of adding other artists to those he originally studied. Chief among these is Romanino, a brilliant and eccentric artist whose home base was Brescia but who worked in various centers in northern Italy, including Padua. Longhi considered Romanino a "standard bearer of the Titian brigade,"[22] with a style of painting more closely tied to Venice than to Lombardy. It is now clear, however, that the artist's interests took him in many directions, a number of which are directly relevant to our discussion. First is the fact that his work was

certainly of interest to Caravaggio. As a young artist, Caravaggio probably saw Romanino's *Saint Matthew*, which has always hung in a well-known chapel in Brescia. He would have been inspired by its nocturnal setting illuminated by a source of light within the painting and by its thought-provoking depiction of the unshod and roughly clad evangelist. In addition, a recently rediscovered processional standard by Romanino of about 1540 with the *Flagellation of Christ* on the obverse (fig. 53) is dramatic testimony to the Brescian artist's continuing influence, because Caravaggio clearly thought back to this composition when painting his own *Flagellation* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) as late as 1606–7 in Naples.[23]

Equally important is the significance of Romanino's art to the issues of decorum that became increasingly pressing throughout northern Italy in the earlier decades of the sixteenth century. Both in the artist's lifetime and for more than a century after his death, patrons and authors criticized certain of Romanino's works as artistically deficient, indecorous, and even bizarre. The most serious of these complaints came from Bernardo Cles, prince-bishop of Trent, who in 1531–32 commissioned important frescoes from Romanino for the Castello del Buonconsiglio in that city. Cles wrote a letter grumbling that several of the frescoed figures, especially that of a "Lucrezia," were "lacking in the necessary beauty and proportion."[24] From his description of the figure's location, he almost certainly meant the one now identified as Porcia, painted across from the stairway leading to the loggia of the building (fig. 54). The bishop (or his agent, as Cles often reacted to what he had heard of the ongoing decoration of the castle rather than to what he had actually seen) was clearly objecting to the complete lack of idealization in the portrayal of this hefty Roman heroine. She stands on her muscular legs, bursting out of her niche, with her arms flung wide. And she is merely one example of many in which Romanino seemed to flout his patrons' expectations of a more classicizing, idealized style. As Nova has brilliantly demonstrated, Romanino was deliberately playing with the anticlassical mode, which was also important in some of the literature of the period.[25] This approach brought a rugged freedom to Romanino's work that can be breathtaking to modern eyes and that may have been a precedent for, or at least a parallel to, later experiments in Milan and Cremona (see page 149 in this volume).

Fig. 54
GIROLAMO ROMANINO
(1484/87–ca. 1560)
Porcia, ca. 1531–32
Fresco
Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent

Fig. 55
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
The Entombment, 1554
Oil on canvas, 94½ × 74½ in. (240 × 189.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1912 12.61

Our understanding of Brescian painting during this period has been greatly enhanced by contextual studies outlining developments within the city's religious community and their impact on devotional and sacred images.[26] Lay devotion in Brescia, as in so many North Italian cities, was expressed through membership in confraternities, called *scuole* or *discipline,* which experienced a resurgence during the opening decades of the sixteenth century. The artist Moretto, for example, was a very active member of the Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento attached to the cathedral and painted a group of pictures for the confraternity.[27] In addition, he often executed altarpieces and processional standards for a number of other such organizations. All these works have two distinctive characteristics: the distance between the sacred figures depicted and the patron or viewer is lessened through a variety of pictorial means, and the theological significance of the works is expressed with great clarity, frequently through inscriptions citing the relevant biblical text. The former could be achieved simply yet powerfully by the inclusion of donors who are made to seem part of the sacred drama itself, as in the great standard *Madonna of the Misericordia with Two Confraternity Members,* which once belonged to the sculptor Antonio Canova and is still in the Rotonda Canoviana, Possagno. Here two members of a flagellant confraternity kneel directly below the hovering Madonna. One has cast off his hood to have a clearer view of her, while the other is in the act of doing so, grasping its end and pulling it taut. Their presence, and therefore the actuality of the scene, could not be made more palpable.

Moretto's second goal, theological clarity, is brilliantly achieved in his last major altarpiece, the *Entombment* (fig. 55), painted in 1554 for the oratory of another confraternity of flagellants, that of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia. Here we encounter the artist's use of an explanatory inscription, which appears in elegant script on a tombstonelike slab at Christ's feet. The Latin quotation from one of Paul's Epistles (Philippians 2:8), translated as "he . . . became obedient unto death," is meant to guide the worshiper's meditations on the image. The brooding, almost distressing, quality of the painting is achieved partly by the way in which the principal figures are pressed forward toward the picture plane. Christ, although held almost vertically (as if still attached to the cross), tumbles forward toward the viewer. His position combines with the Madonna's weather-beaten face, anguished eyes, and strong grasp on her son's body

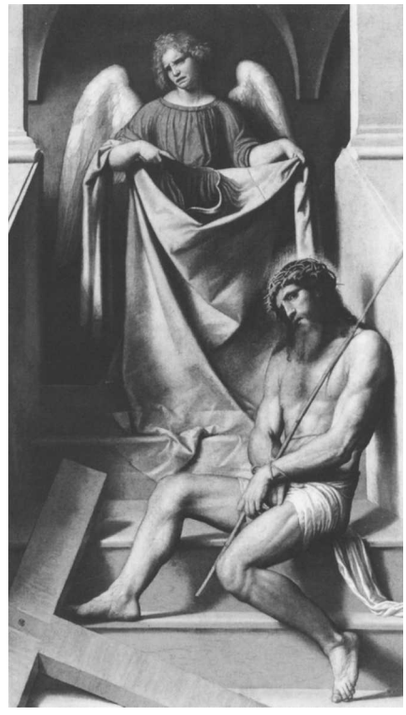


Fig. 56
MORETTO DA BRESCIA
(ca. 1498–1554)
Christ and the Angel, ca. 1550
Oil on canvas, 82¼ × 49⅝ in. (209 × 126 cm)
Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia 71

to produce a tangible expression of the grief of the moment. In fact, the effect is so powerful that Eastlake, who considered acquiring the painting for the National Gallery in 1862, was ultimately put off by the physicality of the rapport between mother and son (he even contemplated having Christ's midriff repainted with more white drapery).[28]

Another late masterpiece by Moretto, *Christ and the Angel* (fig. 56), demonstrates the force of this style of devotional painting. It was executed for the Cappella delle Croci in the Duomo Vecchio, which housed one of Brescia's most important relics, and was probably commissioned by the confraternity affiliated with the chapel. The image of Christ, inspired in part by Dürer's depictions of the Man of Sorrows, is mournful and expressive.[29] But what is truly extraordinary is Moretto's affective use of the austere setting and the dramatic weeping angel. The heavenly being holds Christ's silvery tunic, marked with drops of blood, and the beauty of his hair and pale wings contrasts with the terrible sorrow etched on his face. Christ's own pallor is set off by the stony walls of the stairway in which he sits, his cross leaning precariously at his feet. The way in which the cross and stairs are cropped contributes to the strong sense that the scene is set in a slice of space that is an extension of our own, continuing beyond the painting's borders.

Indeed, X-radiographs revealing the many pentimenti throughout the composition indicate that Moretto deliberately settled on the most sharply foreshortened position possible for the cross.[30] Composition and expression here combine to make the call on the devout viewer immediate and emotional. In Guazzoni's words, "The worshiper is not actually present [in the painting], but his presence is implicit in the way in which Christ turns to him with a gaze full of sorrow. Everything in the image is knowingly constructed as a call to the faithful."[31] It was in order to achieve this convincing immediacy and persuasiveness that Moretto and his fellow Brescian and Bergamasque artists strove to depict the world of "humble reality" in their sacred art.

Notes

1. Fleming 1973, pp. 7–8.
2. See especially Longhi 1917 (1961 ed.), Longhi 1926 (1967 ed.), Longhi 1927b (1967 ed.), Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.). Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 138: "la terribile naturalezza del Caravaggio, ultimo dei 'lombardi.'"
3. "una semplicità accostante, una penetrante attenzione, una certa calma fiducia di poter esprimere direttamente, senza mediazioni stilizzanti, la 'realtà' che sta intorno." Longhi 1953, p. 11.
4. Significant studies include Guazzoni 1981, New York, Naples 1985, Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, Nova 1994, and Varese 2002.
5. See Bergamo 2001.
6. "il suntuoso classicismo dei veneti." Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 109.
7. It is worth recalling what Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1912, vol. 3, p. 294) wrote of Moretto's comparable *Supper at Emmaus,* now in the collection of the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia: "A very decided realistic feeling prevails in the outspoken nature of the movements and expression, which have the strong and straightforward bluntness of middle or poor-class life."
8. Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 114, who notes the curious affinity of Lomazzo's statement (*Trattato* [1584], bk. 6, p. 286).
9. Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, vol. 3, p. 292.
10. "un immenso repertorio naturalistico." Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 116.
11. Frizzoni 1896, p. 200.
12. Dolce 1557 (1968 ed.), pp. 154, 155.
13. See Peter Humfrey in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99, p. 167, for a discussion of Dolce's criticism. It is worth quoting Longhi in full to capture his sense of the innovative nature of this landscape: "Dolce cites the painter's masterpiece in the Carmine, in which there is the purest landscape in sixteenth-century painting—a landscape already composed as if by Rembrandt or Ruisdael—he cites it, I say, as a notable example of bad colors." ("il Dolce cita il capolavoro dell pittore ai Carmine dov'è il più puro paesaggio della pittura del Cinquecento—un paesaggio composto già come da un Rembrandt o da un Ruisdael—lo cita, dico, come notabile esempio di cattive tinte"). Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 115.
14. For a detailed discussion, see Gregori 2000.
15. "Proprio di questa schola è di lumeggiar con lume unito che venghi d'alto senza reflessi, come sarebbe in una stanza da una fenestra con le pariete colorite di negro, che così, havendo i chiari e l'ombre molto chiare e molto oscure, vengono a dar relievo alla pittura." Mancini ca. 1617–21 (1956 ed.), p. 108; for the English translation, see Puglisi 1998, App. 1, p. 413.
16. "che gli faceva naturali." Ridolfi 1648, p. 131.
17. "il loro vero, e naturale ritratto." Tassi 1793, vol. 1, p. 166.
18. The sitter's social status will be discussed in Penny forthcoming.
19. "ritratto di un oste dove si ricoverava." Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 121.
20. "con l'esempio avanti del naturale." Giustiniani ca. 1620 (1981 ed.), p. 44. This aspect of naturalist painting, the marriage of nature and style, was considered the highest by Vincenzo Giustiniani, Caravaggio's great patron. See also Christiansen 1986.
21. "Questa schola in questo modo d'operare è molto osservante del vero, che sempre lo tien davanti mentre ch'opera." Mancini ca. 1617–21 (1956 ed.), p. 108.
22. "portabandiera del battaglione tizianesco." Longhi 1926 (1967 ed.), p. 104.
23. See Christiansen 1990a, p. 37; Bayer 2003, p. 26 and fig. 18.
24. The best introduction to this issue is Nova 1994, pp. 31–53, and nos. 56–61. For Cles's letter, see p. 280, no. 60: "non hanno quella venustade et proportione che doveriano."
25. See ibid., pp. 31–53, for Romanino and the "questione della lingua," or proper use of the vernacular, in literary discussion during the first decades of the sixteenth century.
26. Groundbreaking work in this complex field is to be found in various writings by Valerio Guazzoni (see, for example, Guazzoni 1981, Guazzoni 1986, and Guazzoni 1988).
27. See the register of documents in Begni Redona 1988, pp. 587–617, with a full list of the dates of Moretto's participation in the Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento, including his service as a member of its Council and later, repeatedly, as its *consigliere* (counselor).
28. Bayer 2003, p. 30 and fig. 22.
29. Terraroli 1988, pp. 285–86.
30. Stradiotti 1988, pp. 220–21.
31. "il devoto non è presente di persona, ma la sua presenza è implicita nel modo in cui Cristo gli si rivolge con lo sguardo carico di dolore. Tutta l'immagine è sapientemente costruita per fare appello al fedele." Guazzoni 1986, p. 28.

GIOVANNI CARIANI
San Giovanni Bianco, near Fuipiano al Brembo, ca. 1485–Venice, after 1547

23. "Sette Ritratti Albani"
1519
Oil on canvas, 46⅛ × 46⅛ in. (117 × 117 cm)
Signed and dated: IO CARIANVS B[ER]GOMEUS. M.D.XVIIII
Private collection, Bergamo

This painting, known as the "*Sette Ritratti Albani*" (Seven Albani Portraits), is one of the most compelling group portraits in Italy, and probably Cariani's most famous work. It is also one of his most enigmatic, with considerable debate concerning its subject. Signed and dated 1519, it was first described in 1720 as in the Albani family palace in Bergamo, and in 1775 as a group portrait of members of that family. The early provenance is significant, since Francesco Albani, a leading member of the nobility, was one of Cariani's principal patrons and was probably instrumental in the artist's move from Venice to Bergamo in 1517.

Opinion is evenly divided as to whether this is a representation of Francesco Albani's family or a genrelike scene featuring courtesans and their male admirers—two obviously contradictory interpretations. Certain unusual details of the painting seem critical. The composition of seven people is dominated by a large woman whose costume is conspicuous for its exceedingly transparent white bodice. A younger woman, also wearing a revealing gown, leans on a ledge and pays no attention to the gentleman behind her toying with her hair. She holds a mirror with a hand whose index finger is covered by a glove. One of the two women at the left wears an extraordinary gold chain low on her shoulders as well as a glove. The extravagant hats include *scuffie* typical of the period, and the shadowy figure at the center sports an unusual double-hooped earring. A squirrel sits and eats a pear before this tightly packed group.

Certain scholars (see Colalucci 1998a) have argued that the painting is a true family portrait, identifying the woman at the center as Caterina Bechi Albani, wife of Francesco and mother of a large family. Caterina would thus be shown at a turning point in the family's fortunes, when a bloody local vendetta seemed to have ended and a marriage had been arranged between her daughter and a gentleman from Pavia (the man and woman at the right). The other details are considered symbolic in nature, and the cumulative effect of a depiction of the Albani family under the guidance of its matriarch.

However, from early on, this thesis has been doubted, and the figures have been seen as a group of four courtesans and three men. Scholars (see Rossi in Bergamo 2001a) have pointed out how unlikely it is that a grand noblewoman would allow herself to be painted in such an undecorous state of dress, or that her daughter would be shown having her hair fondled. Likewise, many details—such as the single finger in the glove, the transparent dresses, and even the squirrel—lend themselves to erotic interpretations. Research that has been done on Venetian courtesans is instructive in this regard and indicates that they shared some general sartorial interests with the figures in Cariani's painting, including simple shifts that emphasized the breasts, thick gold chains, and roses.

The confusion about the painting's meaning is due in part to the convincing portraitlike representation of each figure. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1912) noted that the character of the scene is determined by "each figure being a portrait," while Ballarin (in Paris 1993) believes the three figures to the right to be actual portraits. Perhaps the artist was eager to represent "real people"—that is, he was painting from live models and did not modify or idealize their appearance in the final work—in order to convey the sensation of viewing individuals, but not necessarily identifiable persons. In the same way, the figures in Cariani's famous *Concert* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) appear ambiguous: they are certainly drawn from life, but is this a triple portrait, an allegory, or a genre scene? Certain paintings by Giorgione already embody this ambiguity, which almost a century later would underlie many of Caravaggio's early works, including his *Musicians* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Can Cariani's "portrait group" be an unusual allegory about love, shaped by an approach to painting that the artist had learned in Venice?

Cariani was one of the finest portraitists active in the region in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Although he was well aware of Titian's and Palma il Vecchio's activities in this field, compared to them he exhibits a rather wry naturalism as he observes his unidealized sitters. His work in Bergamo between 1517 and 1523—the high point of his career—displays an emphasis on the detailed actuality of a scene, probably inspired both by Lotto and by local tradition.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Pasta 1775, p. 68; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, vol. 2, p. 451; Baldass 1929, p. 94; Francesco Rossi in London 1983–84, no. 27; Pedrocco 1990, p. 82; Alessandro Ballarin in Paris 1993, no. 65; Colalucci 1998a, p. 102; Franco Moro in Milan 1998–99, p. 136; Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2001a, no. IV.8

GIOVANNI CARIANI
San Giovanni Bianco, near Fuipiano al Brembo, ca. 1485–Venice, after 1547

24. The Road to Calvary with Veronica's Veil
Ca. 1523–25
Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 76¾ in. (100 × 195 cm)
Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia

The early legend of a woman named Veronica who met Christ on his way to Calvary, offered him her headcloth to wipe his face, and came away with his visage indelibly imprinted on it probably reached its final form in the fourteenth century. This work, most likely painted in the mid-1520s, is one of Cariani's most wrenching and psychologically charged. Veronica is shown kneeling before Christ, the outlines of his face dimly printed on her cloth, as a band of soldiers press in upon him (Matt. 27:27). The figure directly behind Christ may be Simon, a man from Cyrene, who was compelled to bear the cross (Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26). Christ is shown as the calm center of a storm, with the figures around him grasping, straining, and shouting.

Although Cariani was probably invited to Bergamo principally for his knowledge of current Venetian painting, once there he became increasingly aware of the Lombard tradition. He would have come to know, for example, the dramatic and expressive frescoes of the Passion of Christ

in the cathedral of Cremona by Altobello Melone and Girolamo Romanino, much influenced by German art. He would probably also have seen depictions of Christ carrying the cross, a subject that appeared with remarkable frequency in Lombard paintings (see cat. nos. 29, 42) and was perhaps influenced by a Leonardo composition.

Numerous elements of this painting were inspired by Northern prints, including such details as the man blowing a horn at the left and the figure of Simon at the center, who shouts as he hoists the cross. More integral to its effect is the sense of hubbub, crowding, and discomfort—all important aspects of German prints of the subject from Schongauer to Cranach and Dürer. Finally, the fascinating figure of the pallid soldier at the far right, holding a standard and wearing a suit of armor and an extremely broad beret tied on with a strip of cloth, recalls various soldiers found in prints by Altdorfer, such as the *Foot-Soldier with a Sword* of 1506 (Holl. 64). Indeed, it is not far-fetched to suggest that his "German" appearance was meant to inspire fear, as the mercenary soldiers known as *Landsknechts* did all across northern Italy at the time.

Rossi (in Pallucchini and Rossi 1983) was the first to work on identifying and dating the armor here, and it has been looked at anew by Dirk Breiding (Department of Arms and Armor, Metropolitan Museum). Rossi dated the helmet, or sallet, at the center, the pauldron, or shoulder defense, and the suit visible at the right to about 1515 or even earlier. Breiding has added that the sword, with its distinctive heart-shaped pommel, is of a type produced in Italy from the late fifteenth century until the 1530s (Norman type 40). He notes that the juxtaposition of the sallet, with its stylized, pseudo-antique appearance, with absolutely up-to-date examples of armor is an effect often found in German art. In addition, the armor at the far right, which has a breastplate very close to an example in Mantua, is Italian but made in the German style.

Rossi's suggested date of 1520 or shortly thereafter corresponds to Cariani's last years in Bergamo, before his return to Venice in 1523. The *Veronica* shows him at the height of his interest in Lombard art, and even in Lombard industry, as Brescia and Milan were known for the manufacture of arms and armor. The painting likewise exhibits a Lombard intensity in the observation of naturalistic detail that lends particularity and authenticity to the scene. Muscles and veins bulge; the figure at the center has a heavy hammer slung through his purse—its metallic edges catch the light—and his teeth are visible as he cries out. Finally, light is used in a Lombard fashion, both to define form and to convey emotion. Even if the painting were done a few years later in Venice, as is sometimes argued, it certainly reflects all that the artist had encountered in his years in Bergamo.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: *Pinacoteca Tosio e Martinengo* 1927, p. 92; Gallina 1953, pp. 110–11; Pallucchini and Rossi 1983, pp. 78–82, no. 31; Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2001a, p. 151

VINCENZO FOPPA

Bagnolo, near Brescia, 1427/30–Brescia, 1515/16

25. Adoration of the Christ Child
Tempera with finishing touches in oil (?) on panel, 68⅞ × 33⅛ in. (175 × 84 cm)
Santa Maria Assunta in Chiesanuova, Brescia
Cremona only

First mentioned by scholars in 1939, this altarpiece has subsequently received little attention, perhaps because of its obscure location in the church or perhaps because of its disarming simplicity, which is so different from the Bramantesque quality of Foppa's work in the Portinari Chapel or his frescoes formerly in the church of Santa Maria di Brera (Brescia 1939). With its calm, clear vision and domestic intimacy, the painting does indeed suggest a sense of the everyday—a characteristic largely absent from the mythological and historical representations that would later become fundamental to Morettoesque naturalism.

The panel's origin is unknown (for its history, see Buganza in Brescia 2002), and it was installed in its current location only in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1954 Ragghianti connected the work with two panels, now in the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia, representing Saint John the Baptist and Saint Apollonia. The three panels have long been considered parts of a triptych, which Panazza (in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990) suggested may have come from Santi Nazaro e Celso, Brescia. Elvio Zentile (in Rossi 2001) offered a different reconstruction: a five-panel polyptych in which the two saints in the Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo were placed to the left of the central image. Abandoning the notion of a provenance from Santi Nazaro e Celso, Buganza relied on documentary evidence to put forth the more interesting suggestion that these three panels may have originally been intended for the Cappella dell'Immacolata in San Francesco, Brescia. Her theory is based on the iconography of Grazio Cossali's altarpiece the *Virgin Immaculate with Saints John the Baptist and Apollonia,* which is now in that chapel and which may in 1603 have replaced an older work. Although impossible to substantiate at present, Buganza's hypothesis is convincing, and perhaps the work she posits had the same arrangement of saints as in Cossali's altarpiece, that is, Saint Francis on the left and Saint Apollonia on the right.

Buganza interprets the iconography of the panels as "covertly Immaculatist" and offers this as evidence of a possible provenance from San Francesco, since the Franciscans were then the most avid proponents of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Yet the subject of the central panel is in fact the Adoration of the Christ Child—even though it follows the formula "quem genuit, adoravit," in which it is the mother who kneels before her son. One might argue that the same is true of the central panel in the polyptych painted by Bernardo Zenale for the Franciscans at Cantù, but there the Christ child clearly points at Mary's belly (which is juxtaposed with the grotto, a Leonardesque motif recognized as a symbol of the Virgin Immaculate). The same theme appears in a canvas by Ambrogio Bevilacqua now in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (Mauro Natale in Milan 1982–83, p. 28). There is another Virgin hugging her belly (the inscription "Ave sponsa deitatis quis simili tui / preservatus a macula originali" underscores the Immaculatist meaning) in Bevilacqua's famous Bagatti Valsecchi panel. The iconography of the Chiesanuova altarpiece is perhaps too "covertly Immaculatist" to come from an altar dedicated to the Virgin Immaculate, for if such were the case, it would most likely put forth a more convincing argument to promote an idea that was still hotly debated.

The reconstruction of an altarpiece combining the present panel with those of the two saints in the Brescia Pinacoteca is at first glance very appealing, yet some of its aspects also raise significant doubts. The backgrounds in the two panels with saints have a silver-gray tonality similar to that found in other late works by Foppa, beginning with the Della Rovere polyptych and then becoming more prevalent after 1500, as in the panels from the Bergamo polyptych. This is not apparent, however, in the *Adoration,* and its absence cannot be due to the different conditions of the panels and the various restorations they have undergone. There are signs, too, that the two panels in the Pinacoteca once had gilded architectural elements (incisions in the bases and capitals of the columns), perhaps not unlike those in the *Saint Christopher* (Denver Art Museum), *Saint Paul* (New Orleans Museum of Art), and *Annunciation* (Collezione Borromeo, Isola Bella), which date to the early sixteenth century; there are no such traces in the Chiesanuova panel. In addition, the scale employed in these panels varies: the two saints are larger and much more elongated than the figures in the *Adoration,* adhering to the figural formula typical of Foppa's last works. In light of these observations, it is at least possible that the Chiesanuova panel and the two saints now in the Pinacoteca originally belonged to different ensembles.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Fausto Lechi in Brescia 1939, no. 18; Ragghianti 1954, p. 543, n. 12; Gaetano Panazza in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. IV.18b; Rossi 2001, pp. 12–13; Stefania Buganza in Brescia 2002, no. 69

BERNARDINO LICINIO
Venice, ca. 1490–Venice, after 1549

26. Portrait of Arrigo Licinio and His Family
Oil on canvas, 46½ × 65 in. (118 × 165 cm)
Signed and inscribed at upper right:
B. LYCINII OPUS., and *EXPRIMIT HIC FRATREM TOTA CUM GENTE LYCINUS/ ET VITAM HIS FORMA PROROGAT ARTE SIBI*
Galleria Borghese, Rome 115

Bernardino Licinio and his family took part in the diaspora of artisans who left the territory of Bergamo for other areas in Lombardy and the Veneto. Although Bernardino spent his life in Venice, where he had an active workshop, he maintained ties with the Val Brembana, the family's place of origin. Vasari caused grave confusion by conflating Bernardino's identity with that of another artist (see Vertova 1980, pp. 371ff.), but Ludwig (1903) corrected this with archival research that clarified the precise path of his life and career.

Indeed it was Ludwig (1903, p. 53) who identified the members of this wonderful family group portrait: the artist's elder brother, Arrigo (also a painter), his wife, Agnese, and their seven children, one still swaddled and another offering his mother a basket of roses. Their son Fabio, who became a well-known goldsmith, is probably the youth holding the sculpture cast. The Latin inscription suggests the formality and commemorative purpose of the portrait as a lasting record of the family (Rossi 1991). Licinio painted several other notable group portraits, which were unusual for his time, such as the *Family Group* (Hampton Court) and the *Sculptor with Five Students* (Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle), which share many elements with the Borghese painting. Portraits of families and of persons associated by profession also appear among Northern paintings, and it may well be that Licinio's work in Venice was of importance for this development (see Della Pergola 1955).

Throughout his career Licinio remained aware of stylistic trends in Venice, but his portraits are nevertheless remarkably lacking in rhetoric and flourish. Many critics have termed them "Lombard," including Vertova, who said that his adherence "to the bourgeois reality of the world in which he lived" ("alla realtà borghese del mondo in cui vive." Vertova 1980, p. 375) was a Lombard characteristic. That his gifts were as a chronicler is implied by a comment about the Hampton Court portrait: "The grouping suggests the taste of a country photographer" (Shearman 1983, p. 139, under no. 137). While the sitters are linked through gesture, little attempt is made to convey a psychological rapport between them, and it is certain individual heads that make the greatest impression (here, notably that of Agnese Licinio). Rossi (1991) rightly notes that this lack of psychological connection distinguishes Licinio's paintings from their greatest contemporaries in Bergamo, those by Lorenzo Lotto. Vertova (in London 1983–84) has theorized that Arrigo, who was less talented than his brother, may have painted some of the less convincing figures.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Ludwig 1903; Della Pergola 1956, no. 207; Vertova 1980, no. 96; Luisa Vertova in London 1983–84, no. 41; Rossi 1991

LORENZO LOTTO
Venice, ca. 1480–Loreto, 1556

27. Portrait of a Gentleman with a Rosary
Ca. 1515–18
Oil on panel, 30⅞ × 24⅜ in. (78.5 × 62 cm)
Nivaagaards Malerisamling, Nivå, Denmark NMK 1904-4
New York only

This portrait, traditionally attributed to Holbein, emerged in the late nineteenth century in the Coccapani collection in Modena, where Morelli and Frizzoni recognized it as a work by Lotto. Madsen (1908) identified the coat of arms on its period frame as belonging to the Este family, and the sitter has sometimes been identified as a member of that ducal family. However, Lucco and Humfrey (in Bergamo 2001a) has shown that the frame, which has been somewhat cut down, is not original to the painting.

This riveting work is one of the finest, albeit least well known, of the extraordinary series of portraits that Lotto undertook while in Bergamo. Generally dated between about 1515 and 1520, it is closest in the finish of its surface and in its intensely observed detail to works such as the *Portrait of Lucina Brembati* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo), most recently dated about 1518. Colalucci (1998a) has proposed that the sitter is Domenico Tassi, a reportedly pious man and one of Lotto's greatest patrons. Unfortunately, the only evidence of Tassi's appearance is in a painting of a Nativity (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), which is either gravely overpainted or indeed a copy of the lost original and in which the donor's portrait is scarcely legible.

The gentleman is dressed as a Bergamasque dignitary, with a fur-lined damask coat over two jackets (one striped and the other of a remarkably subtle bluish color) and a large hat. He looks directly at the viewer with a clear but serious mien, his glance strongly suggesting that we have interrupted his saying of the rosary. His hands resemble a perfectly observed still life, calling our attention to the beautiful beads, perhaps of amber, and the numerous rings, but above all to the play of light that singles out the left index finger and its pearly nail. The view to the landscape beyond, although modest in scale, is radiant with luminosity, as the wooded hillside gives way to water and purplish mountains. Most impressive is the strength with which this unidentified sitter holds our gaze; quoting Sheard (1997–99, p. 44) about an equally compelling earlier portrait by the artist, "The impression of immediacy, of unmediated directness, is so strong that it is as if an actual person rather than a constructed simulacrum returns our gaze."

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Frizzoni 1910, pp. 402–4; Madsen 1908, pp. 33–34; Colalucci 1998a, p. 83; Peter Humfrey in Bergamo 2001a, no. 11.3

LORENZO LOTTO
Venice, ca. 1480–Loreto, 1556

28. The Trinity
Ca. 1523
Oil on canvas, 66⅞ × 45¼ in. (170 × 115 cm)
Sant'Alessandro della Croce, Bergamo

This innovative depiction of the Trinity, in which God the Father is a penumbra behind the striding figure of Christ and the dove of the Holy Spirit, was of such abiding interest to later Bergamasque artists that a number of them—including Moroni, Lolmo, and Salmeggia—made it the basis of their own altarpieces. Lotto here seems to be trying to visualize the Old Testament descriptions of God the Father as coming before man without "similitude," since seeing God's true form was forbidden (Exod. 33:20; Deut. 4:7).

The painting was done for the church of Santa Trinità (now destroyed), the seat of a confraternity that had as a member Giacomo Petrobelli, who was the notary to some of Lotto's greatest patrons and who may have promoted the artist's work. The *Trinity* was hung at the high altar, within the context of a series of frescoes painted by a local artist in 1508 depicting episodes of the Passion of Christ. This may help to explain the forceful display of Christ's wounds—more commonly found in the Pietà—and a theme that would have been of meditative value to the community of *disciplini*.

Although this small altarpiece has not received universal praise (Berenson disliked it, for example, and Bianconi found the figure of Christ "oleographic"), closer examination reveals its remarkable qualities. Its upper half is a play between the sculptural quality of Christ, whose wildly fluttering drapery defines the space around him, and the atmospheric, painterly qualities of his surroundings. These are determined exclusively by light: creating the rainbow and the golden glow that encompasses all three members of the Trinity; touching the edges of the clouds, which absorb the colors of the rainbow above and the landscape below; and then radiating upward, brilliantly edging Christ's feet and shins. The landscape that stretches out below is equally extraordinary. The vast panorama—hills, delicately lit trees, and a farmstead (from which an enigmatic group of soldiers departs), leading back through a hazy atmospheric distance of woods and mountains—resembles other Lombard landscapes such as those by Solario, but exhibits Lotto's very individual genius for detail and rhythm.

Colalucci (1998b) has convincingly suggested that this painting was begun about March 1519, when the administration of

the neighboring church, Santo Spirito, made a donation toward the cost of two new altarpieces under way in their own church and in Santa Trinità. The latter was almost certainly Lotto's *Trinità*. Nonetheless, it is possible that the *Trinity* was completed some years later, as it most closely resembles works done in 1523–24.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Michiel 1884, p. 137; Bianconi 1955, pp. 46–47; Mascherpa 1980–81; Tardito 1980–81; Mauro Lucco in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99, no. 23; Colalucci 1998a, pp. 125–27; Colalucci 1998b, pp. 149, 203, n. 7; Locatelli 1998, pp. 38–43

LORENZO LOTTO
Venice, ca. 1480–Loreto, 1556

29. Christ Carrying the Cross
1526
Oil on canvas, 26 × 23⅝ in. (66 × 60 cm)
Signed and dated on lower right of cross: *laur. lotus 1526*
Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Paris

Lotto painted this poignant image of Christ during the first year after he left Bergamo in December 1525 to return to Venice. Most likely executed for Jacopo Pighetti (Chastel 1982), a Bergamasque author living in Venice, it later went to the Orsini family in Rome, where it appeared in a 1664 inventory probably drawn up by the great antiquarian and biographer G. P. Bellori.

Lotto's painting is one of the most brilliant examples of a theme that deeply engaged his contemporaries in both Lombardy and Venice. In these works, the focus is generally on Christ's head and shoulders pressed close to the picture plane, as he struggles with the cross and is beset by violent figures. Lombard artists in particular concentrated on the ugly reality of the scene and shaped it so as to be most efficacious and powerful as a devotional image. Leonardo certainly contributed to its popularity and diffusion. Of direct relevance to Lotto's painting is Leonardo's drawing *Head and Shoulders of Christ* (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), probably done about 1490 as he was thinking of the *Last Supper* (a painted copy, possibly of a Leonardo cartoon, now in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan, whose central motif is based on this drawing, suggests that Leonardo's design was widely diffused). The Christ in the drawing—turning his head over his shoulder, his eyes rimmed with dark shadows and a hand tugging at his hair—exemplifies Leonardo's belief that movement and gesture express the "moti mentali" (motions of the mind). Lotto's affecting interpretation is often compared to a similar one by Andrea Solario (Galleria Borghese, Rome), but there are masterful examples by other followers of Leonardo, such as Cesare da Sesto and Giampietrino, and other Lombard artists, including Girolamo Romanino (cat. no. 42).

The placement of Lotto's signature—on the wood of the cross but facing in Christ's direction rather than the viewer's—is very suggestive. Béguin (in Paris 1993) has interpreted it as a subtle, personal devotional statement, in that Christ may be seen as supporting the artist himself along with the cross. Certainly the conceit seems to bring the artist's name into the figure's imagined field of vision. Popular devotional literature and woodcuts of the time encouraged personal emotional responses to themes of the Passion. Humfrey (in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99) has cited a woodcut of the same subject with a text that reads: "O sinner, break the stone of your hard heart. See your loving Christ carry the heavy cross to Mount Calvary and suffer terrible death for the sake of sinners."

Lotto has used the Renaissance notion of contrast to great effect here. As in many German examples of this subject, the executioners are presented as ugly, crude figures while Christ is moving and idealized. The arms of the executioners are painted swiftly and with great energy, Christ's face, cloak, and crown of thorns in a more refined and delicate manner. With this canvas Lotto would have been putting himself forward to the sophisticated Venetian public as a painter who could bring the energy and realism of Lombard art together with a finesse that would appeal to their taste.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Chastel 1982; Sylvie Béguin in Paris 1993, no. 153; Peter Humfrey in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99, no. 27

LORENZO LOTTO
Venice, ca. 1480–Loreto, 1556

30. Portrait of a Man with a Felt Hat
1541 (?)
Oil on paper marouflaged to paperboard and lined, 22¾ × 18¼ in. (57.8 × 46.5 cm)
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Purchased 1998

This remarkably subtle half-length portrait probably dates to 1541, when Lotto recorded in his expense book eight "life-size heads, colored in oil on paper" that are specifically said to be "de naturale," or from nature (Lotto 1969, p. 221). Recently rediscovered, it has been convincingly related to other psychologically searching and rather austere portraits that Lotto painted around this date, especially the *Portrait of a Gentleman with Gloves* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), which probably represents Liberale da Pinedel, whose portrait was recorded in the *Libro* in 1543. These heads were painted in Venice and then sent to Ottavio da Macerata, a client in the Marches.

Moro's mistaken theory (1994) that the unknown sitter might be Lotto's goldsmith friend from Treviso, Bartolomeo Carpan, who appears in one of the artist's greatest portraits (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), is nonetheless interesting for the parallels it evokes between the two images. Both depict men of a rather modest social standing, dressed simply, their gazes introspective, seen from up close and against a neutral background. Lotto captures their appearance unsparingly—the wispy beards and somewhat unkempt hair, the thin skin drawn tight over the knuckles—while also noting a certain grave elegance in their demeanor and their beautifully described heavy clothing.

Aside from the soft, wide-brimmed felt hat, the sitter here possesses no other attribute. Pignatti (1996) has called him a *contadino,* or peasant, which his white shirt collar and dignified clothing indicate is not strictly true. But, as Humfrey (in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99) has suggested, he may very well be an estate manager or other administrator on a farm. Although such portraits were certainly rare, a precedent exists in the Florentine artist Franciabigio's *Jacopo Cennini* (Hampton Court) of 1523, which portrays a Medici *fattore* surrounded by the paraphernalia of his trade and with the Medici coat-of-arms. Closer in spirit are two frescoes dated 1532 by the Brescian artist Girolamo Romanino that were part of the extensive decoration of the Castello del Buonconsiglio undertaken in Trent by Bishop Bernardo Cles. One probably represents Andrea Crivelli, who was the foreman of the castle, and the other the administrator Martino Malpaga, who is shown paying two workers (Nova 1994, figs. 140, 147). In each the painter has captured the unique individuality of the sitter; in the latter, the depictions of the workers are also portraits, one showing a man with the goiterous condition that so afflicted people living in these mountainous regions. All of these cases come well before Moroni's famous portrait of a tailor (National Gallery, London; see page 109 in this volume).

It remains to be seen why Lorenzo Lotto's client would want a life study of such a person. For Lotto the attraction was clearly to the personality of the man himself—thoughtful, serious, and mild—and to a similarity in social level that allowed a very direct, forthright approach. However, it should not be forgotten that there were those who disapproved of portraits of a nonelevated class of people, a sentiment sharply expressed by Pietro Aretino in a famous letter complaining of living in an age in which "even tailors and vintners are given life by painters" (Penny forthcoming).

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Moro 1994, p. 20, n. 15; Pignatti 1996, pp. 82, 85; Peter Humfrey in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99, no. 44

MORETTO DA BRESCIA
Brescia, ca. 1498–Brescia, 1554

31. Portrait of a Dominican, Presumed to Be Girolamo Savonarola
1524
Oil on canvas, 29⅛ × 26 in. (74 × 66 cm)
Signed and dated on *cartellino*: *Alex(andri) brixie(ns)is—illi affirmaverunt arte(m) esse r(ati)onale(m) vita(m) sicut deus—a(n)no inca(r)natio(n)is MDXXIII Ja(nuar)ii dec(imo)1524*
Inscribed on palm: *IVSTVS UT PALMA FLOREBIT* ("The righteous shall flourish like a palm tree." Ps. 92:12)
Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona

A hooded Dominican monk holding an inscribed martyr's palm gazes obliquely at the viewer. His face is severe, with a hooked nose, thin lips, and a high forehead. Although this work was painted well after the execution of the charismatic theologian Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), comparison with documented portraits[1] gives credence to this traditional identification. It is also possible that a local monk chose to be depicted in the guise of Savonarola, as in the portrait of Fra' Teodoro da Urbino as Saint Dominic by Giovanni Bellini or his workshop (National Gallery, London). Guerrini (1986) has suggested that the sitter resembles one of Moretto's patrons, Fra' Innocenzo Casari, who appears as a donor in the high altar of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia.[2]

Savonarola was revered throughout northern Italy at this period, and especially in Milan (Binaghi Olivari 1975, p. 59) and Brescia, and many were hopefully awaiting his canonization. His own connection with Brescia was profound, as he associated the city with the first expression of his prophetic views during sermons preached there in 1489: "I had them [prophetic visions] from my early youth, but they began to be manifested only in Brescia" ("le ebbi fin dalla mia prima giovinezza, ma cominciai a manifestarle solo a Brescia." Guazzoni 1981). The Brescians, in turn, showed themselves to be very open to his preaching, and his memory was kept alive in a circle dominated by the Dominicans and the noble Gambara family at Verola.

It has been difficult to reach a consensus about the date inscribed on the *cartellino,* which has been read either as January 1519 or 1524. Following the latest restoration of the painting, Marinelli (in Verona 1979) confidently put forward 1524 as the correct reading; Ballarin (in Paris 1993) continues to see it as 1519, principally because of his understanding of the artist's stylistic development. The date is somewhat critical, for Guazzoni (1981) has suggested that the image is a pictorial response to the apocalyptic prophecies that panicked Brescians at the beginning of 1524 and led to the massive religious processions described in a letter written by Antonio Sanudo to his brother Marin, the great diarist, in Venice. This appealing interpretation is nonetheless called into question by the fact that the inscription states that the date is given "anno incarnationis," that is, according to a calendar in which the New Year begins on March 25,[3] and implying that the true date—according to our calendar—would be January 1525.

The portrait is remarkable for the palpable presence of the sitter. This effect is achieved through artistic means that are characteristic of Lombard painting, including the neutral background, with light entering from a single source on high at the left and bisecting the back wall. Moretto's intense observation focuses on the brilliant details at the left, including the palm, with the scrolled inscription twisting around it; the hand, whose position has been so closely observed; and the slightly curved sheet of paper with the *cartellino*. That all three elements cast shadows against the book behind which the friar stands adds to the sense of volume and space.

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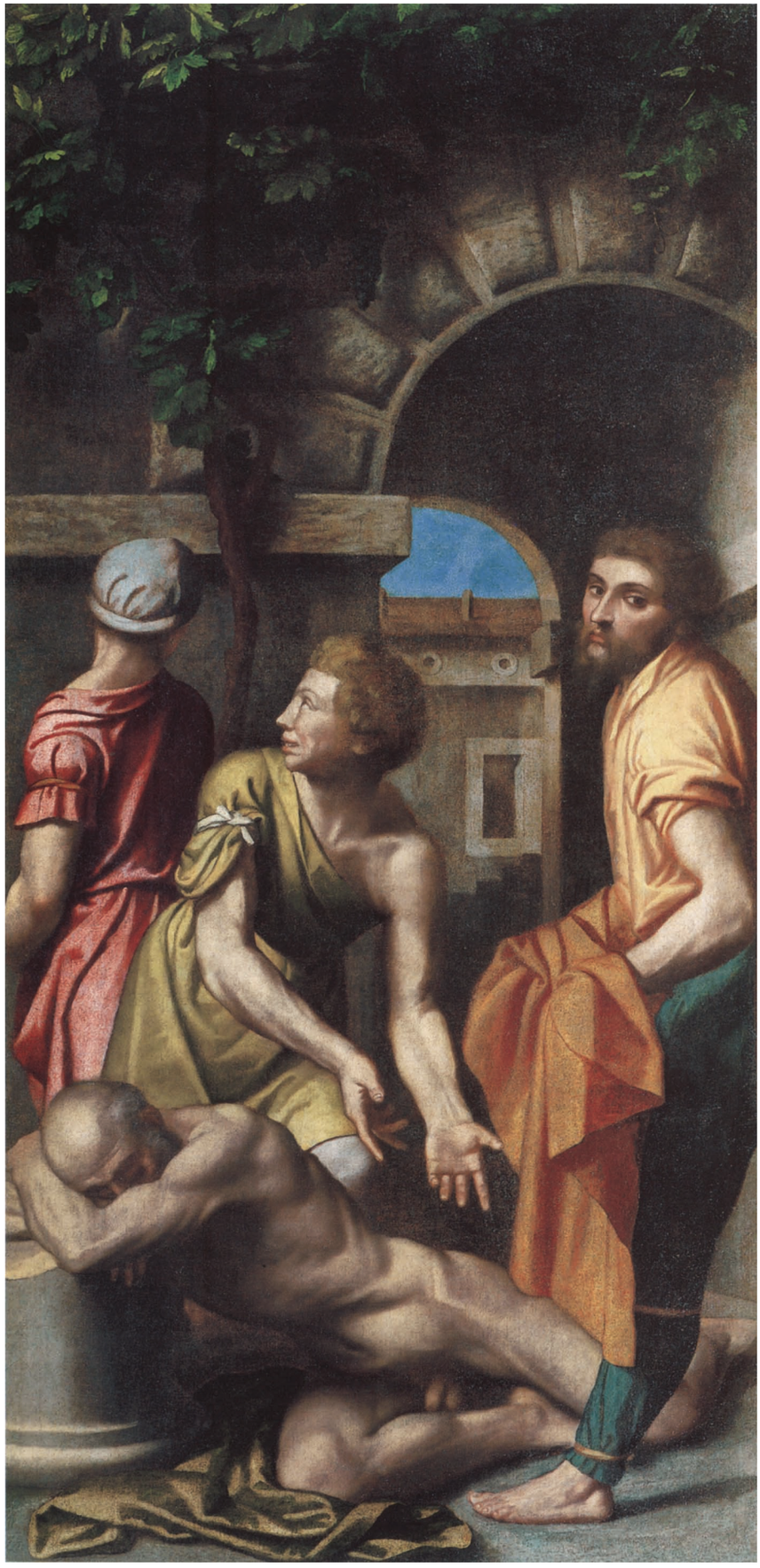
1. For instance, the cornelian intaglio of about 1500 by Giovanni delle Corniole, Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and the posthumous profile by Fra' Bartolomeo in the Museo di San Marco, Florence.
2. This identification needs to be treated with some caution, since Fra' Innocenzo was a Lateran canon and is shown as such in the altarpiece.
3. Used principally in Florence, this calendar was also current in Venice, where it was known as the "more Veneto" (Venetian use). However,

there has been a good deal of discussion about how widespread it was anywhere in northern Italy in the sixteenth century, and thus about what this inscription can have meant. See Alessandro Ballarin in Paris 1993, p. 475, and Begni Redona 1988, p. 184.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sergio Marinelli in Verona 1979, no. 6; Guazzoni 1981, pp. 19–20; Guerrini 1986, p. 14; Begni Redona 1988, no. 24; Pier Virgilio Begni Redona in Brescia 1988, no. 15; Alessandro Ballarin in Paris 1993, p. 475

MORETTO DA BRESCIA
Brescia, ca. 1498–Brescia, 1554

32. The Drunkenness of Noah
1530s
Oil on canvas, 64⅛ × 31⅛ in. (163 × 79 cm)
Private collection



This painting is one section of an unusual triptych depicting the Old Testament scenes of the Drunkenness of Noah (Gen. 9:20–23), Moses Sweetening the Waters of Marah (Exod. 15:23–25), and the Brazen Serpent (Num. 21:6–9). On the basis of a now lost document, it has been claimed that the triptych was first displayed in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia (Lechi in Brescia 1939), where Moretto had numerous important commissions, including the decoration of the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento, which he divided with Romanino. By the mid-eighteenth century (Carboni 1760, p. 155), the three canvases had been separated and sold to various private collections; Longhi (1917 [1961 ed.]) recognized that they once belonged together.

The triptych is undoubtedly intended to present the Old Testament scenes as typologies for salvation through Christ. Begni Redona (1988) has pointed out that Saint Augustine's *City of God* discusses the planting of Noah's vineyard, his drinking of wine, his drunkenness, and his nudity as prefigurations of elements of Christ's Passion. The same themes were explored by contemporary authors, such as Fra' Antonio da Crema, Lucrezia Borgia's confessor, whose *Libro de vita contemplativa* (published in Brescia in 1526, but circulating earlier) takes up the Augustinian typology between the drunken Noah and Christ's Passion (Guazzoni 1981).

These paintings demonstrate the remarkable coexistence of classical and naturalistic elements in Moretto's work.

The reclining Noah is inspired by classical sources (probably known through prints), and the son with his back to the viewer may have a point of departure in Raphael. At the same time, the upper half of the composition is dominated by a closely observed passage of ivy growing up a rusticated stone archway, and there is an astonishing view of Noah's genitals. Longhi (1929 [1968 ed.]) saw the work of the Dutch painter Cuyp in the representation of the ivy and said that the whole of the *Noah* seemed to foreshadow a *Saint Jerome* by Caravaggio. Moretto's indebtedness to the Milanese painter Bernardino Luini, rarely noted, is seen in a comparison with that artist's *Drunkenness of Noah* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan): both show Cam mocking his father with bared teeth, but even more significant are the shared rhythmic disposition of the figures and, in other sections of the triptych, the measured movement into depth of the landscape.

The paintings are undated, and attempts to determine their date have been confused by their association with Moretto's work in the chapel at San Giovanni (itself open to interpretation). Comparison with dated works suggest that they may have been painted in the 1530s.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), pp. 110–14; Fausto Lechi in Brescia 1939, no. 69; Guazzoni 1981, pp. 25–26; Francesco Frangi in Gregori et al. 1986, pp. 180–81; Begni Redona 1988, no. 21; Pier Virgilio Begni Redona in Brescia 1988, no. 11

MORETTO DA BRESCIA
Brescia, ca. 1498–Brescia, 1554

33. Portrait, Perhaps of Count Fortunato Martinengo Cesaresco
Ca. 1542
Oil on canvas, 44⅞ × 37⅛ in. (114 × 94.4 cm)
Inscription in Greek on cap badge, translated as "Alas! [I] yearn exceedingly"
National Gallery of Art, London NG 299

One of the great portraits of the Italian Renaissance, this painting probably depicts Count Fortunato Martinengo Cesaresco (1512–1552), a member of a branch of Brescia's most important noble clan (Boselli 1954; Boselli 1978). Count Fortunato was a leading literary figure in the city, founder of the Accademia dei Dubbiosi, and friend of Lodovico Dolce and Pietro Aretino, among others. In 1542 he married, and this could well be a painting done at the time of his betrothal. The inscription on his cap, which has been variously translated (Penny forthcoming) and could allude to his love, may help to account for his pensive gaze and stance, head cradled in one hand.

Lavish details combine to evoke an opulent interior and a wonderfully patterned painted surface. The young man wears a gown lined with lynx, a quilted jacket, and a velvet cap with ostrich plumes. Leaning on taffeta pillows, he sits before a marble wall hung with a great swath of damask. In addition to a pair of gloves the table at his side holds three ancient coins, some round cases designed to contain coins and miniatures, and a bronze oil lamp in the shape of a sandaled foot—accoutrements surely alluding to his interests as a collector and student of the antique. By gathering them around the sitter, Moretto is most closely following Lotto's example in such works as his great portrait of Andrea Odoni (Hampton Court) of 1527. As Humfrey has noted of Lotto (in Washington, Bergamo, Paris 1997–99, p. 161), such densely worked up pictures were a sort of challenge to Titian, being both "more richly detailed and [a more] allusive mode of portrayal" than those of the great Venetian.

At the same time, this painting is a searching reprise of Giorgionesque portraiture of the first years of the century, most notably of works such as the *Double Portrait* (Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome), in which a melancholy young man, his face partially hidden in shadow, leans his head on his hands. Ballarin (in Paris 1993, no. 23) has argued that Giorgione's portraits grew out of his rapport with the poet Pietro Bembo, his circle, and their writings, and express their aspirations and interests: their yearning for friendship and amorous love, their love of philosophy and humanism, and their worries about their spiritual welfare. It seems quite possible that in the next generation a cultured literary gentleman such as Count Fortunato would see his aspirations similarly and opt for a portrait imbued with some of the same qualities.

Until Boselli was able to more convincingly name the sitter by finding the painting in an inventory, there had been two other tentative identifications. The work enjoyed its greatest reputation as a portrait of the notorious and swashbuckling Count Sciarra Martinengo Cesaresco, whose deeds for the French court and bloody vendettas in Brescia were made much of by nineteenth-century writers.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Boselli 1954, pp. 34, 103; Gould 1975, pp. 156–58, no. 299; Boselli 1978; Begni Redona 1988, no. 89; Pier Virgilio Begni Redona in Brescia 1988, no. 72; Penny forthcoming

MORETTO DA BRESCIA
Brescia, ca. 1498–Brescia, 1554

34. Saint Roch with an Angel
Ca. 1545
Oil on canvas, 89⅜ × 59½ in. (227 × 151 cm)
Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest 1253

According to his earliest biographer, the Venetian Francesco Diedo, Saint Roch (ca. 1295–1327) was on a pilgrimage from his home in Montpellier to Rome when he miraculously cured those stricken by the plague in Aquapendente. After he himself became a victim of the disease, he was cured, perhaps under the care of an angel and a dog who brought him bread each day. As intercessory for the plague-stricken, Roch was widely venerated from the mid-fifteenth century in northern Italy, where some of his most notable cures had taken place. A biography of the saint was published in Brescia in 1494, not long after the translation to Venice of some of his relics.

In this sober, monumental late altarpiece by Moretto, the saint is shown dressed as a pilgrim seated on a stone step at the foot of a tree with the angel ministering to his wounds and the faithful dog just beyond his rocky seat. He seems almost asleep, exhausted from his sufferings. Curiously, he is set before a cityscape whose conspicuously classical architecture, partially ruinous and including an obelisk, may allude to some aspect of his journeys.

Like the *Drunkenness of Noah* (cat. no. 32), the *Saint Roch* is an example of Moretto's ability to bring together classical imagery—such as the architecture and especially the putto with his Roman-inspired drapery—and passages of intense scrutiny of the natural world. Chief among these is the figure of the pilgrim saint, whose position with head cradled in cupped hand and wrist and forearm tensed has surely been studied from life. Equally carefully rendered are his simple clothing and boots, and the twisted white scarf fluttering against the bark of the tree. Guazzoni (1981) has remarked on the affectionate intimacy of the scene.

The altarpiece originally hung in the first chapel to the right of the nave of the Brescian church of Sant'Alessandro, where early writers on art in the city commented upon it. It was influential for Moroni (who may have worked on it when in Moretto's studio), but had an even more remarkable afterlife in Ceruti's *Sleeping Pilgrim* (cat. no. 111). As Gregori (1982) recognized, Ceruti's picture is a sort of homage to Moretto's, painted almost two hundred years earlier. Ceruti places his figure, similarly posed but in reverse, in front of a piazza with a church identified by its facade as Sant'Alessandro. It is a commentary on Ceruti's concerns that he has transformed the pilgrim saint into a simple pilgrim who has arrived at the church in time to celebrate the Feast of Saint Roch (August 16), food stalls for which are being set up along the sides of the building.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Maccarinelli 1747 and 1751 (1959 ed.), pp. 153, 260; Guazzoni 1981, p. 52; Gregori 1982, pp. 12, 56–58; Begni Redona 1988, no. 113; Pier Virgilio Begni Redona in Brescia 1988, no. 83

GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
Albino, 1520/24–Albino, 1578

35. Gian Lodovico Madruzzo
Ca. 1551–52
Oil on canvas, 79½ × 46⅛ in. (201.9 × 117.2 cm)
The Art Institute of Chicago. Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Collection 1929.912
New York only

The commission to paint formal portraits of two members of the Madruzzo family, which had ruled as prince-bishops in Trent from 1539, was one of the most prestigious of Moroni's early career. Depicting the brothers Gian Lodovico (1532–1600) and Gian Federico (ca. 1530–1586) (National Gallery of Art, Washington), they were to hang with a portrait that Titian painted of the young men's uncle Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–1578) (Museu de Arte de São Paulo). Cardinal Cristoforo was not only the current ruler but also the convener of the great church council held in Trent from 1545 to 1563, which in its six sessions mapped out the doctrines of the Counter-Reformation. Gian Lodovico himself was to become a canon in Trent in 1548, cardinal in 1561, and prince-bishop of the city in 1567. Clearly, for Moroni these were extraordinarily advantageous commissions: his art would be seen side by side with Titian's, in a city whose relative obscurity today belies its absolute political and religious centrality in the mid-sixteenth century. (Indeed, little of Moroni's subsequent career could match these early commissions in prestige.) Trent, far to the north in today's Italy, was in the sixteenth century tied to both Italian and German culture and politics, as the Madruzzo prince-bishops' careful negotiation between the papacy and the Habsburg empire demonstrated.

It was on a second or third trip to Trent, probably in 1551 and 1552, that Moroni must have undertaken the Madruzzo portraits. Even by midcentury, full-length portraiture was by no means common in Italy. Moretto had painted the earliest extant example in 1526, which Moroni may have known, but the most important precedents would certainly have been portraits of the imperial court, especially those by the Austrian Jakob Seisenegger (1505–1567). As here, these often portrayed the sitter full-length and standing on a tiled floor against the backdrop of a neutral wall covered with a curtain. Titian, of course, also played an essential role in the development of both the full-length and the imperial portrait; indeed Vasari mentions his portrait of Cardinal Madruzzo in the context of the artist's innovations in the field.

Moroni's compelling portrait is of a man about twenty years old, dressed in ecclesiastical robes and with his hound at his side. It is the close observation of this dog, along with the subtle modeling of the head and the intelligent face, that gives the figure the intense sense of reality captured that was to make Moroni's reputation precisely in these years. The palette and especially the architecture with its clean lines and gray tonality reflect lessons learned by Moroni during his formative years in Brescia with Moretto. The somewhat flat and stilted appearance of the tiled floor derives from the painting's Northern prototypes. Indeed, it is Moroni's extraordinary achievement to bring his acute observation and more painterly approach to the rather rigid and formal portraiture of his German predecessors.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Chiusole 1782 (1939 ed.), p. 21; C. Perini 1859, p. 131; Fogolari 1910; Gregori 1979, pp. 98–99, 295, 311, no. 92; Ezio Chini in Trent, Riva del Garda 1993, no. 2, and pp. 163–64, under no. 3; Lloyd 1993, pp. 165–71; Peter Humfrey in Fort Worth 2000, no. 2

GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
Albino, 1520/24–Albino, 1578

36. Abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova
Oil on canvas, 36 × 27 in. (91.4 × 68.6 cm)
Inscribed on cartouche: *LVCRETIA NOBILISS[IMI]. ALEXIS ALARDI/ BERGOMENSIS FILIA HONORATISS[IMI]./ FRANCISCI CATANEI VERTVATIS/ VXOR DIVAE ANNAE ALBINESE/ TEMPLVM IPSA STATVENDV CVRAVIT./ M.D.LVII.*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915
30.95.255

Moroni's portrait of Abbess Lucrezia Vertova is a brilliant example of a portrait done "from nature," as in Titian's famous characterization (see page 3 in this volume). The abbess, descended from one of the most important families in Bergamo, was widowed young (her veil is of a type often worn by widows) and went on to found the Carmelite convent of Sant'Anna in Albino in 1525. She was probably painted in 1556, the year she made her will (and the year when Moroni's cousin was *síndaco,* or auditor, of the convent); the inscription records her likely death date of 1557. The convent housed her portrait for more than two centuries, until shortly after its suppression in 1797.

Moroni has been unsparing in his depiction of the abbess: she is unadorned and wrinkled and has a small goiter. At the same time this is a painting of marvelous elegance, with its painterly medley of grays and its sympathetic portrayal of the elderly woman's inward gaze. Above all there is the sense that the light, coming in and bisecting the back wall (a motif that was to become Caravaggio's trademark), animates her face, "warts and all." It is no surprise that Longhi would have wanted to include this portrait in the 1953 exhibition "Pittori della realtà," where he was at pains to point out how unusual it was at a time when portraits were usually of a "rhetorical and changeable stamp" ("stampo retorico e alterante." Milan 1953, p. 21).

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Tassi 1793, vol. 1, p. 165; Burroughs 1931, p. 14; Milan 1953, no. 8 and p. 79; Gregori 1979, pp. 101, 106, no. 162; Bergamo 1979, pp. 28, 30, 34, 51, 67, 293, 301–3, 342, no. 20; Bayer 2003, pp. 34–35

GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
Albino, 1520/24–Albino, 1578

37. The Baptism of Christ with a Donor
1550s
Oil on canvas, 41 × 44⅜ in. (104 × 112.8 cm)
Private collection, Milan

One of Moroni's most significant innovations was in the painting of devotional works in which the donor plays a dominant, integral role. Although his teacher, Moretto da Brescia, may have previously explored this approach, Moroni certainly was the first to realize its full potential. This impressive painting—whose title could easily be reversed to *A Worshiper with the Baptism of Christ*—is the greatest example of Moroni's accomplishment in this field. The young, soberly dressed donor is seen in the foreground in profile, half-length but imposing in scale. His form is set off by some ruinous stone architecture, behind which unfolds a mountainous landscape in which the Baptism is set. In addition to seeming very near at hand, the donor also appears capable of walking around the architecture and along the rising ground to the river, where the sacred drama is taking place.

Certain contradictory elements coexist in this painting. The donor is painted in Moroni's characteristic style of the 1550s: he is strongly individualized, with details such as the hair and beard and the modeling of the face painted in a subtle fashion. By contrast, the sacred scene is painted less naturalistically, with a palette for the landscape that is quite

traditional (and Flemish) and with statuesque, idealized figures that could have leapt unchanged into the central panel of an altarpiece. As decorum required, there is a stylistic shift from the portrait to the devotional scene. The donor's gaze further separates the two worlds, for he looks not at the Baptism but within himself, experiencing a vision of the scene, which is just out of reach.

All authors discussing this painting have asserted that it represents an intense and particularized devotional sensibility, but there has been some debate over which of the opposing religious movements of the mid-sixteenth century it reflects. Most viewers, and especially Gregori (1979), have seen it as a Counter-Reformation painting, possibly inspired by Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercicios,* translated in Bergamo in 1551, in which the author exhorts the reader to visualize the places where sacred events occurred. However, Calí (1981) has questioned the adherence to Counter-Reformation thought in Bergamo at this early date and posited instead that the painting expresses the more Northern, individual meditative sensibility that sprang from earlier Christian reform groups, such as the *devotio moderna,* and could have been tinged with Protestant sympathies. While the issue has not yet been resolved, all agree that this distinctive devotional imagery emerged in this area of northern Italy, where there was a constant to and fro with Northern European states.

The *Baptism* can be traced back to the Tomini family of Bergamo in the late eighteenth century, when Tassi described it as a work worthy of much consideration, and was on public view in Bergamo as early as 1799. In 1953 it was included in the exhibition "Pittori della realtà," where the composition was called "surprising and extremely modern" ("sorprendente e modernissimo." Milan 1953, no. 18).

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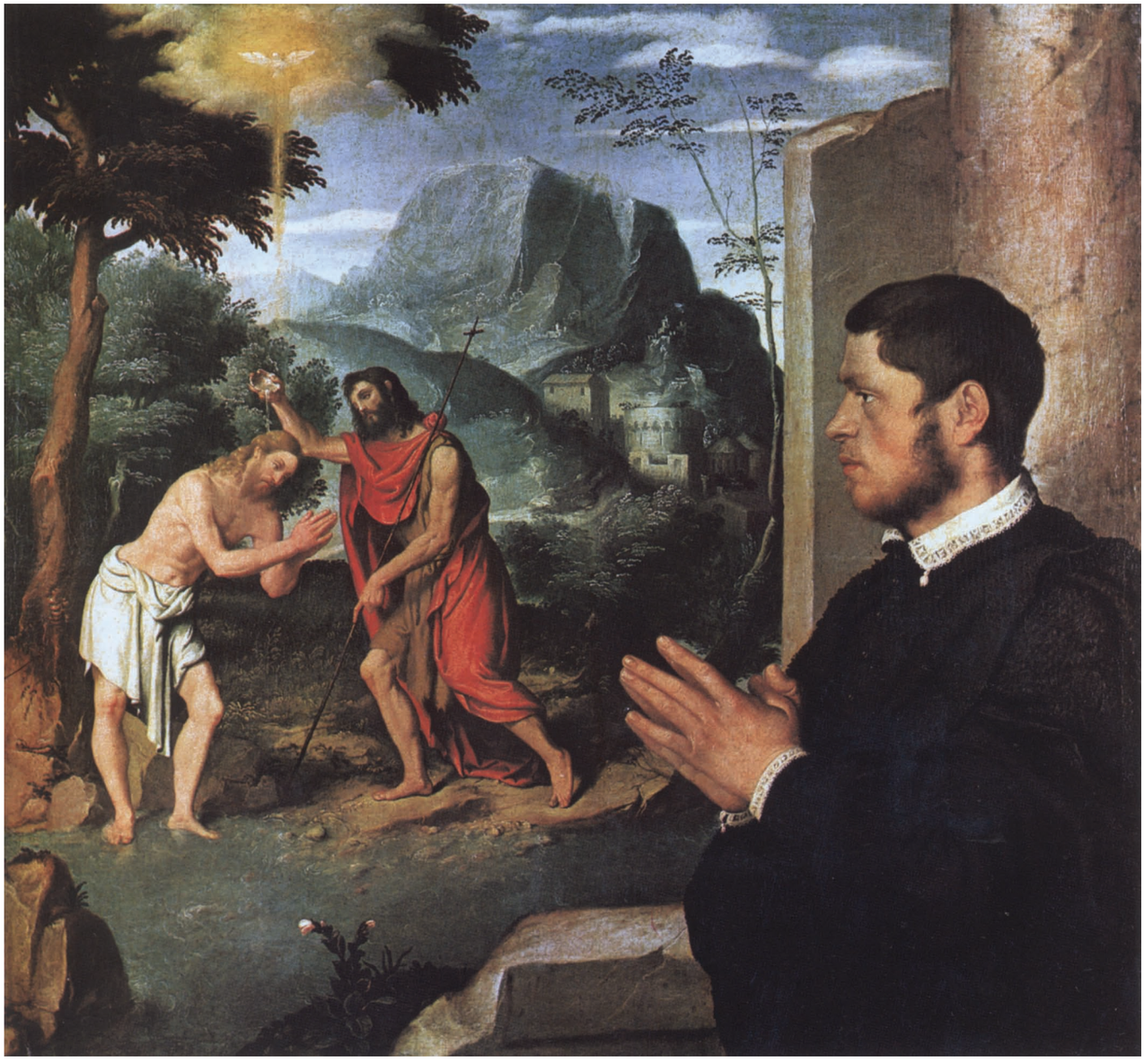
SELECTED REFERENCES: Tassi 1793, vol. 1, p. 169; Milan 1953, no. 18; Gregori 1979, no. 147; Bergamo 1979, pp. 54–55, no. 11; Calí 1981



GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI
Albino, 1520/24–Albino, 1578

38. Portrait of a Man, Perhaps Gian Gerolamo Albani
Probably 1568–70
Oil on canvas, 42⅛ × 29½ in. (107 × 75 cm)
Private collection, Italy

This magnificent portrait has been the object of a certain amount of controversy, with questions raised concerning its attribution and date, as well as the identity of the sitter. It shows an elderly, bearded gentleman whose forehead is marked with a pronounced tumor. He wears a luxurious coat lined with lynx and a gold cross and chain with the Lion of Saint Mark (a Venetian honor).

In 1722 the painting was first cited as belonging to the Albani family of Bergamo and in 1793 was described fully by the local biographer Tassi. The sitter was identified in 1979 as Gian Gerolamo Albani (1509–1591), the most famous late-sixteenth-century member of the family. An expert in canon and civil law, Gian Gerolamo was knighted by Doge Andrea Gritti in 1529 and was married to a woman whose family was from Venice. Albani continued to be prominent in Venetian affairs, receiving in 1555 the highest post awarded by the Republic to a citizen of Bergamo. This high position would explain both his dress and the Lion of Saint Mark that he wears. The 1560s were horribly disrupted by a family vendetta, brought to a close only in 1568. It has been suggested that the portrait was made about that date, when Albani returned from exile. In 1570 he was made a cardinal, and Moroni would have painted him in ecclesiastical robes after that. The appearance of the man in the portrait has been compared with a sculpted bust of about 1591 on Albani's tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, as well as with a somewhat amateurish etching of him as a cardinal.

Previtali (1981) called this entire identification into question, pointing out that neither of the documented portraits includes the prominent tumor on the forehead (and indeed, the resemblance to the sculpted portrait in general is not altogether convincing). He suggested instead that the sitter is one who had already appeared in a portrait by Moroni called the *Portrait of a Magistrate* of about 1560 (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia), now depicted as an elderly man. Following this line of reasoning, the present work would probably not even be by Moroni (who died in 1578) but by a painter of the next generation; Previtali suggested the artist might be the Bergamasque Giovan Paolo Cavagna (ca. 1550–1627). However, his analysis falters on several counts, principally because aside from the tumor, the two gentlemen are not particularly similar, and the painting does not resemble any other by Cavagna. Nonetheless, Previtali may have been right to question the attractive identification to Gian Gerolamo Albani.

Tassi's early description of the painting in the Albani collection is embedded in a passage devoted to Titian's famously reported references to Moroni (see pages 3 and 109 in this volume). Tassi goes on to relate that the Albani gentleman represented here had been in Venice and had asked Titian to paint his portrait. But when Titian learned that the gentleman was from Bergamo, he assured him that a work by Moroni would be even more singular. Moroni was told of this exchange before sitting down to paint, which, according to Tassi, helped to account for the care with which the artist approached this canvas. It is just possible that Tassi meant Titian's role in its inception to help account for Moroni's adoption of a painterly, atmospheric style. In any case, Tassi mentioned a number of Moroni's paintings in Venice, and he clearly believed them to be appreciated and collected in the city so dominated by Titian's example.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Tassi 1793, vol. 1, p. 166; Bergamo 1979, p. 51, no. 48; Gregori 1979, no. 183; Previtali 1981; Gregori 2000b, pp. 19–20

CALLISTO PIAZZA
Lodi, ca. 1500–Lodi, 1561/62

39. The Concert
Ca. 1528–30
Oil on panel, 35⅝ × 35⅝ in. (90.5 × 90.5 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection
New York only

Callisto Piazza, an enormously talented painter born in Lodi, to the southeast of Milan, spent his formative years, from about 1523 to 1529, in Brescia, where he was deeply influenced by both Romanino and Moretto. This *Concert,* one of his greatest secular works, is a prime early example of a genre extremely popular in northern Italy. It shows a group of six men and women singing (two have their lips parted) and playing instruments that include two recorders, a *lira da braccio,* and a lute. Before them are two open part books, whose musical notations are largely legible.

Such scenes were important precedents for Caravaggio (cat. no. 65), who must have appreciated their combination of naturalism and allegory (their theme was often harmony; see Christiansen 1990, esp. p. 23). Callisto has brilliantly rendered the clothing of the music makers: the women's bodices and gold and coral jewelry; the men's slashed jackets and embroidered shirt collars; and above all the elaborate headdresses, known from many other artworks including portraits of Isabella d'Este, and the fashionable *sfondagiaco,* or ear dagger, that the seated man has at his side (see Boccia and Coelho 1975, no. 290/1). The light falls on the two principal figures, setting them apart from the semicircle behind; the man, his dagger in an unusual position, has been facing the beautiful lutenist, but now turns and looks over his shoulder at the viewer.

The modernity of the group is called into question by the appearance of the jowly singer, whose leafy crown announces his connection to Bacchus. He indeed is strongly reminiscent of a figure of Drunkenness by Dosso Dossi, one of a famous group of allegorical scenes painted about 1521 for the ceiling of a ducal apartment in the Castello in Ferrara. This bacchic figure, also wearing a crown of leaves, holds a glass to signify his connection with the god of wine. Several scholars (for example, Passamani 1989, p. 163) have speculated that Callisto may have visited Ferrara in the 1520s, and his version of this drunken character seems further confirmation of such a trip. It is possible that Callisto's figures are performers, one dressed in an antique-inspired costume, and this courtly mix of the real, the theatrical, and the allegorical (music, love, and perhaps wine all being alluded to here) may also have been inspired by Dosso's example.

The painting has been convincingly dated either to the very end of Callisto's sojourn in Brescia or soon after his return to Lodi in 1530. It can be most closely compared with the *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist* (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona) and with the wonderfully observed figures listening to John in the *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist,* painted in the Cappella di San Giovanni Battista in the church of the Incoronata, Lodi, between 1530 and 1532.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Ferrari 1965, p. 31; Franco Moro in Gregori 1987a, p. 111; Sciolla 1989, pp. 203–7

CALLISTO PIAZZA
Lodi, ca. 1500–Lodi, 1561/62
with SCIPIONE *and* CESARE PIAZZA

40. The Adoration of the Christ Child with Saints Joseph, Peter, Paul, Roch, and Sebastian
1538
Oil on canvas, 87⅜ × 63 in. (222 × 160 cm)
Signed and dated on stone at lower left:
Calistus Laudensis faciebat 1538
Santissima Trinità, Crema
Cremona only

In 1514, following a serious outbreak of the plague in the city of Crema, the Santa Trinità church founded the Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento, a confraternity devoted to Saints Roch and Sebastian, the patron saints of those afflicted by pestilence. In 1537 the Scuola also became associated with the cult of the Madonna del Torrione (Madonna of the Tower), named after a venerated image believed to have brought about miracles during that year. It was at this time that a representative of the Scuola, Giovanni Tommaso Verdelli, commissioned the brothers Callisto and Scipione Piazza to paint the altarpiece for Santa Trinità. The contract states that the canvas initially had a carved wood frame and was topped by a lunette of angels adoring the Blessed Sacrament. The painting was delivered in 1538, but unfortunately the original frame has been lost, as has the lunette, whose theme must have echoed that of Callisto's *Deposition,* made in 1527 for the parish church in Esine, in the Val Camonica.

The present work belongs to the middle period of Callisto's career, when he had been working for more than a decade in Lodi with his brothers Cesare and Scipione (the latter probably deserves the credit for the flying angels here), immediately after finishing the works for the Cappella del Crocifisso in the church of Santa Maria Incoronata (see cat. no. 41). During this period Callisto's style was characterized by a marked interest in the artists of the Po Valley. Together with its veiled allusions to the Emilian school of painting—most clearly in the hints of Correggio in the rendering of the Virgin—the altarpiece also reveals a renewed interest in Brescian art. Examples range from a return to the compositional models of Romanino (the Salò altarpiece, the *Sacra conversazione* at San Giovanni Evangelista, the *Prophets* in the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento) to close attention to the work of his contemporary Moretto, which once again featured architectural ruins and bright colors, as in the Bonvicino altar at Sant'Andrea, Bergamo (1536–37). Particularly notable here, because it reflects the growth of naturalism in Callisto's work, is the glowing light sliding over the naked body of Saint Sebastian—a subtle, unconscious foreshadowing of Caravaggio.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Ferrari 1965, p. 38; Sciolla 1971, p. 26; Mario Marubbi in Lodi 1989, no. 43; Alpini 1992, pp. 37–42

CALLISTO PIAZZA
Lodi, ca. 1500–Lodi, 1561/62

41. The Nailing of Christ to the Cross
1538
Oil on panel transferred to canvas, 57½ × 39⅜ in. (146 × 100 cm)
Santa Maria Incoronata, Lodi
Cremona only

This canvas (originally a panel), painted for the Cappella del Crocifisso in the church of Santa Maria Incoronata, Lodi, is one of four scenes depicted on the side walls; the others show the Capture of Christ, the Flagellation, and his Falling beneath the Cross. The altarpiece is a Deposition, which was redone by Callisto's son Fulvio in 1561, although it still bears Callisto's signature. Work on the chapel began in 1534 and ended four years later, when the board of trustees ordered the preparation of protective covers for these paintings and for those in another chapel completed by the Piazzas, the Cappella di San Giovanni (Mario Marubbi in Lodi 1989, pp. 358–59, doc. 11. 48).

Attesting to a Manneristic strain in Callisto's work, this painting displays hints of Pordenone (who had worked in Cremona) in the angle at which Christ is depicted, but also of Giulio Campi's frescoes in Santa Maria delle Grazie, Sancio (probably 1530), in the figure with his back to the viewer. Nevertheless the chromatic range, characterized by shrill, bright colors, is still strongly anchored to the painter's Brescian period. The pietistic focus on the scenes from the Passion is a common feature of Lombard painting, particularly in Brescia, even before the opening of the Council of Trent, as seen in contemporary works by Moretto. Of all the scenes in the chapel, this one most clearly shows Callisto's attention to objective visual truth, especially in the vivid rendering of the instruments of torture in the foreground. The hand drill, a nail, the tongs, and the basket holding the rope and hammers are evoked with a cold realism, broken only by the outburst of illusionism in the shadow cast by the drill. These features led Longhi (1929) to identify the painting as the direct antecedent of Vincenzo Campi's *Christ Being Nailed to the Cross* (1577; Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), a necessary step on the way to the "painting of reality" that culminated in Caravaggio.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1929, p. 309; Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 129; Ferrari 1965, pp. 35–36; Sciolla 1966, pp. 49–51; Sandrina Bandera Bistoletti in Lodi 1989, no. 42; Mulazzani 1995, p. 179

GIROLAMO ROMANINO
Brescia, 1484/87–Brescia, ca. 1560

42. Christ Carrying the Cross
Ca. 1542
Oil on canvas, 31⅞ × 28⅜ in. (81 × 72 cm)
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

Like many artists working in Lombardy in the sixteenth century (see cat. nos. 24, 29), Romanino was inspired by the subject of Christ carrying the cross while tormented by his executioners. In this powerful example, painted with a brilliant palette, he has cropped the composition close to the two figures. Christ gazes past the viewer mournfully, an intricate crown of thorns leaving streaks of blood on his forehead as the soldier tugs at the knotted rope around his neck.

Although its dating has ranged widely, this devotional image is most likely to have been painted in the early 1540s (Ballarin in Paris 1993; Nova 1994). In those years, Romanino seems to have been deeply interested in German art, and especially in its expressivity. This influence appears here in the way the soldier assaults Christ, in his angry bared teeth, and in the close focus of the scene (the soldier's mustache and ostrich plume cap may also have brought to mind the German mercenaries known as *Landsknechts*). Yet, as has been noted (Ferrari 1961; Panazza in Cremona 1985), the brutality is muted, and the viewer is principally impressed by Christ's gravity and by the brilliant painterly effect of the whole, most notable in the vibrant red and pink sleeve of his garment. This extraordinary passage also shows Romanino's fascination with effects achieved in paintings by his contemporary Savoldo, which are echoed again and again in a group of paintings dating to about 1540.

The painting was first described in 1853 as in the Averoldi collection, one of the most notable family collections in Brescia (Odorici 1853, p. 179). Although this work may have always been meant for a private setting, a comparable painting of the same subject (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia) was described in the seventeenth century as in the chancery of the Ospedale Maggiore, Brescia, pointing to the varied public spaces in which such paintings could appear.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Odorici 1853, p. 127; Ferrari 1961, pl. 75; Brescia 1965, no. 51; Gaetano Panazza in London 1983–84, no. 83; Gaetano Panazza in Cremona 1985, no. 1.8.1; Alessandro Ballarin in Paris 1993, p. 448; Nova 1994, no. 88

GIROLAMO ROMANINO
Brescia, 1484/87–Brescia, ca. 1560

43. Ecce Homo
Ca. 1550
Oil on canvas, 31⅛ × 26¾ in. (79 × 67.8 cm)
Inscribed on arch in a later hand: *IERONIMI ROMANI P*
Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover KM 72
New York only

In the last decade and a half of his life, Romanino painted a handful of modestly scaled but intensely felt devotional works. These include several Crucifixions, such as the nocturnal *Crucifixion with the Magdalen* (Musei Civici, Brescia) and, most notably, this *Ecce Homo*. Christ stands with eyes downcast and chest bare, holding the reed given to him, as he is pointed out to the crowd by a figure who himself seems disconsolate (John 19:5). The expressionism that had been so pronounced in the 1530s and early 1540s is lessened in this grave scene and replaced by a subtler, perhaps more personal, emotion. Although still inspired by rougher Northern imagery, Romanino gently attends to the most salient details, such as the twisting crown of thorns and Christ's delicately defined nose and mouth.

The artist's technique in these years was remarkably free and spontaneous. The canvas is painted very thinly in parts, with the darker ground now showing through the paint layers. The reed was executed in a few thin brushstrokes, so that it has become almost transparent over time, and a liquid brown line defines the edges of garments and folds. Subtle effects of light cause Christ to stand out in his nobility from the figures behind. Although technical examination shows that the canvas has been cut slightly at both sides and at the bottom, the effect of crowding must have been palpable from the beginning.

This painting is probably identifiable with an "Ecce Homo con due figure" (Ecce Homo with two figures) noted by Carboni in 1760 in the Barbisoni collection in Brescia.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Carboni 1760, p. 167; Ferrari 1961, pl. 100; Francesco Frangi in Gregori et al. 1986, p. 197; Nova 1994, no. 114

GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

44. The Crucifixion
Ca. 1515
Oil on panel, 37 × 28¼ in. (94 × 71.8 cm)
Maison d'Art, Monte Carlo

This striking *Crucifixion*, correctly attributed to Savoldo only in 1999, is a prime example of the artist's profound interest, especially early in his career, in Netherlandish and German art—an interest shared by many of his contemporaries, including Girolamo Romanino. Paolo Pino's *Dialogo di pittura* (1548) compares Savoldo's landscapes to those by Flemish artists. Works such as this, which show that he was engaged in a dialogue with the Northern paintings he would have known in Venice, are therefore a point of entry for a discussion of naturalism and Flemish art in northern Italy.

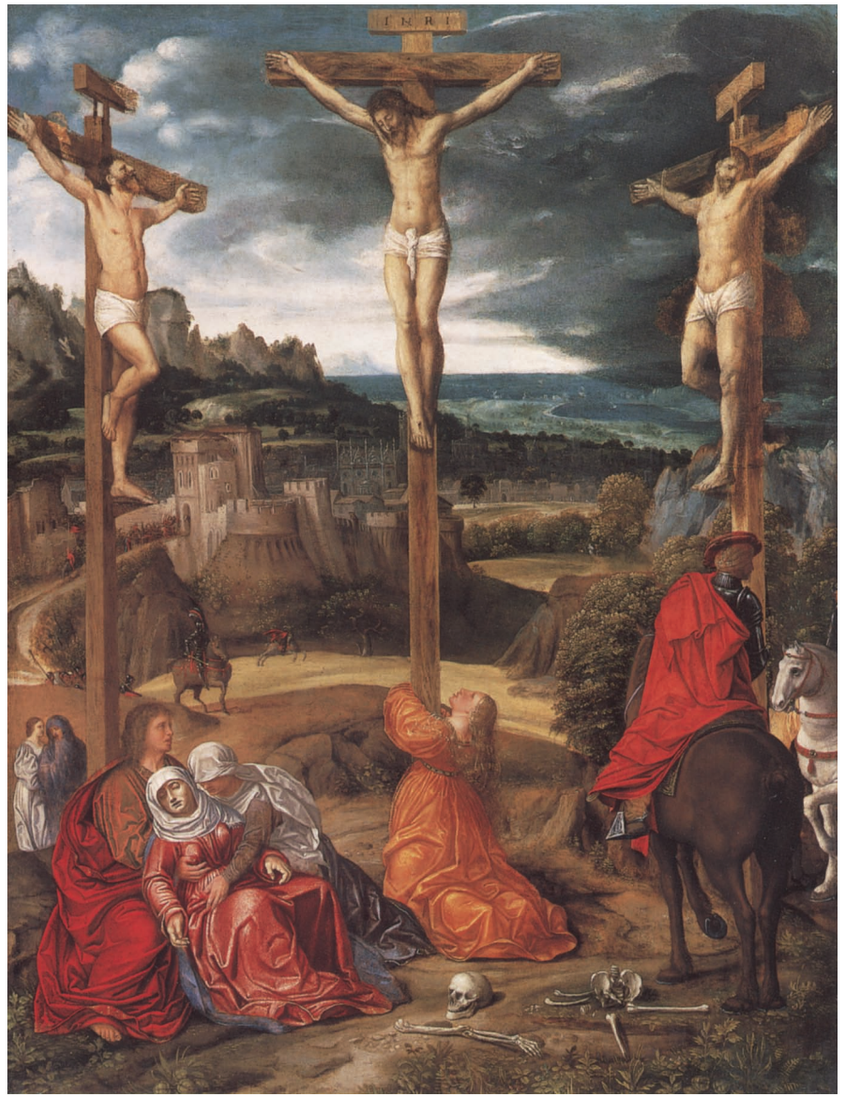
Compositions of the Crucifixion with the crosses set in the middle foreground against a vast panorama seen in a bird's-eye view ultimately derived from Netherlandish examples known in Italy, such as a painting by a collaborator of Jan van Eyck dated to after 1430 and probably executed for a Paduan collector (Galleria G. Franchetti alla Ca d'Oro, Venice). The atmospheric perspective of Savoldo's painting, where depth is indicated by transitions through browns, greens, and blues, is also indebted to Netherlandish example, notably to Joachim Patinir. Many other details derive from German prints, among them the swooning Virgin from Dürer's *Calvary with the Three Crosses* (Meder 180) and the horseman seen from the rear from a 1502 woodcut Crucifixion by Lucas Cranach.

The prominent inclusion of precise still-life details, including the skull and bones on the ground and the observant portrayal of grasses and plants, is also indebted to Northern prints and paintings. The central Italian attitude to such naturalist detail could be quite negative, as when Michelangelo complained of the Netherlandish accumulation of detail, concluding that the results were "without reasonableness or art." But North Italian artists such as Savoldo were drawn to it, with the result that his landscapes were called "even more real" than those by the Flemings ("più vera imagine del proprio." Pino 1548 [1946 ed.], p. 146). Savoldo also appreciated the expressivity of German art, as reflected here in the stormy sky and the figure tightly grasping the cross.

Since its reattribution to Savoldo, this painting has been considered one of his earliest extant works, dated between 1511 and 1515. Savoldo was in Parma in 1506 and Florence in 1508, but no paintings can be assigned to those years. Nor are there any documented works of the 1510s, but two other paintings that strongly reflect Northern European sources are generally dated to these years as well.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Aikema and B. L. Brown 1999, pp. 20–22; B. L. Brown 1999; Gregori 1999; Maurizio Marini in Milan 2000–2001, no. V.25



GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

45. Tobias and the Angel
Mid-1520s
Oil on canvas, 37¾ × 48⅞ in. (96 × 124 cm)
Galleria Borghese, Rome 547
New York only

Tobit, one of the Apochryphal books of the Old Testament, tells the story of how a pious Jewish man in Ninevah, blind and poor in his old age, sends his son Tobias to collect a debt for him in another city. During the voyage, the young man's companion, the Archangel Raphael, directs him to remove three organs from a fish, one of which will later cure his father's blindness. Here, before a dark wood and under a blackening sky, Tobias kneels on the banks of the river Tigris as Raphael gestures toward the fish. The almost magical mood and the vivid, monumental figures make this one of Savoldo's finest works. Its lyrical quality and flickering, dusky light mark it as an important precedent for early works by Caravaggio, such as the *Saint Francis of Assisi in Ecstasy* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford).

The history of the painting before 1910 is unknown (see Papetti 1991). Gilbert (1945, 1952, 1955/86) has argued that, like *Saint Matthew* (cat. no. 46), *Tobias* also hung in the Zecca, or Mint, of Milan, as one of four Savoldo paintings described by Vasari (1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 6, p. 507). He pointed out their similar sizes and dates of execution, their almost contemporaneous appearance on the art market, and the relevance of the iconography of the Book of Tobit to the function of the Mint. These conclusions have been questioned on various counts—namely, that the figures are quite different in scale, the pictures are from two distinct moments in Savoldo's career, and *Tobias* does not really fit Vasari's description of the paintings as night scenes (Vasari 1568 [1906 ed.], vol. 6, p. 507; see also Keith Christiansen in New York, Naples 1985 and Frangi 1992). On the other hand, as discussed under catalogue number 46, the decoration of the Mint was an ongoing process; in addition, the works commissioned ranged widely in subject and size and did not conform to any specific program or iconography. Thus, *Saint Matthew* and *Tobias* do not necessarily have to be seen true pendants, or even as works painted at the same time. Yet, it remains questionable that Savoldo would first paint *Tobias* for the Mint and then come back to work for the duke in 1534, as is documented.

That this work was most likely executed in the mid-1520s rather than the mid-1530s is shown by comparison with an altarpiece dated 1533, the *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Santa Maria in Organo, Verona), in which the broad planes of the saints' heavily shadowed draperies are extremely unlike the flickering, animated light found here. *Tobias* is more similar to Savoldo's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin), thought to be from the 1520s: in both paintings, the light seems to bounce off the fabrics—Venturi (1928) aptly described this effect as an "arabesque of light"—and there are dark rocks and trees, leaves catching the setting sun, and an opening at the side to a distant view.

As in many works by Savoldo, the figures here seem to be based on study of studio models. Both are posed, firmly planted on the ground, with particular attention paid to hands, feet, and limbs. The drapery over the angel's lap and legs has been carefully observed, and the dog curled up at the right is a particularly naturalistic touch, as is the accurate description of the angel's great wings. This reminds us that Caravaggio shared a set of wings with other artists in Rome, who used them as models for their own representations of angels (Rome, New York, Saint Louis 2001–2, p. XIV). The fall of light, studied with equally painstaking observation, not only defines form but also serves expressive and dramatic purposes: Raphael's strongly illuminated right hand, for example, emphasizes his role as the guardian of the youth. The woody, rocky landscape setting is particularly important to the artist's conception of the whole, and here, too, each of its constituent elements seems directly observed from nature.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Pier Virgilio Begni Redona in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. I.24; Frangi 1992, no. 10; Francesco Frangi in Paris 1993, no. 72

GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

46. Saint Matthew and the Angel
Probably 1534
Oil on canvas, 36¾ × 49 in. (93.4 × 124.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Marquand Fund, 1912 12.14

Vasari described four paintings by Savoldo that he saw in the Mint of Milan, "nocturnes, with fires, very beautiful."[1] One was almost certainly this painting, among the artist's best-known and most characteristic works. Its subject, the evangelist who had originally been a tax collector, was appropriate for a Mint, and documents show that Savoldo was working for the ruler of Milan, Duke Francesco Maria Sforza, in 1534, the date usually given to this painting on stylistic grounds.

Saint Matthew is shown writing his gospel in a dark room lit by a single lamp; the angel who assists him hovers behind. The diminutive scenes in the background have been identified as episodes in Matthew's life, as known through the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*. That on the right most probably represents the saint—now elderly and seated before a fire—receiving hospitality in the house of the eunuch of the queen of Ethiopia, where he had preached and exposed the chicanery of two magicians. The scene on the left, in which four small figures, one lower to the ground, are silhouetted against a towering edifice seen in moonlight, is more difficult to identify. One interpretation regards the figures as the citizens of Ethiopia, whom Matthew is healing of the malign sorcery of the two magicians; the other sees the tower as the symbolic center of the vignette, metaphorically representing the virtuous edifice the apostles could build through their knowledge of many tongues, contrasting it with the Tower of Babel. Another moment during Matthew's long sojourn in North Africa might also be represented. After the magicians were unable to bring the dead son of the king of Ethiopia to life (perhaps he is the figure on the ground), Matthew miraculously did so, and in response the king and his people built a great church.

Longhi, who more or less introduced Brescia's painters to modern audiences, believed *Saint Matthew* to be *the* paradigmatic pre-Caravaggesque painting. To his eye, every aspect of the work confirmed his belief: figure type, illumination, mood. Savoldo depicts the youthful, bearded Matthew in a simple shift, his muscled neck visible and his rough hands grasping an unadorned inkwell and quill. The exploration of a nocturnal setting and the manipulation of multiple sources of light may be the painting's most distinctive quality. The evangelist's desk and hands are illuminated by a lamp at the edge of the table, close to the picture plane. Light also enters from the upper left, falling over the broad bands of Matthew's clothing and leaving deep pockets of shadow, while the background is lit by moonlight and the fire in the hearth. Savoldo was well known to his contemporaries as a painter of nocturnes: Vasari saw a *Nativity* in a Venetian collection that had "a very lovely effect of light," and in the next century Carlo Ridolfi (1648) mentioned "a nocturne *capriccio* of half figures, in which we observe some reflected lights produced by a light."[2] This last observation is of great interest, because it suggests an understanding of Savoldo's indebtedness to Leonardo, whose paintings he would have known in Milan and whose writings on optics and reflected light may have been familiar to him.

Recent X-rays of the painting have revealed the fully worked up figure of a

Fig. 57
X-radiograph of catalogue number 46, showing at the right the image of a praying woman, later painted out

woman at the right of the canvas (fig. 57). Her scale is identical to that of the other figures, although it is difficult to understand her exact location in space. There are two possible explanations for the presence of this figure, which was ultimately painted out by the artist. It may have belonged to a separate composition, one that was abandoned and its canvas subsequently reused. Or it may represent a first idea for this composition, later rethought, in which case the woman is most likely to have been a donor, possibly a member of Francesco Maria Sforza's family.

AB

1. "di notte e di fuochi, molto belli." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, p. 507.
2. "finta di notte, molto bella." Ibid.; "un capriccio di mezze figure finte di notte, nelle quali osservansi alcuni lumi cagionati da un lume." Ridolfi 1648, p. 255.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Burroughs 1912; Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), pp. 98, 119, 126; Gilbert 1945; Gilbert 1952; Keith Christiansen in New York, Naples 1985, p. 84; Pier Virgilio Begni Redona in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. I.25; Frangi 1992, no. 23; Bayer 2003, pp. 32–34

GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

47. Shepherd with a Flute
Ca. 1540 (?)
Oil on canvas, 38¼ × 30¾ in. (97 × 78 cm)
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles
85.PA. 162

Longhi and Testori included this haunting painting, then in the Contini-Bonacossi family collection, in the exhibition "Pittori della realtà" in Milan in 1953 and considered it central to the Lombard tradition they hoped to evoke. Earlier Longhi said of this painting that the drapery, modeled with a directed fall of light and deep shadows, seemed "like a fragment of a Caravaggio" ("come un frammento del Caravaggio." Longhi 1927b [1967 ed.], p. 153).

The figure is shown holding a recorder and a staff in one hand while gesturing with the other toward a background scene that includes a bagpiper, a flock of sheep, farm buildings (one taken directly from a print by Dürer), and an imposing, ruined classical building. The simply dressed shepherd wears a wide-brimmed hat that casts a shadow over his eyes, and a flask hangs from his belt. Although clearly belonging to a tradition of pastoral scenes conceived by Giorgione in Venice (where Savoldo was principally active), the subject has proved difficult to identify more precisely.

Savoldo's shepherd is both rustic and not: he holds a rough-hewn staff and his clothing is unadorned, but his face is refined and his shirt collar a creamy white. According to one interpretation (Lucchesi Ragni in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990), the incongruities indicate that this is an allegorical portrait of a patrician disguised as a shepherd—more specifically, Pietro Contarini, a leading figure of the Venetian nobility and an important patron of Savoldo. Contarini was a humanist deeply involved in the religious reform that swept northern Italy in the first decades of the sixteenth century, and his religious poem "Cristilogos peregrinorum" has been suggested as a source for the present work. One section relates the tale of four Venetian nobles dressed as Lombard shepherds who go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As they travel, they stop to make music, often in honor of the Virgin; the narrator speaks of how he "sang her praises with my bagpipe amid marshes, woods, mountains and rivers."[1] And indeed the gently melancholic figure portrayed here wears a pilgrim's flask and points toward a bagpiper in the middle ground.

However, the shepherd might just as well come directly from the world of antiquity. Interpretations focusing on his recorder—we see its fipple and three finger holes—stress that this was the instrument par excellence of the Arcadian shepherd, often found in tandem with the bagpipe. In Virgil's fifth *Eclogue,* for example, shepherds surround the tomb of Daphnis with their recorders. As Frings (1999) has pointed out, the deliberate juxtaposition of the staff and the recorder in the shepherd's hand alludes to the natural, rough origins of the instrument, further associating it with the rustic ways of Arcadia.

All agree that the singularity of Savoldo's portrayal rests on the manner in which the shepherd is depicted—in Longhi's terms, its "Lombard" quality. That the figure was

drawn from a model, with the pose and hands studied from life, is demonstrated by Savoldo's few extant drawings (see cat. nos. 50–53). The artist is preoccupied here with the fall of light over the surfaces—Longhi called his creation of volumes through light the "study of form"—and in the darkening sky at the right. In this way he successfully melds a Lombard approach to form with a Venetian subject.

Some scholars have dated this painting to about 1525, and others, more recently (Frangi 1992), to about 1540, comparing it to a Nativity (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia) made for a chapel constructed between 1536 and 1538. A second version, sometimes confused with this in the literature, belongs to the earl of Wemyss (Gosford House, Longniddry, Scotland).

AB

1. "cantai sue lodi con la mia zampogna li fra paludi, boschi, monti e fiumi." Elena Lucchesi Ragni in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, p. 176.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1871, p. 429; Longhi 1927b (1967 ed.), pp. 151–55; Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), pp. 119–41; Roberto Longhi in Milan 1953, p. 19, e; Parisio 1985; Gilbert 1986, pp. 203–4; Elena Lucchesi Ragni in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. 1.30; Frangi 1992, no. 38; Frings 1999, pp. 55–71

GIROLAMO ROMANINO
Brescia, 1484/87–Brescia, ca. 1560

48. Two Nude Men (recto); *Profile of a Man* (verso)
Pen and brown ink with brown wash on yellowed paper, upper right corner made up, 10⅜ × 8⅛ in. (263 × 207 mm)
Inscribed in pen at lower left: *Aspertini* (canceled); on verso in pen in a different, early hand: *Giorgio Vasari*
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 1003 S
Not in exhibition

The locus of Romanino's training and activity in Brescia—the midpoint of the Milan-Venice axis—exposed him to artistic styles and currents emanating from both schools, as well to influences from northern Europe. Reflected at different moments of his activity, these disparate influences are detected in his graphic oeuvre. Romanino's early drawings show a preference for red chalk, a medium to which he would periodically return in later works. Though that technique was favored by Leonardo and his followers in Milan, the impetus behind Romanino's initial adoption of it seems to have come from Venice, and ultimately from Giorgione (Agosti 2001, p. 464, describes the medium of the drawings in question as "matita rossa giorgionesca" ["Giorgionesque red chalk"]), whose sole widely accepted drawing is a red chalk study of a diminutive figure in a landscape (Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; see Paris 1993, no. 92). The connection to Venice is also evident in the stylistic affinities with Titian that have been observed in Romanino's early drawings in both chalk and pen (Rearick 1976, no. 84; Washington 1995–96, no. 37) and, more generically, with Pordenone.

Romanino was not bound to the graphic traditions of Venice for his entire career. Inspired in part by his experience of North European and particularly German art, his style was to undergo a process of expressive distortion and "deformation" beginning in the late 1510s. (Some of his "deformed" figures recall their capriciously inelegant counterparts in the drawings of the Bolognese artist Amico Aspertini, to whom the present sheet was once, not unreasonably, attributed.) This stylistic transformation culminated in the "expressive fury, immediacy, and *verità*," or extreme naturalism in a Lombard vein, of Romanino's late drawings ("le sue furie espressive e la sua ricerca di immediatezza e di verità." See Agosti 2001, pp. 463–65).

A signal example of Romanino's evolution toward a rough, unidealized manner is this enigmatic drawing, the subject of which remains a mystery. Assuming that the two coarse and lumpish nude men must be engaged in a narrative tableau, scholars have proposed identifying the subject as an allegory, perhaps Strife Victorious over Love, or a mythological scene of primitive man after the Flood (Agosti 2001, no. 111).

A biblical subject such as Cain Slaying Abel or the late medieval legend of the Wild Man (a subject portrayed in Paduan bronzes of the period and suggested here by the figures' hairy and unkempt aspect) are other possible interpretations. The absence of pictorial clues makes any such hypothesis speculative, however; the possibility remains that Romanino may simply have undertaken to produce an amusing drawing of two unabashedly immodest beings engaged in primal, animalistic behavior. The caricatural profile on the verso would similarly seem to point to the artist's humorous intentions.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: Agosti 2001, no. 111

GIROLAMO ROMANINO
Brescia, 1484/87–Brescia, ca. 1560

49. Concert champêtre
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, over black chalk, 11½ × 16⅛ in. (291 × 409 mm)
Inscribed in pencil at lower right, probably in late nineteenth century: *Giorgione*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975
1975.1.418
New York only

The subject of the pastoral concert had a rich history in sixteenth-century Venetian art. Standing at the beginning of that pictorial tradition is the *Concert champêtre* (ca. 1510) in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, variously ascribed to Giorgione or the young Titian, followed by the painted essays of artists such as Lorenzo Lotto, Palma Vecchio, and Dosso Dossi exploring the intertwined themes of Arcadian landscape, pastoral music, and courtly love. A number of drawings by Romanino showing courtly figures in landscape settings engaged in musical reverie likewise take up the Giorgionesque motif of the Concert Champêtre (enumerated in Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 28). Numbering about seven sheets, these were executed by the artist over a period of years and do not comprise a series.

This example is the most complex and ambitious of Romanino's drawings exploring the subject. It shows a group of three elegantly attired women and a satyr deployed in a circle in an expansive, if summarily rendered, landscape that recedes to a distant background dotted with tiny rustic buildings. Each figure plays a viola da gamba. That the satyr may be an unwelcome participant is suggested by the action of a fourth woman at the right: wrapping her arm around his torso, she appears to restrain him or to attempt to draw him away from the private concert upon which he has evidently intruded.

Romanino's frescoes in the Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent (ca. 1531–32),

include a series of lunettes showing figures playing musical instruments. The Lehman drawing, and a similar *Concert champêtre* with two women and a satyr performing for a male courtier in a plumed hat (Scholz Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Forlani Tempesti 1991, fig. 28.1), have been connected with that decoration and specifically with the *Flute Players*—a scene of four stout figures, two women and two men, each playing the instrument. However, the correspondence (particularly in the case of the present sheet, which does not show a single flute player or male figure) is merely generic. The carefully composed figural grouping and the expansive landscape suggest that this drawing may be an idea for an unexecuted painting of a Venetian-inspired pastoral idyll. Dominating the center of the composition and rivaling the figures in prominence, the massive tree trunk sprouting a leafy branch is a naturalistic interpolation in the mythical Arcadia that Romanino here conjures.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Forlani Tempesti 1991, no. 28; Nova 1994, p. 356

Attributed to
GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506 – Venice, 1548

50. Head and Shoulders of a Bearded Man with His Left Hand at His Chest
Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 9⅝ × 6¾ in. (245 × 170 mm)
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, The Janos Scholz Collection 1981.91

This image of a bearded man with closed eyes and slightly parted lips, his hand raised to his chest in a rhetorical gesture, may represent the suffering Christ or a saint shown in a pose of ecstasy or martyrdom.[1] The authorship of the drawing, like its subject, remains unresolved, opinion having long vacillated between Savoldo and the Venetian painter Paris Bordone (1500–1571). Recent scholarship has favored Savoldo, whose graphic oeuvre with one exception consists exclusively of black chalk head studies (see cat. nos. 51–53). Although the drawing cannot be connected with a known work by him, the format of a bust-length male figure with an expressively outstretched or extended hand is one that he frequently adopted in his paintings (see, for example, cat. nos. 46, 47).

Refuting the attribution to Bordone, Dillon (in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990) catalogued the *Head and Shoulders of a Bearded Man* as "attributed to Savoldo"—a prudent classification that is retained here. As a caveat it should be noted that condition problems impede a meaningful discussion of the authorship question. The drawing has been rubbed, diminishing its legibility and resulting in the figure's disconcertingly indistinct form. It also shows signs of water damage at the lower left and right corners. In a rather clumsy attempt to rectify its compromised condition, most of the outlines were redrawn in a different, darker chalk that in many passages departs from the original contour line. These linear, calligraphic strokes, which are not integral to the forms described and appear instead to sit on the surface of the sheet, occur nowhere else in Savoldo's drawings and it seems likely that they were added by a later hand.

Savoldo's head studies, at least some of which appear to have been executed from life, exhibit a shadowy, nuanced chiaroscuro and intensity of expression. These features have prompted a characterization of them as "véritables 'têtes d'expression'" (Catherine Legrand in Paris 1993, nos. 149, 150), a term describing a pictorial genre—individual depictions of male heads displaying different modes of expression—that only emerged a century after Savoldo in the work of Rembrandt and G. B. Castiglione, among others. Rearick saw in Savoldo's drawings echoes of the celebrated head studies for the *Last Supper* (see cat. nos. 19A–J) and posited the Milanese Bernardino Luini as the intermediary responsible for making Leonardo's demonstrations of this type known to Savoldo. He nonetheless

ultimately located them securely within the Venetian tradition exemplified above all by the graphic manner of Titian, concluding that Savoldo's "candid naturalism seems Venetian in origin" (Rearick 1976, pp. 77–79; Agosti 2001, p. 258).

However, an equally compelling case exists for viewing Savoldo's head studies, which exhibit none of the soft, painterly qualities of Titian's chalk drawings, as models of a Lombard rather than a Venetian paradigm. That paradigm originated with Leonardo, whose studies for the apostles of the *Last Supper* spawned a virtual genre of chalk drawings of heads and bust-length figures, first seen in the work of his Milanese followers Solario (cat. no. 22), Boltraffio (fig. 34), and Luini (fig. 35). In the use of chalk to achieve more lifelike, naturalistic effects (particularly colored chalks, which all three artists adopted following Leonardo's early experiments) and in the paramount concern with expressive characterization, their head studies defined a distinctly Lombard category of drawing. Savoldo's drawings of this type, essays in "candid naturalism" to reiterate Rearick's phrase, are most meaningfully understood in this context.

LW-S

1. The pose, if less so the expression, is also that of a donor figure. The hagiographic aspect may have been enhanced by the later retouching proposed here.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gianvittorio Dillon in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. II.10 (as attributed to Savoldo); Linda Wolk-Simon in New York 1994, no. 48 (as Savoldo), with earlier bibliography

GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

51. Head of a Man
Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on gray-green paper, 6 × 4 in. (152 × 102 mm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971
1972.118.275

Savoldo's small and homogeneous graphic oeuvre comprises roughly fifteen drawings. Almost all are studies of heads (most drawn from life) in the characteristically Venetian medium of black chalk on blue paper, often heightened with white chalk. Many of these were long attributed to other artists, such as Tintoretto and Paris Bordone, until Savoldo's painted oeuvre was reassembled in the last century. A number of the drawings in question were subsequently recognized as preparatory studies by the Lombard master, and these led, in turn, to the identification of other, stylistically analogous sheets. The Metropolitan's *Head of a Man*, for example, was proposed as Savoldo's work in 1994 by Griswold (1994), who noted affinities with accepted drawings by the artist, such as the black chalk technique and the morphology of the head, with its half-closed eyes and open mouth.

This drawing may relate to the dead Christ in the artist's *Lamentation*, to which it corresponds in the angle of the head, the physiognomic details, the fall of light from the left, and even the gray tonality of the pallid flesh. Although the attribution to Savoldo has not been unanimously accepted (see Agosti 2001), it is bolstered by this apparent connection with the painting. One of his earliest known works, the *Lamentation* was probably painted for the Contarini Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Orto, Venice, sometime before 1518. Scholars have noted the confluence of various influences in this altarpiece, including a lost Pietà by Hugo van der Goes, another Pietà by Vincenzo Foppa, and a Deposition by Bernardo Zenale (Frangi 1992, p. 26). If elements of the composition derive from Lombard models, the luminosity of Savoldo's palette instead signals his initial response to Venetian art—to Giovanni Bellini and Lorenzo Lotto (Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. I.9). This dialogue between the Lombard and Venetian traditions also informs the Metropolitan's *Head of a Man*: the graphic medium and technique align with Venetian practice, but the immediacy and emotional intensity achieved through the close focus on the deathly visage denote a Lombard sensibility.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Griswold 1994, p. 26; Agosti 2001, p. 264

GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

52. Head of Saint Jerome
Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on faded blue (now beige) paper, 12¼ × 9 in. (312 × 230 mm)
Inscribed in white heightening at lower left in a later (probably 17th-century) hand: *Titian*
Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris 5525
New York only

Savoldo produced this powerful study in connection with a signed painting, the *Penitent Saint Jerome* (National Gallery, London; Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. 1.23), that many scholars believe to be the documented work commissioned from him by the Averoldi family in 1527.[1] X-radiographs reveal that the artist initially painted the saint with a bald pate, short, sparse beard, and disproportionately small head (Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, ill. p. 158). Since the Paris drawing corresponds in virtually every detail to Saint Jerome's significantly altered aspect in the painting, it was doubtlessly made at an intermediate stage, after work on the canvas had already begun.

Somber and affecting, Salvado's black chalk head studies manifest a preeminent concern with capturing the expressive, emotional intensity of his subjects—what Leonardo had termed the "scienza degli affetti" (science of emotions). A sense of volume and the subtle interplay of light and shadow are masterfully conveyed, the artist fully exploiting the descriptive possibilities of his preferred medium. Some of Savoldo's drawings cannot be connected with a known work and were therefore probably made as independent investigations of *affetti*; others, like the present work, are self-evidently preparatory studies for paintings. (The drawing corresponds not only in appearance but also in scale to the head in the painting.)

The Paris study is not a cartoon in the conventional sense: the outlines are not pounced (the presence of pouncing would suggest that the design was translated from another sheet), nor are they traced or pricked for transfer, as in central Italian practice. However, its correspondence to the painting raises the question of whether certain of Savoldo's head studies may have functioned as a type of "auxiliary cartoon," as the great Raphael scholar Oskar Fischel categorized that artist's highly worked up studies of heads (and on occasion, hands), which were created late in the preparatory process expressly to elaborate or refine elements of expression or pose.[2] As is the case for both Raphael and the *leonardeschi* (for which, see Marani in New York 2003, pp. 171ff.), the ultimate source for Savoldo's drawings of this type is to be found in the head studies that Leonardo created in connection with the *Last Supper* (see discussion under cat. no. 19A–J), whose influence resonated in Lombardy and beyond for much of the sixteenth century (see cat. no. 22).

LW-S

1. Savoldo received payment from the Averoldi family for a painting of "sancto Hieronymo" in November 1527. If this is the National Gallery *Saint Jerome*, a date of 1527 is thereby established for the painting. However, the fairly recent discovery of another painting of this subject by Savoldo, *Self-Portrait in the Guise of Saint Jerome* (formerly Galleria Lorenzelli, Bergamo; whereabouts unknown), makes the connection between the London painting and the 1527 archival notice less certain (see Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. 1.23). Nonetheless, most scholars date the painting to the late 1520s or early 1530s on stylistic grounds alone.
2. Fischel (1937) was the first to characterize and discuss this category of Raphael's graphic production. Raphael's so-called auxiliary cartoons were made after the final, cartoon stage of his elaborate preparatory process, usually from the primary cartoon, the outlines of which were transferred to the new sheet by means of pouncing.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gianvittorio Dillon in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. 11.5, and under no. 1.23; Paris 1993, no. 148; Agosti 2001, p. 265, under no. 52

GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

53. Head of a Woman with Eyes Closed
Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on faded blue paper, 10 × 7¾ in. (255 × 197 mm)
Inscribed in pen on verso of backing in seventeenth-century hand, probably by Filippo Baldinucci: *Gio. Girolamo Bresciano*
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 12806F
Not in exhibition

This compelling drawing is distinguished by its female subject, which is unique in Savoldo's graphic oeuvre,[1] and by its illustrious early provenance: in the seventeenth century the sheet belonged to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici. In the early literature, the idea prevailed that it represents the grieving or swooning Virgin Mary, although no correspondence with any of Savoldo's paintings was then adduced. Later scholars eschewed this specific identification, commenting instead on the typological similarities with figures in certain late works by the artist while refraining from positing any direct connection with the drawing (summarized by Agosti 2001). More recently, it has once again been proposed that the work may indeed be a study for a mourning Virgin, and specifically for that figure in Savoldo's lost *Lamentation* of about 1537–38, formerly in Berlin and destroyed during the war (Dillon in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990).

The stark, unrelenting realism of the Uffizi *Head of a Woman* attests to the artist's preoccupation with "verità." Recent discussions of the drawing have remarked on the naturalism of Savoldo's pictorial language, with its basis in intense observation— a faculty characterized by Rearick (1976) as knowledge of Leonardo tempered by Venetian-inspired naturalism and mediated by the example of Titian and Pordenone—yet its subject has not been fully analyzed. Her closed eyes are perhaps intended to communicate that the woman is sleeping or grieving, as various scholars have proposed, but the possibility that she is shown in death should also be weighed. This is suggested by the particular perspective from which the head is observed—lolling back as though lying on a support and viewed from above, an angle unseen in any of Savoldo's drawings of this type—and by the fact that the pose would be difficult for a living model to effect. The taut sinews of the neck, stretched and gaunt in a manner evocative of écorché studies, and the unclothed upper torso further suggest the anatomy of a corpse. Such acute directness and immediacy in the portrayal of a human subject in extremis anticipates the head studies of the blind by Annibale Carracci, for whom "naturalism of pictorial rendering" was paramount.[2] Indeed the Uffizi drawing is an expressive testimonial to Savoldo's signal position in the sixteenth-century Lombard tradition of pictorial naturalism, midway between Leonardo and the Carracci and Caravaggio.

LW-S

1. One other drawing of the head of a woman has been attributed to Savoldo (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, inv. 1982.60; Gianvittorio Dillon in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. 11.3). Anomalous for the artist both in its sketchy quality and in the use of red chalk, it has been doubted (rightly, in my opinion) as Savoldo's work (Agosti 2001, p. 264).
2. See Cavina 1987, p. 99. Cavina characterizes the features that distinguish depictions of the dead from those of the blind: "When the deceased is depicted in death . . . the iconography of the period portrayed that person as laid out on a bed and of ashen colour and waxen features. The faces of the portraits in question [i.e., Annibale's portraits of blind people] contrast fully with this canon. They are wholly lacking the pallor of death . . . and, furthermore, are the faces of persons who posed standing up. This is evidenced by the fall of their collars, the lines of their chins and by the renderings of their facial muscles. There is nothing at all to indicate the relaxation" (p. 90). Following Cavina's analysis, the subject of Savoldo's drawing, in contrast to those of Annibale, is patently a dead person, in my opinion—a conclusion reached independently by Andrea Bayer.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Rearick 1976, no. 40; Gianvittorio Dillon in Brescia, Frankfurt 1990, no. 11.2; Tanzi 1994, p. 161; Agosti 2001, no. 52

Toward a New Naturalism: Sixteenth-Century Painting in Cremona and Milan

GIULIO BORA

AFTER THE FALL OF Ludovico il Moro, duke of Milan, in 1499, the culture of the visual arts in Cremona and Milan began to change, as interest grew in challenging the rigorously classical style that had originated with Bramante's work. The preference of the francophile Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, royal governor of Milan, for Bramantino is perhaps the most obvious indication of this changing taste, which also involved, at least to some extent, Bernardo Zenale (ca. 1464–1526) and the young Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480/85–1532). The area around Cremona saw the rise of artists such as Boccaccio Boccaccino (before 1466–1525), Alessandro Pampurino (active late 15th century), and especially the Spaniard Pedro Fernández (active early 16th century), also known as the Pseudo-Bramantino. However, strong evidence of Leonardo's influence on the Pseudo-Bramantino also points to a continuing and lively interest in the style of the Florentine master. But Leonardo was no longer as dominant as he had been before the fall of the Sforza family and the dispersion of his circle in Milan; the Leonardesque culture was dominated by a group of private patrons, even after Leonardo subsequently returned there. In a less official way, though, Leonardo's legacy still attracted a broad following, especially in the portraits and caricatures inserted into a variety of decorative contexts, from frescoes to sculpted reliefs. Yet even these paintings were often reworkings of Leonardo's examples, based on a careful examination of the source material. The results achieved were surprisingly realistic, attesting to the increased importance of a more diversified formal language. They were also a response to the limited repertory of the classicizing, post-Peruginesque artistic vocabulary that was still alive and well in Lombardy.[1]

The fall of the French and the temporary return to power in 1512 of the Sforza, in the person of Massimiliano, the eldest son of Duke Ludovico, stirred great enthusiasm and raised expectations throughout the duchy of Milan (although Massimiliano quickly proved himself unequal to the task at hand). Having grown up in Malines, at the court of Margaret of Austria and Philip of Burgundy, Massimiliano had developed a lively interest in Flemish art and culture. This taste is reflected, for example, in his commission some years later of the imposing *Baptism of Christ* for the Mint in Milan (fig. 2). Executed jointly by Cesare da Sesto, who painted the figures, and Bernazzano (1492–1522), who was responsible for the landscape, the finished work is unique in the history of sixteenth-century Lombard art. While extraordinary both for its size and for the circumstances of its execution, it is also exceptional in its juxtaposition of a strong Leonardesque and Raphaelesque classicism with an entirely Northern landscape. This winding, boundless panorama is replete with references to Flemish types, but the incredible detail in the formidable series of plants and animals, so analytically observed and skillfully represented, can be explained only by a careful study of Leonardo's work and his drawings in particular.[2] Such a rich, diverse world of plants and animals had never before been represented in Lombard art. The realism of this depiction arises from a keen observation of every variation in color and every gradation of both direct and reflected light. Such intense naturalism would not be assimilated into Milanese painting until some fifty years later, and then in the completely different, much more capricious context of the work of Arcimboldi (see cat. no. 56).

In his *Cremona fedelissima* (1585), Antonio Campi reported that Massimiliano's entry into Cremona on November 16, 1512, was received with extraordinary joy by the entire city.[3] It cannot be coincidental that the governors of the cathedral works decided, on the

VINCENZO CAMPI, *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (detail of cat. no. 61)

Fig. 58
BOCCACCIO BOCCACCINO (before 1466–1525)
The Meeting at the Porta Aurea (detail), 1514
Fresco
Cremona Cathedral

occasion of their newly reacquired autonomy, to decorate the nave of the church with scenes from the life of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ. Inscriptions accompanying these scenes narrate Cremona's part in the tumultuous historical events of those years and name Massimiliano as well as the governors, whose portraits appear in various places throughout the scenes.[4] This kind of pictorial cycle on the walls of a cathedral was an unheard-of affirmation of civic spirit, confirming the importance of the nobility and upper bourgeoisie in a city finally emerging from a difficult period of foreign domination. Furthermore, the determination with which the governors hired and fired the numerous artists who worked on this project—and with which they imposed their own vision—confirms their central role in eliciting the wholly innovative visual language that ensued.

The commission went first, and not surprisingly, to Boccaccio Boccaccino, the local favorite. He took advantage of this opportunity to go to Rome to study the revolutionary works of contemporary central Italian painters and was most likely accompanied by an emerging young Cremonese painter named Giovan Francesco Bembo (ca. 1480?–1543). Reflections of what Boccaccino saw in Rome are evident in the obvious influence of Perugino, and to a degree of Raphael, on the *Meeting at the Porta Aurea* and the *Marriage of the Virgin,* the earliest scenes in the cycle, painted in 1514. A radical shift in style is already apparent in the portraits included in these works: the men's creased, fleshy faces and shaggy beards reflect a sort of rough realism, and their expressive features reveal their individual personalities (fig. 58). The crucial importance here of Northern and especially German sources is clear, for the subjects are approached more directly and presented without classicizing filters. This is especially obvious in the later scenes Boccaccino painted, with their unmistakable references to Dürer's prints. In these, he goes beyond an objective realism, rendering his figures with an unusual harshness and in uncommonly restless poses. The facial types are strongly characterized, and some of the portraits of these high-ranking men even approach the grotesque, as in the scene of the Circumcision.

The availability of German prints certainly contributed to this sort of raw realism, as did the presence in Lombardy of the Swiss artists who served with the army of mercenary soldiers fighting there. Among these were Urs Graf (ca. 1485–1527/29), Hans Leu the Younger (ca. 1490–1531), and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484?–1530); the great portraitist Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543) was also certainly in Lombardy at this time. The influence of contemporary Roman art on Bembo, the young artist who traveled south with Boccaccino, is also evident, although the capricious, anticlassical manner in which he reinterpreted it in the two scenes he painted in 1515–16[5] was most likely not well received by the governors, who gave him no further commissions. Yet, even Bembo, in his *Adoration of the Magi,* alternated between faces painted in a Raphaelesque manner and those seemingly inspired by the work of the Swiss artists previously mentioned. In particular, the irregular features and spirited expression of the Magus with the large hat suggest a portrait, one displaying the same unusual chiaroscuro effect created with a dense, uniform hatching found in drawings by Graf.

The governors stipulated their desire for dramatic, realistic representations in their contract with Altobello Melone (ca. 1490–1543), the artist commissioned to continue the cycle. In the *Massacre of the Innocents,* for example, they required Melone to represent disheveled, terrified women along with the atrocities committed by the soldiers. Among the tumultuous tangle of bodies caught up in the violence of the murders, we see the faces of common people (one deformed by a goiter) screaming and

weeping, contrasted with those of the indifferent bystanders. Altobello was also instructed to enrich his *Flight into Egypt* with both fantastical and naturalistic elements, but he only partially followed these directions, inserting a lion and what looks like a small bear as well as a young man carrying two pheasants.

Pleased with the success of these crowded, expressive compositions, the patrons commissioned a second series of scenes from Altobello. The emotional immediacy of these pictures and the rustic character of their figures were certainly inspired by Northern prints (including those of Altdorfer and Dürer), in some cases copied exactly although the figures themselves were varied. Boccaccino, whose visual language had previously been more controlled, was also influenced by these examples. His later *Christ Disputing the Elders in the Temple* (1518) represented a great number of types with extraordinarily coarse faces, executed with a witty, biting style that approaches the grotesque. In the adjacent scene, the strong, original, and expressive style of the Brescian artist Girolamo Romanino resulted in a more diverse depiction of humanity. Yet he also was required to include portraits of his patrons, celebrating their importance by showing them as full figures in the foreground of his *Ecce Homo.*

Cremonese painting would later develop along this line, nurturing its propensity for a direct, unidealized naturalism rendered with remorseless immediacy and acute observation. At that moment, however, an abrupt change in course came with the governors' surprising decision to fire Romanino and bring in the "modern" painter Pordenone (1483?–?1539), whom they commissioned to finish the cycle. The scenes the artist painted for them were explosive and marked by a naturalistic illusionism that reflected the latest trends in Venetian and Roman painting. More innovative than anything seen at that time in the Po Valley, Pordenone's paintings would shape a new generation of Cremonese painters, from Camillo Boccaccino (1504/5–1546) to the Campi—Giulio (ca. 1508–1573), Antonio (1523–1587), and Vincenzo (1530/35–1591)—who were also receptive to the Mannerist works of Giulio Romano and Parmigianino.

At the same time, the vein of realism seen in the frescoes in Cremona Cathedral and inspired by Northern European art made a profound impression on local painters. Giovanni Andrea Secchi (active first half of the 16th century), of whose work we have only a few examples, showed himself capable of a minute rendering of landscape when in his *Penitent Saint Jerome,* dated 1535 (Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone," Cremona), he copied a work by Cesare da Sesto and, most likely, Bernazzano. Secchi, however, added a realistically painted skull with a fly perched on it, a motif taken from Joos van Cleeve, whose work he again drew upon in two versions of *Saint Jerome in His Study,* dated 1536 and 1546.[6]

Giulio Campi's *Game of Chess* (cat. no. 58), painted in the first half of the 1530s, marks a return to an amorous and moralizing subject developed in Flemish painting, most notably in a work by Lucas van Leyden of 1508 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). Yet Campi's version is gentle, a gallant episode from town life with easily recognizable

Fig. 59
BERNARDINO GATTI (ca. 1495–1576)
The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (detail), 1549–52
Fresco
San Pietro al Po, Cremona

figures, for the faces of the buxom women and the coarse-featured men with unkempt beards are carefully rendered.[7]

The most spectacular manifestation of this appreciation for everyday life occurs in Bernardino Gatti's imposing fresco the *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes,* painted between 1549 and 1552 in the refectory of the monastery of San Pietro al Po. Called il Soiaro, Gatti (ca. 1495–1576) had acquired a solid foundation in naturalism by studying with Correggio and was already well known for his 1529 commission to finish the decoration of the interior facade of the cathedral. The crowd in his San Pietro al Po fresco, which includes some 226 figures, is shown with a striking immediacy and vivacity. People of every sort, placed in various poses and attitudes, engage in conversation and exchange glances in a vivid scene that might almost be a contemporary country festival (fig. 59). The figures, especially those in the foreground, must have been drawn from life, since both their features and expressions are so acutely rendered; as a result, they become simultaneously representations of types and real individuals with physical imperfections. Antonio Maria Panni, a Cremonese author of the eighteenth century, noted that the range and originality of the fresco derived precisely from the variety of these faces: "We see there vivacious images of Women laughing, who are talking among themselves, some carrying Children in their arms and others standing in different poses. . . . We can even make out bare legs and extended arms the anatomies of which are so well drawn and which are so vividly painted that they appear to be real flesh and blood. There is a Cripple leaning on his stick in one corner; he is said to be a Portrait of the Artist. . . . Each of the Figures seems to reveal its very Soul."[8]

The novelty of Gatti's *Loaves and Fishes* lies in its insistence on anatomical naturalism, including a range of life-like expressions. Because of his early training in the Po Valley (he was originally from Pavia) and his later association with Correggio, Gatti was deeply rooted in the Leonardesque tradition, which is evident both in the wide range of emotions and expressions—Leonardo's "moti mentali" (motions of the mind)—and in the subtlety of their chiaroscuro rendering. This aspect of Gatti's work also informs the dramatic *Lamentation,* once in San Domenico, Cremona, and now at the Louvre. The artist's impressive ability to realistically portray anatomy anticipated the realism of later painters by several decades. Longhi, for example, named the *Lamentation* one of the important influences on Caravaggio. Gatti's accomplishment is especially extraordinary because, at the same time and in the same city, other artists were painting in the refined language of Mannerism, which enjoyed widespread popularity in the Po Valley.

Sofonisba Anguissola was certainly among the artists who visited the scaffolding in San Pietro al Po. Indeed, after completing her apprenticeship with Bernardino Campi in 1549 and before departing for Milan, she finished her training in Gatti's workshop just as he was painting the *Loaves and Fishes*. Campi would most likely have taught the young noblewoman to strive for a precise rendering of her models, both in drawing and in painting, since this attribute was especially important in portraiture, which was his specialty. Campi's subtle technique brought him great success, especially in the area around Milan. Gatti, on the other hand, would have offered Sofonisba a different, more intense approach to representing the figure in all its expressive vitality, as he was doing in the San Pietro al Po fresco. The quality of Sofonisba's art had already been praised by Marco Girolamo Vida in 1550, and it is not impossible that she herself made some contribution to the fresco, perhaps furnishing Gatti with drawings of the faces of contemporaries.[9]

One of the most famous of Sofonisba's paintings, the *Chess Players* (cat. no. 55), is a portrayal of the artist's three sisters and their old nursemaid that in some ways seems an echo of Gatti's fresco, displaying the same variety of poses, vivid facial expressions, and juxtaposition of figures of different ages. The laughing little sister, for instance, is rendered with the same expressive zest seen in similar figures in the fresco. (Aspects of Giulio Campi's painting of the same subject, discussed above, are also apparent.) Sofonisba's interest in portraying emotion is well documented in the *Chess Players,* and her ability to do so would soon make her famous enough to attract the attention of Michelangelo.[10] Sofonisba's work in this genre is perhaps best represented by her *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* (cat. no. 92). Among the precedents for these works by Sofonisba were the paintings of Flemish artists such as Jan Sanders van Hemessen (active 1519–56).[11] The rich repertoire of Leonardesque figures with similar expressions must also have been an important source: in his *vita* of Sofonisba, Vasari cited as influences Cesare da Sesto and Bernazzano as well as a painting of a woman laughing, a copy after Leonardo, at the Mint in Milan.

Aurelio Luini had a sketchbook containing about fifty such drawings by Leonardo, which Francesco Melzi

Fig. 60
GIOVANNI PAOLO LOMAZZO (1538–1592)
Head of an Executioner
Black pencil and traces of pen on torn white paper, 4¾ × 3⅝ in. (119 × 92 mm)
Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan Cod. F. 274 inf. n.20

Fig. 61
AURELIO LUINI (ca. 1530–1593)
Sheet of Studies of Figures and Heads
Pen and traces of black pencil on white paper with tears at the edges, 9 × 5⅞ in. (228 × 150 mm)
Fondazione d'Arco, Mantua 4770

had inherited from the master. The artist and theorist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo describes images of "old peasant men and women" who "laugh so heartily through the power of a great talent that allowed him to make them as they seem in nature."[12] Inspired by this grotesque realism, the same Lomazzo joined with Aurelio Luini and other artists to found the satirical Accademia della Val di Blenio in 1560. Yet the academy's popular, anticlassical aesthetic ultimately led to a rereading and revaluation of Leonardo's legacy.[13] In their portraits, the members of this group are shown with mocking and remorselessly brutal features that were broadly adapted from Leonardo's grotesque heads but reinvented in accordance with their own interest in a heightened realism. One such drawing features the grim face of an executioner (fig. 60) and can be attributed to Lomazzo by an inscription written in the special dialect adopted by the academy.[14] The same artist's *Self-Portrait as Abbot of the Accademia della Val di Blenio and as a Painter* (cat. no. 82) summarizes the spirit of that particular artistic culture, from its unpleasantly bristly face and melancholy expression—characteristic of a creative and poetic "frenzy"—to its numerous iconographic references.[15]

The common interest in an anticlassical, anti-Mannnerist style shared by the artists of the academy—an interest that overrode any differences in the quality of their work and the genres they embraced—led them to seek a powerful naturalistic immediacy in their paintings. This phenomenon was crucial to the revitalization of the figure in Milanese art, even though the policies of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo did not create the ideal climate for this renewal. Perhaps before anyone else, Aurelio Luini returned to the rich corpus of Leonardesque drawings to restudy anatomy (Lomazzo included him among the very few masters in this area).[16] Luini also revived two practices strongly favored by Leonardo himself, drawing from life and using a variety of models. In one of Luini's studies, a series of heads of children, youths, and old people, both male and female, are represented with extreme vivacity and freshness from several viewpoints (fig. 61). Varying his materials, Luini employs pen and ink for the more sketchy elements, and red and black chalk for features and chiaroscuro.[17]

Building on these foundations, Lomazzo taught his pupil Ambrogio Figino a systematic, precise process for naturalistic rendering. Figino followed a sort of curriculum that was being codified in his master's workshop. He began by copying works by the best artists—Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo—then moved on to making drawings after antique sculpture (which Figino accomplished largely after a trip to Rome in the 1570s), and finally was deemed capable of studying from the live model.[18] A rich body of drawings documents this education, although the rigor of the method sometimes gives Figino's work a

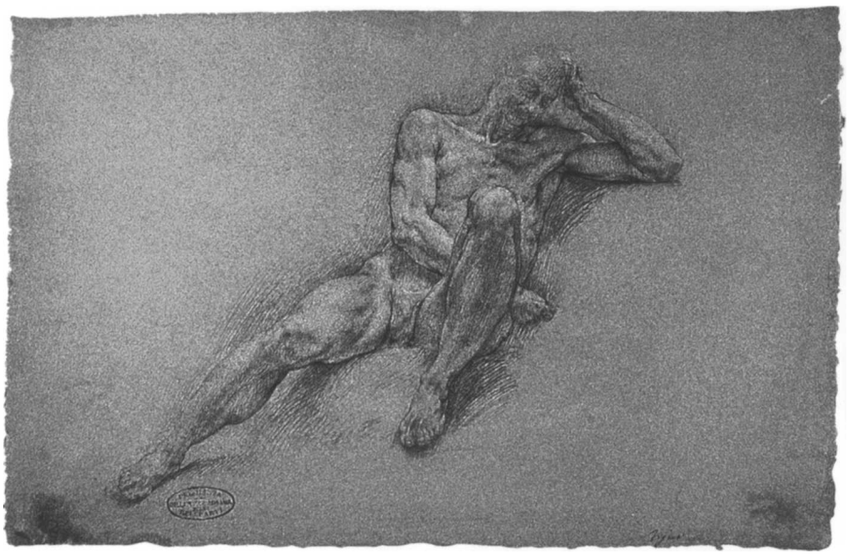


Fig. 62
AMBROGIO FIGINO (1548–1608)
Sleeping Nude Figure, ca. 1586
Pencil and white chalk on blue paper,
10⅞ × 16¾ in. (277 × 426 mm)
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice 995

calculated quality. Nevertheless, the drawings offer valuable evidence of a complex process, in which Figino moves from innumerable minute sketches and compositional ideas to drawings from life and studies of single details and individual figures. The latter, generally executed in black or red chalk on blue prepared paper, are constructed essentially through subtle variations in the values of light and shade. While the legacy of Leonardo's graphic tradition shines through in these studies, they also display an unexpected sharpness in the spatial rendering of figures. As a result, the plastic definition of a figure is less clear than its tension and nervous vitality, as seen, for example, in the life study for one of the sleeping apostles in the *Agony in the Garden* in Santa Maria della Passione, Milan (fig. 62).[19]

Figino also understood Leonardo's method of rendering the model naturalistically by studying it from several views and angles, and he followed the master's habit of choosing subjects that allowed him to explore anatomical details, especially the faces of old men, which recur so frequently for this very reason in Leonardo's drawings. A good example is a sheet in the collection of the Musei Civici del Castello, Milan, with three studies of an old man with a beard that are given a surprising verisimilitude by Figino's chiaroscuro technique (fig. 63).[20] Longhi has pointed out that this expressive realism, built on the solid foundations of naturalistic classicism, made a strong impression on the young Caravaggio.

Simone Peterzano (ca. 1540–ca. 1596), Caravaggio's teacher, moved toward naturalism by a process that resembled Figino's in many respects. Despite his Bergamasque roots and his training in Venice (he bragged of studying with Titian, although his early works are influenced more by Veronese and Tintoretto),[21] Peterzano also made many preparatory drawings before beginning to paint. Compositional sketches in pen and ink were followed by studies for each figure, using the same technique, before he finished with drawings of the details, taking them from life in order to more precisely define each individual feature.[22] This process certainly reflects the Mannerist formulations of "idea" and "invention," in that a composition is arrived at by creating an essential schematization of the whole. In turning to the details of the figures, however, Peterzano would study anatomy by numerous drawings in black chalk or charcoal with white heightening on dark prepared paper, which emphasized the values of light and shade. One such study depicts a bearded face

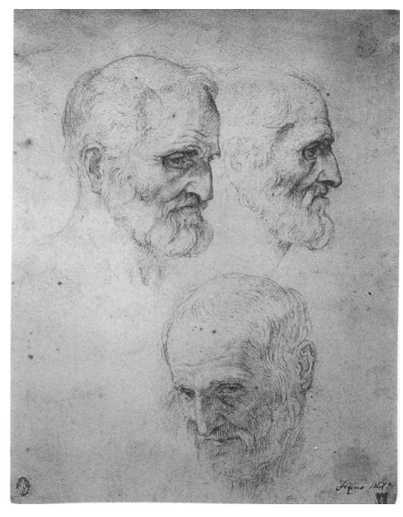


Fig. 63
AMBROGIO FIGINO
(1548–1608)
Three Studies of an Old Man
Red and black chalk, pencil,
10⅛ × 7⅝ in.
(258 × 194 mm)
Musei Civici del Castello, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Milan
2533 (B913)

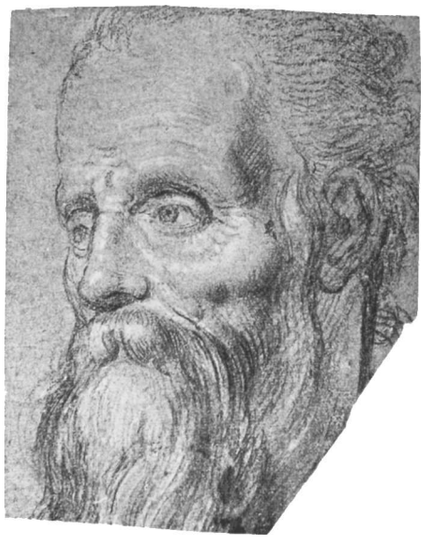


Fig. 64
SIMONE PETERZANO
(ca. 1540–ca. 1596)
Head of an Old Bearded Man,
ca. 1578–82
Black chalk and gesso on dark paper,
8⅞ × 7 in. (225 × 177 mm)
Musei Civici del Castello, Gabinetto
dei Disegni, Milan 290/495

Fig. 65
ANTONIO CAMPI (1523–1587)
Studies of an Old Woman's Face and a Leg,
ca. 1569
Pencil and traces of white chalk,
10⅜ × 8¼ in. (265 × 208 mm)
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Galleria
degli Uffizi, Florence 2128F

associated with a shepherd at the left of the *Adoration of the Shepherds,* frescoed in the presbytery of the Certosa di Garegnano, Milan (fig. 64).[23]

In 1584 the young Caravaggio joined Peterzano's Milanese workshop, where he absorbed the master's ideas and learned his technique of using drawings in order to achieve realistic effects. That this experience was central to the formation of the younger artist's style is evident in the similarities between a well-known drawing by Peterzano and Caravaggio's *Bacchino malato* (cat. nos. 63, 97), even though Peterzano's tendency to overwork his paintings often made their forms too rigorously controlled and their details, especially the faces, somewhat crudely realistic.

That Peterzano's artistic aims paralleled those of the Cremonese painter Antonio Campi is not surprising, for both had been influenced by the rigorous Counter-Reformation movement instituted in Milan by Carlo Borromeo. Each had made pictures and altarpieces that can be characterized as combining a fundamental simplicity with a strained devotional tension.[24] At the same time, both artists experimented with naturalistic passages: in Peterzano's paintings these are dominated by an excessive sense of control, while in Campi's they are expressed with an innovative freedom and immediacy. By the end of the 1560s Campi was producing dramatic and evocative "night scenes" in which contemporary figures emerge from the ambient darkness. Crudely illuminated by bright flashes of light, these personages appear in the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 24) and the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (1581; cat. no. 57), both in San Paolo Converso, Milan, and in the canvases in the chapel of Santa Caterina in Sant'Angelo, Milan (1583–84). Longhi insisted that all these works, despite some figural and compositional awkwardnesses, were precursors of Caravaggio. Lomazzo had already pointed out the latter, when in his *Rime* (1587, p. 123) he revealed his dislike for similar experiments with spectacular lighting effects.[25]

For Campi, this raw luminism was an effective means to recreate a brutal reality without employing any filters to blunt its impact, as Figino and Peterzano had. The strength of Campi's work derives from the immediacy of his images—those passages of unpretentious, unvarnished realism that he carefully created by means of life studies. A sheet in the Uffizi, for example, includes drawings of the wrinkled, hollow face of an old woman and a leg with a patched stocking, both of them models for works painted by the artist (fig. 65).[26]

Campi's precocious experiments in unidealized realism were primarily built on the legacy of sixteenth-century Cremonese painting. He was further stimulated by Flemish art as well as by his contacts with the Carracci in Bologna, who were moving in similar directions. Agostino Carracci executed many engravings based on Campi's drawings for *Cremona fedelissima,* which even reproduced a study for Campi's fresco in San Paolo Converso.[27] Campi also studied the nude figure, in drawings that were more direct in their naturalism than those of the Carracci. His rendering of forms was almost unflinching, his sense of objectivity unclouded, as in a rare study of a recumbent female nude (fig. 66), a plump young woman of the people whose face shows

Fig. 66
ANTONIO CAMPI (1523–1587)
Nude Woman
Pencil on paper, 11⅛ × 6¾ in. (283 × 171 mm)
Regional Museum, Teplice K57577

Fig. 67
VINCENZO CAMPI (1530/35–1591)
Study for the "Ricotta Eaters"
Black pencil on brown paper, 8⅛ × 7½ in. (205 × 192 mm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett
C287

the same vivid, intense expression found in Sofonisba's portraits.[28]

Antonio's brother Vincenzo employed something of the same approach in his well-known genre pictures of cooks and vendors of fruit and fish (cat. no. 59). With subjects who were all common people, these paintings parallel some of Annibale Carracci's and were also certainly influenced by Flemish artists such as Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer.[29] While the Flemish representations are clean, brilliant, and objective, Vincenzo's vivid cross-sections of everyday peasant life are full of amusing, sometimes mocking episodes. Moreover, his figures engaged in various mercantile activities live in a world that is both earthy and chaotic. The foodstuffs they lay out for sale display none of the disciplined order of Flemish models, nor any of their brilliant realism. Vincenzo's interest is instead largely focused on such figures as the ruddy vendor in the *Poultry Seller* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), whose young assistant is turning purple from her efforts to wring a duck's neck. Similarly, the *Ricotta Eaters,* listed in inventories as a *buffonaria,* is a mocking representation of four common people that reflects Vincenzo's talent for both expressive vitality and unflinching realism. The dense color in this work indicates that Campi has absorbed the lessons of Venetian painting, also evident in his *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (cat. no. 61). The technique used in the preparatory drawing for the *Ricotta Eaters* (fig. 67) also confirms a debt to Venetian art: the inventive Vincenzo lays out the composition and evokes all the dynamism of the scene with only a few quick, dark marks.[30]

As works such as those discussed here became accepted in Cremona and Milan—and as still lifes emerged as a popular Milanese genre in the 1580s and 1590s—artists developed a more controlled, direct approach to the representation of figures and objects from life.[31] It was in these years, too, and under the same conditions, that artists such as Arcimboldi (who had returned to Milan), Figino, Fede Galizia, and Vincenzo Campi were all active. And at the same time, the young Caravaggio was most likely already producing his first works in the same vein.

Notes

1. On this last point, see Bora 2003, pp. 328–30.
2. For a detailed analysis of the rich repertoire of plants and animals and for a hypothesis on the patronage of the painting, see Giulio Bora in Milan 1982–83, no. 54, p. 264, add. Some of the more recent literature has suggested that this work was painted shortly after 1515 (although the chronology of Cesare da Sesto's career is still controversial). See Carminati 1994, pp. 170–72.
3. "Erano tutte le strade ove passò ornate d'arazzi, e quadri di pittura, e poche erano quelle case ove non fossero appese l'arme Ducali" (All the streets through which I passed were decorated with tapestries and paintings, and few were the houses where the Ducal arms were not displayed). Campi 1585, p. xiii.
4. For the frescoes in the Duomo, see Valerio Guazzoni in Voltini and Guazzoni 1989, pp. 94–103, and Mario Marubbi in Tomei 2001, pp. 94–161.
5. For these, see Gregori 1957.
6. For a recent reconsideration, see Giulio Bora in Marubbi 2003, no. 59. For the two copies after Van Cleeve, see Jansen, Meijer, and Squellati Brizio 2001, nos. 143, 144.
7. See Giulio Bora in Cremona 1985, no. I.12.3.
8. "Vi si veggono briose idee di Femmine ridenti, che si parlan l'une con l'altre, avendo alcune Bamboli in collo, ed altre stando in diversi atteggiamenti.... Vi si scorgono pure I nudi di gambe, e braccia stese, così bene anatomizzati, e sì vivacemente dipinti, che pajon in sua vera carnagione con vivo sangue. In un canto starvi appoggiato ad un bastone uno Storpio in piedi, che dicesi essere il Ritratto dell'Autore.... In ognuna delle Figure vi si scorge proprio l'Anima." Panni 1762, pp. 113–14.
9. I made this suggestion in Bora 1994–95, pp. 86–87, basing my hypothesis on the attribution of a series of drawings in the Louvre that turned out not to be relevant; the theory therefore needs to be reevaluated with a focus on the role of Soiaro. For Vida's comments, see Mina Gregori and Rossana Sacchi in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, pp. 12, 403, respectively.
10. The drawing Michelangelo saw is probably that representing an old woman studying the alphabet and being ridiculed by a child (cat. no. 91); see Giulio Bora in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 37.
11. For the relationship between Cremona and Flemish culture, see Meijer 1985, and for the diffusion of genre painting in Lombardy, Meijer 1971.
12. "Vecchi, e villani e villane." Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 33 (1844 ed.), vol. 2, p. 223; "che ridono tanto alla gagliarda per forza d'un arte grandissima, che appena lo può far l'istessa natura." Lomazzo 1590, chap. 16 (1974 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 141, 143. These citations are taken, respectively, from the *Trattato* and the *Idea del tempio della pittura*.
13. For this debate, see Lugano 1998.
14. See Giulio Bora in ibid., no. 31.
15. For the complicated iconography of this painting, see Dante Isella in Lomazzo 1589 (1993 ed.), pp. xvff., and Francesco Porzio in Lugano 1998, no. 27. The iconography of the symbols linked to the porters rather than to the artists is based on several texts identified by Marco Rosci that he is soon to publish.
16. In the *Trattato*; Lomazzo 1584, bk. 7, chap. 23 (1974 ed.), pp. 533–34.
17. See Giulio Bora in Lugano 1998, no. III, in which a series of similar sheets of sketches are linked.
18. Ciardi 1968 is still an important source for Figino. The most recent study of the artist's work focuses on his drawings in the Accademia in Venice; see Torrini 1987.
19. Reproduced in Torrini 1987, no. 102 (inv. no. 995). Torrini (fig. 106) also publishes a second, almost identical version in a private collection in England.
20. See Giulio Bora in Milan 1994–95, no. III.34, ill. p. 303.
21. For new information on Peterzano's training and activity in the Veneto, see Gregori 2002.
22. For this complex working method, see Bora 2002. A new compositional sketch associated with a fresco in the Cappella di Sant'Antonio in the church of Sant'Angelo, Milan, recently appeared at auction in New York (Christie's 2003). These compositional sketches have only recently been identified as Peterzano's; they had earlier been associated with other artists and had been excluded from the very rich corpus of drawings, all from San Celso and now at the Castello Sforzesco, on which the studies of Costantino Baroni, Maurizio Calvesi, and Maria Teresa Fiorio are all based.
23. As we have already noted, there are more than a thousand preparatory drawings from the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan, that are preserved at the Museo Civici del Castello, all of which are attributed to Peterzano. Long aware that no more than two hundred of these are indeed by that artist, specialists have attributed the others either to various artists or, more commonly, to the Lombard school of the seventeenth century. The still-life drawings (cat. no. 100A–C) belong to this latter category, although they have in past inventories been given erroneously to Peterzano (see Rome 1995–96, no. 1). Furthermore the sketch representing a Baptism of Christ on the back of one of these drawings (B 1802/649), pointed out to me by Arnalda Dallaj, is a very weak effort by an anonymous seventeenth-century artist. For Peterzano's frescoes at Garegnano, see Fiorio 2003.
24. For these pictures, see Fiorio 1974.
25. See Giulio Bora in Cremona 1985, no. I.19.10, and New York, Naples 1985, no. 3.
26. See Bora 1984, p. 30, and Tanzi 1999, no. 79.
27. For these engravings, see DeGrazia 1984, nos. 56–94, 108.
28. See Zlatohlávek 1997–98, p. 8, with a tentative attribution to Vincenzo Campi but which, in my opinion, is by his brother Antonio.
29. On his work and its relationship with contemporary culture, see Cremona 2000–2001.
30. See Bora 1997–98, pp. 20–21.
31. For this subject, see Berra 2000–2001.

"Diversi personagii molto ridiculosi": A Contract for Cremonese Market Scenes

ROBERT S. MILLER

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING developments in European painting during the latter half of the sixteenth century was the creation of images that had little or nothing to do with the standard sources of narrative painting: mythology, history, and religion. Gathered under the rubric of genre painting, these included various kinds of still lifes and views of daily activities such as peasants working and dining, the interiors of inns and kitchens, and market scenes. Although belittled by theorists, who assigned first place to history painting in the hierarchy of subject matter, these new kinds of images flourished and became one of the glories of seventeenth-century art. Northern Italian artists followed the lead of the Flemish painters Pieter Aertsen and his nephew Joachim Beuckelaer, who developed these themes in the 1550s and 1560s and whose work was exported to the south.[1] Bartolomeo Passarotti and Annibale Carraci in Bologna, Francesco Bassano in the Veneto, and Vincenzo Campi in Cremona were among the earliest protagonists of Italian genre painting in the 1570s and 1580s.

Unfortunately, little is known about how these subjects were perceived by contemporaries, owing to the absence of texts related to specific types of genre subjects. Such a text has now been discovered—one that is securely associated with the kitchen and market scenes created by Vincenzo Campi. A notarial contract for eight pictures, now lost or unidentified, by the Cremonese artist Giulio Calvi, it was drawn up only a decade or so later than Campi's works (cat. no. 59) and is unusually descriptive for this kind of legal document. Not only is it the earliest known contract for genre paintings, it also furnishes new insights into the meaning of such scenes.

On February 19, 1588, an agreement was drawn up in Cremona between Don Rafael Manrique de Lara, the Spanish castellan and governor of the city, and the painter Giulio Calvi.[2] In it the artist agrees to furnish eight paintings with the following subjects: a "polaria" (poultry shop), "fruttarola" (fruit vendor), "cusina" (kitchen scene), washing scene, elephant with a castle on its back, "beccaria" (butcher shop), "pescaria" (fish shop), and "botega da fromagian" (cheese shop). Other clauses stipulated that the paintings be finished within the following ten months, that the works be made "al natural," referring to their large size, and that the payment be 125 *scuti* (equal to 752 *lire,* 8 *soldi*). Giulio declares that he has received 30 "ducatoni," a start-up fee, and that the remainder will be paid when the finished set is shipped from Cremona.

In general, notarial contracts for works of art were rare, especially for paintings, but in this case the patron probably requested a formal legal document for a personal reason. Don Rafael, the fifth son of the third count of Paredes, was named governor of Cremona in 1584 by the Spanish administrative apparatus installed when the duchy of Milan had become an imperial fiefdom a half century earlier.[3] A few years later, he considered a return to Spain, and by 1590 he was home, enmeshed in a legal struggle for his father's title, a contest that he lost in 1591. Later that year, Philip II again made him governor of Cremona, a post he held as late as 1597. Therefore, when de Lara ordered the paintings in 1588, there was a strong possibility that he would leave his post in Italy before they were finished (by January 1589, the deadline set forth in the contract), and since they would have to be shipped to Spain, he wanted to guarantee legal recourse if anything went wrong, an assurance that only a formal contract could provide.

The contract describes the imagery of most of the works in detail, and the descriptions make it clear that many of the scenes were comic in nature. The first painting listed, the poultry shop, was to show every kind of living and dead bird as well as "una donna bella et gratiosa con il

petto scoperto" (a beautiful and graceful woman with breast exposed) who appears to be plucking a goose as she laughs at a boy trying to wring the neck of a duck. The second would be a "una fruttarola [fruit seller] bella et gratiosa" weighing fruit and surrounded by produce arranged on plates and baskets; she pretends to make fun of a boy cutting a slice of cheese. The third was to show women, again "belle et gratiose," in a fully stocked kitchen: the principal figure is making a torte, another is frying something in a pan, and hidden beside a credenza, a third "beve con un bocat ridiculosamente" (drinks ridiculously with a full mouth). In the fourth, a woman would be washing her hair while looking into a mirror at others who are scrubbing various household objects; another is cleaning clothes in a river, "ma tutte in atto honesto et con bella bizaria" (but all [are] behaving decently and with a beautiful conceit), the latter phrase referring to the scene's imaginative delights.[4]

The fifth would depict an elephant bearing a castle on its back made of various "bizarie" (in this case meaning unusual components), with a variety of people and armaments within the elephant defending the castle.[5] Surrounding the elephant will be "diversi personagii molto ridiculosi" (a variety of very ridiculous characters) with unusual objects of war and armaments newly imported from Flanders. The imagery appears to resemble that of a "Trojan" elephant and may be a parody on the theme of war. Both the butcher shop (the sixth painting) and the fish store (the seventh) would be comprehensive scenes, the latter depicting every kind of fish according to its "qualita" (nature). Finally, the cheese shop would contain all sorts of salami, mortadella, "colli d'ocha" (stuffed goose necks), duck, prosciutto, "formagielle" (soft milk cheese), "cervelato fino" (sausage containing cheese), and other delicacies.

A brief entry on the sixth canvas, "una beccaria qual sara originale" (a butcher shop that will be original), suggests that the entire set, save this, was to be copied or closely based on other works. Indeed, the description of the poultry shop clearly borrows the principal motifs of Vincenzo Campi's two well-known versions of the same subject.[6] Both show a seated woman plucking a goose and apparently amused by a boy wringing a duck's neck, his cheeks bulging from the exertion. Calvi would have known Campi's genre paintings and, as seems likely, others that have disappeared without a trace. At least one other set of similar scope but by an unknown artist was in a collection in Milan.[7]

Two groups of scenes by Vincenzo Campi similar to those described in the contract are preserved: one in the Brera (with an additional painting in the Museo Civico, Cremona) and the other, of lesser quality and procured in 1580–81, in the Fugger Castle at Kirchheim in Bavaria.[8] Those in Milan and Cremona were most likely painted before the Fugger commission,[9] and were still in the possession of the artist's widow as late as 1621.[10] Both groups have attracted considerable attention from scholars seeking to decipher a hidden meaning behind the painted images.[11] It has been argued that they represent the seasons or the elements or that they are examples of bawdy humor, investing gestures, objects, fruit, and animals with sexual connotations.[12] The latter hypothesis has had a particularly enduring legacy, but has justifiably passed out of favor.[13] De Klerck suggests that Campi's genre scenes are moralizing tracts, "images of the sinful aspects of the world," an interpretation not unlike that sometimes given to Jacopo Bassano's paintings of markets and the seasons.[14] However, as one critic has acutely noted, this interpretation rests on the "unlikely proposition" that Bassano's patrons bought paintings featuring the world of peasants, animals, and markets in order to reject that mode of existence.[15] The argument is especially untenable when applied to Campi's works, which do not include the slightest reference to the sacred; the biblical figures tucked into the corners of Bassano's seasons are never found in Cremonese market scenes.

The contract with Calvi provides a secure, albeit prosaic, iconographical key to Campi's paintings. Their most important elements were beautiful women, with slightly risqué glimpses of breast (much less than could be seen in many of Cremona's churches). While these women might not be paragons of virtue, they are shown "in atto onesto," a phrase that does not place them at the center of a pornographic joke.[16] Some, but not all, of the figures were comic, meant to provoke amusement with their laughable appearance or oafish behavior. Above all, there was an emphasis on representing the things of the world—all kinds of birds, every kind of fish, everything needed in a butcher shop, the objects of daily life and especially food. De Lara, Fugger, and many others did not order paintings that rejected the world but instead reveled in its sheer variety.

Notes

This study is dedicated to Maria Luisa Corsi, the recently retired director of the Archivio di Stato di Cremona. I would like to thank Angela Bellardi, the current director, Angel Higareda, and Charles Ellis for their help.

1. An introduction to northern market and kitchen scenes is found in Wied 2002 and Vienna 2002, nos. 51–64.
2. According to the *anno ab incarnatione,* the calendar used by notaries in Cremona throughout the sixteenth century, the new year began on March 25. Hence, the contract is dated 1587, which corresponds to our 1588. The notary, Severo Dolci, was prominent in his profession and familiar with the artistic community of Cremona, serving the Campi among others.

   The governor's reason for choosing Calvi, called il Cornaro (ca. 1565–1596), is somewhat difficult to ascertain. Little is known of this painter of very modest talent, but a small number of his surviving works demonstrate that he may have been trained by Bernardino Campi (1521–1591; not related to the brothers Giulio, Antonio, and Vincenzo Campi) and later associated with the prolific Giovanni Battista Trotti (1556–1619), Bernardino's most important pupil. For Calvi, see Marco Magnifico in Cremona 1985, p. 249, nos. I.30.1–I.30.3; Valerio Guazzoni in Gregori 1990, p. 280; Toninelli 1995.
3. Salazar y Castro 1694–97, vol. 2, pp. 385–86. De Lara as governor is noted by Antonio Campi (1585, bk. 3, p. lxvii).
4. For a range of meanings of the term "bizaria" and examples of its usage, see *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana,* s.v. "Bizzarria."
5. In 1527 Marco Girolamo Vida, the bishop of Alba (hence also of Cremona), had published the immensely popular poem *De ludo scacchorum* (in *De arte poetica liber III*, later entitled *Scacchia ludus*; see Murray 1913, pp. 789–93) in which the rook in a chess game was described as an elephant with a tower on its back, a concept derived from Livy. An elephant that passed through Cremona in 1551 created a sensation (Campi 1585, bk. 3, p. xxxv).
6. One is in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, the other at the Fugger Castle at Kirchheim in Bavaria. A copy by an unknown painter (not Calvi) is preserved in the Muzeum Umění, Olomouc (Czech Republic); ill. in Paliaga 1997, p. 249, no. 45.
7. A *Charta tutella, cura, inventarium etc.* of September 16, 1585 (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo notarile, rog. Giovanni Battista Albertini, filza 13624) lists the contents of the house of the deceased "magnificus" Captain Pompeo Lombardo, a wealthy nobleman with a considerable collection, and states that Lombardo possessed "sette quadri incornisata depinti a cusina et altro" (seven framed pictures painted with a kitchen and other [subjects]). Lombardo's widow, "magnifica" Eleonora Lodrona, inherited the many paintings including, "sei quadri de Fiandra incornisata" (six framed pictures from Flanders).
8. Vincenzo's genre paintings were the focal point of an exhibition organized by Franco Paliaga in Cremona in 2000–2001. Sadly, the absence of the Brera paintings precluded a direct comparison with the pictures on loan from Kirchheim. The catalogue revisits many of the issues raised earlier in Paliaga's important 1997 monograph on Campi. In addition to the groups mentioned here, there are a considerable number of single paintings, some signed and dated, but many more must have been lost with the widespread dispersal and destruction of private collections. The *Fish Sellers* at Kirchheim, a weak workshop product, is dated 1578 and, therefore, predates the sale to Fugger.
9. Paliaga (1997, pp. 49–50, 175, under no. 24) maintains that they were painted in two phases: the *Poultry Seller, Fruit Seller,* and *Fish Sellers* in the second half of the 1570s, and the rest in the early 1580s.
10. Paliaga (ibid., pp. 51–53, 270–72, docs. II, III; 2000–2001, pp. 25, 27; in Cremona 2000–2001, p. 152) has reconstructed the passage of the four paintings from Vincenzo's house to the Brera. I do not agree, however, that they were kept hidden in Campi's "studio," which his heirs would not have maintained intact for thirty years after his death. Instead, they probably decorated the painter's house.
11. For a survey of the interpretive literature, see De Klerck 2000–2001, pp. 40–44.
12. Wind 1977.
13. De Klerck 2000–2001, pp. 41, 43–44. Moxey (1990, pp. 31–32, 35–37) has rejected this erotic-sexual interpretation as it has been applied to the work of Aertsen.
14. In De Klerck 2000–2001, pp. 47–48.
15. Greenstein 1998, p. 40.
16. On the term *onesto,* see Talvacchia 1999, pp. 104–15.

Transcription of the Contract

1588 (1587 *anno ab incarnatione*), February 19.
Cremona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo notarile, rog. Severo Dolci, filza 1448.

Carta conventionum et aliorum factorum pro et infra videlicet: 1587 indictione prima die veneris decimo nono mensis februarii in domo habitationis infrascripti multum illustrissi domini don Raphaelis Manrichis sancte Helene Cremone presente pro secundo notario domino Balthesar de Flameris notario et presentibus domino Antonio de Cazanigho filio quondam alterius domini Antonii domino Hieronimo de Veriera hispano filio nobilis domini Roderici et domino Martino de Rota filio domini Simonis omnes vicinie sancte Helene viciniarum predicte civitatis testibus etc. qui dixerunt etc.

Ibique multum illustrissimus dominus don Raphael Manrichus del Ara filius quondam multum illustrissimi domini don Rodrici comitis de Parez vicinie sancte Helene Cremone arcis dicte civitatis castellanus et eiusdem civitatis gubernator ex una et dominus Julius de Calvis filius domini Johannis Baptiste vicinie sancti Viti et qui ut dixit et iuramento suo affirmarvit ad instantiam infrascriptam a pluribus annis et citra negotia sua publice et separatim a patre gessit et gerit renunciando ex altera sponte etc. ad mutuam interogationem et instantiam sesse convenerunt et conveniunt in hunc modum et prout infra videlicet:

Primo che il detto messer Giovanni Battista [sic: read "Giulio"] *sia obligata e cosi promette far et dar et consignar al detta molto illustrissimo signor don Raphael et a tutte spese de esso messer Giulio per il pretio et nel termine infrascritto li infrascritti otto quadre de pittura come segue cioe:*

Il primo è de una polaria con ogni sorte de oselli et polami che parano morti et vivi con una donna bella et gratiosa con il petto scoperto a li brazzi [illegible word] *qual para che pela un ocha et un figliol che con fatica tira il collo a una anadra et la donna se ne ride a veder tanta fatica che fa il putto et altri simili bizarie*

Il secundo è una fruttarola bella et gratiosa con tutte le sorte de frutti cavato dal natural posti parte nelli piatti parte nelle cestine secundo che convengono con un putto che taglia una fetta de formagio et che una donna pesa delli frutti et finge di burlar il putto

Il terzo de certe donne belle et gratiose che fano cusina et una cusina finta con li ordini che si puono adoperar in tal sugetto et una donna bella principale che fa una torta con tutto quella che li fa bisogno et un altra che rotisse nella padella al fuoco et un altra che sia nascosta a canto a una credenza che beve con un bocat ridiculosamente

Il quarto una donna che si lava la testa nelli utenilii [sic] *necessarii con un specchio nel qual lei si risguarda a altre donne che lavano et fregano diversi utensilii de casa et una che lava delli panni in un fiume ma tutte in atto honesto et con bella bizaria*

Il quinto uno elefante con un castello fabricato de diverse bizarie sopra esso elefante con diversi personagii et sorte d'arme dentro detto elefante per diffender detto castello et a torno al detto elefante diversi personagii molto ridiculosi con diversi preparamenti di guerra et arme ch'è bizaria et inventione nova in Italia et venuta novamente de Fiandra

Il sexto è una beccaria qual sara originale con tutta quello che li fa bisogno et che esserasse in detta beccaria

Il septimo una pescaria con ogni sorte de pessi secundo le qualita de ciascuna sorte de pessi vivi che si trovano

L'octavo una botega da formagian con tutte le sorti de salame mortadelle colli d'ocha anadre persutti formagielle zibetto laza mascherpa butiro formaggio cervelato fino a altri simili cose

Tutti li detti quadri promette farli al natural et a satisfatione del predetto molto illustrissimo signor don Raphael et dargeli et consignargeli prefetti fra il termine de mesi dieci proximi a venir remosta ogni eccettione incontrario qual incontrario professe adure

Il detto molto illustrissimo signor don Raphael prodetto al detto messer Giulio daregli di presente le tele et tellari che sono necessarii per far li detti otto quadri

Et di piu darli et pargarli per il pretio de essi quadri scuti cento vinticinque a libre sei e soldi otto per scudo in questo modo cioe ducatoni trenta de Milano di presenti et quali realmente detto molto illustrissimo signor don Raphael che li ha datti et realmente numerati et lui li ha realmente ricevuti et cossi confessa etc.

Et tutte il restante fatti che sarano li sudetti quadri et tanti che si mandino fuori di Cremona in dinari con le debite restantie

Et renunciaverunt hinc inde etc. qui omnia etc. ad que etc. attendere et observare promiserunt sibi vicissim et prout utrumque eorum tangit et tanget sub pena soldorum centum imperialium et dupli damni…

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Cremona, ca. 1532–Palermo, 1625

54. Miniature Self-Portrait
Ca. 1556
Oil on parchment laid down on card, 3¼ × 2½ in. (8.2 × 6.3 cm)
Inscribed along edge of disk: *SOPHONISBA ANGUSSOLA VIR[GO] IPSIUS MANU EX [S]PECULO DEPICTAM CREMONAE*; within the disk, monogram formed by the letters *A N G U I S O L F E C T V R M*
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Emma F. Munroe Fund 60.155

Within the remarkable and varied group of self-portraits by Sofonisba Anguissola, the painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is exceptional, not only for its minuscule dimensions (it is the smallest surviving such work) but also for its special iconography.

The young painter portrays herself in her customary black dress with plum-colored sleeves and white lace-embroidered collar, which sets off her face with quiet elegance and emphasizes her large, bright eyes. She uses both hands to support a large disk that bears a number of painted letters, skillfully intertwined to form a complex monogram. This mysterious interlacing of letters has been thought to be a contraction of a Latin motto ("Anguis sola fecit victoriam") that attested to the noble origins of the Anguissola family, although the tradition behind this has been found to be unreliable, even though widely accepted during the sixteeenth century (Costa 1999). The presence of the monogram, together with the subtle idealization that gives the painter's features a certain evenness and, perhaps, greater youth, thus contributes to the dignity and nobility of this young woman. And it was these qualities, prescribed by sixteenth-century theory, to which Sofonisba was always attentive in the creation of her self-portraits.

Sofonisba most likely completed the Boston portrait in or very close to 1556, the year of an undocumented but highly probable meeting with Giulio Clovio. It was precisely from the celebrated miniaturist that the young painter could have learned the technical skills that allowed her—even in such a diminutive picture—to maintain focus on the truth and psychological depth that consistently inform her larger paintings.

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SELECTED REFERENCES: Caroli 1987, no. 3; Perlingieri 1992, pp. 61–63; Rossana Sacchi in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 6; Sylvia Ferino-Pagden in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95 (Washington ed.), pl. 3; Costa 1999

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Cremona, ca. 1532–Palermo, 1625

55. The Chess Players
1555
Oil on canvas, 28⅜ × 38¼ in. (72 × 97 cm)
Inscribed and dated along edge of chessboard: *SOPHONISBA ANGUSSOLA VIRGO AMILCARIS FILIA EX VERA EFFIGIE TRES SUAS SORORES ET ANCILAM PINXIT MDLV*
Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań
New York only

As this group portrait has become one of Sofonisba Anguissola's best-known and most reproduced works, it is easy to lose sight of its extraordinary character. The ambitious composition, undertaken by the young artist, was deeply admired by Vasari (see pages 7–8 in this volume), who saw it when he visited Cremona in 1566. Soon thereafter (certainly before 1600), along with another painting and two drawings by the artist, it entered the Roman collection of Fulvio Orsini and, by descent, that of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese. While in Rome, the painting could be seen by many, including other artists, and as a result Sofonisba's art came to have a broad influence. The *Chess Players* was later owned by two other great collectors, Lucien Bonaparte and Count Athanasius Raczynski.

Sofonisba has depicted three of her sisters (from left to right probably Lucia, Europa, and Minerva) playing chess, while the family's housemaid looks on. The picture brings together many of the aspects of painting that most interested the artist. She has painted her sisters "dal naturale," from life, as she (and they, for the Anguissola sisters had similar training in the arts) did elsewhere; those contemporaries who wrote of the painting universally lauded this approach. She was at pains to describe not just their physiognomy but also their attire and jewelry (Grazietta Butazzi in Varese 2002, no. 6). Minerva's pearl necklace with pendant appears identical to that worn by their mother, Bianca Ponzoni, in a painting executed two years later (Staatliche Museen, Berlin).

At the same time, this is a subtle narrative as well as a group portrait. The pieces are being moved on the chessboard; Minerva, lips parted and gesturing, says something that has caught the attention of the maid and caused Europa to smile. The expressivity suggested by the smiling child was a core element of Sofonisba's art, seen also in her drawings (cat. nos. 91, 92) and praised by Michelangelo, while Minerva's gesture, hand raised, seems rhetorical in nature. Because Sofonisba has studied each figure individually, then linked them together through these gestures, the effect is somewhat stilted (one critic compared the figures to mannequins). Caravaggio, who worked in a similar way, was to encounter comparable difficulties in some of his early multifigured compositions. Sofonisba has set her figures in what is usually called a garden, although no such scene has ever been seen from a loggia or courtyard in Cremona, which lies in the flatlands of the Po Valley. Instead this is clearly an aspect that has been influenced by Flemish landscapes, which the artist would have known, with their rather fantastical mountains and blue-green tonality.

The *Chess Players* is one of a group of important early genre scenes from Lombardy based on the subject of gaming. It is essentially different in character, however, from the game of chess depicted by Giulio Campi some twenty-five years earlier (cat. no. 58), with its erotic and courtly character, or from Caravaggio's *Cardsharps* (cat. no. 64), in which cheating is a leitmotif. Sofonisba's painting shows chess as a virtuous entertainment, in which the young women's skill and intelligence are highlighted (for contemporary poems and descriptions of the virtues of chess, see Guazzoni 1994–95, p. 68). Chess becomes in effect an emblem of the high intellectual standards of the Anguissola family, so dominated by these remarkable women.

AB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, p. 498; Caroli 1987, pp. 30–32, no. 7; Perlingieri 1992, pp. 82–87; Rossana Sacchi in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 3; Rossana Sacchi in Varese 2002, no. 6

GIUSEPPE ARCIMBOLDI
Probably Milan, ?1527–Milan, 1593

56. The Vegetable Gardener (L'Ortolano)
1580s
Oil on panel, 14⅛ × 9½ in. (35.8 × 24.2 cm)
Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone," Cremona 211

This celebrated panel from the Cremona museum is one of the most famous examples of Arcimboldi's bizarre reversible paintings. Well known and admired for their composite heads assembled from various natural elements, Arcimboldi's works took an even more whimsical turn in paintings that were completely transformed when turned upside down. That the genre was popular and widespread is demonstrated by the fact that Emperor Maximilian II owned a reversible painting of a head in a flower vase and the Farnese inventories list an unattributed "vaso di frutta che forme la testa di un villano" (bowl of fruit forming a peasant's head. Berra in Cremona 2000–2001) that was probably by Arcimboldi. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, the Milanese painter and theorist who would have known the imaginative painter's creations, must have been theorizing about their appearance when he wrote, "Figures can be made that are perfect at first sight; when they are turned upside down, other figures are revealed most unlike the first ones seen."[1]

The earlier assignment of the work to Flemish circles was corrected by Alfredo Puerari (1951), who assigned it to Arcimboldi, an attribution commonly recognized today. Nevertheless, the marks on the bowl cannot be interpreted with any degree of certainty as a signature; they were probably added at a later date, perhaps in an attempt at forgery. The supposed signature, moreover, is not in the normal position, nor can any letters be clearly made out. In recent laboratory studies, Mario Lazzari has found that the supposed writing is not bound to the older surface, and indeed insists that it is surrounded by an area of abrasion.

X-rays conducted for the 2000–2001 Vincenzo Campi exhibition in Cremona revealed traces of a previous composition in which the bowl and vegetables were in a different location, leaving open the possibility that the painting was converted to a reversible image only at a later stage of its execution. This fact, together with the fluid painterly style—in contrast to Arcimboldi's customary tightness—might point to an earlier date for the painting, which is currently assigned to the 1580s. Considering the painter's long-standing relations with the Prague court, we cannot exclude a priori Kaufmann's hypothesis (1988) identifying the Cremona panel with the "angesicht von ruben vom Arsimboldo" (an Arsimboldo turnip head) mentioned in a 1621 inventory of Rudolf II.

Although turnips are not the only vegetable in the painting, they are the most immediately recognizable element for an inventory description.

MM

1. "ancora si possono fare medesimamente le figure perfette da vedere, che poi rivoltato quello di sotto di sopra, ci appaiono avanti agli occhi altre figure, molto sconformi dalle prime già vedute." Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 27 (1844 ed.), vol. 2, p. 200.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Puerari 1951, p. 178; Kaufmann 1988, p. 170; Giacomo Berra in Cremona 2000–2001, no. 38; Mario Amedeo Lazzari in Cremona 2000–2001, p. 141; Giacomo Berra in Marubbi 2003, pp. 144–46

ANTONIO CAMPI
Cremona, 1523–Cremona, 1587

57. The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence
1581
Oil on canvas, 11⅜ × 7½ in. (28.8 × 19.2 cm)
Signed and dated: *Antonivs Campvs Cre [monensis] 1581*
San Paolo Converso, Milan

Antonio Campi painted this canvas as an altarpiece for a chapel in the front church of the convent of San Paolo Converso delle Monache Angeliche, Milan. This order, founded in 1535 by Ludovica Torelli della Guastalla, was particularly cherished by the cardinal of Milan, Carlo Borromeo, since it was so deeply rooted in Counter-Reformation spirituality. De Klerck (in Paliaga 1997) has recently shown that the chapel was under the patronage of Danese Figliodoni, grand chancellor of the duchy of Milan, a longtime friend of Ludovica, whom he and Cardinal Carlo visited when she was on her deathbed. The convent was of great importance in the late sixteenth century to the aristocratic families of Milan, and many of them were granted titles to the side chapels, including the Figliodoni, Sfondrati, Bossi, and Casati, all of whom had ties to the Spanish rulers of Milan and the archpriest of the duomo, Alessandro Mazenta.

Longhi considered the *Martyrdom* an example of "ruthless illusionism": unlike Titian's celebrated "impressionistic" prototype, it is created wholly through a foreshortened sequence of muscular masses receding into a dark background. The sharp contrast of light and dark anticipates Caravaggio's similar approach to bodies, as in the *Flagellation of Christ* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples). Campi proves himself here through a powerful use of luministic perspective. The executioner in the shadows, depicted from behind, functions as a *repoussoir*, brandishing a burning torch. The martyr's grate is lit from behind, while the saint is illuminated from below by sinister glimmers of a fire being vigorously stoked by a youth. An onlooker at the right holds a torch that casts light on the faces of the emperor and the executioners. In this spectacle of muscles, torsion, and startling beams of light, Caravaggesque features are clearly evident, as Longhi had pointed out. Along with the *Martyrdom of John the Baptist* at the same church and the *Visit to Saint Catherine in Prison* at the church of Sant'Angelo, also in Milan, this may be Campi's most significant work in terms of dramatic effect and closeness to Caravaggio.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), pp. 127–28; Cirillo and Godi 1982, p. 34; Giulio Bora in Cremona 1985, no. I.19.10; Giulio Bora in Gregori 1990, pp. 277–78; De Klerck 1997, pp. 36, 41

GIULIO CAMPI
Cremona, ca. 1508–Cremona, 1573

58. Game of Chess
Ca. 1530–34
Oil on canvas, 35⅜ × 50 in. (90 × 127 cm)
Museo Civico d'Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama, Turin
Cremona only

This painting was first published by Longhi in 1963, when it was still in the Nigro collection in Genoa, as a work by Sofonisba Anguissola: "a game of chess . . . between a rather provocative woman and the soldiers of a corps of guards, as would later be the case in Caravaggesque painting."[1] Comparing it to the *Chess Players* by Sofonisba in Poznań (cat. no. 55), Longhi believed that it was also by her; the definitive attribution to Giulio Campi was made by Godi and Cirillo (1978), although their dating to the artist's late period was revised to the mid-1530s by Bora (in Cremona 1985). Longhi was, however, the first to recognize the painting's affinity with the well-known *Allegory* by Campi in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan, and he also connected the figure of the man wearing a black cap and leaning over the table with that in Giulio's portrait of his father, Galleazzo (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), thus suggesting the direction taken by subsequent scholarship.

Although the picture is essentially a depiction of a game of chess, as seen in an earlier painting by Lucas van Leyden (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), it also documents the dissemination of the game—revived during the sixteenth century by the poem *Scacchia ludus* by Marco Girolamo Vida (Guazzoni in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95)—in the area around Cremona. In its composition, the canvas reflects a format that became widespread in the Veneto and had an impact on certain paintings by Dosso, such as the *Allegory of Hercules* (Uffizi), and Callisto Piazza (see cat. no. 39). The works of Callisto, who may also have been known in Cremona (a copy after one of his genre scenes is in the Palazzo Tinti Pallavicino, Cremona, and another in the Palazzo Bondenti, Crema), provided Giulio with the device of a foreground figure with his back to the viewer.

The painting has been regarded as an amorous allegory, reflecting the contrast between love (the buxom young woman) and war (the armed man seen from behind)—almost as if the theme were Mars Succumbing to Venus in a Neoplatonic contest possibly alluding to a marriage (Bora in Cremona 1985). Longhi focused instead "on the facts of daily life," and Guazzoni, more recently, on the "actual surroundings"[2] of the scene: the gazes, gestures, and implied allusions and secrets that might suggest that this is a group portrait. Fundamental in this respect was Gianni Toninelli's discovery (published in Guazzoni in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95) that the man in profile in the Poldi Pezzoli *Allegory* is a self-portrait of the painter. If we could picture that figure from the front, we might see the image of the melancholy youth who gazes at us from the background here, while his companion leaning on the table closely resembles the likeness in the Uffizi cited above. It cannot therefore be ruled out that Giulio deliberately added his own portrait and that of his

father to the painting, which in any case could still be read symbolically. Sofonisba had similarly included the portraits of her sisters and a servant in her *Chess Players,* explicitly declaring this in the inscription.

Campi's *Game of Chess* should be dated close to 1530 and probably before the *Madonna of Mercy* (1534; Arcivescovado, Milan), in which his early style, based on the traditions of the Lombardy and the Veneto, was supplanted by a more Mannerist approach, enriched with borrowings from Raphael and the Emilian school.

MM

1. "una partita a scacchi . . . tra una donna abbastanza provocante e i soldati di un corpo di guardia, come sarà poi nei dipinti dei caravaggeschi." Longhi 1963, p. 52.
2. "nel fatto di vita feriale." Longhi 1963; "contorni reali." Guazzoni in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 58.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1963; Godi and Cirillo 1978, pp. 56–57, 61; Giulio Bora in Cremona 1985, no. I.12.3; Valerio Guazzoni in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 58

VINCENZO CAMPI
Cremona, 1530/35–Cremona, 1591

59. Fish Sellers (La Pescaria)
Ca. 1580
Oil on canvas, 57⅛ × 84⅝ in. (145 × 215 cm)
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan 334

This painting belongs to the famous series of four genre paintings formerly located in the guest quarters of the Hieronymite monastery of San Sigismondo in Cremona. The four were first recorded in 1611 in the will of Elena Luciani, Vincenzo's widow, at which time they were still in the house of the painter; the widow's second will, from 1621, mentions them again, calling the present work "la pescaria." The monks acquired the canvases about 1623, after Elena's death; the works are mentioned in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century memoirs and inventories of San Sigismondo, where they remained until the monastery was suppressed. In July 1809, having caught the eye of Andrea Appiani, the chief conservator of the newly established Pinacoteca di Brera, the paintings came to Milan.

The four canvases—the others are the *Greengrocer,* the *Kitchen,* and the *Poultry Seller*—are similar in content and have been variously interpreted as traditional allegories of the four elements (New York, Tulsa, Dayton 1983), references to the seasons or periods of the year (Paliaga in Marubbi 2003), or images of *voluptas carnis* (pleasures of the flesh) that the good Christian must overcome to enter paradise. It may be that such paintings contain complex allegorical meanings, including explicit sexual allusions (see Wind 1977). In addition, the four canvases in the Brera are probably not without moralizing intentions of the sort expressed by the *Fabulae centum* (1567), a work by the Cremonese author Gabriele Faerno. Dedicated to Carlo Borromeo, the text argues the need to inculcate morality in youths in a humorous way, through the *dulcedo* (sweetness) of fairy tales; one tale in particular, "Puer et scorpius" (c. 26r), about a boy bitten by a scorpion (a motif seen at the left of the present work), is a lesson in how to distinguish between good and evil.

Aside from the complex iconological allusions, the fact remains that the painting

gives Vincenzo the occasion, in approximately 1580, to stage a complex representation of the natural world. Fully aware of the autonomous value of each object, he investigates them all with a modern sensibility and a scientific approach, as seen, for example, in the depiction of the individual species of fish. In this way, Campi's achievement, together with Arcimboldi's, was of major importance to the birth of the still life in Lombardy.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: New York, Tulsa, Dayton 1983, p. 11, no. 2; Paliaga 1997, pp. 51–52, no. 25; De Klerck 2000–2001, pp. 40–45; Franco Paliaga in Cremona 2000–2001, no. 5; Franco Paliaga in Marubbi 2003, pp. 132–33

VINCENZO CAMPI
Cremona, 1530/35–Cremona, 1591

60. Christ Being Nailed to the Cross
1575
Oil on canvas, 77⅜ × 55¾ in. (196.5 × 136.5 cm)
Signed and dated at lower left:
Vincentius/Campus crem/onensis pin/xit 1575
Museo di Certosa, Certosa di Pavia

This picture was first mentioned in seventeenth-century guidebooks and later described by Bartoli (1776–77) as hanging in the Certosa in Pavia above the triptych by the workshop of the Embriachi family, which is still in the Sacrestia Vecchia there. However, this was probably not the painting's original location as it was meant, at least at first, as an altarpiece. The iconography of the painting is unusual in that it shows Christ, stripped of his purple robe and standing beside the cross upon which he will be crucified. Campi himself returned to this subject matter in a picture dated 1577 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) that depicts the next moment in the Passion—Christ seated on the cross, one hand nailed to the sacred wood.

Both paintings display a strong sense of pathos, which likely derived from contemporary images of the heads of saints as well as from the writings of the Cremonese Bartolomeo Scalvo, which had a tremendous influence on religious iconography in the Borromean period—and on Campi in particular (Guazzoni 2000–2001). The pietistic, devotional atmosphere is pivotal here, for the work was intended to move the faithful by creating the sense of being directly involved in the sacred event. The effect was not very different from that of the *sacromonte* at Varallo, although the latter is more realistic in its three-dimensional rendering of the figures. The diagonal composition and the fact that the figure's gaze is turned directly toward the viewer are theatrical devices that Campi had seen in Pordenone's frescoes for Cremona cathedral. Yet Campi's painting differs in its careful description of the executioner's tools and in its sense of atmosphere (the coming cataclysm is suggested by the shadows spreading across the sky). It is precisely these qualities that mark the new strain of naturalism in the artist's work.

Longhi (1929[1968 ed.]) noted that there was a clear precedent for Caravaggio in Campi's Madrid canvas, although the same could also certainly be said of the

present work. Among its Caravaggesque elements are the shadow cast by the rope hanging from Christ's neck and the improvised reflections on the shoulder plate and helmet of the soldier, whose handsome face with its skeptical expression Caravaggio appropriated for his Odescalchi *Conversion of Saint Paul*. Similarly, the executioner's worn-out gloves, splitting at the seams, anticipate a passage in the *Cardsharps* (cat. no. 64).

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Bartoli 1776–77, vol. 2, pp. 73–74; Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 129; Elisabetta Sambo in Cremona 1985, no. I.20.4; Paliaga 1997, p. 32, no. 13; Guazzoni 2000–2001, p. 107

VINCENZO CAMPI
Cremona, 1530/35–Cremona, 1591

61. Saint Matthew and the Angel
1588
Oil on canvas, 8 ft. 9½ in. × 5 ft. 10⅞ in. (268 × 180 cm)
Signed and dated: *Vincentius Campus Cremonensis facie[bat]* MDLXXXVIII
San Francesco d'Assisi, Pavia

This altarpiece for the chapel of the aristocratic Beccaria family was painted shortly after the chapel was rededicated to Saint Matthew in compliance with the family's wish to honor the memory of Matteo Beccaria (1475–1547), a distinguished military man and the notorious governor of Pavia, who in December 1524, in the thick of the French assault on the city, hosted a sumptuous banquet while his fellow citizens were starving.

Early art historians (Scaramuccia, Bartoli) made vague references to Vincenzo Campi when discussing this celebrated work, but it was Longhi (1929 [1968 ed.]) who definitively attributed it to him even before the signature and date had been brought to light. Longhi's reading of the painting and, beginning in 1951, its repeated appearance in exhibitions of Caravaggio's work established it as one of the most immediate antecedents of the master's realism and use of light. Unlike other contemporary depictions of the theme, including Figino's in San Raffaele, Milan, Campi's scene is set inside a dimly lit room, where the angel is barely touching the ground, as if he had just come through the window on the gust of wind that has blown open the upper frame and ruffled the curtains draped around the column. The canvas shows the painter's particular propensity for narrating miraculous events and for focusing on ephemeral effects. The reflections of light in the round windows, for example, were a refinement of a technique that Vincenzo had probably borrowed from Dürer's print *Saint Jerome in His Study* (1514) and put to a more naturalistic use (De Klerck 1997). It is not hard to understand how Caravaggio's study of this canvas may have given him more than a few ideas for his paintings in the Contarelli Chapel. Although his altarpiece is more synthetic, closer to Figino's painting, the *Calling of Saint Matthew* shows the same beam of light but against the wall (rather than the column) and the same look of amazement on the face of the protagonist, but the imperious gesture of Christ is only hinted at by that of the angel here.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1929 (1968 ed.), p. 129; Elisabetta Sambo in Cremona 1985, no. I.20.13; De Klerck 1997, pp. 133–50; Paliaga 1997, no. 41; Donata Vicini in Bergamo 2000, no. 34

VINCENZO CAMPI
Cremona, 1530/35–Cremona, 1591

62. Still Life
Oil on canvas, 28⅛ × 35⅞ in. (71.5 × 91 cm)
Private collection, Brescia
New York only

This important still life must be considered within the context of Campi's *bodegones* (kitchen scenes; see cat. no. 59), a number of which the painter kept with him until his death. Fruit and vegetable sellers figure in the two extant series of these scenes, which carefully depict the produce in distinct vessels, plates, and baskets of varied shape and size. Although these market scenes derive from examples by the Fleming Joachim Beuckelaer (ca. 1534–ca. 1574), they also correspond to a new and growing interest among North Italians in the scientific study of nature. Importantly, both Panfilo Nuvolone (cat. no. 85) and Fede Galizia (cat. nos. 77–80) would have known Campi's slightly earlier work in Cremona and Milan.

Filippo Baldinucci, Campi's first biographer, wrote of the artist that "many paintings done with great facility came from his hand, many figures, and fruit, and other things."[1] This information would have reached Baldinucci in Florence via Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici from the Cremonese artist Giovan Battista Natali, who was well informed about the earlier history of painting in the city. Following Baldinucci, the Cremonese Giovanni Battista Zaist mentioned Campi's "beautiful Histories . . . noble Portraits . . . Flowers and Fruits of every type," noting as well that "the Fruits . . . in a rather beautiful and gracious manner, are to be seen here and there in private Houses in our City, and various large Narrative Pieces with life-size Figures by the same artist, and various other Fruits and Vegetables are in the Guesthouse of the Bethlehemite monks of Saint Jerome [San Sigismondo]."[2] Various other sources also suggest that Campi painted still lifes. Since the artist died in 1591, these play an important role in our understanding of the birth of the genre in the decade before the 1590s, when some of the greatest early examples were painted (see cat. no. 73).

Careful technical study has shown that the canvas is not a fragment of a larger composition; it is intact on all four edges, and perhaps on its original stretcher (conservation report in Cremona 2000–2001, p. 162). Its visual connections with Campi's *Fruit Seller* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) and its extraordinary pictorial quality confirm it as the only independent still life that can be attributed unreservedly to the artist. The dark background and accurately observed shadows imply that these vegetables are set in an interior and were painted only after careful study. The peaches in the foreground, with their velvety skin, anticipate those by Nuvolone, also Cremonese, who may indeed have studied with Campi (Paliaga 2000–2001, pp. 30–32).

MG

1. "Veggonsi di sua mano moltissime pitture fatte con gran facilità, tanto figure, che frutte ed altre cose." Baldinucci 1681–1728 (1845–47 ed.), vol. 2, p. 488.
2. "belli Istoriati . . . nobil Ritratti . . . Fiori ancora, e Frutti d'ogni sorta"; "I Frutti . . . d'una assai vaga, e graziosa maniera, veggonsi quà e là sparsi per le Case private della nostra Città, e varj Pezzi grandi Istoriati, con Figure parimente grandi al naturale dello stesso Autore, e diversi altri Frutti, e Verdure stanno riposti nella Foresteria de' Monaci Betlemiti di S. Girolamo." Zaist 1774, vol. 1, pp. 179–80.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gregori 1991a, pp. 79–80; Paliaga 1997, no. 39; Mina Gregori in Cremona 2000–2001, no. 12; Franco Paliaga in Munich, Florence 2002–3, pp. 86–87

CARAVAGGIO
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

63. A Youth as Bacchus (Bacchino malato)
Ca. 1593
Oil on canvas, 26⅜ × 20⅞ in. (67 × 53 cm)
Galleria Borghese, Rome
New York only

This picture, among Caravaggio's earliest, shows a youth—actually a self-portrait of the artist—in the guise of Bacchus. His sallow complexion led to the notion that it was painted during the time Caravaggio was convalescing in the Hospital of Santa Maria della Consolazione. Key to our understanding of the picture is the artist's use of a mirror to introduce his features into a picture with a mythological subject. For the painter-biographer Giovanni Baglione, this practice of Caravaggio's was due to the artist's extreme poverty. But when we take into account those cases later in his career when he could afford models and nonetheless inserted himself into his paintings, this explanation seems simplistic and unsatisfactory. Rather, we might see this act of self-inclusion as part of Caravaggio's attempt to break down the hierarchies of Renaissance painting by undercutting its idealizing premise. The pose of the figure derives from a figure in Marcantonio Raimondi's celebrated engraving of the Judgment of Paris after a design by Raphael—a source already utilized by Caravaggio's teacher Simone Peterzano for a fresco in the Certosa di Garegnano, Milan (cat. no. 97), and it may have been in his shop that Caravaggio made a drawing after the same posed model.

An analogous intention is evident in his inclusion of a minute depiction of himself at work at the easel as a reflection in a flask of wine in another depiction of Bacchus (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). In that case, the reflection at once objectifies the painting as an artistic creation and unmasks the imaginative process as an act of mimesis. In so doing, Caravaggio was drawing on a tradition with strong Lombard roots. We might cite Solario's depiction of his face (shown twice, inverted and distorted) in the salver in his *Head of John the Baptist* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), or Panfilo Nuvolone's of his in the silver dish of a still life (cat. no. 85). A desire to assert painting as mimesis is also suggested by Fede Galizia in her portrait of the Jesuit scholar Paolo Morigia (cat. no. 74): in the pair of glasses the sitter holds, she shows the reflection of the windows of the room; a similar strategy was taken up by Caravaggio in his painting the *Conversion of the Magdalen* (Detroit Institute of Arts).

There is a temptation, when confronted by these images, to elaborate a high-minded critical theory relating to optics and representation (Cranston 2000, pp. 127–67) or to reduce the use of the mirror to a mere technical aid for obtaining effects of greater realism (Hockney 2001, p. 114). However, for Caravaggio this act of self-inclusion was part of a broader desire to polemicize the practice of painting by emphasizing work done directly from a model. Such a practice not only dispensed with the idealist premise of Renaissance painting, but also broke down the psychological distance on which viewer response was predicated. The same intention is involved in the lowlife subjects he treated during his first years in Rome and the social class of the models he employed—and intentionally refused to idealize (a fact that still irritated Bellori three-quarters of a century later).

The *Bacchino malato* has inspired a wide array of esoteric interpretations, in part because its autonaturalism obscures whether the mainspring of the painting is allegorical, biographical, or possibly even (homo)erotic. What is clear is that, unlike Lomazzo's *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 82), in which the artist is shown in contemporary dress but with the attributes of Bacchus, Caravaggio's painting refuses to be read in purely symbolic or allegorical terms—as though one had only to decipher the emblems to uncover its "meaning." The fruits, placed invitingly on the ledge, suggest the tactile world of experience rather than the temporally remote, intellectually erudite fiction of Renaissance painting.

KC

SELECTED REFERENCES: Cinotti 1983, no. 52; Fried 1997, pp. 33–34; Spike 2001, pp. 33–36, no. 3

CARAVAGGIO
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

64. The Cardsharps
Ca. 1595
Oil on canvas, 36 × 50½ in. (91.5 × 128.2 cm)
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth
New York only

Painted about 1595 and acquired by Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte from Caravaggio's friend and dealer Costantino Spata, this picture may be said to have launched the Lombard painter's career in Rome. It shows a young dandy fleeced by two cardsharps (actually *bravi,* or soldiers of fortune), a subject that carried topical, moralistic, and comedic overtones and that was popular in the theater and literature of the period. More than one critic has commented on the way Caravaggio employs the exaggerated expressions and emphatic gestures of the commedia dell'arte. He has also incorporated the artistic principle of *contrapposti,* or meaningful contrasts, as a narrative device: the passive, effeminate dandy set opposite the rakish, sharp-witted youth and in front of an older, coarse-featured accomplice. A further contrast is established by the lowlife character of the sharps and the expensive carpet on the gaming table.

This must be one of Caravaggio's very first multifigure works, for the compositional procedures are still primitive: in many respects, the picture reads like a collage of individual elements arranged on an interlocking system of triangles. Absent entirely is the sophisticated apparatus of Leonardesque painting, with gesture and expression used not only as narrative devices but also as a means of eloquently choreographing the action. What made Caravaggio's treatment so influential—initiating a vogue that swept across Europe—was the novelty of the lowlife subject painted in a decisively naturalistic style. Bellori, writing in 1672, characterized the style as Giorgionesque, but the emphasis on optical verity and descriptive precision is Lombard, not Venetian (Savoldo comes especially to mind for the figure of the dandy). Yet if there is none of the elevated, poetic sensibility of Giorgione, neither is there the mocking, burlesque tone of Vincenzo Campi's *Ricotta Eaters* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon), nor the artificial, allegorizing tendencies of Giulio Campi's *Game of Chess* (cat. no. 58). The figures have the appearance of having been taken from the streets of Rome, posed individually, and painted from life. As with Sofonisba Anguissola's portrait of her sisters playing chess (cat no. 55), inscribed "ex vera efficie" (represented from life), the intent is to play on the idea of counterfeiting reality. This was done here by implementing what was seen in Rome with a specifically Lombard emphasis on painting from life.

In this work Caravaggio is still moving within the conventions of sixteenth-century notions about hierarchies of style, for this sort of naturalism would not have

been acceptable in a picture with a religious subject. Indeed, when in his large canvas showing the Calling of Saint Matthew (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome) he sought to give the biblical scene a topical actuality, Caravaggio introduced the same cast of characters counting money around a table, but took care to draw a distinction between the apostle's cohorts and Christ, who is ennobled by his Michelangesque gesture and by his artful pose, taken from a print after Parmigianino. *Arte* and *natura* are the two, dialectical poles of Caravaggio's Lombard polemic.

KC

SELECTED REFERENCES: Wind 1974; Mahon 1988; Langdon 2001; Spike 2001, pp. 37–43, no. 4

CARAVAGGIO
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

65. The Lute Player
Ca. 1597–98
Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 49¾ in. (100 × 126.5 cm)
Private collection

In his brief *Discorso sopra la pittura* (Discourse on painting) Caravaggio's admirer and patron Vincenzo Giustiniani records Caravaggio's view "that it took as much talent to make a good painting of flowers as one of figures" ("che tanta manifattura gli era a fare un quadro buono di fiori, come di figure." Giustiniani ca. 1620 [1981 ed.], p. 42). We also have it from his biographer (and rival in painting), Giovanni Baglione, that Caravaggio considered a still life of a vase of flowers owned by Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (now lost) to be "the most beautiful thing he ever did" ("il più bell pezzo che facesse mai." Baglione 1642, p. 136). These comments should not be taken at face value: they were polemical attacks on the prevailing belief that genre painting was an inferior endeavor, involving the merely mechanical act of mimesis rather than the creative imagination necessary in history painting. They were meant to assert the primacy of a Lombard emphasis on naturalism.

The *Lute Player* displayed here is very much a part of this polemic. It originated as a variant composition of a painting done a few years earlier for Giustiniani (now at the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg). Under the guise of an allegory of music, Giustiniani's picture juxtaposed a still life of flowers and fruit with a musician. The present picture was painted a few years later (perhaps about 1597–98)

for Cardinal Del Monte. X-rays show that, at first, Caravaggio thought of repeating the still life of fruits, but not the vase of flowers, as well as the violin and part book found in the Giustiniani painting; a tracing may have been used to lay in the initial lines of the composition. However, from the outset the work was to be a variant that brought the elements of the Giustiniani picture into even stronger focus.

The still life of musical instruments on a carpet-covered table is more elaborate, and the table is viewed frontally rather than at an angle; the selection of madrigals is taken from an edition of Jacob Arcadelt's *Primo libro* printed by Antonio Gardane in Venice. Like the instruments and carpet, the part book probably came from Del Monte's collection. The singer—whose physiognomy is far more individualized than that of the performer in the Giustiniani *Lute Player*—has the characteristics of a portrait and may record the features of Del Monte's resident Spanish castrato, Pedro Montoya (who would seem to be wearing a theatrical wig). In all of these ways the emphasis has shifted toward evoking the actuality of a costumed musical performance rather than an allegorical presentation. The caged bird, which has become darker with time and is now diffiicult to read, was included both to define the space and to contrast the music of Nature (*musica naturalis*) with the artistry of the castrato voice (*musica artificialis*). In this juxtaposition of portraiture and still life Caravaggio lays emphasis on his Lombard training and perhaps consciously evokes the work of Savoldo, as in the *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder* (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia).

Although the figure has suffered from abrasion because of a harsh cleaning in the past, the musical instruments are relatively well preserved and constitute perhaps the most beautiful such still life prior to those of Evaristo Baschenis (cat. no. 102A–C).

KC

SELECTED REFERENCES: Christiansen 1990b; Mahon 1990; Christiansen 1992; Spike 1992, pp. 276–77; Spike 2001, no. 10.2

CARAVAGGIO
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

66. The Supper at Emmaus
1601
Oil on canvas, 55½ × 77¼ in. (141 × 196.2 cm)
National Gallery, London
New York only

On January 7, 1602, Caravaggio was paid by Ciriaco Mattei, in whose palace he was living, for a picture showing "Our Lord in the Breaking of Bread": how, after the Resurrection, Christ appeared to two followers on the road to Emmaus and they recognized him when he blessed bread (Luke 24:30). Scannelli (1657) commented on the "tremenda naturalezza" (tremendous naturalism) of the picture, while Bellori (1672 [1976 ed.], p. 223), the high priest of classicism, decried the vulgar forms of the apostles no less than the beardless appearance of Christ and the fact that the late summer or early autumn still life of apples, grapes, figs, and pomegranate was inappropriate for a scene that took place at Easter. Each of the details noted by Bellori constituted a breach of decorum and has elicited learned commentary from art historians.

For our purposes it is important to note that Caravaggio's Lombard heritage, reaching back to Moretto's interpretation of biblical events (fig. 15) in terms of a monumental genre scene ("scena di genere," to quote Longhi 1929 [1968 ed.], p. 112), has been grafted onto the rhetorical structure of Roman painting with the intent of polemicizing the conventions of decorum and idealization that stood at the core of Renaissance art. Painting as a fiction, taking place outside normal time and appealing above all to the intellect through a studied use of gesture and expression, is rejected in favor of painting as an imitation of temporal reality, appealing to the senses. Perspective is employed less to create a self-contained stage for the narrative than to project the action into the space of the viewer (the audaciously foreshortened gesture of the right-hand pilgrim is aligned along a converging orthogonal). Light is used not only dramatically but also descriptively, to assert the physical reality of the objects, whether

the torn sleeve of the left-hand pilgrim, the translucency of the grapes in the basket and the transparency of the flask of water, or the luxurious curls of Christ's hair. The fruit is overripe, with spoilage spots—testifying to the corruptibility of matter—while Christ is provocatively shown with sensually thick lips and full, beardless cheeks. Although Michelangelo famously depicted Christ beardless in the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel, and he is sometimes beardless in Early Christian sarcophagi (on this, see especially Lavin 2000), in Giovan Andrea Gilio's treatise on abuses in art (1560 [1961 ed.], p. 73), precisely this detail in Michelangelo's fresco was condemned as an artistic caprice: in taking up the motif Caravaggio was knowingly inviting censure (he notably returned to a more decorous depiction in his later *Supper at Emmaus* in the Brera, Milan).

Caravaggio's key position in European art is due expressly to the way he polemicized the theoretical issues of the day, so that to the Spanish painter and theorist Vincenzo Carducho, writing in 1633, he appeared an "evil genius, who worked naturally, almost without precepts, without doctrine, without study, but only with the strength of his talent, with nothing but nature before him, which he simply copied in his amazing way."[1] It was in Rome that Caravaggio discovered the subversive potential of his Lombard heritage and used it to break down the pieties of late Mannerist theory—especially those related to notions of decorum and a hierarchy of style. He was, nonetheless, deeply conscious of the achievement of the great masters of the High Renaissance and in his mature, Roman pictures employed the rhetorical language of Raphaelesque tradition to give his work greater dramatic force, thereby laying the groundwork for Seicento naturalism.

KC

1."monstruo de ingenio, y natural, casi hizo sin preceptos, sin doctrina, sin estudio, mas solo con la fuerça de su genio, y con el natural delante, a quien simplemente imitava con tanta admiracion." Carducho 1633, pp. 88–89.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Cinotti 1983, pp. 450–53, no. 25; Mina Gregori in New York, Naples 1985, no. 78; Cappelletti and Testa 1994, pp. 40–41, 104–5, 153; Gilbert 1995, pp. 141–50; Lavin 2000, pp. 18–19, 28–33; Spike 2001, pp. 115–18, no. 25

CARAVAGGIO
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

67. Saint Francis
Ca. 1606–7
Oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 35⅜ in. (130 × 90 cm)
Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone," Cremona 234

Introduced into the literature by Longhi in 1943 (as a copy of a lost, late work by the artist), this picture has gained widespread acceptance as a work painted by Caravaggio after his flight from Rome to Naples in 1606. It has a directness and assurance that fully justify its status as a pivotal work in the artist's short career. Quite apart from the devotional still life, dramatically lit and brilliantly foreshortened so as to affirm its physical reality, there is the psychologically engaging figure of Saint Francis, generally understood to be a self-portrait.

In his 1642 biography, Baglione records that during his first years in Rome Caravaggio could not afford models and therefore worked from a mirror—a practice that a number of Lombard painters, including Sofonisba Anguissola, had made central to their art. The so-called *Bacchino malato* (cat. no. 63) would have been done in this fashion. Caravaggio later introduced himself into a number of his paintings—playing a cornetto in the *Musicians* (Metropolitan Museum), fleeing the scene in the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome), as a spectator in the *Martyrdom of Saint Ursula* (Banca Commerciale Italiana, Naples), as the victim in *David with the Head of Goliath* (Galleria Borghese, Rome). There are numerous analogies for this sort of self-inclusion in narrative painting, usually as a passive spectator, as recommended by Leon Battista Alberti in his 1435 treatise on painting. What distinguishes the Cremona *Saint Francis* is the way self-inclusion has become self-identification: the way Caravaggio's insistence on painting as an imitation of reality has acquired an intensely personal, psychological dimension. (It is worth mentioning Savoldo's precedent of painting himself in the guise of a prophet or saint.)

There is the temptation to read works such as this one in terms of autobiography, and this has, unfortunately, come to dominate the popular literature on the artist. In this case the saint's penitential attitude would express Caravaggio's supposed remorse following his killing of Ranuccio Tommasoni in 1605. Personal experience certainly enriched Caravaggio's painting, but as part of his quest to endow his pictures with the urgency of actuality, not as an element of self-confession. In works such as the *Entombment* (Pinacoteca Vaticana) and the *Madonna of the Rosary* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), Caravaggio explored the rhetorical conventions of classical, Raphaelesque painting by which experience is transformed into formal drama: increasingly his paintings aimed at an imitation of the psychological reality of an event rather than at its mere dramatic and physical contingency. He thus provided a model of enormous consequence for the subsequent history of painting—one that should be seen as the intersection of a specifically Lombard notion of art as mimesis with the renewed emphasis on self-examination promoted by the religious orders of the Counter-Reformation.

KC

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1943, p. 17; Cinotti 1983, no. 9; Mina Gregori in New York, Naples 1985, no. 88; Azzopardi 1997, pp. 197–201; Spike 2001, pp. 208–9, no. 61

CARAVAGGIO
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

68. The Toothpuller
Ca. 1608–9
Oil on canvas, 54⅞ × 76⅝ in. (139.5 × 194.5 cm)
Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence 1158

First recorded in a 1637 inventory of the Medici collection in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, as the work of Caravaggio, this picture is also described in 1657 by Francesco Scannelli in the following terms: "In the apartments of His Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany I also saw some years ago a Painting of half-length figures carried out with [Caravaggio's] accustomed naturalism, that shows a Charlatan pulling a tooth from a Peasant. And if this Picture were in good condition . . . it would be one of the most worthy pictures he painted."[1] Despite these early references and two studies of the picture's technique—which is fully in accordance with what we know of Caravaggio's working procedure—the attribution remains controversial. Yet to this writer the picture is key to understanding the shifting character of Caravaggio's naturalism and his increasing sense of the comic as well as the tragic dimensions of life.

Scannelli employs the term *cer[r]etano,* or charlatan, to describe the figure pulling the tooth, thereby firmly situating the theme in the same line as the *Cardsharps* (cat. no. 64) and the *Fortune Teller* (Musée du Louvre, Paris)—a scene of human folly. Yet this painting has neither the Giorgione (or Savoldo)-like delicacies found in those works, nor the descriptive brilliance and explosive gestures of the *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. no. 66), a picture that employs some of the same compositional devices. At the same time, Caravaggio has lost none of his interest in light as it plays across the wooden surface of the round box or reflects on the glass flask and ceramic pitcher. As in the roughly contemporary *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Museo Regionale, Messina), these still-life details do not compete with the figures for attention but are rigorously subordinate to the narrative. Yet, if in the *Adoration* Caravaggio evoked a world of almost heartbreaking tenderness and humility, here he reveals a streak of extraordinary cruelty. The figures are grouped so as to offer telling contrasts of age and character: perhaps most unsettling is the nutcracker-jawed old hag (similar in effect to the woman with a goiter in the *Crucifixion of Saint Andrew* [Cleveland Museum of Art]), who is paired with a young man mesmerized by the cruel pleasure the charlatan takes in his task (a reprise of the two nude spectators in the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* [San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome]).

The *Toothpuller* exploits in a merciless fashion the mocking, comedic vein found in Vincenzo Campi's *Ricotta Eaters.* But it does so with a mastery of human types that is closer to Leonardo da Vinci and that grows out of an ingrained practice of observing from life, abstracting from it types and gestures of unprecedented expressive power. We have it from one biographer (Susinno) that in Messina Caravaggio formed the inventions for his religious paintings by observing schoolboys at play and in the case of the *Raising of Lazarus* (Galleria Regionale, Messina) forced his models to hold a decomposed corpse. Similar

observations from life lie behind the *Tooth-puller,* in which an apparently insignificant event provides the occasion for a scathing exposition of human foibles.

KC

1. "nelle stanze del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana un Quadro di meze figure della solita naturalezza [del Caravaggio], che fà vedere quando un Ceretano cava ad un Contadino un dente, e se questo Quadro fosse di buona conservazione . . . saria une delle più degne operationi, che [Caravaggio] avesse dipinto." Scannelli 1657, p. 199.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Cinotti 1983, no. 76; Mina Gregori in New York, Naples 1985, no. 98; Mina Gregori in Florence, Rome 1991–92, no. 21; Spike 2001, no. 83

ANNIBALE CARRACCI
Bologna, 1560–Rome, 1609

69. Two Children Teasing a Cat
Ca. 1588–90
Oil on canvas, 26 × 35 in. (66 × 88.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, Gwynne Andrews Fund, and Bequests of Collis P. Huntington and Ogden Mills, by exchange, 1994 1994.142

This picture, which may illustrate a proverb, is meant to convey a simple moral lesson about paying the consequences for our antics: the little girl will surely be scratched by the cat she and her brother are teasing. In painting this remarkable work, Annibale must have recalled Sofonisba Anguissola's celebrated drawing of a boy crying as he is bitten by a crayfish (cat. no. 92). The Carracci (Annibale, Agostino, and their cousin Ludovico) unquestionably knew Sofonisba's work—between 1582 and 1584 Agostino had worked in her native Cremona on Antonio Campi's *Cremona fedelissima,* and they would have read about the drawing in Vasari's *Vite*. Annibale's picture may even be seen as a sort of ironic inversion of Sofonisba's novel invention: it is the cat, not the younger child, who is the ostensible victim. The expression that Sofonisba made the subject of her picture is present only by intimation in Annibale's. His picture suggests an event unfolding in time with an outcome that the viewer must deduce, thereby taking genre painting beyond the depiction of a casual action or the freezing of a moment in time and endowing it with the character of a narrative. Not until Caravaggio's *Fortune Teller* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *Cardsharps* (cat. no. 64), painted several years later, do we find a compelling analogy for endowing genre painting with a like complexity and poetic ambition.

Malvasia, our principal biographical source on the Carracci, recounts how the cousins were criticized for the naturalistic style of their frescoes. What was at issue involved not only their naturalistic style but also a sense of decorum: Annibale was accused of posing beggars and porters and painting them directly into pictures. Ludovico's position was that Lombard naturalism, based on color, would prevail over the abstracting conventions of central Italian *disegno*: that their new emphasis on painting from life was crucial to the reform of painting they promoted. The Lombard practice Ludovico aligned himself with encompassed not merely (or even especially) the painters of modern Lombardy—Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona—but Correggio and Parmigianino in Parma and certain artists in Bologna. Moreover, the loose, vibrant brushwork of the *Two Children Teasing a Cat* is far more indebted to Venetian art, especially Veronese, than to Lombard painting. Annibale has, in essence, translated the descriptivism of Lombard practice into a far more modern idiom based on the study of Venetian art. As with Caravaggio, it was the cross-fertilization of regional traditions that lay at the basis of his pictorial revolution.

KC

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1957, p. 39; Christiansen 2000; Angela Ghirardi in Cremona 2000–2001, pp. 98–99

Attributed to CERANO (GIOVANNI BATTISTA CRESPI)
Cerano, near Novara, ca. 1575–Milan, 1632

70. Saint Carlo Borromeo Adoring Christ
Oil on canvas, 82¼ × 61⅜ in. (209 × 156 cm)
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid 547

This painting entered the royal collection in the Prado after Charles IV had it removed from Segovia Cathedral in 1794. In 1925, on the basis of Voss's observations, Pevsner (1925) corrected its traditional attribution to the Neapolitan school and gave it to Cerano. Yet both Pevsner and Voss noted that its meticulous execution is not entirely consistent with Cerano's generally more abbreviated style. This becomes even more evident when the painting is compared with the *Dead Christ Adored by Saints with Saint Carlo* (Santo Stefano, Milan), which is securely attributed to the artist and is dated about 1610 (Rosci in Novara 1964, no. 59). The Madrid picture derives from the painting in Santo Stefano but has fewer figures.

A similar picture is described in Milanese guidebooks as in the oratory of San Giovanni al Gonfalone in Porta Orientale, which was destroyed in 1788 (Santagostino 1671 [1980 ed.], p. 13). There is no indication of when this picture was removed from the oratory, but it was certainly not before 1776, when it is mentioned by Bartoli (1776–77, vol. 1, p. 178). Since the picture probably remained in the oratory until the suppression of religious institutions in Milan, it is hard to imagine that it could have found its way to Segovia in the final years of the eighteenth century. That this work had been in Spain for some time is suggested by the presence of several copies there (Sánchez Cantón 1949).

The development and diffusion of the iconography of Saint Carlo Borromeo after his canonization in 1610 offers further insight into this issue. Cerano was in large part responsible for this iconography, and his compositions became the principal means of its propagation, being copied numerous times. In addition, since Carlo Borromeo was the most important modern saint to come from Spain's most prominent foreign territory, one of these compositions, perhaps by the master himself, could most likely have gone to Spain in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The shape of European politics had changed by the end of the eighteenth century—when the oratory of San Giovanni al Gonfalone was suppressed—and bringing the Milanese painting to Spain at that moment would have had very little political or devotional significance.

The Madrid painting's denser surface and the absence of the slashes of light found in the altarpiece in Santo Stefano, the likely prototype for the work, might also be explained if it is instead based on an earlier version of the same picture by Cerano himself. Rosci (2000) has recently expressed the opinion that the Madrid *Saint Carlo Borromeo* is an autograph work. Its recent cleaning may clarify the matter.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Pevsner 1925, p. 285; Sánchez Cantón 1949; Marco Rosci in Novara 1964, no. 59; Marco Bona Castellotti in Santagostino 1671 (1980 ed.), p. 13, n. 4; Museo del Prado 1996, p. 89; Rosci 2000, no. 92

DANIELE CRESPI
Milan?, 1597/1600–Milan, 1630

71. Portrait of Antonio Olgiati
Early 1620s
Oil on panel, 18 × 13⅝ in. (45.6 × 34.5 cm)
Luigi Koelliker Collection, Milan

Born in Lugano about 1570, Antonio Olgiati was a prominent figure in Milan during the time of Cardinal Federico Borromeo. Having studied at the seminary of Porta Orientale in Milan, he was ordained a priest in 1593 and received into the oblates in 1603. Federico entrusted him with compiling an inventory of his manuscripts destined for the projected Biblioteca Ambrosiana, of which Olgiati was named primo prefetto in 1609. Olgiati made several European journeys on behalf of the cardinal to track down valuable manuscripts, and he held the post of librarian for about forty years before retiring to Lugano in 1647, a year before he died (Marcora 1992, pp. 186, 231).

The identity of the sitter was established by Frangi (in Milan 1994) through comparison with a copy of the painting in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (Marcora 1992, p. 187, ill.) that bears a clear inscription giving Olgiati's name and title.

The painting was correctly attributed to Daniele Crespi by Daninos (1990) and was later associated with other portraits of similar format (Frangi in Milan 1994; Nielson 1996, no. 8; Frangi in Varese 2002). Frangi drew attention to the close-up, frontal composition and the absence of decorative elements, both characteristic of Crespi's portraiture. Indeed, the sole trace of a setting comes from the slanting, lateral fall of light that touches only the right background, producing a shadow cast by the figure and creating the sense of surrounding space often found in Crespi's portraits. The resulting image, calm and stripped to its essence, is entirely in keeping with the Borromean rigor of the period. It also succeeds in capturing the slightest quiver of light in the most realistic details: the sense of contraction in the sitter's mouth, the virtuoso, vivid treatment of the light in the white of his eye, and the soft, gradual shading of his cheek. This tactile quality—the result of a rich, substantial impasto that lies at the heart of the painter's technique—comes across particularly well in the striking naturalism of his portraits.

As for the dating of the picture, despite the various difficulties that exist (as Frangi notes) in establishing a chronology for Crespi's portraits, all executed within one decade and with only a single firm date (the Uffizi *Self-Portrait* of 1627), it may be helpful to us to consider some external data. Crespi was involved with the Accademia Ambrosiana in 1621, and Olgiati's appearance, at least as the painter conveys it, corresponds to that of a man of about forty-five to fifty, bearing in mind his longevity. It therefore seems reasonable to date this portrait close to Daniele's period in the Accademia, and in any case to the early 1620s.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Daninos 1990, no. 3; Francesco Frangi in Milan 1994, p. 64; Neilson 1996, no. 64; Terzaghi 1997, pp. 62, 66, n. 37, 67, n. 38; Francesco Frangi in Varese 2002, no. 36

AMBROGIO FIGINO
Milan, 1548–Milan, 1608

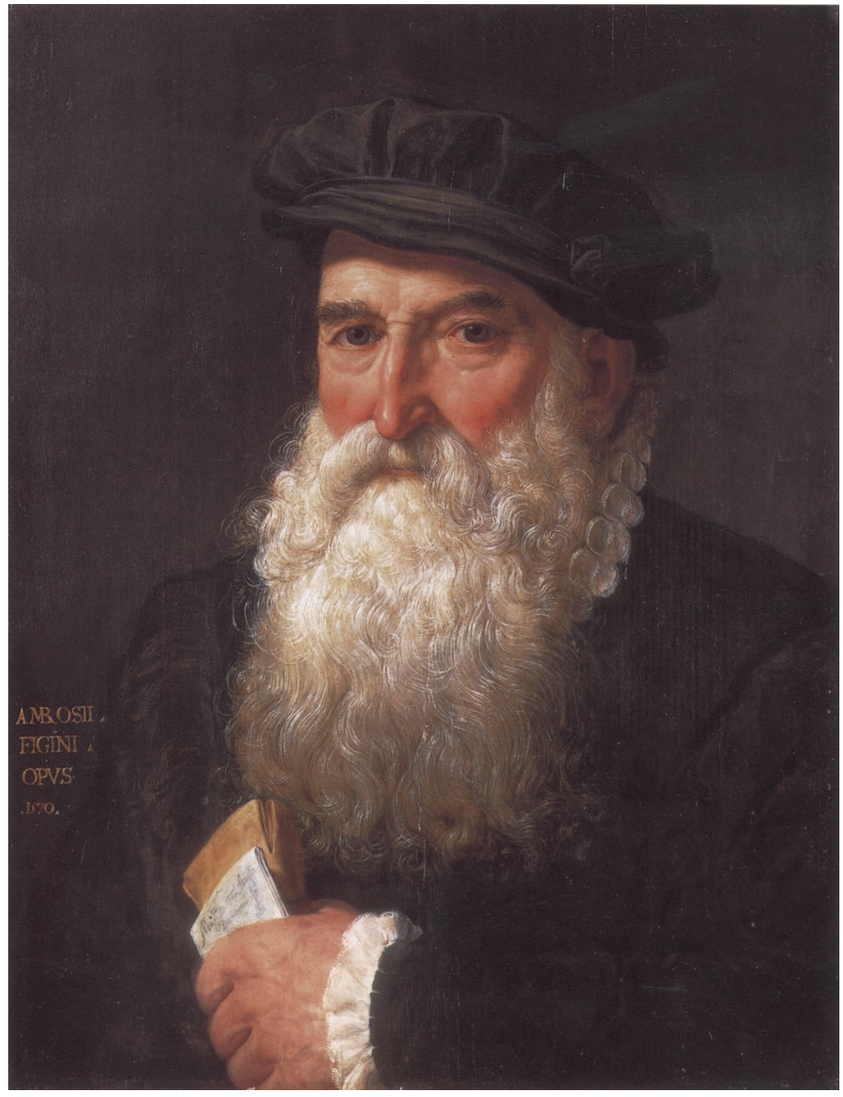
72. Portrait of Giovan Angelo Annoni
1570
Oil on panel, 23½ × 18¼ in. (59.7 × 46.4 cm)
Signed and dated at lower right:
AMBROSII./ FIGINI./ OPVS./ .1570.
Private collection, London

In its polished perfection, this small panel, rediscovered when it was sold at auction in New York in 2001, is an outstanding example of Figino's work as a portrait painter. Notwithstanding its absence from the exhibition of portraits held in Varese in 2002, the picture was exhaustively catalogued by Morandotti. He identified the sitter, who holds a letter addressed to "Magnifico Don Giovanni Angelo Dannono jn Milano," as one of the two brothers of the Annoni family, well-known shippers, bankers, and merchants with commercial interests in Milan and Antwerp. Recent research by Binaghi Olivari (2002) has revealed the artistic interests of Giovan Angelo's brother, Giovan Andrea, who was involved with the building of Milan Cathedral from about 1550 and was treasurer of the Congregazione di Santa Corona in Santa Maria delle Grazie, an important confraternity that distinguished itself by employing Gaudenzio Ferrari and Titian. Above all, Giovan Andrea was responsible for bringing a great *flügelaltar* (winged altarpiece) made in the 1560s by Antwerp workshops to the family's native town of Annone (now in the Museo Diocesano, Milan). Giovan Angelo must have shared his brother's interest in the arts, and it is plausible—as Morandotti maintains—that, since Lomazzo appears as a witness in a power-of-attorney document for one of his sons, Giovan Angelo could have been aware of the precocious talent of the young Figino, who had been Lomazzo's pupil for six years beginning in 1564 (Giuliani and Sacchi 1998).

In 1570, the date of this portrait, Figino was still quite young, and this must have been one of his earliest works. Both the support and the technique were probably prompted by the patron's "Northern" taste, but the painter's remarkable mimetic skills are clearly apparent in the depiction of the sitter's facial features: the flowing beard rendered one hair at a time, the bushy eyebrows, and the crow's feet studied with the meticulous eye of a miniaturist all suggest connections with the lost portraits by Decio and Nunzio Galizia. This work may therefore be associated not only with portraits by Lomazzo and contemporary Milanese artists but also with the productions of the so-called school of analytical portraiture, in which one could place Fede Galizia (see, for example, cat. no. 75). These affinities are understandable in light of both artists' interest in still life, which must have served to refine their capacity for a depiction of objective reality devoid of any kind of psychological interpretation.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Torrini 1987, pp. 16, 31, n. 47; Ciardi 1997, p. 554; Sotheby's 2001, no. 78; Alessandro Morandotti in Varese 2002, no. 23



AMBROGIO FIGINO
Milan, 1548–Milan, 1608

73. Metal Plate with Peaches and Vine Leaves
1591–94
Oil on panel, 8¼ × 11⅝ in. (21 × 29.4 cm)
Inscribed on reverse: *Io Ambrosij Figini Opus*
Private collection

The *Plate with Peaches,* traditionally attributed to Figino because of an inscription on its reverse side, is one of the finest examples of early Lombard still-life painting, important for both its intrinsic pictorial quality and its exceptional literary history. Its reverse also bears an inscribed madrigal celebrating the "vaghe poma" (graceful fruit) and firmly ascribing the picture to Figino. Longhi (1967) discovered the painting and published it as a Milanese work from the last five years of the Cinquecento, recognizing it as emblematic of the Borromean cultural climate. Ciardi (1968) then noted the existence of a version of the madrigal by the Milanese man of letters Gregorio Comanini. Since the *Peaches* is not mentioned in Comanini's treatise *Il Figino* (1591), and the laudatory madrigal, published in 1594 by Gerardo Borgogni, presupposes the painting's existence, both Berra (1989b) and Morandotti (1989d) concluded that its dating could be narrowed down to 1591–94. Furthermore, they recognized the picture as the "fruttiera di persici con foglie di vite, in tavola" (fruit dish with peaches and vine leaves, on a table. Verga 1918, p. 286) named in the inventories of the important contemporary art collector Guido Antonio Mazenta.

Both the madrigal on the panel and the one written by Comanini emphasize the concept of synesthesia, in which one sense acts on the other, and Morandotti also draws attention to the painting's literary quality. The picture is thus seen as embodying a sort of contest between painting and poetry, almost as if Figino were trying to convey the tactile, olefactory, and gustatory aspects of the scene in addition to the visual, thereby outdoing the literary composition. This focus on plasticity and realism, harking back to Leonardo da Vinci, would lead directly to the prehensile reality of Caravaggio.

Although contemporary scholarship has considered this picture as among the authentic incunabula of Lombard still-life painting, the attribution to Figino ultimately depends on Longhi, who identified the signature on the reverse as being written in late-sixteenth-century characters. Yet the handwriting (reproduced in Morandotti 1989d, p. 221) clearly belongs to a subsequent period, perhaps even a century or more later. Moreover, the picture's interesting ties to literature obscured the fact that it is the only extant still life by Figino—and one of such exceptional quality that it seems strange no others are known. One of the most incisive commentators on the painting declared that "it would not have been admitted as a work by the Milanese painter had its authorship not been in some way documented."[1] Indeed, the authorship of the work seems to be confirmed more by its oft-cited literary standing than by its presumed signature. It is possible, however, that long after its execution someone inscribed the madrigal and Figino's name on the reverse, although most likely in accordance with a long-standing tradition.

Other works by Figino are quite different in style (see cat. no. 72), but there are specific points of comparison with the still lifes of Fede Galizia (cat. nos. 77–80), to such a degree that Berra hypothesized, "Figino was the one to adopt the compositions used by Galizia, who may perhaps have already proved her skills in the genre of still life painting during the early 1590s."[2] Berra also cited, in the list of works owned in 1701 by Cardinal Giovan Battista Monti, "Una Frutterina di Persici sopra un tondo con frasche di vite bellissima; di Fede Galicia" (a small fruit dish of Peaches on a round plate with vine foliage, [a] most beautiful [work]; by Fede Galicia. Berra 2000–2001, p. 77)—which is as close as one can get to a description of the present composition.

MM

1. "non sarebbe entrata nel catalogo del pittore milanese se non ne fosse stata in qualche modo documentata la paternità." Berra 1989b, p. 3.
2. "sia stato il Figino a riprendere il modulo compositivo usato dalla Galizia, la quale, forse, in quei primi anni novanta poteva aver già dato prova delle sue capacità nel genere della natura morta." Ibid., p. 11, n. 17.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Longhi 1967; Ciardi 1968, pp. 104–5; Berra 1989b; Morandotti 1989d; Alessandro Morandotti in Colorno 2000, no. 31; Giacomo Berra in Munich, Florence 2002–3, p. 86

FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

74. Portrait of Paolo Morigia
1592–95
Oil on canvas, 34⅝ × 31⅛ in. (88 × 79 cm)
Inscribed along topmost part of canvas, *FIDES GALLICIA VIRGO PVDICISS. AETAT. SVAE ANN. XVIII OPVS HOC, / F. PAVLI MORIGII SIMVLACRVM, ANN. 72 GRATI ANIMI ERGO EFFINXIT. / ANNO 1596*; below, on sheet lying across open book, *O viatore, che miri? Se di saper sei vago, / Chi diè col suo pennel voce a l'imago / Che qui di me si vede, fu già Galitia Fede, / Che per tenermi dopo morte in vita, / Qui spirante, e qui vivo, a te m'addita*
Biblioteca-Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan 110 (Tomaso Buzzi Bequest, 1670)

The sitter for this portrait—distracted for a moment from his meditations and directing his penetrating gaze at the viewer—is Paolo Morigia, a prominent figure in Milanese culture during the last decades of the sixteenth century. The General of the Congregazione dei Gesuati and author of numerous historical and erudite texts, he was also well informed about local artistic events and appreciative of the young Fede Galizia's painterly skills. The Milanese reverend is here portrayed at an advanced age, wearing the white habit of his order and surrounded by the conventional attributes of scholarly work: books, a pen and inkwell, and eyeglasses. Indeed, his intellectual accomplishments were many and illustrious, and the books casually piled up on the left of the picture allude to the abundance of his published works.

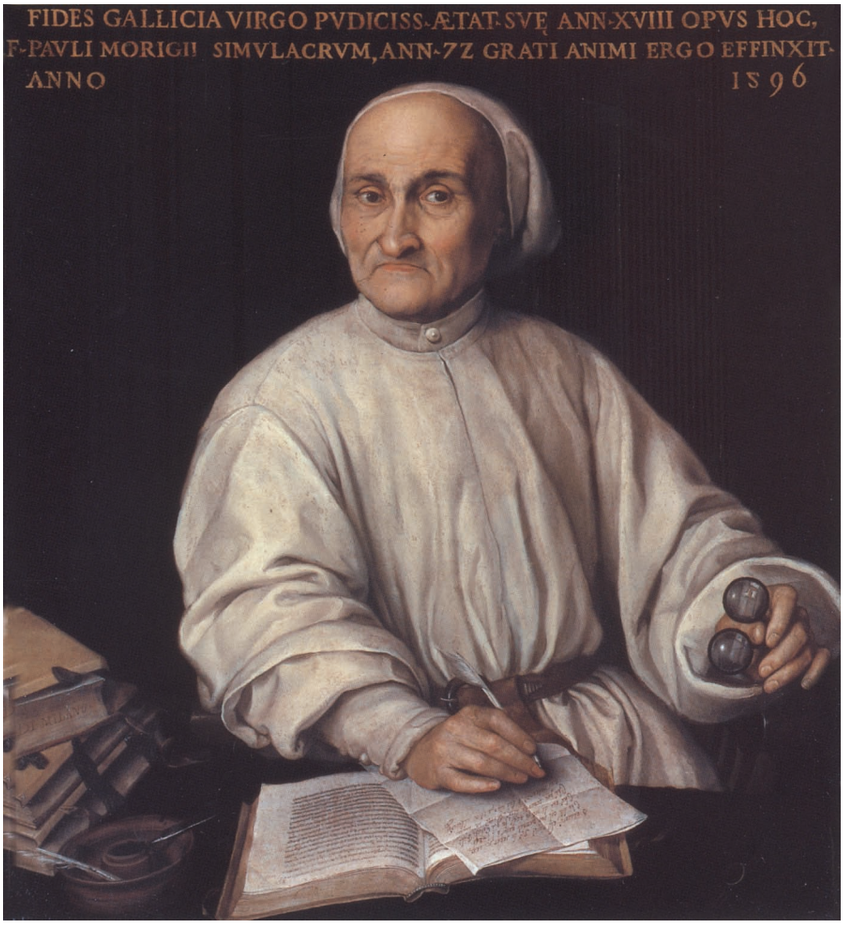
Morigia's own words of praise, which record this portrait as a work "of such excellence, and resembling nature so much, that one could not want more,"[1] provide the interpretive key to this painting, which was greatly admired by contemporaries precisely for the young artist's extraordinary adherence to the truth. This is one of Fede Galizia's earliest achievements in portraiture, a genre that would later bring her widespread and substantial fame. It shows no intent to idealize, no desire to make the elderly priest's facial features more regular, displaying instead a meticulous account of the marks left on his face by the passing of time. The play of light on the folds of his white robe is analyzed with a care that recalls the lessons of the Brescian masters of the early Cinquecento (it should be noted that the robe emerges from the dark background with a distinctly Seicento flavor, although this excessive contrast may be due to later repainting that left the background uniformly dark). Finally, the haphazard pile of books, the inkwell in the foreground, and above all the eyeglasses, which reflect the room inhabited by the learned man, are rendered with mimetic, illusionistic skills that clearly demonstrate an awareness of Northern European painting on the part of the young painter, whose father was a native of Trent.

This work was probably painted between 1592 and 1595 (the year 1596 in the inscription along the upper border is assuredly subsequent to the execution of the portrait, as Berra has convincingly demonstrated). Support for this dating can be found in the Moroni-like naturalism that was to be significantly tempered in Galizia's later portraits, which are more studied in their composition and less uncompromising in the depiction of facial features. This is indeed a painting for which it does not seem out of place to evoke (as Harris did in Los Angeles 1976) the portrait of Giovanni Agostino della Torre, painted by Lotto about 1515 (National Gallery, London).

LL

1. "di tanta eccellenza rasomigliando talmente al naturale, che più non si può desiderare." Morigia 1595.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Santagostino 1671 (1980 ed.), p. 71; Ann Sutherland Harris in Los Angeles 1976, pp. 115–16, 341, no. 8; Berra 1989a; Caroli 1989, p. 81; Morandotti 1989b, p. 222



FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

75. Portrait of a Physician (Ludovico Settala?)
Ca. 1600–1605
Oil on canvas, 21¼ × 16½ in. (54 × 42 cm)
Inscribed on back of canvas: *FEDE GALITIA F.*
Luigi Koelliker Collection, Milan

A comparison with other acknowledged likenesses of Ludovico Settala in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (see Terzaghi in Milan 1998–99) indicates that this painting of a proud elderly man probably does not portray the Milanese medic and father of the better-known Manfredo Settala (a spirited presence during the terrible days of the plague in 1630, as recalled by Manzoni in *The Betrothed*). Nonetheless, the attribute of a skull, polished and shiny due to its handling by doctors, is sufficient to unequivocally identify the sitter's profession. More likely, the picture can be identified with the "Ritratto con teschio tra le mani opera di Madonna Fede Galizia" (Portrait [of a man] with a skull in his hands, a work of Lady Fede Galizia) owned about 1738 by the Milanese collector Gian Matteo Pertusati (Bona Castellotti 1991).

The authorship of Fede Galizia, suggested by the early inscription on the back of the canvas, has never been questioned. Notwithstanding the current scarcity of securely attributed comparative works, especially in the area of portraiture, this attribution is supported by a number of characteristic stylistic elements: the care taken by the painter in conveying the white of the cuff and broad ruff, which seems to have been accomplished by studying fluctuations of light and shade; the painstaking handling of the sitter's head, every hair of the white, neatly trimmed beard being painted with the tip of the brush; the blue of the veins visible through the clear skin at the temples; and the wrinkles, fine but copious, that furrow the noble brow of the old doctor.

Typical of Milanese painting during the time of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, the conventional compositional approach, including the elegant pose and the subtle idealization that lends the sitter an expression of great dignity and nobility, sets this canvas apart from Galizia's earliest known portraits, defined by a greater descriptive naturalism. Instead, the work is closer to her more contemplative paintings, such as the *Portrait of Federico Zuccari* (cat. no. 76), which were most probably executed during the first five years of the seventeenth century.

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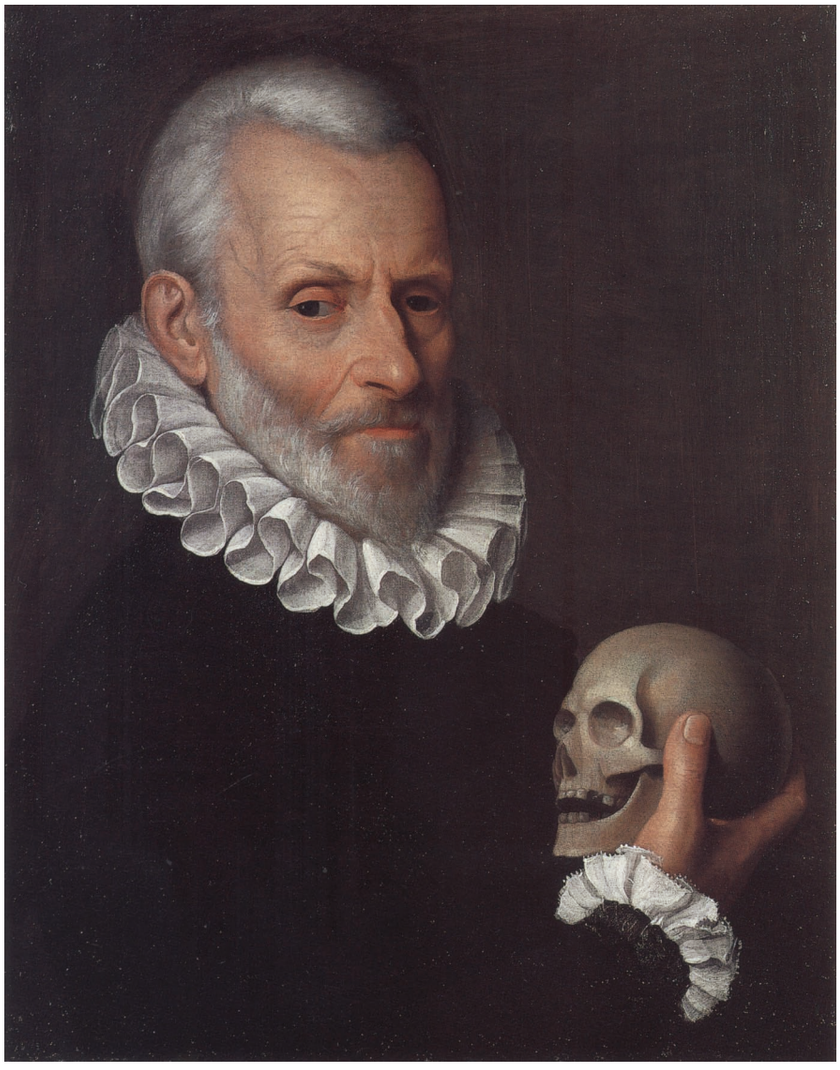


SELECTED REFERENCES: Caroli 1989, p. 87; Bona Castellotti 1991, pp. 72–73; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Milan 1998–99, pp. 230–32; Morandotti 1999c, p. 29; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Varese 2002, no. 31

FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

76. Portrait of Federico Zuccari
1604
Oil on canvas, 21⅞ × 16⅞ in. (55.5 × 43 cm)
Inscribed along top: *FEDERICVS ZVCCHARVS. AE*; on reverse, *FEDE FILIA NUNTIO GALITIO F. 1604*
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence 1690
Cremona only

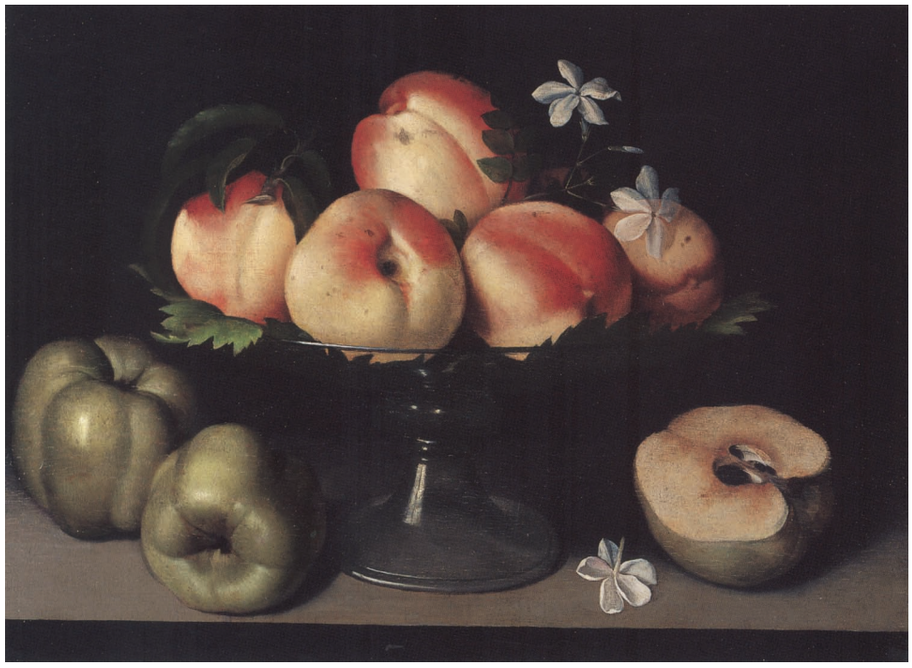
Long believed to be a self-portrait by Federico Zuccari, this painting has only recently been included in Fede Galizia's oeuvre, although it was correctly catalogued in the late 1970s by Meloni Trkulja. The date inscribed on the back of the canvas establishes the portrait as an important reference point for the artist's chronology.

Evoking the work of Moroni, and visible in each of her earlier portraits, the painter's sustained attention to pictorial truth is revealed by a myriad of elements. These include the virtuoso, realistic description of the heavy gold chains on the bust of the elderly painter; the painstaking treatment of the profiles—true portraits within a portrait—and the inscriptions on the medals; and the naturalistically rendered features such as the small wrinkles that furrow Zuccari's face, the heavy eyelids, the hair and beard, all softly, carefully handled and lit with sparkling silver reflections. However, the passages of natural observation that are predominant in the works datable to the early 1590s, such as the *Portrait of Paolo Morigia* (cat. no. 74), seem in some way to have been tempered in those painted at the beginning of the new century, including the present portrait. This came about through the artist's adoption of simplified, sober compositional schemes that, in their balance and discreet elegance, corresponded perfectly to the dictates of Counter-Reformation art during the time of Cardinal Federico Borromeo.

Zuccari's Lombard sojourn, during which he was employed by Cardinal Federico in the decoration of the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, may well have provided the opportunity for the execution of this portrait. Moreover, the medal with the effigy of Saint Carlo Borromeo worn by the painter (next to that of Philip II and another with the symbolic lion of the Venetian Republic, each emblematic of other Zuccari patrons) can in all likelihood be connected with an entry in the expense ledgers of the archbishop on December 3, 1604, itemized as a "catena d'oro e uno anello con smeraldo donati d'ordine del Signor Cardinale al Zuccaro pittore" (gold chain and a ring with an emerald given by order of the Lord Cardinal to Zuccaro the painter). The painting may even have been commissioned by Cardinal Federico himself, precisely to commemorate the important honor he conferred on the painter.

LL

SELECTED REFERENCES: Silvia Meloni Trkulja in Galleria degli Uffizi 1979, p. 878, no. A380; Agosti 1996; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Milan 1998–99, p. 232; Morandotti 1999b; Morandotti 1999c, p. 29; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Varese 2002, no. 32



FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

77. Crystal Fruit Stand with Peaches, Quinces, and Jasmine Flowers
1607
Oil on panel, 12¼ × 16⅝ in. (31.2 × 42.2 cm)
Signed and dated: *F.G. 1607*
Private collection, on loan to
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York

This painting was rediscovered in 1998, when it was on loan to the Cleveland Museum of Art. It may be the prototype of a series of compositions, with slight variants, the most celebrated of which appears (under the name Panfilo Nuvolone) in the inventory of the collection of Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy, which was drawn up in 1635 by the Roman painter Antonio Mariani della Cornia: "sei persici, con gelsomino sopra una tazza, e due cotogni e mezzo in tavola. Di Panfilo Cremonese. Buono" (six peaches with jasmine on top of a tazza, and two and a half quinces on a table. By Panfilo of Cremona, [a] fine [picture]. Baudi di Vesme 1897, p. 52, no. 453). Panfilo's authorship, upheld by Morandotti (1989e, p. 226) because of that inventory—and despite an earlier history of attributions to Galizia for the other known compositions (above all that in Cremona, for which see cat. no. 78)—can be rejected with the discovery of this initialed painting. The entire group of pictures connected to the Savoy prototype can now be placed within the circle of Fede Galizia.

While the subject described by Della Cornia corresponds perfectly to Fede's composition, establishing which of the known versions is being described is a more complex matter. It is certainly not this picture, which bears the painter's initials and would thus have easily been recognized by Della Cornia as her work, but none of the others in the group appears to bear a seal, inventory number, or other indication that could establish royal ownership by the Savoy family. It is therefore a possibility that the most famous version of the series still remains unknown.

Nonetheless, the present work is also significant as the second dated still life by Galizia (the location of the first, dated 1602 and formerly in the Anholt collection, Amsterdam, is currently unknown). When compared with the earlier work, this one shows the painter's increasing sense of monumental form. The composition is based on the rhythmic punctuation of masses, and the swollen fruits are depicted with a cold, cutting light that seems Northern in quality, no doubt the result of a study of the still-life paintings of Jan Brueghel newly arrived in Milan and owned by Cardinal Federico Borromeo. Here Fede's pictorial handling reveals her attention to detail, as in the reflection of a window at the base of the fruit stand and the fall of light on the shiny peel of the quince. In all, this is an exercise in controlled perfection, far from the self-satisfied, Baroque hedonism of Panfilo Nuvolone.

Several identical replicas of the painting are known: one in a Canadian collection, formerly in the Vitale Bloch collection and later with French & Co. in New York (Morandotti 1989e, fig. 258; Segal 1998, fig. 5); one in a private collection, acquired in Paris in 1960 (Caroli 1989, pl. 12); one in a private collection in Bassano (Lorenzelli and Veca 1985, p. 133, no. 37); and another, slightly smaller one formerly in the Lodi collection (Natale and Morandotti 1989, fig. 224). Two other versions should be considered as variants: one in the Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone," Cremona, which lacks the jasmine flower on the table (cat. no. 78), and one in the Lodi collection, Campione d'Italia, which replaces the flower with a locust (cat. no. 79).

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Segal 1998, pp. 166–67; Berra 2000–2001, p. 78; Morandotti 2000, pp. 41–42; Gregori 2002–3, p. 24; Paliaga 2002–3, p. 81

Attributed to FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

78. Crystal Fruit Stand with Peaches, Quinces, and Jasmine Flowers
Ca. 1610
Oil on panel, 11⅜ × 16⅛ in. (28.8 × 41 cm)
Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone," Cremona 217
Cremona only

A variant of the initialed and dated painting currently on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. no. 77), this panel appeared in the early collection inventories of the Marquesses Ala Ponzone of Cremona before it was bequeathed in 1842 (by their last descendant, Marquess Giuseppe Sigismondo) to the Emperor Ferdinand I and subsequently to the municipality of Cremona. The judicial inventory of the goods of the last marquess, drawn up in the winter of 1842–43, itemizes the panel, numbered 242, as a work by Gobbo da Cortona and a pendant to the *Basket of Chestnuts with Apples and a Rabbit* (Museo Civico "Ala Ponzone," Cremona, inv. no. 218), with which it was to share subsequent art-historical references. In 1951 both panels were attributed to Fede Galizia by Alfredo Puerari as a result of his review of the paintings gallery while preparing its catalogue. More recently, Morandotti (1989e, p. 226) shifted the attribution, still considering the two pictures as pendants, to Panfilo Nuvolone, on the basis of a citation from the 1635 inventory of Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy (see discussion under cat. no. 77). However, the rediscovery in 1998 of the variant now at the Metropolitan has restored the earlier attribution to Galizia, which was supported by subsequent scholarship.

There can no longer be any doubt that the panel in Cremona is in fact based on Fede's successful prototype, although it is more difficult to determine the panel's relationship to others in the same group (for these, see under cat. no. 77). Most obvious is the fact that the space directly to the right of the fruit stand is empty, while other versions have a fallen jasmine flower or a locust there. Perhaps only direct comparison with the other versions, including properly documented laboratory evidence, can cast light on the complexities of authorship in such a numerous series as this, yet it remains clear that the quality of the Cremona painting is far from negligible. This despite the fact that its state of conservation is compromised at the very least by widespread yellowing of glazes as well as visible and tonally distorted passages of retouching. Yet there are details, including the delicate depiction of the vine leaves and the reflections of light on the edge of the bowl and the knot at the base of the fruit stand, that imply a thorough, controlled execution more characteristic of an autograph work—perhaps a replica painted by the artist herself—than of a copy.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Caroli 1989, no. 10; Morandotti 1989e, p. 226; Segal 1998, pp. 166, 169; Caroli 1999–2000, pp. 15–16, n. 1; Alessandro Morandotti in Colorno 2000, p. 42, no. 33a; Paliaga 2002–3, p. 82

FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

79. Crystal Fruit Stand with Peaches, Quinces, Jasmine Flowers, and a Locust
Ca. 1610
Oil on panel, 12 × 16¾ in. (30.5 × 42.5 cm)
Silvano Lodi Collection, Campione, Switzerland
Cremona only

This is a variant of a known composition by Fede Galizia with a depiction of peaches, quinces, and jasmine flowers, currently on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. no. 77). The present version differs from the American prototype in substituting a locust for a jasmine flower, in reversing the placement of the two quinces at the left, and in adding leaves to the upright quince; there are other, scarcely perceptible variations in the vine leaves within the cup. Published by Flavio Caroli (1991), the painting is notable for its radiance, which derives from the icy, reserved vision of Fede Galizia.

Early sources remark on the appearance of small animals, birds, and insects in Fede's paintings (Berra 2000–2001, p. 78). The inclusion of a locust here was probably inspired by the tiny group of insects in the *Large Bouquet,* painted by Jan Brueghel for Cardinal Federico Borromeo, which had only recently arrived in Milan. By virtue of the passage from the Book of Exodus describing the eighth plague of Egypt, the locust carries with it the symbolism of devastation and death; in Christian imagery, it represents divine punishment, alluding to destruction and therefore to transience. In this picture, the insect is to be understood as the antithesis of the glowing, sensual fruits and flowers, its presence thus lending *Vanitas* overtones to the composition.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Caroli 1991, add., fig. 2; Segal 1998, pp. 166–67; Paliaga 2002–3, p. 82; Franco Paliaga in Munich, Florence 2002–3, pp. 97–98

FEDE GALIZIA
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

80. White Ceramic Bowl with Peaches and Red and Blue Plums
Ca. 1610
Oil on panel, 11¾ × 16⅝ in. (30 × 41.5 cm)
Silvano Lodi Collection, Campione, Switzerland

Published by Mauro Natale on the occasion of an exhibition held in Geneva of Venetian paintings in Swiss collections (Pfäffikon, Geneva 1978), this picture subsequently appeared in several exhibitions of still-life paintings from the Lodi collection, attributed in each instance to Fede Galizia. This attribution came into question when Alessandro Morandotti (1989e) suggested Panfilo Nuvolone as the artist of a similar painting, the *Crystal Fruit Stand with Peaches, Quinces, and Jasmine Flowers* and its variants (see discussion under cat. no. 77, as well as cat. nos. 78, 79). Now that the authorship of Fede Galizia has been reestablished for that composition (based on the presence of her initials on cat. no. 77), this *Ceramic Bowl* can also be firmly attributed to her, and is in fact an exemplary illustration of her refined ability to render the natural world. The same piece of majolica was used by the painter in her *Bowl of Cherries* at Hampton Court (Caroli 1989, pl. 26), while a similar but not identical bowl may be seen in two still lifes, one in the Lodi collection (Caroli 1989, pl. 32) and the other in a private collection (Caroli 1989, pl. 34).

The value of this work lies equally in the special attention to the materiality of the objects (the enameled surface of the majolica, the velvety skin of the peaches, and the opaqueness of the plums) and in the emotional detachment, so typical of Fede. The emphasis on monumentality, both of the basket and of its contents, suggests a fairly advanced date, probably later than the *Crystal Fruit Stand with Peaches, Quinces, and Jasmine Flowers,* the primary version of which is dated 1607.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Pfäffikon, Geneva 1978, no. 91; Munich 1984–85, no. 15; Caroli 1989, no. 25; Morandotti 1989e, p. 226; Segal 1998, p. 169; Paliaga 2002–3, p. 82

GIOVANNI PAOLO LOMAZZO
Milan, 1538–Milan, 1592

81. Self-Portrait
Late 1550s
Oil on paper glued to panel, diam. 15⅜ in. (39 cm)
Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie 342

In 1893 Franz Wickhoff recognized the features of the young Lomazzo in the man shown in profile in this tondo (formerly attributed to such masters as Pontormo and Perugino) by comparing it to a medal by Annibale Fontana that depicts the Milanese painter (Castello Sforzesco, Milan). Scholars later extended the comparison to a medal coined by Pier Paolo Galeotti in 1562 (also in the Castello Sforzesco). In effect, the same man that we see in the painting appears in the two medals: in the Fontana medal, with an identical tunic knotted over his shoulder; in the other, with the bust cropped just below the imposing neck and perhaps a bit more adult than the figure in the tondo. But there are other significant differences between the medals and the tondo. The man in the two medals, especially that by Galeotti, has a more robust complexion and markedly coarser features, as well as a short beard not found in the tondo. So, although the painting has generally been regarded as a preparatory drawing for a bronze cast, such details argue for its being an independent work, probably executed earlier than the two medals, near the end of the 1550s. This is certainly the same man—now some ten years older—who looks out at us from the *Self-Portait* in the Brera (cat. no. 82)

The Viennese tondo is thus the first to display the curious iconography of the young Lomazzo presented in profile like a figure on an antique medal and dressed in a white tunic covering one shoulder. The same pose was later adopted in the medals and again in the engraving that appears on the frontispieces of the painter's printed works. The choice of a classical profile attests to the erudite reading and broad education of the young Lomazzo. In all probability, it was also prompted by his observation of the many medals *all'antica* coined in Italy starting in the fifteenth century to honor illustrious contemporary figures; these were certainly to be seen in the refined Milanese collections made accessible to him through his contacts in the intellectual world.

Much more original is the white tunic knotted over a single shoulder, a traditional attribute of the Cynic philosophers, that Lomazzo would surely have appreciated for its symbolic associations. Indeed, the allusion to the Cynics may refer to the ideals of the Accademia della Val di Blenio, that "lively rebellious movement" ("vivace movimento culturale di fronda." Dante Isella in Lomazzo 1589 [1993 ed.], p. VIII) in the Milan of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (see cat. no. 82). Although formally established only in 1560, the Accademia must have begun to influence Lomazzo and his companions in the years immediately preceding its founding, the same years in which the *Self-Portrait* was executed.

LL

SELECTED REFERENCES: Ferino-Pagden, Prohaska, and Schütz 1991, p. 77; Dante Isella in Lomazzo 1589 (1993 ed.), p. XXII, n. 30; Francesco Porzio in Lugano 1998, no. 116; Morandotti 2002b, p. 67

GIOVANNI PAOLO LOMAZZO
Milan, 1538–Milan, 1592

82. Self-Portrait as Abbot of the Accademia della Val di Blenio and as a Painter
Ca. 1568
Oil on canvas, 22 × 17⅜ in. (56 × 44 cm)
Inscribed along lower border of canvas: *ZAVARGNA. NABAS. VALLIS. BREGNI. ET. [IPL]. PI[C]T[O]R. 15[..]*
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan Reg. Cron. 112

The Accademia della Val di Blenio (part of the present-day canton of Ticino in Switzerland) was founded in Milan in 1560. Together with some rather heterodox figures, excluded from the academic circles of Carlo Borromeo's Milan, the adherents of this brotherhood, who wrote poetry in a Lombard dialect, also included some of the artists and intellectuals who regularly frequented those official circles.

It is likely that Lomazzo's election in August 1568 to *abate* (abbot), the highest rank within the brotherhood, provided the occasion for the execution of this curious self-portrait. The painter himself speaks of it on more than one occasion in his theoretical writings, and in particular in the

Rabisch, a compilation of texts in Lombard dialect that appeared under the aegis of the Accademia. It is here that Lomazzo goes to some length in describing the numerous elements, of more or less obscure symbolism, that constituted the typical dress worn by members of the academy, the so-called *facchini,* or porters: a gold seal with a galleon adorned with vine leaves, pinned onto a shabby, broad-brimmed straw hat; a goatskin coat; a thyrsus entwined with ivy; and a crown of laurel leaves (traditional attribute of the poet) and vines, connoting the inspiration and poetic frenzy provoked by wine and therefore by Bacchus, the tutelary deity of the academy. In addition to these emblems of the poet, Lomazzo also includes some identifying features of the painter's profession: compasses, alluding to the theoretical and speculative origins of artistic creation, and the back of a canvas, attached to a clearly visible wood stretcher, signifying the manual, practical side of the creative process. The prominent gold ring on his hand no doubt refers to the need to unite these two skills, each to a certain extent distinct from the other and yet each indispensable to this process. Indeed, the theme of unity of talent is one of the repeated subjects of Lomazzo's writings.

The various elements of the composition—the painter seen almost from the rear, turning to fix his ambiguous, almost provocative gaze on the viewer, the wide straw hat that casts a strong shadow on his face, and the fur coat—are derived in a fairly direct manner from a prototype by a member of Giorgione's circle, a *Shepherd with a Flute* (Earl of Pembroke, Wilton) that was replicated a number of times in sixteenth-century Venetian paintings. This circumstance, combined with the evidence of Lomazzo's theoretical texts, reveals the painter's adherence to the ideals of the "primitivismo arcadico di ambito giorgionesco" (Arcadian primitivism of Giorgione's circle. Porzio in Lugano 1998, no. 27), whose somewhat subversive values must have been regarded with suspicion in the rigid social and cultural circles of Carlo Borromeo's Milan.

The sitter's enigmatic smile and the use of a strong chiaroscuro are almost ostentatious echoes of the legacy of Leonardo da Vinci, a benchmark of the Lombard school to which Lomazzo's theoretical writings sought to give dignity and prestige in the face of an overwhelmingly Vasarian critical milieu. As scholars have noted several times, the saturnine or perhaps melancholy facial features of the artist, the Dionysiac atmosphere that suffuses the painting, and the explicit association with Bacchic symbology make the Brera *Self-Portrait* a significant predecessor of the *Youth as Bacchus* by the young Caravaggio (cat. no. 63).

LL

SELECTED REFERENCES: Francesco Porzio in *Pinacoteca di Brera* 1989, no. 143; Lomazzo 1589 (1993 ed.), pp. 60–66; Dante Isella in Lomazzo 1589 (1993 ed.), pp. XV–XXIV; Cardi 1994; Paliaga 1995, pp. 156–57; Francesco Porzio in Lugano 1998, p. 164, no. 27

CARLO FRANCESCO NUVOLONE
Milan, 1609–Milan, 1662

83. Portrait of a Gentleman in Armor
Mid-17th century
Oil on canvas, 84⅝ × 46 in. (215 × 117 cm)
Luigi Koelliker Collection, Milan

This fine example of the Milanese Baroque, recently attributed to Carlo Francesco Nuvolone and dated to the middle of the seventeenth century (Morandotti in Varese 2002), also pays eloquent testimony to the *hispanidad* that at the time permeated not only the state administration but also a large part of Lombard society. Although the precise identity of the noble sitter remains unknown, he is most likely a high-ranking officer, perhaps the governor of a city, as suggested by a comparison with the *Portrait of Don Diego de Ollauri* (private collection, Milan), who was general commissioner of the cavalry, castellan, and governor of Cremona. The latter work, also attributed to Nuvolone, is similar to the present one in its style and presumably in its propagandistic aims. In fact, both works may have been intended to be displayed in public, and Rossi (in Varese 2002, p. 172) seems to be correct in regarding the armor placed on the ground as a sign that the gentleman has abandoned a military career for a political one. Thus, the declaratory gesture of the man—pointing to the armor with his baton—would make a statement regarding this change, as would the plumed hat dangling from the bandolier, which has replaced the helmet. (In the painting of the Cremonese military man and governor, the helmet is clearly visible.)

Nuvolone's style is noteworthy here for the soft blending of colors and the velvety consistency of the fabrics set against walls that seem enshrouded in Lombard fog. It is precisely in this contrast between the modest, everyday setting, slightly dignified by the swirling gray curtain, and the courtly presence of the man that we discover the drama of Baroque society: the transient stay upon the stage of history, the pause for one fleeting moment on the threshold of destiny, hinted at by the protagonist's distant gaze. Gregori may have had images such as these in mind when she examined how seventeenth-century Lombard painting inspired and nurtured the poetics of Alessandro Manzoni.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Alessandro Morandotti in Varese 2002, no. 63; Ferro 2003, p. 218

CARLO FRANCESCO NUVOLONE
Milan, 1609–Milan, 1662

84. Portrait of a Lady
Late 1640s
Oil on canvas, 78¾ × 47¼ in. (200 × 120 cm)
Collezioni Comunali d'Arte di Palazzo d'Accursio, Bologna 111
Cremona only

As one of the most representative female portraits of Spanish Milan, this painting was displayed at an exhibition dedicated to seventeenth-century Lombard art held in 1973 at the Palazzo Reale in that city. It was initially attributed to the Flemish painter Giusto Sustermans (Zucchini 1938) until Mina Gregori (Mulazzani in Milan 1973) assigned it to Carlo Francesco Nuvolone, recognizing in its profound adherence to realism an essentially Lombard trait.

The sitter is perhaps a member of the noble Arese family, as suggested by Ferro (2003). Her confident bearing can be seen as a reflection of the political aspirations of the pro-Spanish Lombard aristocracy. The portrait is set against a wall that is barely illuminated by a far-off source but that suffices to highlight the antique red raised curtain, a recurrent element in Nuvolone's portraits. The same light makes the lace at her collar and cuffs, the feathers of her fan, and the crystal beads of her long necklace quiver with an unexpected silvery transparency.

Although Nuvolone retains the traditional Lombard gray background seen in Moroni's portraits, he projects the image into a timeless dimension, beyond the historical reality typical of Moroni. In this, the painting reflects his interest in artistic trends outside of Lombardy, including such Flemish models as the grand portraits that Van Dyck painted in Genoa, which were also greatly prized at the courts of northern Italy. Even though Longhi was not aware of this particular portrait, his words are appropriate in describing Nuvolone' s sitter: "Lombard beauties enveloped in a cinerary atmosphere" ("bellezze lombarde avvolte in un'atmosfera cinerea." Longhi 1965, p. 45). A sublime example of Carlo Francesco's talents as a portraitist, this work and others by him must have been central in establishing the artistic canons in Lombard portrait painting even after the mid-seventeenth century, as can be inferred both by the masterly works of Ceresa (cat. nos. 103–105) and by the more provincial, modest ones of Giovan Battista Botticchio of Crema.

Gregori's dating of the work to the late 1640s has been confirmed by subsequent studies.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Zucchini 1938, p. 114, no. 15; Germano Mulazzani in Milan 1973, vol. 2, no. 213; Morandotti 1999a, p. 271; Alessandro Morandotti in Varese 2002, no. 62; Ferro 2003, pp. 191–92

PANFILO NUVOLONE
Cremona, 1581–Milan?, 1651

85. Metal Fruit Stand with Grapes, Grapevine Leaves, Pears, and a Peach
Ca. 1617
Oil on panel, 14⅛ × 17½ in. (36 × 44.5 cm)
Private collection, New York
New York only

Grapes, grapevine leaves, two pears, and a peach rest upon a small metal fruit stand with gold trim, while a few bees flutter above the dish, drawn to the sweet fragrance of the fruit. This is a composition dear to Nuvolone, who repeats it in several versions, including ones with the fruit placed on a low chiseled dish or in a bowl (cat. no. 86), in addition to the present arrangement. The metal fruit stand also appears in other paintings: one in a private collection (Alessandro Morandotti in Colorno 2000, no. 36); another, signed and dated 1617, formerly in the Sankt Lucas Gallery in Vienna (Delogu 1962, p. 30); and a closely related version (private collection, Bergamo) that differs only in the presence of a rose on the table (Ada Magnani in Milan 1999–2000, no. 11). The success of the composition is further confirmed by a painting dated 1620 that was once part of the collection of Cardinal Cesare Monti and that recently appeared in the Dubini collection in Milan (Morandotti 1989e, p. 227) and by the record of a work in the collection of the marquis of Leganés, a Spanish official, that cites "una pintura de melocotones y ubas con una salba, de panfilo nuvolone, en tabla . . ." (a painting of peaches and grapes with a salver, by panfilo nuvolone, on a panel. New York, Tulsa, Dayton 1983, p. 34, n. 3).

Panfilo's composition is presumably a reworking of Fede Galizia's models (cat. nos. 77–80); the fruit stand, in particular, was known to have been used by her beginning with her earliest works, such as in the panel once part of the Campagnano collection in Florence and in the painting, dated 1602, that was in the Anholt collection in Amsterdam. But unlike Fede, who carves out each detail, isolating it in a timeless setting, Panfilo places his still lifes in a temporal dimension, emphasizing elements of decay, as in the spotted peach and dried-up grapes. Moreover, he animates his scene with insects and with a carefully chosen arrangement of the grapes; in fact his painting style, unlike Galizia's, may be said to draw inspiration from Giambattista Marino's "poetics of wonder." Also noteworthy here is the optical device, popular in the Baroque, of anamorphosis—the painter's self-portrait can just be seen reflected in the stand—which Panfilo held dear and employed in other works. The dating of this painting to 1617 seems to be confirmed by comparison with the equally luminous dated example formerly in Vienna and the version with a bowl, now in Isola Bella (see discussion under cat. no. 86); the composition tends to become darker by the 1620 version. However, it must be noted that relying on the criterion of brightness in dating the several versions may be ill-advised because the paintings are in varying conditions .

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: di Robilant and Voena 2001, p. 22

PANFILO NUVOLONE
Cremona, 1581–Milan?, 1651

86. Majolica Bowl with Peaches, Grapes, and Bees
Late 1620s
Oil on panel, 13¾ × 16⅞ in. (35 × 43 cm)
Silvano Lodi Collection, Campione, Switzerland
Cremona only

In this version of Panfilo's celebrated composition of grapes and peaches, the succulent fruit, floating against a dark background, is arranged in a majolica bowl and seen from a particularly high viewpoint. A mysterious light shines from above, casting a shadow around the bowl and not just to one side, as is most often the case in the other versions. All the examples, including the present one, use the motif of bees to lend variety to the carefully calculated composition. However, Panfilo here replaces the more usual small metal fruit stand with a majolica bowl, an object that regularly appears in the still lifes of Fede Galizia. Perhaps for this reason, the painting had been attributed to both artists before being definitively assigned to Panfilo. In fact, the style and technique of the work are found in other soft, warm-colored pictures by the Cremonese artist, and not the detached, less animated paintings of Galizia. Among Nuvolone's other similar compositions (see cat. no. 85), the one most akin to this work is in the Museo Borromeo, Isola Bella: both display a strong chiaroscuro, here accentuated by the quite realistic shadows that the grapevine leaves cast upon the fruit.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Munich 1984–85, no. 17; Lorenzelli and Veca 1985, p. 144 no. 46; Caroli 1989, no. 50

TANZIO DA VARALLO
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca. 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

87. Portrait of a Gentleman with a Sword
Ca. 1615
Oil on canvas, 30¾ × 24¼ in. (78 × 61.5 cm)
Inscribed at top: *IO: ANE.S; AE.SUE.AN:36*
Luigi Koelliker Collection, Milan
New York only

Tanzio's authorship of this extraordinary portrait, brought to scholarly attention by an exhibition held in London in 1998, was immediately and unanimously recognized. It shares many characteristics with his other paintings: the meticulous treatment of the details in the elegant suit—particularly, the exquisite rendering of the lace in the collar and cuffs, the hilt of the sword, the scabbard, and the leather belt—the glossy, compact application of color, and the darting highlights alternating with dense shadows to give a firm cast to the solid face and splendid hands of the young man.

The influence of Caravaggesque painting, which Tanzio came to know during a long stay in central Italy, is evident in the realistic depiction of the face, with the ruthless detail of the right eyebrow cut by a recent wound that still reddens the eye below. Equally intense is the psychological characterization: a feverish tension emanates from the restless gaze and the nervous gestures of the hands with their long, bony fingers. The barely suppressed tension, the strong emotional force, and the frank adherence to Caravaggesque naturalism suggest a dating to about the mid-1610s, shortly before the painter's return to northern Italy in 1616. After his return, these characteristics were still present in Tanzio's works, but grew weaker over time.

Attempts to identify the subject, who was initially thought to be related to the powerful D'Avalo family in Naples, have thus far proved fruitless. The inscription along the top margin of the painting indicates the Christian name, Giovanni, and age, thirty-six, but not the family name of the young man who so stubbornly trains his inquisitive stare on the viewer.

LL

SELECTED REFERENCES: New York 1998, no. 48; Ferro 1999, pp. 72–74; Frangi 1999, pp. 126–27; Francesco Frangi in Milan 2000, no. 5; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Varese 2002, no. 54

TANZIO DA VARALLO
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca. 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

88. Saint Jerome
Mid-1620s
Oil on canvas, 31¼ × 25¼ in. (79.5 × 64 cm)
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

Recently emerged from private hands and sold at auction in Paris in 1996, this painting is probably identifiable with a work mentioned in a 1720 inventory of the collection of Count Luigi Caroelli of Milan: "due mezze figure una di S. Gerolamo e una di S. Giovanni battista con cornice intagliata, di Antonio di Verallo" (two

half-length figures, one of St. Jerome and one of St. John the Baptist, with a carved frame, by Antonio di Verallo. Giulini 1933, p. 407). The pendant with Saint John the Baptist is now in a private collection in England (Bona Castellotti 1985). Frangi (1999) has pointed out the close relationship between the painting in Kansas City and Tanzio's altarpiece in the church of Sant'Ippolito e Cassiano, Lumellogano, the *Virgin and Child Crowned by Two Angels and Adored by Saints Dominic and Francis,* which is undated but reasonably believed to have been executed between 1623 and 1627 (Ferro in Milan 2000, p. 108). Saint Jerome's left hand, contracted as it holds the book and skull, closely resembles that of Saint Dominic in the altarpiece, while the three-quarter view of the face and the pronounced curve of the nose recur with scarcely any variation in the Saint Francis in Lumellogno. The similarities clearly document the proximity of execution of the two paintings, providing a date in the mid-1620s for the Nelson-Atkins *Saint Jerome*. By that time, Tanzio had been back in his native Lombardy for almost a decade, after a long and productive period (from 1600 to about 1614) spent in Rome, the Abruzzi, and Naples. The painting before us bears striking witness to the painter's long sojourn in central-southern Italy, and to his ability to assimilate what he saw there.

Indeed, if the image of the saint in his grotto recalls the distant prototype by Leonardo da Vinci (although only for its specific setting), what emerges more strikingly are the recent impressions gathered by Tanzio between Rome and Naples. More than Caravaggio's *Saint Jerome* (Galleria Borghese, Rome), in which the saint is transfigured by the harshness of the light source, Tanzio's *Jerome* seems to evoke the realism of the Neapolitan school as seen in Ribera and Battistello. His *Vanitas* still life in the foreground is a masterpiece of Spanish-Neapolitan intensity: the beautifully silken light strikes golden reflections onto the book, resting wide open on the round skull in an almost caressing position, protecting it with its cast shadow. The saint's hand exhibits the bony leanness of a hermit, and the motif of the dirty fingernails evokes Caravaggio. The setting displays a number of effects typical of the northern Caravaggesque painters active in Rome, including the strong contrasts of light in the background, with the spiraling form of the cave and the distant glimpse of the saint's abandoned *camauro*, or ecclesiastical cap. Yet the feeling here is that Tanzio has seen Caravaggio's realism afresh through the lens of Roman classicism of the 1610s and 1620s. A comparison with the elongated face of the saint in the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome,* painted in 1614 by Domenichino (Vatican Museums), does not seem out of place; Tanzio seems also to have known Guercino's *Elijah Fed by Ravens* (collection of Denis Mahon, London), although the latter was not painted until about 1619–20. During this phase of his career, the artist appears to be concerned with a return to the ordered style of Roman painting, as fostered by the Carracci, after the stormy years of Caravaggio's activity. The Kansas City *Saint Jerome* shows us a painter in line with Milanese culture during the 1620s, and with a particular focus on the classicizing and academic naturalism of Daniele Crespi and Giuseppe Vermiglio.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Frangi 1999, p. 144; Filippo Maria Ferro in Milan 2000, no. 18

TANZIO DA VARALLO
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca. 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

89. Saint Onofrio
Ca. 1632
Oil on canvas, 35⅜ × 45¼ in. (90 × 115 cm)
Luigi Koelliker Collection, Milan
Cremona only

This painting is a wonderful example of Tanzio's accomplishment in the genre of private devotional images. Perhaps among the artist's last paintings, it was executed at the same time as the frescoes in the parish church at Borgosesia (near Vercelli), most likely as a pendant to *Saint Benedict among the Thorns* (private collection). The two pictures are the same size, and both saints are represented as penitent after having been tempted.

Tanzio's painting has none of the usual magniloquence of an altarpiece and is also free from the didactic strictures required by Borromean reforms. Instead the artist explores the possibilities of Flemish landscape as represented by Paul Brill, Adam Elsheimer, and the other Northern painters active in Rome who were also popular in Lombardy because of Cardinal Federico Borromeo's interest. Tanzio here tones down the hermit's mystical experience, setting it in a landscape of unspoiled beauty filled with mysterious flashes of light and feverish emotion. While the background in *Saint Benedict* seems rooted in the tradition of Brueghel's terrestrial paradises, the cave and mountain peak behind Onofrio are just beginning to be shrouded by the night, and the forest around him is transfigured by the twilight. The scene perhaps reflects the memory of evenings in the Abruzzi, the region where Onofrio sought the solitude of a hermetic life and where Tanzio himself spent his early years. In the original pairing, Onofrio, the old hermit, must have made a striking contrast with the nude, athletic figure of the young Benedict, who fled into the wilderness to escape the temptations of the flesh. (This *contemptus mundi,* the rejection of the world, must also have seemed, after years of plague, the only safe course.)

The composition of the figures in these two canvases is related to that seen in the lunette with *Saint Francis in the Wilderness with Brother Leo* (Collegiata, Borgosesia). The latter, Tanzio's pictorial testament (Roberto Contini in Milan 2000, pp. 164–67), was part of the cycle that the artist began in 1632 but left unfinished at his death. It is likely that these two paintings also date to this very late moment in Tanzio's career.

MM

SELECTED REFERENCES: Ferro 1998; Ferro 1999, pp. 138–39; Frangi 1999, p. 155; Filippo Maria Ferro in Milan 2000, no. 43

Attributed to
TANZIO DA VARALLO
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca. 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

90. Portrait of a Gentleman
Ca. 1620–30
Oil on canvas, 18 × 14⅛ in. (45.7 × 35.8 cm)
Private collection, Turin

This painting, which has a nineteenth-century label attributing it to Van Dyck affixed to its back, was first published by Frangi in the catalogue of the exhibition "Il ritratto in Lombardia da Moroni a Ceruti," held in Varese in 2002. On that occasion the scholar assigned the small canvas to Daniele Crespi, citing similarities to Crespi's compositional style as well as intrinsic qualities of execution that echoed characteristics of the small-format portraits that Crespi painted during the early 1730s.

Frangi rightly emphasized the extraordinary illusionism of the face of the sitter, which emerges forcefully, like a detailed still life set on the white plate of the large stiff collar, from the dark background. Strongly contributing to this effect are the compact application of color and the vibrant alternating splashes of light and shadow that the painter employs to construct the powerful volumes of the figure. In addition, the elderly gentleman's determined and ferocious expression testifies to the subtlety of the artist's psychological analysis.

Although Frangi links the preceding elements to the last years of Crespi's short career, he also recognizes that they accord with the contemporary portraiture of Tanzio da Varallo; in fact, the two artists had several fruitful exchanges in the third decade of the seventeenth century, when this painting was most likely executed. Thus, until new information becomes available, it does not seem inappropriate to attribute this fascinating portrait to Tanzio.

LL

SELECTED REFERENCE: Francesco Frangi in Varese 2002, no. 43

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Cremona, ca. 1532–Palermo, 1625

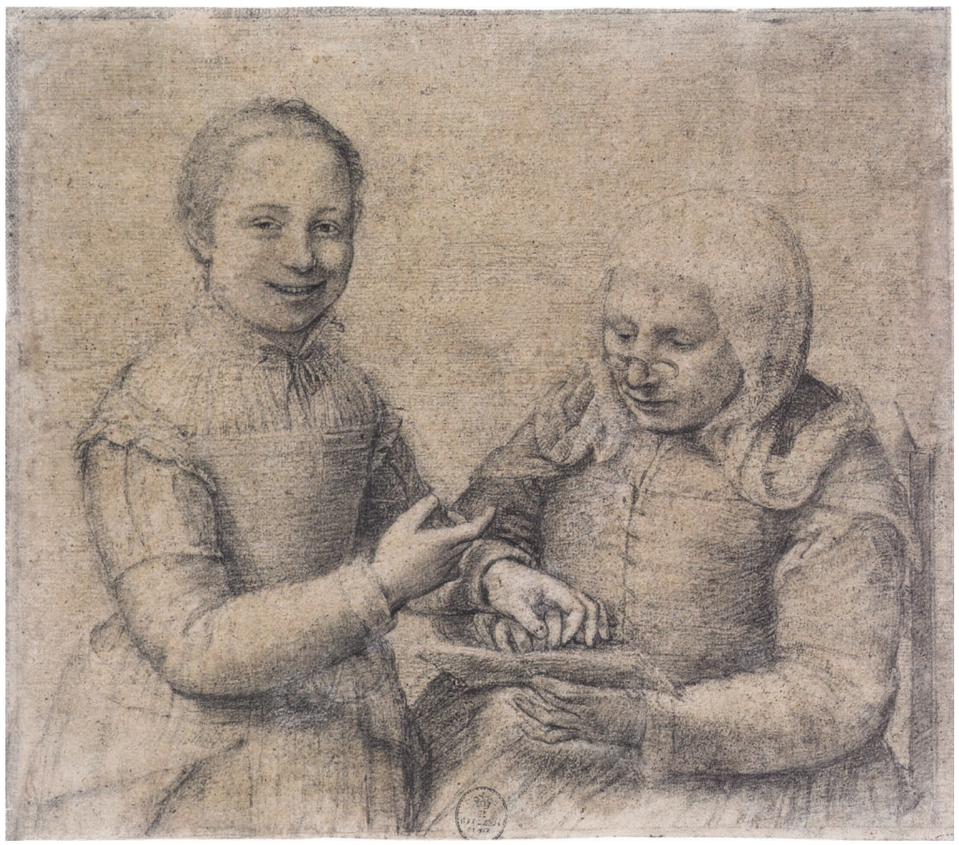
91. Old Woman Studying the Alphabet with a Laughing Girl
Black chalk, heightened with white, on olive abraded paper, mounted on canvas, 11⅞ × 13⅝ in. (301 × 345 mm)
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 13936 F
Cremona only

Sofonisba Anguissola was among the first artists to produce composition drawings of genre subjects, an unusual category in sixteenth-century Italian draftsmanship. This sheet and the closely related *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 92), are celebrated surviving examples of that activity. Their highly finished, meticulous technique indicates that they were created as presentation drawings—independent works of art—rather than as preparatory studies for paintings. (The fact that this sheet was mounted on canvas and framed early in its history reinforces this supposition.) The existence of a third, analogous drawing, now lost, has been inferred from an engraving by Jacob Bos that records a composition similar but not identical to that of the present work. Contemporary sources relate that the artist's siblings posed as models for these compositions, which were also recognized as demonstrations of Sofonisba's skill as a portraitist.

The Uffizi drawing shows a smiling girl gazing at the spectator while pointing to an old woman whose finger she holds as the latter contemplates an open book through her pince-nez. Garbed in contemporary attire, the two figures are represented with an engaging immediacy that implies the artist's direct observation from life. Nonetheless, the precise subject represented here remains enigmatic. In general terms, Sofonisba's drawing reprises a familiar Leonardesque topos—the juxtaposition of youth and beauty with feeble old age (Cremona 1985, p. 172; Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, p. 270)—though a more specific allusion was perhaps intended. Is the young girl mocking the old woman, as some interpretations suggest, or is this a benign depiction of an elderly pupil being taught to read by an indulgent young tutor—an ironic inversion of the expected norm rather than a mordant commentary on the ravages of time? Given that a comic or satirical strain frequently informs North Italian genre scenes of the period, a contemporary audience may well have recognized such overtones in Sofonisba's drawings. If intended, these were already elusive by the seventeenth century, however: the Florentine writer Filippo Baldinucci considered these drawings to be neither satirical nor humorous, characterizing them instead as highly personal displays of Sofonisba's "vivacissimi e bizzarri pensieri" (most lively and bizarre thoughts. Quoted in Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, p. 272)—that is, as demonstrations of her powers of *invenzione* (invention)—a caveat against overinterpretation.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 37, with earlier bibliography



SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Cremona, ca. 1532–Palermo, 1625

92. Boy Bitten by a Crayfish
Black chalk and charcoal on brown paper, 12⅝ × 14¾ in. (322 × 375 mm)
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples 1039

This celebrated if damaged sheet has an illustrious early provenance and historiography. In 1562 Tommaso Cavalieri sent it as a gift, together with Michelangelo's famous drawing of Cleopatra, to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici of Florence, describing it as the work of "una gentildonna Cremonese chiamata Sophonisba Angosciosa" (a Cremonese gentlewoman called Sophonisba Angosciosa). By the later sixteenth century, the sheet had come into the possession of the learned antiquarian and collector Fulvio Orsini in Rome. After his death, it passed to the Farnese, whose vast collections formed the core of the Capodimonte.

In a letter to Duke Cosimo discussing this work, Cavalieri recounts that Michelangelo, having seen a study by Sofonisba of a child laughing, opined that it was far more difficult to depict a child crying, and that the latter obligingly responded by sending him a drawing of her brother in tears. This invaluable testimony establishes that the *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* is a presentation drawing rather than a composition study for a painting (a seventeenth-century inventory of the Farnese collection mentions that it was framed like a painting, a circumstance confirming that it was prized as a work of art in its own right); that it was produced as a demonstration piece—a virtuoso display of the young artist's ability to portray a physiognomic expression that Michelangelo deemed supremely difficult—rather than as an illustration of a literary text; and that the artist's genre scenes included portraits of members of her family. Vasari also devotes considerable discussion to the *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish,* describing its subject as "a young girl who laughs at a boy who cries, because, having put a bucket full of shrimp in front of him, one of them had bitten his finger" and concluding with praise for its striking naturalism: "one cannot see a more charming drawing nor one more similar to life."[1]

Though neither Cavalieri nor Vasari impute to it any allegorical meaning, the imagery of the *Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* has sparked much analysis. Iconographic parallels to Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (National Gallery, London) and corollary links to the Lombard tradition of the "pittura ridicola" have been noted, though neither observation fully explicates the subject of Sofonisba's drawing. A recent, lengthy interpretation has posited as its source the Cremonese humanist Gabriele Faerno's *Fabulae centum,* a collection of fables first published in 1565, and specifically the tale "Puer et scorpius" (see Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, under no. 39). While the scorpion connoted a myriad of symbolic associations (most of them negative, in keeping with its venomous nature), as Pliny recounted at length in the *Natural History*, the offending creature shown here, as in Annibale Carracci's genre painting of a similar subject (cat. no. 69), is the far less sinister crayfish, introduced to the composition as the necessary and self-explanatory source of the boy's anguish. Portraying this emotion was the difficult artistic labor Sofonisba set out to accomplish, as Cavalieri's letter reports. The remarkable result of Michelangelo's challenge was the Capodimonte drawing—a demonstration of the naturalistic portrayal of expression and emotion "simile al vero."

LW-S

1. "una fanciullina che si ride di un putto che piagne, perchè avendogli ella messo innanzi un canestrino pieno di gambari, uno d'essi gli morde un dito"; "del quale disegno non su può veder cosa più graziosa, nè più simile al vero." Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 81.

SELECTED REFERENCE: Cremona, Vienna, Washington 1994–95, no. 39, with earlier bibliography

VINCENZO CAMPI
Cremona, 1530/35–Cremona, 1591

93. Study of a Woman
Black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk, 8 × 11¾ in. (203 × 298 mm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett 17280

Among Vincenzo Campi's most engaging paintings in a naturalistic vein are the scenes dealing broadly with the theme of food—vendors of fruit, fish, and fowl, culinary preparations, and peasants eating (see cat. no. 59). Only two drawings from the artist's small graphic corpus of some eighteen sheets have been associated with these genre paintings: this study of a woman and the stylistically consonant *Ricotta Eaters* (fig. 67). Both drawings are squared for transfer and executed in black chalk with broad, rough strokes, as are almost all the other known drawings by the artist.

Although no exact correspondence exists with any of his paintings, the subject of this drawing closely resembles the seated woman in the *Fruit Seller* (Brera; private collection), painted in the late 1580s or early 1590s. The pose and costume of the figure in the drawing and the pile of fruit in her lap are nearly identical to the comparable details of the painting. Here the woman grasps an unidentified object, possibly a small balance, in her left hand (Paliaga in Cremona 2000–2001), while her extended right arm rests on a large fruit resembling a melon. In the painting this fruit has been relegated to a basket in the background, and the seller holds a bunch of grapes in her right hand, a pose that more directly engages the viewer.

The fact that it is squared for transfer indicates that the drawing, like the Dresden *Ricotta Eaters,* was almost certainly a preparatory study for a painting. Bora proposed the connection with the Brera *Fruit Seller* (1988), but Paliaga suggested instead that the sheet may be a study for one of the now untraced variants of this subject painted by the artist (1997, p. 195; in Cremona 2000–2001). The two scenarios are not mutually exclusive, however: the drawing may conceivably have been executed in connection with a specific painting, then reused in subsequent treatments of what was evidently a preferred theme. Such appears to have been the case with the Dresden *Ricotta Eaters,* which has been associated with two identical paintings of this subject by Vincenzo Campi (Paliaga 1997, no. 67 *bis*; on these works, see also nos. 27, 43). In either event, the Berlin *Study of a Woman* is a rare example of a drawing of a genre subject by a sixteenth-century Lombard artist, and one of only four such studies by Vincenzo Campi, the others being the *Ricotta Eaters* (fig. 67) and two studies of bulls (Uffizi, Florence, inv. nos. 836 orn and 835 orn; fig. 29). Together these reflect the artist's interest in naturalistic subjects observed from everyday life.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Bora 1988, pp. 20–21; Giulio Bora in Cremona 1997–98, no. 152; Paliaga 1997, no. 67; Franco Paliaga in Cremona 2000–2001, p. 165, no. 14

CERANO (GIOVANNI BATTISTA CRESPI)
Cerano, near Novara, ca. 1575–Milan, 1632

94. Saint Carlo Borromeo
Pen, brush and brown ink, white heightening, over black chalk, on brown paper, 18 3/16 × 10 5/8 in. (462 × 269 mm)
Inscribed in black ink at lower right: *Jean Baptiste Cerani/ de Milan*; on verso: *Jean Baptiste Crespi, dit il Cerano, nom d'un village pres de Novara, del'Estat de Milan, bon peintre et architecte/ et tres Entendu dans la prespective, il avoit voyagé a/Rome, et a Venise et est mort nel 1633*; and *Il cavaliere Cerani Milanese*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1967 67.97

This imposing drawing by Cerano—an essay in expressive, shimmering light rather than realistically described human form—is a study for the *San Carlone* in Arona, a colossal statue of Saint Carlo Borromeo commissioned by his cousin and champion, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, as the centerpiece of an ambitious *sacromonte* dedicated to the saint. Plans for the project were formulated by 1598, when Cerano wrote to Cardinal Federico about the sculpture, but work on the site did not begin until 1614, four years after the canonization of Carlo Borromeo (Neilson 1971, p. 366, n. 7). Beset by a sequence of interruptions the *San Carlone* was finally cast and erected at the end of the seventeenth century. The sculptors Bernardo Falcone and Siro Zanelli closely adhered to Cerano's design, submitted some seventy-five years earlier, of the blessing saint attired in his cardinal's robes and clutching a large book.

Cardinal Federico enlisted the visual arts as a potent tool in his simultaneous campaign to promote Carlo Borromeo's canonization and the not unrelated cause of ecclesiastical and spiritual reform. Cerano, who portrayed the saint on numerous occasions (see cat. no. 70), contributed to both efforts. In addition to the design of the *San Carlone,* he was assigned four of the series of twenty monumental paintings depicting scenes from Carlo's life commissioned for Milan Cathedral in 1602 and, following his canonization, an additional six canvases from a new, even more extensive series representing the saint's miracles. The artist also designed embroideries and ephemeral decorations for the canonization ceremony, held in 1610, and a decade later he was appointed professor of painting at the Accademia del Disegno of the Ambrosiana, founded by Federico Borromeo in 1620. The cardinal's ongoing patronage is a measure of the degree to which he regarded Cerano's style, and particularly his numerous, affecting images of Saint Carlo, as a paradigm of the efficacious naturalism he deemed appropriate to sacred art and endeavored to promote as part of his all-encompassing mission of reform.

As a postscript, it should be mentioned that the Metropolitan's drawing shares the same distinguished provenance as the two studies of birds by Giovanni da Udine in the National Museum, Stockholm (cat. no. 13A,B), having been acquired by the Swedish diplomat Carl Gustav Tessin at the famous sale of the Crozat collection held in Paris in 1741.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCES: Neilson 1971; Birmingham 1974, p. 22; Rosci 2000, no. 120

In striking juxtaposition to these random and unrelated jottings, variously inspired (Dürer notwithstanding) by classical antiquity and the three great artist-paradigms of the "modern manner" elucidated by Vasari in his Tuscan-centric *Vite,* are the four studies of glass carafes and other reflective vessels. Here, as in a similar sheet of sketches in Venice, a very different side of Figino's personality is expressed: that of a Lombard artist with an acute interest in still-life details (similar carafes occur in some of Caravaggio's paintings) as well as in the optical properties of light as earlier explored by Leonardo. The latter affinity was nurtured in the workshop of his teacher Lomazzo, whose admiration for the great master bordered on obsession.

LW-S

1. The two male heads at the upper left are taken from Leonardo's *Last Supper*; the large, bearded male figure leaning on a staff at the left is quoted from one of Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine Chapel tapestries; and the composition of Saint George and the Dragon at the lower left records Dürer's print of this subject, which was taken up by Figino in an altarpiece, all as noted in Munich 1977–78, no. 14.
2. Cleopatra is the more probable candidate since the same tableau is elaborated in more detail on the verso, in which the female figure wears a crown—an attribute of a ruler, which Lucretia, unlike Cleopatra, was not.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Munich 1977–78, no. 14; Gregori 2002–3, pp. 26–27

AMBROGIO FIGINO
Milan, 1548–Milan, 1608

95. Sheet of Studies
Pen and brown ink, brown wash (recto); pen and ink (verso), 11⅜ × 8¾ in. (288 × 221 mm)
Wolfgang Ratjen Foundation, Vaduz, Liechtenstein R148

Ambrogio Figino was a compulsive and prolific draftsman. More than four hundred drawings by him are known. The most significant concentrations are preserved in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, and the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, whose extensive holdings number 162 and 118 sheets, respectively. This double-sided sheet of studies epitomizes Figino's drawing style. Covered with rapid, random, and mostly unrelated pen and ink sketches, it records the many disparate artistic sources from which, in magpie fashion, he drew inspiration.

Quotations from Leonardo, Raphael, and Dürer have been recognized on the recto.[1] The sheet also includes a sketch of a nude female figure with an asp, presumably Lucretia or Cleopatra,[2] as well as numerous studies of another female figure carrying a large platter or similar implement. The latter may be the Vestal Tuccia, who demonstrated her innocence by carrying water from the Tiber in a sieve to the Temple of Vesta. Recognizable among the cast of tiny, energetically posturing figures on the verso are studies for Neptune driving his quadriga, a sleeping Hercules, a horse tamer, and a trio of seated, muscular nude male figures patently derived from Michelangelo's prophets on the Sistine Chapel ceiling.

GIOVANNI PAOLO LOMAZZO
Milan, 1538–Milan, 1592

96. Study of a Prophet (recto); *Schematic Study of a Standing Figure* (verso)
Black chalk with traces of red chalk, over pen and brown ink, squared for transfer in black chalk (recto); pen and brown ink (verso), 7½ × 4¾ in. (190 × 120 mm)
Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, New Jersey 47-136

An early partisan of the Lombard school, Lomazzo was acutely aware of his place in that tradition, fashioning himself as a descendant and heir of his champion, Leonardo, through his early (if indirect) affiliation with Gaudenzio Ferrari, who had in turn observed Leonardo at work.[1] His theoretical writings are peppered with references to Leonardo, who inspired

Lomazzo's abiding fascination with optical effects and dramatic chiaroscuro, and one of his early—if stunningly unsuccessful—works was a frescoed copy of the *Last Supper* (now lost). The Leonardesque revival that took place in Milan at the end of the sixteenth century was in no small measure owing to Lomazzo's literary efforts—his formulation of a Milanese tradition that exalted Leonardo as its founder (Morandotti 1991, p. 166).

This double-sided sheet, formerly attributed to the Cremonese painter Bernardino Gatti, was correctly recognized as the work of Lomazzo by Giulio Bora, who identified the sketches on both the recto and the verso as preparatory studies for his frescoes in the Foppa Chapel in San Marco, Milan (1565–70). One of Lomazzo's most important commissions, this elaborate cycle comprises an altarpiece of the Virgin and Saints and frescoes embellishing the lateral walls, the apsidal semidome, and the ribbed cupola. The latter is populated by monumental, lavishly posturing and gesticulating prophets and Sibyls viewed from below at steeply foreshortened angles. The sketches on the Princeton sheet are connected with two of those figures, a prophet and a sibyl who share one of the tall, narrow compartments of the dome.

The draped figure on the recto reflects Lomazzo's admiration for central Italian art, which he had occasion to observe firsthand during a journey to Florence and Rome in the early 1560s: the muscular, twisting "serpentinata" form (as well as the use of black chalk) seems to pay particular homage to Michelangelo.[2] Less finished than the recto, the schematic drawing on the verso documents the artist's acute interest in perspective, amply testified in his theoretical writings, and specifically in the anatomically accurate portrayal of figures seen in complex foreshortening. (Lomazzo explained his method of representing figures seen "di sotto in sù" in his 1584 *Trattato,* citing as an example his work in the Foppa Chapel.)[3] This study appears to have been based on a posed lay figure of wood, wax, or clay—"cioè con figure di legno, di terra, di cera"—of the type he expressly mentions in his treatise, even if the reduction of forms to a series of stereometric volumes intentionally evokes, as Lomazzo himself noted, the example of Vincenzo Foppa and Bramante, his admired late-fifteenth-century Lombard predecessors.[4] The study on the recto may likewise have proceeded from the artist's observation of a lay figure: the sketchy pen underdrawing describes such an anatomical armature over which the voluminous drapery, executed in black chalk, is arranged. In the evident concern for describing the underlying form that articulates the drapery, Lomazzo here faithfully adheres to Leonardo's precepts.

LW-S

1. See the biographical sketch by Carlo Bertelli in New York, Naples 1985, p. 60.

2. Though vastly different in conception, the combination of prophets and Sibyls in the Foppa Chapel dome was perhaps inspired by Michelangelo's earlier pairing of these Old Testament and pagan seers in the Sistine Chapel.

3. Lomazzo 1584, bk. 6, chap. 15 (1844 ed.), vol. 2, pp. 146–47; cited and quoted in Bora 1998b, p. 44.

4. As Bora has remarked, such drawings by Lomazzo often have a Leonardesque typology pedantically grafted onto the simplified anatomical forms, though such is not the case in the present work. Bora 1998b, p. 44, for Lomazzo's discussion of lay figures and what follows.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gibbons 1977, no. 233 (as attributed to Bernardino Gatti); Bora 1980b, p. 305 (as Lomazzo); Bora 1998b, pp. 43–44

SIMONE PETERZANO
Bergamo?, ca. 1535–Milan, ca. 1596

97. Study of a Half-Length Figure
Charcoal and white chalk on gray paper, 9½ × 7¼ in. (240 × 183 mm)
Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Milan 4875/256 B 1717/57

This drawing was first published by Maria Teresa Fiorio (1974), who identified it as a preparatory study for the figure of the Persian Sibyl frescoed by Peterzano on the left wall of the chancel of the Certosa di Garegnano. The entire cycle of paintings, which includes the decoration of the chancel and apse, as well as the canvases set into the recess of the apse, was entrusted to the artist in October 1578 and approved on September 3, 1582. If the severity of the three apsidal canvases reveals Peterzano as strictly observing the Counter-Reformation dictates of his contract, some of the figurative details of the two frescoes on the chancel walls (*The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Adoration of the Shepherds*), and especially some of the Sibyls on the upper level, show the artist allowing himself passages of more pungent realism. In particular, some of these Sibyls have the faces of emaciated or intensely expressive old women, while others are younger, suggesting far more regular and idealized models, inspired in part by Raphael. It is to the latter group that the Persian Sibyl connected with this drawing belongs, an elegant figure in her three-quarter pose and turn of the body, her naked shoulder artfully exhibited.

This contrast between harsh realism and classicizing idealization confirms how complex and interesting a figure Peterzano was, above all in relation to his pupil Caravaggio, who—as has been repeatedly pointed out—must have been thinking of this Sibyl and its preparatory drawing while creating his so-called *Bacchino malato,* now in Galleria Borghese (cat. no. 63). But the tapering definition of the bust and arm of the Sibyl, highlighted in the drawing by subtle chiaroscuro passages, and the suggestion of a perfectly oval face were to constitute only a basic (if coincidental) structural model on which Caravaggio would later build the astonishing anatomical naturalism of his own figure. It was not without reason that Ferdinando Bologna (1992) preferred to associate the drawing with another figure by Peterzano, the more muscular bust of one of the shepherds frescoed in the chancel of the same church.

GB

SELECTED REFERENCES: Fiorio 1974, p. 89; Baccheschi 1978, p. 527, under no. 3H, ill. p. 544; Maria Teresa Fiorio in New York, Naples 1985, p. 73; Mina Gregori in Florence, Rome 1991–92, p. 62; Bologna 1992, p. 299; Rome 1995–96, p. 102; Christiansen 1996, p. 18; Calvesi 1999–2000, p. 13; Kristina Hermann-Fiore in Milan 2000–2001, p. 474; Berra 2002, p. 75; Gregori 2002, p. 22; Fiorio 2003, p. 88

TANZIO DA VARALLO
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca. 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

98. Study for an Angel; Studies for an Arm and Leg
Red chalk on red prepared paper; squared for transfer in red chalk, 10 × 10 in. (255 × 255 mm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, Gifts from Mrs. Gardner Cassatt, Mrs. Francis Ormond, Bessie Potter Vonnoh, William Benton, Donald Slive, William M. Ivins Jr., and Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and other gifts, bequests, and funds, by exchange, 1998 1998.185

The graphic oeuvre of Tanzio da Varallo remained largely intact long after his death. Passed down through generations of local artists in his native region, it is today preserved mostly in the Pinacoteca of Varallo, though important examples are increasingly to be found in public and private collections elsewhere (E. Testori 1995, p. 115; Baiocco 2000, p. 170). His work as a draftsman is strikingly homogeneous. Most of his drawings are figure studies executed in red chalk on pink prepared paper, and almost every sheet is connected with a painting by the artist—a correspondence indicative of the strictly utilitarian role that drawing served in his artistic practice. Detail studies of heads, limbs, and expressively posed hands, and numerous drapery studies showing a meticulous concern for *rilievo* and sculptural volume (both types typically drawn from life), link Tanzio's drawings to the Cinquecento Lombard tradition spawned by Leonardo. The earthy naturalism of his figures, the intensity of their expressions, and the dramatic chiaroscuro evident in his drawings and paintings instead point to the powerful influence of Caravaggio, the model for Tanzio's "objective realism" (E. Testori 1995, p. 119).

This characteristic sheet is one of the most important recent additions to Tanzio's graphic corpus. It is a study for the angel holding a scepter and lilies to the right of the figure of Christ in Glory in the Chapel of the Ascension in Sant'Antonio Abbate, Milan (Baiocco in Milan 2000; for the fresco, see Simonetta Coppa in Milan 2000, no. 35). Recent scholarship has demonstrated conclusively that the fresco, which occupies the vault of the right transept, was executed in 1631–32, the period to which the drawing also belongs. Observing a live model, the artist here fixed details of the angel's pose that were retained with virtually no revision, save the addition of drapery and fully articulated wings, in the finished work. The drawing is squared for transfer—an unusual practice for Tanzio—indicating that it belongs to the final stage of his preparatory process, a fact corroborated by the close correspondence of drawing and fresco.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: Simone Baiocco in Milan 2000, no. 64

TANZIO DA VARALLO
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

99. Mountain Landscape
Red chalk on pink prepared paper, 9¼ × 12¾ in. (235 × 325 mm)
Inscribed at lower left in a later hand: *Gio. R.*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Anonymous Gift, 2001 2001.752
New York only

A recent discovery, this sheet is the only known landscape drawing by Tanzio da Varallo. It may be securely attributed to him on the basis of technique and style. Executed in the artist's preferred medium of red chalk on pink prepared paper, the drawing also shows the characteristic combination of parallel strokes and cross-hatching employed by Tanzio in his figure and drapery studies to suggest mass and volume (see cat. no. 98; E. Testori 1995, p. 120).

It has been posited that the subject of this sweeping, mountainous expanse is the topography of Tanzio's native Varallo, perhaps the specific peak known as Tagliaferro. The identical terrain appears in the distant background of his early altarpiece the *Madonna dell'Incendio* (Collegiata, Pescocostanzo), painted before 1610 during a trip he took to the Abruzzi while resident in Rome (E. Testori 1995, p. 123, fig. 25). The rugged terrain of that region resembles the landscape seen in this sheet, which the artist presumably carried in the portfolio of drawings he kept with him throughout his career. Inspired by nature, the drawing was probably made as an independent work rather than as a preparatory study, only subsequently enlisted as a model for the background of the Pescocostanzo altarpiece.

Tanzio here takes up a subject that had long captivated Leonardo, as both that artist's drawings and writings attest, but it would fall to his Bolognese contemporaries—Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, Guercino—rather than his fellow Lombards to elevate landscape drawing to an autonomous genre. The Metropolitan's *Mountain Landscape* is thus not only a singular example in Tanzio da Varallo's graphic oeuvre, but in the whole of seventeenth-century Lombard draftsmanship.

LW-S

SELECTED REFERENCE: E. Testori 1995, pp. 120–23

A

UNKNOWN LOMBARD ARTISTS
Previously attributed to the workshop of
SIMONE PETERZANO

100. Three Botanical Drawings

A. *Still Life of Peapods and Cherries*
Oil on prepared paper, 6¼ × 5¾ in.
(15.8 × 14.5 cm)
Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello
Sforzesco, Gabinetto dei Disegni,
Milan B1802/651

B. *Still Life of Squash, Lilies, Peaches, and Pears*
Oil on prepared paper, 10¼ × 15¾ in.
(26 × 40 cm)
Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco,
Gabinetto dei Disegni, Milan 1717/517

C. *Still Life of Figs*
Oil on prepared paper, 7⅝ × 11½ in.
(19.4 × 29.3 cm)
Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello
Sforzesco, Gabinetto dei Disegni,
Milan 1802/649

These three drawings of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, done in oil (and possibly gouache) on prepared paper, are part of an extraordinary cache of drawings purchased by the Musei Civici of Milan in 1924 from the local church of Santa Maria presso San Celso. They were first published with an attribution to the workshop of Simone Peterzano (Cottino in Rome 1995–96; Ferro in Milan 1999–2000), because many of the drawings in

the group are demonstrably by him (see cat. no. 97) and because in subject matter they seemed appropriate to the activity of this workshop.

However, the more than two thousand five hundred drawings that belong to this great *fondo* of Lombard drawings are enormously varied in style and date. Approximately one thousand have had a traditional association with Peterzano's workshop, but fewer than one hundred are firmly attributable to it (Fiorio 1974; Bora 2002; Dallaj forthcoming). There is no direct evidence that these three sheets came from that section comprised of work by Peterzano and his students. The three still lifes are certainly by more than one hand, as is made clear by their differing levels of competence, of approach to light and shadow, and of the placement of the forms on the sheet. Their date, likewise, is uncertain, and they may have been made in the late sixteenth or into the seventeenth century.

Despite the uncertainty concerning their attribution, these botanical drawings are extremely interesting in the context of the development of still-life painting in Lombardy, and worthy of further study. The *Peapods and Cherries* (A), for example, relates to a page in a Leonardo manuscript (Institut de France, Paris, Ms. B, 2173), in which very similar still-life elements in color appear atop a sheet otherwise covered with delicate pen and ink sketches.[1]

B

C

This connection, as well as a more general one to the garlands of fruit in Leonardo's lunettes in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie (fig. 40), suggests the long-term impact that Leonardo's nature studies had on Milanese artists, perhaps into the seventeenth century.

Although all three of these depictions of fruits and flowers share the character of real working studies, being executed on rough paper and with the objects viewed from different angles, each has an individual character. The forms in the *Figs* (C), the least refined and carefully observed, seem to float in a weightless fashion. The large sheet with the squash (B) has a decorative character, with the smaller fruits nestled within the curve of the squash, which was painted over details of some of the flowers. The *Peapods and Cherries* (A) has the most graphic punch; it is rather modern in character and impressive for the abstract quality of its design.

AB

1. The manuscript, which is datable to 1487–90, contains drawings for the duomo of Milan and would have been inherited by Francesco Melzi and have been in Milan in the later sixteenth century; see Marani 1995–96. Pietro C. Marani in Paris 2003, p. 390, notes that the still life on the manuscript page is highly unusual both in its technique and placement on the page and calls it "problematic," while restating his own belief that it is by Leonardo.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Alberto Cottino in Rome 1995–96, no. 1; Filippo Maria Ferro in Milan 1999–2000, nos. 1–3

The Painters of Reality: Art in Bergamo and Brescia after the Age of Caravaggio

ENRICO DE PASCALE

IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH and early seventeenth centuries, the severe ethical and spiritual ideals of post-Tridentine Catholicism found a particularly congenial climate in Bergamo, reinvigorating both pastoral activities and ecclesiastical institutions in the city and its surrounding territory. Artists responded to the revitalized requirements and programs of the local Church in various ways: compositions returned to the simplified, austere precedents of the early sixteenth century; affected Mannerist formulas were largely rejected; and fresh iconographies were devised to give renewed power to the cult of local saints and martyrs or to celebrate the redemptive role of the Church. In general, the legacy of Giovanni Battista Moroni, who died in 1578, lived on—not only in the antirhetorical attitude and sincere naturalism of the pictorial language, but above all in the morally engaged approach that transformed a sacred scene into an ordinary, quotidian event. Such scenes, often set against a background that included Bergamo itself, were depicted with almost a view painter's precision by artists as diverse as Giovanni Paolo Lolmo, Enea Salmeggia, Francesco Zucco, and Giovan Paolo Cavagna.

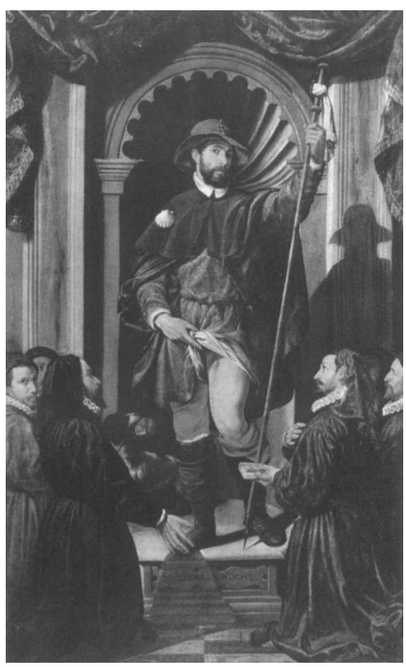


Fig. 68
GIOVAN PAOLO CAVAGNA
(ca. 1550–1627)
Saint Roch and the Green Penitents, 1591
Oil on canvas, 65 × 43¼ in. (165 × 110 cm)
Chiesa di San Rocco, Bergamo

GIOVAN PAOLO CAVAGNA

Cavagna (ca. 1550–1627) was most central to the continuation of the naturalist tradition; in every respect the heir of Moroni, he may also actually have been a member of his workshop.[1] A leader within the local artistic scene and the author of important decorative cycles, altarpieces, and portraits, Cavagna was a sensitive and original interpreter of the ethical ideals of the Bergamasque Counter-Reformation. His austerely naturalistic style—recalling Savoldo, Peterzano, and the Cremonese painters as well as Moroni—reflects an authentic participation in the civic and religious life of the community, including that of the most humble strata of society.[2] In *Saint Roch and the Green Penitents* (fig. 68), for example, the encounter-cum-discourse between the saint and his kneeling devotees is conveyed in a disconcertingly natural way. Playing on the eloquence of gestures and gazes, and on the penetrating reality of light, the artist highlights both the coarseness of cloth and the disturbing, living shadow of the pilgrim-saint projected onto the pilaster.[3] The importance of Cavagna in Bergamo, and more so within the vigorous network of Lombard realism, was quite clear to Roberto Longhi, for whom the painter's finest achievements were his portraits, "to such an extent that even in his altarpieces, the best can be found by simply seeking out the passages of portraiture."[4] In his steadfast naturalism, Cavagna reveals "his attempt to turn into a plebeian reality... Moroni's bourgeois reality," according to Giovanni Testori,[5] and represents the link between Moroni and Carlo Ceresa, the most important Bergamasque portrait painter of the following century.

GIACOMO CERUTI, *Women Working on Pillow Lace* (detail of cat. no. 106)

Carlo Ceresa

Longhi astutely recognized that the works of two Bergamasque painters, Carlo Ceresa (1609–1679) and Evaristo Baschenis (1617–1677), provide the strongest evidence of the continuity and vitality of Lombard naturalism during the Seicento. He noted that their paintings had guaranteed, "but always sotto voce, that Bergamo had at least been prevented from being swept away by the waves of the Baroque movement."[6] Longhi's observation is confirmed by recent studies on the artistic culture of the Orobica region, particularly those published in the exhibition catalogues *Il Seicento a Bergamo* (1987) and *Il ritratto in Lombardia da Moroni a Ceruti* (2002),[7] which show that both Ceresa and Baschenis clung to their heritage of naturalism in conscious opposition to "modern" trends brought to Bergamo by painters fleeing the plague that had struck Milan in 1630.

With the deaths between 1626 and 1627 of Cavagna, Salmeggia, and Zucco, its three most important local painters, Bergamo found itself deprived of artists capable of satisfying the growing needs of lay and religious patrons. The renewed public and private building boom that distinguished this period drew to the city a multitude of painters, sculptors, and stucco artists of various nationalities, each the bearer of a specific cultural tradition. Yet, as one scholar has pointed out, "none of these artists, however modern, disconcerting, or magnificent they may have been, offered anything of substantial interest or influence to local masters."[8] Ceresa, for example, did nothing to modify the artistic choices he made, remaining faithful to the austere local tradition and impervious to fashion—a decision that may perhaps lie behind his exclusion from all the important artistic projects of the time.[9]

Ceresa's distinctive attitude to the direct observation of reality was demonstrated very early in his career by the incisive portraits of patrons and donors that appeared in his altarpieces for the churches of his native Val Brembana, painted when he was barely twenty. In these works, the artist confronted the difficulty of reconciling the imagination and idealization required in depicting religious subjects with his desire to portray perceptible, factual reality. The results are paintings marked by a vivid contrast between banal, conventional compositional schemes and the authentic realism of figures taken from life—a contrast also seen, almost a century later, in Ceruti. This quality is already absolutely clear in Ceresa's youthful altarpiece the *Madonna and Saints* (San Giovanni Evangelista, San Giovanni Bianco), dating to about 1633, in which the stereotypical character of the religious figures is countered by the living presence of the two elderly donors, whose beautiful gray-haired heads in profile at the lower edge of the canvas almost take us by surprise.[10]

Fig. 69
CARLO CERESA (1609–1679)
Portrait of Antonia Maria Belli Fenaroli with Her Two Daughters, ca. 1640
Oil on canvas, 78 × 44⅞ in. (198 × 114 cm)
Private collection, Bergamo

Concurrently, Ceresa began to paint independent portraits of members of the clergy and local nobility, producing many such works uninterruptedly for almost fifty years with astonishing stylistic consistency and barely perceptible variation of form (fig. 69). Each of these is set against a neutral background redolent of Moroni, with an occasional item of furniture used to place the

sitter within the space; the spare, austere scheme bears no trace of the ostentation, rhetoric, and theatricality of contemporary Baroque portraiture. Ceresa's exceptionally sharp eye captures the closed, reserved temperaments of his fellow citizens, giving life to a copious gallery of characters, all of whom he investigates with pitiless objectivity, employing an analytical light and a rugged, elemental chiaroscuro. In the service of simplicity, he limits himself to a palette of blacks, grays, and beiges and to a restricted range of poses "resonating, as with a basso continuo, with a stern, silent conscience even in the handling of figure types, almost making each one demurely conform to the other, like a parade of family portraits."[11] Ceresa's emphasis on faces and hands to indicate character reflected a deep psychological understanding, "a disturbing ability to diagnose, almost like a doctor or a priest."[12]

Ceresa adopts the same approach in painting clothing, presenting it with meticulousness and documentary exactitude, not to exhibit his own exquisite skill but to carefully define the sitter's geographic, social, professional, and familial context. Recognizing the artist's special ability to make the vital connection between individuals and how they dress, Testori has drawn attention to its importance for the "psychology of dress" that was to be one of the distinguishing signs of Fra' Galgario a few decades later. The social or professional rank of Ceresa's sitters is further defined by a range of identifying objects, such as prayer books, crucifixes, books, hourglasses, handkerchiefs, gloves, and swords.

If the legacy of Moroni can be perceived in the strict naturalistic style and the feeling of shared humanity that binds Ceresa to his sitters, the terse compositional structure and impassive gaze recall the "dry, Hispanophile immutability"[13] of the figures painted by Daniele Crespi. Although Tassi's report that the young Ceresa studied in Crespi's Milanese workshop has not been verified,[14] parallels to Crespi's works before 1630 and to some by Tanzio da Varallo are undeniable. This helps to explain why Ceresa's portraits seem anachronistic when compared with certain Baroque examples; however, their modest, antirhetorical character can also be related to the expectations of his local patrons, who were unaware of developments outside Bergamo.[15] There are even clearer echoes of Crespi in Ceresa's religious paintings; the fact that these did not appear in the artist's oeuvre until the 1640s seems to confirm that his relations with Crespi, who died before 1630, were not direct but rather the result of an attentive study of his paintings, some of which are known to have been in the region around Bergamo.[16]

Ceresa's affinity with Crespi—based on admiration for the distinctive way in which Crespi converted pathos and devotion into a simple, accessible narrative language—can be measured by the number and precision of his appropriations from the Milanese master. Examples include his *Baptism of Christ* in the church at Terno d'Isola and Crespi's canvas of the same subject (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), as well as his various versions of the Pietà inspired by a well-known prototype by Daniele (Museo del Prado, Madrid).[17] Yet Ceresa's figures ultimately draw upon a number of sources: Federico Barocci, the Cavaliere d'Arpino, Agostino Carracci, Hendrick Goltzius, and others, known through engravings;[18] the Veronese painters Orbetto and Pasquale Ottino, from whom he took "the polished shaping of forms and a fondness for a new simplification of sacred scenes";[19] and Guido Reni and Simone Cantarini, with their purified,

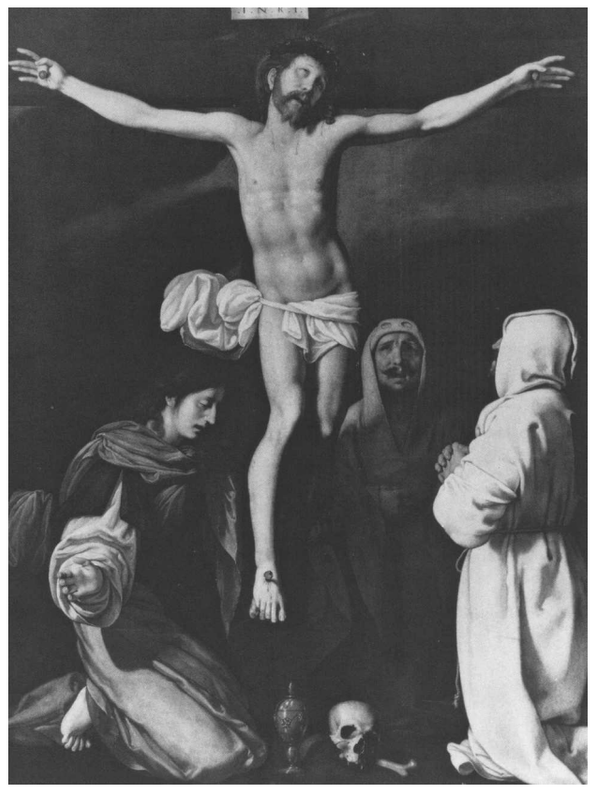


Fig. 70
CARLO CERESA (1609–1679)
The Crucified Christ with the Magdalen and White Penitents, 1641
Oil on canvas, 78⅜ × 61⅜ in. (199 × 156 cm)
Chiesa di San Michele, Mapello-Bergamo

Christianized classicism. Another influence can be seen in the deeply moving *Crucified Christ with the Magdalen and White Penitents* (fig. 70). The light falling from above bounces off the figures as if they were alabaster statues, highlighting their languid elegance of line, the limpid naturalism of their forms, the dazzling, idealized figure of Christ, and the contrast between the brilliant colors and the dark background. Taken together, these qualities reveal surprising parallels, both formal and emotional, with contemporary Spanish art, especially the work of Francisco Zurbarán.[20] While noting this phenomenon in the work of other seventeenth-century Lombard artists, Testori observes that Ceresa's particular merit was to have enriched Bergamasque culture by "bringing Spain from Milan to his birthplace, and then, through compatibility, immediately adapting it to the simplicity of his own tradition."[21]

Evaristo Baschenis

When Longhi linked Ceresa with Baschenis because of their joint allegiance to the observation of reality, he remarked that the former's mode of manipulating figures "almost obsessively as 'objects' contrasted by light and shade is very similar to Evaristo Baschenis's patience . . . in arranging his medleys of objects on the boundary of immobility."[22] Recognizing in both artists a sensibility that enabled them to divine the pulse of life itself, the scholar arrived at his well-known formulation, "One could almost say that Ceresa paints his portraits like highly charged still lifes, and Baschenis his 'medleys' like 'portraits of musical instruments.'"[23] And indeed it has been noted that the sitters in Baschenis's rare portraits—from the child in the beautiful *Boy with a Basket of Bread* (fig. 71) to the musicians in the *Agliardi Triptych* (cat. no. 102A–C)—have the same pale, waxy appearance as Ceresa's, and that the stylistic affinities between the two painters stem not only from the naturalism of the Bergamasque figurative tradition but also from Milan and its connections with the artistic milieu of Spain.[24]

The details of how Baschenis came to be a specialist in still life are unknown, except for the fact he began in the mid-1640s within the cultural environment of cities with a strong penchant for naturalism, such as Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and Milan, and within an iconographic tradition enriched by forerunners such as Fede Galizia, Panfilo Nuvolone, the Campi, and Caravaggio (*Basket of Fruit*, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan).[25] A musician himself, Baschenis was the creator of a genuine subgenre—the musical still life—in which instruments piled on a flat surface in apparent disorder, as if abandoned after a concert, form ensembles of impressive illusionism and unsettling optical truth. In seventeenth-century European painting, he was the greatest interpreter of this motif, which had widespread success among cultured Italians; numerous followers, copyists, and imitators subsequently extended the artist's reputation to the threshold of the nineteenth century. By elevating musical instruments to the rank of protagonists, Baschenis

Fig. 71
EVARISTO BASCHENIS (1617–1677)
Boy with a Basket of Bread, ca. 1655–65
Oil on canvas, 20⅞ × 28⅜ in. (53 × 72 cm)
Private collection, Bergamo

referred to the Renaissance tradition of inlaid wood trompe l'oeil panels as well as to the concert scenes found in the Flemish and Dutch traditions and the works of Caravaggesque painters.[26] The objects stacked next to the instruments further clarify the setting of each painting: it is the study of an erudite musician, immersed in the silence that follows every performance. From a conceptual point of view, Baschenis's invention of the "interrupted concert" corresponds to the "after-dinner" scene of the Dutch still-life tradition, and in each the human form, albeit absent, is powerfully evoked by an imperceptible network of signs and traces.[27]

Traditionally used in painting to symbolize both spiritual elevation and amorous seduction, music was also a metaphor for the ephemeral value of earthly pleasures. To this artistic history Baschenis contributed extraordinarily faithful, portraitlike reproductions of musical instruments, scrupulously highlighting specific qualities relating to their materials, construction, function, and technique. The sophisticated compositional architecture and measured spatial harmonies of his paintings were meant to accentuate the stereometric qualities of the depicted objects, which were captured in acrobatic foreshortening from several points of view and lit by one "true" source of light, as in Caravaggio. Rosci notes that in Baschenis's oeuvre "the formulation and expression of an abstract language—based on primary optical and spatial formulas pertaining to the geometrical projection of bodies in perspective—are favored over the specific themes of musical instruments or kitchen scenes."[28] Yet the fact that these very instruments are shown in the same position and from the same point of view in numerous pictures indicates that Baschenis's working method was to transfer the image to the canvas using *disegni di rilievo*, or cartoons, made from direct observation and most likely with the help of perspective devices.[29]

Each of Baschenis's images is part of a more complex discourse whose significance changes when the grouping itself does, as a musical phrase would change when inserted into a different harmonic structure. The idea of a creative process that conceives images as variations on a theme is one of the most recurrent topoi in the literature on the artist, whose work should be considered not as a superficial celebration of reality in terms of optical and tactile illusionism, but rather as a penetrating investigation into the very way we see. The same process is revealed in Baschenis's domestic interiors with piles of provisions ready to be cooked. These are inspired above all by Spanish still lifes and share with them a severity of format, a dazzlingly precise compositional geometry, and an evocative, structural treatment of light that "compels" objects to appear against the darkness of the background. The result—a well-balanced combination of rationality and mysticism, of descriptive tenacity and plastic-spatial synthesis—accounts for the aura of metaphysical suspense in Baschenis's finest works and finds a parallel in the *bodegones* by celebrated Spanish painters such as Juan Sánchez Cotán, Alejandro de Loarte, Zurbarán, and Juan van der Hamen.[30]

The composite, contemporary character of Baschenis's art is confirmed by the record of his visit in the autumn of 1650 to Rome, where he was able to explore the last remnants of Caravaggio's heritage.[31] It was probably with this sojourn in mind that Longhi remarked about the *Boy with a Basket of Bread,* "You could say that after revisiting Caravaggio's *Basket* in Milan, Baschenis tried to be like a Vermeer (although maybe he succeeded only in being a Sweerts), sacrificed in the Catholic provinces."[32] As Frangi has noted, this reference to the celebrated Flemish painter active in Rome during the 1640s is far more than just a witticism: it relates to the soft, caressing quality of the light and "the tone of almost magical suspense that accompanies the apparition of the boy."[33]

With the sole exception of the *Agliardi Triptych*, which is datable from the sitters' ages to about 1665–70, establishing the chronology of Baschenis's paintings is still fraught with difficulty. Rosci had previously commented upon how the simplified compositions of the early canvases, with their close, elevated points of view, seem to be succeeded by the more complex and theatrical compositions of the 1660s and 1670s.[34] New information has emerged, however, through the study of the books in the paintings. In the *Still Life with Musical Instruments* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo), for example, the presence next to the violoncello of the *Manuale de' giardinieri,* written by Father Agostino Mandirola da Castelfidardo and printed in Macerata in 1658, has provided a precious if unexpected terminus post quem for the picture.[35]

Giuseppe Ghislandi (Fra' Galgario)

With the deaths of Ceresa and Baschenis in the 1670s, accomplished paintings by natives of Bergamo became scarce.[36] Yet these few works, by anonymous artists, kept alive the illustrious local tradition of portraiture based on

a rugged austere naturalism governed by the observation of reality. They furnish the link between Ceresa's stern pictures and the works of Giuseppe Ghislandi (1655–1743), a friar also known as Fra' Galgario.[37] Indeed, the paintings of these predecessors were indispensable for Ghislandi prior to his sojourn from 1688 onward in the Venetian workshop of Sebastiano Bombelli.[38]

Longhi judged Ghislandi to be the greatest portrait painter of eighteenth-century Europe "alongside Goya," citing his especially prominent role in restoring Lombard artistic culture to a level it had not seen since the time of Moroni. To Longhi, the painter's greatness—beyond his astonishing technical gifts—lay in the extraordinarily lucid and disenchanted gaze with which he observed and judged his own period: "His 'views' . . . were of people, and of a world already more crowded and varied. Bergamasque nobility, both grand and petty (but always great drinkers and hunters!), judges like old fossils; faithful servants; meddling ladies; penniless literati (like the extraordinary Bruntino [cat no. 113]!); ecclesiastics of every order and rank; even artisans and barbers; and the merry 'chimneysweep.' Again, like old Moroni's sitters, this was a group of people whose 'real' existence and rich social color we would scarcely know . . . if we had not been so acutely informed of it by Ghislandi."[39]

A recent exhibition dedicated to Ghislandi has greatly clarified the artist's creative evolution, determining among other things the relative influence of Bombelli's celebrated prototypes and those of the Bohemian Johann Kupezky.[40] This is no small point in light of the earlier debate over whether Ghislandi's widely admired portraits had their genesis in Venice or Lombardy.[41] What is beyond doubt is that starting with the portraits of the Rota family, executed upon his return to Bergamo at the beginning of the century, his works display progressive changes that imply a markedly Lombard source. Indeed, if *Ludovico Rota Senior* (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest) still appears to reflect Venetian tonalities and effects of light, the more sympathetic *Giuseppe Maria Rota with Captain Antonio Brinzago of Lodi* (private collection, Bergamo) reveals a new approach that goes beyond brilliant Venetian coloring and attests to a deep study of local prototypes, from Moroni to Ceresa.[42] Also evident are significant stylistic parallels with the intensely realistic, antirhetorical portraiture of artists such as Andrea Porta and Antonio Francesco Lucini, who were then providing paintings for the Galleria dei Benfattori of the Ca' Granda hospital in Milan.[43] Finally, the new direction taken by the artist—as seen in paintings dating from 1705 to 1710, including *Cecilia Colleoni, Giovan Francesco Albani, Gentleman of the Finardi Family,* and *Count Andrea Asperti with His Son* (all private collection)—was influenced by his long-standing relationship with Salomon Adler, a portrait painter in the circle of Rembrandt who was active in Milan from the 1670s. In Adler's workshop, Ghislandi came to appreciate the artist's eccentric self-portraits in oriental dress and *en travesti,* which later inspired his much sought-after *teste di carattere*, studies of heads defined by Tassi as "bizarre and whimsical."[44]

From 1710 on, Ghislandi's art developed still further, as he sought to achieve "an intensity of color that was all his own"; to obtain this, according to Tassi, the artist "would go about making a thousand trials, tirelessly observing the superb coloring of our Moroni, of Giorgione, and of Titian."[45] The result of this personal study, not only of the great Venetian painters of the Cinquecento but also of the Baroque masters (particularly those with an exuberant technique and rich coloring, such as Bernardo Strozzi, Domenico Fetti, and Johann Liss), is a rich sequence of masterpieces dating to the 1710s and 1720s, from *Gerolamo Secco Suardo* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) to the so-called *Allegrezza* (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan), up to and beyond the extraordinary *Giovanni Secco Suardo with His Servant* (fig. 72) and *Filippo Marenzi "En Travesti"* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo).[46]

The paintings of this, Ghislandi's mature and most admired phase, display a boundless creative vitality, echoed in an expressive, immediate approach to his sitters and in an impetuous, painterly handling of color (fig. 73). An exceptional pictorial virtuosity—emphasized by the rich impasto passages, the seductive quality of the materials, and the shining, translucent glazes—never detracts from the subtleties of the painter's analysis of his sitters; on the contrary, their personalities emerge as extraordinarily powerful. Their costumes, for example, are not only a reflection of their precise social status but also the occasion for extraordinary displays of color: "[Ghislandi] needed only to look around him to understand what was in or out of fashion; he would have sucked all the costumes out of the crowd before him, or even eaten them, so much did he adore them! . . . With those pinks and greens, sky blues and lapis lazulis, ochers, and pistachio greens; it must have been as if European gastronomy were already testing out all the sorbets to come!"[47]

Fig. 72
GIUSEPPE GHISLANDI, *called* FRA' GALGARIO (1655–1743)
Giovanni Secco Suardo with His Servant, ca. 1720–30
Oil on canvas, 49¼ × 43¾ in. (125 × 111 cm)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo 38

Fig. 73
GIUSEPPE GHISLANDI, *called* FRA' GALGARIO (1655–1743)
Portrait of a Young Painter, ca. 1732
Oil on canvas, 29⅞ × 25⅝ in. (76 × 65 cm)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo 35

One of the reasons for this sudden surge in quality was Ghislandi's stay in Bologna in 1717 and his documented contacts with the Accademia Clementina. His encounter there with the inspired and unconventional Giuseppe Maria Crespi radicalized him still further, provoking him to use color as a means of intensifying psychological and emotional content and to present his patrons in attitudes that were even more self-assured and spontaneous.[48] The memorable double portrait of Giovanni Secco Suardo and his servant, for instance, is clearly a sensational exhibition of pictorial virtuosity, epitomized by the streaks and stipplings of syrupy color in the coat and sparkling golden braids.[49] Yet it is also a penetrating interpretation of the sitters' personalities: the slightly vacuous, vain nobleman, wigless and en déshabillé, and the unforgettable servant, cunning and faithful, "who needs only movement to seem alive."[50]

The last phase of the artist's career can be defined by the *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 115), painted in 1732 at the age of seventy-seven, when the old friar "whose hand trembled somewhat, began to paint flesh passages with his ring finger, continuing in this manner until his death."[51] Tassi's anecdote, which follows a famous topos taken from the biography of Titian in his old age, accurately conveys the beginning of a new phase, characterized by more simplified and anguished images, executed with a less brilliant palette. Included among these were masterpieces such as the profoundly intense *Francesco Maria Bruntino* (cat. no. 113), the disconcerting *Knight of the Constantinian Order* (cat. no. 114), and *Andrea Fantoni* (private collection, Bergamo).[52] All these works exude a sense of existential melancholy and deeply felt soul-searching, expressed by brushstrokes loaded with colors that are no longer radiant and luxuriant but rusty and dissolved, recalling those of his beloved Titian and Moroni in their final years. In the words of Testori, "It is as if mold had begun to grow in the paste of his paint, as though it were some jam left out too long amid the air and microorganisms that run through human life and breath; almost like a shadow falling across his work, covering the ruin and tumult of his great, unforgettable folly."[53]

Nevertheless, Ghislandi did not lose sight of the primary, unavoidable need to be faithful to reality; in fact, his anxious late portraits cross the boundaries of

appearances to reach the soul of the sitter in an even more direct and approachable way. Interpreting this last phase as evidence of a moralizing attitude or as social criticism of a disintegrating class would, however, be a facile exploitation besides being historically invalid. A more likely hypothesis, reaffirmed by Frangi and above all by Rossi,[54] is that Ghislandi's renunciation of the "once formidable" coloring and unconventional naturalism of the preceding decades was attributable—as in Titian's career—to a growing awareness of the transience of every ideal and the frailty of human destiny: "It is at this point that he senses the need for painting made of matter and color in themselves, by virtue of which a portrait is no longer the image of reality but becomes reality itself, or *Veritae*."[55]

Giacomo Ceruti

The Milanese painter Giacomo Ceruti (1698–1767), otherwise known by his "too highly charged and insolent" nickname of Pitocchetto (Little Beggar), was rediscovered by Longhi himself in 1927 and characterized by him as one of "the greatest Italian artists."[56] Conceived as a grand, lucid narration of the destinies, weaknesses, vices, and virtues of eighteenth-century society, Ceruti's oeuvre confirms the continuity of a tradition—precisely that of the "painters of reality"—which had emerged in Lombardy and flourished there for two centuries.

Ceruti must have begun his career as a painter in Milan during the second decade of the Settecento. Mina Gregori has discussed the particular cultural circumstances of his evolution in that city, where Ghislandi was then exploring and adopting the "austere moral gravity" of the portraits painted by Porta and Lucini for the Ca' Granda.[57] This hypothesis is supported by the earliest known works from the artist's Brescian sojourn, from about 1720 to 1735, which confirm his allegiance to a pared-down, penetrating Lombard naturalism, strengthened by a surprisingly direct presentation of his sitters. These qualities are found as early as the amazing portrait of Gian Maria Fenaroli, of 1724, and as late as the portraits of Giovan Battista and Giulio Cattaneo, of about 1732 (all private collection).[58] Ceruti's paintings were especially notable because, during the eighteenth century, Brescia, like Bergamo, presented a rather depressed environment for art. The modest gifts of local painters had consequently led to a massive influx of foreign artists, especially Venetians, who were summoned to contribute to the most important public and private decorative projects.[59]

While working as a portraitist (a lost series of portraits of "famous men" for the city's Broletto is documented in 1726–28), Ceruti also began an impressive series of canvases depicting those on the fringes of society. Ragamuffins, pilgrims, servants, dwarfs, orphans, old men, washerwomen—all were portrayed with deeply felt solidarity and sympathy.[60] These works culminate in the extraordinary Padernello cycle (comprising about fifteen pictures) probably executed for the noble Avogadro family of Brescia (see cat. nos. 106–110).[61] The often considerable size of Ceruti's paintings of such subjects and their starkly realistic style propel them well beyond the narrow confines of so-called genre painting. Indeed, Ceruti stands in direct contrast to the latter, which was often allegorical and comical in intent, a vehicle for implied moralizing or double entendres, as in the canvases of Antonio Cifrondi, Monsù Bernardo, and Giacomo Francesco Cipper, known as il Todeschini (cat. no. 116).[62] Ceruti's moving works present an afflicted but dignified humanity, wretched but self-aware, an unforgettable gallery of men and women, old and young, caught on the side of a road, in the corner of a piazza, or within destitute domestic interiors: "'Portraits,' in a word, of a common, unhappy mankind; people with no commentary attached, but as large as life; as big as altarpieces had been in the old religion, and painted with the same old faith (but to a new end)."[63]

As both Testori and Gregori have noted,[64] ideology and artistic language are the factors that ultimately account for the radical difference between Ceruti's characters and the innumerable figures of poor wayfarers popularized by genre painting, by the Bamboccianti, and by North European prints and paintings by artists such as Jacques Callot, Abraham Bloemaert, Pieter Snayers, and the previously mentioned Monsù Bernardo, Todeschini, and Cifrondi. Confirming this are the absence of any self-satisfaction or sentimentality in Ceruti's work, the power of its naturalistic content, and the infallibility of its optical and perceptual data. While the figures portrayed by genre painters are abstract, Ceruti's *pitocchi* are more rich and authentic, more elevated and monumental—made so not only by the inherent truth of their often melancholy poses and expressions but also by the painter's sober palette of dusty, toned-down grays, ochers, and beiges, applied with thin brushstrokes.

Fig. 74
PIETRO BELLOTTI (1627–1700)
Old Pilgrim with a Bag, ca. 1650s
Oil on canvas, 36½ × 28 in. (92.7 × 71 cm)
Dallas Museum of Art, The Karl and Esther Hoblitzelle Collection, gift of the Hoblitzelle Foundation 1987/4

Ceruti tackles the almost hackneyed theme of the poor and outcast in a completely novel way. His sincerity and moral commitment are equaled only in the "Lombard" side of Caravaggio's work, in the paintings of the Le Nains and La Tour, and indeed in the works of Gustave Courbet, the father of modern realism. Ceruti's figurative sources included Northern painters such as the Le Nains or Jan Michelin, as Gregori has pointed out, as well as the little-known Brescian painter Pietro Bellotti (fig. 74), whose interpretation of the pauper theme is no less clear-sighted and passionate and who may have been in France during the second half of the seventeenth century.[65]

Notwithstanding increased efforts to investigate the history and culture of Lombardy during the first decades of the Settecento, it is still unclear why Ceruti was motivated to paint his austere, moving canvases and why his Brescian patrons (the Avogadro, Lechi, and Barbisoni) acquired them to decorate their luxurious residences. This question has been posed by many scholars since Longhi, and the initial hypothesis, which regarded Ceruti as a secular, proto-Enlightenment spokesman for the proletariat, has long been discarded. Recent studies have fluctuated between a humanistic-Christian reading of his work, emphasizing the charitable activities carried out by the Catholic Church and local communities, and a "reductionist" view that, while acknowledging the exceptional interpretative quality of Ceruti's work, regards the painter's adoption of the pauper theme as entirely consistent with the genre tradition.[66] Finally, it must be noted that the Brescian phase constitutes a unique phenomenon in Ceruti's career, occurring by virtue of a certain place and culture in addition to the artist's own inclinations. Proof of this appears in the paintings of similar subjects executed during Ceruti's sojourn in the Veneto, including the celebrated *Three Beggars* of 1736 (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid), which displays a virtuoso handling of paint and a strong descriptive element, both of which are entirely absent in the paintings of the Brescian period.[67]

As in his paintings of everyday scenes, in the still lifes he began in the 1730s, Ceruti proved to be highly original, giving new life to the hackneyed, repetitive formulas of the genre. The traditional theme of a kitchen interior with food laid out on the table before being cooked—which Baschenis had interpreted in exemplary fashion in the previous century (cat. no. 101)—is handled masterfully through the artist's particular combination of sober composition, naturalist style, and powerful vision. While in Venice, from about 1736 to 1742, Ceruti had numerous opportunities to study the work of specialists such as Jacob van de Kerckhoven and Giovanni Agostino Cassana, who had a profound influence on his style. His palette was enriched with new vivid colors, which he applied with fluid brushstrokes and imbued with light (cat. no. 112).[68]

Notes

1. For Cavagna's biography and career, see Bandera 1978; De Pascale 1987; De Pascale 1989; Bergamo 1998; De Pascale 2003.
2. Guazzoni 1987.
3. De Pascale in Milan 2000–2001, no. V.52.
4. "tanto che, persino nelle sue pale d'altare, basta, per circoscrivere il meglio, isolare i brani dove intervengono ritratti." Longhi 1953, p. IX.
5. "il quel tentativo di volgere verso un concreto plebeo . . . il concreto borghese del Moroni." G. Testori 1953 (1995 ed.), p. 334.
6. "ma sempre a bassa voce, di avere almeno impedito che Bergamo fosse raggiunta dall'ondata barocca." Longhi 1953, p. IX.
7. Bergamo 1987; Varese 2002. More generally, for an analysis of artistic events in Bergamo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see *I pittori bergamaschi* 1975–; Guazzoni 1989; Gregori 1991b.
8. "nessuna di tali presenze, per quanto moderna, sconcertante o magnifica sia stata, ebbe sostanziale interesse o influenza per gli artisti locali." Olivari 1991, p. 34.
9. Tassi 1793, vol. I, p. 242.
10. Vertova 1984, no. 212.
11. "al basso continuo di una consapevolezza austera e silenziosa, che sembra ripercuotersi nella stessa resa delle tipologie, quasi uniformandole pudicamente una all'altra, come in una sfilata di ritratti di consanguinei." Frangi 1991a, p. 40.
12. "di un'inquietante capacità diagnostica, quasi da medico o da confessore." Vertova 1983, p. 40.
13. "asciutta fissità spagnoleggiante." Frangi 1991a, p. 40.
14. Tassi 1793, vol. I, p. 240. On this question, see Vertova 1984, passim, and Frangi 1991a, pp. 40–41.
15. Frangi 2002a, p. 169.
16. Frangi 1991a, p. 41, who cites the 1686 letter from Giovanbattista Ceresa, son of the painter, to the Augustinian friar Donato Calvi, which mentions "una bellissima ancona in honor di San Carlo di mano di Daniel Crespo Milanese" (a most beautiful altarpiece dedicated to Saint Carlo from the hand of the Milanese Daniel Crespo) in the Oratory in Roncaglia Dentro. Frangi also draws attention therein to Crespi's *Virgin in Glory with Saints,* now in the Museo Bernareggi, Bergamo, but with a provenance from the Bergamasque residence of the Sottocasa counts.
17. Luisa Vertova in Bergamo 1983, nos. 25, 26.
18. Rossi 1983.
19. "la levigata tornitura del modellato e la predilezione per una nuova semplificazione formale della scena sacra." Frangi 1991a, p. 41.
20. Vertova 1984, no. 166.
21. "della Spagna portata da Milano nella valle natia e così subito, per congenialità, ricuperata alla semplicità della propria tradizione." G. Testori 1953 (1995 ed.), p. 336.
22. "quasi ossessivamente come 'oggetti' fra luci e ombre a contrasto è assai simile alla lunga pazienza con cui Evaristo Baschenis . . . colloca le sue miscellanee di oggetti al traguardo dell'immobilità." Longhi 1953, p. IX.
23. "Potrebbe quasi dirsi . . . che il Ceresa dipinga i suoi ritratti come 'nature morte' a carica vitale, e il Baschenis le sue 'miscellanee' come 'ritratti di strumenti musicali.'" Ibid., pp. IX–X.
24. On Baschenis in general, see Rosci 1985; Rosci 1987; Frangi 1991a, pp. 42–44; Frangi 1991b, p. 276; Bergamo 1996–97; De Pascale 1996–97; De Pascale 2000–2001; Francesco Frangi in Varese 2002, no. 82.
25. On this topic, see Milan 1999–2000; Colorno 2000; Munich, Florence 2002–3.
26. Rosci 1971, pp. 32–36; De Pascale 2000–2001, pp. 30–36.
27. Veca 2000–2001.
28. "l'impostazione e l'elaborazione linguistica 'astratta' secondo formule ottico-spaziali primarie, attinenti alla geometria proiettiva prospettica dei corpi regolari, è prioritaria, rispetto ai temi specifici degli strumenti musicali e delle cucine." Rosci 1971, p. 31.
29. For the drawings, see De Pascale 1997. The hypothesis that the painter had access to perspective devices during the preparation of *disegni di rilievo*, or cartoons, is discussed by Dalai Emiliani 1996–97.
30. For the similarities between Baschenis's compositions and the iconographic tradition of the Spanish *bodegones,* see Volpe 1964–65; Frangi 1991a, pp. 42–43; Frangi 1991b, pp. 275–76.
31. De Pascale 1997, pp. 72–75.
32. "diresti che, rivisitata la canestra del Caravaggio a Milano, il Baschenis si provi a rassomigliare a un Vermeer (e forse non gli riesce che uno Sweerts), sacrificatosi in provincia cattolica." Longhi 1953, p. X.
33. "in quel tono di sospensione quasi magica che accompagna l'apparizione del ragazzo." Francesco Frangi in Varese 2002, no. 82.
34. Rosci 1971, pp. 30–53.
35. Enrico De Pascale in Bergamo 2001b, no. 25.
36. See Frangi 1990; Coppa 1991; Frangi 1991d; Tellini Perina 1991.
37. The subject has recently been treated by Frangi 2003–4, pp. 49–54.
38. Francesco Frangi in Bergamo 2003–4, nos. I.6–I.8.
39. "Le sue . . . eran 'vedute' di uomini e d'un mondo già più affollato, più vario. Nobili e nobilucci bergamaschi (sempre gran bevitori e cacciatori!); giudici parrucconi; servitori fedeli; dame 'di maneggio'; spiantatissimi letterati (come lo straordinario Bruntino!); ecclesiastici d'ogni ordine e grado; e fino artigiani, barbieri; e l'allegro 'spazzacamino.' Di nuovo, come nel vecchio Moroni, una serie della cui 'reale' esistenza, della cui ricca coloritura sociale a quei tempi, . . . quasi nulla sapremmo se non ce ne avesse detto, così acutamente, il Ghislandi." Longhi 1953, p. XIII.
40. The exhibition was held at the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, from October 2003 to January 2004. See Bergamo 2003–4.
41. G. Testori 1954; G. Testori 1969.
42. Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, no. III.3.
43. Milan 1981; Gregori 1982; Frangi 2002b.
44. "bizzarre e capricciose." Tassi 1793, vol. 2, pp. 60–61. On the relations between Ghislandi and Adler, see Francesco Frangi in Bergamo 2003–4, pp. 60–61.
45. "un'altezza di tinte, che fosse sua propria"; "andava facendo

mille pruove, ed indefessamente osservando lo stupendo colorito del nostro Moroni, di Giorgione, e di Tiziano." Tassi 1793, vol. 2, pp. 60–61.

46. Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, nos. V.3, VII.2, VII.8.
47. "[Ghislandi] basterà guardarsi attorno per capire *démodé* e non *démodé*; lui che i costumi dei vivi che gli giravan sotto gli occhi li avrebbe succhiati tutti, se non proprio tutti mangiati, tanto gli piacevano! . . . Con quei rosa e quei verdi; con quei celesti e lapislazzuli; con quelle ocre; con quei pistacchi; da sembrar che la gastronomia d'Europa stesse già facendo le prove per tutti i sorbetti avvenire!" G. Testori 1969 (1995 ed.), p. 406.
48. Frangi 2003–4, pp. 64–65.
49. Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, no. VII.2.
50. "al quale per parer vivo non manca che il moto." Tassi 1793, vol. 2, p. 66.
51. "avendo la mano alquanto tremante cominciò a dipignere col dito anulare tutte le carnagioni, la qual cosa continuò sino alla morte." Ibid., p. 68. See also Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, no. VI.3.
52. Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, nos. X.3, X.5, X.9.
53. "è' come se un muschio si generasse nell'interno della sua pasta, quasi fosse una marmellata lasciata per troppo tempo a contatto dell'aria e dei microbi che corrono nella vita e nell'alito umano; quasi che un'ombra vi calasse sopra e coprisse con la sua ala lo sfacelo e il tumulto della sua grande, inobliabile follia." G. Testori 1969 (1995 ed.), p. 423. On Ghislandi's painting technique and the composition of his much-admired lake colors, see Pacia 2003–4.
54. Frangi 2003–4, pp. 60–61; Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, pp. 210–11.
55. "è allora che egli intuisce la necessità di una pittura di materia e di colore in sé, in forza della quale il ritratto non è più solo immagine della realtà ma si fa, esso stesso, realtà o *Veritae*." Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, pp. 300–302.
56. "fin troppo carico e insolente"; "dei grandi artisti d'Italia." Longhi 1953, p. XIX. The remark by Longhi that stimulated Ceruti studies is from Longhi 1927a (1967 ed.).
57. Gregori 1982, pp. 34–40; Brescia 1987. Milan 1981: "austera serietà morale."
58. Gregori 1982, pp. 38–40. On the artist's activity as a portrait painter, see also G. Testori 1967; Frangi 1991d; Frangi 2002b; Francesco Frangi in Varese 2002, nos. 128, 129.
59. Frangi 1990; Coppa 1991; Strocchi 1991.
60. For an overall view of the treatment of paupers in genre scenes, see Gregori 1995 and Brescia 1998–99.
61. The paintings were originally housed partly in the Avogadro town palace "appresso San Bartolomeo" (near Saint Bartolomeo; now in the Via Moretto) and partly in one of their out-of-town residences such as Rezzato. In 1777 the entire Avogadro picture collection passed to the Fenaroli family of Brescia, whose early-nineteenth-century inventories list numerous "beggar" paintings by the Milanese painter. In 1882, following the auction of the collection, many of these passed to the noble Salvadego family. Giuseppe Delogu's discovery and publication in 1931 of no less than fourteen of these canvases by Ceruti in the Palazzo Salvadego at Padernello, near Brescia, contributed to the reintroduction of the artist and his appreciation by scholars and the public alike.

    For the complex history and scholarly literature on the Padernello cycle, see Mondini 1985; Gregori 1987; Lechi 1995; Frangi 1998–99a; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1998–99, nos. 113–15; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, nos. 105–12; Zani 1998–99.
62. On these painters, see Dal Poggetto 1982; Heimbürger 1988; Proni 1994.
63. "'Ritratti,' insomma, di uomini comuni e infelici, senza commento, ma grandi come il vero; grandi com'erano un tempo i quadri d'altare nelle chiese dell'antica religione; e dipinti colla stessa, antica fede (ma per nuovi argomenti)." Longhi 1953, p. XVII.
64. G. Testori 1966; Gregori 1982, pp. 40–68.
65. On Bellotti's oeuvre, see Frangi 1998–99b and Gerlinde Gruber in Brescia 1998–99, nos. 79–80.
66. The various interpretations are summarized in Porzio 1998–99, pp. 36–41.
67. Frangi 1990, p. 101.
68. On Ceruti's activity as a painter of still lifes, see Morandotti 1989c; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Milan 1999–2000, pp. 172–75; Mina Gregori in Munich, Florence 2002–3, pp. 441–45.

EVARISTO BASCHENIS
Bergamo, 1617–Bergamo, 1677

101. Kitchen Still Life: Game (Partridges, Quails, Pheasant, Wild Duck), Chickens on a Cutting Board, Urn, Basket of Biscuits, and Casserole
Mid-1650s
Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 38¼ in. (73 × 97 cm)
Private collection, Bergamo

Although this composition appears disordered, it is actually organized within a rigorous right-angled triangle formed by the vertical of the large terracotta urn supporting a basket of sweetmeats, the horizontal of the wildfowl laid out on the stone counter, and the ascending diagonal on the right (pheasant, cutting board with chickens, bowl). In the foreground, functioning as a measure for the depth of the painted space and as a focus for the neo-Caravaggesque ray of light pouring in from the left, is a wild duck lying on its back, its legs dramatically rigid and jutting out from the surface plane. This creature reappears in the identical pose in other Baschenis *Kitchen Still Lifes* of the same period, confirming the painter's use of cartoons, or *disegni di rilievo*, which allowed him to realize compositions with varying degrees of complexity and solemnity, according to his many different ways of assembling them. This characteristic clarifies Baschenis's method of planning his pictures, which is of interest not only for the strikingly real and illusionistic depiction of things in themselves—the soft feathers of the wildfowl, the raised, pimply skin of the plucked chickens, the crumbly consistency of the biscuits—but also for the variety of potential combinations that the pictorial arts can offer for the exploration of three-dimensional space.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Rosci 1985, no. 17; Enrico De Pascale in Bergamo 1996–97, no. 9; Enrico De Pascale in Colorno 2000, no. 42; Enrico De Pascale in Milan 1999–2000, no. 31; Andrea Bayer in New York 2000–2001, no. 4

EVARISTO BASCHENIS
Bergamo, 1617–Bergamo, 1677

102. The Agliardi Triptych
Ca. 1665–70

A. *Musical Performance, with Evaristo Baschenis at the Spinet and Ottavio Agliardi with an Archlute (Mandola, Guitar, Violone, Lute Tablature, Pear, Carpet)*
Oil on canvas, 45¼ × 64⅛ in. (115 × 163 cm)
Signed on edge of spinet: EVARISTUS/BASCHENIS/BERGOMI/P.
Private collection, Bergamo

B. *Still Life with Musical Instruments (Two Lutes, Cittern, Mandola, Sheet Music, Guitar, Spinet, Sheets with Lute Tablatures, Cabinet, Bowl of Apples, Carnation, Knife, Pear, Fly)*
Oil on canvas, 45¼ × 64⅛ in. (115 × 163 cm)
Signed on left table leg: EVARISTUS/BASCHENIS/B.
Private collection, Bergamo

C. *Musical Performance with Alessandro Agliardi with a Guitar and Bonifacio Agliardi (Guitar, Archlute, Bound Books)*
Oil on canvas, 45¼ × 64⅛ in. (115 × 163 cm)
Signed at right on chair leg: EVARISTUS/BASCHENIS/BERGOMI/P.
Private collection, Bergamo
Cremona only

Displaying an open familiarity with his aristocratic patrons, Counts Ottavio, Bonifacio, and Alessandro Agliardi, Baschenis appears here in a self-portrait wearing priestly robes and playing the spinet, his gaze directed at the viewer (A). The table, sumptuously covered with a multicolored carpet, bears the instruments of work and leisure: books, musical instruments, a score, a piece of fruit, all depicted with virtuoso foreshortening. The image is embued with poetic meaning: it emphatically declares the importance to Baschenis of coupling music and painting, and music and poetry, in his own social and professional life. As in the other two canvases, the composition pivots around a wedge-shaped form suggested by the converging lines of the musical instruments and books. In the central picture in particular, the extraordinary orthogonal of the two lutes and the mandola, leading toward the right, is contrasted in a refined play of crossed and converging diagonals with the sequence formed by the spinet, bowl of apples, and

guitar. The celebrated illusionistic finger marks on the round, dust-covered backs of the lutes, like the fly that has momentarily settled on the score, not only demonstrate technical prowess but also allude to the moralizing content of *Vanitas* painting. In addition to this iconographic content, the formal and expressive unity of the triptych derives from the intense, raking beam of afternoon light that caresses the surfaces of objects, drawing attention to their stereometric, tactile, and material qualities.

This strikingly real record of the social and cultural life of seventeenth-century Lombardy presents an image of provincial nobility "gratified by humanistic, and above all musical, pleasures, and by its local jurisdictional powers."[1] The monumental volumes resting prominently on the table in the right-hand canvas (C) document the three brothers' interests in legal history and literature. They include the treatise *De nobilitate* by Andrea Tiraquellos, a judicial treatise by Baldo de Ubaldis and Melchior Canus, and another unidentified but similar work, as well as a collection of *Rime* (Poems) by the Roman *cavaliere* and author Aurelio Orsi. The valuable guitar held by Count Alessandro and described in minute detail by the painter is a work by the celebrated Venetian lute maker Giorgio Sellas, as noted in the inscription on the peghead. The marriage of music and poetry during such a gathering as this is documented by a wealth of rhetorical writings, among them a pamphlet published in Bergamo in 1642 and written by Bonifacio Agliardi, a Theatine priest and bishop of Adria as well as the uncle of the three gentlemen depicted here—a work significantly entitled *Se alla coltura dell'animo siano più giovevoli le lettere ò la musica* (Whether literature or music be more beneficial for the cultivation of the soul).

EDP

1. "appagata dalla dilettazione umanistica, soprattutto musicale, e dai poteri giurisdizionali locali." Marco Rosci in Bergamo 1987, no. 91.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Rosci 1985, no. 6a–c; Morandotti 1989a, pp. 266–70, pls. 312, 313; Enrico De Pascale in Bergamo 1996–97, nos. 29–31; Enrico De Pascale in Colorno 2000, no. 43; Andrea Bayer in New York 2000–2001, no. 8a–c

CARLO CERESA
San Giovanni Bianco, near Bergamo, 1609–Bergamo, 1679

103. Portrait of an Old Gentleman in an Armchair
Late 1630s
Oil on canvas, 38¾ × 32¼ in. (98.5 × 82 cm)
Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Florence

Sitting on an imposing armchair seen in three-quarter view is a gentleman of about seventy with a high forehead and receding hairline, gray hair and beard, and a rich fur-lined coat. This elderly man, who appears to have just been interrupted in reading the tiny book in his hand, casts toward the viewer a gaze that is fully self-aware and conscious of his social standing. The melancholy and severe expression of the face is matched by the extremely eloquent interpretation of the two beautiful hands, painted from life with admirable lucidity of vision and sensitivity to chiaroscuro values.

The modest nature of the presentation, the firmness of the figure blocked in against the neutral background by a beam of light, and the austere palette of uniform, subdued tonalities reveal formal analogies with prototypes by Daniele Crespi and Tanzio da Varallo (and through these, with the more severe Spanish portraiture), as well as Ceresa's distance from contemporary Milanese and Venetian Baroque painting. Moroni's legacy is easily recognizable in the robust, straightforward naturalism and in the incisive psychological analysis that overcomes the stereotypical conventions of the genre, allowing the moral and emotional identity of the sitter to emerge.

Elements of the clothing, in particular the broad white collar, starched and wide open, suggest a dating toward the end of the 1630s.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Boschetto 1971, pl. III; Bergamo 1972, pl. 41; Ruggeri 1979, p. 25; Lucia Meoni in Fondazione Roberto Longhi 1980, no. 121; Vertova 1984, no. 147

CARLO CERESA
San Giovanni Bianco, near Bergamo, 1609–Bergamo, 1679

104. The Vision of Saint Felix of Cantalice
1644
Oil on canvas, 98¼ × 78½ in. (249.5 × 199.5 cm)
Signed and dated lower left: CARLO CERESA F. MDC VIL
Chiesa San Giorgio Martire, Nese (Alzano Lombardo)

This painting, executed for the convent church of the Capuchins in San Giovanni Bianco, was commissioned by the nobleman Giuseppe Raspa, whose striking likeness at the age of eighty-two is visible at the lower right, next to the family crest. Based on a composition of crossed diagonals, the work represents the mystical apparition of the Virgin Mary, seated on clouds, to Saint Felix of Cantalice, a humble Capuchin friar who died in Rome in 1587 and was beatified in 1625, and who had been venerated as a saint even before his death (his canonization did not take place until 1712).

The artist's acute realism is evident not only in the portrait of the donor but also in the intense, commonplace face of the Virgin, with its aquiline nose—perhaps based on that of Ceresa's wife, Caterina Zignoni—and of the sullen cherub on the right, for which their seven-year-old son, Giovanbattista, was probably the model. What seems more conventional and stereotyped, precisely because it was not drawn from nature, is the masklike face of the friar, which is derived from one of the many prints that became popular after his first official biography was published in 1625. At the upper left, amid the clouds, appears the diminutive, solitary figure of Saint Joseph with his flowering rod, a

tribute to the name of the patron, whose wrinkled face and long beard appear so truthful and alive that they project a shadow onto the parapet in the foreground that separates the divine space from the earthbound.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Maironi da Ponte 1820, vol. 2, p. 194; Ruggeri 1979, p. 158; Bergamo 1983, p. 31, no. 31; Vertova 1984, no. 11; Bianchi, Civai, and Rimaboschi 2001, pp. 34–35; Vatican City 2003–4

CARLO CERESA
San Giovanni Bianco, near Bergamo, 1609–Bergamo, 1679

105. Portrait of a Friar Seated before a Crucifix
Early 1650s
Oil on canvas, 55⅞ × 50 in. (142 × 127 cm)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo 35

In a bare interior, a friar wearing a Capuchin habit is seated on a large armchair seen in three-quarter view. His right arm rests on the arm of the chair, while his left grasps a crumpled letter. A small table bears an inkpot, quill pen, and tall crucifix, the symbols of the friar's intellectual and devotional life. The vigorous face, neglected beard, and thickset hands reveal the sitter's peasant origins, and the glowering gaze, directed at the viewer, suggests an intense, sanguine character. The beam of raking light from the left gives this portly figure a powerful physical presence, creating striking effects of optical and tactile illusion in the face and hands and in the rough material of the habit, whose plasticity is defined by the intense play of shadows.

The painting is linked with Moroni's portraiture not only by the uninhibited and humble pose, which lends the entire unidealized figure a disconcerting immediacy, but also by the dry and almost brutally naturalistic style. The sober coloring, composed around the brilliant red of the velvet and the warm brown tones of the habit, suggests a dating in the early 1650s, close to the *Portrait of Jacopo Tiraboschi* (Accademia Carrara), which was painted in 1654.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: G. Testori 1953, p. 28; Ruggeri 1979, p. 126; Bergamo 1983, no. 10; Vertova 1984, no. 20; Rossi 1999, pp. 190–91

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

106. Women Working on Pillow Lace (The Sewing School)
1720s
Oil on canvas, 59 × 78¾ in. (150 × 200 cm)
Private collection, Brescia

This painting, datable to the 1720s, is part of a group of pictures discovered by Delogu (1931) in the Palazzo Salvadego at Padernello but originally in the Brescian residence of the noble Avogadro family. It represents a group of young women in full length, modestly dressed and seated on simple wicker chairs, who are making pillow lace in a bare room without windows or furnishings. Although humble, their clothing is nonetheless intensely decorative and includes fine skirts with multicolored stripes (the two women sewing in the foreground), white shoulder shawls and delicate lace collars (the two young women in the center), heavy aprons, and hair in neat chignons embellished with colored ribbons or a red rose (the girl in the background at the right). The monotony of their task is to some extent mitigated by the young girl in the center of the group who reads to them from a book she holds wide open. In the foreground, at the right, a second girl sits with her hands in her lap, gazing pensively toward the viewer. Betraying a blend of fatigue and veiled melancholy, the expressions of the three women who look directly at us seem to invite human understanding and solidarity.

The "sewing school," a widespread theme in genre painting of the period, was most likely developed as such by the Danish artist Bernhard Keil (1624–1687), known as Monsù Bernardo, who was active in northern Italy and who repeatedly treated the subject as an allegory of the senses of touch and sight. When compared with Keil's paintings, however, and with those by Ceruti's contemporary Giacomo Francesco Cipper (known as il Todeschini), both of whom reveal a penchant for anecdotal and picturesque qualities, this canvas displays an exceptional ability to adhere to visual truth and a deep empathy for the unhappy condition of its subjects.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 159; Gregori 1982, no. 55; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 18; Morandotti 1996, p. 185; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, no. 106

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

107. The Dwarf
1720s
Oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 70⅞ in. (130 × 180 cm)
Private collection, Brescia

The surprising immediacy of this unforgettable figure is accentuated by the low viewpoint and the aggressively realistic style—evident as much in the psychological profile of the individual as in the formal depiction of details of costume and setting. The penetrating focus on the dwarf, who is painted with the colors of mud and misery, contrasts with the evanescent view of a farm village in the background. This particular motif derives directly from an engraving by Jacques Callot, the French artist whose popular prints (especially the Beggars series of 1622–23) were an endless source of inspiration for Ceruti.

While the coarse image here of a man defecating in the middle of the road can be associated with the vulgar side of more traditional sixteenth- and seventeenth-century genre scenes, it also has another effect. Precisely because it is an exception in his oeuvre, it underscores Ceruti's cultural and artistic independence in interpreting the iconography of beggars. Far from providing a pretext for easy irony or puns, the physical deformity of the artist's intensely humane hero is a starting point for a disenchanted reflection on the living conditions of social outcasts, whose "melancholy awareness of their own painful destiny" ("malinconica consapevolezza del proprio doloroso destino." Frangi 1998–99a, p. 57) is exactly what the painter wished to make explicit.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 155; Gregori 1982, p. 55, no. 50; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 16; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Milan 1998–99, p. 348

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

108. Beggar Resting
1720s
Oil on canvas, 50¼ × 55⅞ in. (127.5 × 142 cm)
Private collection, Senigallia

The low viewpoint and the traces of brown preparatory underdrawing suggest that this canvas, part of the Padernello cycle, was designed to fit over a door or window (Gregori 1982). A background with a high stone wall is the setting for the full-length, almost lifesize, depiction of a poor old man. About seventy years of age, he is allowing himself a rest as he sits at the edge of the road. His wretched condition is apparent from his worn-out shoes and from a cloak that is visibly tattered and awkwardly patched. His stick, the knapsack on his shoulders, and the wicker basket all identify him as a pilgrim rather than as a beggar seeking alms. This would seem to be confirmed not only by the kerchief around his wrinkled neck—"emblematic, if not of frivolousness, of a certain sense of grooming"[1]—but above all by his dignified, exceptionally vivid gaze, which shows no trace of subjection or embarrassment.

The power of the man's expression and the artist's ever accurate record of visual data set this work apart from the numerous images of vagrants disseminated with allegorical or moralizing intent in genre paintings and Northern prints between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by artists such as Jacques Callot, Abraham Bloemaert, Pieter Snayers, and Antonio Cifrondi. Compared to these, Ceruti's beggar attains a level of humanity that is more authentic, bearing eloquent witness to the artist's empathy for the disenfranchised.

EDP

1. "sintomo, se non proprio di frivolezza, almeno di una certa cura." Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, no. 108.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 153; Gregori 1982, no. 59; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 20; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, no. 108

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

109. Encounter in the Wood
1720s
Oil on canvas, 61 × 74 in. (155 × 188 cm)
Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico, Mantua (on loan to Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)

This masterpiece from the Padernello cycle represents an old man and a girl at the edge of a penumbral wood, with the figures arranged in a similar, albeit reversed, composition to that of the *Little Beggar Girl and Woman Spinning* (cat. no. 110) from the same series. The man, seated on a rock and wearily supporting himself on a long stick, is probably a war veteran, now fallen into the most dire straits (Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99). He wears a tricorn hat and a worn, faded coat, his beard and long hair are unkempt, and his wounded forehead is dressed in a filthy bandage. His dramatically lifeless gaze, directed toward the viewer, is permeated with an extraordinary sense of psychological introspection, as well as with a deep and sympathetic understanding of human tragedy. The old man's mournful, unseeing resignation is matched by the young girl's perceived muteness: mysteriously faceless and without an identity, reduced to a jumble of rags, she appears to be a fit companion for the vagrant. The desperate poverty conveyed by the subject is balanced by an astounding painterly skill that captures the infinite tonalities of brown, ocher, and ash gray in the threadbare materials, the weather-beaten skin, and the earth and dust of the road.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 157; Gregori 1982, no. 63; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 23; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, no. 109

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

110. Little Beggar Girl and Woman Spinning
1720s
Oil on canvas, 52¾ × 62⅝ in. (134 × 159 cm)
Private collection, Senigallia

Part of the so-called Padernello cycle, this canvas shows two full-length, lifesize figures: a girl bundled up in a heavy, tattered dress and a woman spinning, seated on a stone ledge and wearing threadbare clothing, including an ample white kerchief and a conspicuously torn and patched blue apron. The young woman directs her weary, resigned gaze at the viewer and seems almost unaware of the young girl, who proffers an empty bowl with an eloquent gesture. Without ceasing her task, the woman steadies a wool-winder under her left arm while grasping the spindle in her right hand.

The sharp, crude realism of these figures, whose precise relationship is unclear, is contrasted with the almost evanescent quality of the background, which is painted in a summary manner with swift, fluid brushstrokes. The vista comprises a few houses, a square with scarcely a passerby, and a church with a monumental Late Baroque facade and bell tower. According to Gregori's hypothesis (1995, p. 430), the presence of the church, echoing the little beggar in both form and concept, alludes to ecclesiastical charity for the indigent and homeless. Another interpretation considers the scene as combining the theme of female labor (the woman spinning) with the no less recurrent one of the peasant meal, "imagining that the two protagonists are just about to eat the simplest of meals together."[1]

EDP

1. "immaginando che le due protagoniste siano sul punto di consumare un frugalissimo pasto comune." Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, no. 110.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gregori 1982, pp. 56, 64, 98, n. 382, no. 64; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 24; Maria Cristina Terzaghi in Brescia 1998–99, no. 110

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

111. Sleeping Pilgrim
1740–45
Oil on canvas, 83½ × 55⅛ in. (212 × 140 cm)
Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Florence

Wearing a broad-brimmed hat, a dark cape, brown trousers, and worn-out leather shoes, a pilgrim sleeps under the shade of a tree. In the background, some passersby gather around a fountain, while others beg alms from a pilgrim or shop from market stalls. On the right there appears a sober ecclesiastical structure with tall side windows and a Renaissance doorway. Gregori's identification of the building (1982) as the church of Sant'Alessandro in Brescia—prior to its twentieth-century reconstruction—has made it possible to connect this painting with Moretto's celebrated altarpiece *Saint Roch with an Angel* (cat. no. 34), originally executed for the same church. Ceruti's work, profane in subject but "as great as an altarpiece" (Gregori 1982) would thus be a tribute to Moretto's painting: the feast of Saint Roch, on August 16, is alluded to not only by the stalls in the market and the windows laden with hangings, but also by the pose of the pilgrim himself, depicted asleep under a tree just as the saint is in the original. Although presented in reverse, Ceruti's scene respects its prototype in compositional structure and in the measured contrast between the massive figure of the traveler (conveyed with striking realism and optical accuracy down to the finest details) and the urban view, painted with flowing, luminous brushstrokes.

Displayed for the first time in 1953 in Milan as part of the exhibition "I pittori della realtà in Lombardia," in which Ceruti was represented by no less than forty-six works, this canvas is yet another example of the artist's special interest in the world of the humble and outcast.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 123; Lucia Meoni in Fondazione Roberto Longhi 1980, no. 151; Gregori 1982, pp. 56–58, no. 69; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 28

GIACOMO CERUTI
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

112. Still Life with Herring, Lobster, Turbot, Red Mullet, Oysters, Gurnard, Lemon, Chicory Root, Carrots, Onions, Terracotta Pot and Ladle, and Straw Flask
Ca. 1736–42
Oil on canvas, 24¾ × 26¾ in. (63 × 68 cm)
Inscribed at lower right: *371, 69*
Silvano Lodi Collection, Campione, Switzerland

The inventory numbers at the lower right of this canvas identify it as one of the four Ceruti still lifes in the celebrated Venetian collection of Marshal Johann Mathias von der Schulenburg (see Munich 1984–85). The earliest reference to this painting, dating from 1738, indicates that it must have been executed during the artist's Venetian sojourn, from about 1736 to 1742, when he was in closest contact with Schulenburg. This masterpiece of eighteenth-century still-life painting displays clear stylistic and compositional parallels (see Frangi in Brescia 1987) with Ceruti's *Still Life with Game and Lobster* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel), a picture with a likely Schulenburg provenance and perhaps the pendant of the present painting (the two have identical dimensions). Another parallel can be found in the artist's *Boy with a Basket of Fish* (Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), published by Chiarini in 1984.

Connections with Venetian painting are evident in the soft, quivering brushwork and the sumptuous, refined sense of color, enhanced by the bright orange tonalities of the lobster, the brilliant red of the mullet, and the golden yellow of the lemon. The arrangement of the objects still reflects elements of the Baroque and is clearly influenced by the contemporary works of Jacob van de Kerckhoven and Giovanni Agostino Cassana (both also present in the Schulenburg collection). Most notable in this regard are the theatrical composition, emphasized by the elliptical format in which the various elements are arranged, and a horizontal plane that is markedly inclined toward the viewer.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Chiarini 1984, p. 538; Munich 1984–85, no. 72; Francesco Frangi in Brescia 1987, no. 39; Morandotti 1989c, pp. 292–93, pl. 343; Mina Gregori in Munich, Florence 2002–3, pp. 441–42

GIUSEPPE GHISLANDI,
called FRA' GALGARIO
Bergamo, 1655–Bergamo, 1743

113. Portrait of Francesco Maria Bruntino
Ca. 1730; 1737
Oil on canvas, 36⅝ × 31⅞ in. (93 × 81 cm)
Inscribed at right: *Franciscus Maria / Bruntinus Bergomensis / In egestate natus / picture ac librorum / Amator*; and below, *A Studente / Ghislandi / Minimorum F.*
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo 676

Francesco Maria Bruntino was a remarkable self-taught savant and antiquarian, who was once characterized as "born a peasant and therefore ignorant"; he died in 1756, having spent his entire life and all his money collecting paintings, prints, and fine books, "and so he always lived miserably, as much in food as in clothing, and in wretched lodgings."[1] Portrayed in a waist-length pose, with an intense, shrewd expression, the man has ruffled hair and an unkempt beard, and wears an open shirt that indicates both his humble origins and his nonconformist disposition.

According to Tassi, the inclusion of the plaster mask (of the kind used by painters), as well as the books and marble block, were suggested to Ghislandi by Bruntino as a reflection of his passions and cultural interests. Tassi also states (1793, vol. 2, pp. 68–69) that the canvas was retouched in 1737 by the artist himself, who reworked the flesh tones, using the new technique of laying on and spreading the paint "with his fingers." Apart from the uninhibited style of this more broadly handled, tactile, and blurred canvas, a late dating is also suggested by the low-key colors of the palette, composed of brown, ocher, and chestnut tonalities.

EDP

1. Letter from Giacomo Carrara to Monsignor Giovanni Bottari, November 1764.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 98; Gozzoli 1982, no. 12; Paccanelli 1999, p. 291; Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, no. X.3

GIUSEPPE GHISLANDI,
called FRA' GALGARIO
Bergamo, 1655–Bergamo, 1743

114. Portrait of a Knight of the Constantinian Order
Ca. 1740
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34¼ in. (109 × 87 cm)
Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan 1547

This unknown nobleman is elegantly dressed in a braided gray tailcoat and wears a tricorn black felt hat, also bound with silver braid. His left hand, tucked into his bodycoat, reveals an embroidered metallic decoration with the armorial bearings of the Sacred Constantinian Order of Saint George: a red-gold lilied cross flanked by the letters I.H.S.V. (in hoc signo vinces). The unusual emphasis on costume—composed of an exquisite range of gray-silver tonalities, lit up by bright points of red and gold on the escutcheon and the ribbon that holds the cane—reinforces the psychological analysis of the sitter rather than undermining it. Modeled with the rich brushstrokes and "sfuocato" (blurred) style typical of Ghislandi's later works, the pale, swollen face of the gentleman, with its "plum-colored lips, palpitating with every vice" ("labbra color susina in cui palpitano tutti i vizi." Caroli 1995), offers an incomparable, penetrating expression of the dissolute moral qualities of an entire social class, then on the road to decline.

Among the masterpieces of eighteenth-century European portraiture, this is an outstanding synthesis of technical experimentation, introspective skill, pictorial virtuosity, and the ability to capture and convey optical reality.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 95; Gozzoli 1982, no. 117; Caroli 1995, p. 125; Anna Ricatti in Milan 1998–99, pp. 312–13; Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, no. X.5

GIUSEPPE GHISLANDI,
called FRA' GALGARIO
Bergamo, 1655–Bergamo, 1743

115. Self-Portrait
1732
Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 22⅞ in. (73 × 58 cm)
Inscribed at lower right: *Frat. Victor Ghisl/. Berg.s se pinxit 1732*
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo 245

The seventy-seven-year-old painter is depicted bust length, wearing the black habit of the religious order of Minims (the Friars of Saint Francis of Paola), his right hand holding a paintbrush loaded with pigment. Placed on the easel behind him is a canvas bearing the sketch of a youthful figure who appears to have the same features as the boy in Ghislandi's *Portrait of a Young Painter,* also in the Accademia Carrara (fig. 73), who is perhaps identifiable as the so-called Cerighetto, whose real name was Giovan Battista Vertova, a pupil of Ghislandi who died in the Galgario convent at the age of only twenty-two (Rossi 1999, p. 196).

According to Tassi, this painting was originally destined for the Uffizi in Florence, where it would have been included in the famous gallery that exhibited "the portraits of all the most celebrated painters," and it was long sought after by collectors and connoisseurs: "But whenever he worked on it, it was almost forcibly taken from him by the *dilettanti,* who would consider [paying] any cost in competing to tear it out of his hands."[1] The summary, concise pictorial style confirms Tassi's statement that from this date onward Ghislandi, "whose hand trembled somewhat, began to paint flesh passages with his ring finger."[2]

EDP

1. "li ritratti di tutti li più celebri pittori"; "Ma quante volte egli lo fece, gli fu quasi a forza rapito da' dilettanti, che a qualunque più caro prezzo andavano a gara a sterparglielo dalle mani." Tassi 1793, vol. 2, p. 67.

2. "avendo la mano alquanto tremante cominciò a dipignere col dito anulare tutte le carnagioni." Ibid., p. 68.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Milan 1953, no. 90; Gozzoli 1982, no. 16; Frangi 1991c, p. 278; Francesco Rossi in Bergamo 2003–4, no. VI.3

IL TODESCHINI (GIACOMO FRANCESCO CIPPER)
Feldkirch, Vorarlberg, Austria, 1664–Milan, 1736

116. Peasant Repast with a Young Beggar
1725–30
Oil on canvas, 43¾ × 56¾ in. (111 × 144 cm)
Private collection, Florence

The composition is centered around a table laid with a large loaf of bread, a generous piece of cheese, some fish, and fruit. The still life is contained within an oval defined by the hands of the dining companions—a smiling peasant with a feathered hat, his young bride, and an older woman with a veil on her head—and by the extended arm of a beggar, who has entered the scene from the left. Music being played by a violinist framed by the doorway in the background lends cheer to the meal. The young married couple, whose twinkling glances are directed beyond the canvas, generously invite us to partake of the meal, one offering a carafe of wine, the other an appetizing plum.

Cipper painted several replicas of this scene with minimal changes (a very similar and contemporary version, datable to 1725–30, is now in the Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest; see Togneli 1976, no. 66), and it typifies his anecdotal and comic-picturesque interpretation of the world of common people. Influenced by Caravaggesque genre painting, by Antonio Cifrondi, and by the Danish painter Bernhard Keil (Monsù Bernardo), who was active in Lombardy in the mid-seventeenth century, Cipper lived in Brescia during the same period as Ceruti, whose own figurative world of afflicted humanity seems so distant here.

EDP

SELECTED REFERENCE: Proni 1994, no. 41

Artists' Biographies

ANDALEEB BADIEE BANTA

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
Cremona, ca. 1532–Palermo, 1625

One of the best-known female artists of her time, Sofonisba trained in Cremona with Bernardino Campi and Bernardino Gatti. Since women artists were prohibited from studying anatomy, Sofonisba focused on portraits, either of herself or her family members, and genre scenes in domestic settings. Her drawings demonstrate her interest in capturing the expression of emotion and in studying figures engaged in action, qualities that later inspired Caravaggio. In 1559 Sofonisba was invited to the Habsburg court in Madrid, where she became an attendant to the Infanta Isabella and Queen Elizabeth of Valois. She subsequently married a Sicilian nobleman, and they relocated to Palermo about 1571. After her husband's death in 1584, Sofonisba married Orazio Lomellino, a Genoese nobleman, and settled in his native city. In her later career, she returned to Sicily, continuing to paint portraits and playing host to a number of traveling artists, including Anthony van Dyck, who made a drawing of her in Palermo in 1624.

GIUSEPPE ARCIMBOLDI (OR ARCIMBOLDO)
Probably Milan, 1527?–Milan, 1593

The son of a painter from a distinguished Milanese family, Arcimboldi began his career executing paintings and stained-glass designs for Milan Cathedral. He continued to work for regional Lombard cathedrals until he was invited to the Viennese court of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1562. Although Arcimboldi was employed as a portrait painter, few surviving portraits have been successfully attributed to him. Instead, the love of wit and allegory in the intellectual court environment inspired his most famous images: composite heads constructed from still-life elements such as flowers, fruits, and vegetables. Arcimboldi often made these figures resemble his most famous patron, Emperor Rudolf II, in effect painting an allegorical portrait that lauded the sitter. Several series of his paintings and drawings were distributed to other European courts, and in the early 1570s he was invited to design tournaments and celebrations in Prague and Vienna. Rudolf II confirmed Arcimboldi's noble status in 1580, and the artist remained in imperial service even after his return to Milan in 1587, painting portraits and composite heads until his death.

EVARISTO BASCHENIS
Bergamo, 1617–Bergamo, 1677

The son of a Bergamasque merchant, Baschenis began his career in 1639 as an apprentice to a painter in Milan who provided perspectival architectural decorations for churches in that city, as well as in Bergamo, Cremona, and Brescia. Upon his return to Bergamo in 1643, Baschenis was ordained a priest and established his own workshop, specializing in still lifes and kitchen scenes. His paintings of the early 1640s show his debt to the North Italian still-life tradition, represented by the works of artists such as Fede Galizia, Ambrogio Figino, and Panfilo Nuvolone. However, he soon formulated his own innovative arrangements of musical instruments with strong *Vanitas* overtones and a luminosity that suggest an awareness of North European painting. The immediacy of Baschenis's compositions undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that the artist himself was a musician and avid collector of musical instruments and manuscripts. As his career progressed, Baschenis's compositions became increasingly complex and monumental, reflecting his interest in geometry and perspective: objects are placed against dark, undefined backgrounds in order to enhance their three-dimensional quality and illusionistic effect. Until recently, Baschenis was characterized as an isolated painter, separated from contemporary artistic developments, yet documentary evidence confirms that he frequently traveled outside of Bergamo—several times to Rome and also to Venice and perhaps Florence. These travels allowed Baschenis not only to become familiar with Caravaggesque naturalism and the work of Spanish still-life painters, but also to cultivate relationships with some of Italy's most prominent noble families. Baschenis's inclusion of his own likeness in the so-called Agliardi Triptych (ca. 1665–70; cat. no. 102A–C), a group of portraits for one of Bergamo's oldest noble families, testifies to the personal nature of the artist's relationship with his aristocratic patrons.

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO
Milan, ca. 1467–Milan, 1516

A Milanese noble by birth, Boltraffio pursued an artistic career without the burden of financial necessity. In his training with Leonardo in Milan during the last two decades of the fifteenth century, he acquired the expertise in metalpoint and chalk drawing, as well as the nuanced and tonal shading, that continued to characterize his independent works. Boltraffio was best known for his idealized portraits of Milan's ducal courtiers and of notable intellectuals of the period, particularly the Bolognese poet Gerolamo Casio. After the fall of Ludovico Sforza in 1499, the artist went to Bologna, where he was commissioned by Casio to execute an altarpiece for Santa Maria della Misericordia, the *Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Sebastian and Two Donors* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). Boltraffio's enduring reliance upon Leonardo's style and technique is most evident, however, in his last documented work, an altarpiece painted in 1508 for the da Ponte Chapel in Milan's Lodi Cathedral (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest).

ANTONIO CAMPI
Cremona, 1523–Cremona, 1587

Antonio spent much of his early career collaborating with his elder brother Giulio on frescoes in Cremona's churches and paintings for the Palazzo della Loggia in Brescia (begun 1549). Working on his own, he became deeply involved in the decoration of San Sigismondo in Cremona. His reputation spread to Milan, where he executed paintings and frescoes for San Paolo Converso throughout the 1570s and 1580s. Antonio's works reflect the diverse artistic styles flowing through northern Italy during this period and range from the grand, sumptuous *Holy Family* (1567) at San Pietro al Po, Cremona, to the powerfully naturalistic *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (cat. no. 57) for San Paolo Converso. Antonio later worked as an architect for Cremona Cathedral and wrote the *Cremona fedelissima* (1585), a history of the city illustrated with engravings. Just before his death, he designed a series of illusionistic architectural motifs for the ceiling decoration of San Paolo Converso, which were carried out posthumously by his brother Vincenzo.

GIULIO CAMPI
Cremona, ca. 1508–Cremona, 1573

Giulio, the eldest son in a Cremonese family of artists, probably trained with his father, Galeazzo. His early works show the influence of Brescian artists, such as Moretto and Romanino, while the later ones display an interest in central Italian painters, particularly Raphael and Giulio Romano. Giulio Campi worked primarily on fresco cycles in Cremona's major churches, including the Life of Saint Agatha (1537) for Sant'Agata and the transepts (1539–42) and the first bay (1557) of San Sigismondo. From 1549 he painted canvases for the Palazzo della Loggia in Brescia with his brother Antonio; in the mid-1550s he probably visited Rome. At the end of his career, Giulio made many works for Cremona Cathedral that fulfilled the requirements of the Counter-Reformation in their clearly determined compositions and forceful monumentality.

VINCENZO CAMPI
Cremona, 1530/35–Cremona, 1591

As the youngest brother in a family of artists, Vincenzo received his training in the Campi workshop in Cremona. Although his early works exhibit the influence of his brothers Giulio and Antonio, Vincenzo's two paintings entitled *Christ Being Nailed to the Cross* (1575, cat. no. 60; 1577, Museo del Prado,

Madrid) demonstrate his own characteristic style, based on naturalistic figures and rigorous observation of contemporary life. In its emphasis on the contrast of light and dark and its vivid color, his *Annunciation* for the oratory of Santa Maria Annunciata, Busseto (1581), indicates that he was also aware of recent trends in Venetian painting. Vincenzo's interest in quotidian details is best represented by his genre scenes of markets and kitchens (cat. no. 59), which were inspired by the contemporary Flemish painters Joachim Beuckelaer and Pieter Aertsen. During the late 1580s, Vincenzo worked with Antonio on the ceiling frescoes for San Paolo Converso, Milan, while continuing to paint naturalistic religious scenes whose intense expression of emotion would later influence Caravaggio.

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio
Milan or Caravaggio, 1571–Porto Ercole, 1610

Caravaggio—probably the most influential painter of religious narrative in the early seventeenth century—was first recorded in Milan in 1584, as a student of Simone Peterzano. No works are documented from his years in that city, but those he painted after going to Rome about 1592, such as the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome, ca. 1595), indicate a familiarity with Venetian handling of light and color. Throughout his career, Caravaggio championed the direct representation of nature, as seen in the still-life details of his paintings and the rugged features of his figures. His reliance on a realistic approach to create moving devotional images was most likely strengthened by his knowledge of the work of the sixteenth-century Brescian artists Moretto, Savoldo, and Romanino. In Milan, Caravaggio would also have encountered the work of Leonardo and his circle, and their emphasis on chiaroscuro (the strong contrast of light and shade that enhances the three-dimensional quality of figures) would find its ultimate expression in his mature religious work in Rome, including the Saint Matthew paintings for the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi (1599–1600). Caravaggio's novel combination of Lombard naturalism and central Italian grandeur established a new style of painting that in effect defined the Baroque, and the highly original works of his later career in Rome, Naples, Malta, and Sicily influenced subsequent generations of painters throughout Europe.

Giovanni Cariani
San Giovanni Bianco, near Fiupiano al Brembo, ca. 1485–Venice, after 1547

After Cariani moved with his family to Venice about 1505, he was deeply influenced for the next ten years by Sebastiano del Piombo and Titian. By 1517 he had relocated to Bergamo. While there, he received important commissions for paintings in local churches, such as the *Virgin and Saints* altarpiece for San Gottardo of 1517–18 (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), and for portraits of prominent citizens, including members of the Albani and Caravaggi families. Cariani's Bergamasque paintings display his integration of Venetian art with a more local tradition, principally that represented by Romanino and Lotto during his time in Bergamo. This was to be the most productive period of Cariani's life, although, returning to Venice in 1523, he continued to paint works such as the *Road to Calvary with Veronica's Veil* (cat. no. 24) and the *Visitation* (Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna). These display his abiding interest in Lombard painting as well as in northern prints. Cariani spent the last two decades of his career moving between Venice and Bergamo, painting altarpieces for local churches and portraits for private patrons.

Annibale Carracci
Bologna, 1560–Rome, 1609

One of the seminal artists of the Italian Baroque, Annibale developed an innovative painting style that united the poetic elegance of Venice, the naturalism of northern Italy, and the monumentality of Rome. His training, under his cousin Ludovico Carracci in Bologna, included a trip through northern Italy during the 1580s to see masterpieces of Venetian and Lombard painting, while the Bolognese painter Bartolomeo Passarotti introduced him to the popular genre subjects inspired by Flemish painting and by the work of the Campi in Cremona. Annibale's own genre paintings, such as the *Bean Eater* (Galleria Colonna, Rome, ca. 1581–84), exhibit the broad, open brushwork and direct representation of the human figure that mark his first religious commissions, including the *Crucifixion with Saints* (Santa Maria della Carità, Bologna, 1583) and the *Baptism* in San Gregorio, Bologna (1585). In Bologna, during the late 1580s and early 1590s, Annibale executed important commissions for altarpieces and worked with his brother Agostino and cousin Ludovico on decorative frescoes; the three also founded an art academy that became influential for the following generation of Bolognese artists. In 1594 Annibale moved to Rome at the invitation of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, for whom he created his masterpiece, the ceiling of the Galleria Farnese (Palazzo Farnese, Rome, 1597–1601), which cohesively integrates naturalistic description with the formal solidity of Classical sculpture. Annibale spent his final years working for Rome's most prominent families and promoting the careers of Bolognese artists who later came to the city, such as Giovanni Lanfranco and Domenichino.

Cerano (Giovanni Battista Crespi)
Cerano, near Novara, ca. 1575–Milan, 1632

Cerano was one of the most prominent artists active in Milan during the early seventeenth century. He may have begun his career working with his father, a minor fresco painter, on works for the Palazzo Borromeo in Milan. Cerano's relationship with the Borromeo family grew as he developed into an independent master by the late 1590s: in 1598 Cardinal Federico Borromeo commissioned him to design a monumental statue of Saint Carlo Borromeo for Arona, as well as an altarpiece, *Saint John the Evangelist,* for Milan Cathedral. Cerano also contributed four large paintings to the twenty depicting scenes from Carlo Borromeo's life that were commissioned in 1602 by the Fabbrica of the cathedral. When the canonization of Borromeo was ratified in 1610, Cerano provided six paintings for a series portraying the saint's miracles, as well as two processional banners, altarpieces, and ecclesiastical vestments, all to be included in the celebration at Saint Peter's in Rome. Throughout his career, Cerano was widely respected by his contemporaries, finding additional commissions with the Gonzaga family in Mantua (1616–18) and the House of Savoy and serving as a professor of painting at the Borromeo-sponsored Accademia Ambrosiana during the 1620s.

Carlo Ceresa
San Giovanni Bianco, near Bergamo, 1609–Bergamo, 1679

Although Ceresa probably trained with a local Mannerist painter in Bergamo, contemporary sources and his early works indicate that he was also familiar with the naturalistic tradition represented by Moroni and Daniele Crespi. Ceresa's religious paintings of the 1640s often juxtapose naturalistic portraits of donors with idealized spiritual figures who appear in the worshipers' visions. In works such as his altarpiece the *Crucifixion with Disciples* (San Michele, Mapello, 1641), the human element of religious experience is indicated by the sincere representation of everyday figure types. During his career in Bergamo, Ceresa executed several fresco commissions in churches throughout Lombardy and most likely managed a workshop with his sons, but he was best known for his skills as a portraitist. Each of his portraits of prominent citizens of Bergamo conveys a powerful sense of the sitter through a detailed depiction of physical features and dress, heightened by an austere dark background. In effect, Ceresa's portraits serve as a bridge between those of Moroni and the works of Giacomo Ceruti and Fra' Galgario, which would appear toward the end of the seventeenth century and continue into the next.

Giacomo Ceruti
Milan, 1698–Milan, 1767

Ceruti was nicknamed "Il Pitocchetto" because of his many depictions of beggars (*pitocchi*) and other members of the lower social classes. He was presumably trained in his native Milan, but documents indicate that his early works were commissions for altarpieces and frescoes for churches in the vicinity of Brescia, where he settled about 1720. Ceruti's reputation as a gifted painter of strikingly naturalistic portraits led to his first public commission: from 1726 to 1728, at the request of Andrea Memmo, the governor of Brescia, he painted seventeen pictures of famous inhabitants of the city for the staterooms of the Palazzo di Broletto (dispersed). His ability to convey the psyche of a sitter found its greatest expression in a series of paintings made for the Avogadro family, which are dated to the 1720s (cat. nos. 106–110). These images of the indigent—beggars, vagabonds, the handicapped, cobblers, seamstresses—reflect the artist's knowledge of Caravaggio's representations of the humble, but Ceruti imbued his subjects with an innovative monumental form and psychological presence that transcend their meager surroundings. Why such paintings were commissioned for the home of a wealthy family remains unclear, although scholars have suggested that the series may be related to the Avogadro family's adherence to a particular religious movement or their desire to seem socially progressive by showing a sympathetic awareness of the poor. Although Ceruti continued to execute religious paintings for churches in Padua and Milan throughout his career, his greatest contributions were his portraits and beggar pictures, which were in great demand among notable private collectors.

Cesare da Sesto
Sesto Calende, 1477–Milan, 1523

Cesare da Sesto spent his formative years in Leonardo's circle in Milan; by 1508 he had emerged in Rome as a member of the team of artists decorating the papal apartments at the Vatican and, later, the palace of the bishop of Ostia. While in Rome, Cesare kept a sketchbook that reflected his interests in antique statuary and the works of Raphael and Michelangelo, yet also revealed his attention to naturalistic subjects. His long stay in Rome may have been punctuated by a trip to Milan, but by 1514 he seems to have gone farther south, to Messina and Naples, where he produced several monumental altarpieces. Works dating to the end of his career suggest that Cesare ultimately settled in Milan. It was there that he executed in large part his most significant commission, the *Virgin and Child with Saints* altarpiece (now dispersed) for the Confraternità di San Rocco, just before his

death in 1523. Cesare was the Milanese artist who most successfully combined an interest in Leonardo's work in Milan with a real understanding of Raphael's work in Rome.

Daniele Crespi
Milan?, 1597/1600–Milan, 1630

Crespi's training is not documented, and he is first recorded in 1619 as working with a local painter on frescoes in the cupola of San Vittore al Corpo, Milan. Thereafter, Crespi's fresco decorations in the chapel of San Antonio in the same church (ca. 1619) and his frescoes in Sant'Eustorgio, Milan (1621), exhibit his debt to Cerano and Giulio Cesare Procaccini, as well as to Correggesque Emilian art. In 1623 Crespi worked at Santa Maria di Campagna in Piacenza, where he was influenced by the art of Giovanni Lanfranco, which united Emilian simplicity with Caravaggesque naturalism. In his most famous and characteristic painting, the *Supper of Saint Carlo Borromeo* (1620s), painted for Santa Maria della Passione, Milan, a masterful use of a limited palette, an austere composition, and carefully rendered details create a strikingly immediate image. Crespi's talent as a portraitist was well known, and his services were sought after by intellectual patrons throughout northern Italy. By 1629 he was engaged in a large fresco cycle in the Certosa di Garegnano commissioned by the Carthusian Order; the next year he painted another cycle for the same patrons in the Certosa di Pavia before he returned to Milan, where he died from the plague.

Ambrogio Figino
Milan, 1548–Milan, 1608

Figino was a leading artist in Milan during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. During his training with Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, he became especially adept as a draftsman, owing in part to his close study of Leonardo's drawings. Although Figino's major achievement was as a graphic artist, his portraits of the local nobility and his still-life compositions reflect the importance of these genres in the Milanese artistic milieu. A poem inscribed on the back of his *Metal Plate with Peaches* (cat. no. 73) suggests that this work may be the earliest still-life painting executed in Italy. In 1590, at the height of his career, Figino received a commission to paint the shutters of Milan Cathedral's organ. In the last years of his life, he worked for Duke Charles Emmanuel I, directing the decoration of the Palazzo Reale, Turin.

Vincenzo Foppa
Bagnolo, near Brescia, 1427/30–Brescia, 1515/16

Although Foppa's training in Brescia is not documented, his early work suggests that he visited Padua, Venice, or Verona and was familiar with the work of Donatello and Andrea Mantegna. By 1458 he was in Pavia, near Milan, working for the ruling Sforza family. Contemporary sources laud Foppa as one of the greatest fresco painters of his time. His most important work of the 1460s, the cycle of the Life of Saint Peter Martyr in the Portinari Chapel in Sant'Eustorgio, Milan, was commissioned by a representative of the Medici bank in that city. A frequent traveler between Milan, Pavia, and Brescia in the 1470s, Foppa was in Genoa by the end of the next decade, making altarpieces for guilds and prominent citizens. By 1489 he was collecting a yearly allowance from Brescia's municipal council to create artworks for the town, but documentation concerning his works of the 1490s indicates that he subsequently returned to Pavia. Foppa's surviving panels and frescoes, with their gray-toned figures, prominent landscapes, and naturalistic detail, heavily influenced the next generation of Lombard artists, including Moretto da Brescia and Savoldo.

Fede Galizia
Milan, 1578–Milan, 1630

By the time she was twelve years old, Fede Galizia, having trained under her father, exhibited a precocious talent for painting that was noted by Lomazzo. During her career in Milan, Fede became known as a portraitist and painter of religious subjects, but most of her surviving works are still-life compositions. One of her earliest patrons, the historian Paolo Morigia (see cat. no. 74), praised her work in his *Nobilità di Milano* (1595), and she earned several commissions for altarpieces in Milanese churches, notably the *Noli me tangere* for Santa Maria Maddalena (San Stefano, Milan, 1616). A signed painting of 1602 (ex-Anholt Collection, Amsterdam), the first dated still life by an Italian artist, demonstrates Fede's knowledge of Caravaggio's *Basket of Fruit* (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan, before 1600), then in Cardinal Federico Borromeo's collection. Both her portraits and her still-life compositions are characteristically austere and simple, avoiding elaboration or artifice and continuing the naturalistic traditions represented by the art of Moretto da Brescia, Lotto, and Moroni.

Giuseppe Ghislandi (Fra' Galgario)
Bergamo, 1655–Bergamo, 1743

Ghislandi was the most celebrated Italian portraitist of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The son of a decorative painter, he first trained with local Bergamasque artists before going in 1675 to Venice, where he took monastic vows with the order of Minims (Friars of Saint Francis of Paola) and worked in the studio of Sebastiano Bombelli from about 1689 to 1701/2. In 1702 he settled in the Convento del Galgario in Bergamo. Ghislandi's paintings portray people from diverse social levels and range from distanced but technically stunning official portraits of local nobility to affable, psychologically penetrating character studies of close friends and other painters. About 1717 the artist visited Bologna, where he was elected to the prestigious Accademia Clementina; between 1719 and 1733 he went to Milan to execute a series of portraits of the city's governors. Ghislandi's portraits were popular with prominent collectors such as the prince of Savoy, and the most famous painters of his day, including Sebastiano Ricci and Giambattista Tiepolo, were among his acquaintances.

Giovanni da Udine
Udine, 1487–Rome, 1564

Trained by a local painter in his native town, Giovanni went to Rome about 1515 to join Raphael's workshop. During his time there, he became the foremost creator of *grotteschi,* painted and plaster decorations with vegetal, animal, and architectural motifs inspired by newly excavated ancient Roman interiors. In the refurbishment of Cardinal Bernardo Bibbiena's bathroom in the Vatican Palace (1516), Giovanni raised decorative painting to the highest level, and at the Villa Farnesina, owned by the wealthy Roman banker Agostino Chigi, his naturalistic representation of fruit and flowers within a decorative context was unparalleled (1517–18). After Raphael's death in 1520, Giovanni collaborated with Giulio Romano, Raphael's senior assistant, on the decoration of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici's Villa Madama, Rome. He then returned to Udine briefly before going back to Rome in 1523 to collaborate on additional papal commissions; he stayed there until the sack of Rome in 1527. For the rest of his career, Giovanni continued to return to Udine between prestigious commissions from the Medici in Rome and Florence, most notably the unfinished stucco decoration for Michelangelo's Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo, Florence. He died in Rome while working on further decorations for the Vatican.

Leonardo da Vinci
Vinci, 1452–Amboise, near Tours, 1519

Leonardo da Vinci, the unparalleled genius of his time, had astonishingly varied interests ranging from painting, sculpture, and architecture to science, mathematics, and engineering. During his peripatetic career, Leonardo traveled to Milan twice: the first time, he left Florence sometime between 1481 and 1483 to enter into service for Ludovico Sforza, the ruling duke of Milan, as a military adviser and court artist. This stay at the Sforza court lasted seventeen years, during which time he worked on numerous commissions, many of which were never completed, such as a bronze equestrian sculpture of Francesco Sforza, the first Sforza duke of Milan. Yet several of Leonardo's painted works from this period—most notably the *Virgin of the Rocks* (Louvre), the *Last Supper* (Santa Maria della Grazia, Milan), and a small number of portraits—as well as the *Codex Trivulziano* (the notebook in which he explored his theories on anatomy, optics, physics, and nature studies), influenced generations of painters both in Lombardy and throughout Italy. Leonardo spent his second period in Milan, from 1508 to 1513, working under the supervision of the French governor of the city, Charles II d'Amboise. He was involved in a wide range of activities, including plans for another equestrian monument and designs for courtly entertainments, but only a group of drawings and a few paintings survive from these years. The second version of the *Virgin of the Rocks* (National Gallery, London) was most likely completed during this period.

Bernardino Licinio
Venice, ca. 1490–Venice, after 1549

Born into a Bergamasque family of artists living in Venice, Licinio probably trained in the workshop of Giovanni Bellini. He eventually established his own successful workshop, which produced devotional works and portraiture. Licinio's single-figure portraits derive from formats pioneered by Lotto and Titian, but his group portraits best represent his use of closely observed details to individualize each sitter. Bernardino's older brother, Arrigo, was a sculptor, whose son Giulio became a painter and may have collaborated with Bernardino on portraits produced in the workshop.

Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo
Milan, 1538–Milan, 1592

Best known for his complex theoretical writings on art and literature, Lomazzo was a prominent figure in the intellectual circles of mid-sixteenth-century Milan. His artistic activity included murals, altarpieces, and portraits commissioned by his numerous acquaintances at the Milanese court. Lomazzo's interest in the relationship between the visual and the literary arts informed many of his secular paintings, such as his symbol-laden *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 82). His major surviving religious work is the decoration of the Foppa Chapel of San Marco, Milan, which includes the altarpiece the *Virgin and Saints Peter, Paul, and Augustine* (1571). Soon after completing this work, Lomazzo began to lose his eyesight, and he increasingly

turned to his writings while passing on his artistic ideas to his principal student, Ambrogio Figino.

Lorenzo Lotto
Venice, ca. 1480–Loreto, 1556

A native of Venice, Lotto traveled extensively throughout his career to the Veneto and the Marches, as well as to Bergamo. Although the specifics of his training remain unknown, his early career unfolded in Treviso (Veneto) and Recanati (Marches), where he painted altarpieces for local churches and cathedrals. Lotto's most productive period came during his stay in Bergamo: from 1513 to 1525, he established himself as the most prominent painter in that city, producing five altarpieces for major churches, including the Dominican church of San Stefano. He also decorated the walls of the oratory of the noble Suardi family in Trescore, outside of Bergamo (1523–24); created numerous religious paintings for domestic settings; and painted several remarkable, strongly naturalistic portraits. Lotto spent the next seven years of his career in Venice, while continuing to fulfill altarpiece commissions for churches in the Marches and Lombardy and to paint portraits. Perhaps because of his professional and personal restlessness, he relocated frequently in the last two decades of his life, moving between Venice and the Marches every two or three years. Lotto, who was deeply religious, spent his last few years as a lay brother at the religious community of the Santa Casa in Loreto, where he provided decorations for the basilica.

Bernardino Luini
Dumenza, near Luino, ca. 1480/85–Milan, 1532

According to contemporaneous sources, Luini trained with a minor artist in Milan before becoming involved with the circle of Leonardo's followers. Throughout his career, Luini's work reflected his awareness of Lombard artists, such as Vincenzo Foppa and Andrea Solario, as well as Leonardo. During the first three decades of the sixteenth century, he earned commissions for altarpieces and frescoes from prominent private and ecclesiastical patrons in Milan. His major decorative works of the 1510s and 1520s include three fresco cycles in San Maurizio, Milan, for the prominent Bentivoglio and Sforza families; a fresco series of the Life of the Virgin at Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Saronno; and scenes from mythology for a palazzo near San Sepolcro in Milan and from the Bible for the Villa Pelucca at Sesto San Giovanni, near Monza. In addition to his prolific production of frescoes, Luini created numerous easel paintings in which the figures display his characteristic idealized interpretation of Leonardo's innovations.

Francesco Melzi
Milan, 1491/93–Vaprio d'Adda, ca. 1570

Melzi was of noble Lombard lineage and began his artistic training about 1508 in the Milanese workshop of Leonardo da Vinci. Melzi became Leonardo's favorite student and accompanied him on his travels to Rome and then to France, where the elder master died. While much of Melzi's artistic output is debated, he was of crucial significance in the conservation of Leonardo's drawings, many of which were left to Melzi in the master's will. Having brought the drawings to Italy in 1520, Melzi used them to facilitate the incorporation of Leonardo's ideas about painting into the *Trattato della pittura* (Treatise on Painting), a text that became instrumental in disseminating Leonardo's theories to painters throughout Italy. What does survive of Melzi's own work indicates his close adherence to Leonardo's style.

Moretto da Brescia (Alessandro Bonvicino)
Brescia, ca. 1498–Brescia, 1554

Moretto was the son of a local Brescian artist, but his training and many aspects of his early career are undocumented. By 1517 he had established himself as the leading artistic figure in Brescia, and his prominence in local religious organizations earned him a number of commissions. The most important of these was his collaboration with Romanino about 1521 on the decoration of the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in San Giovanni Evangelista. Having secured his reputation in Brescia, Moretto accepted commissions in neighboring towns, in Milan, and in the Veneto during the 1530s and 1540s; he also continued to participate in important ecclesiastical commissions in Brescia. He painted a number of altarpieces for churches in his native town, most notably the *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints* of 1534 (Santi Nazaro e Celso) and the *Rovelli Altarpiece* for Santa Maria dei Miracoli of 1539 (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia). Moretto was also an inventive portraitist, incorporating an acute attention to naturalistic detail into elegant depictions of the North Italian nobility. This same level of immediacy is evident in his religious paintings, such as the *Supper at Emmaus* from about 1526 (Tosio Martinengo), in which the quotidian nature of the figures' apparel and the still life on the table forcefully convey the human element of the drama. Moretto's increasingly iconic and poignant interpretations of religious subjects, as in his late *Christ with an Angel* from about 1550 (Tosio Martinengo), related directly to his lifelong involvement with the church reform movement prevalent in Brescia during the mid-sixteenth century.

Giovanni Battista Moroni
Albino, 1520/24–Albino, 1578

Moroni was not only the most significant portraitist of sixteenth-century Bergamo but also one of the greatest portrait painters ever from northern Italy. After his training in Brescia in the workshop of Moretto, Moroni almost certainly collaborated with the older artist on several works. During the 1540s and 1550s, he spent two extended periods in Trent, where the Tridentine Council was deliberating over whether art was capable of expressing doctrinal content. There, Moroni executed altarpieces marked by the clarity and propriety recommended by the Council, including the *Virgin in Glory with the Four Fathers of the Church and Saint John the Evangelist,* painted in 1551 for Santa Maria Maggiore. He also made portraits of the Council's members and the ruling nobility. Moroni moved to the Bergamo area in the 1550s and established himself as the leading artist in the region, fulfilling altarpiece commissions for local churches and painting his characteristically direct, unaffected portraits of prominent Bergamasque citizens. The portraits range from formal, full-length depictions of Bergamo's nobility to more intimate and penetrating portrayals of his contemporaries in the city and in the smaller town of Albino, where he spent his later years. Moroni's paintings of patrons worshiping before spiritual visions best exemplify his talent for carefully rendering mundane details in order to convey the immediacy of a religious experience.

Carlo Francesco Nuvolone
Milan, 1609-Milan, 1662

After initially training with his father, Panfilo, Carlo Francesco attended the Accademia Ambrosiana in Milan, where he studied under Cerano. Nuvolone was exposed in the academy to the latest developments in Lombard painting, particularly the close attention to the handling of light and shadow as well as the careful study of facial expressions. His altarpieces from the 1640s, such as the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), reflect his awareness of local Lombard artists, including Daniele Crespi and Giulio Cesare Procaccini, but also demonstrate his interest in Van Dyck. During the 1650s, Nuvolone painted frescoes for the Cappella di San Michele in the Certosa di Pavia and contributed to the decorations of the *sacromonte* (hillside shrine) at Varese, an important local pilgrimage site. In addition to his ecclesiastical works, Nuvolone also painted exceptional portraits that display the characteristically Lombard penchant for a strikingly detailed portrayal of the sitter's features and garments and a lively depiction of the play of light and shadow.

Panfilo Nuvolone
Cremona, 1581–Milan?, 1651

After training with a local Cremonese artist, Nuvolone is documented as having moved to Milan by 1610. He frescoed chapels in several Milanese churches, including Sant'Angelo (1610–14) and Santa Maria della Passione (ca. 1614), as well as in San Domenico in Cremona (1614). Many of Nuvolone's religious paintings demonstrate his debt to Lomazzo and Figino and present little in terms of personal innovation. His greatest skill is reflected in his still-life compositions, which generally show fruit on a stand set against a dark background. The similarity of these compositions to still lifes by Fede Galizia and the fact that only two of Nuvolone's signed works are known have left much of his oeuvre open to debate.

Simone Peterzano
Bergamo?, ca. 1535–Milan, ca. 1596

Although Peterzano claimed to have been Titian's pupil in Venice, his earliest known works were painted in Milan and exhibit an awareness of Moretto da Brescia and contemporary Milanese artists. Peterzano's mature style, represented by his frescoes and altarpieces at the charterhouse of Garegnano, near Milan (1578–82), combines Antonio Campi's naturalism with Mannerist compositional elements. His *Deposition* at San Fedele, Milan, however, closely parallels Moretto da Brescia's works in its empathetic presentation of a religious narrative. In 1589 Peterzano won a competition to decorate the doors of Milan Cathedral's organ, and he subsequently executed important fresco commissions in Milanese churches that demonstrated the immediacy and clarity recommended by the contemporary religious reform movement led by Cardinals Carlo and, later, Francesco Borromeo. Peterzano is perhaps best known as the teacher of Caravaggio, who entered his workshop in 1584.

Callisto Piazza
Lodi, ca. 1500–Lodi, 1561/62

As a member of the prominent Piazza family workshop in Lodi, Callisto spent much of his career collaborating with his father, uncle, brothers, and eventually his own son, Fulvio. After moving to Brescia in 1523, Callisto executed a group of altarpieces and fresco cycles for regional churches that reveal his study of Moretto da Brescia and Romanino, with whom he may have collaborated. During these, his formative years, Callisto's painting was characterized by a brilliant freshness and

directness as well as by many closely observed landscape details. In 1529 he returned to Lodi and then spent the next three decades decorating a series of chapels in the church of the Incoronata (cat. no. 41), often with the help of his brothers and son. During the 1540s and 1550s, Callisto enjoyed a prosperous career of frequent commissions in Milan's major churches, such as Sant'Ambrogio, Santa Maria presso San Celso, and San Maurizio.

Polidoro da Caravaggio
Caravaggio, near Bergamo, ca. 1499–Messina, ca. 1543

A celebrated decorative painter and prolific draftsman, Polidoro moved from Lombardy to Rome about 1518 and joined Raphael's workshop, then employed on the frescoes of the Vatican Palace. In Rome, he collaborated with other artists in Raphael's circle, notably Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga, in carrying out elaborate fresco commissions for Popes Leo X and Clement VII. After decorating palace facades for a brief time in Naples, from about 1523 to 1524, Polidoro returned to Rome and there executed his masterpiece, the decoration of the Fra' Mariano Chapel in San Silvestro al Quirinale (ca. 1526). In 1527, at the height of his career, he fled during the sack of Rome to Naples, where he worked for ecclesiastical patrons. Polidoro had settled in Messina by 1528 and spent the last two decades of his career painting emotive and powerful religious images, most notably a monumental altarpiece for the church of the Carmine and the *Road to Calvary* for the Sant'Annunziata dei Catalani (both now dispersed), with his main assistant, Stefano Giordano.

Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis
Milan, ca. 1455–Milan, after 1508

After an initial career as a manuscript illuminator, de Predis became a portrait painter at the court of Ludovico Sforza in Milan, beginning in the 1470s. It was as court painter that he traveled to Ferrara to execute portraits of the ruling d'Este family and to the German court in Innsbruck, where Bianca Maria Sforza had married Emperor Maximilian I. De Predis helped Leonardo da Vinci to find lodgings upon his arrival in Milan. During the 1480s the two artists, along with de Predis's brother Evangelista, collaborated on a commission from the Confraternità dell'Immacolata Concezione for an altarpiece for their chapel in San Francesco Grande, Milan. Leonardo painted his first version of the *Virgin of the Rocks* (Louvre) as the central panel, while de Predis contributed at least one angel to the side panels. After the French assumed rule over Milan in 1499, de Predis worked for Emperor Maximilian I as well as for wealthy private Milanese patrons, providing designs for coins, tapestries, and stage scenery. His painted oeuvre, which consists largely of portraiture, is still much debated.

Girolamo Romanino
Brescia, 1484/87–Brescia, ca. 1560

Often described as an eccentric, Romanino was one of the most important and innovative Brescian artists of the sixteenth century. Early in his career, after a probable apprenticeship in Brescia, working alongside the Cremonese Altobello Melone, Romanino traveled around northern Italy, where he saw the Lombard, Venetian, and German paintings that contributed to his highly personal style. After the sack of Brescia in 1512, he worked briefly in Padua and was deeply influenced by Titian's frescoes in the Scuola del Santo. By 1519 he was executing a fresco cycle of the Passion for Cremona Cathedral, a commission that ended badly when his failure to please the patrons led to his dismissal in the following year. He subsequently returned to Brescia to collaborate with Moretto da Brescia on a cycle of canvases for the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in San Giovanni Evangelista; begun in 1521, this was the most important such commission of the period. Despite Romanino's success in Brescia during the 1520s, the shadow of Moretto's considerable reputation prevented him from establishing himself prominently, and he eventually sought work elsewhere. Beginning in 1531, he collaborated in Trent with Dosso and Battista Dossi and Marcello Fogolino on the decoration of the Palazzo del Buonconsiglio for Prince-Bishop Bernardo Cles. In the last phase of his career, spent in Brescia, Romanino was especially productive in the 1540s as a painter of both frescoes and canvases.

Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo
Brescia, active by 1506–Venice, 1548

The first records concerning Savoldo place him in Parma and Florence during his early career. Although he lived and worked primarily in Venice after 1521, Savoldo considered himself of Brescian origin and worked frequently for Brescian patrons, becoming one of the most important artists active in Lombardy during the sixteenth century. Contemporary reports indicate that Duke Francesco Maria Sforza hired Savoldo to create a series of paintings for the Mint of Milan during the 1530s. Savoldo's characteristically vibrant color and atmospheric lighting recall Venetian sources, but his mature works depicting single figures in subtly toned interior or evening scenes reflect his interest in the naturalistic effects of light explored by other Lombard artists, such as Vincenzo Foppa or Moretto da Brescia. Savoldo's pupil, Paolo Pino, wrote that his master's works were much esteemed but rare; the nocturnes, in particular, were praised by contemporaries.

Andrea Solario
Milan, ca. 1465–Milan, 1524

Born into a family of artists, Solario established himself by the late 1490s as a leading painter in Milan, where he developed his characteristic half-length devotional images. In 1507 he was called for a brief time to France to decorate the archbishop's palace at Rouen for Cardinal Georges I d'Amboise. Upon his return to Milan, Solario worked for the court of Charles II d'Amboise, the governor of Milan and nephew of the French cardinal. Solario's portraiture and devotional works combine qualities derived from Leonardo—a sweet gracefulness and a dramatic approach to gesture and expression—with an enduring attention to naturalistic observation. He was one of the most technically accomplished and refined painters working in Milan. He died, presumably from the plague, in 1524.

Tanzio da Varallo (Antonio d'Enrico)
Alagna, near Vercelli, ca. 1580–Varallo, 1632/33

Tanzio, a native of Piedmont, may have trained with his elder brother, a fresco painter; he collaborated throughout his career with his other brother, Giovanni d'Enrico, a sculptor and architect. Contemporary sources state that Tanzio went to Rome in 1600 and that he traveled as far south as Naples and Puglia, where altarpieces have been attributed to him. After his return to Piedmont about 1613, he worked with Giovanni over the next decade on the decoration of various chapels of the *sacromonte* (hillside shrine) at Varallo, executing frescoes that provided an illusionistic setting for his brother's surprisingly realistic terracotta statues depicting the stations of the cross. The Cappella dell'Angelo Custode in San Gaudenzio at Novara (ca. 1627–29) represents Tanzio's most arresting and expressive work. His style is notable for its unique form of Caravaggism, in which an often brutal naturalism is tempered by an elegance culled from Milanese Mannerist traditions. Later in his career, however, this style had become increasingly precise and reserved, as his single-figure, half-length devotional works and portraiture demonstrate.

Il Todeschini (Giacomo Francesco Cipper)
Feldkrich, Vorarlberg, Austria, 1664–Milan, 1736

Nothing is known of Cipper's artistic formation. He left Vorarlberg before 1683 and by 1716 relocated to Milan, not far from where Ceruti resided at that date. Cipper's early works indicate that he specialized in genre paintings, particularly those in the tradition of Dutch painters such as Adriaen Brouwer, in which figures of the lower social classes are portrayed in humble interiors and with a psychological expressiveness that creates a direct connection with the viewer. His work owes much to Ceruti and the North Italian tradition of studying facial expressions, as seen in the previous century in the work of Vincenzo Campi, Sofonisba Anguissola, and Caravaggio. After 1715 Cipper's figures became more caricatured and lost much of the sincerity evident in his earlier works; this decline may have been the result of increased workshop participation in the execution of the paintings.

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