THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM JOURNAL III

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Burton Fredericksen, Editor

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INTRODUCTION

This is the third volume of the Museum's annual *Journal* and is given over to articles on research connected with the collection of paintings. The editorship of the *Journal* rotates among the three curators, and so far material contained in each volume has been limited to the field represented by the editor. But beginning with volume four, it is hoped that the contents will reflect a cross-section of work carried out in all three departments.

This is also the first volume to be issued since the recent and much regretted passing of J. Paul Getty, the Museum's founder. The principal article of this volume, the one on Raphael's *Madonna di Loreto,* was one that he was especially concerned with and interested in. The Raphael was always a subject close to his heart, and over the course of ten years he never failed to spend a few hours talking about it whenever we had some time together. I regret very much that I will not enjoy the opportunity of hearing his comments on the results of the most recent work, and that the solution to the problems connected with this painting was not found in time for him to witness it. He was an eager student of Raphael and everything that touched on his favorite picture, and it is only appropriate that the article, which is a kind of summary discussion of the picture's provenance, be dedicated to him.

Burton B. Fredericksen

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NEW INFORMATION ON RAPHAEL'S *MADONNA DI LORETO*

Burton Fredericksen

The work documented below was done in collaboration with Mrs. Anna Hladka, who has worked in recent years as a researcher for the Museum. Because she lives in England and has a good understanding of European archives, she has been able to pursue many of the more time-consuming paths of research; and it is she who has spent the most hours in libraries—often with little or no result—tracing obscure leads, with admirable thoroughness. I am very grateful to her for all her help and patience, and I hope that it will all eventually prove worth her while.

THE GETTY MADONNA

The provenance of every painting in a Museum's collection reveals something of interest to us, but it goes almost without saying that the provenance of some paintings is more critical than those of others. Knowing the complete history of a work of art will often tell us how highly it was prized in earlier centuries, it will sometimes help determine the circumstances of its commission, and in a few cases it can be decisive in identifying its author. There is, admittedly, something unsettling about needing to know the origins of a picture in order to determine who painted it; it suggests that connoisseurship is dependent upon things not even visible on the picture's surface, making the process sound more whimsical than it should be. In fact, under normal conditions, one would always hope to be able to come to an opinion of a painting's authorship without any help from labels, dates, or prior history. But most historians, I believe, recognize this is not always what happens, and the history of art is strewn with examples of works whose significance was determined by secondary facts; the discovery of a signature, or a new document, or even some new insight into the artist.

The provenance of the so-called *Madonna di Loreto* by Raphael in the Getty Museum (fig. 1) is probably more critical to its ultimate appreciation than is the case with any other painting in the Museum's collection. There are various reasons for this, one being the fact that Raphael was widely, and often very skillfully, imitated from the sixteenth century to the present. In the case of the *Madonna di Loreto* there are at least thirty-five or more versions and copies in existence, none of them with any firm historical claim to being the original. Many of them have at some time or other been claimed as the lost picture from Sta. Maria del Popolo, and all have been, in the course of time, later discarded by subsequent criticism. The Getty version is only the latest for which such claims have been advanced, and it may not be the last, but it must be recognized that thus far stylistic analysis has been notoriously fallible in identifying the original; also, the panel in Malibu has been physically abused in the past to the point where it has become difficult to recognize the character of the original surface. As a result, although it has been accepted as the best of the existing versions by virtually everyone who has had occasion to comment on it, there seems likely to always be some doubt in a few scholars' minds that we are dealing here with the hand of the master and not another replica, albeit of high quality. Perhaps nothing will ever come to light that will enable us to give up the search and conclude that we need not look any further; but, short of unforeseeable new technical approaches, it appears that the most likely way to confirm the author of the Getty panel is to try to find where the picture has been and, if possible, to determine if it can be traced to the church from which it was stolen in the sixteenth century.

It must immediately be mentioned that we have not succeeded in this so far, and I do not want to imply that the results published here will be in any way conclusive. We have, however, found material that has been overlooked and that is of interest for the general question of Raphael's *Madonna di Loreto;* this is, therefore, only an "interim report" with more to follow at some later date.

It is necessary here to briefly recapitulate the state of knowledge as it was in 1972, the year our last catalogue of paintings was published.[1]

The earliest certain reference to a painting by Raphael with this composition is in the manuscript of the so-called Anonimo Magliabecchiano from about 1544–46.[2] He describes the Madonna as being shown half-length with the Child nearby and the figure of Joseph partly visible. This painting belonged to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, and, along with another work by Raphael—a portrait of Julius II—was shown on special religious festivals, hung against a pillar for the public to see. The description in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* is vague and incomplete, but a more thorough description is given by Vasari in the 1550 edition of his *Vite.*[3] Vasari calls the painting in Santa Maria del Popolo the *Birth of Christ* and says the Virgin is shown covering Her Son with a veil, while Joseph can be seen in prayer. Like the Anonimo, he also states that it, as well as the portrait of Julius II, was shown only on religious holidays.

Nothing more about the original commission is known. The portrait of Julius II, which has been identified as the painting now in the London National Gallery, is known to have been given to the church in 1513 (or shortly before) by the Pope himself.[4] There is no reason to believe, however, that the *Madonna* was ever intended to be its formal pendant, and, from circumstantial evidence, it seems likely to have been done somewhat prior to the portrait, probably 1509.[5]

Both the portrait and the Madonna remained in Santa Maria del Popolo until 1591 when they were removed by Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati. This fact is specifically recorded by Alessandro Tassoni (1565–1635) in a copy of Vasari's *Vite* in which Tassoni says that the cardinal forcibly took the two paintings while giving the church a small sum of money in return.[6] In 1595 they are mentioned in the cardinal's collection in Rome, and the circumstances indicate that he

1 Raphael, *Holy Family* ("The Madonna di Loreto"). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

2 Giovanni Francesco Penni (?), *Holy Family* ("The Madonna di Loreto"). Chantilly, Musée Condé.

was already trying to sell them to Emperor Rudolf II.[7] Evidently he did not succeed, because in 1606 an agent of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga mentions in a letter that the *Madonna* and many other Raphaels were still in the cardinal's collection.[8]

Up to this point, roughly one century after the picture was painted, the trail still seems fairly warm, and there does not seem to be any reason to doubt that the original had not yet left Sfondrati's collection. In 1972, following the lead of Cecil Gould, who had traced the portrait of Julius II from Sfondrati to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, I proposed to identify the Madonna from Sfondrati's collection with one listed in the Borghese collection inventory of 1693.[9] It is known that in 1608 Sfondrati managed to sell seventy-one of his paintings to Cardinal Borghese.[10] There is no list or inventory of the pictures included in this sale, but it must have constituted the bulk of his collection. The earliest known inventory of the Borghese collection was made in 1693, almost a century later, but this inventory contains two pictures which are described fully enough to justify the assumption that they were the ones removed from Santa Maria del Popolo. In the "Stanza dell'Udienza della S. ra Principessa verso il Giardino" of the Palazzo Borghese in the Campo Marzio, one finds the following entry:

> Sotto al cornicione accanto a detto un quadro di 4 palmi in tavola del ritratto di un papa a sedere del No.118 cornice intagliata dorata di Raffaello d'Urbino

followed by:

> Sotto a detto un quadro di cinque palmi in tavola con la Madonna che copre il Bambino con un velo e S. Gioseppe del No.133 di Raffaelle d'Urbino con cornice intagliata e liscia[11]

Like finding the girl whose foot would fit the glass slipper lost at the ball, it was natural to hope that the Getty picture would have the number 133 somewhere on its face, just as the portrait of Julius II in the National Gallery was found to have the number 118 in the lower left corner (fig.3).[12] Unfortunately, it was not there, but considering the severe cleaning that the panel had undergone and the fact that the reverse had a relatively modern cradling on it that had removed all trace of earlier owners, this was not entirely surprising.[13] The disappointment was to some extent lessened by having the Getty Madonna exhibited in the National Gallery in the same room with the portrait of Julius II. This had the effect of reuniting the pair as they had been first shown in 1513.[14]

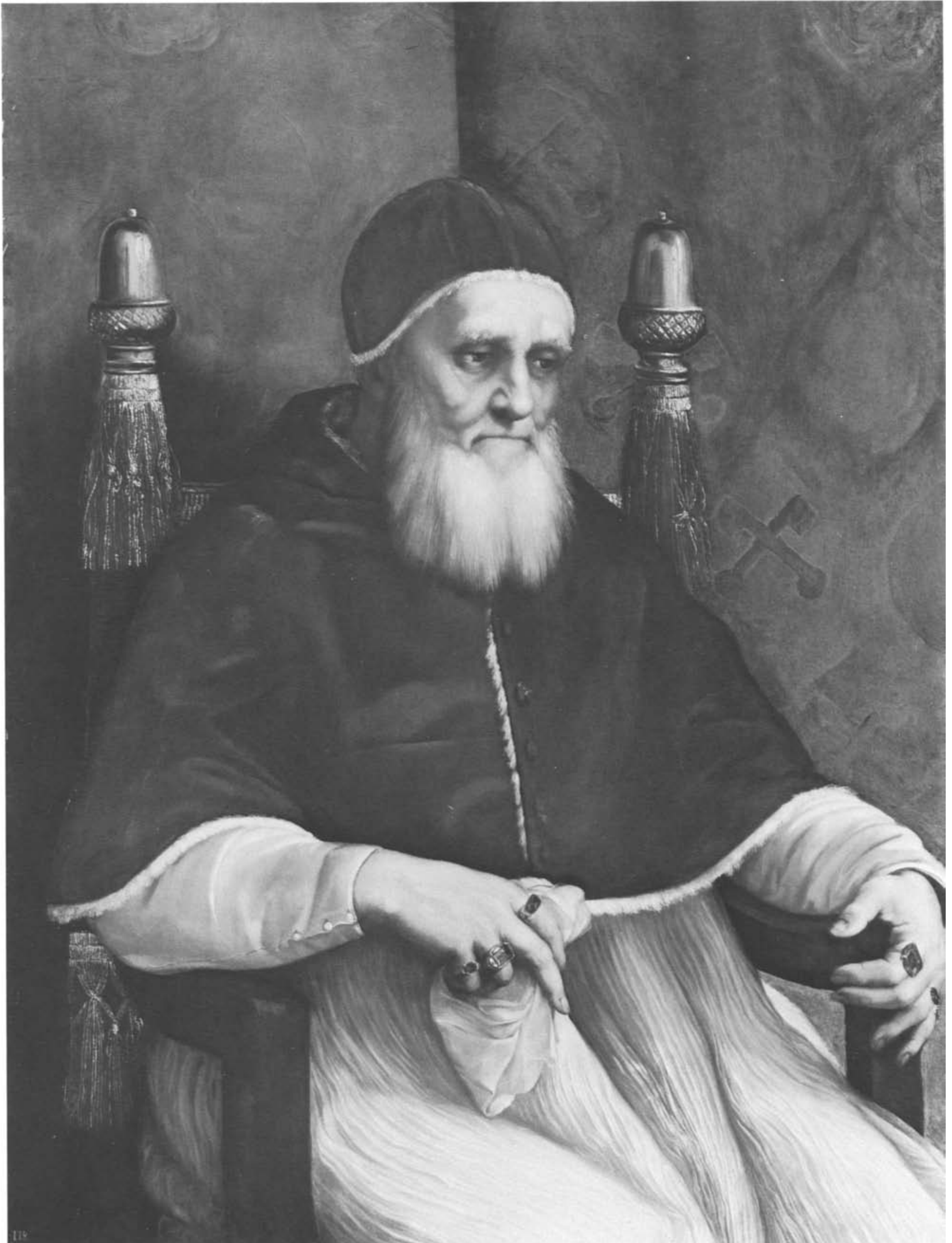
The modern history of the Getty panel is relatively short, but is appropriately distinguished. The first certain reference to it is in 1938 at the London sale of the collection of H.R.H. Princess Beatrix de Bourbon-Massimo where Mr. Getty acquired it.[15] Princess Beatrix was an indirect descendent of the Comte de Chambord who, along with his wife, formed the collection in the nineteenth century. Chambord had for a single day reigned as Henry V of France after his grandfather, Charles X, abdicated in 1830. He and his mother, the Duchesse de Berry, were forced into exile, and after a brief stay in England he went to Schloss Frohsdorf, a small and remote villa in Austria. The collections sold in 1938 had been removed from Frohsdorf, and there was a strong tradition that most of the art works there had come from the Tuileries, presumably having been removed about the time the family fled Paris.[16] The Raphael, for instance, was supposed to have been hung above the bed at Frohsdorf, just as it had been in the Tuileries.[17] No substantiation of this was ever found, but the likelihood remains that some of the pictures could have had a royal provenance.

The only other relevant bit of information concerns the collection of Chambord's mother, the Duchesse de Berry. In a sale of her paintings in Paris in 1865, a picture was sold whose description corresponds to the so-called *Madonna di Loreto* type.[18] It was bought by the Marquis de Podenas, a close member of Chambord's entourage, who bought other pictures in the same sale. It is not clear why the duchess' son would buy pictures from his mother's sale through a mediary at public auction, but such a thing was not unknown, and one could easily enough find reasons for it. We will examine this point more closely below.

Whether one accepts the picture sold in 1865 as being the same one owned later by Chambord or not, the picture cannot be traced beyond the second half of the nineteenth century, and we do not know how it came into the Bourbon collection. There are, however, a number of possibilities which we will explore later.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the original painting from Rome was thought to be identical with the one in the Santa Casa at Loreto, from whence the composition took its name.[19] A picture of this description is recorded there between 1717 and 1797, at which time it was removed by the French and supposedly shipped to Paris.[20] What arrived, however, was a copy. Later, another version was acquired for the Louvre which was also subsequently judged to be a copy. In any case, there has been a tendency to assume that, since the French had stolen it, it must somehow have found its way to Paris. This would put it in the same city where, just fifty years or so later, the Duchesse de Berry sold hers. If, however, the original, once owned by Cardinal Sfondrati, passed into the Borghese collections—where it can be traced until at least 1787[21]—this would indicate, as many scholars had already suggested, that the Loreto picture was merely a copy or replica and not the original. Not only, therefore, was that part of its history no longer relevant, even its name, the "Madonna di Loreto," was no longer appropriate.[22] It was only necessary to find a link between the Palazzo Borghese and the Bourbons.

3 Raphael (?), *Portrait of Pope Julius II*. London, National Gallery.



Such links are not difficult to find. The Borghese family was forced by the French to sell numerous pictures, and many went to France and England. Sales during the first decade of the nineteenth century are full of Borghese paintings, many yet to be traced. But more intriguing was the fact that Pauline Bonaparte, Napoleon's sister, was married to Camillo Borghese, and that Schloss Frohsdorf in Austria had once belonged to her sister, Caroline Bonaparte, who retired there in 1817. Chambord could have simply acquired the picture along with the residence. But such was not the case.

All of this speculation, which at the time seemed very promising, was rendered superfluous when the present writer noticed in 1973 what should have been noticed long before: that the Borghese number 133 is blatantly apparent on another picture, the version of the composition now at Chantilly.[23] This meant that it, and not the Getty version, was the painting from the Borghese collection and therefore the companion to the portrait of Julius II in the National Gallery. Even without knowing exactly how it came to Chantilly, it was obvious that a complete provenance could now be established for one of the existing versions, just as it had been for the portrait of Julius II in London on the same evidence.

THE CHANTILLY MADONNA

It is surprising to find that no one, until now, has noticed the earlier history of the Chantilly picture. The painting itself has long been recognized as one of the better sixteenth-century versions of the composition, and it had been examined on various occasions in order to compare it to the other existing versions. But the significance of the number was consistently overlooked.

The Chantilly painting, of which we publish here for the first time a large reproduction (fig. 2), has been on exhibit at the Musée Condé since the 1880's. Henri d'Orleans, the Duc d'Aumale, give the chateau and its contents at that time to the Institut de France under whose auspices the first catalogues were published in 1896 and 1898.[24] The *Madonna di Loreto,* catalogued as a copy, came to the Duc d'Aumale with the collection of the Prince of Salerno, his father-in-law. But rather than trace the painting backwards through the century, it would, I think, be more profitable to start from the Palazzo Borghese in Rome and follow it to Chantilly. Most of the sources for this have already been published, but their relation to each other has not been noticed.

In 1972, we were able to place the Borghese version of the composition in the "last room" of their Palazzo in the year 1787.[25] It was at that time described by Ramdohr as simply a *Madonna and Child* by Giulio Romano, but he goes on to say that there was a copy of the picture in the Palais Royal in Paris, and we know in fact that the Orleans collection had a version of it.[26] The attribution to Giulio also corresponds to a statement made in 1741 by Murri, who says a version of the Madonna at Loreto in the Borghese collection was by Giulio Romano.[27] To this can perhaps now be added the reference in Vasi's guide to Rome of 1794.[28] Vasi does not give lengthy descriptions, but a *Holy Family* by Giulio Romano is listed in the next to last room, and it may have simply been moved there from the "last room."[29] In the "last room" there is a *Madonna and Child* by Raphael himself which might also be the painting. Since a number of the paintings seem to have been regularly shifted about, it may never be possible to know which if either, it was.[30]

However, it is not truly very important. One can safely assume that the picture left the Palazzo during the 1790s when so many other paintings were sold. The portrait of Julius II, which also had been removed from Santa Maria del Popolo and which in 1693 hung just above the *Holy Family* no. 133, can be found in 1794 in still another room, the second to last. Gould noted that the portrait was apparently gone by 1797.[31] There is a record of twenty-nine paintings being sold in 1801 to a Frenchman named Durand.[32] And a number were sold to an Englishman, Alexander Day, in 1795.[33]

The next mention of the painting is found in Pungileoni's book on Raphael written in 1829.[34] He quotes a letter sent to him by Sig. Cav. Carmine Lancelotti and dated 1820:

> Fra le altre cosette mie una nascita di Polidoro a tempra, ed altra tavola rappresentante la Sagra Famiglia di Raffaello, il cui originale era in Loreto. Io la credo di Giulio Romano con qualche variazione del Maestro. Al di dietro della tavola è scritto, Legato del signor Principe Borghese alla Signora Costanza Eleanora: lo che indica essere uscita da quella quadreria Borghese di cui faceva parte.

Pungileoni goes on to add:

> Non ha quari ho avuto tutto l'agio d'ammirarlo più e più volte a Napoli unitamente ad altre opere bellisime di pittura in casa del detto Cavaliere, cui non saprei acconciamente esprimere quanto gli sia tenuto.

The note described by Lancelotti as being on the back of his painting confirms that the picture is the same one that carried the number 133 in the Palazzo Borghese. I do not know who "Signora Costanza Eleanora" was. And it is odd that, at a time when Camillo Borghese, like so many other Italian collectors, was being forced to sell large numbers of paintings, this particular painting should be a gift to an Italian woman. It does not follow the usual pattern of sales to foreign speculators. But it appears to be a fact.

It is also interesting to note that the *Portrait of Pope Julis II* in London was also at one time supposed to have come from the Lancelotti collection, though this has not been documented.[35]

I know nothing about the Lancelotti collection in Naples or its eventual fate. There is no such note now on the back of the picture at Chantilly—although the back does not seem to

have been much disturbed—but otherwise there is nothing that would contradict identifying the Lancelotti painting with Borghese no.133. Pungileoni's notice puts the picture in Naples in the 1820s, and the next mention of it is in that same city.

A note similar to that printed by Pungileoni appears in Passavant's list of versions of the *Madonna di Loreto* published in 1839.[36] He may have taken the information from Pungileoni, but he elaborates about the picture's quality, leading to the assumption that he had seen it:

> In der Sammlung des Cavaliere Carmine Lancelotti in Neapel. Copie aus der Schule, aber etwas hart in den Umrissen. Auf der Rückseite steht: Legato del Signor Principe Borghese alla Signora Costanza Eleanora.

By this time, however, the painting must already have left the Lancelotti collection. In the volumes of reproductions compiled by Jean Duchesne during the 1820's and 1830's, one finds a line engraving of the composition giving the author as Perino del Vaga—copied after Raphael's painting done for the church of Loreto!—and the location as the Museo Borbonico (fig.4).[37] Although Duchesne does not say so, the painting must already have belonged to the Prince of Salerno, who had lent it as part of a group of works to the Museo Borbonico (also called Gli Studi). We know that, beginning in 1830, Salerno had a number of pictures there; various guides and inventories mentioning some of them appeared between 1842 and 1847, and, though a painting of the *Madonna and Child* by Perino appears there, one cannot be certain that it is the same picture.[38] This does not become possible until 1852, when a complete printed catalogue was published after the prince's death. The painting appears there under the name of Fattorino ("Luc Penni"):[39]

> 6. Bonne copie du charmant tableau de son maître Raphael, connu sous le nom de la Madonna del Velo. Bois, Haut. 4 - 8. larg. 3 - 50.

The archives at Chantilly give a little additional information. In the margin of their copy of the catalogue is written in pencil, "Studi 50," indicating the number it was given at the Museo Borbonico. There is also a document recording the delivery of the painting to the museum by the Marchese Salvatore Brancaccio; and there is an appraisal of November 5, 1830 by "Cav. Nicolini" establishing its value at 24000 Ducats.[40] (This value, by the way, was lower than those of only two other paintings: Gerard's *Three Ages*, and Annibale Carracci's *Reclining Venus with Putti.*) So it appears as if Salerno had acquired the painting before 1830.

It might be worthwhile here to give a few facts about the Prince of Salerno. His full name was Don Leopoldo Giuseppe, and he was born in 1790. He was the son of the king of Naples, Ferdinand I, and the brother of Francesco I. Very little is known about where he acquired his paintings. A large number supposedly came to him from his brother, Francesco I, and it is very possible that the Madonna by "Fattorino" was among them.[41] In any case, the Italian paintings that formed his collections seem to have come from a variety of famous collections in Rome: Albani, Altieri, Bolognetti, Soderini, and Torlonia. One, a *Madonna* by Luca Longhi, is even supposed to have come from the Borghese collection.[42]

Salerno died in 1851. His collection was inherited by his widow, the Archduchess Maria Clementina of Austria, and his daughter, Maria Carolina Amelia. The latter had married Henri d'Orleans, duc d'Aumale (born 1822) in the year 1844. Salerno's collection of 170 paintings was put up for sale *en bloc* in 1852; two years later the Duc d'Aumale decided to buy the entire collection. Because he was living in exile in England, he had the collection sent there. At Chantilly there is a list in Italian of pictures that were sent on the steamer "Tiber" to Sig. Myers at Liverpool. No.31 was the picture by "Fattorini." Three years later, in 1857, Aumale sold seventy of his Salerno paintings at an auction at Christie's, but the "Fattorino" was among those he kept.[43] A list in French at Chantilly has the notation in English next to no.6, Fattorino, that it was "cleaned." Apparently this took place in England while the collection was still there.[44]

In 1870 the Duc d'Aumale returned to Chantilly, taking his collection with him. The catalogues published at the end of the century by Gruyer still mention the attribution to Penni, though he is now "François Penni"—i.e. Giovanni Francesco—instead of Luca Penni.[45] The label on the painting today still reads as it did approximately one century ago.

The one thing that has permitted us to identify the Chantilly painting throughout this voyage from Rome to Chantilly is the number 133 written in black numerals in the lower left corner. The changes of attribution and the confusion with other versions would normally have made it impossible to follow; but even when one does not always know how or when the picture changed hands, the number is irrefutably there, making the details of just marginal importance.

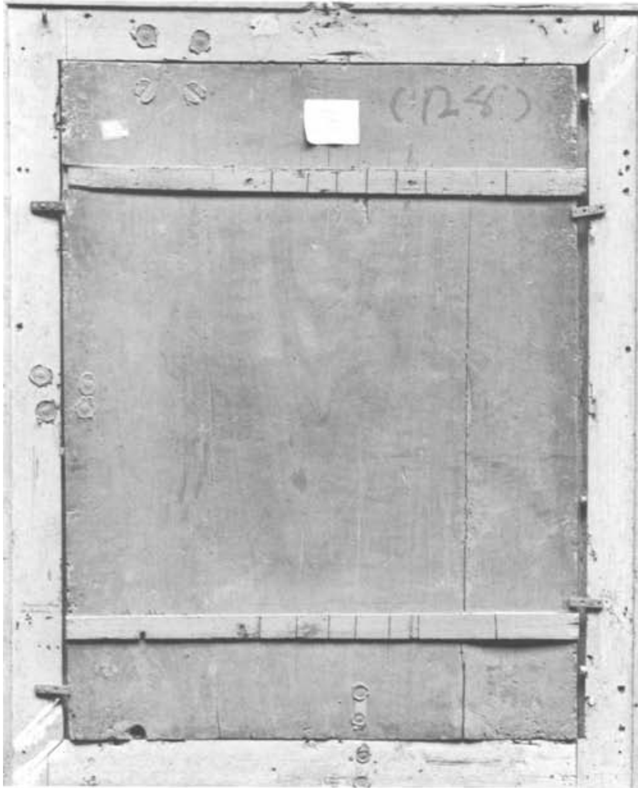
Before discussing the Chantilly picture, it might be worthwhile to look briefly at the back of the panel (fig.6). At the top are two sets of seals which bear a coat-of-arms and the inscription: Casa di S.A.R. il Principe D. Leopoldo. On the left side are two more sets of the same seals. At the bottom is a set of seals consisting of two coats-of-arms attached to both the picture and the frame (fig.7). These are still unidentified, but I suspect that they are the arms of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies. These seals mean that the frame is at least as old as Salerno's collection and probably date from the early nineteenth century.

The oldest label on the back appears to be the small one at the bottom left corner which reads, "Raffaello 267." In the upper left corner is a relatively modern printed label with the letters, "H.O." and, "Peintres: Italien / no.20," and another

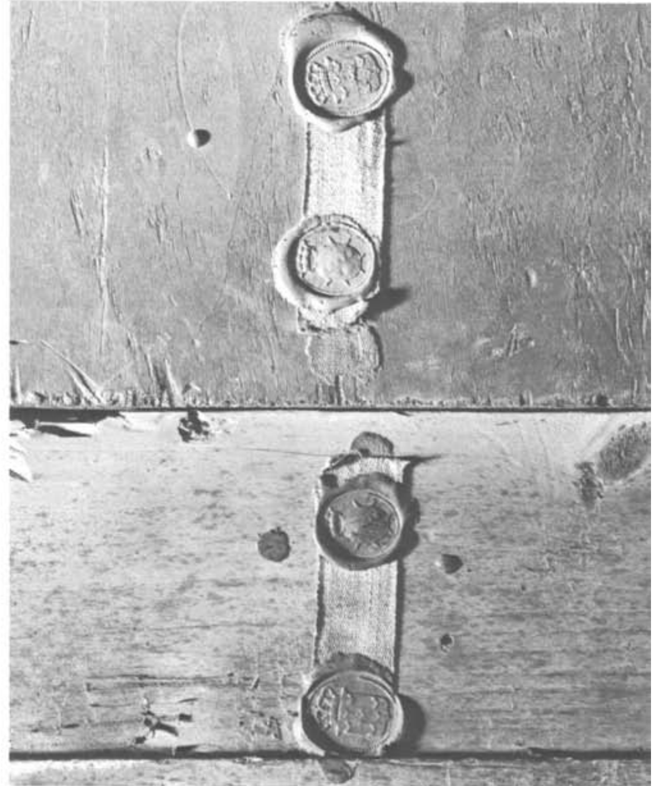
4 "Perino del Vaga," *Holy Family.* Naples, Museo Borbonico. From Duchesne, *Museo di Pitture e Sculture,* 1838, pl. 1047.

5 "Raphael," *Holy Family.* Paris, Private collection (?). From Duchesne, *Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture,* 1828, pl. 37.

6 Reverse of fig. 2. Chantilly, Musée Condé.



7 Detail of seals from fig. 6. Chantilly, Musée Condé.



8 Detail of inscription from fig. 6. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

that reads: "Ecoles d'Italie / no.20 Fattore / Madonna del Velo." In the upper right corner is a large number written directly on the panel that seems to be 128, in parentheses. It may well be old, but it is difficult to be sure. Under the seal of the Prince of Salerno is the number 398 in pencil. The first digit is uncertain but probable.

By far the most interesting detail about the reverse of the Chantilly painting, however, is an inscription that is easily overlooked. It is scratched into the center of the panel and reads sideways, from bottom to top (fig.8). It says: ".S.T. 1544," and in the middle is a delicate rosette in a double circle made with a compass or some kind of mechanical device. The letters are much cruder. After the date come a few more letters which are more difficult to make out but which seem to say, "ago ʃ 10" or perhaps, "age ʃ 10." Were it not for the rosette, one might take this inscription for a graffito: and it may well be. But because it is placed so carefully in the middle of the panel and because of its early date, I am inclined to think it had some more formal purpose. Can it be, for instance, the initials of the man who prepared the panel? Or an owner? We do not have sufficient knowledge of workshop practices to say who was responsible for supplying panels. Would it have been a member of the shop, or someone outside it who did such work? I do not have the answer; and I cannot as yet explain the significance of the inscription. But the date is worth recording because it might indicate the year of origin of the painting. Needless to say, in 1544 Raphael was already dead twenty years; Penni was dead about twelve years; but Perino del Vaga was still alive, as was Giulio Romano, and other followers of the master. The painting was supposed to still be in the church at that date; and it must not be overlooked that this was also the same year that the painting was first mentioned by the Anonimo.

Let us turn now to the front of the picture (figs.2, 11,15,19,22). In spite of a crack that runs vertically through the arm of the Virgin and the nose of the Child, the panel is in good condition. It is somewhat dirty and has probably not been worked on since the mid-nineteenth century, when it was cleaned in England. Infra-red photographs (figs.10,12,17,21) show that there has been some overpainting and strengthening, but it is generally of small consequence. The exception to this is the right side of the panel which includes the figure of Joseph (fig.2). The infra-red photograph indicates that some serious damage or alteration has occurred here which affects virtually all of his torso (fig.10). (By coincidence this is also the part of the Getty version which is most poorly preserved.) But the Madonna and Her Child are still very sound.

It should also be pointed out that the Chantilly panel, like the Getty panel, has, or at least had, an unpainted border. At the bottom a border of about one centimeter has been left unpainted. A similar border on the left side exists but has been overpainted in recent times. I was not able to remove the picture from its frame, but it appears as if the top also has an overpainted border; I do not know what the condition of the right side is.[46]

There is perhaps nothing more to say about the condition of the Chantilly picture except to add that it is better preserved than the Getty version. This is made clear from photographs in which one can see very distinctly the veil held by the Virgin. It is hardly visible in the picture at Malibu.

What remains to be discussed is the author of the Chantilly painting. We have already seen that, since leaving the Borghese collection (where it was originally called Raphael), it has not once been attributed to the master itself. Even while it was in Rome it had acquired the name of Giulio Romano. In Naples it was called Giulio, then Perino del Vaga, and finally Giovanni Francesco Penni. At Chantilly it has invariably been recognized as the work of one of Raphael's followers. Every book on Raphael which has dealt with the matter has likewise rejected the name of Raphael himself.[47] It is possible that knowing the Borghese provenance, scholars will want to take a fresh look at the picture, but it still seems unlikely that anyone will abruptly decide it is more than a school piece. In recent times only one scholar, Philip Pouncey, studied the Chantilly picture with any care. He concluded that the attribution to Penni was not unreasonable and rejected the name of Raphael.[48]

The Chantilly picture cannot be discarded as being of poor quality; it is well painted and certainly one of the best of the versions now in existence. It is superior to the Louvre version and those in New York. The attribution to Penni is difficult to discuss, since there are only two or three pictures known to be by his hand—of which one is a portrait, the other a copy after Raphael, and the third a collaborative effort with Giulio Romano. So one cannot easily determine his individual style.

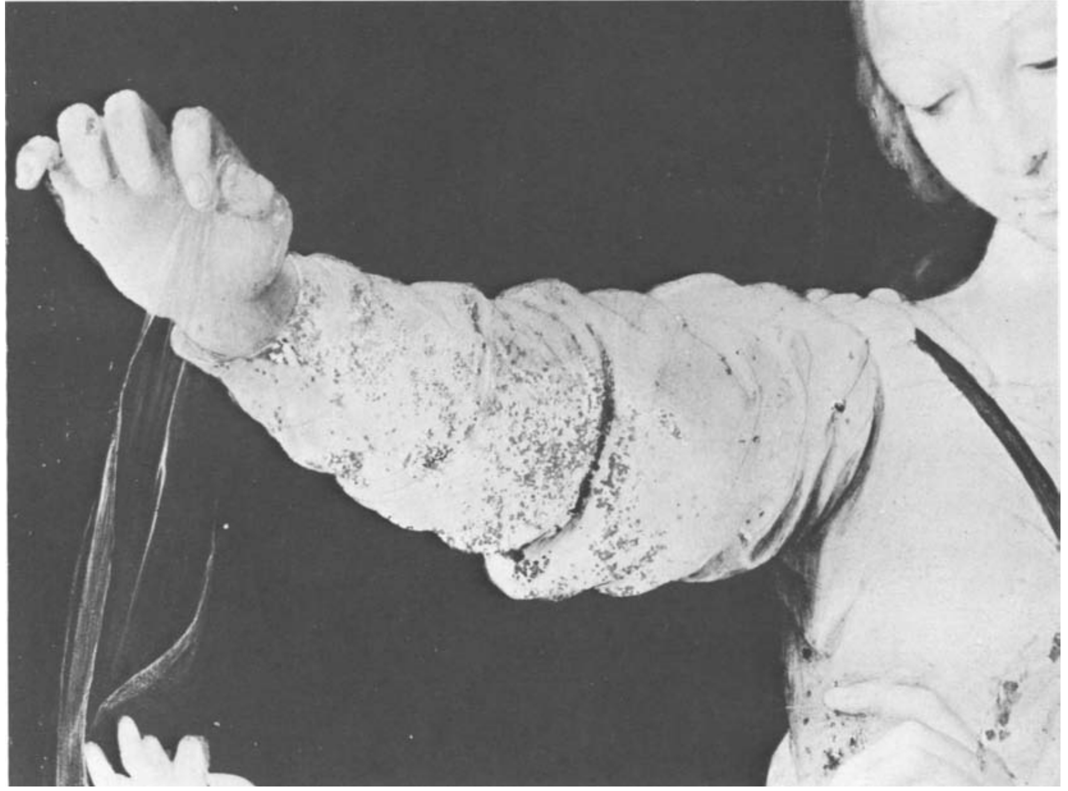
Of considerable importance is the nature of the preliminary drawing which is revealed by the infra-red photographs. Only one significant *pentimento* occurs—on the lower foot of the Christ Child (fig.17). The infra-red photograph shows distinctly that the foot and lower leg have been shortened by a couple of centimeters; otherwise there are no *pentimenti* worthy of the name except perhaps a small change in the left contour of the Virgin's outstretched hand. Details of the arm and torso (figs.12 and 21) reveal that the preparatory drawing is very linear and does not attempt to indicate modelling or gradations. This is in striking contrast to the drawing revealed by infra-red photographs of the Getty Madonna where such indications are very extensive (figs.13,20,23).[49] The drawing under the Chantilly picture suggests a copy in which only the unbroken contours are rendered, as if traced from a cartoon. This does not, of course, prove that the Chantilly picture *is* a copy, but it does differ from what one normally finds under Raphael's pictures—such as the Aldobrandini Madonna—or in his preliminary sketches on paper.

9 Infra-red photograph of fig.1 The J. Paul Getty Museum.

10. Infra-red photograph of fig.2. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

11 Detail of fig. 2. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

12 Detail of fig. 10 (infra-red). Chantilly, Musée Condé.

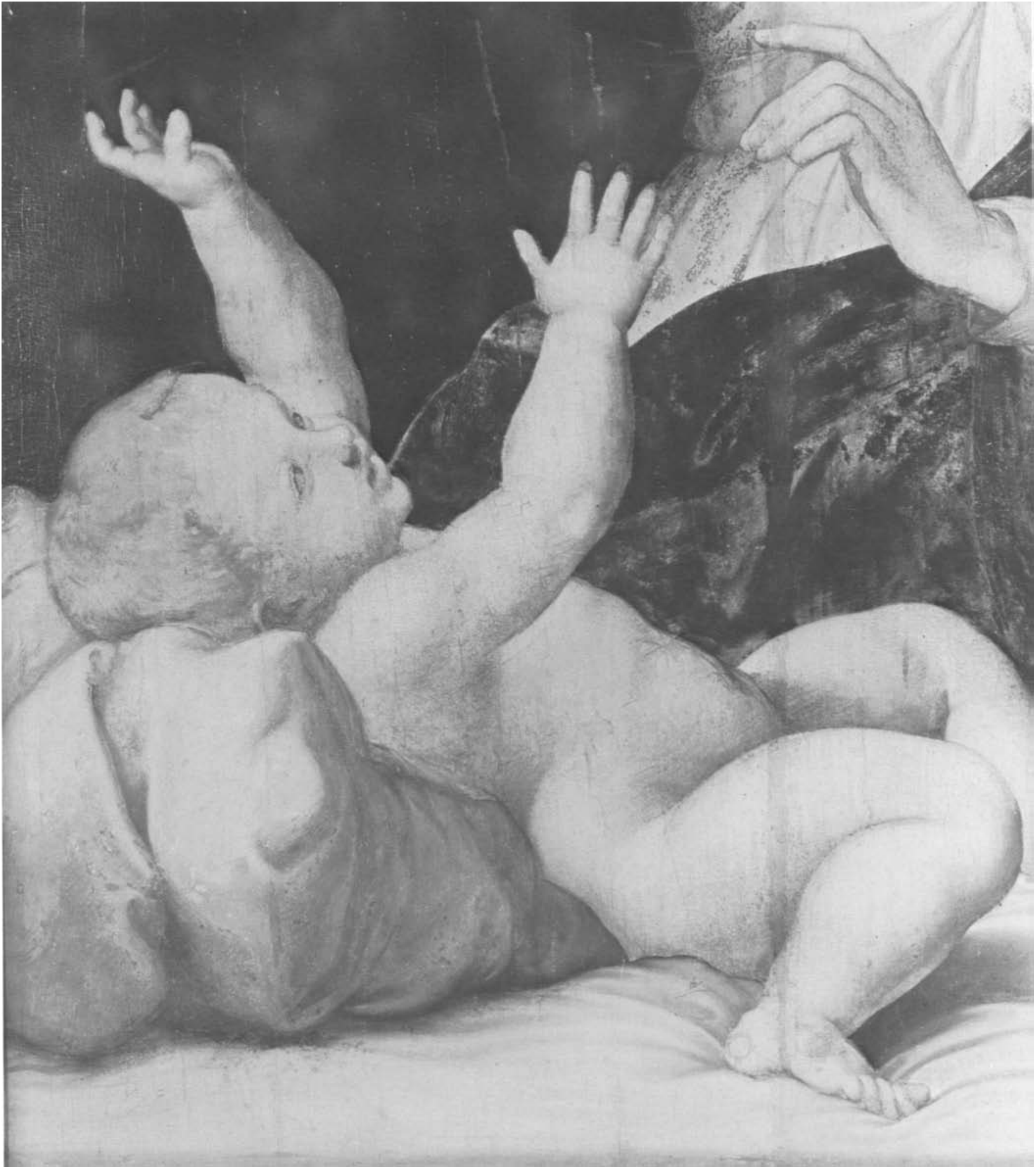


13 Detail of fig. 9 (infra-red). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

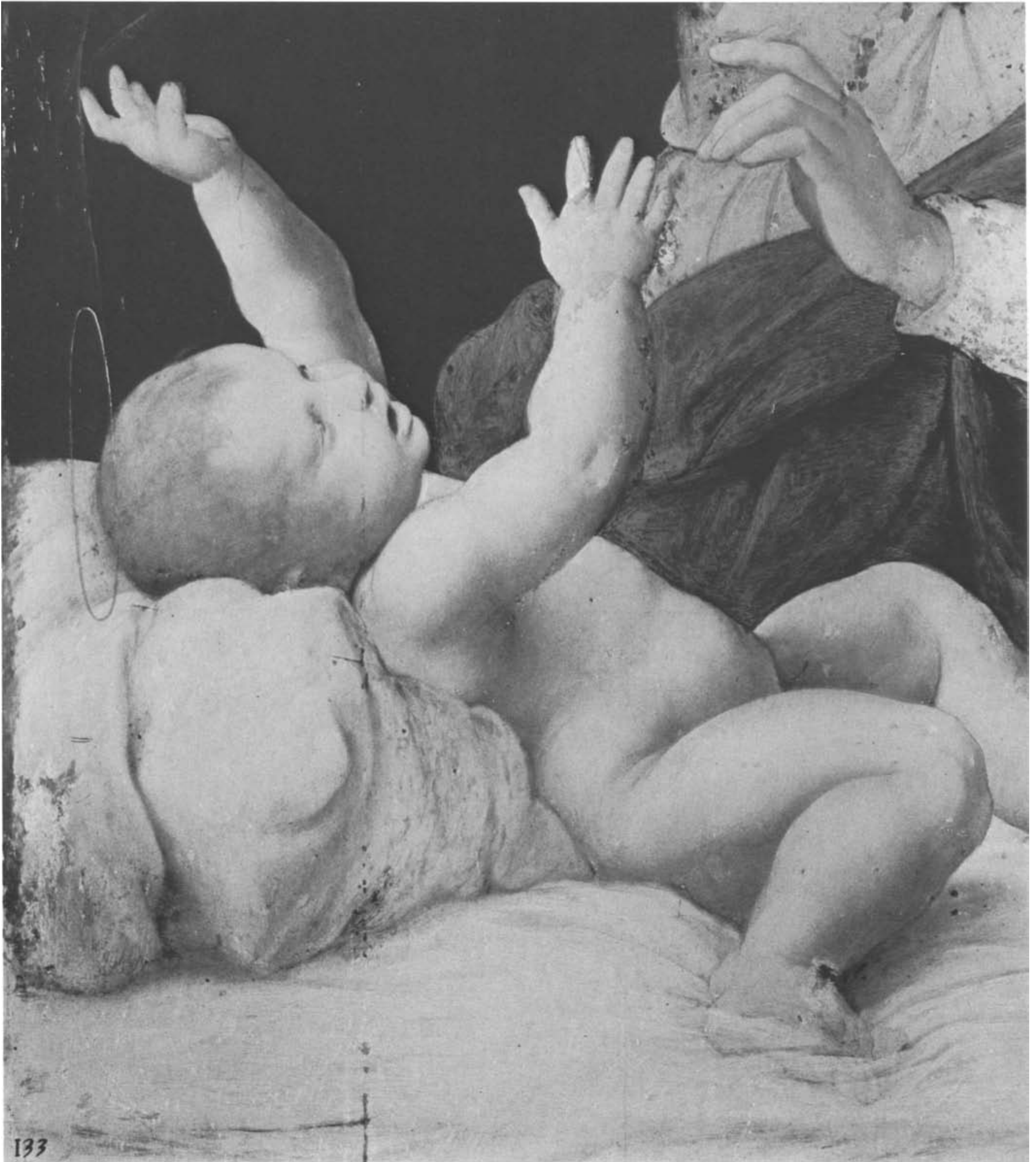
14 Detail of fig. 1. The J. Paul Getty Museum.

15 Detail of fig. 2. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

16 Detail of fig. 9 (infra-red). The J. Paul Getty Museum.



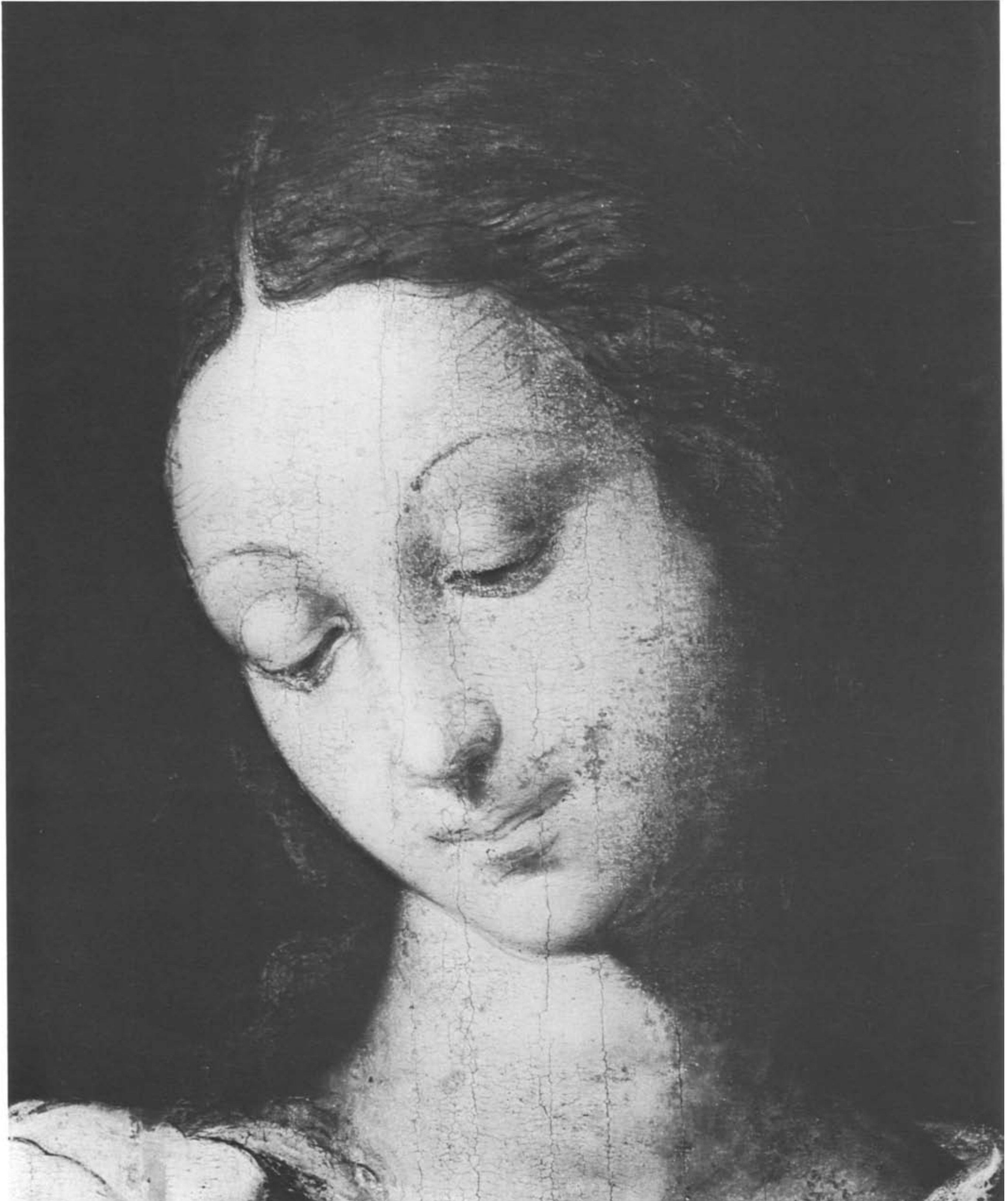
17 Detail of fig. 10 (infra-red). Chantilly, Musée Condé.



18 Detail of fig. 1 (stripped). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

19 Detail of fig. 2. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

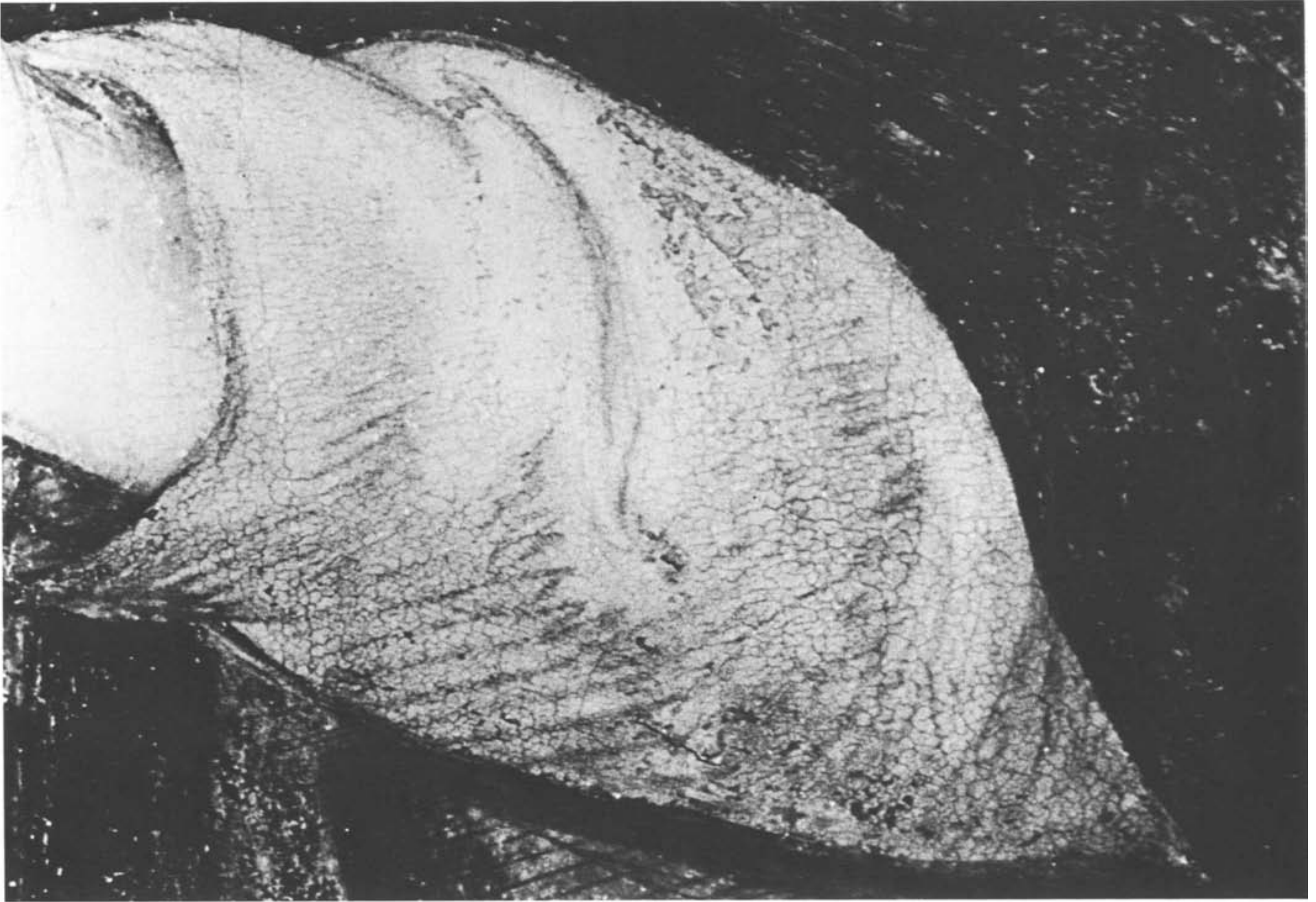
20 Detail of fig. 9 (infra-red). The J. Paul Getty Museum.



21 Detail of fig. 10 (infra-red). Chantilly, Musée Condé.

22 Detail of fig. 2 Chantilly, Musée Condé.

23 Detail of fig. 9 (infra-red). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

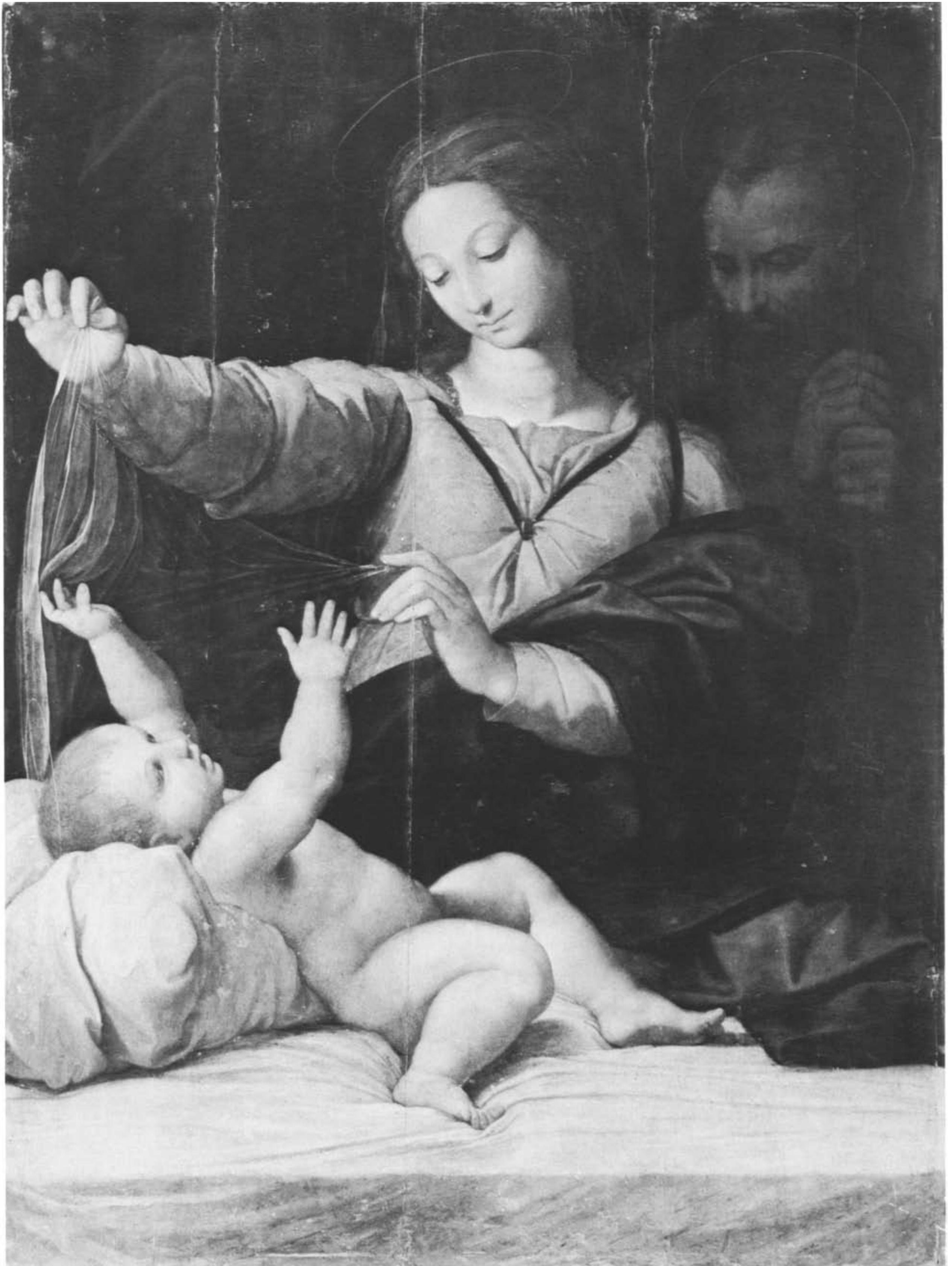


24 Detail of fig. 1. The J. Paul Getty Museum.

25 Detail of fig. 1. The J. Paul Getty Museum.

26 Raphael, *Holy Family* (before restoration). The J. Paul Getty Museum.

27 Raphael copy, *Holy Family* ("The Madonna di Loreto"). Paris, Louvre.



CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE CHANTILLY MADONNA

Without being able to offer final proof, it is nonetheless possible to conclude that the Chantilly picture is not by Raphael. But how is one to explain this in view of its almost impeccable provenance? Let us review briefly what has been learned about the provenance: we know from the Anonimo Magliabecchiano and Vasari that the original by Raphael was in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Both men were writing twenty-five or more years after the death of Raphael and about thirty-five or more after the painting had been executed. They are likely, nonetheless, to have been correct about the picture's author. Some decades later this picture, with the pendant of Pope Julius, was removed by Sfondrati. We know this again from two or more sources, and they specifically indicate that he had obtained them from Santa Maria del Popolo. Early in the seventeenth century, Sfondrati sold seventy-one of his pictures, the bulk of his collection, to Scipione Borghese. We do not know the precise pictures sold, but two paintings matching the descriptions of the Madonna from Santa Maria del Popolo and its companion piece of the pope are found in the Borghese inventory of 1693 hanging next to one another. The numbers from that same inventory, 118 and 133, are found on the Madonna at Chantilly and the portrait in London.

If one concludes, therefore, that the Chantilly picture is not by Raphael, there are only a few ways—none of them very satisfactory—in which to explain it:

1 It is possible that the picture installed in the church was not by Raphael but by a follower, and it could have been installed in the church at almost any point before 1544–46 when mentioned by the Anonimo. This would leave the possibility that another, earlier, version by Raphael existed that no one, including Vasari, knew of. It is conceivable that Raphael never did a version, but merely designed the picture that Penni or someone else executed, but this does not seem likely, if only because the enormous number of copies indicates that the original was very famous and assumed to be by Raphael himself.

2 It is possible that the picture in the church had already been replaced with a copy before Sfondrati removed it. There is absolutely no testimony from any source to this effect, however.

3 It is possible that Sfondrati's picture was not from Santa Maria del Popolo, in spite of the two sources that say it was.

4 It is possible, though unlikely, that Sfondrati had more than one version of this picture.

5 It is possible that Scipione Borghese acquired his picture from some other source than Sfondrati.

6 It is possible that Borghese had more than one version of the composition. Since a version of the portrait of Julius is still in the Borghese collection, at some time they must have had two; and what is true of the portrait could also be true of the Madonna. The inventory of 1693 does not contain another picture described in sufficient detail to enable us to identify a second version, but there are numerous Madonnas or Holy Families by Raphael and Giulio Romano in that inventory that are otherwise unidentified.

It is difficult to say whether any of these solutions is more probable than the others, but there is some slight evidence that the painting may not have been in the church until almost mid-century, which would mean that its history until that time is still undetermined. Although a careful search of the various guides to Rome and its churches should perhaps be made once more, it is significant that no mention of such a famous painting has yet been found prior to 1544–46. Vasari definitely says that it was painted for the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, but he may have been mistaken, as he sometimes was. Vasari is not known to have visited Rome before 1531. He would have been familiar with local tradition, and in all probability we should believe what he says. But there nonetheless remains room for speculation on this point.

It is also noteworthy that the first known print after the famous painting in Santa Maria del Popolo dates from 1553, at roughly the same time that the Anonimo and Vasari first mention the picture. Other paintings in Rome by Raphael had been copied long before by Marcantonio and various artists, so the *Holy Family* of ca.1509 seems to have been away from public view until almost mid-century.

The engraving of 1553 which we illustrate here (fig.28) is interesting for other reasons. It carried the legend: *Raphael Urbin. Inv.1553 M.L.*[50] The last initials are thought to be those of Michele Lucchese, or Michele Greco, who was an engraver active in Rome.[51] The engraving itself is not a very handsome bit of work, but it corresponds quite well to the painting, with only slight variations. The inscription does not say that the painting was in Santa Maria del Popolo (though a later state dated 1572 does).

To understand the importance of Michele Lucchese's print, it is necessary to look at the next one in date—that done by Giorgio Ghisi in 1575 (fig.29).[52] Ghisi's print is not in reverse and is also of higher quality. But one difference may be of significance: the Madonna is shown with a veil over her head that flows out over her shoulders. The print by Michele Lucchese shows a veil, but a rather subdued one. This difference corresponds to one of the few discrepancies between the Chantilly and Getty versions of the painting. The Chantilly Madonna has a veil that, though very thin and not very noticeable, extends out to her shoulders. The Getty version has no trace of a veil, and, though it is possible that it was merely removed in the past by overcleaning, it looks more likely that the veil never existed.

However, it would be wrong, I think, to infer too much from this fact. It is obvious that Ghisi and especially Michele Lucchese were free with details. If one attempts to suggest

that the Ghisi engraving corresponds to the Chantilly picture, and that the print of 1553 corresponds to the Getty picture, one must recognize that Lucchese's print does not show the knot of drapery in the background in the way our painting does. Moreover, Lucchese's engraving does show a veil, and this does not appear in the Malibu panel in any form.

This discussion probably does not lead us very far in respect to the paintings, but at the very least it will help to introduce the two engravings into future considerations of the matter.

Another point to reconsider is the evidence which supports the belief that the Sfondrati family still had the Raphael after 1608, meaning that Borghese did not acquire it from Sfondrati. This is a complicated issue which we cannot take up here in its entirety. Already in 1922 Pfau, in his book on the *Madonna di Loreto,* discussed the fate of the Sfondrati collection in considerable detail and, in the inventories of the descendants' collections, found two pictures that might have been the Raphael, though in both cases the name of the artist was not given.[53] We have not found anything that will have a significant effect on Pfau's conclusions, but there is one document of possible relevance that has so far been overlooked.

About 1644–45, in an exchange of correspondence between one Gabriele Balestrieri and Francesco I of Modena, a painting by Raphael is mentioned as belonging to the Sfondrati family.[54] A dealer had offered two paintings—one of them a *Madonna* by Raphael—to the duke, and Balestrieri was asked to look at them and give an opinion. He concluded that it was not by Raphael, and his opinion was supported by others in Milan who had compared it to a painting by Raphael in the Sfondrati collection. The letter could not have been referring to Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati who died in 1618. The original correspondance has not yet been located, and it is possible that the subject of the picture referred to is actually given there. But this must remain only a hope until the letters themselves can be found in the Modenese archives.[55]

Finally, one cannot now ignore the implications of the Chantilly picture for the *Portrait of Julius II* in London. The basis for Gould's claim for its authenticity was its impressive provenance which, as it has developed, is precisely the same as that of the Chantilly painting—excepting only the post-Borghese portion which is not relevant. If one is not prepared to accept the Chantilly painting as an original by Raphael, it becomes correspondingly difficult to use that argument in favor of the London portrait. Indeed, the London portrait has not been accepted by some scholars—notably Zeri[56]—and it is just possible that it is by the same artist, whatever his name, that did the Chantilly picture. But a final decision on this point will need to involve more opinions than just my own.

THE GETTY VERSION AND ITS PROVENANCE

If the Borghese provenance can no longer be applied to the Getty painting, it becomes still more urgent to try to determine from where it *did* in fact come, especially in view of the fact that the Chantilly version has invaribly been found inferior to it. We have already mentioned the tradition which connected the painting with the collection of the Comte de Chambord, but until now there have been no documents to support it. We can now add one firm bit of information and a date. In an inventory of the chateau at Frohsdorf, made on the death of the Comtesse de Chambord in 1886, one finds the Getty Raphael listed with sufficient description to enable us

The inventory in question is titled: *Inventur über das auf der Herrschaft Frohsdorf befindliche bewegliche Verlassenschaftsvermögen weiland ihrer kön. Hoheit der Durchl. Frau Prinzessin Maria Therese von Bourbon, Gräfin von Chambord,* dated April 20, 1886, and it is preserved in the archives at Vienna.[57] It includes virtually everything that was not part of the house, with appraisals put on them by a certain Theodor Neumann, *Kunstschätzer des Obersthofmarschallamtes.* The Raphael was hung in the *Billardzimmer* and is described as follows:

> 801 Maria mit dem, auf dem Polster liegenden Jesus-kind
> und St. Josef. auf holz,   Schule Rafaels

It was evaluated at 1000 (florins?), and although four pictures had the same value placed on them, only three were appraised higher: Titian, *Portrait of a Doge* (1500); Raphael, *Madonna and Child* (2000); and Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna and Child* (1500). This from a total of approximately 400 paintings, most of them evaluated at 200 or less.

This does not tell us a lot more than we already knew, but it does rule out the possibility that the picture was acquired later by a descendant. Exactly when and where Chambord got it, however, is still undetermined. Unfortunately the possibilities are almost endless. Both the count and his wife travelled extensively, and were connected by marriage to other members of the Bourbon family, many of whom had collections of art. So the potentials for having inherited the painting are very numerous.

Although the results will be rather meager, I would propose to record here what has so far been learned and what possibilities still exist concerning the provenance of the Getty painting. We are, after all, looking at a period that is comparatively recent—only a hundred years ago—and there is good reason to think that the source of Chambord's picture will eventually be found. The wide range of candidates, however, as well as the enormous number of versions of the picture—coupled with the fact that the Chambord picture was considered a replica—makes it especially confusing. But I am still confident that some scholar's insight will turn up the key to the sixteenth century origins of the Malibu panel.

28 Michele Lucchese, *Holy Family*, engraving, 1553.

29 Giorgio Ghisi, *Holy Family,* engraving, 1575.

What follows is rather summary in nature. Mrs. Hladka, who has done most of the leg-work, has produced copious notes on each of the points touched on below, and these are now in the Museum's files. Since the Getty painting has generally been acknowledged as the "premier version" of the composition—the best of those now known—it seems worthwhile to at least outline the present status of research.

COMTE DE CHAMBORD

Henri Charles, Comte de Chambord, was born in 1820, the son of Carolina Ferdinanda Luisa of Naples. His father, Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, later the Duc de Berry, son of Charles X, was assassinated seven months before his son was born. In 1830, on the abdication of Charles X, he was king for a brief day—as Henry V—before going with his grandfather and his mother into exile in England.

Chambord, who carried the title of the Duc de Bordeaux as a young man, had inherited a gallery from his father. An inventory has been found of the father's collection made at the time of his death in 1820.[58] It consists predominantly of Dutch, Flemish, and modern French paintings. There are only a couple of Italian pictures, both views. Seven years after the Duc de Berry's death, his collection was divided, with the modern pictures going to his widow, the duchess, and the others to his son.[59] The expert who supervised Berry's collection was Féréol Bonnemaison, and after the duke's death, he continued to work for the duchess until his own death in 1827.[60] Very little has been learned about the part of the collection that was retained by the young Bordeaux; the archives reveal that he had a gallery in the Palais Elysée Bourbon which was open to special visitors between 1828 and 1830, but of which we possess no inventory.[61] After the overthrow of 1830 the situation becomes more complex.

Three sales in the 1830s of pictures originally in the collection of the Duc de Berry are known. The first, in 1834, consisted of Dutch and Flemish pictures; the second was of modern pictures from the Château de Rosny in 1836; and the last, a year later, was of Dutch, Flemish, and French works from the Palais de l'Elysée.[62] There was no sale that included Italian paintings.

During this period 1833–1836, Chambord was living in Prague, and a description exists of the artworks in his residence.[63] Not only were there very few paintings, nothing like the Raphael was included.

In 1846 Chambord married Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Francesco IV, duke of Modena. They lived at Frohsdorf, where the count held an informal court in exile, but he was often in and out of France until 1875, when the monarchy was finally rejected in favor of a republic. By the mid-1840's the count's mother had purchased a home in Venice, and the count and his wife also stayed there much of the time. The collection of pictures sold by the duchess in 1865 in Paris (see p.40) had been kept in Venice, and the count would have been quite familiar with it. A letter exists from 1866 in which he says that all of the paintings from Venice had been taken to Frohsdorf and Vienna, and this must refer to paintings not sold in 1865.[64]

Much has been written about Chambord's political activities, which need not be repeated here, but next to nothing is known about his interest in art. Sources do mention his buying artworks in Venice, but the works are never specified. If he did actively collect pictures, there is relatively little evidence to that effect.

The number of French eighteenth-century royal portraits at Frohsdorf in the inventory of 1886 would indicate that parts of his personal estate from Paris did manage to reach Austria.[65]

When Chambord died in 1883 he left the contents of Frohsdorf to his widow. His testament, which exists in Vienna, also permitted the Marquis de Foresta to select and keep one early painting.[66] His choice was a Raphael, the *Madonna and Child holding Cherries.*

FROHSDORF AND CAROLINE BONAPARTE

The chateau at Frohsdorf was bought in 1817 by Caroline Bonaparte—known then as the Countess of Lipona—from Count Hoyos whose family had in the eighteenth century kept a gallery of paintings there.[57] The new owner is supposed to have taken five boatloads of valuables with her when she fled Naples in 1815, and a few things supposedly stayed at Frohsdorf after she sold it in 1828.[68]

Caroline Bonaparte, the wife of Joachim Murat and sister of Pauline Bonaparte—wife of Camillo Borghese—definitely owned valuable paintings after leaving Naples. We know of a group of thirteen which she sold through the Marquess of Londonderry in 1823[69] Some of these might have been from the Borghese collections; although it is not definite, a few can feasibly be matched with the descriptions in the 1693 Borghese inventory. Two other pictures, by Correggio, had come to Murat through the king of Spain, and Caroline also took these to Austria. They were likewise sold through Londonderry.[70] Inventories of Frohsdorf in the 1820's do not include the Raphael, but, during this period, there *was* a list made of pictures probably destined to be sold which included the paintings sold by Londonderry as well as a *Ste Famille* by Raphael, not otherwise described.[71] This painting is probably the same one which is mentioned as being in the Murat collections at the l'Elysée in Paris in 1808.[72] There the painting's dimensions are given as 51 x 41 pouces, which is reasonably close to the dimensions of the Getty painting, but the description is not sufficient to determine if we are even dealing with the same composition. It is not known what

happened to the picture after the 1820's, but it is hardly likely that it was left at Frohsdorf.

Frohsdorf was bought from Caroline Bonaparte by Alexander von Yermoloff, a Russian general who died in 1835. An inventory of 1833 preserved in Vienna seems to be fairly complete and lists only two paintings in the house, both portraits, so it is probable that nothing of significance had been left by the previous owners. Yermoloff's son, Michael, inherited the residence in 1835 but sold it four years later to the Duc de Blacas. In 1844 it passed to the Duchesse de Angoulême who allowed Chambord to live there. She also is known to have had a large collection of pictures in Paris, chiefly religious subjects, and she may have brought some of them to Austria.[73] Unfortunately no inventory of her possessions exists.

So it is unclear what Chambord might have found at Frohsdorf when he first arrived in 1844; but it is possible that pictures of value were already in the home. In 1851 the Duchesse de Angoulême willed the house to Chambord's wife.

COMTESSE DE CHAMBORD AND THE MODENA COLLECTION

Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Francesco IV d'Este of Modena, married the Comte de Chambord in 1846, after he had moved into Frohsdorf. In 1875 she inherited from her brother, Francesco V, a part of his estate, including a few paintings. It is not clear which ones she took, but an 1875 inventory of Francesco's gallery in Vienna includes a *Holy Family* by Giulio Romano.[74] There is not much reason to think that it is our picture, however. It is likewise recorded that Francesco V took a *Madonna* by Raphael with him as part of a group of works when, exiled from Modena, he went to Austria in 1859.[75] But again, there is no way to connect this with anything more completely described.

Otherwise the Comtesse de Chambord is not a likely source for the Getty picture. Except for a contemporary painting commissioned by her in 1866 in Venice, there are no records that she collected works of art.[76]

THE DUCHESSE DE BERRY AND ETTORE LUCCHESI-PALLI

Of all the members of the French Bourbon family, Chambord's mother was the most active as a collector of art, and the most likely source for Chambord's Raphael. She was born Carolina Ferdinanda Luisa in 1798, in Caserta, the eldest daughter of Francesco I of Naples. She was, therefore, the niece of the Prince of Salerno, who owned the version of Raphael now at Chantilly, and the cousin of the Duc d'Aumale, who bought it. Marriages between the French and Neapolitan branches of the Bourbon family were very common, and it is fair to say that they were also familiar with each other's collections.

Her mother was Maria Clementina of Austria, the daughter of Emperor Leopold III of Austria. The young princess married the Duc de Berry in 1816, just four years before he was assassinated. As already mentioned, she inherited her husband's modern paintings and probably others as well. There are two inventories of 1820 which describe her pictures; both lists are from the archives at Rosny, and are now in Paris. One of them contains only modern pictures moved from l'Elysée to the Tuileries, and the other is of modern pictures at Bagatelle.[77] The former was drawn up by Bonnemaison, her "curator" and the man who, until his death in 1827, advised her on purchases.[78] The same Bonnemaison also published a book of two hundred French pictures belonging to the duchess in 1822.[79] But there is no comparable book that even mentions Italian pictures. Bonnemaison was certainly familiar with the Italian school, and, indeed, he was responsible for having brought a group of five paintings by Raphael, belonging to the king of Spain, to Paris for restoration. He also published a folio on them in 1818 which contained some discussion;[80] but he is not known to have mentioned anywhere such pictures belonging to the duchess.

When the family fled Paris in 1830, some paintings and silver removed by the duchess from l'Elysée and the Tuileries were sent to Dieppe.[81] Inventories of these were made but have not been found.[82]

The duchess resided only briefly in England and soon was agitating for her son's claim to the title. She went to Italy, and by 1832 was back in France, landing at Marseilles. However, her cause soon floundered, and by 1833 she had given up. In the meantime she secretly married Ettore Lucchesi-Palli (who will be discussed) with whom she thereafter lived in their various residences and whose collecting activities are now confounded with her own.

As we have already seen, three sales of pictures inherited from the Duc de Berry—all of which had only Flemish, Dutch, French. and modern works—took place in 1834, 1836, and 1837.

By 1835 some of the material possessions of the duchess had reached Trieste en route to her home in Graz. A document of that year indicates that between sixty and eighty cases of furniture had reached the customs office there, but there is no mention of paintings.[83] Another document of 1837 indicates that the paintings—specifically the early ones—as well as jewelry were still in France and were the subject of legal proceedings with the government of Louis Philippe.[84]

In 1844, the same year that Chambord moved into Frohsdorf, the Duchesse de Berry purchased the Palazzo Vendramin in Venice. The palazzo supposedly still had some works of art in it, including paintings, but no inventory is known.[85] It was the family residence until 1865; the duchess lived on the *primo piano,* her daughter Luisa da Parma had the second floor, and her son Chambord used a pied-a-terre whenever he was

in Venice. Zanotto's guidebook of 1856 includes a partial list of the paintings in the palazzo, and from it one can deduce that the galleries, of which there were three, already contained a large number of important Italian works.[86] Unfortunately, the majority are Venetian or north Italian, and nothing that could be construed as being the Raphael is present.

In 1857, Ettore Lucchesi-Palli bought the collection of Valentino Benfatto in Venice, of which a catalogue exists.[87] It consisted of a large amount of Italian pictures, and altogether there were 160 works. They are all described, and the measurements are also included; but we know from Mündler that the general level of quality was low and that the individual pictures had been heavily restored by a certain Professor Lorenzi.[88] Since the Raphael bought by Mr. Getty a century later was also much restored, this need not have been an obstacle; but the Raphael is not included in the catalogue.

It might be mentioned here that not much has been done to determine whether Lucchesi-Palli might have been a source of the painting. We do not yet know, for instance, if he already had a collection of pictures before marrying the duchess; nor has much attempt been made to trace his family connections. There is a rare catalogue dated 1830 of a collection belonging to the Lucchesi-Palli family in Palermo.[89] We do not know if Ettore might have inherited some or all of these pictures. The collection did include a painting of the *Holy Family* with the Madonna unveiling the awakened Child, but the personages are described as being seen in a cortile, meaning it was probably a version of the Madonna of the Diadem. The author was described as Fattorino, i.e. Luca Penni.

Lucchesi-Palli died in 1864 at Brunnsee, their Austria residence. Documents at Graz indicate that eighty-one paintings, none of them specified, were left by the deceased.[90] The Comte de Chambord was given the power of attorney to deal with the estate, and the pictures were then sold in Paris during the latter half of April 1865. This is the same sale already discussed above in which a version of the *Madonna di Loreto* appears. The catalogue states that the collection came from the Palazzo Vendramin in Venice, which may have been true for the majority of pictures, but apparently at least eighty-one of them had been at Brunnsee and were considered the property of Lucchesi-Palli instead of his wife.

It would be worthwhile to stop here and examine the sale of 1865 to determine, as best one can, whether we are in fact dealing with our painting. The entry in the catalogue reads as follows:

> 129. Raphael, La Sainte Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus. Elle découvre son divin Fils, qui lui tend ses bras; derrière elle, saint Joseph. 1 m 75 cm. x 85 cm.

There can be no doubt that the description fits the composition and that we have here a version of the *Madonna di Loreto*. The biggest problem concerns the dimensions. Those of the Getty panel now in Malibu are 120.5 x 91 cm., meaning that the vertical measurements were substantially different. There are, however, good reasons for thinking that the catalogue was in error. Firstly, of all the versions of the composition now known, none has dimensions of this kind. With the figures given in the catalogue, the picture would have to be over twice as high as it was wide, which is out of the question short of radical alterations to the composition. Secondly, by changing one digit, we reach the correct proportions. If the height is read as 115 or 125 cm. instead of 175 cm., we are close enough to the Getty picture (as well as to most other versions) to assume that they could be the same.

There is, however, still more reason to think that this is the Getty picture. In the same sale, one finds a painting by Giovanni Bellini described as follows:

> 15. Bellini (signé), La Sainte Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus. Elle est assise, son divin fils est debout sur ses genous faisant face au spectateur. Une des mains de la sainte Vierge est appuyée sur un livre, à gauche la vue s'étend sur un paysage montagneux. Bois 85 x 1.04.

This painting, like the Raphael, was bought by the Marquis de Podenas. And it likewise appears in the 1886 inventory at Frohsdorf—next to the Raphael in the *Billardzimmer:*

> 802 Maria mit dem Jesuskinde von Joannes Bellinus 1509, auf Holz

It was valued at 1500, half again higher than the Raphael.

This signed Bellini of 1509 is the picture now in the Detroit Institute of Arts.[91] The description of 1865 fits it perfectly, and it is the only painting by Bellini known to us that carries the date 1509. It does not appear in the 1938 sale at Sotheby's, having been sold privately before that time by Don Jaime de Bourbon, Chambord's heir, to the Vicomte de Canson from whom it was bought by Detroit in 1928.

One might hope that the provenance of the Bellini before 1865 could also help us trace the Raphael, but this is unfortunately not the case. The Bellini was seen in the Palazzo Vendramin in 1854, 1856, 1863, and 1864 by Charles Eastlake who described and praised it.[92] It was likewise seen there by Otto Mündler, in October 1855, who considered it "a first rate Bellini."[93] However, the same writers—both of whom were looking for pictures to buy for the National Gallery—describe a number of other paintings in the collection but do not mention a Raphael or anything similar. Either they thought it too poor to mention—it would probably have been much overpainted—which seems unlikely, or it was not there. The latter supposition is supported by Zanotto's guide of 1856.

The Bellini can be further traced to the Mocenigo collection which was in a palace not far from the Vendramin. The picture is mentioned in 1813 as being in the Mocenigo palace[94] and either the duchess or her husband must have

bought it some time between 1844, when they moved to Venice, and 1854, when Eastlake first saw it. Nothing is known about any picture belonging to the Mocenigo family that can be identified with the Raphael.

Returning to the sale of 1865, it might be of interest to look briefly at M. Odille Roger Marquis de Podenas, the man who bought the Raphael. His wife was a Yermoloff, prior owners of Frohsdorf. He could be described as being close to the Comte de Chambord and a member of his "court in exile." He was also a logical representative for Chambord at the sale. An inventory of Podenas' estate exists from 1868, the year of his death and just three years after the sale.[95] It does not contain the Raphael, but neither is it known if it contains any pictures at all. He is not, however, thought to have been a collector.

Podenas bought nineteen pictures at the 1865 sale. A few of them, besides the Bellini and the Raphael, can be tentatively identified with pictures in the 1886 Frohsdorf inventory, but the majority cannot. This may be due to some extent to the meager descriptions in the inventory.

The duchess made her will in 1865, at the age of 67 and shortly after the death of her husband.[96] In it she leaves everything to her son, Adinolfo Lucchesi-Palli, Duc della Grazia. She died five years later, in 1870, at Brunnsee, which is still a residence of the Lucchesi-Palli family. No inventory of her possessions at her death is known to exist.

LUISA MARIA DA PARMA

One last member of the family should also be mentioned, Luisa Maria de Bourbon, the daughter of the Duc and Duchesse de Berry. Luisa Maria was born in 1819; in 1845 she married the Duke of Parma, later Carlo III, who reigned at Parma from 1849 until his assassination in 1854. After her husband's death, she reigned as regent until 1859 when she was forced to flee to Switzerland. She died in Venice a few years later, in 1864.

What makes the elder sister of Chambord of potential interest to us is her connection with Parma. We know that in the seventeenth century the dukes of Parma owned a version of the composition. In the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma in 1680 is listed:

> Un quadro alto br. 2 on. 1 e ½, largo br. 1 on. 7 e ½ in tavola. Una Madonna vestita di rosso, scuopre di un velo il bambino che li sta davanti sopra di un letto, e S. Giuseppe dietro della spalla sinistra, di Raffaele d'Urbino.[97]

The same picture is mentioned in a letter of 1656 as belonging to Parma.[98] Nothing is known about the eventual fate of that picture. However, it is known that the bulk of this collection went to Naples in the middle of the eighteenth century, and it is highly improbable that this particular painting could have remained in Parma. In 1855 and 1857 (i.e. before the duchess had lost her authority in Parma), Mündler saw her collection in the Palazzo Giustiniani in Venice.[99] Nothing warranted description except for a painting by Bellini which he liked:

> There are some other interesting pictures but nothing important, and all of them in a state of deterioration almost frightful, or at best blackened by concentrated smoke of centuries.

An inventory of 1864 after Luisa Maria's death lists eighteen paintings, with brief descriptions.[100] None of them could be the missing Raphael. So the painting of 1680 probably did not reach the last reigning duke.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE CHAMBORD PICTURE

The work of the last few years has tended to confirm that the painting at Frohsdorf did in fact come from the sale of the Duchesse di Berry's collection in 1865, but it has not proved possible to say finally where she might have acquired it. It could have come to her from her first husband's collection, but it is more likely that she acquired it later, either from her second husband, Lucchesi-Palli, or by purchase. Since it was not mentioned by contemporary sources as being a part of her collection in Venice during the 1850s, it may have been kept somewhere else, perhaps at Brunnsee. If she bought it, one would expect this to have occurred during the 1840s or 1850s.

In the past year some attempt has been made to determine where the duchess, or any member of her family, might have bought the Raphael. Unfortunately, the possibilities even here have proved to be greater in number than one would expect, demonstrating once again why the *Madonna di Loreto* remains such a complex question, probably more so than any other painting in the history of art. In the mid-nineteenth century, for instance, no less than five versions of the composition appeared at public sale in Paris alone; probably as many could also be found in England. They were:

1 Anonymous exhibition in the Rue Pinon, February 14 until at least April 15, 1847. This exhibition, which was not actually a sale, consisted of four paintings only: Titian's *Lucretia and Tarquinius,* Botticelli's *Abundance,* Raphael's *Angel of Peace,* and a version of the *Madonna di Loreto.* Later, in April, a fifth painting was added: *The Adoration of Christ* by Zaganelli. The exhibition was a benefit for the poor and received a large amount of publicity in the newspapers and journals.[101] Each of the paintings was discussed in some detail, and many people at the time seem to have been convinced that the Raphael *Holy Family* was the missing original. Subsequent catalogues of the Louvre mention it as being superior to their own.[102] But nowhere does anyone reveal the name of the owner of the five pictures. Two of them, the Botticelli and the Zaganelli, are now at Chantilly.[103]

Both came to the Duc d'Aumale from Frederic Reiset, former curator and then director of the Louvre, who sold his collection in 1879.[104] One is tempted, therefore, to suggest that Reiset himself was the owner in 1847, which may have been the case; but since he was only about thirty-two years old at the time, it is more likely that he acquired the two paintings sometime after 1847. It is known, however, that he had the Botticelli by 1858 when Eastlake saw it in Paris.[105]

An article in one journal of the time, *L'Illustration,* says the owner bought the Raphael in Rome seven years earlier from an artist who had agreed not to reveal the circumstances of his purchase.[106] But all of this may be sheer invention. Of more interest is the fact that Delacroix saw the Raphael exhibited in the Rue Pinon and found it of high quality. His opinions appear in his diary.[107] Also, Ingres is quoted at length about the same painting, effusively declaring it to be the original and saying he had already seen it in Rome in 1813.[108] Indeed, the words attributed to Ingres, Delacroix, and others imply that the painting was of exceptional quality. Unfortunately we still do not know who its owner was in 1847 nor where it went to. It could easily have been bought by the Duchesse de Berry or by Reiset, who was a close friend of the Bourbons. A relative, Maria Antoine Reiset, even wrote a biography of the duchess. But there is, as yet, nothing firm to link the Rue Pinon picture with our version or any other version.

2 At the Stevens sale, March 1–4, 1847, there was another version of the composition.[109] No dimensions are given in the catalogue, but a lengthy discussion of the history of the original is included. The painting was bought in at 10,000 francs, which indicates it had an extremely high reserve and was probably of good quality. It was likewise discussed in the newspapers, and, because it was sold during the exhibition of the Rue Pinon version (the Stevens sale was in the Rue des Jeuneurs), it was not overlooked that two paintings claiming to be the lost original were on exhibition simultaneously in the same city.[110] The seller in this case was Auguste Stevens, supposedly an Englishman. Again nothing is known about where he might have obtained the paintings nor where it might have eventually gone.

3 At the Despinoy sale, January 14–19, 1850, there was yet another version.[111] It was described at length and called a copy, attributed to Timoteo Viti. It was supposed to have belonged to Lenoir Debreuil earlier, and it was sold to "Benoist" for 215 francs. M. Gault in 1835 had discussed the Dubreuil version, calling it superior to the version in the Louvre.[112] He also said it was the same painting exhibited four decades earlier in the Orleans collection in the Palais Royal. Because of its dimensions, however, which are given as 80 x 68 cm., it probably was not our painting.

4 In the sale at the Hôtel Drouot, January 21–23, 1861, there was a painting described as a *Sainte Famille, la Vierge au voile,* from the school of Raphael.[113] No size is given, nor a buyer.

5 In the sale of the Leroy d'Etiolles collection at the same location on February 21–22, 1861, another version appears: *La Vierge de Loreto, d'après Raphael.*[114] Again, there is a lengthy description, and the dimensions are given as 119 x 95 cm. The price paid (or offered?) was 680 francs, three times what the Orleans version fetched. But it may, in fact, not have sold at all. Because the introduction indicates that many of the pictures in this collection came from Cardinal Fesch, there is a strong possibility that this is the picture sold originally in 1817 and resold again in 1843, since which time it has been lost sight of.[115]

These five pictures, of which only one can probably be eliminated, may serve to indicate how versions of the *Madonna di Loreto* had proliferated by the mid-nineteenth century and how many opportunities existed in Paris for the Duchesse de Berry to have bought such a picture.

There is not enough space here to reconsider in detail the entire problem of Raphael's painting of the *Madonna del Velo,* the so-called *Madonna di Loreto.* The present writer does not feel himself capable of revising the lists of Passavant and Vogelin; nor does it seem worthwhile at this juncture to review the arguments for and against the painting at Loreto in the eighteenth century, nor to recount the complicated history of the Louvre versions, about which nothing new has been learned. I have only indicated where I think the new facts are leading us, especially as they pertain to the Getty version of the composition, which still warrants the claims made for it as the best existing version.[116] But it is obvious that a great deal has yet to be learned before this truly gigantic puzzle can be solved. The attempt to sort out the confusion surrounding this famous picture has been continuing for over a century-and-a-half and may well go on indefinitely. Nonetheless, one can still maintain the hope that it will one day be successful.

NOTES

[1]B. Fredericksen, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* 1972, no.27.

[2]*Anonimo della Magliabecchiana,* (*ca.*1544–46), ed. Carl Frey, 1892, p.128. The entry reads: *In detta chiesa* (Santa Maria del Popolo) *vi sono 2 quadri, dipinti di mano di Raffaello da Urbino, che s'appichono per la solennita a certi pilastri: Che in uno v'è una meza Madonna con un putto adiacere et un poco di Giuseppo, che è uno quadro, tanto bene fatto quanto cosa di suo mano, et nell'altro v' è la testa di papa Julio con la barba a sedere in una sedia di velluto, che la testa e drappi e tutto è maravigliosa.*

[3]*Vite,* ed. Milanesi, 1879, p.338. The relevant section reads: *la quale opera* (the portrait of Pope Julius) *è oggi in Santa Maria del Popolo con un quadro di Nostra Donna bellissimo, fatto medesimamente in questo tempo, dentrovi la Natività di Gesù Cristo, dove è la Vergine che con un velo cuopre il Figliuolo; il quale è di tanta bellezza, che nell'aria della testa e per tutte*

le membra dimostra essere vero figliuolo di Dio; e non manco di quello è bella la testa ed il volto di essa Madonna, conoscendosi in lei, oltra la somma bellezza, allegrezza e pietà. Evvi un Giuseppo, che appoggiando ambe le mani ad una mazza, pensoso in contemplare il re e la regina del cielo, sta con una ammirazione da vecchio santissimo: ed amendue questi quadri si mostrano le feste solenni.

[4]This is recorded by the Venetian, Marin Sanudo, in his diary in September 1513, ed.1886, p.60. For a complete provenance of the Julius portrait, see Cecil Gould, *Raphael's Portrait of Pope Julius II: the Re-emergence of the Original,* 1970.

[5]There has been considerable discussion of the date, but the basis is primarily stylistic. Various drawings at Lille for the Christ Child came from a sketchbook which seems to have originated at this time. And one of the copies is dated 1509.

[6]Recorded in Vasari, *Vite,* VIII, 1810, pp.56–57, footnote.

[7]Included in a list of paintings compiled in Rome in 1595 by a certain Coradusz who was reporting to Rudolf about items available for sale. The *Madonna* is described as follows: *Una Madonna di Raffaelle, che era prima in strada del Popolo,* and is located in the collection of Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, along with the portrait of Julius II. See Ulrichs, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* V, 1870, p.49.

[8]See Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghliterra,* 1913, p.263.

[9]B. Fredericksen, *op.cit.,* p.24.

[10]The record of the sale is reprinted in P. Della Pergola, *La Galleria Borghese, I Dipinti,* II, 1959, p.215.

[11]See P. Della Pergola, "L'inventario Borghese del 1693, III," *Arte antica e moderna,* 30, 1965, p.203.

[12]C. Gould, *op.cit.,* pp.4–5.

[13]At one time some scratches in the lower left corner of the Getty panel (mentioned in B. Fredericksen, *op.cit.,* p.26, note 12) were interpreted as the remains of a number. This has proved to be incorrect.

[14]The Getty *Holy Family* was lent to the National Gallery between 1965 and 1973. For briefer periods of time it was also exhibited in the National Gallery at Washington and the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

[15]Sotheby's, July 20, 1938, lot no.49.

[16]See, for instance, the preface to the sale catalogue of 1938. In *Le Comte de Chambord étudié dans ses voyages et sa correspondance,* 1880, p.65, one reads: "Les salons de l'hôtel meublés des mêmes meubles, ornés des mêmes tableaux que son salon des Tuileries, y reçurent toute la société de la ville."

[17]Cf. correspondance from the Princess Massimo to Mr. J. Paul Getty, 1964, now in the museum files.

[18]Sale, Hôtel Drouot, April 19, 1865, no.129, described (see p.40).

[19]See especially J. Pfau, *Die Madonna von Loretto,* 1922; Vögelin, *Die Madonna von Loreto,* 1870; Filippini, "La 'Madonna di Loreto' di Raffaello," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche,* VIII-IX, 1931–1932, pp.71–87, and virtually any book on Raphael that discusses the painting.

[20]Vögelin, *op.cit.,* pp.46–62.

[21]In Ramdohr, *Über Malerei und Bildhauerarbeit in Rom,* I, 1787, p.305. See below.

[22]In the 1972 catalogue (Fredericksen, *op.cit.,* p.24), I suggested that the name *Madonna del Velo* be used once more as it had been prior to the adaption of *The Madonna di Loreto.* This might cause confusion, however, with the *Madonna of the Diadem* which has a similar motive. One writer has suggested the *Madonna del Popolo.*

[23]Catalogue 1899, no.40, on panel, 120 x 90 cm. The number 133 is so visible one can see it in any reproduction, including old postcards. I want here to thank M. Raoul de Broglie for allowing me to inspect the back of the Chantilly picture and for permission to consult the archives of the collection. His cooperation has been most satisfying, and I am extremely grateful.

[24]A. Gruyer, *La Peinture au Château de Chantilly, Ecoles étrangères,* 1896; *ibid., Chantilly; Musee Condé, Notice des Peintures,* 1899.

[25]See note 21.

[26]Dubois de Saint Gelais, *Description des Tableaux du Palais Royal,* 1727, p.430.

[27]V. Murri, *Santa Casa di Loreto,* 1741 (reprinted 1791), p.205. In discussing a version of the composition at Loreto, he says: "Di questo quadro ne sono fatte più copie: le maggiori però sembrano essere e quella di Andrea di Sarto, che ritengono i Monici di Monte Cassino di Napoli, e l'altra di Giulio Romano, che possiede la Casa Borghese di Roma."

[28]M. Vasi, *Itinerario instruttivo di Roma,* 1794 (reprinted as *Roma del Settecento*), 1970, p.250.

[29]The order of the rooms in the Palazzo Borghese is different in each of the various guides that describe the collection. The three small rooms that face onto the garden could be visited either going or coming. In the 1693 inventory, room 7 was called the *Anticamera;* room 8, which had a fountain, opened onto the garden; and room 9 was known as the one with the statue of Hermaphrodite. Ramdohr, however, was going the other way. What he calls the first gallery (Ramdohr, *op.cit.,* p.302) was the same as room 9 in 1693, the second room was the same as room 8 in 1693, and the last room was that called room 7 before.

[30]In J. G. Lemaistre, *Travels after the Peace of Amiens,* v.3, 1806, one still finds two Madonnas by Giulio Romano listed though there is confusion over whether they are in room 8 or 9 because the author runs the two together. Even in later guidebooks one finds a *Holy Family* by Giulio in room 9 (i.e. John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy,* 1843, p.441).

[31]C. Gould, *op.cit.,* p.7.

[32]See P. Della Pergola, "Per la storia della Galleria Borghese," *Critica d'Arte,* 1957, pp.135–142.

[33]Sold in January, 1801 (Lugt 6186).
[34]L. Pungileoni, *Elogio storico di Raffaello Santi da Urbino,* 1829, pp.87–88.
[35]Gould, *op. cit.,* p.7.
[36]J. D. Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi,* 1839, p.128, no.k.
[37]Jean Duchesne, *Museo di Pitture e Sculture,* 1838, pl.1047. This book was published in various editions and languages, and I have not been able to refer to all of them. A French edition of 1828 has a completely different version (v.1, no.37) which I reproduce here (fig. 5). The location of this picture is given as "Cabinet particulier," and I believe it must have been in a French collection; apparently it was dropped by Duchesne in favor of the one in the Museo Borbonico. I have not been able to refer to an English edition of 1829. See also note 38.
[38]Stanislas d'Aloë, *Naples, ses monuments et ses curiosités,* 1847, p.312; another book by d'Aloë, *Guide pour la precieuse collection de Prince de Salerne,* 1842, has proved too elusive and I have not found a copy. (None exists in London or Chantilly.) The reference to Perino del Vaga in the 1847 guide probably refers to another picture at Chantilly (no.44) which also came from the Prince of Salerno, and which one finds with the one later given to Fattorino (see below) in all of the Chantilly archives. Adding to the confusion about the Salerno picture is the fact that the Museo Borbonico probably had another version of the picture, the one that had been in Parma (see p. 41) which was transferred to Naples in the 1750's. See Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventori sec. XV-XIX,* 1870, pp.205 and 219/20.
[39]Note that they are referring here to the lesser-known Penni. *Il Fattore* was Giovanni Francesco Penni; *Fattorino* was therefore his brother, Luca.
[40]The "Fattorino" is no.51 of the inventory.
[41]See A. Chatelet, etc., *Chantilly—Museé Condé, Peintures de l'école française,* 1970, p.4. Apparently the book by S. Aloë of 1842 (see note 38) which I have not seen says that Salerno acquired some pictures very early in the century. Luigi Salerno (*Salvator Rosa,* 1963, p.131) quotes d'Aloë to prove that the prince got a group of works by Rosa in 1802. And Mrs. Hladka says there is a manuscript inventory in Naples (Casa Reale, Administrativo, Maggiordomo, 1854, no. 91/2125) dated 1806 which includes a "Madonna col Bambino del Fattorino," alto piedi 3, pollici 8, largo piedi 2, poll. 9½." It is no.4 in that inventory, and no.5 is the *Madonna* by Perino del Vaga. This is a bit confusing because it conflicts with the Lancelotti provenance mentioned above. Perhaps there were two paintings attributed to Fattorino. In any case, the Prince of Salerno would only have been sixteen years old in 1806.
[42]No picture by Luca Longhi appears in the various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories of the Borghese collection, however.
[43]The sale was on January 10, 1857. Other pictures apparently went directly to the dealer Colnaghi. See A. Chatelet, *op.cit.,* p.4.
[44]The version listed by Passavant, *Raffael,* 1858, v.3, is no.u, which gives the location as "Chiswick, Duc d' Aumale." It is presumably the same picture as his earlier no.k.
[45]See note 39.
[46]There has been some speculation that unpainted borders might help distinguish between originals and less valuable replicas.
[47]See L. Dussler, *Raphael,* 1971, p.28, with bibliography.
[48]Letter to J. Paul Getty, 1963.
[49]Konrad Oberhuber has informed me (verbally) that his acceptance of the Getty version was based upon the quality of the drawing revealed by the infra-red photographs.
[50]J. D. Passavant, *Le Peintre-Graveur,* VI, 1864, no.4.
[51]The dates given for Michele Lucchese are usually 1539–1604, but since he was already active in 1549, these must be in error or referring to another person. See *Fortuna di Michelangelo nell'incisione,* exhibition at Benevento and Rome, 1964–65, p.75.
[52]A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur, v.15, no.5.*
[53]J. Pfau, *Die Madonna von Loretto,* 1922, pp.26 ff.
[54]This exchange is summarized in A. Venturi, *La R. Galleria Estense in Modena,* 1882, p.241.
[55]Mrs. Hladka succeeded in finding the two letters quoted by Venturi: those of Nov.28, 1644 and Jan.31, 1645. They do not mention, however, the Sfondrati picture, and this must be in another letter or letters not yet seen.
[57]F. Zeri's opinion appears in *Miscellanea di..,* 1973, p.80.
[57]Vienna State Archives, Obersthofmarschallamt, Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen, Karton OMaA 178 II.B Nr.739.
[58]Paris, Minutier Central, Maître Chevrier, File No. EV LV 1.297.
[59]This information is found in the catalogue of the sale of Féréol Bonnemaison, April 17, 1827, p.iv. It has been learned, by the way, that the Duc de Berry bought paintings in Paris in 1819 for 400,000 francs, but we do not know what they were. This is found in documents in the Archives of the Prefecture de la Police, Paris.
[60]Bonnemaison sale, *op.cit.;* see also the *Almanach Royal* during the 1820s.
[61]The only reference to this fact that I know of was found by Mrs. Hladka in Paris, Archives Nationales, 03 136 and 03 137, Maison du Roi. This contains only general correspondance about security and heating, etc.
[62]The 1834 sale does not appear in Lugt; it was held at Christie's in April. The Château Rosny sale was on Feb. 22, 1836; and the Elysée sale was April 4, 1837.
[63]A. Nettement, *Henri de France,* v.2, 1872, p.48.
[64]Letter from the Comtesse de Chambord to the Comtesse Augustine Montaigu, from Frohsdorf, Nov.14, 1866, contained in the volumes of the latter's correspondance, Bibliothèque Nationale, N.a.f. 14932–14937.

[65]The 1886 inventory contains another picture in the Getty collection, a *Portrait of Louis XIV* by Rigaud (no.2138), which was bought in the 1938 sale (no.136).
[66]Vienna, Obersthofmarschallamt 172 II.B. Nr.732 (1883–84), *Verlassenschaftsabhandlung des Prinzen Heinrich von Bourbon Grafen von Chambord.*
[67]R. Lorenz, "Frohsdorf und Schwarzau," *Unsere Heimat,* v.30, 1959, p.191.
[68]E. Daniek, *Die Bourbonen als Emigranten in Österreich,* 1965, p.69; and A. H. Albrecht, *Heimatbuch der Gemeinde Lanzenkirchen,* 1930, p.41.
[69]Christie's, July 12, 1823.
[70]Both pictures are now in the London National Gallery.
[71]Archives Nationales, Murat archives (Caroline Bonaparte). This picture is not the same one sold at Christie's in 1823.
[72]Murat archives, 31AP49.
[73]Nettement, *op.cit.*
[74]Vienna, Obersthofmarschallamt, OMaA 407 III.B. Nr.77.
[75]Mrs. Hladka refers to this fact in correspondance but I do not have the reference.
[76]In the Archivio di Stato, Venice, there is a request for a certificate of merit to the academy for a picture painted by Cav. Carlo Santiyan y Velasco for the countess in 1866.
[77]The Rosny archives are now kept in the Archives Nationales in Paris.
[78]See note 59.
[79]*Galerie de S.A.R. Mme. la Duchesse de Berry, ouvrage lithografié,* 1822.
[80]*Suite d'Etudes calquées et dessinées d'après cinq tableaux de Raphaël,* 1818.
[81]This can be learned from files in the Archives Nationales, Paris, 03.136.
[82]A search of French archives by Mrs. Hladka failed to find the inventory. It may well have been kept at the Intendance Generale de la Liste Civile whose files were destroyed by fire in the mid-nineteenth century.
[83]Report from M. de la Rochefoucauld, Charge d'Affaires in Vienna, dated Nov.16, 1835, Rosny files, Archives Nationales, Paris.
[84]Letter from the duchess to Mme. de Latour, from Graz dated January 12, 1837, Vienna Archives, Frankreich Varia, 1832–37, De Berry·Nr.117.
[85]M. Luxoro, *Il Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi,* 1957, p.65.
[86]F. Zanotto, *Nuovissima Guida di Venezia,* 1856, pp.358–359.
[87]F. Zanotto, *Pinacoteca di Valentino Benfatto Veneziano,* 1856.
[88]Mündler diaries kept in the library of the National Gallery, London, for Oct.25, 1855 and Oct.23, 1856.
[89]Mrs. Hladka, who saw this book at the Biblioteca nazionale in Naples, records that the author's name was Vaccaro, but there has not been an opportunity to retrace it.
[90]The will of Lucchesi-Palli is in the Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz, StLA, BG Graz VII-76/1864.
[91]Acc. no. 28.115.
[92]Eastlake diaries in the library of the National Gallery, London.
[93]Mündler diaries, National Gallery, for Oct.1855.
[94]F. Aglietti, *Discorsi letti nella I. R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* 1812–15; I have not been able to refer to this publication.
[95]According to a letter from Bernard Loison, Notaire, Les Hermites (Indre-et-Loire), to Mrs. Hladka, December 1972. He does not, however, state whether the inventory includes any artworks at all.
[96]The duchess' will is at Vienna, Obersthofmarschallamt, Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen, OMaA 165 II.B. Nr.718.
[97]Listed in Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventari sec.XV–XIX,* 1870, pp.219–20.
[98]The letter is from an anonymous writer to the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici, written in Rome in April 1656, preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, *Lettere Artistiche di diversi,* v.III, c.7. It is quoted by Milanesi in Vasari's *Vite,* ed.1906, v.9, pp.262–3.
[99]Mündler diaries, London National Gallery, Nov. 1855 and Jan.1857.
[100]Vienna, Obersthofmarschallamt OMaA 164 II.B. Nr. 716.
[101]See especially *L'Illustration,* March 6, 1847; *Le Constitutionnel,* Feb.28; *Charivari,* Feb.27, 1847; and *Revue nouvelle,* March 1, 1847, pp.487 ff.
[102]F. Villot, *Notice des tableaux esposés dans les galeries du Musée Imperial du Louvre,* 1853, pp.224–5.
[103]Nos.16 and 22.
[104]Sold at the Hotel Drouot, April 28, 1879.
[105]Eastlake diaries, National Gallery, London, August 14, 1858. The Botticelli is described in detail, leaving no doubt that it is the same picture.
[106]*L'Illustration,* March 6, 1847.
[107]*Le Journal de Delacroix,* Feb.26, Mar.5, and Mar.7, 1847.
[108]*Charivari,* March 10, 1847, p.1.
[109]Lugt 18478, lot no.30.
[110]See, for instance, *Le Constitutionnel,* Feb.28, 1847, p.2.
[111]Lugt. no.19609, lot no.123.
[112]P. M. Gault de Saint-Germain, *Guide des amateurs de Peinture (Ecole italienne),* 1835, p.127, note 1.
[113]Lugt no. 25951, lot no.17.
[114]Lugt no. 26022, lot no.93.
[115]Fesch sale, July 7, 1817, no.10; and April 17, 1843, no.211.
[116]Since the first publication of the Getty panel by Scharf in 1964, it has been rejected by only two writers: L. Dussler, *Raphael,* 1971, p.27, and J. Pope-Hennessey, *Raphael,* 1970, p.288, note 60. The latter refers to it as the "finest" of the known versions. Some others, such as Pouncey and Zeri, have considered it the only existing version which could claim to be the original. It has been accepted by Konrad Oberhuber *(Burlington Magazine,* CXIII, 1971, p.130), and verbally by Anthony Clark, Martin Davies, Philip Hendy, Robert Oertel, and Cecil Gould.

ANTONIO PUGA, HIS PLACE IN SPANISH PAINTING, AND THE PSEUDO-PUGA[1]

Eric Young

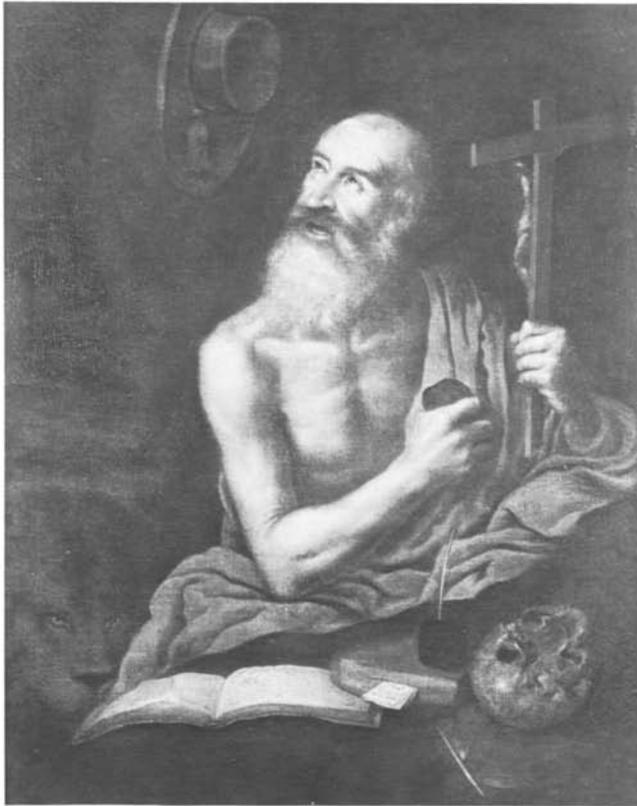
Antonio Puga is a classic example of an artist about whom ideas have had to be revised drastically more than once, with the result that what used to pass as biographical information and the stock view of his achievement as a painter have had to be almost completely discarded during the last quarter-century.

In his famous *Diccionario* published in 1800, the great biographer of Spanish artists, Ceán Bermúdez, could only find enough information about Puga to fill nine short lines of text,[2] but this brief information was enough to mislead students of Spanish painting during the succeeding century and a half. Ceán began his account of Puga by describing him as a pupil in Madrid of Diego Velázquez whom he imitated perfectly. But even this is not completely consistent with what follows, i.e. a statement that Puga in 1653 painted six pictures then in the possession of D. Silvestre Collar y Castro, and that they were like the first works of his master, the domestic and trivial scenes that he painted at Seville in his youth. This implies that Ceán himself had seen the works concerned in Collar y Castro's possession, and his mention of the date suggests that either all of them were dated or, perhaps more likely, they formed a series clearly by the same hand and one at least of them was dated, if not signed in addition. We know that Velázquez probably took one of his Seville period paintings to Madrid with him and gave it to Juan de Fonseca, who lodged him in his house in 1623, for in the inventory of Fonseca's collection of paintings taken after his death in 1627, is mentioned "a picture of a water-seller by the hand of Diego Velázquez" (presumably the one in the Wellington Museum, London). But Velázquez is hardly likely to have kept several in his own possession, and even if he did, would probably not have wanted a pupil to imitate them. The proud court painter would almost certainly have encouraged his pupils (as indeed he did his son-in-law Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo) to undertake the types of painting in favour at court, which did not of course include genre subjects. Thus even if Puga was Velázquez's pupil in Madrid and imitated his works perfectly, they are not likely to have been works of his Seville period, while the later revelation from documentary sources that Puga had been the pupil of another master in Madrid and in fact died before 1653 throws doubt on the accuracy of all the information contained in Ceán Bermúdez's biography, in which even Puga's dates of birth and death were lacking.

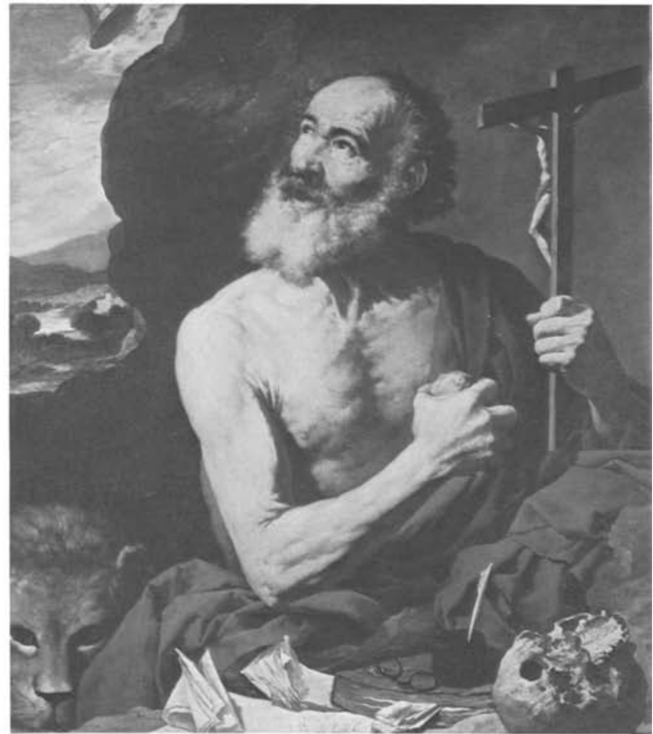
Nevertheless Ceán Bermúdez's statements have been the cause of a number of unjustified attributions to Puga of paintings of genre scenes, including some in important museums in various parts of the world, that will occupy our attention later in this article. Meanwhile we must give consideration to the only signed and completely certain painting by Puga, the *St. Jerome* in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle in County Durham, England (Fig.1), which is signed and dated *Antonio depugaf.b. Ano. 1636* on a piece of paper in the foreground, in a position in which the inscription faces the saint and is therefore upside down to the onlooker.[3] As I have pointed out elsewhere, this derivative work provided no support at all for the attribution to Puga of the various genre scenes to which I have referred above.[4] This *St. Jerome* is in fact a close copy of the painting of the same saint in the Royal Museum, Copenhagen (No.124), signed by Francisco Collantes (1599–1656) (Fig.2), and it is of very inferior quality to the latter. Even the Copenhagen painting is not an original composition, for as the 1951 catalogue of the Royal Gallery informs us, it is 'a free copy of a picture ascribed to Ribera at the Uffizi, Florence.' I have not seen the painting in the Uffizi Gallery, which has not apparently been exhibited for a long time; nor has it been listed in any recent catalogue of that collection. But an old photograph in the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, shows that statement is justified, in spite of a number of minor differences in composition from the Copenhagen Collantes. Even without knowledge of the Uffizi painting we should have had no difficulty in recognising the Copenhagen work as generally inspired by Ribera's compositions, for although we know only six paintings by Collantes in which half or full-length figures of saints are the main element in the composition, they all to some extent reflect Ribera's rugged types of humanity, and even the small Biblical figures that populate his more numerous landscapes are also Riberesque in type.

Such was the extent of our knowledge of Puga's life and work until 1952, when María Luisa Caturla published a booklet on the painter,[5] reproducing the texts of a testament that he had drawn up during a serious illness in Madrid in March 1635, an inventory and valuation of the property in his possession at his death in that city on March 10, 1648, and the catalogue of the sale of his property held a few weeks later. Finally the publication by Caturla in 1954[6] of the official record of Puga's birth revealed its date as having been March 13, 1602. In spite of the fact that these documents threw much interesting light on the extensive collections of paintings, engravings, books and household goods owned by Puga, they did not enable any immediate identification of paintings by his own hand to be made. The one fact that was eagerly seized upon by Spanish art historians was Puga's statement in his testament of March 1, 1635 that he had worked under the orders and in the house of Eugenio Caxés on two paintings done by the latter for the Buen Retiro, the royal residence constructed for Philip IV in the early 1630s.[7] This information prompted the reattribution of some of the large battle scenes painted by the court painters for the Hall of Realms *(Salón de Reinos)* in that residence and installed there in 1635, but it has still not been easy to decide which were the two executed by Caxés with some collaboration by Puga, the question being complicated by the fact that Caxés died in December 1634, and by the information, also given by Caturla, that another

1 Puga, *St. Jerome.* Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.



2 Francisco Collantes, *St. Jerome.* Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.



painter, Luis Fernández, received payment in April 1635, for completing a painting left unfinished by Caxés.

A plausible solution to these problems has, however, been proposed by Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez in the first volume of their *Corpus* of seventeenth-century Spanish painting.[8] These authors point out that not only does the number of landscapes in Puga's inventory suggest that he must have been a landscape painter, but a letter from the Modenese Ambassador Camilo Guidi to the Duke of Modena in 1641 published by Justi[9] refers to landscapes executed by Puga in equestrian portraits of members of the Royal Family by Juan de la Corte which were much esteemed at Court and by the King himself. It is thus not necessary to assume that Puga's collaboration with Caxés must have been the completion of the two works left unfinished on the death of the latter, for it could have consisted of the insertion of landscape backgrounds into them before his death. This enabled them to propose as the two works contributed by Caxés to the Buen Retiro series the *Recuperation of San Juan de Puerto Rico* (Fig.3), now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, and the *Marquis of Cardereyta commanding an Armada,* now lost. The latter was stated in an early eighteenth-century account to have been dated 1634 and was presumably therefore completed, and perhaps also signed, by Caxés himself. Thus the first-mentioned must have been the one completed by Luis Fernández in 1635, while Puga would have executed the landscape in both, probably under the active direction of Caxés during the last few months before the latter's death. This supposition receives strong support from the fact that there is no landscape in the whole of Caxés's large extant oeuvre comparable in free and vigorous handling to that of the *Recuperation of San Juan de Puerto Rico,* which we can therefore tentatively accept as the work of Antonio Puga. Furthermore the completion of the composition by Luis Fernández rather than Puga may have been necessitated by the serious illness which caused Puga to make his testament in March 1635.

There are numerous other indications in the documents published by Caturla of Puga's connections and standing at Madrid. In his testament he mentioned a small debt outstanding to "the son-in-law of Velázquez," i.e. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, who was about twelve years his junior. Puga was almost certainly, therefore, acquainted personally with the great master, who was three years his senior. But this does not necessarily mean that he had been a pupil of Velázquez, as stated by Ceán Bermúdez. The fact that Puga col-

3 Eugenio Caxés, *Recuperation of San Juan de Puerto Rico.* Madrid, Prado.

laborated with Caxés on the two battle-scenes for the Buen Retiro suggests strongly that he must have been that master's pupil, though there is little reason for supposing, as Caturla did,[10] that, at the age of thirty-two in 1634, he would still have been serving his apprenticeship under Caxés, even if Sánchez Cantón was correct in deducing[11] from the contents of Puga's library listed in the posthumous inventory that he had studied for the priesthood before taking up painting. For even the successive periods of study required for two such exacting careers as the Church and painting are not likely to have continued until he had reached that age. Sánchez Cantón's hypothesis would, however, make even more unlikely Ceán Bermúdez's statement that he studied under Velázquez, for it is most improbable that Puga would either have joined such a minor master as Caxés after leaving Velázquez's studio, or gone into the latter after working with Caxés and drawing up his testament, in which there is no hint of any such earlier connection with that master. From all this we may reasonably conclude that Caxés was Puga's only master and that the pupil was sufficiently in favour later to be called upon for assistance in such large and important commissions as the battle scenes for the Buen Retiro, when Caxés's health was beginning to fail.

4 Puga, *Mary Magdalen.* J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

Among the many paintings listed among Puga's possessions in the inventories taken after his death are included a number by contemporary painters, with whom it is likely that he was personally acquainted, such as José Leonardo, Felipe de Liaño, Carrión and Acevedo, in addition to works by earlier painters like Raphael of Urbino, Luqueto (i.e. Luca Cambiaso), El Greco, Alonso Sánchez Coello and Blas del Prado. The great majority of paintings in the lists are not, however, accompanied by the names of their authors, and it must be assumed that they were executed by Puga himself. The descriptions show that they were mostly religious compositions, portraits, landscapes or still-life paintings, but not a single genre subject is mentioned—yet another indication of the inaccuracy of the information given by Ceán Bermúdez and the unreliability of the attributions of genre compositions to Puga.

In addition to the number of books on ecclesiastical and moral subjects in Puga's library to which Sánchez Cantón drew attention as being indicative of a period of study for the priesthood, the more than one hundred volumes that he possessed also included not only those appropriate to an artist but also a quantity of literature that gives a clear impression of Puga as a person of serious and intellectual interests, as well as indicating by their number an economic situation of ease if not of luxury. A further suggestion of the comfortable circumstances in which he must have lived is offered by the quantities of engravings and drawings included in the sale of his possessions. Among the buyers at the sale were the painters Alonso Cano, Juan Carreño, Antonio Pereda, Francisco de Solís, Francisco Palacios and Felipe Diricksen, all of whom can be assumed to have known Puga personally and perhaps to have been acquainted also with his collection during his lifetime. The general picture of a serious and successful painter is rounded off by the fact that the paintings accumulated in his studio included sketches of portraits of the King (Philip IV) in armour, the prince (presumably the Cardinal-Infante Fernando), the Count-Duke (Olivares) on horseback, and a canvas of Barbarroja, the court jester of whom Velázquez executed a portrait now in the Prado Museum. It would hardly have been possible for a painter without access to court circles to have painted these subjects.

Two other paintings listed in Puga's studio that were apparently his own work call for some comment. One is a *St. John the Baptist with his lamb in a landscape,* a description which fits exactly the magnificent painting now in the Art Institute of Chicago, though the dimensions do not correspond closely. Its earlier attribution to Velázquez clearly cannot be maintained, but it would be rash to jump to the conclusion that it is the one painted by Puga, for a strong case can be made for its attribution to José Leonardo, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate elsewhere.[12] Leonardo's birthdate is not known for certain, but he must have been of nearly the same age as Puga and, as he served his apprenticeship under Eugenio Caxés, he could well have been a fellow-pupil there of Puga. The fact that a now unidentifiable sketch of *St. Martin on horseback* by Leonardo was listed in Puga's inventory makes it all the more likely that the two painters were well acquainted, and in any case they seem to have undergone the same stylistic influences.

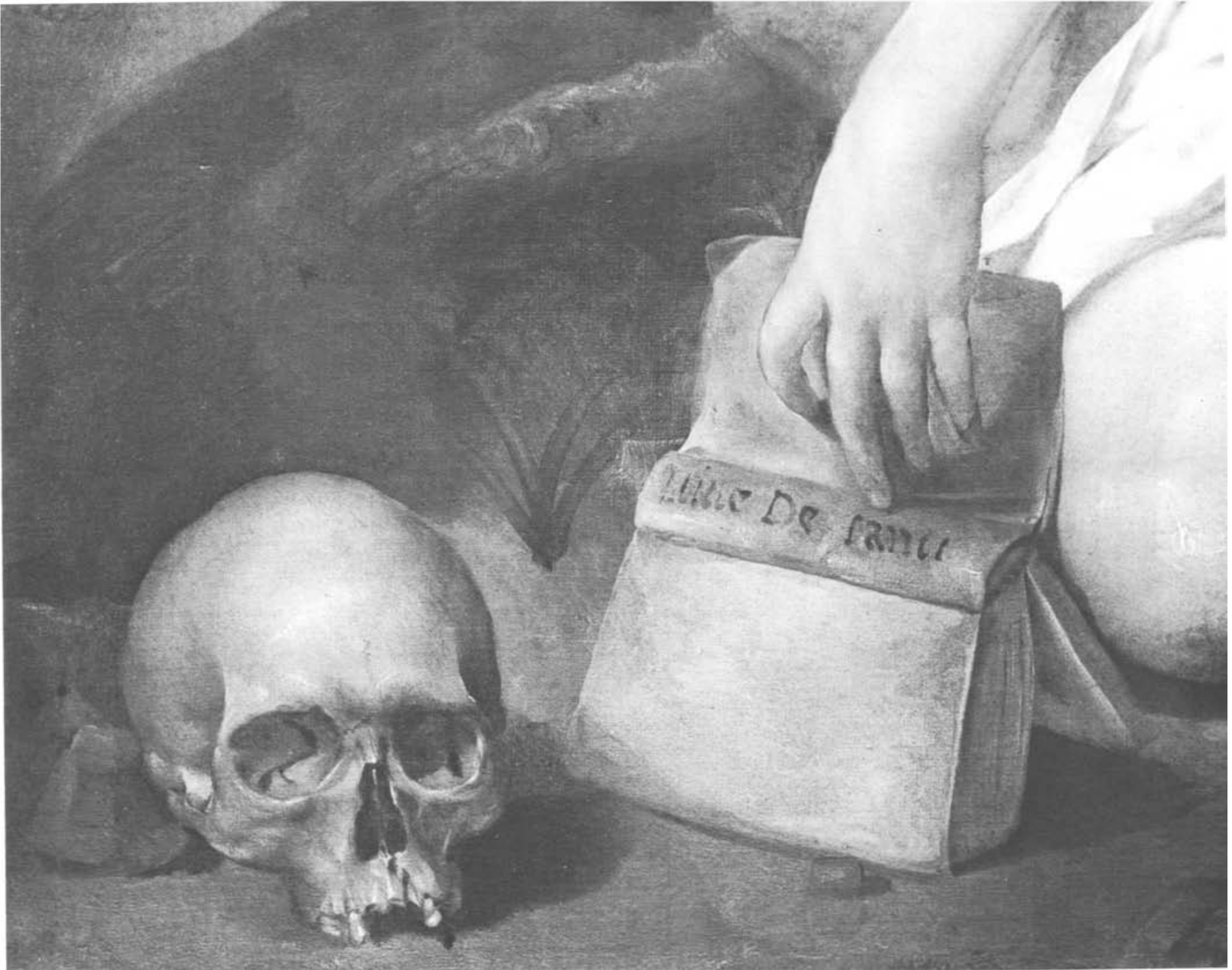
The second work that calls for further comment is a *Magdalen* that is listed both in the inventory of Puga's possessions taken the day after his death and in the valuation made three days later. In both lists its height is stated to be one *bara,* including a plain black frame.[13] The Castilian *bara* (more correctly *vara*), corresponding approximately to the English rod or yard, was in theory equal to 83.59 centimeters, but it is known to have varied from province to province. Moreover none of the measurements given in the documents are in terms of any unit smaller than a quarter of a *bara,* so it must be assumed they were the result of guesswork and not likely to be at all accurate. Thus the height of the canvas of the *Penitent Magdalen* (Figs.4–6) in the J. Paul Getty Museum (90cm.)[14] is close enough to the estimate of one *bara* given in the documents for the one in Puga's studio to make it possible, though not of course certain, that it is the same painting, even though the estimate included the size of the plain black frame. The mere fact that Puga definitely had in his possession a painting of the *Magdalen* almost certainly by his own hand is of value in the consideration of the validity of the attribution to Puga of this work, which must now occupy our attention.

The basis of this attribution is the name PVGA inscribed on the back of the original canvas (Fig.7),[15] now covered by a relining canvas. It is not likely to be a signature but could perhaps date from the seventeenth century. Without this inscription nobody would have dared to make the attribution in the state of knowledge, or rather almost total lack of knowledge, of Puga's style described earlier in this article. The validity of the attribution must, however, be discussed further, in view of its rejection on the basis of a photograph by the Subdirector of the Prado Museum, Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez,[16] who even doubts that the Getty *Penitent Magdalen* is the work of a Spanish painter. But a strong point in favour of the attribution is the almost complete obscurity enshrouding Puga's name and achievement during the three centuries following his death, clearly demonstrated by the brevity and inaccuracy of the biographical note devoted to him by Ceán Bermúdez in 1800.[17] Against this background it seems extremely unlikely that anyone coming into possession of this painting without accurate knowledge of its origin or authorship would have chosen to attribute it to Puga, rather than to one of the more popular and important painters whose names would have offered the opportunity of increasing its market value. Thus it is most likely that the inscription on the back of the original canvas was put there during or soon after the life of the painter by somebody in a position to know the correct authorship of the painting.[18]

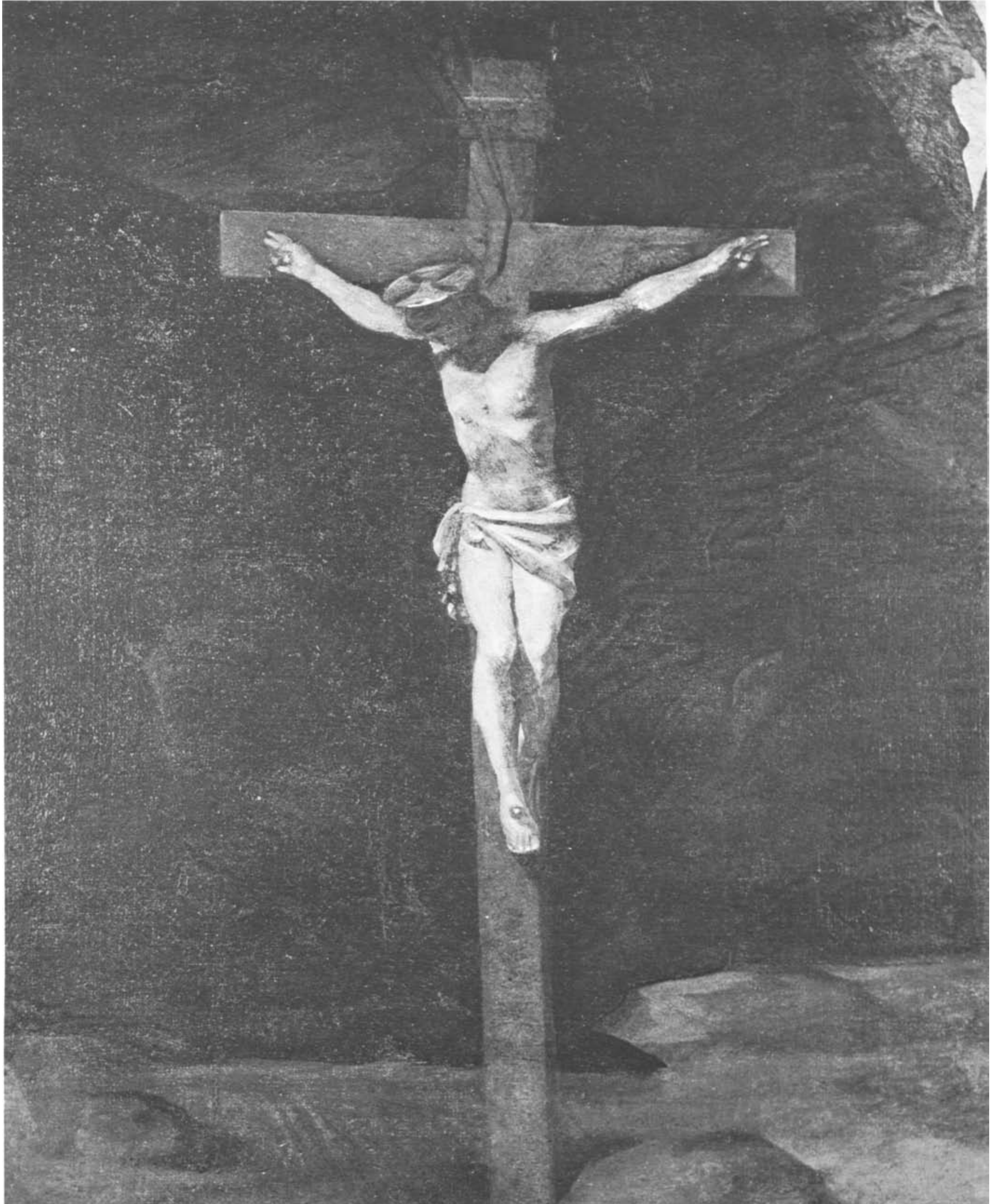
Turning our attention now to the painting itself, we see a number of details or aspects of it that could offer some indication of its country of origin, if not of its actual authorship. The most obvious detail to consider first is the title of the book in the left hand of the saint which has been transcribed in the catalogue entry as 'Libre De Santi'. This is not correct Spanish, Latin or Italian, but the paint in this area has apparently been disturbed and the inscription has probably been reconstructed inaccurately. In any case Puga's library contained a number of books in Latin and Italian and no useful conclusion could be drawn from the representation in this painting of a book in either of these languages. Whichever the language is, the meaning of the title is clearly "Book of (or about) Saints."

Another important detail, the small crucifix with the figure of Christ in what looks like ivory, is the only element that appears to connect the Getty canvas with the signed *St. Jerome* in the Bowes Museum, in which it recurs in almost identical form. But this is of less significance than appears at first sight, for in the latter case it is taken straight from the Collantes prototype. Moreover a crucifix of this type is to be found in many earlier paintings of the Early Netherlandish School and also in Hispano-Flemish works. It is not the only part of the composition that may have been derived from a Northern source, for even the pose of the saint, half-reclining, half-seated, and resting her head on her right hand with the elbow on a raised ledge of rock on the left side, seems to have been taken over from the Flemish painter Adriaen Ysenbrant, whose *Magdalen in a landscape,* No. 2585 in the National Gallery, London (Fig.8),[19] includes in the right background a small detail of the saint in her cave or grotto in almost the same position, as far as the angle of the body and position of the arms are concerned (Fig.9). Only the head and the right leg differ slightly. Another *Magdalen* posed in almost exactly the same position, except for her left arm, which is at a slightly higher angle corresponding to the placing of the book higher and more in front of her, is the main figure in a small panel-painting catalogued as by Ysenbrant in the J. B. Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Kentucky (Fig.10).[20] So Puga's model for the pose of his Magdalen could well have been

5 Detail of fig. 4.



6 Detail of fig. 4.



7 Inscription on the reverse of fig. 4.

some such Northern example, for Ysenbrant was one of several Flemish painters who worked regularly for the Spanish market in the sixteenth century.

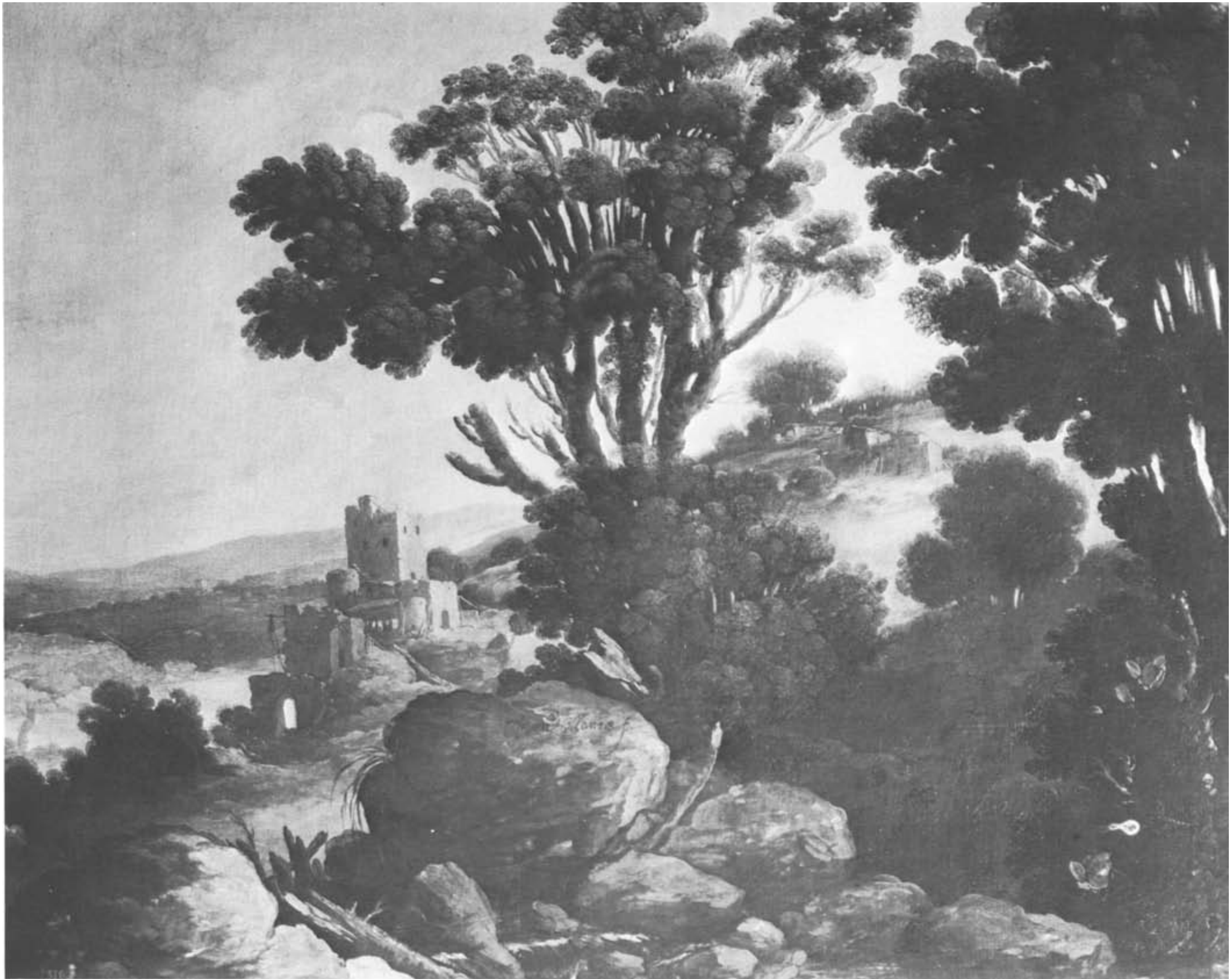
There are, however, other elements in the composition of the Getty Magdalen which connect it more closely to Spanish works. In the lower right corner is a dark twig with some foliage standing out clearly against the lighter ground behind, and in the top centre above the saint's left hip is a larger area of dark foliage and branches seen in similar fashion against a lighter background. The silhouetting of branches and foliage in such a fashion is a regular feature of the landscapes of Francisco Collantes, as we can see from the typical signed work of this painter in the Prado Museum, Madrid. (No. 2849) (Fig. 11). Puga, however, has used it more timidly, against a less brilliant background. But in the upper right corner of his composition, silhouetted against the bright sky is a dark piece of branch which is strikingly similar in its free handling, thin texture of paint and general effect to the tree outlined against the sky in the right background of the *Two Monks in a Landscape* in the Art Institute, Chicago, previously attributed to Murillo and later labelled 'Italian School, seventeenth century', which I have recently attributed to Francisco Collantes (Fig. 12).[21] The fact that this painter, whose *St. Jerome* was the basis for the composition of Puga's Bowes Museum version, seems to have inspired him once again in details of his *Penitent Magdalen* is a telling factor in establishing the Spanish affinities of the Getty painting, in addition to adding weight to the case for attributing the latter to Puga. Typically Spanish also is the rather dull color-scheme, which apart from the flesh tones of the saint and the touch of blue in the landscape in the top right corner, is dominated by tones of brown. The freedom of handling and consequent thinness of the paint also point to a Spanish hand, while the small brightly-lighted landscape with its bushy tree and distant line of hillside beyond is not unlike the background of Caxés's *Recuperation of San Juan de Puerto Rico*, which it was suggested above could well be the portion of that large composition that was executed by Puga. Thus while none of these individual comparisons can be considered absolutely conclusive alone, together they constitute a case so strong that acceptance of the validity of the attribution suggested by the name inscribed on the back of the canvas would seem to be fully justified.

8 Adriaen Ysenbrandt, *Mary Magdalen.* London, National Gallery.

9 Detail of fig. 8.

10 Adriaen Ysenbrandt, *Mary Magdalen.* Louisville, J. B. Speed Museum.

11 Francisco Collantes, *Landscape.* Madrid, Prado.



Concentration on the derivative character of the composition of this *Penitent Magdalen* and its contacts with other Spanish paintings has so far delayed consideration of its audacious originality, which is in fact the aspect of this unique painting that most justifies its examination at this length. Burton Fredericksen's catalogue entry[22] pointed out that it is only the third representation of a female nude in Spanish seventeenth-century painting to become known, the other two being Velázquez's famous *Venus with the Mirror* in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 13), and Alonso Cano's *Christ in Limbo* in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fig. 14). The main reason for such a paucity was of course the influence of the Inquisition in Spain, which proscribed the representation of any nude human figure in a religious composition unless the subject made it necessary, together with the scarcity of commissions for figure painting on any but fully-approved Catholic themes. Velázquez's *Venus* was first mentioned in an inventory of a private collection taken in 1650 and it is therefore likely that it was painted as a private commission and never intended to be publicly exhibited. Even so it is a most discreet composition, with the model shyly turning her back to the spectator and her face only seen slightly blurred in the mirror, as though she were a little afraid of being recognised. Similarly Eve, standing on the right in Cano's *Christ in Limbo,* modestly turns her back to the spectator, even though this is a subject which requires her representation in the nude, and as early as in the fifteenth century she had been shown half frontally in Bartolomé Bermejo's painting of the same subject in the Barcelona Museum.[23]

Thus of the three seventeenth-century Spanish female nudes, Puga's *Penitent Magdalen* is the only one who reveals

12 Attributed to Francisco Collantes, *Landscape with two Monks*. Chicago, Art Institute.

herself to us unashamedly in a frontal position. Moreover she also breaks with tradition in not gazing upwards as if to seek divine inspiration from above, but enters into immediate and irresistible communication with the spectator by directing an intensely eloquent look straight at him. What is the full content of that look is open to a wide range of interpretation. Penitence alone does not offer an adequate explanation and a suggestion of scarcely suppressed desire seems to emanate from the warm-blooded personality written into that haunting face, the intensity of her expression enhanced by the pressure of the right cheek onto the hand, distorting her eye almost into a squint. The position of the left hand gives the impression of a momentary interruption of her reading, soon to be resumed, or perhaps abandoned in some impulsive action. Together, the expressive face and softly modelled female form make this an unforgettable work, exceptional in the Spanish seventeenth century and not to be paralleled before Goya, a century and a half later. In thus adding a new dimension to Spanish painting of its period, it gives Puga an entirely new and unexpected status as a creative artist on a level that makes one regret that more of his production has not survived.

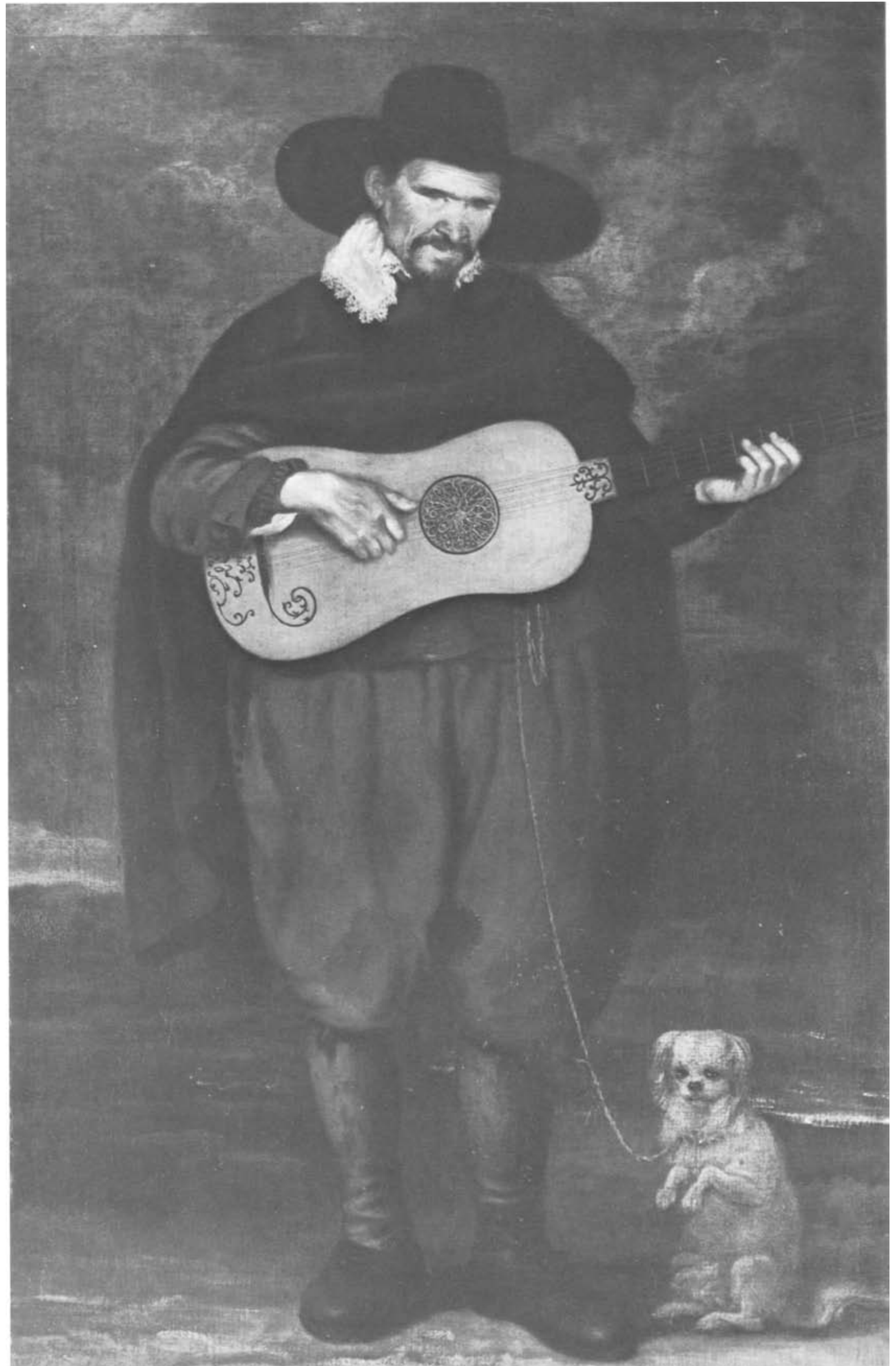
13 Velázquez, *Venus with the Mirror.* London, National Gallery.

14 Alonso Cano, *Christ in Limbo.* Los Angeles, County Museum of Art.

With this achievement now to Puga's credit, we can afford to take a realistic and objective view of the various other works which have from time to time been labelled with his name. Several of them constitute a group apparently by one and the same hand, to which I propose here to add two fresh works. And as some of them have long been attributed to Puga, I think this hand may more conveniently be designated the Pseudo-Puga than known by any other invented name. The two works here brought into this context for the first time are a full-length *Old Musician with a Dog* in private possession in England (Fig.15) and a full-length woman with a monkey in the E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, known as *A Gypsy Selling Charcoal* (Fig.16). In both these compositions there is an animal that is realistically and sympathetically portrayed, as is also the cat accompanying the *Old Woman Seated in an Interior* in the Prado Museum, Madrid (Fig.17), which I also include in this group. It seems that the Pseudo-Puga was more attracted by domestic or domesticated animals than most of his contemporaries in Spain, except Velázquez. The Sacramento *Gypsy* is similar to the Madrid *Old Woman* in the shape of her face, eyes and mouth, though her lips are conspicuously thicker. Could the two women perhaps have been related? As for the *Old Musician,* his dress connects him with the groups of characters in the genre compositions in the Hermitage, Leningrad (Fig.18) and the Museum at Ponce, Puerto Rico (Fig.19), especially the hat and baggy breeches. Breeches of this type came into fashion in Spain in the 1620s and are to be seen in Velázquez's full-length portraits of Olivares in the São Paulo Museum and the Hispanic Society of America, New York (López-Rey catalogue Nos.506 and 507), painted in 1624 and 1625 respectively. By a few years later breeches had become narrower, as in Velázquez's portrait of *Philip IV in brown and silver* in the National Gallery, London (López-Rey No.245), painted in the first half of the 1630s. All the male figures in the group of paintings here assigned to the Pseudo-Puga wear breeches of this type that are more or less baggy and his activity can be assumed to have been mainly confined to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, even allowing for the fact that his humble characters are not likely to have been dressed in a style reflecting the height of fashion. The *Old Musician's* breeches are closest to those seen in the portraits of the middle 1620s and this painting is probably the earliest in this group, painted perhaps as early as *c.*1630, with the subjects containing several figures following a few years later. While the dress of the Prado *Old Woman* and the Sacramento *Gypsy* provides little evidence on which to base any conjecture of their date, it seems consistent enough with that of the women in the genre groups to permit an approximate dating also in the 1630s.

If this proposed dating is accepted, it will dispose automatically of any attempt to connect the Pseudo-Puga with José Antolínez, whose signed *Studio Scene* in the Alte

15 The Pseudo-Puga, *The Old Musician.* England, Private collection.

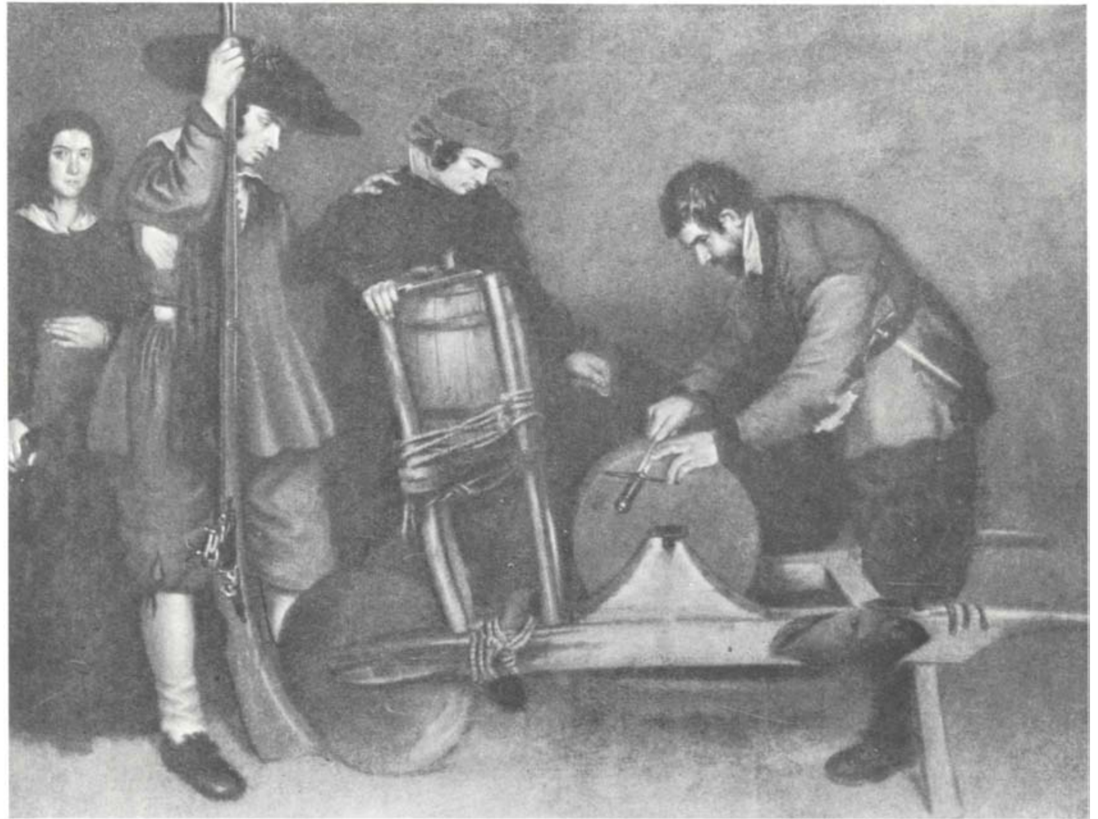


16 The Pseudo-Puga, *A Gypsy selling Charcoal.* Sacramento, E. B. Crocker Gallery.

17 The Pseudo-Puga, *Old Woman seated in an Interior.* Madrid, Prado.

18 The Pseudo-Puga, *The Knife Grinder.* Leningrad, Hermitage.

19 The Pseudo-Puga, *Feeding the Poor.* Ponce, Museo de Arte.



20 José Antolinéz, *Studio Scene.* Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

Pinakothek, Munich (Fig.20), contains a ragged figure comparable in some aspects to the former's *Old Musician.* Antolínez was in fact born in 1635 and his earliest dated work was done in 1662. And even the tattered clothes of the picture-seller in the Munich canvas bear witness to an origin much later than the *Old Musician,* for his breeches are of a much narrower pattern than those of the latter. In this context it is appropriate also to mention the *Dead Soldier* in the National Gallery, London (Fig.21), attributed to Antolínez by Emilio Orozco Díaz and J. A. Gaya Nuño, but which Caturla in her 1952 booklet sought tentatively to connect with Puga.[24] In my view this is unjustified, for in addition to the reasons put forward by the two authors mentioned in favour of an attribution to Antolínez, the unusually large and wide nose of the warrior (Fig.22) is similar, although seen from a different angle, to that of the picture-seller in Antolínez's *Studio Scene,* as I briefly pointed out in a review of the latest catalogue of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Italian Schools in the National Gallery, where the *Dead Soldier* is uncomfortably listed under "ITALIAN (?) School, XVIIth (?) Century."[25] The attribution of this painting to Antolínez rather than Puga must therefore be seriously considered.

Appended below is an outline catalogue of the extant paintings that I accept as wholly or partly by Antonio Puga and those by the Pseudo-Puga. Works attributed elsewhere to Puga have been omitted in cases where I see no justification for their inclusion in either section, like the so-called *Moorish Servant* in the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, which is probably not by any Spanish hand. And there are many others of which photographs exist in the Witt Library of the Courtauld Institute, London.

OUTLINE CATALOGUE

A. *Works wholly or partly by Antonio Puga*

1. *Saint Jerome* (Fig.1)
   Canvas, 134 x 103.5 cm.
   Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle No.11
   Signed and dated *Antonio depuga f.b Ano 1636*
   Principal Reference: Eric Young: *Catalogue of Spanish and Italian Paintings,* Bowes Museum, 1970, p.61.
2. *Penitent Magdalen* (Figs.4–6)
   Canvas, 90 x 132 cm.
   J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu No.69. PA.21
   Inscribed on the back of the original canvas: PVGA (Fig.9)
   Reference: Burton B. Fredericksen: *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* Malibu, 1972, pp.58–59. No.71
3. *Recuperation of San Juan de Puerto Rico* (Fig.3)
   Canvas, 290 x 344 cm.
   Museo del Prado, Madrid No.653
   Commissioned from Eugenio Caxés (1575–1634) for the Hall of Realms of the Buen Retiro in 1634, the major part executed by that painter before his death, the landscape probably by Puga and the whole completed by Luis Fernández (1594–1654) in 1635.
   Reference: D. Angulo Iñiguez & A. E. Pérez Sánchez: *Pintura Madrileña: Primer Tercio del Siglo XVII,* Madrid, 1969, p.253, No.193.

B. *Works by the Pseudo-Puga*

1. *The Old Musician* (Fig.15)
   Canvas
   Private Collection, England
   Previously unattributed.
2. *The Knife-Grinder* (Fig.18)
   Canvas, 118 x 159 cm.
   Hermitage Museum, Leningrad No.309

21 Attributed to José Antolinéz, *Dead Soldier.* London, National Gallery.

Principal Reference: *Hermitage Çatalogue* I, 1958, p.245, No.309

3. *Deeds of Charity: Feeding the Poor* (Fig.19)
   Canvas, 119.4 x 160 cm.
   Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico No.58.0070
   Principal Reference: Julius S. Held: *Paintings of the European and American Schools,* Ponce, 1965, p.135.
4. *The Tavern*
   Formerly (1935) with Lucas Moreno, Paris
   Reference: María Luisa Caturla: *Un Pintor Gallego en la Corte de Felipe IV: Antonio Puga,* Santiago de Compostela, 1952, Plate III (top).
5. *Old Woman Seated in an Interior* (Fig. 17)
   Canvas, 147 x 109 cm.
   Museo del Prado, Madrid No.3004
   Principal Reference: *Catálogo de las Pinturas,* Museo del Prado, 1972, p.521 (as *The Painter's Mother)*
6. *A Gypsy Selling Charcoal* (Fig.16)
   Canvas (probably cut down at the bottom and on both sides), 172 x 119 cm.
   E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento
   Previously attributed merely to the Spanish School.

22 Detail of fig. 21.

NOTES

[1]This article is based on a lecture which I had the privilege of giving at The J. Paul Getty Museum on April 3, 1975, under the title "Antonio Puga and his Contemporaries." I have, however, reconsidered some aspects of the subject here, as is reflected in the change in the title.
[2]Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez: *Diccionario Histórico de los más ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España,* Madrid, 1800, Tomo, IV, p.134.
[3]The detail of the signature is reproduced in Eric Young: *Catalogue of Spanish and Italian Paintings,* Bowes Museum, 1970, Pl.47.1.
[4]In the catalogue mentioned in the preceding note, pp.61–62, No.11, and also in the catalogue of the exhibition *Four Centuries of Spanish Painting,* Bowes Museum, 1967, p.41, No.48.
[5]María Luisa Caturla: *Un pintor gallego en la corte de Felipe IV: Antonio Puga,* Santiago de Compostela, 1952.
[6]María Luisa Caturla: "La partida de bautismo del pintor Antonio Puga," *Cuadernos Gallegos,* XI, 1954, pp.252–254.
[7]Caturla, 1952, p.11.
[8]D. Angulo Iñiguez y A. E. Pérez Sánchez: *Pintura madrileña: primer tercio del siglo XVII,* Madrid, 1969, pp. 253–255, where the problems involved are documented and discussed.
[9]Carl Justi: *Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert,* II, Bonn, 1903, p.343; Spanish edition, 1953, p.782.
[10]Caturla, 1954, p.252.
[11]F. J. Sánchez Cantón: *Los libros que poseía el pintor Puga,* Apéndice II to Caturla, 1952, p.85.
[12]Eric Young: 'Two Spanish Baroque Pictures' in *Museum Studies* 8, 1975, The Art Institute of Chicago.
[13]Caturla, 1952, p.34: *Un Retrato de la Magdalena du Una bara de alto con su moldura negra lissa;* and p.46: *una pintura de Una bara de alto con Su moldura negra de Una Magdalena en quarenta Rs.........040* [*reales*]
[14]Burton B. Fredericksen: *Catalogue of the Paintings in The J. Paul Getty Museum,* Malibu, 1972, pp.58–59. No.71.
[15]I am most grateful to Mr. Fredericksen for allowing me to publish for the first time here this photograph of the inscription.
[16]In a letter dated March, 1974 which Mr. Fredericksen kindly showed me on my lecture visit to the Museum in April, 1975.
[17]See the reference in note 2 above and the second paragraph of this present article.
[18]A brief mention must also be made here of the attempt by Giovanni Testori, *Una collezione romana* in Catalogo Finarte, No.25, Milan 1966 to connect the Getty *Penitent Magdalen* with the French painter Claude Mellan, of whom no certain works are known. This was rejected by Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnee and Jean-Pierre Cuzin in the catalogue of the exhibition *Valentin et les Caravagesques Français,* Paris, 1974, p.69, who, however, stated incorrectly that Puga's signature had been discovered on the canvas.
[19]This is one of the nucleus of key-works around which the oeuvre of Ysenbrant was built up by Max J. Friedländer; see his *Early Netherlandish Painting,* XI, 1974, pp.47–48.
[20]Illustrated in the 1973 *Handbook to the J. B. Speed Art Museum,* p.86. It is not, however, listed in the latest edition of Friedländer's work mentioned in the preceding note. I have not seen this painting, which does not seem from the photograph to be comparable to the London work in quality. Be this as it may, it is interesting in demonstrating that Ysenbrant or his circle used this pose more than once for the Magdalen, and it is reasonable to suppose that it could also have been used in a now lost or unknown work that Puga might have seen in Spain.
[21]In the second part of the article mentioned in note 12 above.
[22]See note 14 above.
[23]Eric Young: *Bartolomé Bermejo: The Great Hispano-Flemish Master,* London, 1975, Plate 2.
[24]Caturla, 1952, pp.17–20.
[25]Eric Young: "Further Book Reviews," *Apollo* XCVI, July 1972, pp.85–86.

APPENDIX

Since this article was written, the recent acquisition by the Art Institute of Chicago of a *Man in Armour* bearing an attribution to Antonio Puga, from the Bequest of Chester Tripp (No.1975, 213), has kindly been brought to my notice by Burton Fredericksen and I am grateful to J. Patrice Marandel of the Art Institute for sending me a photograph of it (Fig.23). It is on canvas and measures 93 x 73.7cm.

As I have not been able to examine this painting, I cannot express any firm views about the validity of the attribution. Nevertheless I should like to draw attention to some of the points that will need to be taken into account in any consideration of this question.

Unlike the works that I have grouped together under the name of the Pseudo-Puga, the Chicago composition is not a genre subject, but is apparently a portrait, of a type that Antonio Puga himself almost certainly executed. In the inventory of his possessions taken on March 14, 1648, reproduced by Caturla in the publication previously mentioned, appear the following items on pp.43 and 44 respectively:

> *Un Cavallero armado sin marco ni bastidor biejo roto en quatro Reales* (A gentleman in armour without frame or stretcher, old and torn, valued at four reales)
> *Otro de tres quartas de Vn Retrato armado sin moldura diez y seis Reales* (another, size three-quarters of a *vara,* of a male portrait with armour, without frame, valued at sixteen reales)

The first one mentioned, in view of its bad condition reflected in the extremely low valuation, is not likely to have survived. The second one was given a normal valuation, but its size of about 63cm. does not agree well enough with that of

23 Attributed to Puga, *Portrait of a Man in Armor.* Chicago, Art Institute.

the Chicago canvas to encourage speculation that the inventory item could refer to that work. Nevertheless the possibility that Puga executed other paintings of similar type must be admitted.

Unfortunately there is only limited scope for making a stylistic comparison with the Getty *Magdalen,* in view of the difference in subject-matter. The photograph suggests, however, that the handling of the hair and the soft shadows on the hands of the *Man in Armour* is not inconsistent with that of similar passages in the *Magdalen,* so that the possibility of identical authorship is not immediately to be rejected. On the other hand there seems to be no compelling reason for associating the *Man in Armour* with Puga, and the question will need to be investigated carefully from every point of view.

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THE FOUR EVANGELISTS BY CARLO DOLCI

Burton Fredericksen

Among the few paintings acquired in recent years by the Museum from California collections was an octagonal St. Matthew by Carlo Dolci. The painting was purchased from Mr. Henry Drake of Los Angeles in 1969 (fig. 1).[1] It was one of the first Italian baroque pictures to enter the Museum and was included in the *Catalogue of Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum* published in 1972.[2] It has ever since been a popular object with the general public who invariably admire the polish and consummate technical skill of the artist.

The history of the painting at the time the catalogue was compiled was fairly brief and can be recapitulated very quickly: Mr. Drake, who is a small collector of miscellaneous items, had acquired the canvas for a few hundred dollars at an auction in the Marvin Newman Galleries, Beverly Hills, in 1964.[3] Apparently, it was sold from the collection of Leon Medina who, according to the catalogue, was formerly an art expert and antiquarian, now deceased, who had lived in New York and Puerto Rico. There was no indication of prior provenance. Inexplicably, the author was given as being from the "School of Carlo Dolci"; apparently someone had cast doubts on the painting's quality before it was put up for sale. Since its exhibition in Malibu, every scholar who has seen it has agreed it is by Dolci's own hand.

Especially worth noting is the presence of a companion piece in the Medina sale. The lot following the Matthew was another octagon of the same size, depicting St. John the Evangelist writing his gospel just as Matthew is doing in the Getty painting, and it was sold for a similarly low figure to a collector in San Marino, California where it has remained (fig. 2).[4]

Shortly after the Museum acquired the St. Matthew from Drake, the painting was cleaned and revarnished by Frederick Anthon, a private conservator. No significant changes occurred during cleaning. There were no damages worth mentioning and the chief benefits were merely cosmetic.

It should be worthwhile to describe the picture briefly: Matthew is seated turned to the left, wearing robes of red and blue. He is writing with a quill pen, and the book has a few Hebrew characters in it. These characters can be read as "Sefer" (book) and "Hosanna." This is an interesting detail because the Gospel of St. Matthew is in Greek. However, Matthew was a Jew, and early sources, notably Papias in the second century, say he wrote in Hebrew. Modern scholarship has attributed the Greek form of the gospel to the late first century, and it is probably based upon earlier Hebrew (actually Aramaic) texts. But it is normal in depictions of the Evangelists, especially of Matthew, to give any inscriptions in Latin, generally quoting a specific passage. Dolci has not done this, and it would be interesting to know why.

To the side of the saint is a winged putto holding a pot of ink. He looks up at the saint with an admiring gaze to which Matthew is oblivious. Because it was always necessary for the artist to include symbols in the pictures in order to enable the average person to recognize the saint, this putto is actually an attribute for Matthew. John's symbol was an eagle, Luke's a bull, Mark's a lion, and Matthew's was a man. Commonly, however, a man is not depicted but rather an angel or a putto. In the present instance, the putto actually helps out by holding the ink bottle.

The shape of the painting, an octagon, is not unusual in Dolci's *oeuvre*. One finds it often employed by the artist for single figures, and he probably employed it more than any other artist from the Seicento or any other century.

The frame is clearly from the nineteenth century. It is elaborate but classical in character, and one might expect it to date from the early part of the century, during the "empire" taste. The frame implies an important provenance for the picture but says little about its origins.

The St. John in San Marino has an identical frame though it is in somewhat worse repair, the ornaments in the bottom spandrels having been lost. The saint is also holding a quill, but he is looking up and to the right, his closed gospel supported on his knee. To his side, on the right of the picture, is the eagle staring at him.

This depiction of John is roughly comparable to two others in the Pitti Palace in Florence which show the same saint in similar poses. One of them (fig. 3) shows the saint looking up—probably receiving his inspiration—and in the act of writing.[6] The composition is a little more energetic than that in San Marino, but it has a similar octagonal shape, albeit smaller than the California version. The reverse of the Pitti version has an inscription giving the date 1671 and explaining that it was done for Pentecost of that year for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who would have been Cosimo III de' Medici.[7] One is tempted to think that the similarity of this picture to the one in San Marino might indicate a similar date and origin for our Evangelist, and this was in fact suggested in the 1972 Getty catalogue. Dolci's style changed relatively little, however, and it is impossible to substantiate the date on stylistic grounds.

The Pitti also has a replica of their St. John, and it is approximately the same size and similarly composed (fig. 4).[8] At the very least, it shows how readily Dolci could repeat his compositions. He seems, in fact, to have had a fondness for St. John Evangelist for there are other depictions of him (in Berlin, Leningrad, etc.), although they are substantially different in character and format.

Coming back to the two octagons in California, it is relatively certain that they have been together at least since the time they were given identical frames, i.e., probably the early nineteenth century. Because they are both Evangelists, it follows that they are probably one half of a set of the four Evangelists and that Luke and Mark might still exist.

One bit of information that was not included in the catalogue of 1972 was the presence of a Christie's stencil number on the reverse: 780 DW. This can be traced in the

1 Dolci, *St. Matthew Writing his Gospel.* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum.

Christie's files and refers to the collection of the late Sir Edward Scott which was sold in July of 1924 in London.[9] The sale catalogue shows that both Matthew and John were present and that they were sold to "Walker" for a very low figure. This information does not take us out of the present century, but indicates where to look. I do not know who "Walker" was and how the paintings might have come from "Walker" to Leon Medina. But this is of relatively little importance, all the more so since their history before this century can now be ascertained in some detail. It is this earlier history that I hope to describe in the following pages.

There is an early mention of a set of four Evangelists by Dolci in the biography of the artist written by Filippo Baldinucci, Dolci's good friend. He mentions, while discussing a series of works done by Dolci:

> ... siccome da Giovambattista Galli nostro Gentiluomo, furono per centoventi scudi comprati quattro ottangoli co' quattro Evangelisti, fatti da Carlo ne' primi tempi per un suo confessore, per non piu di cinque scudi l'uno ma poi Carlo messavi di nuovo la mano, gli ridusse in istato di assai maggior bellezza.[10]

One cannot be absolutely certain that this refers to the set of four Evangelists to which our painting would belong, but it calls them octagons and so far, excepting the many depictions of St. John, there is no record of more than one picture by Dolci of the other three saints. That is to say, there is only one set of Evangelists recorded in the literature, and, in Baldinucci's time, it belonged to Galli. Furthermore, the later history of the Galli pictures will partially support the probability that our paintings belong to this group.

Baldinucci's life of Dolci, in which he mentions Giovanni Battista Galli, was compiled and published in the 1680s. There is at least one earlier reference to Galli's collection in the guidebook to Florence published by Giovanni Cinelli in 1677. Galli lived in the palace in the Via Pandolfini, and Cinelli lists there a number of pictures by Florentine Seicento artists. It has already been noted that the Galli family was an important patron of Florentine artists, and though we know from Baldinucci that the pictures were not commissioned by Galli, they were certainly not out of place in his collection.[11]

After listing pictures by Lorenzo Lippi, Ottavio Vannini and Furini, Cinelli records the following:

> In una Camera sono i *Quattro Evangelisti* maggiori del naturale di mano del Dolci...[12]

Baldinucci, as we have seen, says that Galli was not the first owner of the four paintings. He doesn't say whether he got them from Dolci, or the former owner, or from some other person. But since Dolci agreed to improve them, it implies that Dolci may have sold them to him. Baldinucci also records that the paintings were done for Dolci's *confessore* during the artist's earlier years. Happily, Baldinucci also mentions earlier in the biography the name of his *confessore:* "Canonico Carpanti," for whom Dolci also painted some still lifes.[13] It isn't certain whether this is the same *confessore,* but since both mentions are part of the same long paragraph, it seems very likely.

I know nothing about Carpanti the ecclesiastic, and perhaps there was not much to know. But given the pious nature of Dolci and the importance of the church in his work, it is probably safe to assume that Carpanti and the artist were close. We know that Dolci painted other pictures for him—though they were secular in nature!—so the commission must have been of some importance to Dolci, if only because he was still fairly young.

Perhaps the nature of the commission explains the fact that Matthew in the Getty composition is writing Hebrew. Carpanti may well have suggested such a detail for the sake of historical accuracy, and his title, "Canonico," suggests he may have been well versed in matters of this sort.

The story of the four pictures does not stop with Galli, but there is now a period of about a century where we do not know where they were, though they apparently did not leave Florence until much later. They next appear in the catalogue of the Lucien Bonaparte collection published in London in 1815 by William Buchanan.[14] Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, had lived in Italy from 1804 until 1810 when, on his way to America, he was captured at sea by the British. His collection was sold in London in 1816 after he had returned to Italy.

Buchanan tells us where the four pictures had been before Bonaparte got them: in the Palazzo Riccardi in Florence.[15] This is, of course, the same palace on the Via Larga that had once belonged to the Medici; but there is no clue as to how the pictures came to belong to the Riccardi, and very little is known about the collection at all. Bonaparte must have acquired them sometime after 1804, but whether he bought them from the owner or merely had access to them after the French had confiscated them is not yet known.

It might be doubted that the four pictures that belonged to Galli in 1677 are the same ones that later belonged to the Riccardi and then Bonaparte at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Both sets are described as octagons and what we know of their dimensions makes them compatible. It is, of course, possible that the Galli set has disappeared or been destroyed after 1677 and that the Riccardi set is unrecorded before 1804. But this seems unlikely.

Between Buchanan's catalogue of 1815 and the sale in London in 1816, the set of four pictures was broken up. Only two of the four, Sts. Mark and Luke, appear in the sale.[16] Buchanan says the Mark was "among the best" pictures offered. He goes on to explain that Matthew and John had already been sold privately to Sir Simon Clarke, the great speculator in pictures who was active in London at that time.[17] Apparently, Clarke had selected them and considered them superior to Mark and Luke. At a time when the Italian

2 Dolci, *St. John the Evangelist.* Los Angles, Private collection.

Seicento was most popular in England, an artist like Dolci was highly regarded, and the octagons with the Evangelists were probably among the finest works by the artist so far seen in that country.

From this point on, it is no longer a matter of tracing the set of four pictures but rather each of them individually. Buchanan does not record who bought the St. Luke from the Bonaparte sale of 1816, but it appears in the catalogue of the collection of William II of Orange, King of the Netherlands, which was published in 1843.[18] There is a lengthy description there, giving the provenance to the Riccardi palace. This picture was presumably acquired for the King through C. J. Nieuwenhuys, the prominent dealer, who wrote the catalogue and also supplied most of the pictures. The picture did not stay long in the royal galleries. It was sold with most of the collection in August of 1850.[19] But it is evident from the

3 Dolci, *St. John the Evangelist*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

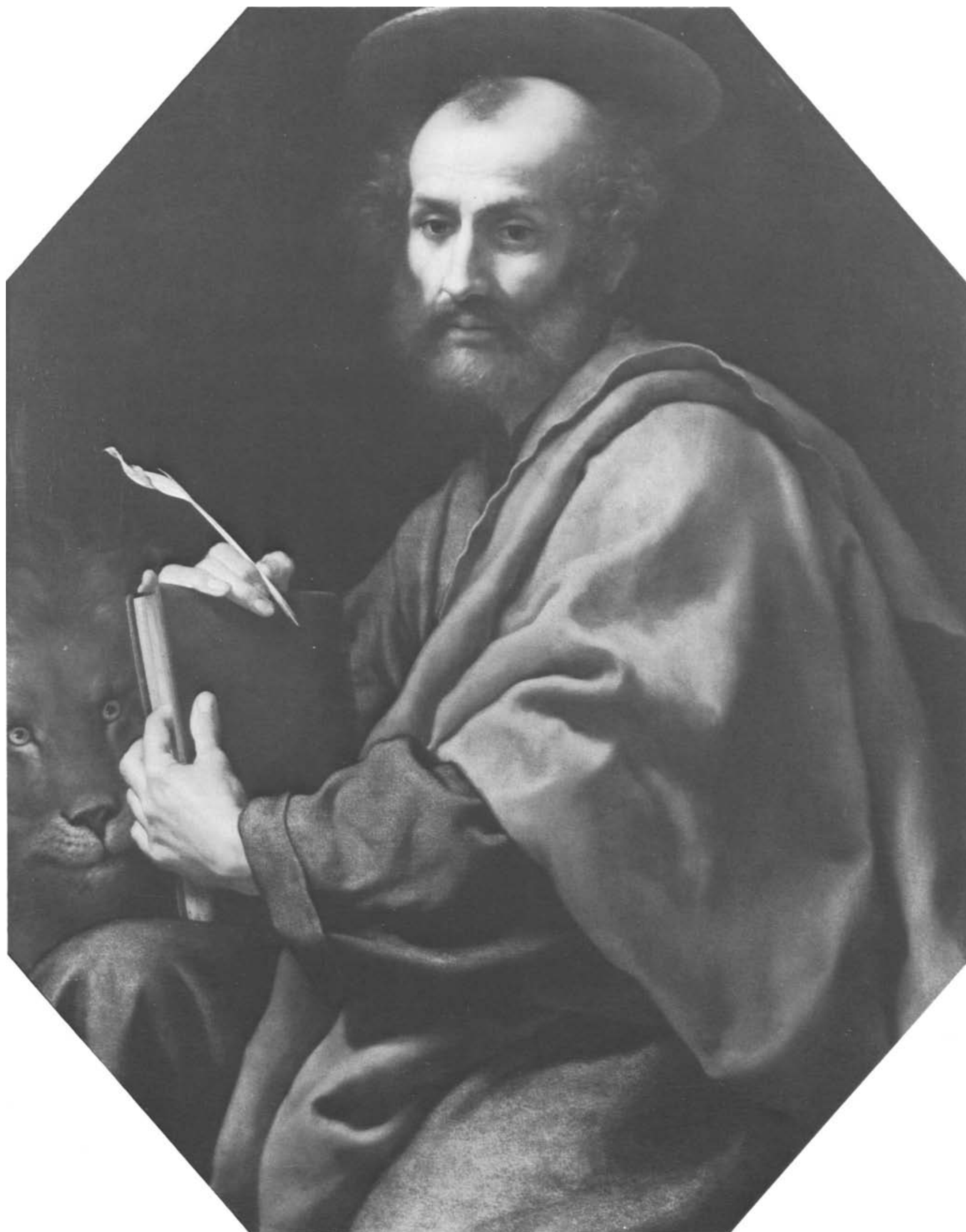
4 Dolci, *St. John the Evangelist*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

descriptions of the painting that there was some confusion about the identification of the saint—his attribute was a lion! It must be assumed then that he was St. Mark and that the two pictures of Luke and Mark had somehow become switched at the time of the 1816 sale. This corresponds to what we know of the later history of King William's painting. In the early twentieth century it is recorded as belonging to the Fürstliche Familie zu Wied to whom it had come by inheritance from William II,[20] so apparently it had been bought in in 1850. Eventually it was sold by the Princess Marie zu Wied at Sotheby's in 1967,[21] having been removed from the castle Neuwied in West Germany, and was now once again correctly identified as St. Mark. It was bought at the 1967 sale by the English scholar-dealer Malcolm Waddingham for a price hardly more than that paid for Sts. Matthew and John three years before in Beverly Hills. Waddingham held it briefly, put a new frame on it, and sold it shortly afterwards to a private collection where it has remained. Through the courtesy of the owner we are able to reproduce it for the first time (fig.5). Clearly depicted is St. Mark who is looking to the left, again holding a quill and a book and accompanied by a lion. The size corresponds to that of the two pictures in California as does the style. Mr. Waddingham no longer remembers what the frame was like when he bought it; he says that it was a poor one, and that he threw it away. So the frame cannot be used to link the picture to ours. But otherwise they are as if cast from the same die.

According to Buchanan, the St. Luke (but called St. Mark) was sold in 1816, to Edward Gray about whom I know nothing. There is no further trace of the painting, but probably one day it will be found in England or with someone who acquired it from Gray's descendants.

The canvasses with Sts. John and Matthew next appear in 1822 when they were exhibited by Sir Simon Clarke at the British Institution.[22] Their popularity is confirmed by their having been exhibited once more, in 1838, at the same institution by the same owner.[23] But, soon after, they appeared in the sale of Simon Clarke's collection in 1840 in London.[24] The records show that separate buyers acquired the two pictures, St. John going to "Fuller"[26] and St. Matthew to "Artraria." If, in fact, they were separated, this would be reason to doubt that we are really dealing with the same pictures that later arrived in California. But jumping ahead, we next find the St. John in the collection of Lord Northwick in Cheltenham where it is mentioned by Waagen.[26] A bit later, one finds it in the sale of Lord Northwick's huge collection in 1859.[27] The catalogue gives the provenance back to Simon Clarke and Lucien Bonaparte, and, again, the size corresponds. What is most amazing, however, is that the St. John fetched £2165 at the Northwick sale—the highest price for any painting in a collection that contained many superlative pictures, including a Botticelli (but called Masaccio). The masters of the early Renaissance had obviously still not overtaken those of the seventeenth century in popularity.

5 Dolci, *St. Mark.* Private collection.



The buyer was Samuel Scott, and just one year later, in 1860, we find him exhibiting the St. John at the British Institution once more, not by itself however but with St. Matthew![28] There is good evidence that Lord Northwick never owned St. Matthew, so Scott must have had it from another source. Perhaps he owned it before the Northwick sale and decided he wanted the companion piece. In any case, they were apart for less than twenty years.

At this point it is only necessary to recall that the seller of the two pictures of Sts. John and Matthew at Christie's in 1924 was Sir Edward Scott. There is no record of the two pictures between 1860 and 1924, but I believe we can assume that Edward Scott was a descendant of Samuel Scott and that the octagons stayed in a family residence during that time. Some proof of this is supplied by other pictures that belonged to Samuel Scott and later came to Edward H. Scott.[29]

This lengthy discussion on collectors and sales demonstrates, one would hope, that the Getty painting of St. Matthew belonged to the set of four octagons which were once owned by Lucien Bonaparte;[30] its history is now essentially complete from 1812 until the present. It is perhaps less certain that Bonaparte's set is the same as that done by the artist for Carpanti, *suo confessore,* but it seems very probable that they are identical. The Getty canvas shows no signs of having been altered later as one might expect from what Baldinucci said, nor do X-rays reveal anything of interest. But this need not exclude the identification.

Dolci's *Four Evangelists* have now come to reside in different parts of the globe; one is still missing. Even individually, however, they are still able to invoke the spiritual fervor that was Dolci's and demonstrate what his works must have meant to the pious among the Florentines of the mid-seventeenth century.

NOTES

[1]No.69.PA.29, Oil on canvas, 103 x 82 cm. (40½ x 32¼ inches). The dimensions given in earlier publications, such as the 1972 *Catalogue of Paintings,* are erroneous because they include the frame.
[2]No.53, p.50.
[3]February 24–27, 1964, no.314.
[4]M. Newman sale, February 24–27, 1964, no.315.
[5]See note 30.
[6]No.217, 95 x 79 cm.
[7]The inscription is said to read: "A° STS 1671. Giorni avanti e doppo Santissima Pentecoste delineavo per il Serenissimo Granduca di Toscana lo Carlo Dolci."
[8]No.397, 94 x 78 cm.
[9]July 4, 1924, no.140, dimensions 40 x 31 inches, octagons.
[10]*Notizie dei professori del disegno,* ed.1847, v.5, p.341.
[11]See L. Ginori Lisci, *I Palazzi di Firenze,* 1972, v.2, pp.561 and 564.
[12]*Le Bellezze della citta di Firenze,* 1677, p.370.
[13]*Op.cit.,* v.5, p.341.
[14]W. Buchanan, *Catalogue of the Collections of Pictures of Lucien Bonaparte Prince of Canino,* 1815, nos.18 (John), 57 (Mark), 104 (Luke), 144 (Matthew).
[15]See also W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting,* 1824, v.2, pp.272, 275, and 285.
[16]May 16, 1816, nos.154 (Mark) and 155 (Luke), dimensions given as 3 feet 4½ inches x 32 inches, octagonal.
[17]Buchanan, *Memoirs,* 1824, v.2, p.285, 287.
[18]C. J. Nieuwenhuys, *Description de la Galerie des Tableaux da S.M. Le Roi des Pays-Bas,* 1843, no.125. Dimensions given as 37 x 30 pouces, octagon.
[19]August 12/20, 1850, no.153, dimensions given as 102 x 72 cm.
[20]The Witt Library contains an engraving of the painting, cut from a book published probably in the eartly twentieth century, which gives the provenance and the owner but not the title or author of the book itself.
[21]Sotheby's, July 5, 1967, no.18, 41 x 32½ inches.
[22]Nos.77 and 80. See A. Graves, *A Century of Loan Exhibitions,* 1913, v.1, p.290.
[23]Nos.49 and 95. Graves, *idem.*
[24]May 9, 1840, nos.91 (John) and 92 (Matthew).
[25]There is some confusion about the buyer of St. John because in some places it is given as Nieuwenhuys.
[26]G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain,* 1854, v.3, p.197.
[27]August 23, 1859, no.1969, dimensions 2′8″ x 3′4″, octagon.
[28]Nos.25 and 31. Graves, *idem.,* p.291.
[29]Scott bought at the Northwick sale a picture by Lingelbach, *Departure for the Chase,* which may be the same one that reappears in the 1929 Edward Scott sale. In addition, he owned a Rembrandt, *Landscape with a Mill,* (Smith, no.605) which later (1880) belonged to Edward H. Scott, and a version of the Argus and Mercury by Adriaen van de Velde (HdG.22) which also belonged to Edward H. Scott.
[30]In August of 1969, Federico Zeri wrote in a letter the following: "Judging from the type and from the ornaments of the frame, it would seem that this painting did belong, during the early 19th century, to some very important collection formed in Napoleonic times. I would not exclude that it might be engraved in the catalogue of the Gallery of Lucien Bonaparte, or, less probably, in that of the Leuchtenberg Collection." In fact, it is not included in the set of engravings of Bonaparte's collection, and I neglected to follow up the suggestion which I only recently came across once more. His observation has proven to be very astute.

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THE EPITOME OF THE PASTORAL GENRE IN BOUCHER'S OEUVRE: *THE FOUNTAIN OF LOVE* AND *THE BIRD CATCHER* from *THE NOBLE PASTORAL*

Jean-Luc Bordeaux

When, five years ago in 1971, the Louvre Museum devoted two special exhibitions to François Boucher to mark the bicentenary of his death, The J. Paul Getty Museum also paid tribute to this sublimely rococo artist by acquiring two large *Pastorales, La Fontaine d'Amour* and *La Pipée aux Oiseaux,* which count among Boucher's greatest decorative achievements (figs.1 and 5).[1] These paintings must be identified as two of the cartoons for the famous tapestry suite entitled *The Noble Pastoral* or *Les Beaux Pastorales,* which was first woven at Beauvais in 1755 and consisted of six subjects: *The Fountain of Love* (fig.9), *The Flute Player, The Fisherman, The Bird Catchers* (figs.10 and 11), *The Luncheon,* and *The Shepherdess.*[2] The Getty paintings are, to my knowledge, the only surviving cartoons for that series. They are dated 1748 and represent the culminating point of Boucher's genius in the pastoral genre.

Currently, the provenance of the Getty paintings cannot be traced with assurance back earlier than 1860, when they were sold at Christie's.[3] That sale catalogue not only describes them sufficiently to recognize the Getty pictures, but indicates further, "The two following are recently received from Paris.... [They] were painted expressly for the King Louis Quinze in 1748;..." Since that time, these paintings have been traditionally said to come from the royal or Mme de Pompadour's collections, although evidence of that affiliation has not yet been found, either in Mme de Pompadour's inventory or in the *Archives Nationales.* However, since her vast collections were dispersed over a number of years, often without any catalogue, this hypothesis should not be totally eliminated. The cartoons were first reproduced in Pierre de Nolhac's *Boucher* of 1907, in which he erroneously stated that *"les grands morceaux datés de 1749...* [*avaient été*] *récemment acquis par le musée Metropolitan de New York."*[4] In 1908, Haldane Macfall reproduced them as being part of the Paris collection of Charles Wertheimer,[5] who most likely bought them from Wildenstein, since these pastorals were recorded in the latter's possession in 1907 (see Appendix). Eighteen years later, Nolhac made no reference to the Metropolitan's imaginary purchase but gave the first major description and evaluation of the two cartoons although he appears to have been confused about the sequence of the cartoon series:

> *La scène de La Fontaine d'Amour n'a rien de cette ardeur poussée jusqu'à l'angoisse, telle qu'en un jour de passion, sur une toile fameuse, l'a su peindre Fragonard. Boucher n'a jamais mis dans la sensualité de tels élans vers l'infini; elle a plutôt chez lui de la mièvrerie et de la langueur. Le paysage artificiel offre, ça et là, la surprise des réalités charmantes. Ce moulin blond, où l'eau murmure, est celui de Charenton, que tant de fois déjà nous montra l'artiste, et ces arbres en bouquet paraissent bien transcrits de la nature. Mais ce que nous goûtons surtout, c'est la fine galanterie, la douceur de chez nous, l'attifement élégant des jeunes filles, l'insistance tendre des jeunes gens. Près de la fontaine monumentale que soutiennent deux Amours sculptés, un bel adolescent présente à la fillette la coquille toute pleine; et à droite, séparé de ce groupe par des enfants et une chèvre, un Daphnis de village apprend à jouer du pipeau à l'innocente Chloé.*

And further:

> ....*Dans l'esprit de ces grandes compositions (author's reference to the* Italian Village Scenes *of 1736), Boucher peindra le carton de La Pipée aux Oiseaux, qui groupe des couples champêtres aux enlacements aimables, aux airs penchés et rêveurs, aux poses abandonnées. Le cadre semble à peine assez large pour contenir tant de femmes et de gerbes de fleurs. C'est l'été brûlant et blond qui rassemble toutes ces graces au pied de ces arbres étranges, aux branches bleues, non loin du temple de la Sibylle gravement dressé dans l'azur. Les amoureux, les amoureuses, sont assis sur le gazon piqué de fleurettes; tout près d'eux des cages sont ouvertes et, tenus par un fil, sur les doigts, près des lèvres, de petits oiseaux blancs volètent sans paraître éffrayés. Les fillettes sourient, coquetes ou rêveuses; le blanc, le bleu pâli, le rouge vif des jupes et des corsages, font des taches dans la clarté; les jeunes garçons, distraits, audacieux ou moqueurs, partagent le jeu, et parmi eux de tout petits enfants, pareils aux compagnons du dieu malin, gambadent inoccupés. Ce tableau achève l'évocation un peu factice, mais séduisante d'une France rustique idealisée.*[6]

The subsequent provenance of these cartoons is more easily traced and is fully outlined in the Appendix. But perhaps of more interest to this discussion is the history surrounding their creation. When Jean-Baptiste Oudry became director of the Beauvais factory in 1734, he called upon the young Boucher, who had that same year successfully submitted his reception piece *(Rinaldo and Armida)* to the Academy, to help him supply the factory with creative designs which would suit the taste fostered by the literary affinities of the day. During the nineteen years from 1736 to 1755, Mme de Pompadour's favorite produced an astonishing series of tapestry designs which very rapidly established his fame at home and in the European courts. They included his first cartoons entitled *Italian Village Scenes,* a series comprising fourteen subjects first woven in 1736; *The Story of Psyche* of 1741; the *Chinese Hangings* exhibited at the Salon of 1742 and first woven in 1743; *The Loves of the Gods* of 1749; the *Operatic Fragments* of 1752; and finally, his last set

1 François Boucher, *La Fontaine d'Amour.* The J. Paul Getty Museum

2 Detail of fig. 1.

3 Detail of fig. 1.

4 Detail of fig. 1.

5 François Boucher, *La Pipée aux Oiseaux*. The J. Paul Getty Museum

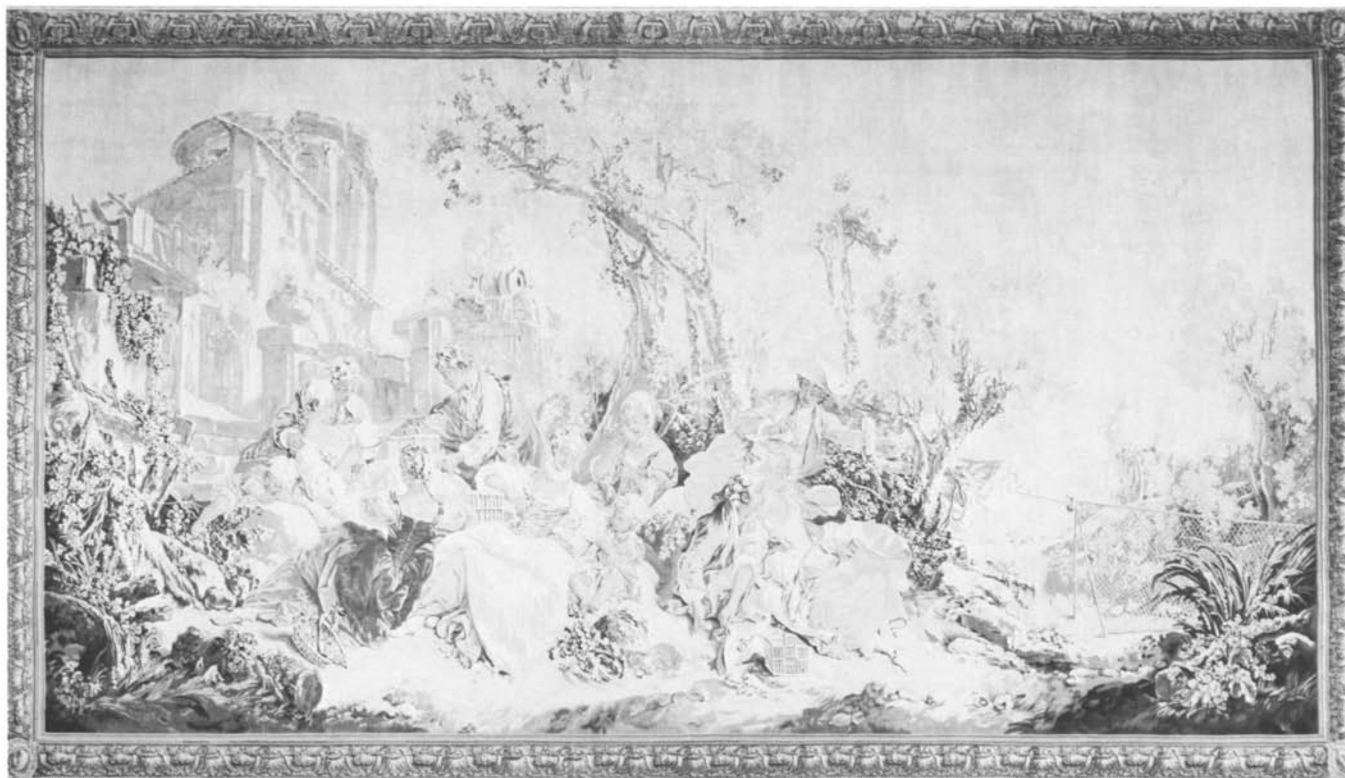
6 Detail of fig. 5.

7 Detail of fig. 5.

8 Detail of fig. 5.

9 *The Fountain of Love,* tapestry. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

10 *The Bird Catchers,* tapestry. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.



11 *The Bird Catchers,* complete tapestry design. Formerly in the collection of Duveen Brothers (from *Les Arts* 18, 1903).

of hangings for Beauvais, *The Noble Pastoral,* first woven in 1755, a date marking the beginning of Boucher's directorship at the Gobelins.[7] Jean Cailleux speaks for everyone when he writes:

C'est dans les Cartons de Tapisserie qu'il peignit pour Beauvais des 1734 et pour les Gobelins jusqu'en 1764, que Boucher révèle tout son génie de décorateur.... Il montre qu'on peut peupler de vastes espaces aussi bien avec des "magots" qu'avec des paysans d'Opéra Comique. Il s'y révèle à la fois comme un admirable inventeur de formes, et comme un organisateur de l'espace égal aux plus grands. Tiepolo ne le surpasse en rien.[8]

In Tiepolo's case, European courts were continuing with the Baroque tradition of illusionistic art on a grand scale and therefore could offer this flamboyant Venetian vast and appropriate settings. But in France, taste had been rapidly changing since Louis XIV's death and the Regency; as a result, one may find side by side the last vestige of the Baroque tradition in François Le Moyne's celebrated *Salon d'Hercule* ceiling at Versailles (painted between 1732 and 1736) and the first major example of Rococo decoration in Boffrand's *Salon Ovale* of the Soubise Palace, the overdoors of which were painted by Natoire in 1737. The new, smaller-scale and more intimate urban architecture and the new style of interior decoration could no longer provide for Boucher and his contemporaries the necessary wall space for those expansive decorations of the immediate past. Consequently, if large tapestries were still being commissioned, they were most likely intended to fit a definite location requiring such dimensions and therefore should be regarded as a survival of Baroque large-scale mural decoration.

Keeping this in mind, the Getty cartoons must have been among the largest done at the time, especially in view of the fact that they must originally have been even larger than they are now. A comparison with most of the tapestries woven after them (figs.9, 10 and 11)[9] suggests that they have both been cut to their present equal dimensions (294.5 x 337.7 cm. or 116 x 133 in.) so that they could function as pendants in a new environment. Both appear to have been cut on the left, and *La Pipée aux Oiseaux* seems also to have lost a portion on the right; examination of the canvases provides further support for this observation. It would at first seem possible that such a reduction could have been effected in 1820 when several large cartoons from the Beauvais factory were cut in bands to be woven in low warp.[10] However, according to Badin's published inventory we are told that the *Pipée* and *Fontaine* cartoons subjected to this operation were cut in eight bands each, which is not the case with the Getty cartoons. They apparently were different cartoons cut for a different purpose.

Thanks to Haldane Macfall, we know of the existence of several cartoon sizes.[11] According to the dimensions of the Getty cartoons and considering their reductions and their quality, we may be in the presence of two originals of medium size which have come down to us truncated for the simple reason that they had been cut to suit certain requested wall dimensions or a patron's fantasy. A letter of August 22, 1829, addressed to the director of the Beauvais factory and signed Vicomte de la Rochefoucauld, *directeur général des Beaux*

12 *The Fountain of Love,* tapestry. National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.

Arts,[12] concedes that those cartoons cut either for technical or decorative reasons be put up for sale, a sale which might be included in the provenance of the Getty cartoons.

It would normally be senseless to try to reconstruct these cartoons in their totality by ferreting around hoping to spot the missing parts. Some of these may have been judged insignificant or worn out, and therefore discarded by the weavers. Other cut bands may have been used either as patchworks to complement another damaged cartoon or may have been reshuffled to form a new "original" Boucher cartoon to be woven after.[13] Some cartoons may have been judged too large and then reduced to fit a certain wall space. This would explain for example the existence of truncated compositions for the *Noble Pastoral* which currently adorn the dining room of Waddesdon Manor in England (fig.12). Cut bands from different cartoons may have also been sewn together in order to make a new plausible and salable composition, so that it might be taken for an original painting by Boucher. This hypothesis is at least confirmed by the presence of a painting entitled *The Billet Doux,* which came up for sale recently at Christie's. This painting is actually made up of two fragments or bands, one of which was most likely severed from the Getty *Fountain of Love,* as we shall see later, while the other belongs to another *Noble Pastoral* cartoon entitled *The Fisherman.*[18]

Unlike that in *La Pipée aux Oiseaux,* the decorative charm of the tapestry of *La Fontaine d'Amour* is enhanced by the lack of insistent focus of interest, so that the self-sufficiency of each group would have enabled anyone to quite easily divide the complete cartoon into separate sections, as indeed is proven by the number of tapestries reproducing only parts of the whole design.[14] A look at the Huntington tapestry (fig.9), which reproduces the whole design in reverse, shows the elaborate fountain seen to the left in the Getty cartoon placed near the center of the composition. On both sides of this monument to Venus, paired adolescents are dressed in the shepherd fashion. One youth (to the left in the tapestry, at right in the cartoon) is about to play the flute as he gazes languidly at his companion,[15] while another youth near the fountain offers a shell full of fresh water to the daintily gowned maiden standing before him, her back toward the viewer in the pose so dear to Watteau. Judging from the tapestry, further toward the left the Getty cartoon must have included a group of two young maidens hesitating over unsealing the love letter one of them has just received and a final group in which a rustic boy is about to interrupt a shepherdess' sleep by tickling her face with a straw, depicting a situation Lancret had already portrayed in *La Taquine*[16] with the roles reversed. Most likely reminiscing of Rubens' *Garden of Love,* Boucher has here clearly pictured four different approaches to courtship, two of which were later reinterpreted with some modifications when they were commissioned independently by Mme. de Pompadour for Bellevue in 1750 (figs.13, 14, 15 and 16).[17]

As we have suggested earlier, it is possible to identify one of the missing portions of the Getty *Fontaine d'Amour* featuring *Les Deux Confidentes* as the fragment (fig.17)[18] joined to a section of another cartoon from the *Noble Pastoral* suite, which as a separate composition is entitled *The Fisherman.* Running down near the center of that painting, a vertical seam is clearly visible, as is an added band of canvas at the top and bottom of the picture, therefore explaining the difference in height between the Getty cartoons and the Boucher hybrid. Despite the alterations that would be necessary for such a marriage, the group of the two maidens does not show any trace of major restoration (as far as is revealed by a photograph); but the fountain fragment matches the other portion in the Getty cartoon, and the dresses, one blue, the other lilac shot with yellow, are very much in tune with the Getty cartoon color harmony.

A reduction is also confirmed by the present state of the *Pipée* composition. In the cartoon, the young man to the left is seen holding a truncated fragment of a rope which in the tapestry visibly operates a bird net snare. Also, the child on the right holds a string which in the tapestry is seen attached to a bird flying further to the right. But these two missing elements could not stand alone and were probably discarded.

The pastoral genre in which Boucher excelled delighted his patrons. His paintings of amorous outdoor games played by shepherds and shepherdesses, all dressed in silk in the latest fashions, answered the contemporary nostalgia for nature and excluded coarser reality. These pastorals were a unique mixture of refinement, elegant and covert eroticism, and were characteristic of the way the pastoral world and the world of society became indistinguishable. Giorgione and Titian had already sung admirably such *bergeries galantes* where all trace of rusticity has disappeared, but in Boucher mythological allusion has been completely eliminated. *La Fontaine* and *La Pipée* have almost acquired the condition of being some kind of conversation pieces *en plein air,* a counterpart of Jean-François de Troy's *tableaux de mode.*

Boucher certainly owed his taste for pastorals to a contemporary rage for countryside games such as fishing and catching birds, and for pastoral poetry and plays. For example, *Les Amours Pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé* appeared for the first time in French in 1718 and became the favorite book of fashionable society. The prolific Florent Carton, called sieur Dancourt (1661–1725), wrote a long list of bucolic plays such as the famous *Foire de Besons* or *Les Trois Cousines* that gave Watteau the idea of painting his *Embarkation from Cythera.* Before reaching a culminating point in Marivaux's and Beaumarchais' theater, pastoral poetry had had a long tradition that could be traced back to Astrée's *Urfé* or the writings of Madeleine de Scudéry in France, and further back to Tasso's *Aminta,* translated into French by Pecquet in 1734 (inspiring Boucher for a beautiful series of paintings in 1756; see Musée de Tours), to Petrarch's *Bucolica,* Virgil's *Eclogues*

13 François Boucher, *The Love Letter.* National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Timken Collection.

14 François Boucher, *The Interrupted Sleep.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jules S. Bache Collection, 1949.

and finally to Theocritus.[19] Every well-educated Parisian lady knew that King Anchises' heart had been conquered by a shepherdess, and by putting on the dress of shepherdess a lady was declaring her disposition for love.

Since Boucher's decorative talent and poetry are more accessible to all than is Watteau's intimate knowledge of human psychology, little attempt has been made to interpret Boucher's pictorial language and choice of themes. Especially a study of his large scale compositions should show in some cases that Boucher's decorative genius is not only the result of painstaking research but also of a nature well observed. In *La Fontaine,* for example, we have already suggested the painter's debt to Rubens and Watteau, it is a kind of *Progress of Love* theme which Fragonard will illustrate later with more inventiveness, brio and lyrical buoyancy. But in *La Pipée,* we have the true measure of Boucher's talent. The theme of bird catching, prevailing in Boucher's oeuvre, is not new in itself; it became, however, a favorite pastime of the eighteenth-century high society, and books such as Louis Liger's *Amusements de la Campagne*... of 1709 were published on the various techniques of catching birds. In the seventeenth century most bird catching scenes characterize a season, but will take on various meanings throughout the eighteenth century. A *Chasse aux Oiseaux* painted by Watteau in 1707 simply depicts a playful human activity in the countryside. Once the bird is caught and caged, the theme is then manipulated to illustrate love under all its forms. It can reflect a longing for love such as in Jean Raoux' girl with a bird held by a string painted in 1717 (Ringling Museum of Art); it can be mischievous as in Boucher's *L'Amour Oiseleur* of 1736, or playful as in Hogarth's *The Graham Children* (1747; Tate Gallery), or again symbolize innocence in Lancret's *Innocence* (1743; Louvre). It can of course be all of that and even more such as in *La Pipée.* Toward the end of the eighteenth century the same theme will reach melodramatic and moralistic proportions in J. M. Vien's *L'Amour Fuyant l'Esclavage* (Salon of 1789; Musée de Toulouse) where a putto has been substituted for a bird, and in Greuze's *L'Oiseau Mort* (Salon of 1800; Louvre, fig. 18).

Engraved reproductions of eighteenth century pastorals often carried a small poem interpreting the sentiments evoked in the painting, and in the case of Caylus' engraving after Watteau's *Chasse aux Oiseaux* and the engraving published by the *Mercure* of 1736 after Lancret's *Les Amours du Bocage,* the poems could as well suit the Getty *Pipée aux Oiseaux:*

Comme ayant posé ses gluaux
L'oiseleur par un faux ramage
attire les petits oiseaux,
s'en saisit et les met en cage.

Ainsi l'amour ce dangereux enfant
De ses plaisirs rend notre âme occupée

15 *Les Deux Confidentes,* engraving by J. Ouvrier after Boucher's painting in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see fig. 6). Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Cliché Musées Nationaux.

Et par un espoir décevant
Il prend les coeurs a la pipée. (*Watteau*)

Que cet heureux oiseau, que votre main caresse,
est bien récompensé de sa captivité!
le berger qui vous sert avec tant de tendresse
est moins libre et moins bien traité.[20] (*Lancret*)

All those shepherds and shepherdesses blissfully dwelling in a perpetual springtime amid the beauties and virtues of nature illustrate the dream paradise of that period of which Arno Schönberger's explanation is highly revealing:

> Pastoral poetry, the literary expression of the "back to nature" impulse has always been especially popular during the periods when people were most keenly aware of the contrast between over-refined and structured town life.[21]

This is of course the reason why in painting the pastoral genre became so predominant a theme in Boucher's oeuvre. The more specific subject of catching birds or of playing with them once they have been caged prevails in a great number of his paintings and is highlighted by such works as one of the four canvasses praising the charms of rural life commissioned by Louis XV for Fontainebleau (Salon of 1737),[22] the Louvre's *Nest* of 1749, and *l'Appeau* of around 1763. In the *Pipée,* the birds remain either captive in cages or are set half free. When the bird remains captive and is given to a lady, it means that the lover is totally submissive to her caprice, when the bird is set free with a string attached to its leg, it signifies that the lady accepts the amorous fetter—perfectly symbolizing the well-known French expression "avoir un fil à la patte."[23] In the light of that, one cannot help thinking of Nicolas Lancret's *Spring and l'Innocence* (figs. 19,20),[24] the first mentioned being one of the four seasons commissioned by Louis XV for the Château de la Muette in 1738. Both paintings by Lancret should be regarded as possible sources for the Getty *Pipée.* In *Spring,* a group of gentlemen and ladies in ambush has been placed to the extreme right, leaving the other half of the painting to a delicately depicted landscape populated by multicolored birds treated in a manner close to that of Jan Brueghel. While Boucher's *La Pipée* is more monumentally decorative, more explicit and richer in colors, *Spring* is more discreet and closer in essence to Watteau's idyllic poetry.

16 *The Interrupted Sleep,* engraving by Huquier after Boucher. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elish Whittelsey Fund, 1949.

Boucher's *Noble Pastoral* is undoubtedly his most attractive and overwhelming series of pastorals; it alludes so successfully to the Arcadian, idyllic and flirtatious spirit of Louis XV's reign. Seen in its totality, the *Noble Pastoral* tapestry was very popular: the designs were woven eleven times, among which fives series of five tapestries were commissioned by the king himself (in 1755, 1758, 1762 and 1778). In addition, parts of their designs were often repeated with variations by Boucher himself, as already mentioned (see

17 François Boucher, right portion of the Robinson painting, possibly once attached to the Getty cartoon (photo from Alexandre Ananoff).

18 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *L'oiseau Mort.* Paris, Louvre.

19 Nicolas Lancret, *Spring.* Musée du Louvre, Cliché Musées Nationaux.

20 Nicolas Lancret, *Innocence.* Musée du Louvre, Cliché Musées Nationaux.

21 *Les Amants Surpris dans les Blés,* engraving by Huquier after Boucher. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Whittelsey Fund, 1949.

note 17) and as is also evident in *Les Amants surpris dans les blés,* exhibited at the Salon of 1750 (fig.21).[25] The execution of the cartoons for this series belongs to a year which was marked politically by the peace treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle signed in 1748, forcing *Le Bien-Aimé,* as Louis XV was commonly called by the French people, into a diplomatic semi-retirement that reactivated his chronic boredom. And this was exactly the moment when the Marquise de Pompadour established her sovereignty over the king, state affairs and the arts—making and unmaking ministers, and above all commissioning or supervising the major artistic achievements of the day. To entertain her royal lover she again called upon her favorite painter, Boucher, to help her redecorate the king's most cherished country estates: Fontainebleau, La Muette, Choisy and, of course, Bellevue. She also relied on Boucher to do the sets for the private theatricals in which she was so fond of performing before the king and the courtiers. The rococo master then left the Paris Opera in 1748 as its set designer, a position he had held since 1742, to go the private theater his patroness had recently installed in the *Petits Appartements* in Versailles.[26]

It is here perhaps that one should find one of the secrets of Boucher's style; for his activities in the theater, in addition to his work for Beauvais, impelled him toward a decorative fantasy shaped by the rhythms of stage architecture and by women's fashions. Both Getty tapestry designs seem to have been conceived in the spirit of a theatrical decor for pastorals in which the various groups are distributed along a single plane. *La Fontaine d'Amour* is set in the picturesque surroundings of the mill of Charenton-Le-Pont near Beauvais, where Boucher, following the example of his friend Oudry, had often taken nature and this particular mill as the sole theme of his sketches and paintings, for example *The Mill at Charenton* painted in 1758 (fig.22).[27] However, plain and unidealized nature did not suffice Boucher, who felt compelled to add an elaborate and imaginary fountain in which the

22 François Boucher, *The Mill at Charenton.* The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, gift of Edward Drummond Libbey.

water cascades out of an urn down to a large, scalloped shell held by two cupids. Similarly, he added an Italian ruin to the background of *Pipée.*

As a decorator Boucher exercised his talents in a wide variety of fields. and it is quite wrong to refer to him as a mere specialist of erotic themes. The vision of the Arcadian world seen in the Getty pastorals not only supports the above assertion but also proves most agreeably that sensuality does not need to be expressed only in terms of nicely shaped torsos, inviting thighs and pearly flesh tints, but comes alive as well in terms of an overall mood of voluptuousness characterized by glances *à double entente* and nonchalant attitudes rich in seductive power. *La Pipée aux Oiseaux* and *La Fontaine d'Amour* unquestionably attest to that and must also be counted among the most brilliant tapestry designs the rococo master conceived throughout his career. In both of them, and above all in the *Pipée,* one finds a wealth of component elements: the rhythmic grouping and cunning combination of figures wafted across the canvas, and the bright and cheerful colors emphasizing the picturesque quality of the decor.

When, returning to England from Italy, Reynolds visited Boucher in Paris in the early 1750's, he claimed to have been appalled by the rococo master's technique of working directly from memory. Of course, Reynolds was overlooking the fact that Boucher had spent long hours during his formative years engraving after various masters and studying the human figure in all its aspects, thus creating types which he repeated with variations throughout his career. In so doing he could keep his mind free to concentrate on the general arrangement of the picture. In the case of the Getty tapestry designs, however, Boucher's creative process was contrary to Reynolds' observation, because both paintings were preceded by a great number of preliminary drawings (figs. 23–31) in which figures and details are studied separately.[28] But Boucher's sketches after nature or studies from the model are always transposed to some extent in the painting so that reality and illusion become indivisible as they do in the theater. On the pictorial plane, the landscape is made unreal (a kind of *capriccio*) by the juxtaposition of landscape reminiscences from his Italian trip, such as the Italianate architectural background (the Temple of Vesta) of *La Pipée aux Oiseaux,* with the picturesque elements of the French countryside, and by the use of tonalities dictated only by the imagination and the requirements of the color scheme: hence the combinations of blue-green trees and gleaming water, opalescent shell pinks, oyster greys and warm variegated reds and yellows, all set against an ultramarine sky crisscrossed by ethereal red-tinted clouds announcing dusk. Since the *Italian Village Scenes,* his style had changed greatly: his tones were subtler, his compositions less obvious and his shadows much more luminous. Especially in *La Pipée aux Oiseaux,* one is faced with an increasing mastery of design in which action and theme are subordinated to the decorative intention of depicting the atmosphere of Arcadian romance in eighteenth-century France, an atmosphere revealing that rococo eroticism is "*essentiellement epidermique et spirituel,*"[29] and not generous and exuberant as it is in Rubens.

Even though Boucher may have been occasionally carried away when he painted his cartoons in colors that were intended to approximate those of the silk threads which were to be woven, one sure thing is that the Getty cartoons represent one of the highest moments in Boucher's decorative genius, indeed comparable to *Sunrise* and *Sunset* (1753, The Wallace Collection) and to the Kimbell Art Museum *Allegory of Fire* (four canvasses dated 1769).[30] Not only do the *Fountain of Love* and the *Pipée aux Oiseaux* represent an inexhaustible source from which Boucher will endlessly borrow until his death, but they also mark a culminating point in the history of the pastoral genre and indicate further that Boucher should be counted among the foremost landscape painters of the eighteenth century. The treatment of the trees and sky in the *Fountain of Love* had already been anticipated in earlier works such as the Caen *Pastoral* or the 1743 *Evening Landscape* (Bernard Castle, Bowes Museum). In those we discover the very same atmospheric qualities which Fragonard will later develop in a more lyrical vein in his *Progress of Love* series or in the *Fête à Saint-Cloud.*[31]

APPENDIX

La Fontaine d'Amour
Oil on canvas, 294.5 x 337.7 cm. (116 x 133 in.).
Signed on the log, lower center: F. Boucher 1748
Provenance: Possibly in the property of the Beauvais factory until its sale of cartoons in 1829; in Paris in 1860; sold anonymously along with the collection of Rev. Samuel Colby, Christie's, London, June 30, 1860, no. 25, with its pendant no. 24;[1] to Wildenstein, Paris (*ca.* 1907); to Charles Wertheimer, Paris, 1908; Lord Tweedmouth, Brook House, London; Lord Michelham, and later Lady Michelham; sale "Hampton & Sons," London, Nov. 23, 1926, no. 286 and its pendant no. 287; purchased by Capt. Jefferson Cohen for 45,000 Gns; to Mrs. Anna Thompson Dodge, Detroit, until 1971 (sold Christie's, London, June 25, 1971, no. 4 and its pendant no. 5); purchased by the Getty Museum (acc. no. A71. P-37).

La Pipée aux Oiseaux
Oil on canvas, 294.5 x 337.7 cm. (116 x 133 in.).
Signed lower right: F. Boucher 1748
Provenance: same as preceding (acc. no. A71.P-38).

[1]According to the records of the Wildenstein gallery in Paris. André Michel (*F. Boucher,* Paris, 1889, p. 75) was the first to refer to the Sir Culling Eardley London sale in which these two paintings were supposedly listed. This traditional affiliation must be discarded, for there is no proof of such a provenance in Christie's files.

23 François Boucher, study for *La Fontaine d'Amour.* Collection J. P. S. . . . , Paris.

24 François Boucher, study for *La Pipée aux Oiseaux.* Private collection, London.

25 François Boucher, study for *La Pipée aux Oiseaux.* Private collection, Paris.

26 François Boucher, study for *La Fontaine d'Amour.* Collection J.P. S. . . . , Paris.

27 François Boucher, analogy to fig. 26. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

28 François Boucher, study for *La Pipée aux Oiseaux.* Private collection, Paris.

29 François Boucher, study for *La Pipée aux Oiseaux.* Collection Georges Blumenthal, Paris.

30 François Boucher, study for *La Pipée aux Oiseaux.* Hermitage, Leningrad.

31 François Boucher, study for *La Pipée aux Oiseaux*. Private collection, Netherlands.

NOTES

[1]Christie's, June 25, 1971, nos.4–5. Detailed catalogue entries for these two paintings are in the Appendix. In addition to these the Getty Museum also purchased two Ovidian subjects dated 1769: *Venus Crowned by Cupids* and *Venus and Adonis* (Palais Galliera, Nov. 25, 1971, nos.10–11).

[2]*Cf.* Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisseries de Beauvais,* Paris, 1909, opposite p.72.

[3]June 30, 1860, nos.24–25. These two paintings were sold anonymously along with the collection of Rev. Samuel Colby. Since Christie's old files were lost during the war, no correspondence can be found which might have revealed the names of the previous owners of the pictures in France before 1860. In the margin of the 1860 catalogue consulted at Christie's, prices are given in manuscript notes: £630 for one and £682.10 for the other, as well as a name difficult to decipher, which appears to be *Dulin.,* and *via Bodancy* or *Bordeaux.*

[4]Pierre de Nolhac, *Boucher,* Paris, 1907, pp.62–64.

[5]Haldane Macfall, *Boucher,* London, 1908, pp.90–91.

[6]Pierre de Nolhac, *Boucher,* Paris, 1925, pp.63–65.

[7]Some time after Oudry's death, Boucher was appointed Inspector of the Gobelins (June 21, 1755), an appointment highly wished for by the Gobelins master weavers who were very envious of Beauvais's deserved success and of Boucher's liberal attitude in relation to the factory technicians. See A. L. Lacordaire, *Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Imperiales de Tapisseries des Gobelins et de Tapis de la Savonnerie,* Paris, 1853, pp.96–97. Several hangings from the series mentioned above have been for many years in The J. Paul Getty Museum, which has one of the major tapestry collections after Boucher in America. Recently another set of tapestries after Boucher, this time from the Gobelins, was acquired. This is the well-known series of *The Gods* which was presented as a gift by Louis XVI to the future Czar Paul I for the Palace of Pavlovsk near Leningrad. *Cf.* Madeleine Jarry, "The Wealth of Boucher Tapestries in American Museums," *Antiques,* August 1972, pp.222–226.

[8]*François Boucher,* Gallerie Cailleux, May–June 1964. *Cf.* also Nolhac, *Boucher,* 1925, p.60.

[9]I have not been able to find the present location of the complete *Pipée aux Oiseaux* reproduced by Badin (see note 2). This tapestry includes an extra group of two young boys—probably playing the role of ambushed bird callers. It is also reproduced, along with the four others from the series, in *Les Arts* 18, June 1903, p.13, as belonging to the Duveen Brothers collection, London. For further details regarding *The Noble Pastoral* tapestry suite, see Maurice Block, *François Boucher and the Beauvais Tapestries,* Boston, 1933; and Robert Wark, *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection,* San Marino, 1961, pp.68–69.

[10]Badin, *Manufacture...Beauvais* p.105:

MODELES EXISTANT EN 1820
portés sur l'Inventaire
(Toutes ces peintures ont été coupées en bandes pour être placées sous la chaîne et être exécutées en basse-lisse).
TABLEAUX PAR BOUCHER

Tentures Pastorales

La Chasse aux oiseaux	*en 8 bandes*
La Fontaine d'Amour	*en 8 bandes*

[11]Macfall, *Boucher,* p.52: "By a rule of the previous year 1747, a scale of fees had been set up, as regards pictures designed for tapestries. The 'originals in little,' by the Academicians, and the enlarged copies *grandes copies)* wrought by their own hand or so much worked upon by them as to be avowed by them as theirs, were to be paid for together, according to size:

Large size, 22 to 18 feet, original and copy—6,000 livres; Medium size, 17 to 13 feet, original and copy—5,000 livres; Small size, 12 to 9 feet, original and copy—4,000 livres.

The large copies were to serve as the model for the weavers; and the easel picture was at first to remain under the eye of the '*tapissier en chef,*' who would thus always have before him the general effect of the piece to be woven."

[12]"*J'ai l'honneur Monsieur le Marquis (le Marquis d'Ourches, administrateur de la manufacture), de vous annoncer que les tableaux coupés par bandes, dont il a été question dans votre lettre du 10 juillet dernier et dont vous avez demandé d'être autorisé à vous débarrasser, ont été jugés avoir assez de valeur pour pouvoir être vendus au profit de la Caisse de vétérans et qu'en conséquence cette destination leur e été assignée,...*

Vicomte de la Rochefoucauld, directeur general des Beaux-Arts."

[13]In *La Pipée* a large rectangular section of the canvas, which includes most of the trees, is found to be a later insert. This section covers an area from the top of the canvas to just above the head of the left, and from near the left edge of the canvas to and including the large decorative vase in the center. The reason for this insert is not obvious, but it could very well be that this part of the cartoon had been either damaged and cut out or perhaps taken out by the weavers to adorn another cartoon. In any case, the replaced section seems to be old but was not executed as skillfully as the remainder. When this cartoon is compared to the tapestry in the Huntington, one sees that the vase, which is too large and too severe, has taken the place of a much more appropriate decorative motif: an urn carried by two cupids. Figs.32–33 show photographs of both cartoons with indications of where they have been cut and which parts are later additions. This information was first obtained from John Brealey, who relined and restored both paintings between 1971 and 1974. There are a large number of vertical cuts and folds in the canvasses, but those indicated here are the most prominent.

32 François Boucher, *La Fontaine d'Amour.* The J. Paul Getty Museum, showing where the cartoon has been cut and the extent of the addition on the right side.

33 François Boucher, *La Pipée aux Oiseaux*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, showing the vertical cuts in the canvas and the large section at the top which has been replaced.

[14]Reproduced in *Les Arts* 18, June 1903, pp.15–16.
[15]It is a theme for which Boucher had a predilection; he exhibited a similar subject at the Salon of 1748, which he repeated again for the Salon of 1750. The latter was engraved by Gaillard under the title of *L'Agréable Leçon* (in it a fountain bears the inscription *Fontaine De La Verité,* implying that love is the only truth). The design for these fountains can be traced back to Boucher's *Livre des Fontaines,* edited by Huquier in 1736.
[16]Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret,* Paris, 1924, pl.135.
[17]Charles Sterling, *Catalogue of French Paintings,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1955, acc. no. 49.7.47, p.34 (published as *The Interrupted Sleep); European Paintings and Sculpture, Illustrations,* National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 1968, no.1555, p.10 (published as *The Love Letter;* from the Timken Collection, 1959). The National Gallery, London, possesses a school piece after Boucher's *Les Deux Confidentes,* although it is signed and dated 1754 (see Martin Davies, *French School,* National Gallery Catalogues, London, 1957, p.18, no.4080, as *The Billet-Doux*). Two copies after the same composition are in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (acc. no. A6552.56.10) and in the possession of Mrs Merriweather Post, Washington, D.C., formerly in the collection of Lady Stanley Errington (per Frick Library file). Davies *(French School)* lists other school repetitions and variations. As one of three decorative panels, *Les Deux Confidentes* was also executed in *camaieu rose (Les Arts* 147, March 1914, p.2; sold at Palais Galliera, Dec. 4, 1968, no.10, and now in the Getty Museum). In addition, *The Interrupted Sleep* (also sometimes called *Le Brin de Paille*) was engraved by Huquier, and *Les Deux Confidentes* by Ouvrier (see Huquier, *Troisième Livre des Sujets et Pastorales,* pls. 3 and 4).
[18]This painting was first reproduced in Macfall, *Boucher,* p.119, as one of four decorative panels from Sir Joseph B. Robinson's collection. Another panel from the Robinson collection entitled *Evening* is a replica of the Metropolitan's *Interrupted Sleep,* which in turn could also include original fragments from the cartoon. Recently the Robinson painting featuring *Les Deux Confidentes* and a fragment from *The Fisherman* came up for sale under the title *Le Billet Doux* (Christie's, July 7, 1972, no.9).
[19]Cf. Thomas Putney, *A Full Inquiry into the Nature of Pastoral,* first published in 1717; 2nd ed., Los Angeles, 1948.
[20]Wildenstein, *Lancret,* no.455, fig.111, For Watteau's *Chasse aux Oiseaux,* see *Revue de l'Art,* LXI, 1932, p.71.
[21]Arno Schönberger and Halldor Soehner, *The Rococo Age,* New York, 1960, p.83. In addition to Schönberger's general explanation of the pastoral and its origins, one should be reminded of the more specific attempt at defining Boucher's pastorals by Jules and Edmont de Goncourt, *L'Art du dix-huitième siècle,* 3ed, Paris, 1882, pp.212–214.
[22]Nolhac (Boucher, 1925, pp.54–55) describes it as follows: *Une femme coiffée d'un chapeau de paille, un enfant sur ses genoux, des pêches et du raisin dans un panier, un jeune homme derrière un arbre s'amusant à prendre des oiseaux aux filets, sur un fond de paysage, beaucoup de plantes et d'herbages.* This painting is currently lost. This particular theme was also later interpreted in a painting by Jean Honoré Fragonard (see *Three Centuries of French Art,* exhibition at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1973, pp.72–73, no.14) and in a famous Beauvais tapestry by Jean Baptiste Le Prince (see *Le Grand Livre de la Tapisserie,* Paris, 1965, p.121). In some cases, Boucher also realized the theme in a very realistic vein with no allegory or allusion implied, such as is seen in *Le Trébuchet,* engraved by Aveline after Boucher (Michel, *Boucher,* p.99).
[23]J. B. Huet is known to have painted small galant subjects which he titled *Love Cage* or *Captive Bird.* He offered them as presents to the lady to whom he wanted to be enslaved (cf. Huet file at the Witt Library, London).
[24]Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret,* Paris, 1924, p.57 and pl.10; a version of *Spring* is in the Wallace Collection, cat. no.P436. A related subject engraved after Boucher by J. F. Beauvarlet is reproduced in Macfall, *Boucher,* p.98.
[25]Pl.5 in Huquier's *Troisième Livre de Sujets et Pastorales* (cf. André Michel, *F. Boucher,* Paris, 1889, p.76). The couple shown here is the same as that on the left of *La Pipée.*
[26]He was also currently working for the *Opéra Comique* and for the more vaudevillian theater of the Foire Saint-Laurent. Michel *(Boucher,* p.48) writes: *Au salon de 1742, il expose "un paysage* (today in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens) *... représentant le Hameau d'Issé, destiné à être exécuté en grand pour l'Opéra...."* The heroic pastoral *Issé* had been made popular in France by A. Houdard de la Mothe and the opera of Destouches. In 1749 the king commissioned Boucher to interpret *Issé* for the Versailles theater: the result was *Apollo Revealing his Divinity to the Shepherdess Issé* (see Boris Lossky, *Musée des Beaux Arts de Tours,* Paris, 1962,
[27]The Toledo Museum of Art (acc. no.54.18). An identical mill had been engraved by Le Bas in 1747 after a painting of 1739 by Boucher. In the field of landscape painting, Boucher is genuinely original, a fact which is constantly overlooked. *La Forêt* and its pendant *Le Moulin* (both dated 1740, the first at the Louvre and the second in the Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City), *Paysage avec un Moulin* (Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, dated 1750) and another *Moulin* (Louvre, dated 1751, are good examples of his technique, first drawing directly after nature and later transposing it boldly without, however, weakening its mysterious appeal. Cf. Michel, *Boucher,* p.47.
[28]Four drawings (all on blue paper, signed and dated 1748, and bearing the collector's mark of the Marquis de Chennevières) are most interesting since they seem to belong to a long series

of studies: they bear in their upper right corners the markings *"ettude 2," "ettude 5," "ettude 6,"* and *"ettude 7."* The *"ettude 2,"* was not used and looks almost like a profile view of *"ettude 6"* (both were listed in the Paulme sale of May 23, 1929). There exists a related drawing (signed "Boucher 1752") to *"ettude 6"* in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (inv. 1228). Two drawings exist for the woman seated in the center of *La Pipée;* one of them is reproduced here, but both of them have been reproduced in A. Ananoff, *L'oeuvre dessiné de François Boucher,* Paris, 1966, I, figs. 33–34. The drawing for the young man about to activate the bird snare belonged in 1964 to the Galerie Cailleux; a young shepherdess sitting on the right and seen from the back was also catalogued in the same exhibition (no. 44). The Hermitage drawing showing a young adolescent holding a cage was first published in the catalogue of an exhibition held in Leningrad: *François Boucher. Paintings, Drawings and Decorative Arts,* Hermitage, Leningrad, 1970, no. 92. That drawing includes also the sketch for the young boy's head at the extreme right of the Getty cartoon. There is also in the Hermitage a first thought for the Charenton mill (inv. 18892). A very outstanding and finished drawing for one of the figures in *La Pipée* was recently in the possession of the Schab Gallery, New York.

[29]J. Philippe Minguet, *Esthétique du Rococo,* Paris, 1966, p. 220.

[30]*Cf.* Maurice Block, *François Boucher and the Beauvais Tapestries,* Boston, 1933, p. 15 and 18. See also J. and Ed. de Goncourt, *L'art du dix-huitième siècle,* p. 239, who wrote: *"Boucher a été égaré et perdu ainsi que toute son école par les tentations et exigences d'un art industriel...."* And further, *A mesure que Boucher peint pour les ouvriers de Cozette et Audran, sa peinture se charge de tons faux, sa couleur pâlit et papillote en même temps... Boucher noie ses tons dans le délayage et l'affadissement."*

[31]The writing of this article would not have been possible without the gracious help given to me by Mr. Alexandre Ananoff, who has just completed a long overdue *catalogue raisonné* of Boucher's paintings.

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RECENT GIFTS OF PAINTINGS

Burton Fredericksen

Few people realize that The J. Paul Getty Museum receives gifts of works of art from donors other than its founder, but in fact the Museum has been given a large number of antiquities and a sizeable group of paintings over the course of recent years. This article is meant to document some of the more interesting of the paintings; only one of them appears in the most recent edition of our catalogue (1972), and though a few have been published before, in most cases students in the field do not know of their present whereabouts. Moreover, a number of them are not on continuous exhibition and serve either as part of the study collection or in special installations, such as the period rooms of French decorative arts.

MARCO DAL PINO, CRUCIFIXION

The earliest of these gifts are Italian pictures, all of them from either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The largest and also one of the best is the *Crucifixion* by Marco dal Pino (fig. 1) which was a gift of Mr. Alfred Karlsen, a longtime friend of the Museum.[1] This picture, which is on a heavy panel but which remains in good condition, has been previously published by Federico Zeri in 1957[2] in his study on Scipione Pulzone and the Counter-Reformation, and again by Evelina Borea in her lengthy article on Marco dal Pino published in 1962.[3] The picture has already, therefore, been recognized as both a key work by the artist and also an excellent example of the late manneristic style in southern Italy.

Zeri's description of the picture is worth repeating:

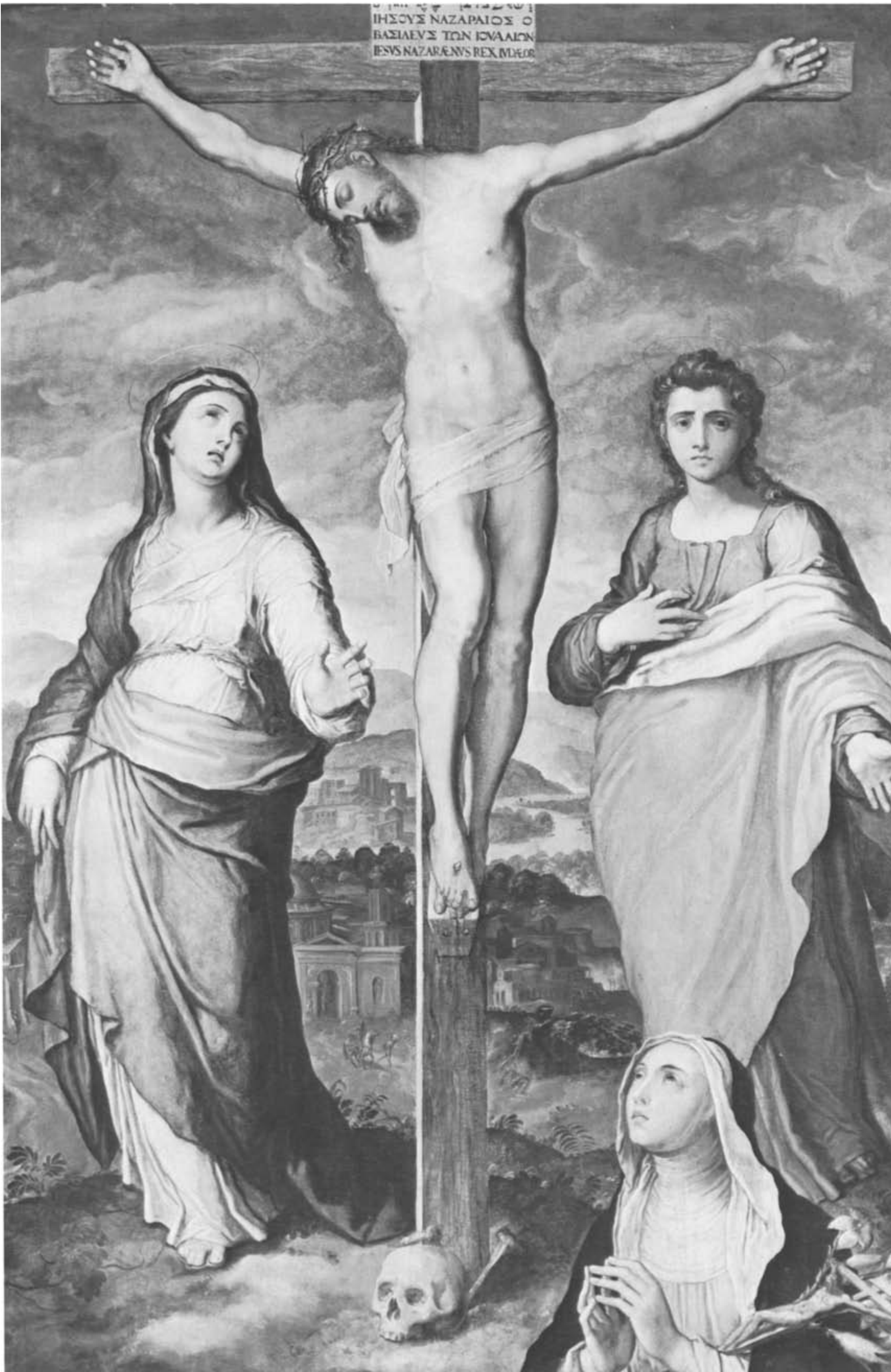
> Much further down the road of mystic irrationality are the ways in which Marco da Siena sometimes expresses himself; and among the many of his works which illustrate this point I would choose the "Saint Catherine in ecstasy before the Crucifixion." Here the excesses of the Renaissance world are final and irremedial. The saint is gazing at something quite specific, the drama on Golgotha; but the latter, instead of being an element subordinate to the saint, becomes the principal theme of the composition, and, following a process completely contrary to the first rules of logic, is placed on a level completely removed from the glance of the visionary, who nonetheless sees it, and is caught up in passionate contemplation of it. The primary figure of the scene is thereby relegated (by a complete subversion of rational perspective) to a secondary place, and becomes, finally, a marginal factor, a mere point of departure. In this fashion, for reasons both unforeseeable and in reaction to all rules or canons, the principal laws of figurative tradition are seen to crumble—the same tradition that is in any case the source of the Christ and the Virgin in this same panel, both rigorously thought out, and simplified according to a prototype of the classical period: fragments, therefore, of a wreck which assume a bad flavor and are dispersed among the waves of a "plural" space, much closer to the reliefs of the Colonna Antonina, to the sarcophagus of St. Helen, or to the spacial projections of gothic tapestries and miniatures than to the dazzling lucidity of the "Disputa" or the "School of Athens."

In this manner Zeri, using the panel by Marco dal Pino, typified the late mannerist style as practiced by artists in southern Italy, the eventual birthplace of the baroque style of the Counter-Reformation. Marco dal Pino was one of the most prominent examples of the many artists whose style was based upon that of Michelangelo and Raphael but who came to adopt a more "mystical" overtone that altered his compositions and figures in a way that seems to hark back to the medieval period. Besides the aspects mentioned by Zeri, one might point out the figure of Christ, which, in spite of its Michelangesque character, is arched and almost schematic in a way comparable to a painted crucifixion by Cimabue or some other late medieval artist. All of this indicates the increasing religiosity of the time.

Evelina Borea is the only scholar to have treated Marco's paintings at any appreciable length. She was the first to suggest that his work was of more importance than commonly thought and that he was, altogether, an interesting figure among the many artists, both Italian and foreign (Spanish and Flemish) that were active in southern Italy at that time. Voss long ago called Marco the most influential artist of the Michelangesque tradition in southern Italy.[4] One cannot deny that he was somewhat repetitious—some of his figures and their gestures occur over and over again; there is also a distressing sameness about all of his figures. They have an academic quality about them that dictates their proportions, and the faces hardly ever change, making it, incidentally, difficult to date his pictures accurately. But his best paintings are still impressive; they are most successful when there are many elements to juggle about, and he seems to rise to the challenge of complexity. His paintings are most boring when the composition is simple, with only a few figures.

The *Crucifixion* is not as ambitious as Marco's major projects, all of them done for churches. It is, however, one of his most important pictures to have left Italy.[5] Miss Borea dates it in the mid to late 1570's, approximately at the time Marco did a *Crucifixion* for the church of SS. Severino e Sossio in Naples which was executed in 1577. There are many parallels with other works in Naples where Marco was active throughout the decade. The last record of him is in 1579, and he died sometime after that, though the exact place and date are still unknown. The Getty *Crucifixion* can therefore be considered one of his last works, contemporary with a number of his acknowledged masterpieces.

1 Marco dal Pino, *Crucifixion.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of Alfred Karlsen.



GIROLAMO DA CARPI, HOLY FAMILY

Somewhat earlier in date and more modest in size is a *Holy Family* (fig.2) published here for the first time and attributed to Girolamo da Carpi (1501–1556).[7] This panel, which has unfortunately suffered considerable damage due to blistering and excessive cleaning, passed through a recent sale at Christie's as by "Parmigianino" by which was meant a member of his school or a follower.[8] It was identified as the work of Girolamo by the present author.

The value of the new panel lies in the rarity of works by this artist. He was brought up in the tradition of Garofalo and Dosso Dossi, and though he might be said to have been a more interesting artist than the former, he rarely generates the fascination of the latter. His later work shows the influence of Parmigianino and at times there is a similarity to the young Niccolò dell'Abbate, but he cannot be put into the same class with these two artists. The lack of documented pictures by him makes it difficult to be certain of what he might have been capable, but one is inclined to see him as probably the best of Dosso's followers.

The Getty panel, because of its condition, cannot radically advance our appreciation of the artist, but it does add to our short list of authentic pictures and the artist's skill is readily ascertainable in the heads of the three figures which are still relatively well preserved. They are all done in a strong chiaroscuro against an almost black background. It might fairly be called the most Parmigianesque of Girolamo's works and the closest in spirit to Niccolò dell'Abbate. It must, therefore, be seen as one of his latest, presumably from the late 1540's. If one compares it to his *Judith* in Dresden, there are a few points of similarity, such as the way he paints the breast or the odd thumb which seems completely boneless. The heads, however, especially that of Joseph on the right, are strongly built and the straggly hair is certainly due to the influence of the Parmesan tradition rather than the Ferrarese.[9]

The Getty panel carries an old inscription on the back with the initials JB, the number 31, and the name of Parmigianino, all of which are apparently from the eighteenth century. These have been identified as the initials of John Barnard, the great London collector whose collection passed to his nephew Thomas Hankey and then was sold in 1799.[10] It is probably to be identified as no.33 of that sale, "*The Virgin and Child* by Parmigianino."[11] Earlier in the century, in 1761, the contents of John Barnard's collection had been described in R. Dodsley's *London and Its Environs Described,* p. 280 and there we also find our picture; in fact it is the very first one:

> A holy family by Parmegiano, well preserved, and the characters very fine. It was out of the Count de Platembourg's collection at Amsterdam.

The latter refers to the Graf von Plettenberg sale of 1738 in which our painting appears as lot No. 2:

2 Girolamo da Carpi, *Holy Family.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Anonymous gift.

> De Heylige Familie, door Francesco Parmegiano; gracelyk en fraai geschildert.[12]

Apparently it was bought in because it appears once more in a later sale of this same collection in 1743. We do not yet know where Plettenberg might have acquired it, but this information may some day come to light. In the meantime it is of at least passing interest to historians of English collecting to be able to identify another of Barnard's pictures. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries he was considered one of the most important collectors of his time and, piece by piece, the nature of his collection is becoming more clear.

CIGOLI, PENITENT MAGDALEN

The third Italian picture to be included here is not completely unknown. It is the *Penitent Magdalen* by Cigoli (fig.3) which was included in the exhibition *Baroque Masters* held at California State University at Northridge in 1973, shortly after it was given to the Museum by Mr. William Garred.[13] Cigoli has always been recognized as one of the pivotal figures of later Florentine art and has even been called the founder of the Florentine baroque style.[14] He has attracted considerable attention without, however, anyone producing a definite catalogue raisonné of his paintings. But it is already recognized that a few of his compositions such as the *St. Francis Praying before a Crucifixion* (*cf.* Florence, Pitti

3 Cigoli, *Penitent Magdalen.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of William Garred.

3a Cigoli, *Penitent Magdalen.* Florence, Pitti no.98.
3b Cigoli, *Penitent Magdalen,* Florence, Pitti no.2173.

no.46), were repeated with variations by the artist more than once, either because they were popular or because he felt some special affection for the themes. St. Francis, because of the higher number of variations, seems to be the best instance of this, but the *Penitent Magdalen,* which is remarkably similar in spirit and format, must be placed in the same category. Until now, two versions of the *Penitent Magdalen* composition were known, both in the Pitti (figs. 3a and 3b).[15] The Getty version is the third.

All of the various versions of *St. Francis* and the *Penitent Magdalen* have a number of things in common. The saint, with a crucifixion nearby, is seen full-length in a landscape. Invariably there is a narrow opening between the trees revealing a more distant landscape behind. The tone of the landscape is deep blue and green against which the warmer colors of the saints make a strong contrast. In the case of the Magdalen, her long golden hair cascades down over her shoulders producing an effect which is both dramatic and Disney-like.

To the modern viewer, Cigoli's Magdalen looks simply melodramatic—with her upturned eyes and simpering expression. But these are merely the manifestations of the piousness of the time. More serious is the awkward pose which forces the artist to cramp the saint's legs into a space which is too small. This occurs in all of the existing versions, so it apparently did not strike the artist as a problem.

In spite of Baldinucci's lengthy biography of Cigoli, relatively little has so far been learned about the origins of the three versions of the Magdalen composition. Baldinucci mentions:

> una santa Maria nel deserto, fatta già al cavaliere Ricasoli, a cui pure aveva dipinto il Cigoli...un s. Francesco che riceve le stimmate.[16]

He also says these passed into the collection of Gian Carlo de' Medici. These are apparently nos.98 and 3496 in the Pitti.

In the same paragraph, Baldinucci then records the following:

> Per Carlo Guiducci, che fu suo grand'amico, dispinse un s. Francesco, ed una s. Maria Maddalena, figure quanto il naturale, che poi pervennero in casa del sanatore Torrigiani...[17]

So far the fate of these two paintings has not been determined, but it is interesting to note that here again the artist did versions of both of the Francis and Magdalen compositions, and the possibility exists that they were considered as pendants of some sort.

Baldinucci goes on to mention still other Magdalens by Cigoli:

> Per lo stesso cardinale Carlo de' Medici colorì la bellissima figura dell s. M. Maddalena nel deserto, poco

minore del naturale ed ignuda, se non quanto viene da propri capelli ricoperta; sta in atto di sedere, stende la sinistra mano sopra una testa di morto, e coll'altra tiene un libro che ella posa sopra a una coscia. Conservasi oggi questo quadro nel palazzo serenissimo...[18]

This description could fit all of the three versions, and it is again odd that Baldinucci does not indicate that the Magdalen done for Ricasoli, but at that time belonging to the same Carlo de' Medici, had the same composition. In any case, this picture is presumably no.2173 in the Pitti; it carries the monogram of Cigoli and the date 1605.

These three versions might then be claimed to be the same three in existence today, but, much later in his biography, Baldinucci briefly alludes to yet one more:

Per lo cardinale Maffeo Barberini, poi Urbano VIII, di g. m. colorì una s M. Maddalena...[19]

There is no further indication of its size or appearance, but there remains the possibility that it was yet a fourth version of the same composition, and no one can be certain that there were not still others. One is strongly tempted to assume that the Getty painting is to be identified with the one done for Guiducci which later went to Torrigiani, and it may well prove to be the case. But under the circumstances this remains to be documented.[20]

The Getty version carries the monogram of the artist and the date 1595. The version done for Ricasoli is undated, and the one done for Gian' Carlo de' Medici is dated 1605. The Ricasoli version is also the largest, the Getty version slightly smaller, and the Medici picture is the smallest of all. Taken with the fact that Baldinucci also mentions the three versions in this same order, it might be interpreted as indicating that the Ricasoli version was the first to be painted, but this also remains mere speculation.

Together with the *St. Matthew* by Carlo Dolci, also in the Getty collections, Cigoli's *Magdalen* can provide a firm idea of what religious art in Florence in the early seventeenth century entailed. It was a somber phase, and even the secular pictures done during the time are dark and brooding. It is not the way the average American thinks of Florence, but if Cigoli's *Magdalen* of 1595 tells us anything at all, it must include the fact that she indicates what painting in that city looked like for a century to come.

GUERCINO, ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA WITH THE CHRIST CHILD

The two remaining Italian pictures are both from the seventeenth century. The earlier of the two is Guercino's *St. Anthony of Padua with the Christ Child* (fig.4), which is a gift of Mr. Hy Barry.[21] This picture, which is in the late style of the artist, shows the saint standing next to a table, holding a book—presumably the Bible—and a lily. The Christ Child is standing on the table, turning the pages of the book, and pointing to it. Both Anthony and the Child are serious and contemplative. There is no indication of a background.

Mr. Barry's picture seems never to have been published before, and we have no information concerning its whereabouts before it reached Los Angeles. But it is very possible that it is to be identified with a painting recorded in the artist's *Libro dei conti* in the year 1656 and which, so far as I know, has not been otherwise located in any collection. On the 25th of March, 1656, the artist records a payment for a *S Antonio col Puttino* with the remarks:

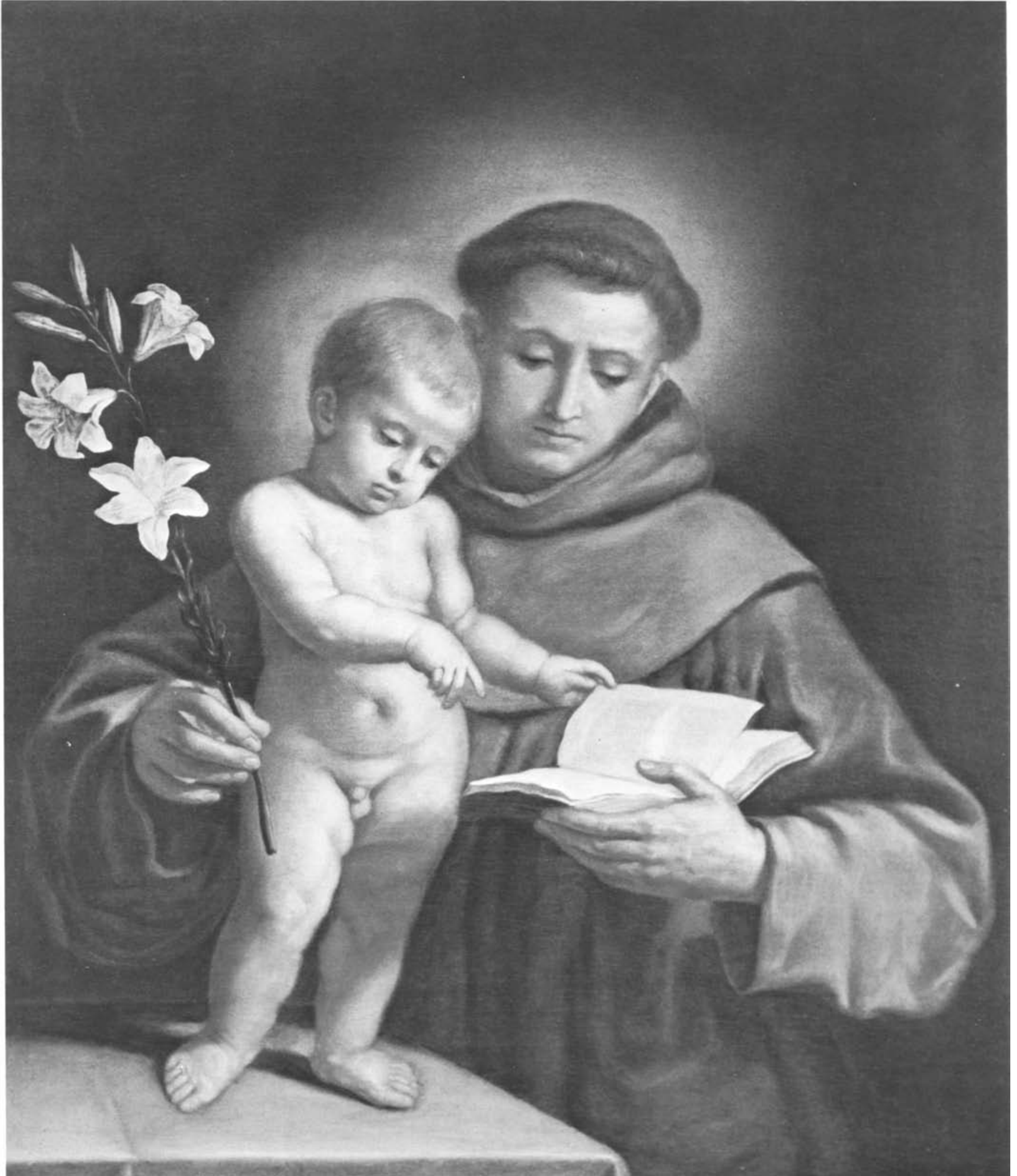
dall'Ill. mo sig. Giovanni Donato Correggio si è ricevuto ducatoni 60 del S. Antonio di Padova, ducatoni N. 12 ebbe il sig. Genari e li terrà per casa; restano ducatoni 48 che fanno—scudi 60.[22]

This entry, documenting the participation of one of the Gennari family—presumably Benedetto II (born 1633) or possibly Cesari (born 1637)—corresponds to what one sees in the painting. It is not possible to say which parts of it have been done by the master and which by the assistant, but it does seem to have been executed to some extent by a hand other than Guercino's. There is no single place that one can point to and call weaker; but if it is the one done for Sig. Correggio, Guercino was selling it under his own name, and he would have gone over the finished picture to bring it up to an acceptable standard. The picture is now severely rubbed and oxidized, as often happens with his late paintings, which keeps it from looking as strong as it must once have done.

The painting of St. Anthony of Padua was not the only one commissioned from Guercino by Giovanni Donato Correggio. In the same *Libro dei Conti* one finds in May of 1654 a picture of *Amore virtuoso* which was also done for him.[23] This has been identified as a picture now belonging to the Prado and currently on loan to the Museum in Pontevedra.[24] It can be traced in the Spanish royal collections as early as 1666, a mere twelve years after it was painted, leading one to question whether it is in fact the same picture.[25] In 1655 we find Giovanni Correggio paying for an *Amore fedele* which may have been some kind of a pendant to the *Amore virtuoso*. Nothing is known about its present whereabouts.[26] In 1656 (September 6th) Correggio paid 250 scudi for a *Dead Christ with the Virgin, St. John, the Magdalen, and Nicodemus* which, because of the large cost, must have been a fairly ambitious work. It has been identified with a painting in the Colonna collection in Rome.[27] This is all that is known to this writer about G. D. Correggio as a patron of Guercino.

It cannot as yet be assumed that the St. Anthony in the Getty Museum is in fact the one done for Sig. Correggio, but the style of the picture would appear to support it. It is directly comparable to other works painted in the 1650s. Another *St. Anthony of Padua with the Christ Child* in the Collegiata of S. Giovanni in Persiceto was done in 1649–50 and has not only a more ambitious composition but is rendered in a more con-

4 Guercino and Benedetto Gennari (?), *St. Anthony of Padua and the Christ Child.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of Hy Barry.



5 Pietro Liberi, *Allegory of Prudence.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of Hy Barry.

vincing way.[28] There is, however, the same table, and Anthony himself resembles our own monk. More comparable in execution is a picture like the *S. Francesca Romana* in Turin which was executed in 1655–56, just two months before our own.[29] It has a similar simplicity of form, and both the hands and face of the saint betray the same workshop.

Guercino was in 1656 already 65 years old and lived only ten years longer. He was obviously at this age a much feebler artist than before, and he was certainly not able to keep up on his own with the commissions that continued to flow in. The pictures from this very late phase of his life can not be taken as the grand climax of a career, as they might with an artist such as Rembrandt whose last years are in many ways his most exciting. Guercino's late works are increasingly thin—more like a quiet fading away.

PIETRO LIBERI, ALLEGORY OF PRUDENCE

The last Italian painting to be included here is *Allegory of Prudence* by Pietro Liberi (fig.5) which is also a gift of Mr. Hy Barry.[29] The subject of this piece was traditionally thought to be Cleopatra because she is shown with a serpent wrapped around her arm, but it is not difficult to demonstrate that this is incorrect. The mirror—a prominent part of the composition—is not a part of traditional depictions of Cleopatra's suicide, and the snake—which is too large to be an asp—is not biting her, nor does Cleopatra look concerned about the possibility. She has instead the character of an allegorical figure, and the attributes permit her identification as *Prudence.* Ripa's *Iconologia* describes her a bit differently in that the serpent, who refers to prudence because it defends itself with its entire (coiled) body, is wound around a staff, and Prudence wears a helmet with a garland. But the mirror, symbol of introspection, is invariably a sign of prudence, and there are other compositions in which she is shown with just the mirror and a serpent about her arm: one attributed to Vasari in the Casa Vasari at Arezzo; and another, the cassone panel by Pesellino in the Kress Collection at Birmingham.[30] The jewelled cap and pearl earring are curiously worldly additions, but she is *Prudence,* nonetheless.

Indeed, the inventory of Liberi's estate after his death, only recently published for the first time, includes among the eighteen pictures two which are described as representing *Prudenza.*[31] Neither of them is likely to be our picture since they are both described as sketches, presumably rather small studies for larger pictures. Moreover, their brief descriptions show that one of them had two figures, and the other showed Prudence with "un amor di virtù"; so they cannot even be sketches for our picture. But clearly there was some demand for this particular virtue; perhaps there was a sudden lack of it in Venice at the time.

It is likely that *Prudence* belonged to a set that included other virtues, but so far none of them have been identified.

From the style of the Getty painting one can probably assume that it was done late in the artist's career, perhaps in the 1660s, or later. The influence of Mazzoni is quite apparent, especially in the hair which looks as if it were in a windstorm. But this windblown character is found in virtually every detail.

FOLLOWER OF RUBENS, MARS AND RHEA SYLVIA

The Museum has received gifts of five Flemish pictures over the course of the last few years. The earliest of the group is still unattributed and may remain so for some time, but it certainly is to be placed in the close entourage of Rubens (fig.6).[32] Even the subject is problematical: it was sold not too long ago as a depiction of *Alexander and Cambyses,* which is clearly wrong. There *is* a resemblance to depictions of *Timoclea and the Thracian Commander.* But the solution lies with another picture by Rubens whose subject has been also much discussed: the large *Mars and Rhea Silvia* in the Liechtenstein collection (fig.7).[33]

The Liechtenstein painting, which obviously is of the same subject, has been at various times identified as *Ajax and Cassandra* and the *Rescue of Rome by Decius Mus.* In 1944, however, Hans Gerhard Evers demonstrated with reasonable certainty that the subject was *Mars and Rhea Silvia.*[34] This was based upon a description in a seventeenth-century inven-

6 Peter Paul Rubens follower, *Mars and Rhea Silvia.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Anonymous gift.

7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Mars and Rhea Silvia.* Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein.

8 Frans van den Hecke, Tapestry with *Mars and Rhea Silvia.* Germany, private collection.

tory. Evers also determined that the temple with the statue of Pallas Athena and the eternal fire, which one sees on the right, would correspond to the description of a Vestal temple as given in Justus Lipsius' book, *De Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma,* of 1605. Since Rhea Silvia was a Vestal priestess, it provided the appropriate setting for the scene.

The story, which belongs to Roman legend and which one finds in Horace's *Odes,*[35] relates that Rhea Silvia (or Ilia) was the daughter of Numitor, a Vestal virgin. Rhea Silvia was attacked by Mars and later gave birth to the twins, Romulus and Remus. Because of this, her uncle ordered her to be thrown into the Tiber, where she was taken by the god of the river, Tiberinus, as his wife. Rhea Silvia, Tiberinus, and her two sons came to play important roles in the mythology of the city of Rome. Paintings of the subject are very rare, and I do not know of any examples other than those from the circle of Rubens, who devoted a number of canvasses to Roman legend.

The exact relationship of the Getty sketch to the Liechtenstein canvas is somewhat unclear. Since the general position of the figures is the same, one is inclined to assume that the sketch in Malibu is preparatory to the larger composition. There are a number of details in common, such as the bench with the spiked legs. Most significant, however, is the figure of Mars himself which follows the sketch very closely. The cloak is billowing up in a similar way, he strides in exactly the same manner, and the details of his armor correspond. His left arm has been altered, but the right one is exactly as in the sketch. The only difference in his general appearance is the helmet which he wears in the sketch but which is carried by a putto in the Liechtenstein painting. Of course the latter is a horizontal composition, whereas the sketch is vertical; but in spite of this, the sketch seems to be an early conception of the same composition.

On the other hand, Rubens is generally assumed to be the author of the finished canvas, and it is not very likely that he did the sketch. This is the reverse of the usual situation: Rubens would normally do the sketch, and the execution of the larger work deriving from it was left to assistants. I cannot explain this reversal of events. It would appear as if one of the assistants was asked to make a sketch whose composition was not followed by the master for the final painting. No intermediate sketch has yet been found, however.

It has long been recognized that the Liechtenstein painting served as a cartoon for a tapestry. Gobel published a tapestry belonging to a German private collection which is inscribed with the name of Frans van den Hecke (fig.8).[36] It can date, therefore, no earlier than 1630 when van den Hecke was first active in Brussels. Gobel dates it ca. 1640. The Liechtenstein canvas is generally dated ca. 1620, or occasionally about 1618 by those who proposed it belonged to the series of Decius Mus. One might, therefore, date our sketch about the same time.

9 Theodor van Thulden, *Minerva and Pegasus.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of Walter S. Udin.

The quality of the sketch is fairly high in spite of the fact that it was done by someone other than Rubens. The figure of Mars is very strong and almost worthy of the master himself. The temple on the right, with the statue of Pallas Athena, show an obvious virtuosity. The figure of Rhea Silvia, however, is weaker, especially her torso and the arm with which she attempts to hold back her attacker. It does not seem possible that Rubens could have painted anything this clumsy. One is tempted to think that there has been an alteration here, but, if so, it seems to have been made by the original artist. The sketch has, nonetheless, much of the force of the master's own work, as well as some historical interest for the evolution of the Liechtenstein picture and the subsequent tapestry.

THEODOR VAN THULDEN, MINERVA AND PEGASUS

The second Flemish painting has already been published and does not need lengthy comment. It is the *Minerva and Pegasus* by Theodor van Thulden (fig.9) which was donated to us by Walter S. Udin in 1972.[37] The canvas is signed at the lower left: *T van Thulden fecit A° 1644,* which makes it of more than normal importance since it helps us to establish the artist's early chronology. Unfortunately, the inscription has been tampered with and strengthened at sometime in the past, and the date has not always been read as 1644. When the picture was first published by Marie-Louise Hairs in 1965[38] she read the date as 1654, but a later reading gave it as 1644 and a re-examination at Malibu confirms that the third digit is almost certainly a 4 rather than a 5. This also corresponds to the style of the painting which is much closer to Rubens than one finds in van Thulden's later works. It is, for instance, rather close to the paintings done by van Thulden with Rubens for the Torre de la Parada series in Spain which were executed in the late 1630s. One might also compare it to the canvas of *Perseus freeing Andromeda* in Nancy[39] which also contains Pegasus looking much the same but seen from the rear. The Nancy picture is dated 1646 and is also relatively close to Rubens. Hairs has pointed out that the pose of Pegasus in the Getty picture is close to that of the horse ridden by Frederick Henry of Nassau in van Thulden's painting in the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague which was done in 1651. There is a resemblance, but it now seems probable that the Hague picture is the later of the two.

The exact nature of the subject of the Getty painting is still a puzzle. There can be no doubt that the lady in armor is Minerva; the owl on the ground to the right is final proof of that. But it seems likely that some specific episode from mythology is intended, and this author knows of no scene in which Minerva is found with Pegasus. She is shown bridling him, but otherwise there is no clue to the theme.

Until now no one has commented on the odd, wing-like forms in the upper left corner of the picture. They are a bit like Pegasus' own wings, and they are pinkish in tone. But if they were ever attached to anything, the connection has now disappeared. Perhaps the painting was cut down, but the location of van Thulden's signature implies that it can not have been cut down very much. Until some document can be found which can throw some light on the original commission, these questions cannot be answered.

Compared to Rubens, van Thulden is obviously a much more prosaic artist. The execution never has the same vigor and dynamic enthusiasm of the master. But he was, nonetheless, one of Rubens' best students; when at his best, in the large allegorical schemes that he did later in various locations in the Lowlands, he could be placed with the leading artists of his generation.

PHILIP FRUYTIERS, PORTRAIT OF DAVID TENIERS

The smallest of these new gifts is a *Portrait of David Teniers* by Philip Fruytiers (fig.10).[40] Fruytiers is a litle-known artist whose works have been studied extensively on only one occasion, by Baudouin in 1967.[41] Very little by his hand has been published, so it is of some interest to be able to add a signed and dated work to this brief list. But the chief value of the new panel lies in the sitter rather than the artist.

The portrait is not inscribed with Teniers' name, but the easel in the background indicates that the sitter is a painter, and comparison with another portrait of Teniers reveals he is absolutely the same person. The picture by Peter Thys in Munich (fig.11), shows Teniers posed in a very similar way, though facing the other direction.[42] He looks to be a little younger in the Munich portrait, perhaps as much as fifteen years younger. Around his waist is hanging the same key as seen in our portrait.[43] The background of the Munich portrait probably shows Teniers' residence, Dry Toren, near Perck (between Malines and Vilvorde), whereas the Getty portrait shows a grand interior with an elaborately articulated ceiling and also statuary, most probably a room inside the same building.

10 Philip Fruytiers, *Portrait of David Teniers.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Anonymous gift.

11 Peter Thys, *Portrait of David Teniers.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung.

The sitter looks not only well-established, which of course he was, but also good-natured. He has chosen to have himself represented in formal dress, which is in keeping with seventeenth-century Flemish portraits of artists such as those done by Van Dyck and Rubens. The Getty portrait is dated 1655, so Teniers was about forty-five years old at the time. He was to live another thirty-five years, and so we see him here at mid-career, in full control of his future.

Fruytiers, the artist, was famous as a painter of small portraits, and he was highly praised during his time for precisely this aspect of his work. One of his best-known pictures is a watercolor portrait, now at Windsor Castle, of the children of Rubens. So it is especially desirable to be able to identify another of his works in this field. It is a very competent picture, not as polished as Coques and not as powerful as Van Dyck, but nonetheless a valuable document of Flemish artistic life at mid-century.

WILHELM VAN EHRENBERG, ULYSSES AT THE PALACE OF CIRCE

The last Flemish painting, *Ulysses at the Palace of Circe* by Wilhelm Schubert van Ehrenberg (fig. 12), was a donation to the Museum in 1971 by Mrs. Thomas Brant.[44] The former attribution to Jan van Kessel was no doubt due to the presence of so many animals in the composition. The painting was included in the 1972 *Catalogue of Paintings* as anonymous Flemish seventeenth century, but a short time later the present author proposed the name of Ehrenberg, and this was used in the 1973 exhibition *Baroque Masters* at Northridge.[45]

Additional information has been gained from a recent cleaning, not yet completed, which revealed a miniscule signature on a small plaque on the building's facade.[46] The name is located between two capitals just above the roundel directly over the head of Ulysses himself, and has been consistently overlooked until now—not because it was dirty so much as because it is so tiny. The inscription, which reads:

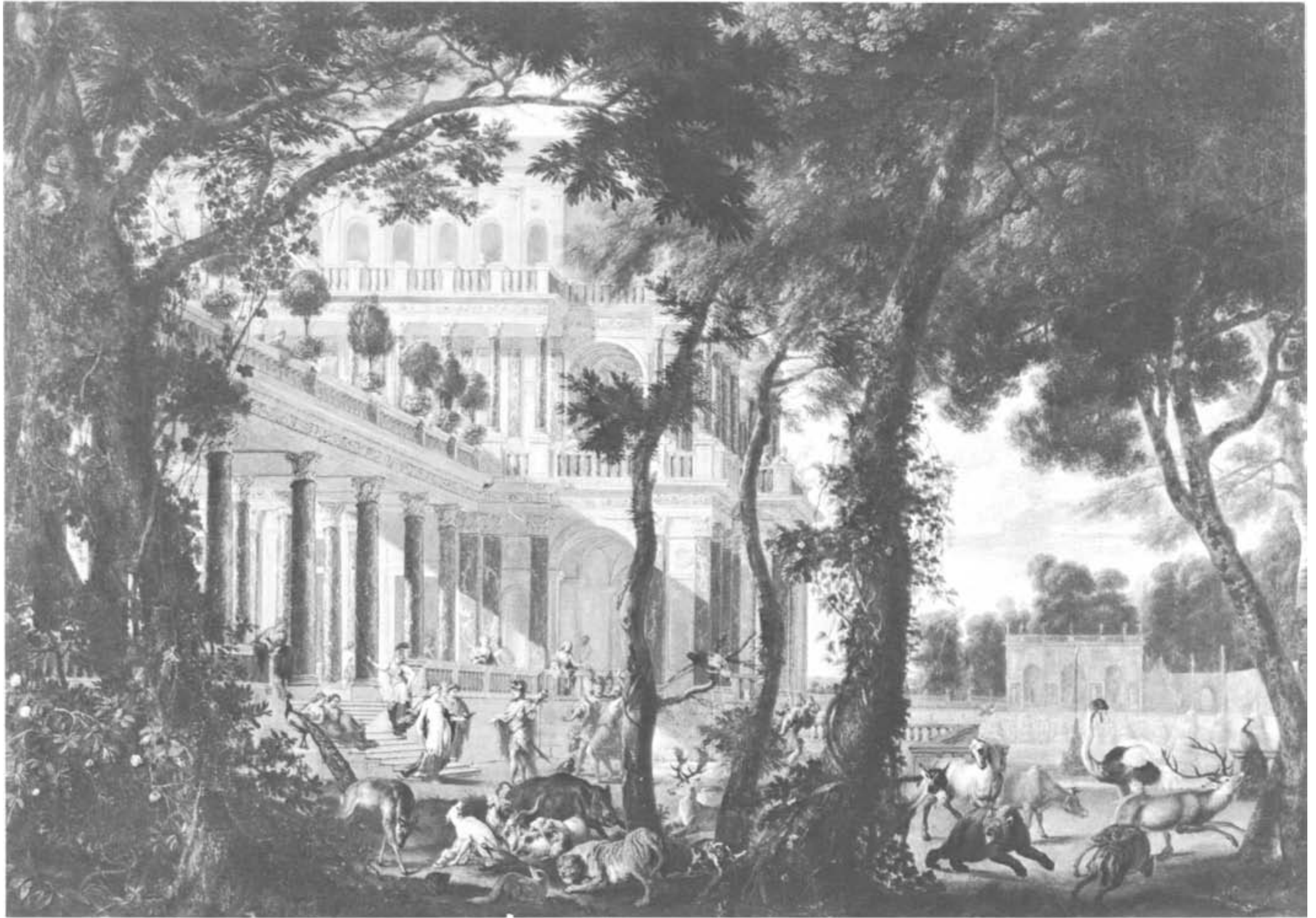
W.S. van
Ehrenberg, fec.
1667

can only be read with the use of a microscope and a raking light. The scale of the letters of the inscription is about .01 cm., with the larger letters not quite .02 cm. The last digit of the date is a little uncertain but 7 appears probable. The only alternative would be a nine.

Ehrenberg was a painter of architecture, and one can assume that in the Getty painting he was responsible for only the palace. The figures and animals are by a different hand or hands, and the same is true of the landscape. But the collaborating artists are yet to be identified.

The Getty canvas is a very charming work and among the best so far known by Ehrenberg. Since most of his pictures are dated in the 1660s, the date of ours does not reveal anything new or unexpected. The only unusual aspect of it is the degree to which his architecture is dominated by the landscape, which was obviously painted by an accomplished artist. The animals are also especially fine, and Ehrenberg might fairly be called the least important of the three or more artists who worked on this painting.

12 Wilhelm van Ehrenberg, *Ulysses at the Palace of Circe.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Brant.



GERBRAND VAN DEN EECKHOUT, THE WEEPING HAGAR

The Museum has received surprisingly few Dutch pictures as gifts. All of them have been published elsewhere but in each case rather briefly, and in one instance new information of a critical nature has since been found.

The new information concerns the picture often published as a work of Govaert Flinck depicting *The Weeping Hagar* (fig. 13) which was donated to the Museum by French and Co. in 1972[47] This odd painting was accepted as Flinck's by Moltke in his monograph on the artist,[48] and it was also included in the exhibition *Rembrandt and his Pupils* at Raleigh in 1956 as by Flinck.[49] It had likewise passed through a series of sales and collections as his. The attribution was not without its detractors. Gerson long ago suggested the name of Jan Victors, and to the present writer this seemed highly plausible.[50] More recently Jacques Foucard gave it to Jacob Backer.[51] All of these attributions recognized the influence of Rembrandt and assumed that the author was a member of the Amsterdam school.

To anyone who ever inspected the picture in person, it was obvious that it was considerably overpainted. Hardly any of the surface was free of restoration, which was especially noticeable on the hands and face. The sky was completely false. Nonetheless, no one had ever suggested that there had been serious alterations.

In 1975 it was decided to clean the painting and, as a preliminary step, it was x-rayed. The x-ray immediately revealed that the sky covered something quite different which, at first, seemed to be draperies or curtains. In the course of the next few months the picture was partially cleaned by Lily Hayeem of the Museum's Conservation staff, under the direction of Judith Meller, Chief Paintings Conservator. The draperies were found to belong to the costume of another figure, and it did not take much imagination to realize that it was that of the angel who came to Hagar on the desert. However, the angel has been cut at about the level of the waist, leaving only the lower part of the torso and the tip of the feathers of its wing in the upper left corner. It became clear then that the picture is, in fact, only a fragment of a much larger painting.

Of more general interest to students is the appearance of a signature on the bottom of the large water jug on the left. It is difficult to explain why this signature had been covered over in the first place, but once free of overpaint it was easy to read: *G Eeckhout.* This was a name not suggested, so far as is known, by any scholar, and for good reasons. First, large figures on the scale of Hagar are much more common to Victors or Flinck than to Eeckhout. Eeckhout is more inclined to paint pictures of small format with smaller figures. Moreover, the figure is painted with a solidity that one does

13 Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *The Weeping Hagar* (before restoration). The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of French and Co., New York.

13a Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Hagar and the Angel.* Vienna, Albertina.

not often find in Eeckhout. On the other hand the brown tonality of the picture is prevalent in the works of all three artists, and the composition is of a type often found in Eeckhout's drawings.

No drawing of the subject by Eeckhout can with complete certainty be linked with our painting, but he did a number of sketches with kneeling or sitting figures before standing angels, and one in particular may have served as a study for it. That is a red chalk drawing in the Albertina which shows Hagar in a similar position with an angel behind her, just as in the painting (fig.13a).[52] She does not have the enormous handkerchief, and she does not look back at the angel; but she is dressed in the same manner, and there is the same jug (though tipped over), and the vines and leaves. The latter are standard parts of the theme, but the placement of all of these parts together probably indicates that the drawing was preliminary to our picture.

It is difficult to fully appreciate the painting, even since its restoration, because its condition remains poor. The most recent photograph (fig. 14) shows it with all of the modern paint removed.

It should be noted, however, that the quality of the painting of the angel does not seem to be as high as that of Hagar. The glazes have been lost, and there are inevitable distortions; but the angel's costume is rather crudely rendered, and this might be a reason why only part of the picture has survived.

Using the drawing as a model, one could theorize that the painting originally extended much further on all sides except to the right, and, if this is so, the picture would have been well over two meters high. Simply to include the complete torso of the angel would have necessitated a canvas at least one and one-half meters high, or probably more. This is difficult to imagine because, so far as I know, Eeckhout did not do pictures on this scale. Therefore, this painting must have been one of Eeckhout's largest and most ambitious works, no matter how much it deviated from the drawing.

The drawing in Vienna has been thought to be one of the artist's earliest, and Sumowski has dated it in 1643.[53] Curiously, this is the same date proposed by Moltke for the painting under the assumption it was by Flinck! The two artists were born just six years apart, and, as it happens, the painting seems to be an early work by Eeckhout just as it was thought to be as a Flinck.

The definitive study of Gerbrand van den Eeckhout has yet to be written. More may yet be learned about the origins and appearance of the unusual fragment in the Getty Museum, but even as only a damaged remnant, it must be considered a key work in the artist's *ouevre.*

14 Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *The Weeping Hagar* (during restoration). The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of French and Co.

15 Willem Bartsius, *Expulsion of Hagar.* (?) The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of William Garred.

The second Dutch picture is also not entirely new to the literature but deserves more attention than it has so far received. This is the *Expulsion of Hagar* by Willem Bartsius (fig. 15), which was given to the Museum by Mr. William Garred in 1971.[54] Bartsius (or Bartius) is a relatively unknown artist by whom very few works have been identified. His career seems to have been very brief, spanning perhaps less than ten years, and as a result, almost nothing that is not signed has been attributed to him.[55]

It would perhaps be worthwhile to review what little is known of Bartsius' life. The date of his birth is not recorded, but on July 8, 1636 his age was given as 24, so he was presumably born in 1611 or 1612.[56] The place of birth was Enkhuizen, to the north of Amsterdam. In 1634 he joined the guild at Alkmaar, much closer to Amsterdam, and in 1636 he is recorded as living in Amsterdam itself. He is last mentioned in 1639 and is presumed to have died about this time. Paintings exist with dates ranging from 1633 (or perhaps even 1630)[57] to 1638.

Although Bernt has characterized Bartsius as a portraitist and genre painter with only an occasional Old Testament subject,[58] there are at least seven biblical subjects so far mentioned by various sources and only a couple that could be called genre. So a more accurate appraisal of his style would place him among the artists who specialized in biblical subjects and who were active in and around Amsterdam during this time.

The Getty painting is signed with the artist's complete name plus the date: *W. Bartsius fet. / 1631.* This date has been published previously as 1637, but there is no sign of a crossbar on the last digit, and altogether the inscription is still very clear and legible.[59] The serifs on the letters of the artist's name, for instance, are still fairly sharp. And so the Getty painting can be taken as one of Bartsius' earliest productions, if not his very earliest; he must, in fact, have been only nineteen or twenty years old when he painted it, and not yet a member of the guild.

Bartsius' style, as seen in the few pictures we have by his hand, is fairly tight and labored; we do not know under whom he might have been trained, but there are some important clues. If one were to try to deduce what artists' or artist's work might have influenced the Getty picture, there are not many possibilities. There is perhaps something of Rembrandt, but the most obvious name would be that of Gerard Dou. There are no exact parallels, but the only works that one can profitably compare to ours are pictures such as the *Return of Tobias* at Rotterdam which was probably done by Dou about 1630.[60] Also, the smaller picture of *Tobit and Anna* in London, executed by both Dou and Rembrandt and generally dated about 1630, has some similarities but is on a different scale.[61] Besides the obvious parallels, such as the limited light source which emphasizes the central figures, there are also shared details, such as the brickwork and the various objects of wood and metal lying about. There is also a similarity in the rendering of drapery; and the vines at the top are found in numerous Leyden pictures, albeit generally of a later date.

There is, however, one other bit of evidence to connect Bartsius with Dou and the Leyden school of painting. We know that Bartsius' sister, Aecht, was married to Pieter Potter. Potter was, like his wife and her brother, also born in Enkhuizen. He is recorded as having been in Leyden between 1628 and 1630, moving to Amsterdam in 1631. He was at least eleven, and possibly as much as fifteen, years older than Bartsius, but I think that one can assume some parallels in their careers. If one compares Bartsius' *Lute Player* of 1633 with the pictures of Pieter Potter, especially one like the *Interior with Soldiers* of 1632 formerly at Linz, the resemblance is very striking.[62] Some documents also mention Potter and Bartsius together in Amsterdam in the late 1630s.[63] So it may be that Bartsius made a move from Enkhuizen to Leyden just as Potter did. Bartsius would have been very young but so was Dou—who was at least a year his junior.

One cannot, of course, assume any of this, but it is difficult to imagine our picture being produced in Enkhuizen or Alkmaar. It fits fairly well into the ambience of Leyden, and we may one day find proof that the young artist spent time there before going north again. Even when compared to the works of Leyden painters, however, our picture is unusual. It is on canvas and is fairly large, certainly larger than most works by Potter, Dou, or Rembrandt done at that time, excepting the *Return of Tobias* in Rotterdam. In scale it more closely resembles artists like Jan Victors who, however, was working a decade later. No matter where one assumes it to have been painted, in 1631 it must have been not only a prodigal work by a young artist but also startlingly original.

There are two final matters involving this picture that cannot be ignored. The first is the fact that it has been altered: the entire upper left corner of the canvas is not in its original form. This area (delineated on the right by the edge of the brick facade and at the bottom by a line just above the child's—Ishmael's?—head) consists of a piece of canvas inserted and spliced to the rest of the picture. However, the canvas seems to be of the same type as the rest, and the color on it seems to be contemporary with and identical to the color on the adjoining section above and to the left of the child's head. It seems probable that this piece of canvas belonged to the original composition but has come from some other part of it, probably from further to the left. In fact the stares of the three figures imply that a large part of the composition on that side has been cut off. It is impossible to know under what circumstances this was done, but it is not inconceivable that the picture was left unfinished and later doctored to make it

16 Jean Raoux, *Orpheus and Eurydice.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of William Garred.

17 Jean Raoux, *Orpheus and Eurydice.* (Reproduction from 1904 sale catalogue).

presentable. Strangely, under the cloud in the sky in the upper left corner, there is a small and crudely painted angel blowing a trumpet, done either as a joke or by an amateur. This has been painted out and is known only from an earlier cleaning, of which no photographs were made. But all of this area, including the part near the child's head, seem to have had nothing else painted on them. (The clouds and Hagar's elbow are new.) So it may never have been executed by Bartsius.

This leaves the question of the subject. It has been called *The Expulsion of Hagar,* but there are obvious difficulties with this identification. Hagar, who is generally depicted as a young woman, is shown here quite elderly and wrinkled.[64] Moreover, "Abraham" does not seem so much to be expelling Hagar as he is holding on to her. He is also more decrepit, perhaps even blind, than is usually the case with Abraham. One might, therefore, conclude that they are *The Blind Tobit and Anna,* a theme much beloved by painters in Leyden and Amsterdam at this time. If it is *Tobit and Anna,* perhaps the angel has been lost on the left.[65] But this does not correspond to the usual depictions of the story, and it is possible that we have here some other less obvious subject which has yet to be recognized.

In spite of these unanswered questions, this new work by Bartsius helps us, probably more than any other, to reconstruct what is left of that man's short career. His personality has become obscure almost to the point of being unknown, but in 1631 he must have been alive with ambition and active just briefly among the most exciting artists of his time.

JEAN RAOUX, ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

The last two paintings are French, and both are virtually unknown. The earliest of them is the large canvas depicting *Orpheus and Eurydice* by Jean Raoux (fig. 16) which was also a gift of William Garred.[66] Raoux is an artist who has not been studied a great deal since 1930, when Dimier dedicated a section of his two-volume book on eighteenth-century French paintings to him.[67] Raoux went through some fairly radical changes of style, and it is difficult to gain a firm grasp of his work from the few examples published thus far; the usual conception of him emphasizes the mythological portraits or the many genre subjects, based upon the Dutch masters, which he did later in his career. But his earlier work, derived more from Italian prototypes, is less well known and in many ways more interesting.

Raoux was originally trained by Bon de Boulogne in the first years of the eighteenth century; in 1704 he won the Prix de Rome and made the traditional journey to Italy. He spent three years in Rome and later worked in Venice; during all of this time he copied and studied the works of the Italian masters, and by the time he returned to France in 1714, he was thoroughly familiar with them. In 1716 he was granted the title of academician, and his reception piece was a picture based upon the theme of Pygmalion, which was, admittedly, not a theme found often in Italy but which came to be very popular in France. Raoux was at the time known as a history painter, but by the following decade he was already concentrating on portraits of women in mythological disguise, and eventually the historical pictures ceased to play a role as the rococo influence increased.

The Getty picture can be attributed to Raoux with some assurance, although it is not signed. The first record of it is in a sale in Paris in 1904 where it is already given to him;[68] but in any case its style corresponds well to documented works such as the *Pygmalion* in the Louvre of 1716. The Rembrandtesque treatment of the underworld, presided over by Pluto, and the distribution of the figures are also reminiscent of the general compositional devices used by Raoux in two other paintings, *Bacchus and Ariadne* and *The Judgment of Paris,* which have been recently discovered by Delia Alegret of the Louvre.[69] Mlle. Alegret has indicated that these new pictures were painted in Venice, and she has placed the *Orpheus and Eurydice* a bit later, ca. 1718–20, at a time when the artist was again in Paris. It would, therefore, be one of the last of his major historical compositions, still reflecting the many years spent in the south, but already in debt to northern artists.

The reproduction of our painting which was included in the sale catalogue of 1904 shows that it was at that time somewhat larger (fig. 17). The canvas has been reduced on all sides but primarily at the top and bottom. Originally there was more latitude for the movement of the figures, and the composition was altogether less cramped.

More serious for the state of the painting was an unsuccessful relining carried out in Los Angeles in 1971. When the picture was first noticed and identified in a local collection, it was already in a poor condition, suffering from extensive flaking. A few losses had taken place, and one, encompassing the clasped hands of Eurydice and Orpheus, was particularly disfiguring. The relining resulted in massive wrinkling of the canvas which could no longer be corrected. As a result the picture has suffered considerable restoration attempting to undo this damage, and it has not proved succesful. The restoration of the hands of Eurydice and Orpheus was, for instance, not done with reference to the earlier reproduction of 1904, and as a result they are now sorely misshapen. Even if this part is eventually done correctly, however, the painting, once a masterpiece of its kind, has been permanently damaged and will never again have its former elegance.

ATTRIBUTED TO NOEL HALLE, BUST OF A BEARDED MAN

The last painting discussed here is an oval, *Bust of a Bearded Man,* formerly called a work of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo and now attributed to Noël Hallé by Pierre Rosenberg (fig.18).[70] It was a gift of Mr. Frank Cahn. Because of the robes worn by the man in the painting, and also his slightly pious appearance, the subject might be interpreted as an apostle, perhaps St. Peter. But there seems to be no way at the moment of determining this more accurately.

The artist of our picture was certainly French, and the name of Hallé seems highly plausible. Rosenberg has elsewhere described Hallé as liking "elongated figures, heads with long hair, faces topped by coiffures which stress their oval shape..."[71] Most of these things are characteristic of our oval; but in any case there are numerous pictures which have figures resembling our own. The new picture is, of course, a modest effort among the larger religious and mythological compositions that Hallé produced, but it is beautifully rendered, very free, and a worthy addition to the Museum's small collection of eighteenth-century paintings. It is the only one of the group which is (apparently) religious, reminding us that such themes had not completely died out.

NOTES

[1]Acc.no.73.PA.140, panel, 181.5 x 119.5 cm. (71½ x 47½ in.). Formerly Leger Galleries, London, 1957.
[2]F. Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma,* 1957, pp.39–40.
[3]E. Borea, "Grazia e furia in Marco Pino," *Paragone-Arte,* 151, 1962, p.38.
[4]H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz,* 1920, v.1, p.139.
[5]The only other picture by Marco known to me in America is the fresco depicting the *Continence of Scipio* at the University of Indiana at Bloomington.
[6]See E. Borea, *op.cit.,* pp.44, 51–52, note 45.
[7]Acc. no. 72.PA.31, panel, 70 x 52 cm. (27½ x 20½ in.). Formerly French and Co., New York.
[8]July 16, 1971, no.149.
[9]See also the drawing attributed to Girolamo da Carpi of the *Holy Family* in the British Museum, published in *The University of Michigan Museum of Art Bulletin,* v.3, 1968, p.12.
[10]A picture in the National Gallery in London, no.797, *Portrait of a Man* by Aelbert Cuyp, has the same initials and a number on the back. See N. Maclaren, *The Dutch School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1960, p.84.
[11]Christie's, June 7–8, 1799. Sold to Bryan.
[12]Plettenberg sale, April 2, 1738. The dimensions which are given as: "h. 4v. 3d. br. 5 v. 5 d." indicate a horizontal picture, but they must have been reversed.
[13]Acc. no. 71.PA.71, on canvas, 150 x 115 cm. (59 x 45¼ in.), signed lower right, LC 1595. Previous provenance unknown.
[14]K. Busse in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler,* v.6, 1912, p.591.
[15]No.98, canvas, 173 x 124 cm.; and no.2173, canvas, 114 x 87 cm.
[16]F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno,* ed. 1846 (reprinted 1975), v.3, p.247. Baldinucci's biography of Cigoli was taken primarily from the *Vita di Lodovico Cigoli* written by Giovanni Battista Cardi, Cigoli's nephew and heir. The equivalent passage in Cardi's biography reads as follows: "... et ancora la S. Maria Maddalena nel deserto, fatta già al signor Cavaliere Capinera Ricasoli, al quale similmente fece un S. Giovanni nel deserto." (Published in the 1975 edition of Baldinucci's *Notizie* by Paola Barocchi, v.7, p.47.) This confirms that the subject was the Magdalen, not just Mary, as Baldinucci gives it, and also includes Ricasoli's complete name. Inexplicably it does not mention the *St. Francis.*
[17]F. Baldinucci, *op.cit.,* v.3, p.247. In Cardi's *Vita di Lodovico Cigoli* (see note 16), the passage reads: "... et al signor Carlo Guidacci un S. Francesco et una Santa Maria Maddalena..." (Baldinucci, *Notizie,* ed. 1975, v.7, p.48.) In Baldinucci the name is given twice as Guiducci, the other place being in the biography of Sustermans. In Cardi's biography it is given twice as Guidacci. I am not certain which is correct.
[18]F. Baldinucci, *op cit.,* v.3, p.247. None of this information is found in Cardi's *Vita di Lodovico Cigoli* (see note 16).
[19]F. Baldinucci, *op.cit.,* v.3, p.267. In Cardi, *Vita di Lodovico Cigoli* (see note 16), the same information is given as follows: "al Cardinale Barberini, al presente sommo pontefice, una S. Maria Maddalena." (Baldinucci, *Notizie,* ed.1975, v.7, p.55.)
[20]It should be mentioned that a small version of the composition was sold with the Pourtalès-Gorgier collection, March 27, 1865, no.31, dimensions given as 54 x 43 cm. The description otherwise matches the versions in Malibu and Florence.
[21]Acc. no. 75.PA.34, on canvas, 115.5 x 95 cm. (45½ x 37½ in.). Formerly collection of Alfred Karlsen, Beverly Hills.
[22]See Nefta Barbanti Grimaldi, *Il Guercino,* 1968, p.111,

where the various sources are collated.
[23]*Idem.*, p.110.
[24]Alfonso Perez Sanchez, *Pintura italiana del s. XVII en España,* 1965, p.142, pl.26.
[25]It is interesting, but probably only a coincidence, that the pose of the *Amore virtuoso* in Spain resembles that of the Christ Child in the Getty picture.
[26]Grimaldi, *op.cit.*, p.111.
[27]*Idem.*; I am not familiar with this painting.
[28]See D. Mahon, in *Il Guercino, Catalogo critico dei dipinti,* exhibition Bologna, 1968, no.85.
[29]Acc. no. 75.PA.33, on canvas, 91.5 x 77.5 cm. (36 x 30½ in.). Formerly Alfred Karlsen collection, Beverly Hills.
[30]The cassone is illustrated in F. R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection; Italian Schools XIII–XV Century,* 1966, fig.303.
[31]I. Chiappini di Sorio, "L'inventario della casa di Pietro Liberi," in *Arte veneta,* XVIII, 1964, pp. 151–2.
[32]Acc. no. 73.PA.155, canvas, 44.5 x 34.3 cm. (17½ x 13½ in.). Formerly collection of Count Adelheid Lanckoronska.
[33]No.122, on canvas, 209 x 272 cm.
[34]H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk,* 1944, p.255–257.
[35]Odes, i, 2, 17–20.
[36]H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche,* v.1, 1923, p.357.
[37]Acc. no. 72.PA.25, canvas, 112.5 x 144 cm. (44¼ x 58¾ in.). Sold at Van Marle & Bignell sale, The Hague, July 26, 1943, no.69; to Vitale Bloch; sold Sotheby's, Nov.18, 1964, no.70; to Sidler; again Christie's, June 11, 1971, no.110, to French & Co.
[38]M.-L. Hairs, "Theodore van Thulden," in *Revue belge d'archéologie et l'art,* v.34, 1965, p.39. A typographical error involving the first line of the paragraph has caused the title and reference to our picture to become garbled.
[39]Published in *Le Siècle de Rubens,* exhibition Brussels, 1965, no.280a.
[40]Acc. no. 73.PA.154, panel, 35 x 24 cm. (13¾ x 9½ in.). Formerly collection of Sir Godfrey Llewellyn.
[41]F. Baudouin, "Een Antwerps schilder uit Rubens' omgeving, Philips Fruytiers, de monogrammist PHF" in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen,* 1967, pp.151–186.
[42]No.931, panel, 29 x 24 cm.
[43]The key is described as a golden chain and medal in the 1904 Munich catalogue, but the print by Vorstermann after the Munich painting shows it was definitely a key. I do not know the significance of the key.
[44]Acc. no. 71.PA.20, on canvas, 38.5 x 121.5 cm. (34⅞ x 47⅞ in.). Previous provenance unknown.
[45]B. Fredericksen, *Catalogue of Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* 1972, no.91; J. B. Bordeaux, *Baroque Masters from the J. Paul Getty Museum,* exhibition California State University at Northridge, 1973, no.14.
[46]The cleaning has been carried out by Lily Hayeem and Elizabeth Mention. The signature was actually found by Mrs. Mention.

18 Noël Hallé, *Bust of a Bearded Man.* The J. Paul Getty Museum. Gift of Frank Cahn.

[47]Acc. no. 72.PA.22, canvas, 76 x 68.5 cm. (30 x 27 in.). Formerly Delaroff collection, St.Petersburg; Johann Bien collection, Budapest; John Bass collection, sold Parke-Bernet, Jan. 25, 1945, no.20; Luther collection, sold Parke-Bernet, Nov.15, 1950, no.31; French and Co., New York, 1952. Included in the exhibition *Baroque Masters from The J. Paul Getty Museum,* Northridge, 1973, no.16.
[48]J. W. von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck,* 1965, p.66, no.5.
[49]*Rembrandt and his Pupils,* exhibition Raleigh, 1956, no.38.
[50]Gerson's opinion is found in the files of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.
[51]Verbally, 1975.
[52]See W. Sumowski, "Gerbrand van den Eeckhout als Zeichner" in *Oud-Holland,* LXXVII, 1962, p.14.
[53]*Idem.*, p.12.
[54]Acc. no. 71.PA.70, canvas, 117 x 86.5 cm. (46 x 34 in.). Formerly Central Picture Galleries, New York. Included in the exhibition *Baroque Masters from The J. Paul Getty Museum,* Northridge, 1973, no.1. The suggestion advanced in that catalogue that our picture might be identicial with one sold at Christie's on July 4, 1927, has proved to be incorrect; that painting was much smaller in size and the subject seems to have been completely different.
[55]The only article on Bartsius known to me is the short one by I. Linnik in the *Soobshcheniia* of the Hermitage, v.21, 1961,

pp.23–25. Unfortunately I have not been able to refer to it.
[56]See Bredius, in *Oud-Holland,* v.11, 1893, pp.36–37.
[57]According to Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon,* 1906, v.1, p.61, there is a portrait of a woman aged 63, dated 1630, and signed BART, in the Rijksmuseum. This painting does not appear, however, in the Amsterdam catalogues.
[58]W. Bernt, *The Netherlandish Painters of the Seventeenth Century,* 1970, v.1, p.6.
[59]In *Baroque Masters from The J. Paul Getty Museum,* 1973, p.1.
[60]See H. Gerson, *Rembrandt, Paintings,* 1968, p.40; and J. Held, "Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit" in *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies,* 1969, p.113, note 14.
[61]No.4189. See N. Maclaren, *The Dutch School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1960, pp.338–341.
[62]The Bartsius is reproduced in W. Bernt, *op.cit,* 1970, v.1, fig.56; and the Potter is found in the same place, v.2, fig.942.
[63]See Bredius, in *Oud-Holland,* v.11, 1893, pp.36–37.
[64]A comparable rendition of the *Expulsion of Hagar* would be that by Jan Victors dated 1650. See *Rembrandt and his Pupils,* exhibition Montreal, 1969, no.114.
[65]Compare to the picture of this subject by Victors in the Getty Museum dated 1649.
[66] Acc. no. 73.PA.153, canvas, 205.5 x 203 cm. (81 x 80 in.). Sold Hôtel Drouot, June 25, 1904, no.25; Beasly collection, Los Angeles.
[67]L. Dimier, *Les peintres français du XVIIIe siècle,* 1928, v.2, pp.267–281.
[68]Hôtel Drouot, June 25, 1904, no.25.
[69]I am indebted to Jean-Luc Bordeaux for this information and most of the material contained in this section of the picture by Raoux.
[70]Acc. no. 73.PA.141, canvas, 55 x 44.5 cm., (21¾ x 17½ in.). Formerly Douwes, Amsterdam, and Becker family, Amsterdam. The attribution to Hallé was suggested by Rosenberg in a letter to the author, 1973.
[71]*The Age of Louis XV,* exhibition Toledo, 1975–76, p.44.