

**Seminar in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Old Master Works on Paper**



**Spring 2013**

## SEMINAR IN SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OLD MASTER WORKS ON PAPER

The acknowledgment of drawing as fundamental to the creative process, in addition to its status as an independent aesthetic endeavor, has its origin in the Italian Renaissance. In an anecdote of 1568, artist and historian Giorgio Vasari described Cimabue's discovery of the young Giotto drawing on a rock by the side of the road, thereby establishing within the Tuscan tradition the primacy of draftsmanship or *disegno* in the making of art. By the 1600s, drawings of all types had come to be fully appreciated and collected by artists and connoisseurs alike.

Italian drawings of the early modern period served a wide range of purposes for the artist. For example, drawings were always ways for artists to "think out loud" on paper (*studi, schizzi or pensieri*), and as such they offer intimate views of working methods. In some cases, artists inscribe their drawings to further instruct a client or an assistant about proper scale or materials. Sometimes an artist authenticated a drawing with a signature. Other drawings are fully realized compositions which may be intended to inform a patron about a proposed design - a kind of presentation drawing. Still others, such as the portrait by Rosalba Carriera (cat. no. 15), are autonomous, finished works, unrelated to another project in a different medium.

The study of old master drawings and prints introduces the student to the world of special collections where particular care is given to the conservation of works on paper, and where instruction is given in the appropriate ways to study drawings. As students are asked to examine papers of different colors, to trace the origin and manufacture of paper by means of watermarks, and to recognize different types of inks and chalks, they come to appreciate the role which the physical object plays in understanding it as an historical and aesthetic work of art. Collectors' stamps on drawings or their mounts can also be informative about the history of previous ownership (provenance) and collections. Some drawings are inscribed with "incorrect" attributions. But these ascriptions reveal earlier views by connoisseurs about how an artist's work was perceived. Drawings and prints can also inform the art historian about important social, political, or theological issues of the day by functioning as a form of religious or political propaganda.

It is hoped that this small sampling of drawings and prints by important sixteenth and seventeenth Italian artists and the accompanying catalogue will be as rewarding an experience for the visitor to the exhibit as it has been for the students who participated in the exhibit.

Of the many individuals who participated in the exhibit and in the making of the catalogue, special thanks to the staff of the Snite Museum of Art: Ann Knoll, Associate Director; Cheryl Snay, Curator of European Art; and Bridget Hoyt, Curator of Education, Academic Programs for participating in the seminar and for the making the museum's collection accessible to the students. Thanks also to the museum staff for the installation of the exhibit in the Scholz Family Works on Paper Gallery.

Robert Randolph Coleman  
Associate Professor, Art History  
Department of Art, Art History and Design

**Contributors to the Catalogue**

Sara M. Bega (SMB)  
Evan Graham (EG)  
Rebecca Holmberg (RH)  
Kirsten Milliard (KM)  
Courtney Smotherman (CS)

Baccio della Porta, called Fra Bartolommeo (1472-1517). Active primarily in Florence.

***Head of an Angel, in Profile looking up to the Right***, ca. 1504-06.

Black chalk with white heightening (oxidized) on light brown laid paper, 20.5 x 16.5 cm. In the lower right corner, a collector's mark of a crown above a "W" in a circle; also in the lower right, the initials, *JCR*. Inscribed on the verso of the white paper mount, lower left, in pencil, *dmf / Fr Bartolomé*, and in the upper left in black chalk, *N:17*; and on the verso of the blue paper frame, in pencil, *204 x 163*.

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, Gift of Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963, inv. 2000.074.002.A (formerly L94.1.7)

*Provenance*: Earl of Warwick (Lugt 2600); Sir John Charles Robinson, London; Sir Herbert Cook, London; Duke Roberto Ferretti, Canada; John D. Reilly, Washington, D.C.

*Bibliography*: Berenson, 1938, vol. 2, 350, no. 2736 (as Sogliani); McTavish, 1985, 18-19, cat. no. 1 (as Sogliani); Fisher, 1990, 137-139 (as Fra Bartolommeo), fig. 70; Coleman, 2008, vol. 1, 36, no. 31 (as Fra Bartolommeo).

Fra Bartolommeo's work has a leading place in Central Italian art in the Florentine High Renaissance. The ideals and patrons that drove Fra Bartolommeo's work set him apart from Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael, even though the innovations of those artists influenced his style, and he, in turn, influenced Raphael.

Baccio (diminutive of Bartolommeo) was born in Florence to parents of modest means: Bartolommea and Paolo, who was a muleteer. They lived outside the Porta San Piero Gattolini, hence the designation "della Porta." Baccio is known to have been an apprentice of Cosimo Rosselli (1439-1507) in 1485, but his main mentor was a senior assistant in the workshop, Piero di Cosimo (1462-1522). Piero introduced Bartolommeo to the techniques and styles from the Netherlands and Germany, and encouraged him to learn from the works of other contemporary Florentine workshops. In the Rosselli workshop, Bartolommeo also met fellow student Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515) with whom he would work on and off through his life. They had a joint workshop from around 1490-1500 and again from 1508-1513, during which time theirs was the leading workshop in Florence.

One of Baccio's most important early commissions, from Gerrozzo Dini, was the *Last Judgment* (1499), a large fresco painted, in 1499, originally for a chapel in Santa Maria Nuova, and now in the Museo di San Marco, Florence. Over sixty preparatory drawings survive from this project, and they indicate the artist's careful creative process and the beginnings of his transition from the traditional drawing media of silverpoint and pen to the black chalk that was gaining in popularity. Baccio's latest surviving silverpoint drawing is from the *Last Judgment* project.<sup>1</sup> Partial composition and group studies for the fresco were done in pen, as was his custom for that kind of drawing in the early stage of his career. In some pen drawings, Baccio used tinted paper and washes for different lighting effects. Most of the *Last Judgment* drawings are monumental figure studies in black chalk and white heightening from a later stage in the working process.<sup>2</sup> Bartolommeo experimented with the play of light and dark to endow his figures with a greater plasticity, demonstrating his interest during this time in the work of

Leonardo. In fact, Baccio quotes Leonardo's *St. Jerome* (Pinacoteca Vaticana) in his fresco. The influence of the *Last Judgment* is evident in a few of Raphael's early works, including the *Trinity with Saints* (S. Severo, Perugia).<sup>3</sup>

Raphael adopted Fra Bartolommeo's preparatory drawing process, and it eventually became the academic standard.<sup>4</sup> Baccio began with quick composition sketches or invention drawings, and he proceeded to refine these ideas into more careful arrangements. Detailed studies of single figures or figural groups often from a posed apprentice were executed to work toward a refined composition. The finished components would be combined and inserted into a full-scale cartoon. Sometimes faces were fully developed in separate in-scale studies that might serve as auxiliary cartoons. The media used at each stage of the process changed throughout Fra Bartolommeo's career, although chalk was consistently applied for detailed studies.

In 1500, Bartolommeo stopped his work as an artist upon entering the monastery of San Domenico in Prato, and by 1501, he was living with the Dominicans in San Marco, Florence. He did not return to painting until 1504, perhaps at the urging of the new art-loving prior of San Marco, Sante Pagnini. In that year, Fra Bartolommeo signed a contract to paint the *Vision of St. Bernard* for the family chapel of Bernardo del Bianco in the Badia of Florence (fig. 1a). This project, for which the Snite drawing may be a study, began a period (1504-1508) in which Fra Bartolommeo was most concerned with the depiction of atmosphere and light. He sometimes created careful background landscapes, like the one in the *Vision of St. Bernard*, to create an atmospheric impression. There are about sixty extant landscape drawings by Fra Bartolommeo, most of which are not connected to a particular painting. They were all executed in pen and ink, probably between the years 1495 and 1508.<sup>5</sup>

Also during this period, Fra Bartolommeo's increasing skill in the treatment of light to build form, inspired by both Leonardo and Perugino, enabled him to create atmospheric effects. Perugino's pupil Raphael was an important figure in Fra Bartolommeo's life at this time. Fra Bartolommeo learned from Raphael some of the rudiments of perspective and the geometric arrangement of figures, and Raphael learned from him how to paint with more harmonious colors and tones. The impression of depth and spaciousness in the Frate's paintings began with his drawings. An interest in lighting motivated his more frequent use of black chalk and increasingly less pen and ink. He applied the chalk with a light handling, often in layers, to create a translucent depth.<sup>6</sup>

Fra Bartolommeo's visit to Venice in 1508 further developed his interests of the previous four years, while also providing new inspiration. In a continued endeavor to express light and color, Fra Bartolommeo ceased using pen drawings entirely in favor of black chalk, preferring its responsiveness and the gradient of light and dark it could produce. He was able to create figures of "extraordinary luminosity," such as those in *God the Father with Saints Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Siena* (1509; Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi).<sup>7</sup> Fra Bartolommeo became the most prominent painter in Florence from 1510-1513. His drawings increase in their monumentality, fitting for the large public commissions that occupied him. Fra Bartolommeo first started to use red chalk during this period. He originally reserved red chalk for small studies of details, but he eventually used it to energize his figures and compositions with movement during the last few years of his life. That change was motivated by the Frate's short visit to Rome in 1513, where the works of Michelangelo and Raphael inspired him. The Roman sojourn continued to inspire his work until his death in 1517.

The Snite drawing (fig. 1) was attributed to Fra Bartolommeo when sold at auction in 1896, but Bernard Berenson ascribed it to Giovanni Antonio Sogliani (1492-1544), a follower of

Fra Bartolommeo.<sup>8</sup> David McTavish maintained this attribution in 1985, suggesting that the drawing was connected to the angel in the upper left of Sogliani's *Disputa on the Immaculate Conception* (on deposit, Accademia, Florence), a work dating from the 1520s.<sup>9</sup> Chris Fischer returned the drawing to Fra Bartolommeo, saying that there is no similarity at all between it and the Sogliani painting.<sup>10</sup> Although it is difficult to judge based on photographs of the Sogliani work, it appears that "the inclination of the [angel's] head and the fall of the light" are indeed similar to that in the Snite drawing, as McTavish argues. However, the faint sketching of clothing at the neck of the Snite *Head* is clearly in a different direction from that of the angel's garments in Sogliani's painting, making it clear that the head and neck are twisting at a different angle. Fischer explains that the differences between Sogliani and Fra Bartolommeo's drawing styles are often difficult to detect, but that Sogliani excels at capturing fleeting expressions and movement, while Fra Bartolommeo creates stable, monumental figures, in part through his expert gradations of light and dark.<sup>11</sup> A comparison of the Snite drawing to the *Head of a Child Turned toward the Left* in the Louvre (inv. 199 recto; fig. 1b) seems to capture this difference.

Fischer's judgment that the Snite drawing is by Fra Bartolommeo seems satisfactory. He discusses the drawing as one in a group of studies of heads that used the same model, one of which is an auxiliary cartoon for the angel in the foreground of the *Vision of St. Bernard* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Vol. N 175), where the tilted heads in both works are very similar, but the viewpoint of the Rotterdam *Head* is slightly lower. Fischer does not suggest to which painting the Snite drawing might be connected. It is possible that it is an earlier stage of the angel in foreground of the *Vision of St. Bernard*, even though it seems more carefully finished than the cartoon. The shading has been so subtly blended that if there was any hatching, it is basically invisible, and the transitions between tones are gentle and natural. Fra Bartolommeo's handling of the chalk here achieves the "atmospheric character" that Fischer describes as a general characteristic of his black chalk drawings, particularly of the period from 1504 to 1508.<sup>12</sup> The Snite drawing might also be associated with an angel on the left of Fra Bartolommeo's now-destroyed *Assumption* (formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum), finished in 1508. The posture and clothing of the angels in the *Assumption* and the *Vision of St. Bernard* is quite similar, and it is possible that the Snite drawing was used in the development of both angelic heads.

KM

---

<sup>1</sup> Chris Fisher, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance: A Selection from the Rotterdam Albums and Landscape Drawings from Various Collections* (Rotterdam; Seattle: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam; University of Washington Press, 1990), 25, fig. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ludovico Borgo and Margot Borgo, "Bartolommeo, Fra." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 21, 2013,

<http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T00663>

<sup>4</sup> Fischer, 11.

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 375.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 350, no. 2736.

<sup>9</sup> David McTavish and Roberto Ferretti, *Italian Drawings: From the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985), 18.

<sup>10</sup> Fischer, 137, note 60.

<sup>11</sup> Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo et Son Atelier: Dessins Et Peintures Des Collections Françaises* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 110, 145, 147.

<sup>12</sup> Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman*, 107.

Antonio da Trento [also called Antonio Fantuzzi?] (died ca. 1527), Active in Bologna and Fontainebleau (?).

*The Martyrdom of Saint Paul with Saint Peter*, after Parmigianino, ca. 1527-28.

Chiaroscuro woodcut from three blocks on laid paper, in brown, second state of two, 28.8 x 47.4 cm. (B.XII.79.28).

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, inv. 2012.021. Acquired with funds from the Estate of Edith and Dr. Paul J. Vignos Jr. '41.

*Bibliography*: Boccazzi, 1962 (as *Martyrdom of Saints John and Paul*), 23-24, 58, pl. 1; Popham, 1969, 49; Popham, 1971, 12, fig. 21; Trotter, 1974, 39, pl. 38b; Johnson 1987, 154-158; Franklin, 2003, 210-214, no 61; Kárpáti, 2009, 102, no 41; Brugerolles, et al., 2011, 126, no 29.

Little is known about the life of printmaker Antonio da Trento, but the notices we do have provide a story of some intrigue. The only early written source on Antonio da Trento under that name is Giorgio Vasari, who mentions Antonio in his *Lives of Parmigianino* (Francesco Mazzuoli) and *Marcantonio Raimondi*. Vasari relates that Antonio resided with Parmigianino in Bologna after the latter's flight from the Sack of Rome in 1527. Antonio learned the three-block technique of the chiaroscuro woodcut from Parmigianino, who employed him to produce chiaroscuro woodcuts after his designs.<sup>1</sup> He did so for about a year, producing four woodcuts: the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul with Saint Peter* (B.XII.79.28; fig. 2), *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* (B.XII.90.7), a *Seated Nude Man seen from the Back* (B.XII.148.3; identified by some as *Narcissus*), and an oval *Madonna and Child* (B.XII.56.12). Two other woodcuts not mentioned by Vasari can also be firmly attributed to Antonio: *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (B.XII.73.17) and *The Lute Player* (B.XII.143.30). These reproduce drawings by Parmigianino, and they bear Antonio's monogram. The *Martyrdom* is the only one of Antonio's woodcuts done in three blocks (two tone-blocks and the key-block); the others use only one tone-block with the key-block. Though the collaboration between the two artists was apparently fruitful, Vasari tells of a bitter end to it. Antonio rose early one morning, while Parmigianino was still asleep, and stole all of his prints and drawings. Antonio was not heard from again.

Since the eighteenth century, scholars and critics have suggested that Antonio da Trento is the same person as Antonio Fantuzzi, a printmaker who was active at the court of François I at Fontainebleau from 1537 to 1550.<sup>2</sup> Fantuzzi produced etchings, mainly creating works after the designs of the Italian mannerists working at Fontainebleau: Giulio Romano (1499–1546), Francesco Primaticcio (1504/05–1570), and Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540). Fantuzzi is identified with Antonio da Trento in part because he also executed four etchings after designs by Parmigianino: the *Circe Giving a Beverage to Ulysses' Men* (B.XVI.195.6), *The Contest Between Apollo and Marsyas* (B.XVI.196.8), *Nymphs Bathing* (B.XVI.197.14), and *Giasone*.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, these designs appear as chiaroscuro woodcuts, two possibly by Antonio himself and two by Ugo da Carpi (active 1502–32), who was also a leader in the field of the chiaroscuro



woodcut. Additional evidence in favor of the shared identity is the close correspondence between Antonio's early monogram that appears on the *St. John the Baptist* and *The Lute Player* woodcuts, and the monograms of Antonio Fantuzzi (fig. 2a) on the four etchings mentioned above.<sup>4</sup> Although the evidence is persuasive, it is not conclusive.

Antonio's monogram does not appear on *The Martyrdom*, but this print has been consistently attributed to him on the basis of Vasari's testimony and other evidence that aligns with Vasari's account. Parmigianino first developed the *Martyrdom* design for an engraving to be made by Jacopo Caraglio (ca. 1500/05–1565), an artist who worked with Parmigianino on several print projects during his time in Rome (1524–1527). Parmigianino's final composition design (fig. 2b), two less-finished composition designs, a few figure studies, and the engraving itself (B.XV.71.8; fig. 2c) survive.<sup>5</sup> Vasari suggests that the *Martyrdom* was the first collaboration between Antonio and Parmigianino, and this is likely given that the design had already been conceived. There are no final composition drawings for any of the six woodcuts by Antonio, but there are a few figure drawings, and facsimiles of lost drawings, that are preparations for the *Martyrdom* woodcut.<sup>6</sup> These drawings provide some evidence of Parmigianino's process of revision between making the engraving and the woodcut. The shading in a study in the Louvre (inv. 6428) for the figure on the far left of the woodcut seems particularly tailored for the preparation of color blocks in a chiaroscuro woodcut.<sup>7</sup> One possible explanation for the lack of final designs for Antonio's woodcuts is that Parmigianino drew the design directly on the woodblock, as was often done. In 1558, the Venetian sculptor Alessandro Vittoria (1525–1608) wrote in his diary in 1558 that he had acquired a block of pearwood on which Parmigianino had drawn the Cumaen Sibyl meeting the Emperor Octavian.<sup>8</sup> While the diary entry may describe a design related to Antonio's *Augustus* woodcut, it does not prove that Parmigianino's design was always transferred in this way.

Although the basic shape of the *Martyrdom* woodcut's composition is similar to that of the engraving, the design was changed in several significant ways. The horizon line has been lowered, shortening the ground space and giving the scene greater immediacy. The design of the temple, in the background, is different, and there are more figures in it. An angel holding the martyr's palm now fills the sky. This motif is borrowed from Raphael's *Martyrdom of St. Cecilia*, a design engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (B.XIV.104.17).<sup>9</sup> In fact, the whole composition was likely modeled on that design, which is exactly the same size as the *Martyrdom* engraving. Parmigianino changed the dress, posture, and positions of several attendants and soldiers in the woodcut. Most strikingly, the two executioners have been modified to form a dynamic spiral at the heart of the action: the foreground executioner's detailed musculature carries a line through his body; it is continued in the curve of his sword; it is picked up by the sweeping movement of the other's cloak, and it is carried, finally, through the tip of his sword. The saints are without haloes in the woodcut, and the attribute of Peter, the keys, is missing from the foreground.

The precise subject of the *Martyrdom* is puzzling, however. That it is a scene of martyrdom is clear enough, but the identity of the saints is uncertain. Vasari referred to the woodcut as a *Beheading of Saints Peter and Paul*, and this description is generally followed, but it does not fit with Peter's traditional death by inverted crucifixion.<sup>10</sup> The keys in the foreground of Caraglio's work indicate that the saints were conceived as Peter

and Paul, at least when the engraving was made, even if that is no longer the case in the woodcut. The keys still do not explain, however, why Peter would be decapitated. Popham's suggestion that the engraving is the *Martyrdom of St. Paul with St. Peter Led Away to Execution* is problematic, because Peter seems to be on the verge of serving his sentence, and not about to be led away. This is even more clearly the case in the woodcut, because Peter is slung over the plinth with his neck exposed and with the executioner's sword almost at the point of decapitating the saint.<sup>11</sup> A simple explanation for this might be that Parmigianino decided to dispense with the tradition of Peter's crucifixion tradition for an unknown reason, and simply wished to depict in a single space the unorthodox execution of both apostles.

KM

---

<sup>1</sup>Popham considers it doubtful that Parmigianino was the one who taught Antonio the woodcut technique, see "Observations on Parmigianino's Designs for Chiaroscuro Woodcuts," in *Miscellanea: I.Q. Van Regteren Altena 16/v/1969*, (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1969), 48.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Johnson, "Antonio da Trento." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 23, 2013, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T003313>.

<sup>3</sup> A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), cat. nos. 73, 319, 74, and 411, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Adam von Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*. Vols. 12-17. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1982, vol. 12, 7.

<sup>5</sup> For the drawings, see Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings*, cat. nos. 190, 191 recto, 192, 379, 380, 417, and plates 135-140. The Caraglio print is figure 19 in Popham's introduction to the catalogue. The final drawing and the print are in the British Museum with the registration numbers 1904,1201.2 and W, 1.184.

<sup>6</sup> Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings*, pls. 138-140.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. no. 407.

<sup>8</sup> Popham, "Observations...", 49.

<sup>9</sup> Zoltán Kárpáti, *The Alchemy of Beauty: Parmigianino Drawings and Prints*, (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009), 102.

<sup>10</sup> Jan Johnson, "States and Versions of a Chiaroscuro Woodcut." *Print Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (June 1987), 154.

<sup>11</sup> Popham does refer to the woodcut as the *Martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul* in *Catalogue of the Drawings*, 13.

3

Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), active in Florence, Rome, Venice, and France.

***Standing Female Figure in Roman Costume (Muse?)*, ca.1535–38**

Red chalk on antique laid paper with partial watermark. With the collector's mark of E.

Desperet (Lugt 721) in lower left corner, 15.9 x 10.5 cm

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, on extended loan as promised gift of Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963, inv. L2011.023.001.

*Provenance:* E. Desperet (1804–65), Paris; Sotheby's, Monaco, 2 December 1988, lot 312 [as Italian School]; Yvonn Tan Bunzl, London, 1990 [as Salviati]; Sotheby's London, 7 July 2011, lot 30.

According to his close friend and biographer Giorgio Vasari, Francesco de Rossi, called Salviati, was born in Florence in 1510 to a velvet weaver. Francesco's father, noting his son's affinity to art, apprenticed the young man to his uncle, the goldsmith Dionigi da Diacceto. The young artist's interests, however, were primarily in painting, and so he was at various points in the 1520s, to be found in the studios of Giuliano Bugiardini (1475–1554), where he met Vasari, Raffaello da Brescia (1479–1538), Andrea del Sarto (1488–1531), and the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560).

Around 1531, Francesco left Florence for Rome and entered the service of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, nephew of Pope Leo X. It was from his eight-year service to this cardinal that Salviati acquired the name by which he is primarily known today. Among Salviati's works from this first Roman period is the *Visitation* (1538) in the Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, the *Annunciation* (1534) in San Francesco a Ripa, and the decoration of Cardinal Salviati's chapel in Palazzo Salviati with scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist (now lost). These works show the influence of Michelangelo and Bandinelli, but also a refined ornamentation that may have been inspired by study of Raphael's Roman works.<sup>1</sup>

Salviati seems to have had a difficult and unsettled personality that made it hard for him to permanently settle down in one place. He left Rome in 1539, returning briefly to Florence before continuing on to Venice, where he decorated several rooms in the Palazzo Grimaldi (1539–41) and produced woodcut illustrations for an edition of Pietro Aretino's *Life of the Virgin Mary* (1539). From Venice, Salviati returned to Rome in 1541 and entered the service of Pier Luigi Farnese, son of Pope Paul III, where he would remain for the next two years before a major disagreement sent Salviati once more back to Florence in 1543.

That same year, Cosimo I de' Medici commissioned Salviati to decorate the Sala dell'Udienza (audience hall) of the Palazzo Vecchio with scenes from the life of the Roman hero Marcus Furius Camillus (1543–45). Salviati also produced tapestry designs for the Medici family and a *Deposition from the Cross* (1547) in the Basilica of Santa Croce. By 1548, Salviati was once more in Rome where he worked with Vasari on the decorations for the Cappella del Pallio in the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Reconciliation with the Farnese must have followed as well, for in 1552, Salviati was commissioned to

decorate one of the rooms now known as the Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani in the Palazzo Farnese, an enterprise that lasted four years.

In 1556 or 1557, Salviati was invited to France by Cardinal Charles de Lorraine. While in France, he worked for the cardinal and other patrons, decorating rooms in Charles' palace outside Paris, but also producing a *Deposition* for the Church of the Célestins (destroyed in 1798) and the *Incredulity of Saint Thomas* now in the Louvre.

Salviati's personality, however, interfered once more with his professional ambitions, and he spent only twenty months in France before returning to Rome. The last years of Salviati's life were largely spent in Rome where he received, in 1562, the long-hoped-for commission to fresco the Sala Regia in the Vatican Palace. Unfortunately, Salviati would be unable to complete this final work before he died, at the age of fifty-three, on 11 November 1563. Today, Salviati is considered by all scholars as one of the premier artists of the stylish Central Italian High Maniera.

Like most Renaissance artists, one of Salviati's enduring passions was the reinterpretation of the art of classical antiquity into a more modern idiom, as can be seen in many of his works of classical themes, notably in the Palazzo Vecchio's Sala dell'Udienza. Although almost certainly exposed to classical sculpture in Florence, Salviati's first Roman sojourn (1531–39) would have provided him with a much larger selection of classical art from which to draw inspiration. One such work is the so-called *Muse Sarcophagus* (figs. 3a), a late first-century Roman sculpture, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which was in the 1530s found in Santa Maria Maggiore, the most venerable Marian basilica in Rome. This sarcophagus depicts the nine muses with Apollo, Minerva, and a philosopher. The sculpted figures on the sarcophagus seem to have inspired at least two drawings by Salviati, one of which is the Snite Museum drawing (fig. 3).

Catherine Monbeig Goguel has identified another of Salviati's red chalk drawings, the *Female Figure in Roman Garb with a Lyre* (fig. 3c), Louvre, inv. 2207, as inspired by one of these muses on the Viennese sarcophagus. This figure is probably Erato (the muse of love poetry whose emblem is a lyre), the third figure from the right.<sup>2</sup> Although the Snite drawing lacks an explicit emblem with which to identify the figure, the position that the woman takes, partly turned away from the viewer with her hand held up as if supporting some unseen object, is analogous to the muse beside Erato, on the left of the sarcophagus identifiable as Melpomene (fig. 3b), the muse of tragic drama.<sup>3</sup> Based on similarities in style, technique, and media, it seems likely that the Louvre and the Snite drawings were Salviati's effort to update the muses of the sarcophagus to a more contemporary style.

Monbeig Goguel dates the Louvre drawing to the mid- to late-1530s, during Salviati's first Roman visit. Her assessment is based on what she perceives as the figure's fragility and its distinctness from the style of Salviati's full High Maniera.<sup>4</sup> Salviati did not fully arrive at this new mode until his Florentine period of the mid-1540s. The manner of this earlier Roman period is evidenced by his *Visitation* in the Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, which tends to be more classicizing and refined recalling the High Renaissance art of Raphael as opposed to his later works which have a greater affinity with the High Maniera of Vasari. The young woman in the Snite drawing has the dignity and a solemn grace, a gentle sense of movement of his earlier classicizing works, and lacks the affective gestures typical of Salviati's High Maniera works. Monbeig Goguel's

comments regarding the Louvre drawing are applicable to the Snite work in which the delicate strokes of red chalk to reveal the woman's body beneath floating, classically inspired drapery.<sup>5</sup>

The innovations that Salviati makes in his drawing serve to update the static, solid figure of the marble muse into this near-mannerist woman. There is little attention paid to the details of the classical dress or hairstyle as on the sarcophagus. The draperies of Salviati's *Muse* are nearly incomprehensible as actual clothing, and her hair loosening into soft curls form a bun that adds to the figure's sense of movement. These changes may be read as indicative of Salviati's desire to create a new series of Muses that more accurately represent the artistic trends of the 1530s.

CS

---

<sup>1</sup> "l'organizzazione e l'attenzione formale di stampo raffaellesco si uniscono ad un'eleganza ornamentale parmigianesca ed alle stilizzazioni argute e taglienti di Rosso o di Bandinelli." Iris Cheney, "De Rossi, Francesco, detto il Salviati," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani Treccani*.

<[<sup>2</sup> Catherine Monbeig Goguel, \*Francesco Salviati, 1510-1563, o La bella maniera\* \(Milan: Electa, 1998\), 95. Monbeig Goguel does misidentify the muse in Louvre drawing as Euterpe, muse of love poetry, while the identifications given by the Kunsthistorisches Museum are used here.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/de-rossi-francesco-detto-il-salviati_(Dizionario-Biografico)/></a></p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

<sup>3</sup> Entry on *Musensarkophag* <<http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/viewArtefact?id=50863>>.

<sup>4</sup> Marcia B. Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 146.

<sup>5</sup> Monbeig Goguel, 95.

4

Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566 – 1643)? Active in Rome.

*Christ Preaching*, ca. 1600-30 (?).

Pen and ink and brown wash.

On extended loan as a promised gift from Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963, inv. L1988.010.002

Jusepe de Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto (1591–1652). Born in Játiva, Valencia. Active in Rome and Naples.

***Drunken Silenus.*** Dated 1628.

Signed and dated in the plate, “*Joseph a Ribera Hisp Valenti / Setaben f. Partenope / 1628.* With the dedication, “*Al molto Illre Sr Don Gioseppe Balsamo Barone de Cattasi, Giorato del Illmo / Senato della mobile citta di Messina / Giovanni Orlandi Romano. D. D.*”

Etching with drypoint, engraving, and burnishing on laid paper, second state of three, Bartsch XX.84.13; Brown 14, 26.7 x 34.6cm.

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, inv. 2012.020. Acquired with funds from the Estate of Edith and Dr. Paul J. Vignos Jr. '41.

*Provenance:* Thomas Jefferson Coolidge Family Collection, Boston; P. and D. Colnaghi, Co., Ltd., London; R.E. Lewis and Daughter, San Rafael, CA, 1968.

Jusepe de Ribera, a Spanish born painter who lived in Italy during most of his life, made major contributions to printmaking and painting, works which continue to stand out as exemplars of their medium.

Ribera's national identity as an artist has been a source of tension for the artist and scholars, since he neither completely belongs to the Italian or Spanish schools. Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier describes his style as “Italian baroque with a strong Spanish accent.”<sup>1</sup> He is, so it seems, a hybrid of both traditions. The competing national influences have cost Ribera some fame, because he is often left out of the art history narrative of each nation.

Ribera was born in Játiva, Spain, in 1591, and he is first recorded in Rome by 1611. There is very little information regarding the artist's days as a student, and it is not known where or with whom he trained. Caravaggio's art influenced his early paintings, although Ribera would not have met Caravaggio, who left Rome permanently in 1606. Rather, it was Caravaggio's Roman paintings and those of his followers that had an impact on him. Around 1616, Ribera moved to Naples, where he remained mostly until his death in 1652.

Ribera is best most known for his paintings, although he is regarded as a skilled (although short-lived) printmaker. Ribera painted religious themes, mythological subjects, and portraits in a naturalist manner. Before Ribera executed the print of the *Drunken Silenus* (fig. 5), he made a painting of the same subject (fig. 5a) in 1626, Museo di Capodimonti, Naples. The painting is Ribera's first major mythological work, and while the 1628 print is not a copy of the painting, it is a variation of it. All of Ribera's few prints were executed between 1620 and 1630, and these reveal him to be an innovative printmaker with dramatic shifts in skill and style. Jonathan Brown identifies three general stages of Ribera's printmaking, and he places the *Drunken Silenus* among prints of the artist's maturity. The delicacy with which Ribera handles darks, lights, and the range of tones between is characteristic of all his later prints.

Brown argues that Ribera viewed prints as valuable works of art in their own right, and they offered him opportunities to explore and create different compositions. It

is with this in mind that one should view the *Drunken Silenus*. Ribera made dramatic changes from the painting to the print by reversing the image and rearranging the primary characters to yield a more balanced composition. Ribera's exploration of printmaking contributed to his development as a painter by forcing him to develop a more sophisticated system of handling light and darks. The difference between the *Drunken Silenus* painting and print, particularly in the treatment of light, shows Ribera's transition from dark backgrounds with strongly lit figures, to a more evenly lit scene with appropriate shadows defining the figures. The *Silenus* print is highly refined in its technical aspects. It demonstrates an impressive ability to describe a range of textures: fur, hair, the rubbery belly of Silenus, and the realistically rendered wood of the wine barrel.

Both the print and the painting show Silenus, the god of agriculture of Greek mythology, lounging on the ground, while the satyr Pan, who is also Silenus' father, crowns him with a wreath of grape vines and leaves. Silenus is traditionally portrayed as seated in a cart pulled by two donkeys, or riding a donkey. Ribera's decision to portray Silenus lying on the ground is unusual. Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier and Jeanne Chenault Porter have identified various possible influences for Ribera's Silenus. Trapier identifies an engraving (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 27.78.1.150; fig. 5b) by Annibale Carracci, datable to 1597–1600, that was pulled from the *Tazza Farnese*, a silver plate originally in the Farnese collection in Rome, and now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, as one source.<sup>2</sup> The engraving portrays Silenus lounging on the ground, while holding a shell filled with wine. Chenault Porter considers the sculpture of Silenus on the Via Babuino as another influence, which Ribera would have been seen during his stay in Rome,<sup>3</sup> and another source of inspiration may have been a drawing by Giulio Romano, which was based on Giulio's fresco in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.<sup>4</sup>

There has been some debate about the specific scene portrayed by Ribera in the painting. Richard Spear identifies the scene as the crowing of Silenus, and he identifies the figure, in full profile, in the upper right corner, as Apollo. Spear explains that "Silenus was associated with Apollo in Renaissance and Baroque iconography and, according to a tradition attested to by [Vincenzo] Catari, was crowned."<sup>5</sup> While admitting that "satire could be the painting's main purpose," Spear also proposes that Ribera was making a connection between the crowing of Apollo and the crowing of Silenus.<sup>6</sup> In the painting, the figure next to Apollo points towards Apollo's crown, and interestingly, in the transition of the subject to the print, this gesture is not included. Wolfgang Prohaska rejects Spear's hypothesis and proposes that the scene is a bacchic celebration held every three years to crown Bacchus with ivy, as described by Ovid, in which during the night, Priapus (a minor Greek god of livestock and masculine fertility, tried unsuccessfully to rape the nymph Lotus, as a result of Silenus' donkey braying loudly, and thus drawing attention to Priapus' foul intentions. From this perspective, Ribera's scene is interesting in that it only shows the braying donkey and leaves the remainder of the story to be inferred. Unlike Spear's hypothesis, Prohaska's suggestion is not weakened by the changes Ribera made from the painting to the print. If Ribera indeed referenced the myth as told by Ovid, it would not have been the first time he explored unusual themes, extreme examples of this include his 1631 painting of a *Bearded Lady* (Hospital de Tavera, Toledo) and etchings of *Large and Small Grottesque Heads* (British Museum, inv. nos. W,6.111 and 1932,0709.12).



Regardless of the explicit theme, the overall tone of the *Silenus* is intended to be humorous. Chenault Porter observes that Ribera “seems to have been more concerned with what was to him the novelty of a classical fable,”<sup>7</sup> and, in a similar vein, Trapier notes that “Ribera did not borrow extensively from the antique as did Domenichino and others, but absorbed classical elements which he used for his own ends, never indulging in interpretations that were too literal and uninspired.”<sup>8</sup> As Spear notes, “few pictures possibly could surpass Ribera’s *Drunken Silenus* for its ability to shock and amuse the observer.”<sup>9</sup> This sense of amusement, according to Chenault Porter, is part of a Spanish tradition in which both Ribera and his frequent patron, the Flemish merchant Gaspar Roomer indulged. “The humorous attitude toward the earthly mythological subject is...the result of a Spaniard’s typically satirical attitude toward the mythological tradition.”<sup>10</sup> From this perspective, the print is more successful in presenting a satirical scene than the painting. The print allows for compositional clarity that is lacking in the painted version, where the secondary characters are lost in darkness. In the print, the addition of the two infants rolling on the ground, the clear articulation of the body of Pan and the head of the horse, and the background landscape with flying birds contribute to a scene of humorous chaos. As noted by Jonathan Brown “[the print] is in fact a notably superior rendition of the subject... it describes a more thoroughly Bacchic world.”<sup>11</sup>

RH

---

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier, *Ribera in the Collection* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1952), 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 54. For the *Tazza Farnese*, see Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979), 456-465, cat. no. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Chenault Porter; “Ribera’s Assimilation of a Silenus,” *Paragone* 30.355 (September 1979), 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Andrea Bayer, *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652*: (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 77.

<sup>6</sup> Richard E. Spear, *From Caravaggio to Artemisia: Essays on Painting in Seventeenth Century Italy and France* (London: Pindar Press, 2002), 340.

<sup>7</sup> Chenault Porter, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Trapier, 54.

<sup>9</sup> Spear, 340.

<sup>10</sup> Chenault Porter, 42.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Brown, *Jusepe de Ribera: Prints and Drawings* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 19.

Giovanni Bilivert (1585/6–1644). Active in Rome and Florence.

***Saint Helena Directing Excavations for the Recovery of the True Cross*, 1632–37.**

Black and red chalk and pen and brown ink squared on laid paper, twice mounted on laid paper then pasted on blue board, 21.7 x 14.9 cm.

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, on extended loan as promised gift of Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963, inv. L1995.028.001

*Provenance*: Prince of Hesse; Sotheby's, London, 27 March 1979, lot 119; Sotheby's, New York, 3 July 1995, lot 38.

Giovanni Bilivert was the son of the Flemish goldsmith Jacques Bylevelt, who established a workshop in Florence in the mid-1570s. Giovanni was born in 1585/6 and first studied painting in the Sienese shop of Alessandro Casolani (1552–1607) before transferring in 1603 to the studio of Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613) in Florence, following his father's death. Bilivert followed Cigoli to Rome in 1604. He joined the Accademia del Disegno in Florence in 1609, and permanently established himself in Florence in 1611.

Bilivert's early work, including his first documented painting the *Martyrdom of Saint Callistus* (1610, S. Callisto in Trastevere, Rome), the *Archangel Raphael Refusing Tobias' Gifts* (1612, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (1619, Pitti, Florence), show the heavy influence of Cigoli's style and naturalism. After his ultimate return from Rome, until the death of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici in 1621, Bilivert also had been employed by the Grand Duke as a designer of *pietra dure*.

The first of Bilivert's mature paintings that display his distinctive style is the *Finding of the True Cross* (Sta. Croce, Florence, 1621). In this work, the influence of Cigoli's naturalism and chiaroscuro is replaced with looser brushstrokes and warmer interplays of color and shadow that more closely approximate Venetian painting, although it is unknown if Bilivert had travelled there. This style, as well as a *sfumato* effect that he developed in the late 1620s, would remain present in Bilivert's works for the rest of his life.

While Bilivert's work for Duke Cosimo II seems to have been limited to *pietra dure* designs, there were other members of the Medici family for whom Bilivert executed paintings, including Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (*Susanna and the Elders* and *Roger and Angelica*, 1622 and 1624, respectively), Lorenzo de' Medici (*Apollo and Daphne*, 1630), and even Marie de' Medici, Queen of France (*Leo X Standing to Meet Francis I of France*, 1627). Among Bilivert's other patrons one finds Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (*Saint Agatha*, 1627), and there are several of Bilivert's works in important churches such as the Pisa Duomo (*Daniel and Habakkuk*, 1626) and Ss. Annunziata in Florence (*Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, 1642).

Although many of Bilivert's early paintings focused on mythological, courtly, or secular subjects, he seems to have undergone a major religious conversion following a serious illness in early 1635. Bilivert's works executed after his conversion are almost exclusively religious, such as the *Saint Bruno* (1636), the aforementioned *Mystic*

*Marriage of St. Catherine*, and his last work, a *Holy Family with Saints Elizabeth and John the Baptist* (1644). Bilivert died in Florence on 16 July 1644.

One of Bilivert's last major projects was his work in the Cappella Bonsi in the Theatine Church of San Gaetano, Florence. First contracted in 1632, Bilivert completed the painting (fig. 6a) in 1636 or 1637 for which the Snite drawing (cover and fig. 6) is preparatory. The left transept chapel, known as the Cappella della Croce, was owned by the Bonsi, a prominent, Florentine, aristocratic family,<sup>1</sup> and its decorations were directed by Count Francesco Bonsi. In 1632, perhaps to honor the recent death of his aunt Elena Bonsi, Francesco Bonsi commissioned both Matteo Rosselli (1578–1650), Jacopo Vignali (1594–1664), and Giovanni Bilivert to decorate the chapel with scenes from the tale of the Finding of the True Cross, a narrative derived from the medieval *Golden Legend* of Jacopo da Voragine. The chapels' altarpiece (fig. 6b) painted by Matteo Rosselli, represents the *Discovery of the True Cross* by Saint Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, and the name saint of Count Boni's aunt. On the left wall, Jacopo Vignali painted *The Vision of Constantine*, and Bilivert's part of the commission, *Saint Helena Directing Excavations for the Recovery of the True Cross* (fig. 6a) was placed on the right wall.

The subject of the drawing (cover and fig. 6) has often been mistaken as the Discovery of the True Cross. This high point of the narrative, however, is found in Rosselli's altarpiece in the Bonsi Chapel (fig. 6b), which depicts St. Helena's interaction with the rediscovered True Cross and her exaltation and adoration of the relic.<sup>2</sup> The figures in Bilivert's drawing and oil painting represent a different aspect of the narrative, that is, the moments immediately before the finding of the Cross in which the saint supervises the laboring excavators.

The drawing executed in red chalk, brown and black ink on white paper, has been damaged by stains and tears over the course of time, and is now mounted on a blue board. For stylistic reasons, it is probably a late compositional *modello*, dating from 1635, although there is the possibility that, due to the differences in volumetrics between figures in the *modello* and the painting, the work may have been intended as a contract drawing done in the early stages of the commission. As Catherine Monbeig Goguel notes however, drawings made by Bilivert early in the design process are hurried and incomplete. The lines in these drawings appear rapidly sketched and full of motion,<sup>3</sup> while more final sketches, like the Snite *Saint Helena* are more carefully controlled and have few *pentimenti*. A comparison of the final painting with the Snite *modello* shows that the only major changes between the two works is the exchange of Saint Helena's imperial scepters for a crown, and a slight shift in the position of the worker, on the right, who in the painting is turned more towards the viewer.

Another indication that the drawing is near the final stage of painting's design is the fact that it is squared for transfer, suggesting that Bilivert was sufficiently pleased with the composition to transfer it to a cartoon or to the painting's support. It is interesting, that the Snite drawing is twice squared, in ink and again in red chalk. Since the squaring in either medium does not form equal rows of even squares on either axis, it is possible that the drawing has been reduced in size, perhaps to deal with damage, or, more likely, that Bilivert erroneously measured and later corrected his mistake.

One feature of the drawing that may cause some to question as to whether it represents a near-final stage of the design process is the dissimilarity in the costumes

indicated in the drawing and those in the painting. In the drawing, the figures appear to wear simple classical garb, while in the painting, the clothing is more ornate and sumptuous. Such changes are in keeping with Bilivert's general practice. For example, in his *Apollo and Daphne* (1630) for Don Lorenzo de' Medici, and now in the Staatsgalerie, Stockholm, Bilivert emphasizes the movement of the figures and the general positioning of the drapery, rather than with the details of fabric or fashion.<sup>4</sup> It is also always possible that such changes would be made during the transfer from the *modello* to the cartoon, or even during the actual process of painting.

CS

---

<sup>1</sup> For the Bonsi family, see the numerous articles on them in the Treccani Dizionario Biografico.

<<http://www.treccani.it/biografie/>>

<sup>2</sup> "Cappella Bonsi della Croce" <[http://www.chiesasangaetanofirenze.it/?page\\_id=54](http://www.chiesasangaetanofirenze.it/?page_id=54)>.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Monbeig Goguel, *Il seicento fiorentino: Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III* (Florence: Cantini, 1986.), v. 3, 228.

<sup>4</sup> Roberto Contini, *Bilivert: Saggio di ricostruzione* (Florence: Sansoni, 1985), 99, figs. 42 and 43.

Elisabetta Sirani (1638-65). Active in Bologna.

***Study of a Group of Figures***, ca. 1658.

Pen and brown ink and wash over red chalk on off-white laid paper, 206 x 207 mm.

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, Gift of Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963, inv. 1999.068.

*Provenance:* Sotheby's London, 8 July 1989, lot 196.

*Bibliography:* Bohn, 2004, 215, note 13, and fig. 13.

Elisabetta Sirani was born in Bologna in 1638 to Giovanni Andrea Sirani (1610–70), an active painter in Bologna and assistant to Guido Reni (1575–1642). Elisabetta had two sisters who were also artists, Anna Maria and Barbara, both of whom were trained by Elisabetta. Although her father was an artist, he did not encourage Elisabetta to paint. Instead, it was Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616–93), a personal friend, mentor, and biographer of Bolognese artists that recognized Elisabetta's gifts and encouraged her father to develop her talents.<sup>1</sup> By the age of seventeen, in 1655, Elisabetta was painting professionally, producing two works that year, five the following, and eighteen the next. The details of her training are not entirely known, but it is generally understood that as a woman she would not have had access to the Accademia degli Incamminati, the Carracci's Bolognese art academy. Consequently, she would have been trained, at least in part, by her father. In addition, she would not have been able to study the male nude in drawing classes, and this aspect of her training is sometimes evident in the physical awkwardness of her male figures.

Elisabetta's painting style has often been incorrectly characterized as merely imitative of Guido Reni. Indeed, she was influenced by Reni, but the fact that her father was Reni's assistant, and that she was buried beside Reni in San Domenico in Bologna, has only reinforced this notion. She was a precocious and individual artist whose art was built upon no single individual. The art of Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) and Francesco Gessi (1588–1649) were also influential in her formation.

Sirani's studio was popular, and was visited by many important individuals, who commissioned small works. In 1664, Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany visited Elisabetta's studio and ordered a painting of the Virgin Mary. The Duchess of Brunswick visited Elisabetta's studio in 1665 in order to observe her paint,<sup>2</sup> and other notables like Alfonso Gonzaga, the Duke of Brisach, the Duke of Lorraine, and the son of the Viceroy of Bohemia also called upon her.<sup>3</sup> Elisabetta was also a graphic artist, a poet, and a harpist. Most of her prints (etchings) date from her early years and are of religious subjects. She also trained other artists, mostly women that included her sisters, as noted above. Elisabetta died at the age of twenty-seven.<sup>4</sup>

Most of Elisabetta's commissions were small works for private patrons, but she did paint large history subjects for public places. In 1657, she received her first major public commission from Daniele Granchi, prior of the Carthusian Monastery of San Gerolamo della Certosa in Bologna. The commission was for an oil painting for a lateral wall of the monastery's chapel, opposite her father's wall painting *The Supper of the Pharisee with Mary Magdalene* (completed

in 1652). Elisabetta's painting, finished in 1658, is the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 7a). The Snite *Study of a Group of Figures* (fig. 7) is a design for the figures in the painting's right foreground. Other studies also associated with this painting are in Frankfurt, *The Preaching of the Baptist* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 4395), still ascribed to Giovanni Andrea Sirani, and the *The Baptism of Christ* in the Albertina (inv. no. 2506; fig. 7b), Vienna. There are also smaller preparatory studies at Windsor Castle. The Dusseldorf *Preaching of the Baptist*, although not formally a preparatory drawing, is discussed by Babette Bohn as such, because it is close in graphic style to the Albertina preparatory drawing. Bohn also suggests that the two drawings were made at the same time.<sup>5</sup>

Because of the paucity of preparatory drawings by Sirani for the Certosa *Baptism*, it is very difficult to ascertain the Snite drawing's place within the preparatory process. Biographer Malvasia records that the evening Sirani was informed of the Certosa commission, she immediately sketched the composition, finishing it during the night. The Albertina *Baptism* may be the same drawing mentioned by Malvasia,<sup>6</sup> and, if so, could be placed at the beginning of Sirani's preparation for the painting.

A comparison of the Snite *Study of a Group of Figures* with the Albertina drawing reveals that the three main figures in the Snite drawing are absent in the Albertina drawing. The only figure present in both drawings is the man in the middle ground, on the right of the Albertina drawing, and the loosely drawn figure in the background of the Snite sheet. (It is notable that the figures in the Snite drawing are absent in the Frankfurt drawing). In addition, in the painting, the woman seated with children on her lap is present, but slightly altered, in the Albertina composition, but absent in the Snite drawing. Whatever the chronology of the design process is, it does seem clear that Sirani made minor, but important adjustments (moving figures forward, including some figures and eliminating others) in order to improve the painting's overall design.

*Study of a Group of Figures* is a typical example of Elisabetta's drawing style and technique. According to Bohn, some one hundred drawings can be convincingly attributed to Sirani, and about a quarter of these drawings can be connected to known paintings and prints. She executed drawings in different media: brush and wash, pen and ink with wash, black chalk, red chalk, and a combination of chalks. In *Study of a Group of Figures*, Sirani quickly sketched with red chalk, and then finished with brown ink and wash. Malvasia wrote at length about her unique drawing style, and he compared her drawing method to the great masters, noting that she made a great invention out of a few pencil marks and brush strokes. Although, the technique and quick drawing style in the Snite drawing may be indicative of her lack formal training. In any case, drawings like the Snite's *Study of a Group of Figures* reveal Sirani's unique place among the great Italian Baroque draftswomen and draftsmen of her day.

<sup>1</sup> For the biographies of Giovanni Andrea and Elisabetta Sirani, see Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice: vite de' pittori bolognese* (Bologna: Tipografia Guidi all'Ancora, 1842; Reprint, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 2004), vol. 2, 385-412.

<sup>2</sup> Malvasia, 389, and Eleanor Tufts, "Elisabetta Sirani 1638-1665," in *Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists* (New York: Paddington Press, 1974), 82.

<sup>3</sup> Malvasia, 389.

<sup>4</sup> Tufts, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Babette Bohn, "Elisabetta Sirani and Drawing Practices in Early Modern Bologna," *Master Drawings*, 42, no. 3 (2004): 213.

<sup>6</sup> Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, "Elisabetta Sirani," in *Women Artists 1550-1950* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976), 148.

Giacinto Calandrucci (1646 – 1707). Active in Palermo and Rome.

***Diana with Two Putti*, 1680–85.**

Pen and brown iron gall ink over black chalk on laid paper, 180 x 249 mm. Inscribed in the lower right corner, *Caland<sup>ri</sup>*. On the verso, in the lower left, the stamp of George Usklaub (1221) and in the lower right, in graphite, *Hyacinth Calandrucci*.

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, on extended loan from the collection of Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963, inv. L1991.031.004.

*Provenance*: George Usklaub (1845 – 1929), Marseille (L1221); W. M. Brady and Co., Inc, New York, 1991.

Giacinto Calandrucci was born in Palermo in 1646. At an unknown date, he moved to Rome, where he first studied under Pietro del Pò (1610 – 92), a painter and engraver also from Palermo, before moving to the studio of Carlo Maratti (1625–1713). Maratti was the most important painter in Rome at the time, maintaining a large studio of aspiring painters.<sup>1</sup> As *Principe* of the Roman Academy of St. Luke, he maintained a wide influence of not only painting, but of the style and taste of the period: late Baroque Classicism.<sup>2</sup> While studying in Maratti's studio, Calandrucci adopted his master's technique of drawing various compositions of the same subject, "preliminary sketches with pen outlines alone, without any shading or washes," before executing the cartoon and fresco.<sup>3</sup> In 1705, Calandrucci returned to Palermo to paint the oratory of San Lorenzo. He died there shortly after in 1707.

Between 1680 and 1685, Roman patrician Monsignor Muti approached Maratti to execute frescoes for the ceiling of the gallery of his Palazzo Muti Papazzuri.<sup>4</sup> The palazzo was designed by Bernini's pupil Mattia de' Rossi (1637–95), and built (1660-79) to honor the marriage of Pompeo Muti Papazzuri and Maria Isabella Massimo. The decorations in the gallery were to celebrate their union with an allegorical theme "based on the Triumph of Love and Venus."<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Grimaldi (1606–80) was the first artist in charge of organizing the gallery's design scheme.<sup>6</sup> Primarily a landscape painter, Grimaldi painted much of the decorations and landscapes, but he left the large *quadri riportati* for another artist to fill with frescoes.<sup>7</sup> Grimaldi died in 1680, and Muti subsequently turned to Maratti.<sup>8</sup>

Maratti, however, recommended Calandrucci for the job, probably because Maratti was busy with other commissions.<sup>9</sup> At this time, Calandrucci was working on frescoes in Rome in the Palazzo Lante, Palazzo Strozzi-Besso, and the Villa Falconieri, and Monsignor Muti, trusting Maratti's judgment, granted Calandrucci the commission, and requested his ideas.<sup>10</sup> Calandrucci continued the Grimaldi's allegorical program of Diana, Endymion, Venus, and Flora, and he began to experiment with numerous compositional drawings.

The Snite *Diana with Two Putti* (fig. 8) is one such compositional drawing. Diana is shown draped and half-reclining, looking down to her right, while holding her right arm around a standing putto. As the huntress and goddess of the moon, she wears a crescent diadem, and she holds a bow in her left hand. A putto looks upward at her bow. Two hunting dogs are at the far right.

The drawing was first sketched in black chalk, and then strengthened in brown ink. The "burning" of the paper on Diana's face and left *putto* is an indication of the application of iron gall ink, which is highly acidic and often corrodes paper over time.

More of Calandrucci's studies for the fresco of *Diana Seated on Clouds* (fig. 8a) are conserved in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, the Louvre, and the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome.<sup>11</sup> They offer a significant view into the artist's design process for the fresco. A comparison of the Snite *Diana* with the other drawings suggests that it is among the more advanced, final studies. Earlier studies place Diana to the right of the frame, resting on her left thigh (fig. 8b). Later studies shift her gaze and redistribute the putti, until a final ink and wash drawing bears a very close resemblance to the painted composition (8c and 8d). Calandrucci's confident use of pen in the Snite drawing demonstrates his assuredness not only in technique, but also the way forms take shape upon the paper. The Snite drawing does not focus on expressing volumes and shading, rather it explores the relationships between Diana and the putti, rounding out the forms as they seem to float in the clouds. The composition is well-resolved, yet differences do remain between the drawing and the fresco (figs. 8 and 8a). The Snite drawing shows Diana gazing and cradling the *putto* to her right, while the fresco separates Diana and the *putto*. Her arm is outstretched, to her right, perhaps to reach for the *putto* or to pluck an arrow from her quiver. She does this as she gazes out of the frame, to the right. The fresco also substitutes the dogs at Diana's left (in the Snite drawing) for another *putto*, who carries a quiver with arrows, on the goddess' right, thus placing Diana in the center of the frame.

From the placement of the four frescoed *quadri riportati* in the gallery, it appears that Calandrucci was interested with the interaction of the scenes' protagonists. Since *Diana in the Clouds* (fig. 8a) and *Diana and Endymion* (fig. 8b) face each other from opposite ends of the gallery ceiling, Diana's outward gaze toward *Diana and Endymion*, past Venus and Flora, suggests a premonition of her own discovery of love for the beautiful shepherd.

SMB

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean K. Westin and Robert H. Westin, *Carlo Maratti and His Contemporaries: Figurative Drawings from the Roman Baroque*, (University Park : Penn. State, 1975), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Westin, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Dowley, "A Few Drawings by Carlo Maratti," *Master Drawings* 4, no. 4 (1966), 426.

<sup>4</sup> Sources mistakenly locate Calandrucci's frescoes in Palazzo Balestra. The Muti family had a number of *palazzi* in Rome. The Palazzo Muti Papazzuri, and the palazzo now known as Palazzo Balestra are easily confused, because they are near one another. Danuta Batorska provides confirmation of the fresco's placement in Palazzo Muti Papazzuri in "Grimaldi and the Galleria Muti Papazzuri." *Antologia di Belle Arti* 2, no. 7/8 (1978), 204-215.

<sup>5</sup> Giulia Fusconi and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "Note in margine ad una schedatura: i disegni del Fondo Corsini nel Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe," *Bollettino d'arte* 67, no. 16 (October-December, 1982), 105.

<sup>6</sup> Danuta Batorska, 204.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Dieter Graf, *Die Handzeichnungen Von Giacinto Calandrucci: 2 vols.* (Düsseldorf : Das Museum, 1986), 204, and Prosperi Valenti Rodinò cites a compositional drawing by Maratti of *Flora* in the Resta Codex, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (F 261 inf. n. 247, p. 233) that is a compositional design for Calandrucci's fresco on the gallery's ceiling. The presence of this drawing suggests that Maratti began to work on the commission, and then turned the project over to Calandrucci.

<sup>10</sup> Graf, 204.

<sup>11</sup> See also Graf cat. nos. 68-76, (Louvre, inv. 15282 and Gabinetto delle Stampe F.C. 127385) for additional drawings.



9

Lazzaro Baldi (1622-1703). Active in Rome.

***A Saint Preaching in Prison***, ca. 1658 (?)

Brush and gray wash with touches of gray gouache over black chalk on laid paper,  
43.2 x 23.5 cm.

On extended loan as a promised gift from Mr. John D. Reilly, Class of 1963,  
inv. L2012.008.002.

*Bibliography*: Sotheby's, New York, January 25, 2012, lot 56.

## Bibliography

- Bartsch, Adam von. *Le peintre graveur*. Vols. 12-17. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1982.
- Batorska, Danuta. "Grimaldi and the Galleria Muti-Papazzurri." *Antologia di Belle Arti* 2, nos. 7-8 (December 1978): 204-215.
- Bayer, Andrea. *Jusepe de Ribera 1591-1652*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.
- Berenson, Bernard. *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Bohn, Babette. "Elisabetta Sirani and Drawing Practices in Early Modern Bologna." *Master Drawings* 42.3 (2004): 207-236.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*. Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2004, "Preface," I: "The Context of Early Modern Bologna;" II: "Works on Paper in Sixteenth-Century Bologna."
- Borgo, Ludovico and Margot. "Bartolommeo, Fra." Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online. Oxford University Press, accessed March 21, 2013, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T006630>>
- Brown, Jonathan. *Jusepe De Ribera: Prints and Drawings*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Brugerolles, Emmanuelle, Camille Debrabant, Nathalie Strasser, and Dominique Vandecasteele. *Parmesan: dessins et gravures en clair-obscur*. Carnets d'Études. Vol. 19. Paris: Beaux-arts de Paris les éditions: Cabinet des dessins Jean Bonna, 2011.
- "Cappella Bonsi della Croce." <[http://www.chiesasangaetanofirenze.it/?page\\_id=54](http://www.chiesasangaetanofirenze.it/?page_id=54)>
- Cheney, Iris. "The Parallel Lives of Vasari and Salviati." In *Giorgio Vasari: tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, 301-308. Edited by Gian Carlo Garfagnini. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1985.
- Coleman, Robert Randolph. "Fra Bartolommeo." In *A Corpus of Drawings in Midwestern Collections: Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings*, vol. 1, 36, no. 31. Edited by Edward Olszewski. Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008.
- Contini, Roberto. "Bijlvert: (2) Giovanni Bilivert." Oxford Art Online. <[http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T008850pg2?q=giovanni+bilivert&search=quick&pos=1&\\_start=1#firsthit](http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T008850pg2?q=giovanni+bilivert&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit)>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bilivert: saggio di ricostruzione*. Florence: Sansoni, 1985.

Dowley, Francis. "A Few Drawings by Carlo Maratti." *Master Drawings* 4, no. 4 (1966): 422-434, 491-498.

Du Gué Trapier, Elizabeth. *Ribera in the Collection*. New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1952.

Felton, Craig, and William B. Jordan, eds. *Jusepe De Ribera: Lo Spagnoletto*. Fort Worth: Kimball Art Museum, 1982.

Fischer, Chris. *Disegni di Fra Bartolommeo e della sua scuola*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance: A Selection from the Rotterdam Albums and Landscape Drawings from various Collections*. Rotterdam; Seattle: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam; University of Washington Press, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Fra Bartolommeo et son atelier: dessins et peintures des collections françaises*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994.

Fondation Custodia. *Le Marques de Collections de Dessins et d'Estampes*, "L.721." <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/6515/total/1>

\_\_\_\_\_. "L1212." <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/7354/total/1>

Franklin, David. *Painting in Renaissance Florence, 1500-1550*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Art of Parmigianino*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Fusconi, Giulia and Simonetta Prospero Valenti Rodinò. "Note in margine ad una schedatura: I disegni del Fondo Corsini nel Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe." *Bollettino d'Arte* 67, no. 16 (October-December 1982): 81-118.

Gascoigne, Bamber. *How to Identify Prints*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Graf, Dieter. *Die Handzeichnungen von Giacinto Calandrucci*: 2 vols. Düsseldorf: Das Museum, 1986.

Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*. Berkeley: Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996.

Hall, Marcia B. *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Harris, Ann Sutherland, and Linda Nochlin. *Women Artists, 1550-1950*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York: Distributed by Random House, 1976.

Johnson, Jan. "States and Versions of a Chiaroscuro Woodcut." *Print Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (June 1987): 154-158.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Antonio da Trento." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 23, 2013, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T003313>>

"Jusepe De Ribera." *Nga.gov*. National Gallery of Art, n.d. Web. Mar. 2013.

Kárpáti, Zoltán and Eszter Seres. *The Alchemy of Beauty: Parmigianino Drawings and Prints*. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009.

Karpinski, Caroline, ed. *Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcuts (Bartsch Volume XII)*. Vol. 1 of *Le Peintre Graveur Illustré*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

Kurz, Otto. *Bolognese Drawings of the XVII & XVIII Centuries: in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*. Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1988.

Malvasia, Carlo Cesare. *Felsina pittrice: vite de' pittori bolognesi*. 2 vols. Bologna: Tipografia Guidi all'Ancona, 184; Reprint: Bologna: Aldo Forni, 2004.

McTavish, David. *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario*, 1985.

Meilach, Dona Z. *Printmaking*. New York: Pitman Corporation, 1965.

Monbeig Goguel, Catherine. *Francesco Salviati, 1510-1563, o, La bella maniera*. Milan: Electa, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Il seicento fiorentino: Arte da Fernando I a Cosimo III*. Florence: Cantini, 1986.

"Rossi, Francesco Salviati del." *Oxford Art Online*. <[http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00156240?q=francesco+salviati&search=quick&pos=2&\\_start=1#firsthit](http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00156240?q=francesco+salviati&search=quick&pos=2&_start=1#firsthit)>

Popham, A. E. *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino*. New Haven: Published for the Pierpont Morgan Library by Yale University Press, 1971.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Observations on Parmigianino's Designs for Chiaroscuro Woodcuts." In *Miscellanea: I.Q. Van Regteren Altena 16/v/1969*, 48-51. Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1969.

Porter, Jeanne Chenault. "Ribera's Assimilation of a Silenus." *Paragone*. 30, no. 355. (September 1979): 41-54.

Portys, Javier. *Ribera*. Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafa, 2011.

Ragg, Laura M. *The Women Artists of Bologna*. London: Methuen & Co., 1907.

Spear, Richard. *From Caravaggio to Artemisia: Essays on Painting in Seventeenth Century Italy and France*. London: Pindar Press. 2002.

Thiem, Christel. "Some Drawings by Giovanni Bilivert and their Iconography." *Master Drawings*. 2, no.3 (1983): 275-282.

Trotter, William Henry. "Chiaroscuro Woodcuts of the Circles of Raphael and Parmigianino: A Study in Reproductive Graphics." Ph.D. dissertation. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974.

Tufts, Eleanor. *Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists*. New York: Paddington Press, 1974.

Westin, Jean K., Robert H. Westin, and State University Pennsylvania. *Carlo Maratti and His Contemporaries: Figurative Drawings from the Roman Baroque*. University Park: Penn. State, 1975.

Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Artists: A Selection*, edited by Bull, George. London: Folio Society, 1993.

Zava Boccazzi, Franca. *Antonio Da Trento: incisore, prima metà XVI sec.* Preface by Rodolfo Pallucchini. Trent: Edition: 1.ed, 1962.

Zerner, Henri, ed. *Italian Artists of the Sixteenth Century School of Fontainebleau*. Vol. 33. *The Illustrated Bartsch*. New York: Abaris Books, 1979.



Figure 1



Figure 1a



Figure 1b



Figure 2

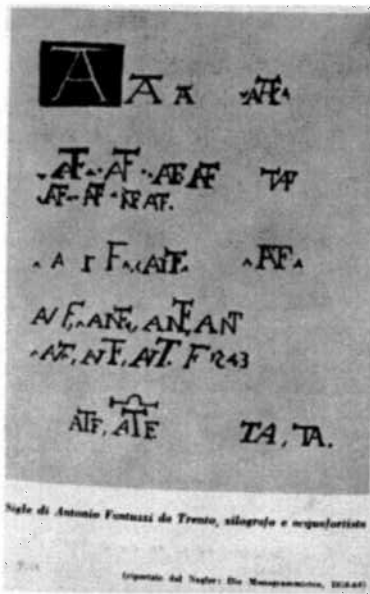


Figure 2a

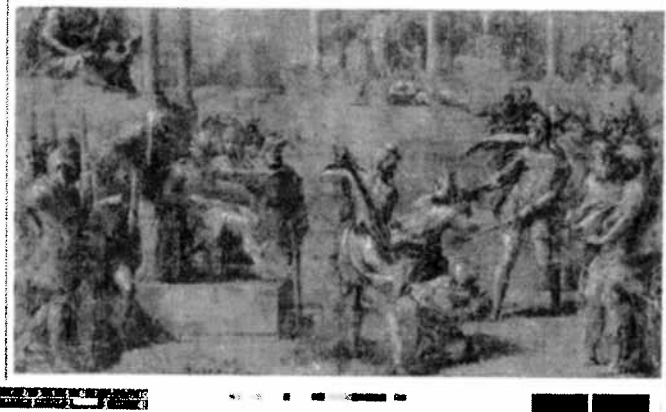


Figure 2b



Figure 2c



Figure 3



Figure 3c



Figure 3b



Figure 3a





Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 5a



Figure 5b



Figure 6



Figure 6a



Figure 6b



Figure 7



Figure 7a



Figure 7b



Figure 8



A 11

Diana auf Wolken. Rom, Palazzo Muti Papazzurri, Galleria

Figure 8a



Figure 8b

70

Kat. 57r

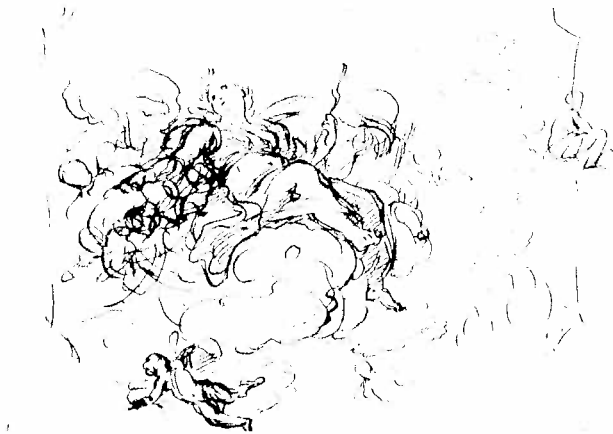


Figure 8c

71

Kat. 58



Figure 8d

72

Kat. 59



Figure 8e





Figure 9