

MANNERIST PRINTS

International Style
in the Sixteenth Century



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Mannerism was an international style in the sixteenth century, with roots in Italian art. Italian artists traveled throughout Europe, and Italy attracted many foreign artists who then produced in their homelands their interpretations of Italian styles past and present. Mannerist printmaking originated in Rome shortly after the death of Raphael in 1520 and became an international movement, spreading in the 1540s to the French royal court at Fontainebleau and to Flanders and during the last quarter of the sixteenth century to Holland.

This catalogue represents 148 Italian, French, and Netherlandish prints selected from the Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The text was written by Bruce Davis, curator of prints and drawings at the museum, and includes an introductory essay on mannerist printmaking, its sources in Italian painting, and its spread across Europe; an entry on each of the prints; and biographies of the engravers represented.

Jacket front:

Giulio Sanuto

Tantalus (cat. no. 40)

Jacket back:

Jacques Bellange

Melchior (cat. no. 67)

MANNERIST PRINTS: International Style in the Sixteenth Century

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Bruce Davis

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Exhibition Itinerary

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
28 July–9 October 1988

The Toledo Museum of Art
26 November 1988–29 January 1989

John and Mable Ringling
Museum of Art, Sarasota
23 February–30 April 1989

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University of Texas at Austin
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CONTENTS

7	Foreword	
9	Acknowledgments	
10	Introduction	
	Catalogue of the Exhibition	
	ITALIAN PRINTS	23
	FRENCH PRINTS	161
	NETHERLANDISH PRINTS	227
325	Artists' Biographies	
332	Selected Bibliography	
335	Index of Inventors	



Mannerism was an international style in the sixteenth century, with roots in Italian art. Italian artists traveled throughout Europe, and Italy attracted many foreign artists who then produced in their homelands their interpretations of Italian styles past and present. Mannerist printmaking originated in Rome shortly after the death of Raphael in 1520 and became an international movement, spreading in the 1540s to the French royal court at Fontainebleau and to Flanders and during the last quarter of the sixteenth century to Holland. Prints played a significant role in the developments and dissemination of the mannerist style in all the arts. Their bizarre expressiveness, artificiality, and sometimes outrageous provocativeness appealed to a culturally refined and sophisticated audience. Appreciation of mannerist prints reached its nadir in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but resumed in the present century, when mannerism's self-conscious exaggerations struck a responsive chord in modern viewers.

Mannerist Prints: International Style in the Sixteenth Century presents a selection of Italian, French, and Netherlandish prints chosen entirely from more than six hundred mannerist engravings, etchings, and woodcuts collected by Mary Stansbury Ruiz. Her collection was the finest and most extensive of its kind in private hands in the United States. The presence in Los Angeles of such a comprehensive private collection was a surprise to many scholars, who did not expect to discover many old master prints in this very contemporary city. It was with tremendous sadness that Mary's friends realized during the past year that she would not live to view the exhibition, but she was tremendously enthused and excited about it and the catalogue that accompanies the show. The fact that the exhibition was drawn from her collection meant very little to her. It was her love of mannerism that she wanted to proselytize, and the exhibition is a memorial to her sense of

connoisseurship and taste. Her name will live on through her magnificent bequest of this collection to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

We would like to thank Bruce Davis, the museum's curator of prints and drawings, for the organization of the exhibition. His scholarly catalogue is one of the most extensive on the subject of mannerist prints. We are also pleased to circulate the exhibition to the Toledo Museum of Art; John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota; Arthur M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin; and Baltimore Museum of Art. Their enthusiasm for the opportunity to present this broad selection of mannerist prints is greatly appreciated.

Earl A. Powell III

Director

Los Angeles County Museum of Art



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Mannerist Prints: International Style in the Sixteenth Century comprises many of the best works in the collection of Mary Stansbury Ruiz. After her initial impulse to amass a general collection of masterpieces and then a brief infatuation with the English etching movement, Mary was captivated in the early 1970s by the hothouse artificiality and eccentricity of mannerism. She was able to acquire many mannerist works when they were not yet fashionable and so highly prized. The strength of her holdings in Italian, French, and Netherlandish prints is quite unusual given the rarity of many of these works, particularly among some of the Italians, the school of Fontainebleau, and the Flemish. Some of the prints are, in fact, unique. It was a joy to witness the continual growth of the collection, including the recent acquisitions of rarities by Jacques Bellange, Juste de Juste, and Parmigianino.

The many hours spent with Mary discussing general topics of mannerism as well as specific works were a tremendous pleasure. Her knowledge, connoisseurship, generosity, hospitality, and energy fueled this project since its inception. Without her kindly enthusiasm, there would be no collection, exhibition, or publication. The past year was exceptionally difficult for all involved because Mary was stricken with cancer. Despite the increasing hardship she underwent, she continued to acquire prints and contribute to every aspect of the exhibition and catalogue. Her death in October 1987 was mourned by her many friends and colleagues, who recognized Mary as one of the kindest people and most knowledgeable collectors.

This project also would not have been possible without the unflagging support, encouragement, and perceptive suggestions of Victor Carlson, senior curator of prints and drawings at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. He shouldered many departmental tasks and responsibilities that would

otherwise be shared more equitably in order to provide the necessary time and opportunity for concentration. The skill, diligence, accuracy, and good humor of departmental secretary Sharon Asplund are qualities appreciated by every author. Her quick mastery of the material and its complexities greatly facilitated their organization. Above all I thank the museum's director, Earl A. Powell III, for his sustaining encouragement. The support of other museum personnel is also gratefully acknowledged: paper conservator Victoria Blyth-Hill, graphic designer Jeffrey Cohen, museum library assistant Anne Diederick, photographer Steven Oliver, head of exhibition programs John Passi, managing editor Mitch Tuchman, and editor Edward Weisberger.

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Bruce Davis

Curator, Prints and Drawings

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

The style known as mannerism is considered to have lasted for about a century, from the death of Raphael in 1520 to the end of Jacques Bellange's career in 1620. The concept of mannerism derives from Giorgio Vasari's frequent use in his *Lives of the Artists* of the word *maniera* as a reference to not only an artist's individual manner, or style, but also as a term for a general aesthetic. In deference to Vasari some authors use the term *maniera* instead of *mannerism*. They have also defined different temporal phases, with Early Maniera encompassing the period in Italy roughly from the death of Raphael to the mid-1530s, High Maniera at midcentury in Italy, France, and the Netherlands, and Late Maniera during the last quarter of the century throughout Europe. Mannerism, which John Shearman referred to as "the stylish style,"¹ is characterized by compositional, figural, emotional, and narrative elements that veer, in varying degrees of extremity, away from the median of harmony and equilibrium exemplified by the art of the High Renaissance. Space in mannerist compositions may be so tightly compressed as to seem nonexistent or so loosely structured as to permit disturbing spatial irregularities and transitions. Mannerist artists frequently violated classical canons of figural proportions in order to emphasize torsos and limbs rather than accepted ratios of parts to the whole. Figures were often nude, regardless of the appropriateness to the story but certainly indicative of the artists' mastery of anatomy. This skill was also made evident in the outlandish postures assumed by many of the figures, who were bent and twisted beyond natural composure. In some works, like Hendrik Goltzius's engraving *The Dragon Devouring the Companions of Cadmus*,² these distortions emphasize the violence and drama of the narrative. In other cases such distortions simply seem like capriciousness, but wit and cleverness are important aspects of the mannerist aesthetic, evident not only

in the artists' figural and compositional styles but also in their frequent choices of esoteric and arcane subjects. The positive qualities associated with the words *maniera* (manner/style) and *manieroso* (mannerist/stylish) in sixteenth-century Italy, however, became regarded as negative attributes in subsequent centuries. The words *mannerist* and *stylish* became *mannered* and *stylized* in their most pejorative connotations. Twentieth-century criticism has removed much of this stigma but has not reached a consensus on explaining the definition or the origins of mannerism.³

For the purposes of this volume mannerism is accepted as a consistent style of a specific historical period. This style evolved from its Roman-Tuscan origins in Italy into what can be called international mannerism, the first pan-European style since the international Gothic of 1400. The most important component in manifestations of international mannerism was familiarity and sympathy with Italian art. Despite, or in some cases because of, social and political upheavals in Europe during the sixteenth century, artists moved frequently from place to place, and Italy, especially Rome, was viewed widely as the source of the most modern style. Italian artists were dominant figures in French culture, and many Netherlandish artists spent long periods of study in Italy. In Germany, however, the tradition represented by Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, and Hans Baldung Grien was too strong, and German art of the sixteenth century is the only major European tradition that resists the mannerist label. When German artists visited Italy, their trips usually included Venice rather than the more mannerist centers of Florence and Rome. Only at the end of the century can mannerism be detected in Prague, Munich, and Augsburg, because the leading artists there—Bartholomeus Spranger, Hans van Aachen, Adriaen de Vries, and Joseph Heintz—had spent

considerable amounts of time in Central Italy. International mannerism thus can be viewed as a graceful flowering tree, with its roots in Italy and with branches growing from them to most of Northern Europe.

Mannerist prints are frequently reproductive of designs invented by artists other than the printmakers, and mannerist printmaking can be said to have originated in Raphael's workshop in Rome during the second decade of the sixteenth century. Raphael was probably the first great artist who was not himself a printmaker but was closely involved in the production of prints after his designs. He provided drawings to the printer Baviera and the engravers Marcantonio Raimondi, Marco Dente, and Agostino Veneziano. The prints made from these drawings were highly significant for the subsequent tradition of reproductive printmaking because of their great popularity and considerable influence. Throughout Europe similar relationships between inventor and executor occurred several times during the sixteenth century, such as those between Parmigianino and Antonio da Trento, Francesco Primaticcio and Léon Davent, Titian and Cornelis Cort, and Spranger and Goltzius. Reproductive prints were later disparaged as works of primarily documentary rather than artistic interest. Raphael, however, was certainly not interested in engravings as mere facsimiles of his famous paintings, although he undoubtedly recognized their value as a means of widely propagating his inventions. The drawings he supplied to Marcantonio and others were not simply copies of his oils and frescoes but frequently intermediary studies, which document the development of his compositions. Some subjects, including *The Massacre of the Innocents*, *The Judgment of Paris*, and *Il Morbetto*, were designed specifically for the en-

graver, who more often than not was a creative interpreter rather than an unimaginative producer of reproductions.

For *The Massacre of the Innocents* Raphael supplied Marcantonio with a design exemplary of the High Renaissance principles of clarity of action and narrative, harmony and balance of movement, and idealized yet naturalistic forms. In contrast to these characteristics many later sixteenth-century prints appear extravagant, willfully distorted, and emotionally remote. Even while Raphael and Marcantonio were creating examples of what can be termed High Renaissance printmaking, they also produced engravings that had repercussions for mannerist art throughout the sixteenth century. By isolating the single figure in *The Standard Bearer* (cat. no. 35) from the rest of the composition, they focused the viewer's attention on the beauty of the figure's silhouette, anatomy, and trappings and the difficulty of its pose. The use of an isolated *bella figura* became a hallmark of mannerism, and its influence can be discerned in such disparate examples as Juste de Juste's etchings (cat. nos. 82–84), Michiel Coxcie's etching *The Brazen Serpent* (cat. no. 108), and Goltzius's series of engravings *The Four Disgracers* (cat. no. 115 and fig. 115a).

Although Florence was a significant center for printmaking in the fifteenth century, by the second decade of the sixteenth century the highly successful collaboration between Raphael and Marcantonio resulted in the shift of focus to Rome. The decade following the death of Raphael in 1520 was critical for the development of mannerism. A younger generation of artists in Rome began to provide the local school of printmakers with designs in a markedly new style. Foremost among them were Giulio Romano, Rosso Fiorentino, Parmigianino, and Perino del Vaga.

Early Maniera has been characterized either as an anticlassical reaction to High Renaissance perfection or as a logical evolution of stylistic innovations in the art of Raphael and Michelangelo, who even in such exemplars of Renaissance classicism as the Vatican Stanze and the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel created images that seemed to veer away from the harmony and balance of the High Renaissance. Both theories have some merit. Rosso's early art certainly is quirky and eccentric enough to warrant its description as a deliberate and conscious attempt to countermand the High Renaissance. Dente's engraving *The Skeletons* after Rosso (cat. no. 22) is an excellent example of the latter's bizarre imagination prior to his arrival in Rome. There his style underwent a transformation to a wittier and more sophisticated manner, undoubtedly through his exposure to the muscular energy of Michelangelo's art, a change exemplified in *Frenzy* engraved by Gian Giacomo Caraglio (cat. no. 17). Rosso also responded to Raphael's increasingly graceful late style. Rosso's Raphaelesque composition *Saturn and Philyra* engraved by Caraglio⁴ anticipates, more so than his Florentine works, the expressive grace and elegance of his creations of the 1530s at the court of Francis I at Fontainebleau.

"Expressive grace and elegance" is an apt description of Early Maniera prints. Their emotional pitch tends to be more high-keyed than prints of ten or fifteen years earlier. Through the manipulation and sometimes distortion of compositional space, movement, and gesture, these works of the 1520s communicate a greater sense of dramatic urgency. These traits are apparent in Marcantonio's *Lo Stregozzo* probably after Giulio Romano and *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* after Baccio Bandinelli (cat. nos. 37–38), in which the agitated, straining figures create an atmosphere of charged emotions. At the same time, the artists presented

the narratives with a degree of emotional detachment, as though the scenes are "about" action rather than dramatic in themselves. This somewhat conceptual attitude is also reflected in the technical execution of the prints, with its tendency toward regularity and systemization in delineating the forms.

Apart from its disastrous political and social consequences the Sack of Rome in 1527 had a decidedly practical effect on the Roman school of printmaking because the artists were subsequently scattered throughout Italy. Indeed the local school of engraving did not revive until the early 1540s. As a result the schools of Bologna and Mantua rose to prominence. Parmigianino's presence in Bologna from 1527 to 1531 significantly influenced developments in the media of etching and chiaroscuro woodcut, affecting Bolognese printmakers such as Master F.P., Antonio da Trento, and Nicolò Vicentino. Parmigianino's influence on the medium of etching, however, would be registered most strongly in Venice and Fontainebleau. In 1524 Giulio Romano settled in Mantua, and beginning in the 1530s a Mantuan school of engravers centered around Giovanni Battista Scultori, his children Adamo and Diana, and Giorgio Ghisi. Giulio's inventions and decorations for the Gonzaga court were the principal determinants of the Mantuan graphic style, with its highly worked and brilliant surfaces, which caused a visual effect similar to the work of a goldsmith. The bas-relieflike character of Giulio's designs, with the compositional elements stacked vertically and pushed to the front of the picture plane, is echoed by the engravers' emphasis on the meticulous articulation of the forms.

The middle years of the sixteenth century witnessed High Maniera, the triumph in art of pure stylishness and artificiality. The engravings of Giulio Bonasone and the etchings of Giovanni

Battista Franco and Andrea Schiavone exemplify this trend. These prints also illustrate the new dominance at midcentury of Michelangelesque physicality in the treatment of the figures, although this energetic quality is often tempered with Raphaellesque or Parmigianesque gracefulness, especially in Schiavone's works. Parmigianino's influence is also present in the more fluid and painterly technique employed by some of these printmakers. Bonasone's engravings are closest to those of the earlier Roman school but lack the precision of draftsmanship found in Marcantonio's midcentury followers such as Nicolas Beatrizet and Enea Vico. The looseness and experimental execution of Schiavone's prints are certainly the furthest removed from the Roman tradition; and Franco's combination of etching and engraving presents a marriage of the monumental Roman and painterly North Italian styles. The technical approach of Bonasone, Franco, and Schiavone also differs from the meticulously and densely engraved plates of the contemporary Mantuan school. In High Maniera prints the technical playfulness, as it were, is often combined with an increasingly capricious treatment of the human form. Emotional tension is communicated, not through the agitated actions and clearly readable psychological states of the protagonists as in Early Maniera prints, but through the creation of taut visual rhythms in the compositions. The proportions and movements of the figures are exaggeratedly graceful and elegant, resulting in works of tremendous visual sophistication but emotional remoteness. Ironically the period of High Maniera was also when the Counter-Reformation's Council of Trent was meeting to formulate the Catholic Church's guidelines for the efficacy of religious imagery. Mannerist prints and the painters who inspired them were harshly criticized by the convening cardinals for their sensuous appeal to a limited audience of

intellectuals and humanists. High Maniera artists were accused of neglecting the more general public of the Catholic faithful.

In late sixteenth-century Italian painting two trends are discernible. Late Maniera is exemplified by the painters involved in the decoration of the Studiolo in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence and the brothers Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro and their followers in Rome. Counter-Maniera, represented most strongly by Florentine painters such as Santi di Tito and Il Cigoli, was an effort to simplify and clarify some of the formal and narrative extravagances of mannerism. Neither trend, however, attracted many late sixteenth-century Italian printmakers. The principal interpreter of Late Maniera art was, in fact, the Fleming Cornelis Cort, who engraved many designs by the Zuccari. Cort's principal successes, however, were his prints after Titian. These engravings after the Venetian master exemplify two significant characteristics of printmaking in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century. First, Cort's technical virtuosity in rendering light, color, and texture influenced Italian engravers such as Cherubino Alberti and Agostini Carracci, as well as Netherlandish artists such as Goltzius and his followers. The directness of the sensuous appeal of their prints evolved into a key aspect of baroque art. Second, Cort's collaboration with Titian is paralleled by other printmakers' interests in late sixteenth-century Venetian painting. For example, after a period of reproducing designs by Late Maniera Bolognese artists, in the late 1580s Carracci increasingly found inspiration for his engravings in paintings by Jacopo Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese. Likewise, Giuseppe Scolari has been aptly termed "the Veronese of Venetian printmaking,"¹⁵ and his woodcuts, like the engravings of Cort and Carracci, are replete with exuberant and energetic dynamism generally lacking in most non-Venetian art of the late sixteenth century.

In addition to the protobaroque qualities of prints by Cort, Scolari, and Carracci, certain art from the first third of the sixteenth century provided another potent source for both late mannerist printmakers and the artists of the incipient baroque period. The sensuous naturalism of Correggio informed the style of Federico Barocci, whose small oeuvre of etchings is unfortunately not represented here, but whose manner is reflected in engravings by Cort and Goltzius (cat. nos. 107 and 121). This revival of interest in the High Renaissance and Early Maniera can also be seen in Andrea Andreani's republication of many earlier chiaroscuro woodcuts, as well as in Alberti's several engravings after Michelangelo (cat. no. 1) and Polidoro da Caravaggio. Consequently baroque art was anticipated in many traits of late mannerist printmaking: sensuous appeal through the emphasis of light, color, and texture; renewed interest in the masters of the High Renaissance; and the dramatically energetic compositions of Venetian art of the late sixteenth century. The differences between late mannerist and baroque art are subtle, but sixteenth-century prints evince a degree of artificiality and self-conscious stylishness foreign to such baroque artists as Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona. The naturalism of baroque art contrasts with the qualities of preciousness and eccentricity found in many mannerist works.

Mannerist printmaking in France was necessarily an imported art, effected via Francis I's invitation to his palace at Fontainebleau of Italian artists such as Primaticcio, Rosso, and Luca Penni. The history of etching and to a lesser extent engraving is a very short one at Fontainebleau, beginning about 1540 and flourishing less than a decade. The school of Fontainebleau is the prime example of mannerism as a courtly style, and its peculiar employment of

printmaking typifies the creation of art for a small and aesthetically refined audience. The motivation for printmaking at Fontainebleau could hardly have been more different from that in Italy. Italian engravers were part of a system, including artists, printers, publishers, printsellers, and collectors, which constituted the print market. Etchers and engravers at Fontainebleau were considerably less public, producing their works for a handful of cognoscenti who could appreciate and understand such qualities as uneven biting, varied inking and printing, and the use of different colored inks. Consequently Fontainebleau prints are relatively rare. Like the Italians, however, the French viewed printmaking as a collaborative effort between painter and etcher. As with Raphael's direction of the Marcantonio workshop in Rome, the Fontainebleau school of printmaking was largely the creation of a painter, Primaticcio. Primaticcio had been at the French royal court since 1532, but Fontainebleau printmaking did not develop until his return from a stay in Italy in 1539–41. When he was recalled to court after Rosso's death there in 1540, Primaticcio was made sole artistic director, and as part of his duties he initiated a program of etching and engraving.⁶ In view of Rosso's close collaboration with the engraver Caraglio in Rome, it is curious that this school of printmaking had not occurred earlier.

What had happened in Italy to instigate Primaticcio's interest in printmaking? When he was in Mantua prior to his departure for France, the local school of engraving around Giovanni Battista Scultori had not yet been established. But when he traveled to Rome almost a decade later, printmaking had returned to the place of prominence it had enjoyed before the Sack. His observation of the interaction between painters and printmakers might have spurred him to introduce such collaboration in France. But etching, not engraving, was the principal

means of graphic expression at Fontainebleau; and etching, as it was practiced in France, was not important to Roman printmakers. A possible explanation is that Primaticcio also traveled north to Bologna and Venice, where he could have seen etchings by Parmigianino, Schiavone, and their followers. Certainly the freely drawn and open style of the French school of etchers, with their often lightly or even poorly bitten plates, suggests familiarity with the experimental North Italian printmakers.

With the exception of Domenico del Barbieri, engravers are not generally considered the equals of etchers in the school of Fontainebleau. Although they reproduced designs by painters connected to the royal court, Pierre Milan and René Boyvin are closely associated with the more professional milieu of printmaking in Paris. Information on other engravers, such as François Gentil, is simply too sketchy to localize their spheres of activity. Granted the differences in graphic media, the engravers were less interested in painterly and freely expressive draftsmanship than the etchers. The engravers' handling of the burin, with considerable attention to the sculptural and three-dimensional bulk of the forms, is more regular than the etchers' handling of the graver. In the engravings the effects of light are hard and cold, and the figures often have a frozen and stonelike quality. Apart from the differences in media the visual appearance of the engravings compared with the etchings can also be attributed to the circumstances of their production. As attested by documents on Milan, these works were commercial creations produced in large editions intended for a large audience, rather than graphic experiments, like the etchings, made for a select few. In addition many so-called Fontainebleau engravings were created in Paris and elsewhere several years after the heyday of printmaking at the palace in the 1540s. This is especially true for Boyvin

and probably for others as well.

Despite this variety, school of Fontainebleau prints are remarkably coherent visually. The school's brief lifespan partly explains this consistency, as does the relatively small number of participating artists, many of whom had common artistic experiences and backgrounds. This High Maniera aesthetic in France can be described as an especially graceful and stylish combination of Roman (Raphaelesque) and Bolognese (Parmigianesque) characteristics, of which Primaticcio was the most notable exponent. The artists other than Primaticcio reproduced in Fontainebleau prints represent different aspects of this composite French style. The Raphaelesque component is represented best by his pupil Giulio Romano, whose drawings were probably transported to Fontainebleau by Primaticcio, who had been his assistant in Mantua. Giulio's style was particularly influential on early Fontainebleau prints. The foremost proponent of Raphaelesque style working at Fontainebleau was Penni, whose brother Giovanni Francesco had painted alongside Raphael and Giulio. Penni, however, displayed a Parmigianesque quality of grace and liveness that was more characteristic of the French school and foreign to Giulio's manner.

Rosso, the other great source for Fontainebleau compositions, had died by the time the school of printmaking was flourishing. The contents of his workshop were probably inherited by Primaticcio, who supplied the Fontainebleau printmakers, especially the engravers, with Rosso's drawings. Rosso's eccentric and anticlassical Florentine manner had been tempered by Roman and Bolognese influences before his arrival at Fontainebleau. There his contact with Primaticcio strengthened the Parmigianesque characteristics in his art, especially apparent in his manipulation and elongation of the figures, with their small heads and tapering limbs. The element of expressive and emotional ferocity in Rosso's art con-

trasts with the elegant suavity of Primaticcio's. The two artists, along with Penni in a much less original fashion, illustrate well the Roman-Bolognese character of the school of Fontainebleau.

If Primaticcio's renewed acquaintance with Italian art in his homeland might have prompted the introduction of printmaking to Fontainebleau, what caused its rapid eclipse? Lacking documentation, any explanation for the disappearance of graphic production at the palace must be speculative. Possible explanations are that printmaking was only a fad promoted by Primaticcio, which died out when the painter lost interest, or that it simply burned itself out after six years of intensive and concentrated production. It might not have been only coincidental that this activity seems to have come to an abrupt halt shortly after 1547, the year Francis I died. The king might have played such a significant role in the French etching movement that his death also signified the end of these experiments in printmaking. The reign of his successor, Henri II, was marked by the cessation of Italian dominance of French culture, with the death or departure from the court of many Italian artists, including Antonio Fantuzzi, Penni, and Sebastiano Serlio. Henri II's interests appear to have been directed toward architecture, and combined with the waning of Italian influence, the brief efflorescence of printmaking at Fontainebleau came to an end.

The school of Fontainebleau dominated French printmaking in the sixteenth century, and its influence can be detected, especially in the distinctively professional ambience of Parisian printmaking, during the second half of the century. The visual character of late French mannerism differs from the High Maniera style of Fontainebleau in two ways. First, Primaticcio's compositions, as well as those of his Bolognese compatriot and assistant Nicolò dell'Abate, are encountered infrequently.

More common are designs by Rosso, Penni, and Léonard Thiry. Second, the oeuvres of Parisian printmakers, such as Boyvin, Etienne Delaune, Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, and Etienne Dupérac, illustrate a shift of interest from narrative compositions to decorative and architectural subjects. When narrative themes do appear in prints, such as Delaune's series *The History of Apollo and Diana* (cat. nos. 73–78), the designs, in which the diminutive and somewhat precious figures are subordinated to their sometimes elaborately ornamental settings, can be described as Late Maniera in France rather than the more vigorous High Maniera of the first school of Fontainebleau. Exemplars of French Late Maniera painters include Antoine Caron and Jean Cousin the Younger, whose delicate and finely wrought figural style is reflected in prints by Delaune and others.

A markedly different sort of courtly art, centering around the painter and etcher Bellange, developed toward the end of the century at Nancy in the duchy of Lorraine. Bellange's designs are not nearly as Italianate as Fontainebleau prints from a half century earlier but are a highly spiritualized and personal expression comparable with those of his Spanish contemporary El Greco. Italian influence, nevertheless, is present in Bellange's art, such as his etching *The Virgin with a Spindle*, with its debts to Barocci's technique in general and specifically to the composition of the Italian's etching *The Annunciation*.⁷ Bellange's extraordinarily extravagant figural style has been compared with that of his Netherlandish contemporaries Spranger and Goltzius, who borrowed motifs from Italian Late Maniera artists. His style might also have had roots in native French art. The unnatural proportions and *contrapposto* of the figures in his series of etchings of Christ and the Apostles⁸ recall the characteristic Gothic sway of thirteenth-century French sculpture, and the voluminous drapery enveloping Bellange's

figures is reminiscent of Claus Sluter's Burgundian sculptures of the fifteenth century.

The mannerist style represented by Netherlandish (Dutch and Flemish) prints differs markedly from that seen in Italian and French prints of the sixteenth century. In the world of Netherlandish printmaking Hieronymus Cock occupied a position of seminal importance analogous to that held by Marcantonio in Italy. Cock's publishing house in Antwerp, *Au Quatre Vents*, determined the style and, in fact, the substance of most Netherlandish prints in the second half of the sixteenth century. He set an example for later Northern engravers and publishers, such as the families Galle, Wierix, and Sadeler. Cock is an essential figure for the increasingly significant position assumed by landscape, allegorical, and genre subjects, not only through his prints after Pieter Brueghel the Elder but also via his work with such artists as Maarten van Heemskerck, Hans Bol, Matthias Cock, Master of the Small Landscapes, and Master of the Saint George's Fair. Although best known for the publication of engravings after the designs of Brueghel, Cock played an equally significant role through his collaboration with so-called Romanist artists, such as Heemskerck, Frans Floris, and Lambert Lombard. Cock also invited Ghisi to Antwerp and published the latter's engravings after Raphael, Michelangelo, and Angolo Bronzino. Early on Cock had sponsored Cort, whose later career in Italy, especially in Venice, influenced engraving styles throughout Europe, from Goltzius's to Carracci's.

Although as reproductive as many Italian and French prints of the sixteenth century, Northern engravings and etchings generally were not based, with the principal exception of Cort's, directly on designs by Italian artists but on peculiarly Italianate

compositions by Dutch and Flemish artists. Most of these inventors, such as Heemskerck, Floris, Coxcie, and Spranger, spent significant amounts of time in Italy, where they absorbed the most recent developments in Italian art. The Flemish style avoided the Raphaelesque-Parmigianesque manner prevalent at Fontainebleau and favored the exaggerated muscularity and plasticity of Michelangelo's followers, such as Vasari and Bronzino in Florence, Daniele da Volterra in Rome, and Pellegrino Tibaldi in Bologna. Coxcie's etching *The Brazen Serpent* and Floris's etching *Victory* (cat. no. 109) are prime examples of the contorted and artificial movement of the nude figure in many midcentury Netherlandish compositions. The manipulative treatment of the forms in these High Maniera etchings is guided by an abstract conception of the figure as decorative ornament, an approach quite similar to that adopted by Vasari in his painting *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, an archetype of High Maniera in Italy.⁹

The openness of the Flemish style of etching at midcentury ultimately has its source in prints by Parmigianino, Schiavone, and Battista Franco. The Roman gravity and monumentality of Franco's etchings undoubtedly appealed to artistic taste in Antwerp, where the related style of Floris and Heemskerck reigned supreme. A more immediate source for these Flemish etchings, however, was the school of Fontainebleau, which shares many technical and stylistic traits with midcentury Flemish prints, such as the similarity of Juste's treatment of the nude to Heemskerck's. Relations between the French royal court and Flanders were close, and several Flemish artists were employed in the decoration of Fontainebleau. Although after the death of Francis I nothing is known of the later careers of etchers like Davent, Jean Mignon, and Master I♀V, it is conceivable that they soon found a compatible atmosphere in Antwerp, where Cock had established his print

workshop at the end of the 1540s. There is no evidence of contact between Cock and the printmakers from Fontainebleau, but visual affinities between Netherlandish and French etchings suggest at least acquaintance of the two traditions, even if the experimental character of French etchings differs from the more professional nature of Flemish productions.

Mannerism in Holland of about 1580–1610 marks yet another distinctive amalgamation of influences from Italy. Like mannerism in Antwerp from two generations earlier, with which the Dutch printmakers were connected through Goltzius's teacher and Cock's collaborator Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert, mannerist prints in Haarlem, Utrecht, and Amsterdam on the whole were Italianate rather than directly based on Italian designs. Spranger, court painter to Rudolph II in Prague, was the key figure for the dissemination of the Italian style to Holland. His drawings were brought to Holland by his friend Karel van Mander, who shared them with Goltzius and his followers. Through his travels in Italy Spranger absorbed the Late Maniera style of Taddeo Zuccaro, Raffaellino da Reggio, Jacopo Zucchi, and Jacopo Bertioia, among others. Spranger tempered the Flemish mannerists' somewhat heavy, even lumpish, Michelangelism with a Late Maniera quality of grace, sweetness, and elegance derived from Parmigianino and his North Italian followers. Goltzius, van Mander, and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem readily adopted Sprangerism as the prevalent style espoused in their academy established in Haarlem in the late 1580s. As part of their teaching program they promoted the study of the live model, a feature not present in earlier Flemish mannerism. Unlike the contemporary Carracci academy in Bologna, where study of the model was a linchpin in the Carracci's reform of mannerist extravagance, the artists in Haarlem interwove naturalism with influence

from antique sculpture, especially Hellenistic examples such as the Farnese Hercules and the *Laocöon*. The Dutch artists, particularly Goltzius and Cornelis, often interpreted anatomy in an almost grotesque fashion of exaggerated musculature, the most famous example being Goltzius's engraving *The Large Hercules*.¹⁰

Dutch engravings by Goltzius and his school appear in a technical sense quite different from earlier Flemish prints. These Dutch prints emphasize the evocation of volume and texture through dense networks of swelling and tapering lines. In comparison Flemish etchings and engravings of the High Maniera appear rather schematic, two-dimensional, and abstract. The Dutch manner of engraving was strongly influenced by Cort's Venetian engravings after Titian, with their success in capturing in black-and-white the painter's marvelous effects of light, color, and atmosphere. Although executed in another medium, the etchings of Barocci also were undoubtedly of interest to the Dutch, as they were for Bellange in Nancy. The emphasis on dramatic effects of light in these Dutch engravings anticipated technical achievements in seventeenth-century Netherlandish prints, including such disparate productions as the engravings commissioned by Rubens and etchings and drypoints by Rembrandt and his followers.¹¹

At the end of the century the movement commonly known as international mannerism—also called *Goltziusstil* and *Sprangerstil* in deference to its principal exponents—was a mixture of several artistic components emanating from Italy through Prague to Holland, with distinctive local variations but also with enough common features to characterize the style as truly international. Given the Italian origins of late Dutch mannerism, it is ironic that printmakers began to reject the more outrageous aspects of Sprangerism, when they actually traveled

to Italy. Goltzius is the most notable artist who rejected international mannerism, as his exposure in Rome to the monuments of the High Renaissance and antiquity influenced his adoption of a more restrained and classicizing manner. Jan Muller's development paralleled that of late sixteenth-century Italian printmakers, such as Alberti and Scolari, and moved toward a more dynamic and protobaroque style, as in his engravings *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Feast of Belshazzar* (cat. nos. 138–39). International mannerism had evolved at the end of the century into an international protobaroque style, as developments in this direction in Holland paralleled those in Italy.

Notes

1. John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), 19.
2. Bartsch, 3:79, no. 262.
3. For excellent surveys of the critical history of mannerism in all the arts, see Shearman's opening essay, "The Historical Reality," in *Mannerism*, 15–48, and James V. Mirollo's introductory chapter, "Mannerism as Term, Concept, and Controversy," in his *Mannerism and Renaissance Poetry: Concept, Mode, Inner Design* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 1–65.
4. Bartsch, 15:76, no. 23.
5. Landau, 350.
6. Primaticcio might have made one etching himself. See Zerner, *School*, no. FP 1.
7. Reed and Worthen, 29, no. 8. The authors also compare Bellange's technique with those of Parmigianino and Ventura Salimbeni, Bellange's Sienese contemporary and a devoted follower of Barocci.
8. *Ibid.*, 70, nos. 45, 47–61.
9. Paola Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore* (Florence: G. Barbèra Editore, 1964), pl. xi. Vasari painted the prime version in 1540 for the church of Santi Apostoli in Florence and repeated the popular composition several times in small and large formats.
10. Bartsch, 3:44, no. 142.
11. For a discussion of this development, see Ackley's "Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt: The Quest for Printed Tone," in Ackley, xix–xxvi.

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

NOTE TO THE READER

This catalogue presents 148 prints selected from the Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Entries are divided into three sections: Italian prints, French prints, and Netherlandish prints. Within each section entries are arranged alphabetically by artist. When there is more than one work by an artist, entries are arranged chronologically according to known or suggested dates. When the chronology is unknown, entries are listed by subject according to Bartsch's iconographic system; for example, biblical and religious subjects are followed by mythological themes. The print's title is followed by the name of the designer of the composition; when no name is given, the printmaker is presumed to be the designer. Under *Inscriptions* ellipses indicate the omission of words, and brackets indicate the author's translation or interpretation. Catalogues raisonnés of the artist's prints are noted under *References*. Significant books, articles, and exhibition catalogues discussing the print are noted under *Literature*. Lower case roman numerals signify the state of the present impression; i/ii, for example, means the print is from the first of two states. In the cases of publications referred to in abbreviated form, full citations can be found in the bibliography.



ITALIAN PRINTS

Cherubino Alberti

Andrea Andreani

Amico Aspertini

Battista del Moro

Nicolas Beatrizet

Nicolò Boldrini

Giulio Bonasone

Domenico Campagnola

Gian Giacomo Caraglio

Ugo da Carpi

Nicolò della Casa

Marco Dente

Giovanni Battista Franco

Giorgio Ghisi

Palma Giovane

Parmigianino

Marcantonio Raimondi

Giulio Sanuto

Andrea Schiavone

Giuseppe Scolari

Adamo Scultori

Diana Scultori

Giovanni Battista Scultori

Antonio da Trento

Nicolò Vicentino

Enea Vico

Andrea Andreani
The Sacrifice of Isaac (cat. no. 2)



Ugo da Carpi
Diogenes (cat. no. 19)



Parmigianino
Saint Peter and Saint John Healing the Cripple at the Gate of the Temple (cat. no. 33)



Antonio da Trento
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl (cat. no. 49)



Antonio da Trento
Narcissus and Echo (cat. no. 50)



Nicolò Vicentino
Christ Healing the Lepers (cat. no. 51)



Nicolò Vicentino
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl (cat. no. 52)



Nicolò Vicentino

Psyche Honored as a Goddess (cat. no. 53)



Nicolò Vicentino
Saturn (cat. no. 54)



Attributed to Nicolò Vicentino
The Presentation in the Temple (cat. no. 55)



Attributed to Nicolò Vicentino
Charity (cat. no. 56)



Attributed to Nicolò Vicentino
Temperance (cat. no. 57)



Attributed to Nicolò Vicentino
Prudence (cat. no. 58)



I Cherubino Alberti
The Good Thief

After Michelangelo
Engraving and etching
13 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (34.4 x 15.4 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: Cherubinus Albertus
f. 1580./Cum privilegio sumi
Pontif.

Lower right, on cross:
M.ANG.B.PINX IN VATICANO

References

Bartsch, 17:75, no. 69; Le Blanc,
1:10, no. 75

Literature

Heinecken, 1:88; Rotili, 114,
no. 147



Fig. 1a
 Cherubino Alberti
A Blessed Soul Lifted to Heaven
 Engraving
 16¹/₁₆ x 8¹⁵/₁₆ in. (42.3 x 22.7 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London



The Good Thief is one of five engravings by Alberti after figures in Michelangelo's fresco *The Last Judgment*, 1536–41, in the Sistine Chapel: Bartsch 71 is dated 1575, the present work and Bartsch 70 are dated 1580, and Bartsch 67 and 68 (fig. 1a) are dated 1591. Bartsch and later commentators grouped together the five engravings as though they constituted a set, but internal evidence argues against such a grouping. First, the prints were executed over a period of sixteen years. Second, Bartsch 67 and 68 are framed in elaborate decorative cartouches, whereas *The Good Thief* and Bartsch 70 and 71 display the figures in isolation against plain striated backgrounds. Third, the engravings are not uniform in size, ranging from 32.8 x 16.6 cm for Bartsch 70 to 42.3 x 22.7 cm for Bartsch 67 and 68 (only these two prints can be considered a set). Finally, the signature and inscriptions vary in form and script among the five works.

Bartsch recorded only a single state for *The Good Thief*. There are impressions, however, such as the one in the British Museum,¹ without the publication line "Cum privilegio sumi Pontif." Consequently the present impression, with this line, is from the second state. The figure of the Good Thief was also engraved, in reverse, by Giulio Bonasone.² Heinecken and Massari mistakenly identified the subject as Saint Andrew.

The narrative of the Good Thief appears in Luke 23.39–43. When Christ was crucified, he was executed between two thieves. The one on his left ridiculed him and questioned his divinity; but the thief on his right recognized and defended Christ, who, in acknowledgment of the thief's faith, said to him, "Today you will be with me in Paradise."

Notes

1. Sebastian Buffa, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 34 (New York: Abaris Books, 1982), 189.
2. Bartsch, 15:132, no. 79; Massari, *Bonasone*, 1:72, no. 81.

Andrea Andreani*The Sacrifice of Isaac*

After Domenico Beccafumi

Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black, ocher, light grayish green, and dark grayish green on eight (of ten) sheets

30 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 61 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (76.5 x 155.9 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 25

**References**

Bartsch, 12:22, under no. 4;
Le Blanc, 1:42, no. 3

Literature

Heineken, 1:240; Hilliard
Goldfarb, "Chiaroscuro Woodcut
Technique and Andrea
Andreani," *Bulletin of the
Cleveland Museum of Art* 67
(1981): 325, fig. 10; Mariette,
1:21; Weigel, 24, no. 264



The Sacrifice of Isaac, 1586, is one of a pair of monumental, multipaneled chiaroscuro woodcuts by Andreani based on Beccafumi's designs for intarsia on the pavement of the Duomo in Siena. The other woodcut *Moses Breaking the Tablets of the Law* is dated 1590.¹ According to the inscription on that print, the late sixteenth-century Siennese painter Francesco Vanni provided Andreani with drawings of Beccafumi's compositions, with which the woodcutter prepared his blocks. As noted by Goldfarb, Andreani faithfully reproduced the intarsia in the line block.

The tone blocks were used to provide additional volume to the forms and to indicate recession into depth. The darker tone block appears primarily in the foreground, creating a greater sense of atmospheric recession than in the pavement itself, in which the darker woods are used for a more ornamental and decorative effect.

In order to test his devotion to God, the Hebrew patriarch Abraham was ordered to sacrifice his only son Isaac as a burnt offering. Abraham was about to slaughter Isaac on the altar when an angel descended, stayed his hand, and instructed him to substitute a ram. This story, told in Genesis 22.1–12, is considered a prefiguration of God's sacrifice of his only son Jesus.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 12:22, under no. 4. Andreani's *Eve*, 1586 (*ibid.*, 21, no. 1), also derives from Beccafumi's pavement.

3

Attributed to Amico Aspertini
The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise

Etching and engraving printed in bluish black ink
 9⁷/₁₆ x 12¹³/₁₆ in. (24 x 32.5 cm)



References

Bartsch, 15:8, no. 3; Meyer et al., 2:338, no. 1; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*, 1:169; Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, 1:423, no. 971; Passavant, 6:74, no. 3

Literature

Heinecken, 1:391, no. 5, 3:131, no. 4; Massari, *Bonasone*, 1:87, no. 109; Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 171, no. 290

Fig. 3a
 Amico Aspertini
Two Nude Male Figures before Renaissance Portals
 Black chalk, pen and brown ink,
 brown wash
 8⁷/₈ x 6¹/₂ in. (22.5 x 16.5 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London



Oberhuber suggested that *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* may represent an allegory of the fall and redemption of mankind. In the background Adam and Eve are driven from the Garden of Eden. They are shown again in the foreground, with Eve holding her spindle (with which she made clothing after the pair discovered their nakedness) and Adam with his hoe (with which he now had to cultivate the soil in order to provide food). The seated male nude in the center probably represents Cain gazing into an object that may be a convex mirror, symbolic, as Oberhuber suggested, of self-knowledge; in the background is the serpent entwined around the Tree of Knowledge. Cain is seated next to the altar of his brother Abel, with its flaming sacrifice, representative of Christ's sacrifice of himself (the Lamb of God) for the redemption of mankind.

Although cataloguing this work among the followers of Marcantonio Raimondi, Bartsch recorded the different opinions about the print's design and execution, particularly Giulio Cesare Malvasia's suggestion in the seventeenth century that Aspertini might have been responsible not only for the composition but also for the engraving. The attribution of the design to Aspertini has merit, in light of its physiognomies, characteristic of the artist's style, with their compact bodies and relatively large heads. The half-falling, half-rising figure of Cain is comparable with a very similar nude in one of Aspertini's sketchbooks in the British Museum (fig. 3a).¹ As for the identity of the printmaker, the old attribution to Aspertini is worth considering. The manner of engraving has the painterly and atmospheric character of Emilian, rather than Roman, prints akin to the works of Giulio Bonasone, to whom this print has also been attributed. With no other engravings known by Aspertini, the identification must remain conjectural.

Notes

1. Phyllis Bray Bober, *Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini: Sketchbooks in the British Museum* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1957), 81–82, folio 17 (no. 33), fig. 117.

4

Battista del Moro *The Finding of Moses*

After Parmigianino or Andrea Schiavone
Etching
10³/₄ x 8¹/₄ in. (27.3 x 21 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:177, no. 1; Le Blanc, 1:47, no. 1; Meyer et al., 2:36, no. 2

Literature

Copertini, 2:57; Heineken, 3:132, no. 8; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 73, under no. 199; Pittaluga, 294; Richardson, 79, under no. 2



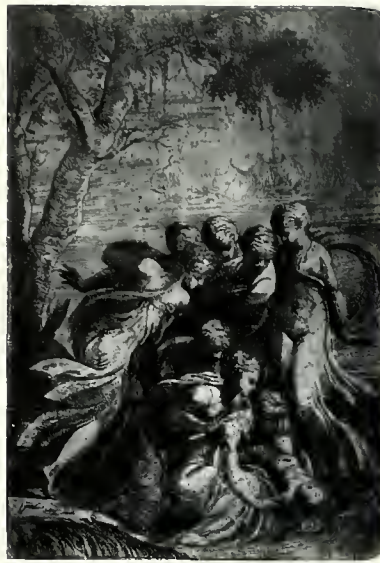


Fig. 4a
 Andrea Schiavone
The Finding of Moses
 Etching
 8¼ x 5½ in. (21 x 14.4 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

Although unsigned, *The Finding of Moses* was attributed to del Moro by Bartsch, with whom most later writers agreed. Copertini and Quintavalle attributed it, together with Gian Giacomo Caraglio's engraving *The Martyrdom of Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, to Jacopo Bertoia;¹ these suggestions, however, have been refuted by Diane DeGrazia.² The present print is related, in reverse, to a very similar etching by Andrea Schiavone (fig. 4a), as well as to one by Georges Reverdy.³ The etching by del Moro differs in some respects from Schiavone's version. Del Moro's is larger, allowing for a more expansive landscape, with a view to distant mountains, and consequently the group of figures is not as compressed as that in Schiavone's.

A critical consensus has not been reached on the attribution of the design for the composition. Bartsch and Oberhuber asserted that del Moro and Schiavone worked from a common source believed to be a drawing by Parmigianino. Copertini and Richardson attributed the design to Schiavone. The matter is difficult to resolve because Schiavone was sometimes so imitative of Parmigianino that it is speculative to discern at what point a design is more like Schiavone

than Parmigianino. Most writers have noted the composition's derivation, although recast in the sinuous and graceful manner of North Italian art, from Raphael's fresco in the Vatican Loggia.⁴ Differences may be noted particularly in the attitudes and gestures of the handmaidens, especially the tender action of the woman lifting the basket from the water. This gesture can be compared with that of the woman lifting the Christ Child in Caraglio's 1526 engraving after Parmigianino's *The Adoration of the Shepherds*.⁵ If Schiavone is accepted as the designer, he might have followed a copy by Parmigianino after Raphael's fresco and adapted it with other Parmigianesque models, such as *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, in which the excited crowd of rushing figures is comparable with the group of handmaidens in *The Finding of Moses*.

The narrative comes from Exodus 2.3–6. While the Hebrews were in Egypt, Pharaoh ordered the death of all newborn Jewish males. Moses' mother saved her child by putting him in a reed basket and placing it in the river. He was soon discovered and rescued by Pharaoh's daughter who was bathing at the river.

Notes

1. Augusta Ghidiglia Quintavalle, *Il Bertoja* (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale d'Arte, 1963), 42. For Caraglio's engraving, see Bartsch, 15:71, no. 8.
2. Conversation with the author, February 1987.
3. Bartsch, 16:41, no. 2; and *ibid.*, 15:466, no. 1. The work by del Moro was mistakenly catalogued as the version by Reverdy in Christie's catalogue *Old Master Prints from Chatsworth*, 5 December 1985, lot 101.
4. For Parmigianino's copies after Raphael, see Popham, 2:pls. 205–10. For Schiavone's etchings after Raphael, see Richardson, 79, under no. 2.
5. Bartsch, 15:68, no. 4.

5 Nicolas Beatrizet *Aaron*

After Parmigianino
Engraving
14 1/8 x 5 1/16 in. (35.8 x 12.9 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: F.P. INVENT/
.ANT. SAL. / EXCVDEBAT

References

unrecorded

Literature

Copertini, 1:pl. 70b, 2:72, no. 32;
Freedberg, 197 n. 173



Fig. 5a
Parmigianino and assistants
Aaron
Fresco
Santa Maria della Steccata,
Parma



Unrecorded in the standard catalogues of prints, *Aaron* was attributed by Copertini to an unknown artist hypothetically identified as Antonio Salaino, on the basis of the author's misreading of the inscription ".ANT.SAL.," which instead refers to the publisher of the print, Antonio Salamanca, as the rest of the inscription, "EXCVDEBAT" (published), makes clear. The manner of engraving suggests the work of Nicolas Beatrizet because of such stylistic characteristics as the delineation of the musculature as knotty lumps of flesh, the emphatically reinforced contours, and the use of reflected light in the shadows. The network of engraved lines modeling the figure is not nearly as fine as Beatrizet's *Man Walking* (cat. no. 7) but more like *Tityus* (cat. no. 6) and other prints by him published in the early 1540s by Salamanca.

The engraving reproduces, in reverse, the figure of Aaron (fig. 5a) in one of Parmigianino's last paintings, the ceiling frescoes of 1535–39 in the church of Santa Maria della Steccata, Parma.¹ Because the print is so close in composition to the fresco, Beatrizet probably copied the painting itself rather than a preparatory study by Parmigianino, such as the sheet in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.²

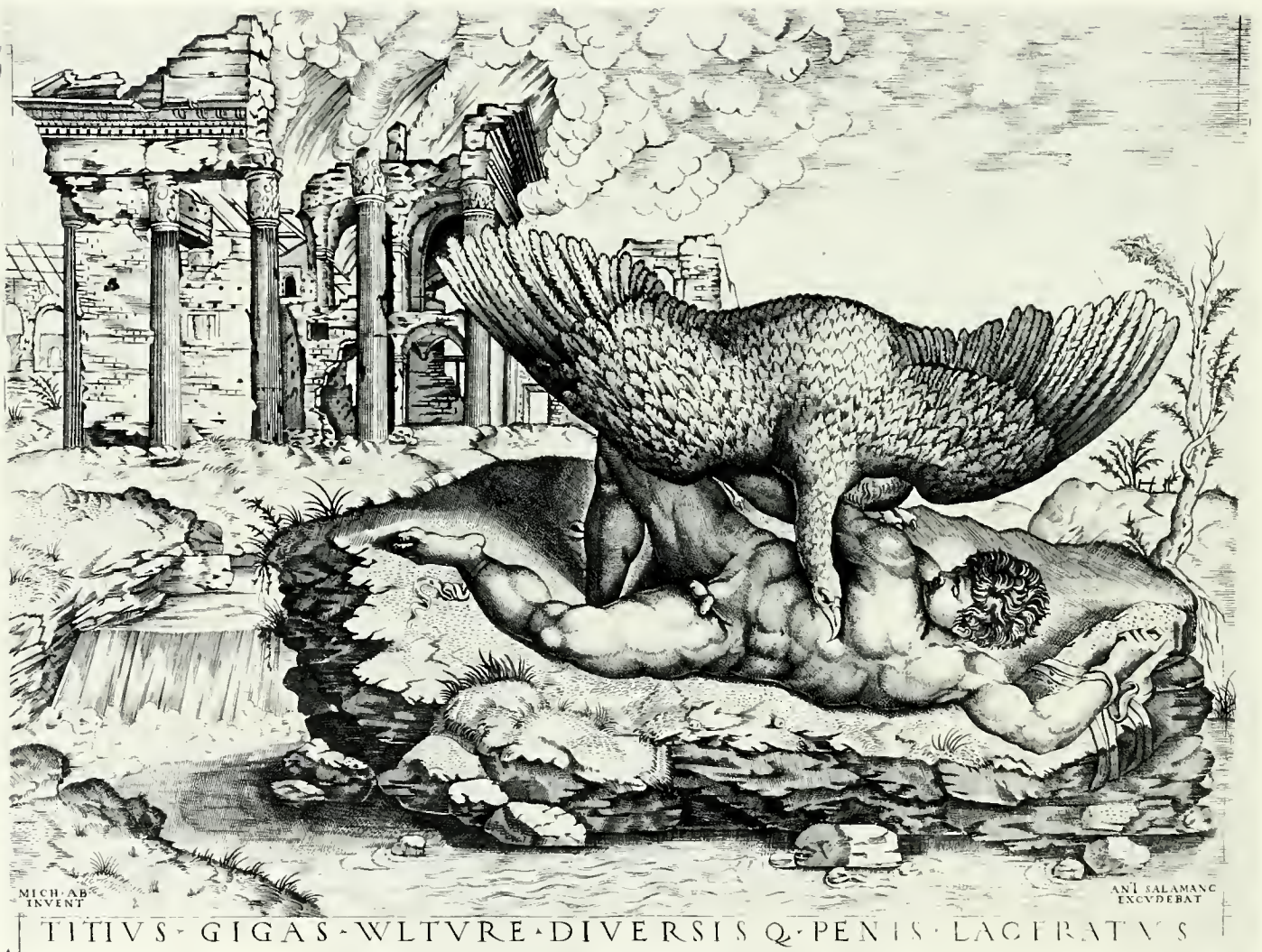
Together with his brother Moses, Aaron led the Hebrews out of captivity in Egypt. He is shown here with his attribute, a staff entwined with a snake. When Aaron was trying to convince Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go, he performed a miracle of throwing down his rod, which turned into a snake (Exodus 7.9–12).

Notes

1. Freedberg, 189–93, pl. 102. Most of these frescoes, including *Aaron*, were probably executed by an assistant.
2. Harprath, 94, no. 65, pl. 67.

6 **Nicolas Beatrizet**
Tityus

After Michelangelo
Engraving
11¹/₁₆ x 14⁵/₈ in. (28.1 x 37.2 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: MICH. A. B. / INVENT

Lower right: ANT. SALAMANC / EXCVDEBAT

Below:

TITIVS. GIGAS. WLTVRE.
DIVERSISQ. PENIS. LACERATVS

References

Bartsch, 15:259, no. 39; Le Blanc, 1:218, no. 31; Robert-Dumesnil, 9:153, no. 33 i/iii

Literature

Borea, 254, no. 644; Linzeler, 83; Pittaluga, 185; Rotili, 66, no. 36



Fig. 6a
Michelangelo (Italy, 1475–1564)
Tityus
Black chalk
7½ x 13 in. (19 x 33 cm)
Windsor Castle, Royal Library
©Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth
II, 1987

Fig. 6b
Nicolas Beatrizet
The Death of Meleager
Engraving
12¼ x 16⅝ in. (31.1 x 42.2 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Museum Purchase

Tityus is unsigned but traditionally attributed to Beatrizet. Although Borea catalogued the engraving as anonymous, the handling of the figures appears stylistically consistent with other prints signed by or generally attributed to Beatrizet. Robert-Dumesnil described three states, the first with Salamanca's name as publisher, followed by editions with the names of the publishers van Aelst and de Rossi. Robert-Dumesnil also described, as did Bartsch, an anonymous copy, in reverse, published by Lafreri and another reversed copy engraved by Enea Vico, dated 1546. The latter is not listed by Bartsch among Vico's works, and Robert-Dumesnil might have confused *Tityus* with either Vico's *Leda and the Swan* or *Children's Bacchanal*, both after Michelangelo and dated 1546.¹

Beatrizet's engraving is based, in reverse, on one of Michelangelo's presentation drawings at Windsor Castle, executed about 1532 for his friend Tommaso de' Cavalieri (fig. 6a).² The musculature of *Tityus* is exaggerated into a series of knotted lumps of

flesh, a characteristic never found in Michelangelo's original works but occasionally in Beatrizet's, such as *The Death of Meleager* after Francesco Salviati (fig. 6b).³ Following a practice common to many engravers, Beatrizet placed the figures in an imaginary setting of his own invention. Instead of Tartarus, the legendary hell of the underworld, the background shows the ruins of the Forum of Nerva in Rome. As noted by Rotili, this view is similar to that seen in plate 6 of Etienne Dupérac's series *Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma*, 1575. Borea observed, however, that Dupérac's engraving could not have been Beatrizet's source because *Tityus* was published in its first edition by Salamanca, who died in 1562. Both Dupérac and Beatrizet might have worked from an unknown drawing of the site.

Tityus was one of the great mythological sinners, condemned to eternal torture in Tartarus for the attempted rape of Leto, the mother of Apollo and Artemis. For this crime *Tityus* was chained to the ground while vultures devoured his ever-renewing liver, believed to be the source of the passions.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 15:294, no. 26; and *ibid.*, 305, no. 48.
2. Popham and Wilde, 252, no. 429, pl. 21.
3. Bartsch, 15:260, no. 41.

7

Nicolas Beatrizet
Man Walking

After Michelangelo

Engraving

14³/₄ x 7¹⁵/₁₆ in. (37.5 x 20.2 cm), top and left margins trimmed

References
unrecorded

Literature
Borea, 283, no. 783; Massari,
Bonasona, 1:71, no. 80; Rotili,
62, no. 27



This striking image, sometimes identified as Saint Paul, was not recorded by Bartsch. *Man Walking* reproduces one of Michelangelo's figures in his fresco *The Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican. Rotili, followed by Massari, identified the engraver as Giulio Bonasone. In the early 1960s, however, the print appeared on the London art market with an attribution to Beatrizet,¹ a suggestion with which Borea and others have generally agreed. The image's source in a work by Michelangelo undoubtedly inspired the attribution to Beatrizet, who engraved many of the master's designs. It is the style of the print, however, that is the clinching factor for the attribution. The fine network of lines shading the anatomy and drapery is consistent with Beatrizet's manner and contrasts with Bonasone's considerably looser modeling. The mesh of crosshatching in this engraving, interspersed with patches of closely spaced, long strokes of parallel lines, is found in other engravings by Beatrizet, such as *The Death of Meleager* after Francesco Salviati, 1543 (fig. 6b),² and *Aaron* (cat. no. 5). The greater delicacy of modeling in *Man Walking*, however, suggests a date of a few years later.

It has been noted by Geoffrey Keynes that this engraving served as the model for William Blake's engraving *Joseph of Arimathea among the Rocks of Albion*, 1773.³

Notes

1. *Engravings and Etchings (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)*, catalogue 1111 (London: Craddock & Barnard, n.d.), 3, no. 9, pl. 1.

2. Bartsch, 15:260, no. 41.

3. David Bindman, *The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1978), 467, no. 1, pl. 1.

8 Attributed to Nicolas Beatrizet
The Clemency of Scipio

After Francesco Salviati

Engraving

11⁵/₁₆ x 17¹/₁₆ in. (30.3 x 43.3 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right, on rock: 1542

Lower center: AVRVM.QVOD... /
ANT SAL

Literature

Borea, 271, no. 722; Ferrara and
Gaeta Bertelà, no. 630; Voss,
61–62, fig. 4

References

Bartsch, 15:30, no. 3; Le Blanc,
3:283, no. 39; Passavant, 6:82,
no. 56



Fig. 8a
 Nicolas Beatrizet
Joseph Telling His Dreams
 Engraving
 9⁵/₁₆ x 14¹/₁₆ in. (23.6 x 37.3 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

Bartsch catalogued *The Clemency of Scipio* among engravings by anonymous followers of Marcantonio, stating that it is in the manner of Agostino Veneziano after the design of an unknown Florentine artist. Voss identified the invention as Salviati's, rightly comparing it with Salviati's slightly later frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, of the history of Camillus. The identification of the engraver is more problematic. In discussing Salviati's designs for engravings, Voss noted that Vasari mentioned several of Salviati's drawings, without specifying their subjects, as having been engraved by Girolamo Fagioli, who is otherwise completely unknown. Voss went on to suggest that three engravings, previously attributed by Le Blanc to the equally mysterious Philippe Soye, could be attributed to Fagioli.¹ In this opinion Voss was followed by Borea.² It is hazardous, however, to invent an oeuvre for an artist known only through a passing reference in Vasari.

Other engravings after Salviati, including *The Clemency of Scipio*, were attributed by Voss to the circle of Beatrizet. Visual evidence suggests an attribution to Beatrizet himself. Certain idiosyncracies in this engraving—the schematic treatment of the hair, the pinched facial expressions, especially that of the woman holding the keys, and the delineation of the musculature through a series of short parallel strokes—are characteristics found in other engravings by Beatrizet, such as *Joseph Telling His Dreams* after Raphael, 1541 (fig. 8a).³

The story of the clemency of the Roman general Scipio (Publicus Scipio Africanus the Younger) comes from the history of the Third Punic War against Carthage. After the conquest and destruction of Carthage, Scipio was offered the hand in marriage of a beautiful maiden as part of the booty for the victors. Instead he returned the woman to her rightful fiancé.

Notes

1. *Adam and Eve after the Fall* (Le Blanc, 3:569, no. 3; Voss, fig. 1); *Adam and Eve Mourning the Death of Abel* (Le Blanc, 3:569, no. 4; Voss, fig. 2); and *Apollo and Marsyas* (Le Blanc, 3:570, no. 13; Voss, fig. 3).
2. Borea, 271, nos. 716–18.
3. Bartsch, 15:244, no. 9.

9 Nicolò Boldrini
Milo of Croton

After Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone
Woodcut
11⁷/₈ x 16⁷/₁₆ in. (30.2 x 41.8 cm)



References

Passavant, 6:237, no. 70 i/ii

Literature

Catelli Isola, 81, no. 32; Furlan,
239, no. 5.4; Landau, 345, no.
P51; Mariette, 5:324; Mauroner,
73, under n. 22; Nagler, *Künstler-
Lexikon*, 22:264; Rosand and
Muraro, 250, no. 75



Fig. 9a
Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone
(Italy, c. 1484–1539)
Milo of Croton
Oil on canvas
80½ x 93¾ in. (204.5 x 238.1 cm)
The David and Alfred
Smart Gallery,
The University of Chicago
The Cochrane-Woods Collection

The attribution of the invention and execution of *Milo of Croton* is problematic. Mariette, followed by Passavant and the Tietzes,¹ claimed Titian as the designer. It is now recognized, however, that the print reproduces a painting executed about 1534–36 by Pordenone in the Palazzo Rorario in Pordenone. It is unclear whether this painting was a fresco or a canvas. If the latter, it may be the work now at the University of Chicago (fig. 9a).² The composition was repeated by Pordenone in a fresco on the facade of the Palazzo Mantica in Pordenone.

Passavant attributed the execution of the woodcut to Boldrini, but Catelli Isola and Rosand and Muraro noted its close affinities with the late woodcuts of Ugo da Carpi. Rosand and Muraro dated the print about 1540, contradicting their suggested attribution to Ugo who died in 1532. Landau correctly reasserted Passavant's attribution to Boldrini. The highly sculptural treatment of the figures and the emphasis on their outlines silhouetted against the background are features consistent with Boldrini's woodcuts *A Leaping Horseman* and *Marcus Curtius*.³ Like *Milo of Croton* the latter print is overly sparse without the addition of the tone block to articulate the passages of blank paper. Mariette accurately noted the incompleteness of the composition, hinting that it might

have been intended as a chiaroscuro woodcut. This opinion was confirmed by Rosand and Muraro, who illustrated an impression (in the British Museum) printed with a tone block.

The attribution to Boldrini of the landscape is more debatable than the attribution to him of the figural cutting. As Rosand and Muraro noted, its atmospheric delicacy contrasts sharply with the more linear and schematic forms found in most of Boldrini's other landscapes. Landau observed the difference in the landscape seen in the woodcut from that seen in the engraving after Pordenone's composition, as well as from that in the Chicago painting, and suggested that Boldrini might have taken the figures from Pordenone and placed them in a landscape of his own or another's invention. The refined play of light in *Milo of Croton* is comparable with that seen in Boldrini's earlier woodcut *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* after Titian, circa 1525–30.⁴ Although lacking the overpowering richness of detail and atmosphere of that woodcut, the landscape in *Milo of Croton* could be partly attributable to Titian's influence, thus justifying the early suggestions of Titian's authorship of the design.

Milo of Croton was an ancient Greek athlete who had gone into a forest to split wood. His hand became caught in a tree trunk, and while entrapped, he was devoured by wild animals.

Notes

1. Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Woodcuts," *Print Collector's Quarterly* 25 (1938): 471, 475.
2. Giuseppe Fiocco, *Giovanni Antonio Pordenone* (Pordenone: Cosarini Editori, 1969), 1:147; Furlan, 136, no. 2.39. The author thanks Richard A. Born, curator, David and Alfred Smart Gallery, for considerable documentation on this painting.
3. Rosand and Muraro, 246–49, nos. 73–74.
4. *Ibid.*, 146, no. 22.

IO Giulio Bonasone
The Triumph of Cupid

Engraving
11 1/8 x 15 3/4 in. (28.2 x 40 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right: 1545/
IV.BONAHSO.IVENTOR/
TOM.BARL.EXC.

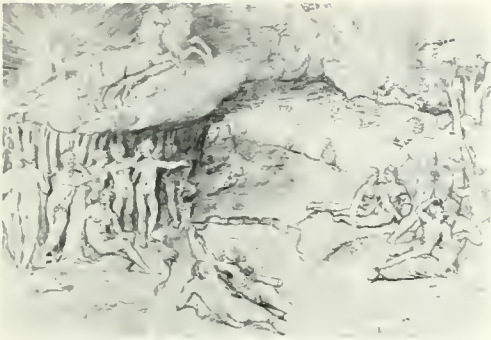
References

Bartsch, 15:141, no. 106;
Le Blanc, 1:444, no. 140

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no 63;
Heinecken, 3:143, no. 123;
Mariette, 1:147-48; Massari,
Bonasone, 1:55, no. 47; Schab,
62, no. 51

Fig. 10a
Giulio Bonasone
The Triumph of Cupid
Red chalk
10³/₈ x 15¹/₄ in. (26.3 x 38.6 cm)
The Visitors of the Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford



The Triumph of Cupid is Bonasone's own invention, based on his preparatory study, in reverse, in the Ashmolean (fig. 10a).¹ Although incised for transfer, the drawing differs from the engraving in some details. The sketch is somewhat smaller in size, lacking the figures of Leda and the swan seen at the extreme right of the engraving.² When Bonasone engraved the composition, he also added a pair of lovers in the center, absent in the Ashmolean sheet.

Whereas the technique of Bonasone's preparatory drawing reveals, according to DeGrazia, the artist's debt to the Emilian tradition of Parmigianino and Primaticcio, the composition itself, with its classicizing figures placed in an extensive landscape, is more in the tradition of Raphael and Giulio Romano, as represented by, for example, Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving *The Judgment of Paris* after Raphael.³ The friezelike disposition of the nude figures, ultimately derived from antique sarcophagi, also is seen in Bonasone's engraving *The Public Bath* after a now-lost Raphael composition.⁴

Massari described a single state for this engraving. Mariette, who misread the date as 1548, claimed there are proofs before Barlacchi's address.

The subject is unclear. In the sky Cupid drives a chariot pulled by unicorns (symbols of chastity), while Apollo, as god of the sun, disappears in the background, thus bringing on the night. The landscape is divided into two wooded areas in which appear groups of male and female nudes. One may surmise that this separation signifies the contrast between divine and carnal love, but there is no clue as to which group represents which concept. Apart from Leda and the swan, the identities of other figures have not been established.

Notes

1. DeGrazia, 266, no. 88.
2. Because of the difference in dimensions and the absence of these figures in the drawing, it has been assumed that the sketch has been cut down. It is more likely, however, that Leda and the swan were an addition when Bonasone engraved the plate, because there is no trace of their ever having appeared in the Ashmolean drawing.
3. Bartsch, 14:197, no. 245.
4. *Ibid.*, 15:157, no. 177. Massari (*Bonasone*, 1:55, under no. 45) has noted that the figure of the standing nude woman at the left in *The Triumph of Cupid* appears at the left in *The Public Bath*.

II

Giulio Bonasone

The Trojans Pull the Wooden Horse into the City

After Francesco Primaticcio

Engraving from two plates

15¾ x 25½ in. (40 x 63.8 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: BOL/INVENTORE/
1545/IV. BONASONAS. F.

References

Bartsch, I:134, no. 85; Le Blanc,
I:447, no. 342

Literature

Dimier, 498, no. 82; Ferrara and
Gaeta Bertelà, no. 46;
Heinecken, 3:138, no. 78;
Massari, *Bonasone*, I:53, no. 43
i/iii; Schab, 60, no. 49



Fig. 11a
 Francesco Primaticcio
 (Italy, 1504–1570)
*The Trojans Pull the Wooden
 Horse into the City*
 Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
 squared in black chalk,
 heightened with white
 15³/₁₆ x 21¹/₄ in. (38.5 x 54 cm)
 Windsor Castle, Royal Library
 ©Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth
 II, 1987

The Trojans Pull the Wooden Horse into the City is based on a faded and damaged drawing by Primaticcio at Windsor Castle (fig. 11a). Popham and Wilde dated this design to Primaticcio's Mantuan period (before he left for Fontainebleau in 1532), even though his pre-Fontainebleau career is almost completely unknown except for his role as Giulio Romano's assistant in the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo del Tè.¹ Primaticcio traveled to Rome in 1539 as Francis I's agent in order to acquire antiquities for the French royal collection, and in contrast to Popham and Wilde's thesis, it is more likely that Bonasone then either met Primaticcio in Italy or acquired his design shortly thereafter through another source.

On the basis of its iconography and composition Bonasone's engraving, dated 1545, may reflect an initial idea for Primaticcio's first fresco in the Galerie

d'Ulisse at Fontainebleau. He might have considered the subject an appropriate introduction to the series of scenes from the life of Ulysses, painted about 1541–47 in the Galerie d'Ulisse.² He eventually initiated the series with *The Sack of Troy*,³ which like *The Trojans Pull the Wooden Horse into the City* is aligned horizontally. In both compositions the ostensible subject, the entry of the horse or the burning of the city, is relegated to the background. Secondary figures occupy the foreground, with the spectator's eye directed diagonally through the composition by a line of additional figures auxiliary to the principal action taking place in the distance. This decentralization of the pictorial narrative undoubtedly derived from the example of Raphael's fresco *The Fire in the Borgo* in the Stanza dell'Incendio in the Vatican.

For the story of the Trojan War, see discussion of Jean Mignon's series *Scenes from the Trojan War* (cat. nos. 92–95).

Notes

1. Popham and Wilde, 303, no. 755. The drawing is not catalogued by Dimier.
2. Primaticcio's decorations in the Galerie d'Ulisse are listed in Dimier, 289–95. See also Sylvie Béguin, Jean Guillaume, and Alain Roy, *La galerie d'Ulisse à Fontainebleau* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985).
3. The painting has been destroyed but is known through Theodore van Thulden's etched copy of 1633, reproduced in Maria Walcher Casotti, *Il Vignola* (Trieste: Istituto di Storia dell'Arte Antica e Moderna, 1960), 2:fig. 62.

Giulio Bonasone
Flora and Her Nymphs

After Giulio Romano
 Engraving
 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (33.1 x 42.9 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: IV.BONASO.F

References

Bartsch, 15:142, no. 111 ii/iii;
 Le Blanc, 1:444, no. 142

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 67;
 Heineken, 3:140, no. 96;
 Massari, *Bonasone*, 1:61, no. 66
 ii/iii; Schab, 40, no. 31



Fig. 12a
 Giulio Romano
 (Italy, 1499–1546)
Flora and Her Nymphs
 Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
 over traces of black chalk,
 squared in black chalk
 10¹⁵/₁₆ x 16¹/₁₆ in. (27.8 x 40.8 cm)
 Teylers Museum, Haarlem

Flora and Her Nymphs is based, in reverse, on a composition designed by Giulio Romano and painted by Rinaldo Mantovano in 1527–28 in the Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.¹ Like Marcantonio Raimondi in his procedure of working with Raphael, Bonasone probably had access to Giulio's *modello* (fig. 12a).² In both the engraving and drawing the narrative occurs in a grape arbor; in the painting the scene is set among clumps of trees. Bonasone exercised his creativity in several details of the composition that differ from Giulio's drawing. These differences include the altered position of the legs and drapery of Flora (seated at the left); the addition of a workman, shown driving the pair of oxen in the background; the facial types reflecting Bonasone's rather than Giulio's manner; and the indication of landscape in the lower corner, left blank in the drawing. The most radical change is in the attitude of the sleeping woman at the lower left in the engraving (at the lower right in the drawing). Rather than reclining in a position of restful modesty (her appearance in Giulio's works), in the print she has assumed the pose of the celebrated ancient sculpture of Ariadne (also sometimes known as Cleopatra) in the Vatican.³ From the time of its acquisition by Pope Julius II in 1512, the sculpture frequently was the source for artists' renditions of sleeping nymphs.⁴

Giulio's decoration of the Sala dei Venti is an elaborate allegorical representation of the astrological calendar, based on a late antique text by Firmicus Maternus.⁵ *Flora and Her Nymphs* is associated with the zodiacal sign of Virgo and the constellation the Wreath.

For another engraving after one of Giulio's designs for the Sala dei Venti, see Diana Scultori's *The Snakeholder* (cat. no. 45).

Notes

1. Hartt, 1:115–23, 2:fig. 202.
2. *Ibid.*, 1:296, no. 151, 2:fig. 212.
3. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 184–87, fig. 96.
4. *Ibid.*, 186.
5. Ernst Gombrich, "The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Tè," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 189–201.

Giulio Bonasone
The Birth of John the Baptist

After Jacopino del Conte

Engraving

11½ x 17¼ in. (29.2 x 44.9 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right, on pedestal:
 IACOBVS/FLORENTINVS/INVENTOR/
 NATIVITAS/BEATI IOANNIS/
 BAPTISTAE/IVLIO.B.F.

Lower right: ANT.LAFRERI./
 SECVANI.FORMIS.

Literature

Borea, 276, no. 749 ii/iii; Ferrara
 and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 39;
 Heinecken, 3:133, no. 3;
 Mariette, 1:149; Massari,
Bonasone, 1:66, no. 71 ii/iv;
 Rotili, 62, no. 28

References

Bartsch, 15:131, no. 76 ii/iii;
 Le Blanc, 1:442, no. 71 ii/ii

The inscriptions "IACOBVS/FLORENTINVS/INVENTOR" were interpreted in the earlier literature as signifying Jacopo Pontormo as the designer of *The Birth of John the Baptist*. Borea has pointed out, however, that as early as 1572, in the inventory of the Roman publisher Antonio Lafreri, the inventor was recognized as a Florentine painter of a later generation, Jacopino del Conte.¹

Bonasone's engraving appears to document an important episode in the history of High Maniera painting in Rome: the competition during the 1540s between several artists for the commission of the fresco in the Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato representing the birth of John the Baptist.² The oratory's decoration began in 1536–37 with Jacopino's *Annunciation to Zacharias* and continued in the following year with Francesco Salviati's *Visitation* and Jacopino's *Preaching of the Baptist*. Jacopino's *Baptism of Christ* was executed in 1541. At that point, according to Davidson's interpretation, the fierce rivalry between Salviati and Jacopino interrupted the decoration, with Jacopino leaving Rome in 1541 and Salviati in 1543. Before his departure Jacopino attempted to acquire the commission for *The Birth of John*

the Baptist, and his proposal is documented by Bonasone's engraving, dated by Massari about 1546. Salviati eventually received the commission and painted the fresco in 1551.

Bonasone's engraving also documents the influence of Perino del Vaga on Jacopino's style, an influence already evident in the fresco *Preaching of the Baptist*.³ For example, the figure of Zacharias is similar in attitude and type to the elderly priest in Bonasone's engraving *Alexander the Great and the Priest of Jerusalem* after Perino (cat. no. 15).

The engraving's first state, described by Bartsch as rare, is before the address of Lafreri. This impression is from the second state, while in the third Lafreri is replaced by De Nobilis, and in the fourth by Losi.

The story of the birth of John the Baptist is found in Luke 1.5–64. John was the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, the cousin of Mary, mother of Jesus. Elizabeth was barren, but was told by the Archangel Gabriel that she would bear a son. At the same time, Zacharias was rendered mute until the time of his son's birth. During the moment of birth, Zacharias was asked what his newborn son's name would be, and he wrote "John" on a tablet.

Notes

1. Jacopino's authorship appears to have been proposed in modern literature first by Hermann Voss (*Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* [Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920], 1:144). For the reference in Lafreri's inventory, see Francesco Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V: La pianta di Rome Du Pérac-Lafreri del 1577* (Rome: Danesi Editore, 1908), 57.

2. The history of this competition is summarized in Bernice Davidson, "'The Birth of John the Baptist' and Some Other Drawings by Daniele da Volterra," *Master Drawings* 21 (1983): 152–59. For a general survey of the oratory's decoration, see Rolf E. Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom: Eine Studie seiner Fresken* (Rome: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1976).

3. For discussion of a drawing by Perino in the Albertina related to this fresco, see Keller, *Das Oratorium*, 68 n. 6, fig. 13.

Etching and engraving
 9³/₁₆ x 14¹/₈ in. (23.4 x 35.9 cm)



Volo ne campi Elisi un giorno Amore
 Dove l'uomo unanimo è amato
 Le qua volendo uerchiar l'ardore
 Che dentro a corpi humani puote muore
 Corce p'occurrimente così amore
 E lo lega co' suoi legami, e quonche
 S'è più magra, e più tosto ha uolente
 Gli esordare, e gli uolente d'incerto
 E di vate, e di fior magi facendo
 Le bonasone scherzando a garansime
 Sate Vener dal cui, di amor avdendo
 Per amore, e lo frasca di forze e frono
 Stolleria per quell' amore uidero
 Re Es che mangiar mai futuro teme
 Spigolati e laggiu cetero più
 In quella mortale a bronzar di suo.

Julio Bonasone in Ventore

Inscriptions

Lower left, on rock: Volo ne campi Elisi . . . / . . . a trionfar di noi.

Lower left, on ledge: Iulio Bonasone in Ventore/1563

References

Bartsch, 15:139, no. 101 i/ii;
 Le Blanc, 1:444, no. 141 i/ii

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 60;
 Heineken, 3:147, no. 3; Massari,
Bonasone, 1:111, no. 185 ii/iv;
 Petrucci, 51, pl. 47; Schab, 64,
 no. 52

The present impression of *Cupid in the Elysian Fields* corresponds to Bartsch's first state and Massari's second state, before the plate was retouched by the Roman publisher de Rossi.

The verses in Italian explain the subject. One day Cupid flew to the Elysian Fields (the underworld equivalent of Paradise in ancient mythology), where he was captured by the souls of dead lovers who had once felt the sting of his arrows. In revenge they bound him to a tree and whipped him with floral bouquets. His mother, Venus, descended from the clouds to punish him for instigating her illicit affair with Mars. The theme of "bound Cupid" derives from ancient accounts and depictions of Eros and Anteros, evolving in the Renaissance from the original meaning of mutual or reciprocal love into representations of the struggle between sacred and profane love.¹ This appears to be the intended meaning of Bonasone's print, in which the binding and punishment of Cupid signifies a celebration of the concept of chastity.

Notes

1. For a discussion of the subject, see Erwin Panofsky, "Der gefesselte Eros," *Oud Holland* 50 (1933): 193–200.

Attributed to Giulio Bonasone
Alexander the Great and the Priest of Jerusalem

After Perino del Vaga

Engraving

10 x 7¾ in. (25.4 x 19.7 cm)

References

Bartsch, 15:22, no. 1; Hind,
5:299, no. 27 i/ii

Literature

Levenson, Oberhuber, and
Sheehan, 512, no. 186





Fig. 15a
Giulio Bonasone
Saint Paul Preaching
Engraving
9⁵/₁₆ x 5¹⁵/₁₆ in. (23.7 x 15.1 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

The title of this engraving has varied, including *Saint Ambrose Refusing Emperor Theodosius Entry to the Church* and *David Blessed by Nathan before Battle*, but the present one is now generally accepted because, as noted by Oberhuber, of the engraving's compositional similarity to an image of this subject on a medal struck for Pope Paul III in 1545.¹ The narrative also appears, although in a considerably more populated composition, in a fresco of 1546 painted by Marco Pino in the Sala Paolina in the Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome.² The engraving thus seems to be contemporary with these works of the mid-1540s. Pino was one of several painters, including Livio Agresti, Prospero Fontana, Cristofano Gherardi, Luzzo Romano, Siciolante da Sermoneta, and Pellegrino Tibaldi, involved in the decoration of the Castel Sant'Angelo. The guiding artistic force behind the project was Perino del Vaga, the leading painter in Rome in the 1540s, and it is Perino to whom the design of this engraving can be attributed.³ The figural type of the priest is especially close to Perino's design of 1547 for Giulio Bonasone's engraving *Saint Paul Preaching* (fig. 15a).⁴ In both works, as well as in others by Perino, the bearded old man stands somewhat stiffly in profile, moving and gesturing slightly forward.

Oberhuber grouped several anonymous Italian engravings around Master IRs, to whom he attributed *Alexander the Great and the Priest of Jerusalem*.⁵ Most of these prints are somewhat loose in technique, akin to the style of Giovanni Battista Palumba (Master

I.B. with the Bird), and apparently executed during the first years of the sixteenth century. As noted by Oberhuber, the present engraving certainly would be Master IRs's last work, seemingly a world away from the style of Palumba, Francesco Francia, and the early prints of Marcantonio Raimondi. If we accept, however, Oberhuber's other attributions to Master IRs as a coherent body of work, it is difficult to accept the proposition that the artist produced a group of prints around 1510, followed by a gap of almost forty years, and then engraved the present print.

The manner of modeling the figures and drapery, in which the artist applies the shading in a very loose pattern of hatching and crosshatching, recalls the style of Bonasone. This shading appears to float over the forms without lending them much weight or substance, comparable with Bonasone's engravings of the 1540s, such as *Saint Paul Preaching* and *Circe and the Companions of Ulysses*.⁶

The source of the narrative is Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae*.⁷ According to the story, when Alexander the Great approached Jerusalem, he was met by the high priest. Alexander was so struck by the awesome presence of the priest, the conqueror of the world dismounted and approached the holy man on his knees. As was often the case during the sixteenth century and later, the Temple of Jerusalem is represented in the background by a variant of Bramante's *tempietto* in the church of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome.⁸

Notes

1. The medal is reproduced in Richard Harprath, *Papst Paul III als Alexander der Grosse. Das Freskenprogramm der Sala Paolina in der Engelsburg* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), pl. 41.

2. Filippa M. Aliberti Gaudioso and Erardo Gaudioso, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo. Progetto ed esecuzione 1543-1548* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1981), 1:pl. 99. John Gere [*Taddeo Zuccaro. His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 97 n. 1], noted a relationship between the engraving and Taddeo Zuccaro's fresco of the subject in the Palazzo Caetani, Rome. But as observed by Oberhuber, the engraving appears to predate the painting by several years.

3. The attributions by Heineken to Andrea del Sarto (quoted by Bartsch) and by Popham to Michiel Coxcie (quoted by Hind) can be dismissed. In his review of Hind's book (*Burlington Magazine* 91 [1949]: 236) Philip Pouncey's suggestion of Francesco Salviati as the designer was closer to the mark.

4. Bartsch, 15:130, no. 72. Perino's original drawing for the print is in the Uffizi. See Massari, *Bonasone*, 1:82, fig. 43.

5. Levenson, Oberhuber, and Sheehan, 508.

6. Bartsch, 15:135, no. 83.

7. The text is reprinted in Harprath, *Papst Paul III*, 89-90.

8. For discussion of the use of this temple form, see Levenson, Oberhuber, and Sheehan, 512 n. 4.

Domenico Campagnola
Battle of Nude Men

Engraving

8¾ x 9¼ in. (22.2 x 23 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: DOMENICVS/
 CAPAGNOLA/1517.

References

Bartsch, 13:384, no. 10
 (misprinted no. 19); Galichon,
 540, no. 11; Hind, 5:211, no. 4; Le
 Blanc, 1:574, no. 13; Passavant,
 5:169, no. 10

Literature

D'Amico, 24, no. 27; Heineken,
 3:547; Landau, 325, no. 21;
 Levenson, Oberhuber, and
 Sheehan, 428, no. 156;
 Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 71, no.
 68; Oberhuber, *Rome and
 Venice*, 74, no. 48



Fig. 16a
 Domenico Campagnola
Fighting Horsemen
 Pen and brown ink
 8⁵/₁₆ x 12⁷/₁₆ in. (21.1 x 31.6 cm)
 The Art Institute of Chicago
 Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial
 Collection



During the second decade of the sixteenth century, artists throughout Italy became interested in depictions of battles. This interest was undoubtedly spurred by renewed curiosity in representations of such scenes on Roman sarcophagi and by more recent depictions like Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* and Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*. In 1513 Titian was commissioned to paint *The Battle of Cadore* for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice,¹ and about 1514–15 he executed his monumental woodcut *Pharaoh's Army Crossing the Red Sea*.² Around 1515 Raphael designed a battle scene engraved by Marco Dente³ and at the end of the decade was planning his fresco *The Battle of the Milvian Bridge* for the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican (painted after his death by his pupils). During this period of serious interest in such subjects,⁴ Campagnola engraved *Battle of Nude Men*, as well as drew a sketch, *Fighting Horsemen* (fig. 16a).⁵

Oberhuber deftly characterized the distinctiveness of Campagnola's artistic approach to *Battle of Nude Men*, in which the violent tumult of the fighting figures, accentuated by the effects of flickering light and compressed space, is more mannerist than that used in the contemporary battle scenes cited above. Campagnola's technique of engraving, with long and sinuous parallel strokes of the burin—so different from the manner of his adoptive father, Giulio Campagnola—lends to this depiction a remarkable sense of fluidity, unity, and animation.

Notes

1. The painting was not executed until 1538, and although destroyed in a fire of 1577, it is known through several copies. On the basis of Titian's preparatory drawings it appears he planned the painting long before its execution.

2. Rosand and Muraro, 70, no. 4.

3. Bartsch, 14:316, no. 420. A preparatory study by Raphael for the print is at Chatsworth. See Joannides, 230, no. 383.

4. Oberhuber (Levenson, Oberhuber, and Sheehan, 428) cited other contemporary examples of battle scenes, including Girolamo Genga's drawing *Nude Fighting Horsemen* in the Albertina (ibid., fig. 20–8) and Master of 1515's engraving *Battle in a Wood* (Hind, 5:285, no. 17). Oberhuber argued for Genga's invention of Campagnola's engraving. This view was refuted by Caroline Karpinski ("Some Woodcuts after Early Designs of Titian," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 [1976]: 269).

5. Wendy Stedman Sheard, *Antiquity in the Renaissance* (Northampton: Smith College Museum of Art, 1978), no. 46.

After Rosso Fiorentino

Engraving

9¹⁵/₁₆ x 7⁵/₁₆ in. (25.3 x 18.6 cm)**References**Bartsch, 15:92, no. 58; Le Blanc,
1:589, no. 61**Literature**Borea, 248, no. 610; Carroll,
Drawings, vol. 1, bk. 1, III-14,
bk. 2, 79-80; Carroll, *Rosso*, 72,
no. 8; Ferrara and Gacta Bertelà,
no. 167; Heinecken, 2:100;
Kusenberg, 27, 163



Fig. 17a
 Michelangelo (Italy, 1475–1564)
 A "Damned Soul"
 Black chalk
 10⁵/₁₆ x 8³/₈ in. (26.2 x 21.3 cm)
 Windsor Castle, Royal Library
 ©Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth
 II, 1987

Heinecken, believing *Frenzy* to be by Agostino Veneziano after a design by Baccio Bandinelli, was corrected by Bartsch, who pointed out that the print's present attribution was noted by Vasari.¹ Subsequent authors have considered the engraving Caraglio's first Roman print, dating it about 1524–25, the time he came to the city from his birthplace of Parma or Verona. The design has been characterized as Rosso's reaction to and interpretation of such celebrated Roman monuments as the *Laocoön* and Michelangelo's *ignudi* in the Sistine Chapel. This observation does not take into account that the rather emaciated appearance of Rosso's figure contrasts with the heroic and idealized figures seen in the famous antique sculpture or in Michelangelo's frescoes. Nevertheless, the composition may reflect aspects of Michelangelo's art, such as his slightly earlier *écorchés* (drawings of flayed human figures).² The extreme emotional state of the figure is also comparable with Michelangelo's drawing of a shouting man (fig. 17a), sometimes thought to represent a damned soul, dating from about the same time as Caraglio's engraving.³ Rosso's preparatory study for the engraving is presumed lost.

Although traditionally described as a representation of frenzy, or fury, because of the figure's agitated state, the subject of this engraving may also be a complex allegory of death. The seated male nude can be interpreted as Rosso's highly personal interpretation, almost a parody, of the celebrated antique sculpture of the Apollo Belvedere, because the placement of the figure's arms and the turn of its head are very similar to that in the statue. Apollo is frequently depicted with the monster Python, often represented as a dragon like the one shown here, whom the god slew at his sanctuary at Delphi.

The swan is another attribute of Apollo, the god of music, because of the bird's association with singing. The swan is also associated with death because its last song, its "swan song," is said to be its sweetest and most melancholy. The serpent entwined in the skull held in the nude's left hand is also evidently a symbol of death, as are the numerous serpents in the background and the cadaverlike appearance of the nude.⁴ The engraving's unusual combination of allegorical symbols may signify the print as some sort of memorial marking the death of a person associated with music.

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:424.
2. A group of these drawings, whose attribution to Michelangelo is now accepted, is at Windsor Castle. See Popham and Wilde, 261–62, nos. 439–43. For a discussion of Rosso's anatomical studies, see Licia Raghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' Disegni del Vasari* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1974), 1:117–18. The only surviving echoes of Rosso's interest in anatomy are a group of drawings, now considered closer to the manner of Alessandro Allori, in the National Gallery of Scotland and the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. A sheet in the National Gallery of Scotland (Raghianti Collobi, fig. 369) is similar to the nude male figure in Caraglio's engraving.
3. There are two versions of Michelangelo's drawing, each of which has its supporters as the original. One is at Windsor Castle (Popham and Wilde, 264, no. 453), and one is in the Uffizi [Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi: Inventario 1. Disegni Esposti* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1986), 267, no. 601 E].
4. For a discussion of the meaning of each figure, see Tervarent, 138–41 (*cygne*), 149–51 (*dragon*), 340–46 (*serpent*).

After Titian

Engraving

17¹³/₁₆ x 13¹/₂ in. (45.3 x 34.3 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: IACOBVS/
 CARALIVS/FE

Lower right: TITIANI
 FIGVRARVM/AD CAESAREM
 EXEMPLA

References

Bartsch, 15:67, no. 3; Le Blanc,
 1:587, no. 3

Literature

Catelli Isola, 33, no. 11; Ferrara
 and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 126;
 Mariette, 5:305; Mauroner, 56,
 no. 1; Sopher, 29, no. 31; Wethey,
 1:71, pl. 59



The Annunciation was engraved by Caraglio several years after *Frenzy* (cat. no. 17). The print reproduces a now-lost work by Titian, painted in 1536 and acquired by Emperor Charles v as a gift to Empress Isabella in 1537; Charles's motto "Plus ultra" appears on banderoles at the top of the engraving. Catelli Isola noted another copy of the composition by Martino Rota, published by Donato Roscicotti.¹ Rota's version appears rather summary and schematic compared with the chromatic variety of Caraglio's engraving. The play of light in *The Annunciation* is richer than in Caraglio's earlier graphic works after Rosso Fiorentino and Parmigianino. This may be Caraglio's last engraving, for he left Italy in 1539 to work for Sigismund I of Poland as a medalist and architect.

The subject is recounted in Luke 1.26–38. The Archangel Gabriel appeared to Mary in Nazareth and informed her that she would give birth to a son to be called Jesus. Although Mary was a virgin, she conceived with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, represented here in the form of a dove.

Notes

1. Catelli Isola, 52, no. 72.

19 Ugo da Carpi *Diogenes*

After Parmigianino

Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black, ocher, and dark brown
18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{13}{16}$ in. (47.9 x 35 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 26

Inscriptions

Lower left: FRANCISCVS/
PARNEN./PER.VGO CARP

References

Bartsch, 12:100, no. 10; Johnson,
77, no. 15 ii/ii; Le Blanc, 1:596,
no. 24; Servolini, *Ugo*, no. 12

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no.
481; Fossi, 15, no. 12; Hasselt,
35, no. 86; Heineken, 3:603;
Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 40,
no. 91; Oberhuber, *Renaissance*,
129, no. 197; Petrucci, 42, pl. 36;
Pittaluga, 237, fig. 172; Popham,
12–13, fig. 17; Rotili, 58, no. 21;
Schab, 54, no. 44; Weigel, 477,
no. 5686





Fig. 19a
Gian Giacomo Caraglio
Diogenes
Engraving
11⁵/₁₆ x 8⁵/₁₆ in. (28.7 x 21.8 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Diogenes is one of the best and most famous prints of the sixteenth century. Described confusingly by Vasari, who cited it once as by an unnamed woodcutter and again as by Parmigianino himself (despite the presence of Ugo's signature),¹ it is now recognized as Ugo's masterpiece. Also once considered an example of close collaboration between painter and printmaker, it is now believed to have been based, not on Parmigianino's now-lost *modello*,² but on Gian Giacomo Caraglio's engraving of the composition (fig. 19a).³ The evidence for this hypothesis is inconclusive because without Parmigianino's finished study it is impossible to judge which of the two prints is more faithful to the original. Ugo's version differs from Caraglio's in a few details, especially in the background. Nevertheless, Popham and others have posited the engraving as Ugo's source because Antonio da Trento apparently was Parmigianino's only close collaborator in chiaroscuro. The composition is believed to have been created before the Sack of Rome in 1527, while the painter was still in the city. Because Caraglio engraved three other compositions from Parmigianino's Roman period, it is conceded that his *Diogenes* also dates before 1527. Consequently it predates Ugo's woodcut, which is cited by Vasari as having been executed in Bologna, where Ugo fled after the Sack.

One of Parmigianino's most vigorous and dynamic figures, *Diogenes* is a prime

example of the artist's absorption of influences from his Roman milieu. The young painter was evidently interested especially in the new mannerist style promulgated by his slightly older contemporary Rosso Fiorentino. This influence is most noteworthy in Parmigianino's *The Marriage of the Virgin*, engraved by Caraglio,⁴ which is a variation on Rosso's early painting of the subject in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence.⁵ The figure of Diogenes is more self-contained in movement than the figure in Rosso's *Frenzy* engraved by Caraglio (cat. no. 17), but its dynamic character, even the motif of the drapery billowing behind the man's head, is comparable with two of Rosso's designs of mythological figures engraved by Caraglio: *Jupiter* from the series *Gods in Niches* and *Hercules Defeating the River God Achelous* from the series *The Labors of Hercules*.⁶

Diogenes, known as "the Cynic," was a fourth century B.C. Greek philosopher renowned for his avoidance of physical pleasure. As part of this regimen he lived in a simple wooden tub. Ugo depicted this tub in the background, while strewn around Diogenes's feet are a number of philosophical tomes. The most curious aspect of the image is the plucked rooster, a reference to the philosopher's ridicule of Plato's definition of man as a featherless biped. This meaning was made clear when Giulio Bonasone copied the woodcut in 1555, with the addition of the inscription "Hic est homo platonis."⁷

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:226; and *ibid.*, 422.
2. The only preparatory studies by Parmigianino are sketches for details of the figure in the Uffizi (Popham, 1:74, no. 107) and Chatsworth (*ibid.*, 208, 211, nos. 714, 729). His cartoon of Diogenes was undoubtedly executed in the same refined and painterly fashion as his studies for Caraglio's engravings *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Graphische Sammlung, Weimar (*ibid.*, 192, no. 631), and *The Martyrdom of Saint Peter and Saint Paul* in the British Museum (*ibid.*, 92, no. 190).
3. Bartsch, 15:94, no. 61.
4. *Ibid.*, 66, no. 1.
5. Kusenbergl, pl. 13. Parmigianino could have seen Rosso's painting in 1524 on his way to Rome.
6. Bartsch, 15:78, no. 26; and *ibid.*, 86, no. 48. This comparison was noted by Johnson, 84 n. 9.
7. Bartsch, 15:164, no. 277; Edgar Wind, "Homo Platonis," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937-38): 261.

Nicolò della Casa
Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli

After Baccio Bandinelli
 Engraving
 16¼ x 12 in. (41.2 x 30.5 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower center: 1548
Lower right: A.S. Excudebat

References

Le Blanc, 3:414, no. 1

Literature

Bartsch, 15:179; Borea, 264, no. 690; Heinecken, 2:90, no. 1



Fig. 20a
 Nicolò della Casa
Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli
 Engraving
 11¹/₁₆ x 8⁵/₁₆ in. (29.3 x 22 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

Fig. 20b
Hercules
 Italy, sixteenth century
 Engraving
 14³/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆ in. (36 x 23 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection



This engraving is the rarer and lesser-known of two portraits of Bandinelli by della Casa.¹ Dated 1548, *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli* depicts the Florentine sculptor with a younger appearance than in the other portrait of him in his studio (fig. 20a). In both prints Bandinelli is presented as a well-dressed gentleman rather than as an artisan, an illustration of the sixteenth century's elevation of the artist to the rank of an aristocratic and intellectual courtier. In dress and demeanor there is little to distinguish these portrayals from Agnolo Bronzino's or Jacopo Pontormo's contemporary portraits of Florentine nobility. As Borea has noted, della Casa's portraits are part of a number of self-promoting images of Bandinelli, which also include nocturnal views by Agostino Veneziano and Enea Vico of the sculptor's academy.²

All of these depictions show the artist amid statuettes and small sculptural fragments. Such statuettes, standard studio props in the workshops of sculptors, were used as models for students to copy as part of their training to master the depiction of the human figure. The sculpture of a female figure seen at the upper left in della Casa's engraving, possibly representing a variation on the antique Cnidian Venus, was copied by Bandinelli in a recently published drawing.³ The present engraving's male nude seen from the rear appears to be a reduced version of its counterpart in Bandinelli's sculptural group *Adam and Eve* in the Museo Nazionale, Florence.⁴ Borea observed that most of the prints after Bandinelli were based on designs created expressly for the engraver, rather than after his sculptures, with the exception of the anonymous engraving *Hercules*, dated 1548 and inscribed with Bandinelli's name as the inventor (fig. 20b).⁵

Notes

1. The other portrait is listed in Passavant, 6:124, no. 4.
2. Bartsch, 14:314, no. 418; and *ibid.*, 15:305, no. 49.
3. *Old Master Drawings* (London: Yvonne Tan Bunzl, 1987), no. 5.
4. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*. Vol. 10, *Parte 2: La scultura del Cinquecento* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1936), fig. 184.
5. For a brief survey of prints after Bandinelli, see Borea, 242–45, nos. 591–97, 264–65, nos. 687–92.

Marco Dente
Entellus and Dares

After Giulio Romano

Engraving

12³/₁₆ x 10³/₄ in. (31 x 27.3 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: ENTELLI/
ET.DARET/CESTVVM/
CERT/SR [monogram of Dente]

References

Bartsch, 14:159, no. 195; Le
Blanc, 2:111, no. 27; Passavant,
6:69, no. 22

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no.
199; Massari et al., 236, no. IX,
1b; Oberhuber, *Renaissance*,
108, no. 154; Petrucci, pl. 25





Fig. 21a
The Boxers
 Rome, second century
 Marble
 46 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (119 x 212 cm)
 Museo Gregorio Profano,
 Vatican City

The invention of *Entellus and Dares*, praised by Bartsch as one of Dente's finest engravings, has been ascribed to both Raphael and Giulio Romano. The composition, however, has been shown to be derived from an antique relief in the Vatican of two boxers (fig. 21a).¹ The inventor, whether Raphael, Giulio, or perhaps Dente himself, was consequently only an interpreter of the antique prototype. The engraving is fairly faithful to its model in the depiction of the figural types and in the arrangement of the drapery. Some differences may be noted: the figures are shown full length rather than cropped at their thighs, they are placed in an antique setting against a backdrop of the ruins of the Colosseum, the younger man's tunic is more activated by his movements, and the arms of the figures overlap.

According to Massari, *Entellus and Dares* is a late work of about 1520–25, contemporary with Dente's engraving *Laocoön*.² In both works Dente placed the sculptures in settings of his own invention. The principal difference in approach is that, whereas the *Laocoön* retains its integrity as a sculptural group placed on a pedestal, *Entellus and Dares* no longer resembles a relief. Dente's engraving or its antique model was adapted by Giulio for two of the gladiators in his fresco *The Parting of the Hooves of Taurus*, 1527, in the Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.³

As told by Virgil (*Aeneid*, 5.424–65), the combat between Entellus of Sicily and Dares of Troy took place at the funerary games held in Sicily in honor of Anchises, the father of Aeneas.

Notes

1. Antje Krug, "Ein römisches Relief und Raffael," *Städels-Jahrbuch*, n.s., 5 (1975): 31–36.
2. Bartsch, 14:268, no. 353.
3. Hartt, 2:fig. 197.

After Rosso Fiorentino

Engraving

11³/₈ x 17¹/₈ in. (28.9 x 43.5 cm)



Inscriptions

Upper left: R

References

Bartsch, 14:321, no. 425; Le Blanc, 2:112, no. 31; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*, 10:71, no. 111; Passavant, 6:71, no. 54

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 226; Borea, 247, no. 609 i/ii; Carroll, *Rosso*, 54, under no. 2; Kusenberg, 163; Schab, 32, no. 22



Fig. 22a
 Agostino Veneziano
 (Italy, active 1514–1536)
The Skeletons
 Engraving
 12³/₁₆ x 19⁷/₈ in. (31 x 50.4 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

Fig. 22b
 Rosso Fiorentino
 (Italy, 1494–1540)
The Skeletons
 Red chalk, traces of heightening
 in white
 12⁵/₈ x 19³/₄ in. (32 x 50.2 cm)
 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe
 degli Uffizi, Florence

The same composition was engraved by Agostino Veneziano and dated 1518 (fig. 22a).¹ Because of misleading passages in Vasari,² these engravings were once believed to be based on a design by Baccio Bandinelli, but they are now recognized to reproduce, in reverse, a now heavily damaged drawing by Rosso Fiorentino in the Uffizi (fig. 22b).³ Carroll accepts 1517 as the date for Rosso's study, while pointing out that the original inscription with the date has been completely effaced. The most apparent differences between the two engravings is Dente's inclusion of a desolate and rocky landscape whereas Agostino's figures are set against a plain black background. Borea considered Dente's version more faithful to Rosso's drawing because the sketch contains schematic indications of the landscape. The rocky terrain in Dente's print, however, is more elaborate than Rosso's and is probably the engraver's own invention. Also, the number and physiognomies of the figures in Agostino's engraving are closer to Rosso's, whereas Dente added some figures and altered some of the expressions.⁴

It has been assumed, probably correctly, that Agostino's version precedes Dente's, but it may be erroneous to accept 1518 as the date of the earlier engraving. The inscribed date may refer not to the date of the print's execu-

tion but to the date of Rosso's design. Otherwise, Agostino's *The Skeletons* would be anomalous as the only print from Rosso's Florentine period. It is more reasonable to conclude that both Agostino's and Dente's *The Skeletons* were created between 1524 and 1527, when Rosso was in Rome, about the same time as Caraglio's engravings after Rosso's designs, such as *Frenzy* (cat. no. 17).

The present impression is from the first state. In the second state the address of Antonio Salamanca appears. To this group should be added a third state with the address of Carlo Losi and the date 1773. As is usual of a plate republished by Losi, the impressions are mere ghosts of Dente's original engraving.

Carroll is probably accurate in identifying the subject of this engraving as a *memento mori*, a meditation on the transitory nature of life. The winged skeleton holding a book symbolizes Death reviewing events from the life of the deceased, the reclining skeleton. The identification of the surrounding emaciated figures is less certain and may be intended only to accentuate the morbid character of the scene. The old woman at the left, with sagging breasts and disheveled hair, resembles some personifications of envy as well as witchcraft; Marcantonio Raimondi's *Lo Stregozzo* (cat. no. 37) is another example of this type.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 14:320, no. 424.
2. Vasari, 5:416, 6:140.
3. Carroll, *Drawings*, vol. 1, bk. 2, 195–201, no. D-6, vol. 2:fig. 15.
4. A drawing in the Uffizi, there catalogued as school of Bandinelli, may be Dente's preparatory study for his engraving because the study corresponds almost exactly, in reverse, to the print. See Borea, 247–48, no. 609b.

Etching and engraving

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (27.3 x 41.6 cm)**References**

Bartsch, 16:120, no. 5 i/ii;
Le Blanc, 2:250, no. 2

Literature

D'Amico, 46, no. 175; Schab, 66,
no. 54

Franco's career as a printmaker has not been systematically analyzed, although suggestions for his chronological development appear in Dillon's catalogue.¹ Accepting Dillon's chronology for Franco's prints, *Melchizedek Offering Bread and Wine to Abraham* is probably the earliest of the etchings by Franco in this volume (cat. nos. 23–25) and may date from Franco's stay of 1545–50 in Urbino and The Marches. In this print Franco's handling of light is less evocative and atmospheric than in *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. no. 24) of a few years later. The figures resemble discrete individual forms in line with Franco's Roman experiences. The Raphaelesque tenor of the composition, noted by some authors, is attributable more specifically to Franco's absorption in North Italy of influences from Giulio Romano and Giulio Bonasone. This period of the late 1540s when Franco was near Mantua was probably when he etched his prints after Giulio Romano's designs, including *Diana and Her Nymphs* (Bartsch 46), *The Feast in Honor of Cupid and Psyche* (Bartsch 47), *The Clemency of Scipio* (Bartsch 54), and *The Golden Age* (Bartsch 73).

The present impression of *Melchizedek Offering Bread and Wine to Abraham* is from the first state, before the appearance of Franco's signature at the lower right.

When Lot, the brother of the Hebrew patriarch Abraham, was living in the city of Sodom, he was captured by the Elamites when they defeated the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah in battle. Abraham freed his brother by defeating Lot's captors with an army of 318 men. Abraham was met after his victory by Melchizedek, the king and priest of Salem, with an offering of bread and wine (Genesis 14.12–20).

Notes

1. Dillon, 314–18, nos. 142–57. The present etching is not discussed by Dillon.

Giovanni Battista Franco
The Adoration of the Shepherds

Etching and engraving
 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (36.5 x 51.4 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right: B.F.V.F.

References

Bartsch, 16:121, no. 8 i/ii;
 Le Blanc, 2:250, no. 3 i/iii;
 Passavant, 6:178, no. 8 ii/iv

Literature

Borea, 267, no. 704; D'Amico, 47,
 no. 178; Pittaluga, 286, fig. 224
 bis; Rearick, 108 n. 9; Rotili, 84,
 no. 81



Fig. 24a
 Attributed to Girolamo da Carpi
 (Italy, 1501–1556)
The Adoration of the Shepherds
 Pen and reddish brown ink,
 brown wash, over red chalk
 7³/₈ x 10³/₁₆ in. (18.7 x 25.9 cm)
 Windsor Castle, Royal Library
 ©Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth
 II, 1987

Another version of this composition bears an inscription citing Michelangelo as the inventor. Accepted by Rotili, who found this engraving in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome,¹ Michelangelo's authorship of the design was rightly questioned by Borea.² *The Adoration of the Shepherds* certainly seems to be Franco's own invention, datable, as Rearick suggested, about 1545–55, when the artist was residing in North Italy. During this period the figures in Franco's works began to assume a more prominent physical presence. This monumentality of form wed to a developing interest in color is also seen in Franco's signed and dated painting *Christ Falling under the Cross*, 1552, in the Uffizi.³ The union of Roman sculptural qualities and North Italian tonalities of light and color is found in the works of other Venetian and North Italian painters, such as Giuseppe Salviati and Girolamo da Carpi. A drawing attributed to Carpi at Windsor Castle, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 24a), is comparable in several respects with Franco's composition.⁴ In both works the figures are arranged within a relatively shallow space across the foreground and set against a backdrop of architecture and landscape. Even the poses of some of the figures are similar.

Passavant noted four states of this etching, of which the present impression is from the second. The first is before all letters, the third bears the address "Franco forma," and the fourth has the dedication to Giosefo Sabbatini. In addition the plate was re-tooled in the fourth state.

According to Luke 2.8–16, after Jesus was born in Bethlehem, an angel appeared to a nearby group of shepherds and told them of the child's birth. The shepherds then went to Bethlehem, where they found Jesus, Mary, and Joseph in a manger.

Notes

1. Rotili, 70, no. 44.
2. Borea, 267, no. 703.
3. Luciano Berti et al., *Gli Uffizi. Catalogo generale* (Florence: Centro Di, 1979), 272, no. P635. Almost certainly dating from this period is Franco's etching *Christ Falling under the Cross* (Bartsch 11).
4. Popham and Wilde, 207, no. 202, pl. 102. The drawing has also been attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi. See Edmund Schilling and Anthony Blunt, *The German Drawings in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle and Supplements to the Catalogues of Italian and French Drawings* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1971), 105, no. 340.

Giovanni Battista Franco
Two Angels Carrying Torches

Etching and engraving

7¹⁵/₁₆ x 7¹⁵/₁₆ in. (20.2 x 20.2 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:141, no. 66

Literature

Dillon, 319, under nos. 158–60;
Rearick, 126 n. 86; Schab, 68,
no. 56



Two Angels Carrying Torches is from a series of etchings reproducing, in reverse, several of Franco's last paintings, the frescoes of angels and virtues on the vault of the Grimani Chapel in the church of San Francesco della Vigna, Venice.¹ The other prints are *A Youth between Virtue and Vice* (Bartsch 56); *Fortitude and Justice* (Bartsch 57), *Pity* (Bartsch 58), *Three Angels in the Sky* (Bartsch 61), *Faith* (Bartsch 68), *An Angel Seated on a Lion* (Bartsch 70), and *An Angel in Flight*.² Two additional etchings by Franco may be connected with his decorations in the Grimani Chapel. *The Resurrection* (Bartsch 13) is very similar to the central section of his lunette fresco over the altar.³ The horizontal format of the etching *The Raising of Lazarus* (Bartsch 16) is the same as that of the fresco planned for the right wall of the chapel. Franco died before he could execute that fresco, but the etching may reflect his preliminary ideas for the subject, which was eventually painted in 1562 by Federico Zuccaro.⁴

Although accepted by Bartsch, Franco's authorship of the etchings related to the Grimani Chapel has been doubted by some later scholars. Believing that Franco would have been too involved with the Grimani commission, Rearick attributed the prints to an anonymous member of Franco's workshop. Dillon suggested they may be the work of a professional printmaker, such as Giacomo Franco, rather than a *peintre-graveur*. He also noted, however, that the etchings are stylistically consistent with other prints generally accepted as Franco's. This is indeed the case. Bartsch 56–58 are signed "Battista Franco fecit," and there is no reason to question the validity of these inscriptions. These prints are characteristic of Franco's late Venetian style, with its combination of monumental, sculptural figures dominating the composition and the effect of fluid and painterly light achieved through a dense network of freely drawn hatching and crosshatching. These qualities can be found in *Two Angels Carrying Torches*, and although unsigned, it was originally part of a larger plate with Franco's signed etching *Pity*.⁵

Notes

1. For the painting *Two Angels Carrying Torches*, see Rearick, fig. 10e.
2. Dillon, 319, no. 160; Rearick, fig. 10f; *An Angel in Flight* is unrecorded by Bartsch.
3. *The Resurrection* is part of a group of nine etchings illustrating the life of Christ. With the exception of *The Resurrection*, Bartsch doubted the attribution of this group to Franco.
4. Rearick, fig. 13. Rearick observed (128 n. 89) that Franco might have made some preparatory drawings before his death for *The Raising of Lazarus*, citing a sketch in the Louvre and the etching.
5. An impression of the undivided plate is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Henri Zerner, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch 32, formerly Volume 16 (Part 1)* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), 232.

Giorgio Ghisi
The Death of Procris

After Giulio Romano
 Engraving
 15¾ x 22⅝ in. (40 x 57.5 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower center: IVLIVS
 ROMANVS INVENTOR/
 G MAF [monogram of Ghisi]

Literature

Massari, *Incisori*, 122, no. 178 i/v

References

Bartsch, 15:409, no. 61 i/iii;
 Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 44,
 no. 5 i/x; Le Blanc, 2:296,
 no. 44 i/iii



Fig. 26a
 Giulio Romano
 (Italy, 1499–1546)
The Death of Procris
 Pen and brown wash, heightened
 with white
 12³/₁₆ x 22¹/₁₆ in. (32.5 x 56 cm)
 Städelches Kunstinstitut,
 Frankfurt am Main

The Death of Procris, one of Ghisi's earliest engravings, was based, in reverse, on a drawing by Giulio (fig. 26a).¹ Giulio was the leading artistic force in Mantua from his arrival in 1524 until his death in 1546, and Ghisi's first prints derive from his designs. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis accepted Hartt's hypothesis that Giulio's *The Death of Procris* was part of a series of paintings from about 1530 intended to decorate the Gonzaga hunting lodge at Marmirolo. The other scenes, with themes appropriate to the subject of hunting, are *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar*, *Hylas and the Nymphs*, and *The Death of Adonis*. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis noted that the four compositions were copied in etchings of the early 1540s attributed by them to Master I♀V (see *The Death of Procris* [cat. no. 89]).² They

also recorded considerably more states of the engraving than originally noted by Bartsch. The present impression is from the first state before the plate was completed and the addition of a succession of publishers' addresses.

The story of Cephalus and Procris is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 7.795–866). After her husband, Cephalus, was tempted by the goddess Aurora, Procris joined the goddess Diana and her band of huntresses and received Diana's magic hound and javelin. Once reconciled with Cephalus, Procris lent him the hound and javelin for hunting, but still jealous of a possible rendezvous with Aurora, she followed him and hid in the bushes. Overhearing him calling "Aura" (the wind) to cool him, Procris rustled in the undergrowth. Mistaking the noise for that of an animal, Cephalus threw the javelin and killed her.

Notes

1. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 45, fig. 26.
2. *Ibid.*, 46, figs. 27–30.

After Giovanni Battista Scultori

Engraving

15¹/₁₆ x 19⁷/₁₆ in. (38.2 x 49.4 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower center:*

I.B.MANTVANVS.IN.

Lower right: GIORGIVS
MANTVANVS/F.**References**

Bartsch, 15:397, no. 29; Boorsch,

Lewis, and Lewis, 51, no. 8 i/v;

Le Blanc, 2:296, no. 62

LiteratureMassari, *Incisori*, 123, no. 179

i/iii; Pittaluga, 190



Fig. 27a
Giorgio Ghisi
Sinon Deceiving the Trojans
Engraving
14⁷/₁₆ x 18¹³/₁₆ in. (36.6 x 47.8 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Fig. 27b
Giovanni Battista Scultori
*Naval Battle between Greeks
and Trojans*
Engraving
15⁷/₈ x 22¹⁵/₁₆ in. (40.4 x 58.3 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas is one of a group of three Mantuan engravings from about the same period, all based on designs by Giovanni Battista Scultori. The other prints are Ghisi's *Sinon Deceiving the Trojans* (fig. 27a)¹ and Scultori's *Naval Battle between Greeks and Trojans* (fig. 27b).² As noted by Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, the three prints cannot be considered a set because of differences in dimensions and dates. They assign Ghisi's prints to the mid-1540s, whereas Scultori's print is dated 1538. Scultori's inventions for the three engravings are indebted to the art of Giulio Romano. The brightly and evenly lit figures and frozen planar movement in Ghisi's *Sinon Deceiving the Trojans* is comparable with Giulio's designs for Ghisi's *The Death of Procris* (cat. no. 26) and Antonio Fantuzzi's *The Clemency of Scipio* (cat. no. 79). In comparison the present engraving and Scultori's *Naval Battle between Greeks and Trojans* are more emphatic in their contrast of light and dark

and employ a common compositional device of steep recession into the background. In these respects Scultori's designs for the two engravings resemble Giulio's dramatic chiaroscuro and perspective in his paintings in the Sala di Psiche, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. In *The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas* the eerie effect of the moonlit figures and the city engulfed in flames and billowing smoke is more effective in dramatizing the narrative than Luca Penni's design for Jean Mignon's *The Sack of Troy* (cat. no. 95), a contemporary but relatively dry rendition of the subject. Scultori's vertiginous composition adds to this nightmarish quality.

The first state is before the successive appearance of the names of the publishers Lafreri and Orlandi.

During the destruction of Troy by the Greeks, the Trojan prince Aeneas, with the help of his mother Venus, escaped with his father Anchises and son Ascanius. Aeneas's subsequent adventures formed the basis of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 15:397, no. 28.
2. Ibid., 383, no. 20. Bartsch's attribution of the design to Giulio Romano was challenged by Albricci ("Le incisioni," 47-48).

After Giovanni Battista Bertani

Engraving

15½ x 20¼ in. (39.4 x 52.5 cm), lower margin trimmed



Inscriptions

Lower left: BAPTISTA BERTANO
 MANTVA . . . / . . . AD SEXENIVM

References

Bartsch, 15:408, no. 60 iii/iii;
 Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis 78,
 no. 16 iii/iii; Le Blanc, 2:295,
 no. 35 ii/ii

The most famous sixteenth-century depiction of the judgment of Paris is Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of about 1517–20 after Raphael's design,¹ one of the purest expressions of the exalted ease, grace, and perfection of High Renaissance classicism. Ghisi's masterpiece, based on Bertani's design,² is an example of classicism of a rather different order. With its emphasis on profile views and planar movement the composition recalls Giulio Romano's somewhat frigid but expressive interpretation of Raphael's style.³ Hieronymus Cock's commission of this print in Antwerp is understandable because the hard clarity of the design, with its stiff and frozen gestures, is aligned with artistic taste in Flanders at midcentury, as exemplified by the art of Maarten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris, and Marten de Vos.

The figures of Apollo as sun god, Diana as moon goddess, the signs of the zodiac, and the legend printed on a separate plate (trimmed from the present impression) make clear the meaning of the narrative as a *vanitas* theme: the fading of beauty and love with the passage of time.⁴

For the narrative of the judgment of Paris, see the story of the Trojan War in discussion of Jean Mignon's series *Scenes from the Trojan War* (cat. nos. 92–95).

Notes

1. Bartsch, 14:197, no. 245.

2. A drawing identified by Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, (81, fig. 42) in the Musei Civici del Castello Visconteo, Pavia, might have served as Ghisi's model.

3. For a comparison of the figure of Paris with that of Apollo in Giulio's fresco *The Feast for Cupid and Psyche* in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, see *ibid.*, 80–81, fig. 43.

4. For this inscription, see *ibid.*, 79.

Giorgio Ghisi
The "Calumny" of Apelles

After Luca Penni
Engraving
14½ x 12⅞ in. (36.8 x 32.1 cm)

Inscriptions

On throne: GEOR/GIVS/GHISI/
MANT/.F./1560

Lower left: CVM PRIVILE/
GIO REGIS

Lower center: ATTRAHIT . . . /
. . . DOLOS

Lower right: LVCA/PENIS/.IN.

References

Bartsch, 15:411, no. 64; Boorsch,
Lewis, and Lewis, 111, no. 27
iii/vi; Le Blanc, 2:296, no. 59

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 124,
no. 48; Zerner, "Gravures," 286,
no. 351



The painter Apelles was one of the most famous artists in antiquity. Only literary accounts of his career survive, and Lucian's description of Apelles's painting *Calumny* became the source for a subject popular in the Renaissance.¹ According to ancient legend, Apelles was slandered by an envious colleague but was ultimately vindicated. This allegorical theme was favored by artists because of its celebration of the worth of their profession. In Penni's composition a man with large ears representing ignorance (an image also seen in Hendrik Goltzius's engraving *The Judgment of Midas* [cat. no. 120]) sits enthroned, in the company of symbols of calumny, envy, treachery, and deceit, while in the background the figure of repentance appeals to the airborne symbol of truth.

No painting or drawing by Penni of this composition has been identified, although it has been compared with two other scenes of judgment by Penni: a painting attributed to him by Sylvie Béguin, *The Judgment of Otto* in the Louvre, and an engraving by Goltzius, *The Judgment of Solomon*, after a design attributed to Penni by Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis.²

The present impression is from the first published state. The two earlier states, both printed from the unfinished plate, are known in only four impressions.

Notes

1. For the history of this theme, see David Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanistic Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

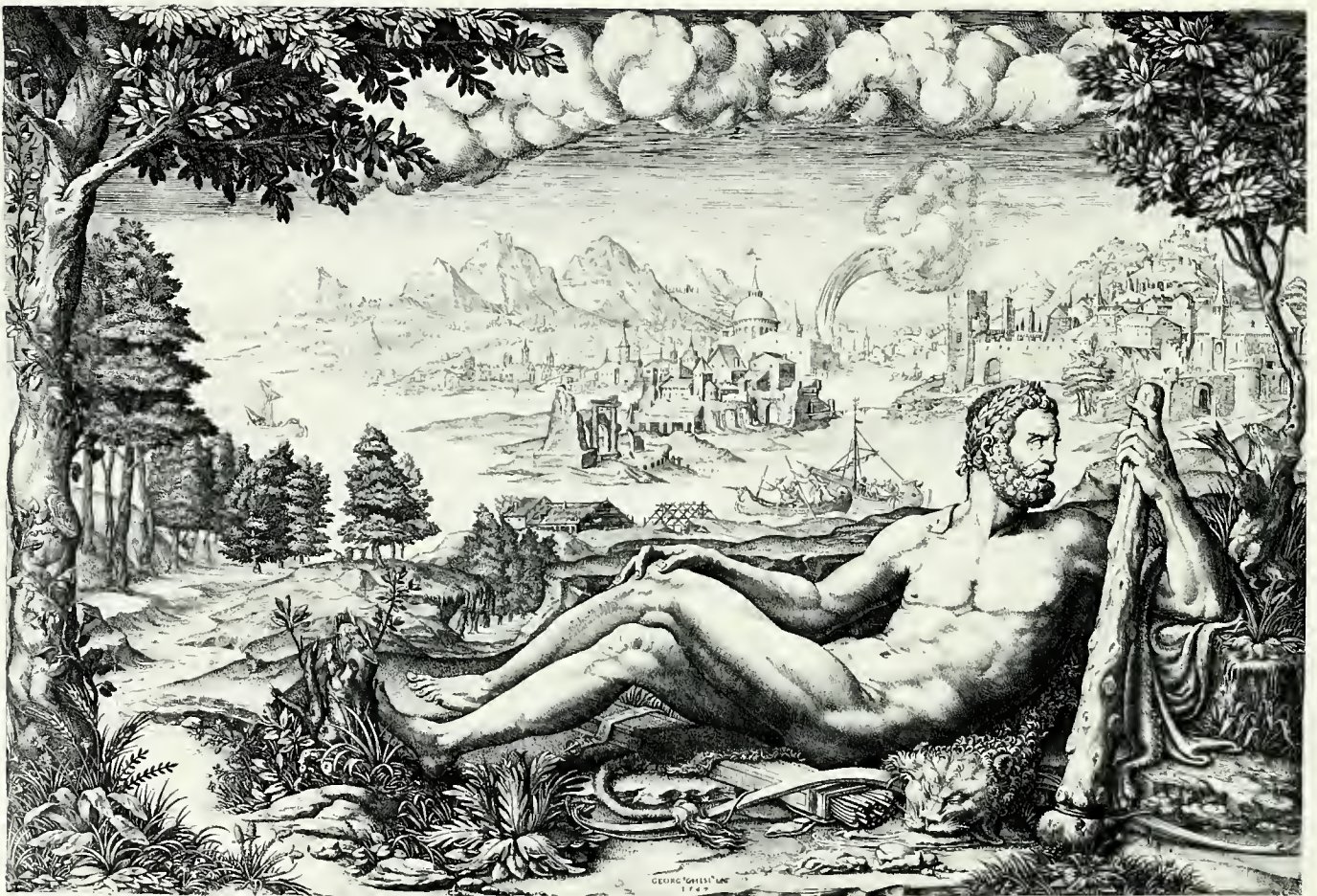
2. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 112–13, figs. 49–50.

Giorgio Ghisi
Hercules Resting from His Labors

After Giulio Romano

Engraving

10¹/₁₆ x 15⁹/₁₆ in. (26.8 x 39.5 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower center: GEORG. GHISI
 MANT:F/1567

Literature

Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 184,
 no. 310; Schab, 38, no. 29

References

Bartsch, 15:405, no. 56; Le Blanc,
 2:296, no. 42; Boorsch, Lewis,
 and Lewis, 144, no. 41 ii/ii

Fig. 30a
Giulio Romano
(Italy, 1499–1546)
*Hercules Resting from
His Labors*
Pen and brown ink
6½ x 11⁵/₁₆ in. (16.6 x 28.5 cm)
Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la
Dentelle, Alençon



Hercules Resting from His Labors is based, in reverse, on a stucco relief designed by Giulio in the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.¹ The stucco relief, without a setting indicated, is placed in a shallow lunette at one end of the Sala degli Stucchi. Giulio's preparatory drawing, from which Ghisi might have worked, is in Alençon (fig. 30a).² The engraver considerably altered his model by placing the subject in a vast panoramic landscape, in which a building appears to be burning. This puzzling addition was also included by Ghisi in the background of *Cupid and Psyche* (cat. no. 31).³ Ghisi's landscape recalls Northern compositional formulas in its limitless sweep. Because of the presence in Alençon of Giulio's drawing, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, of the unique unfinished proof of the engraving, Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis convincingly proposed Ghisi's residence in France in 1567, when he engraved this plate.

Notes

1. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, fig. 60.
2. *Ibid.*, 145, fig. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, 145, 167.

Giorgio Ghisi
Cupid and Psyche

After Giulio Romano

Engraving

14³/₈ x 9¹/₄ in. (36.5 x 23.5 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: IVLIVS RO./IN./
.G.MAF. [monogram of Ghisi]
1574/Nicolo van aelst for. Romae

References

Bartsch, 15:403, no. 45; Le Blanc,
2:296, no. 39; Boorsch, Lewis,
and Lewis, 167, no. 50 iii/iv

Literature

Massari, *Incisori*, 157, no. 230;
Passavant, 6:139, under no. 45



Cupid and Psyche reproduces a section of Giulio's very large fresco of about 1528 in the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.¹ The engraving differs from the painting in a few details, such as the print's orientation of the bed parallel to the picture plane and changes in the landscape beyond the group of satyrs. One curious addition to the background is the smoke rising from a burning building, a possibly significant but mysterious iconographic detail also seen in Ghisi's landscape in *Hercules Resting from His Labors* (cat. no. 30).²

The fable of Cupid and Psyche is told in Apuleius's *The Golden Ass*. The mortal Psyche had aroused the jealousy of Venus, Cupid's mother, who ordered Cupid to cause Psyche to fall in love only with despicable men. But Cupid inadvertently fell in love with Psyche himself and visited her at night, when he would be unseen and unrecognized. Psyche's sisters convinced her that her lover was a monster, and when she lit a lamp to see him, he vanished. Psyche was captured by Venus, who ordered her to undertake a series of arduous tasks. The final one was to fetch from the Underworld a vase magically containing some of the beauty of Proserpina, queen of the Underworld. Psyche opened it out of curiosity and was overcome by its deadly vapors. Cupid restored her to life and convinced Jupiter to make Psyche immortal. Afterwards they were married. Ghisi's engraving illustrates a scene after their wedding because their child, Voluptas, can be seen nestling between the couple.

Notes

1. Hartt, 1:color frontispiece.

2. Observed by Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 145, 167.

Etching

8¼ x 5¾ in. (21 x 14.6 cm)

Inscriptions*Lower left: Franco forma**Lower right: P***References**

Bartsch, 16:291, no. 16

Literature

D'Amico, 55, no. 244; Schab, 78, no. 63; Sopher, 59, no. 80



Saint Jerome, Pope Damasus, and Two Putti is plate sixteen from Palma's set of twenty-six etchings *The Principles of Drawing*, published in 1611 by Giacomo Franco and again in 1636 by Marco Sadeler. The full title of the set is *Regole per imparare a disegnare i corpi humani divise in doi libri dilineati dal Famoso Pittor Giacomo Palma. Libro primo*. (A second volume contained etchings by Franco and Luca Ciamberlano after Palma's drawings.) For this group of etchings Palma did not select drawings from his entire career. It appears that Palma's sketches and consequently the related etchings were created during roughly the first decade of the seventeenth century because of the style of their draftsmanship and because some of the prints can be related to Palma's paintings from that period. For example, Stefania Mason Rinaldi connected several of the etchings with specific paintings: *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (Bartsch 20) with the painting dated 1599 in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa,¹ *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (Bartsch 25) with the painting of about 1610 in the Louvre,² and *Samson and Delilah* (Bartsch 26) with the painting of about 1610–15 in a private collection, Florence.³ In addition,

John the Baptist in the Wilderness (Bartsch 19) may be connected with Palma's painting of 1602 in the church of San Giovanni Battista, Bagno.⁴

It is more difficult, however, to find a painting comparable with *Saint Jerome, Pope Damasus, and Two Putti*. Palma depicted Saint Jerome several times but never in combination with this pope and putti. Although aspects of Jacopo Tintoretto's mannerism of the late sixteenth century are present in this etching, the figure of Saint Jerome is considerably more restrained in its posture than either Tintoretto's dynamic forms or Palma's more willfully distorted figure of the saint engraved by Hendrik Goltzius about a decade earlier, in 1596 (cat. no. 122).

Saint Jerome and Pope Damasus are linked closely in the early history of the Catholic Church. Damasus held the Holy Office from 366 to 384, during which time he established Latin as the official liturgical language and commissioned Saint Jerome to revise the current Latin version of the Scriptures, thus producing the Latin Vulgate Bible. For this and other deeds, Jerome became one of the four Doctors of the Church, together with Saints Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.

Notes

1. Mason Rinaldi, 85, no. 101, fig. 275.
2. *Ibid.*, 100, no. 206, fig. 491.
3. *Ibid.*, 85, no. 96, fig. 531.
4. *Ibid.*, 74, no. 12, fig. 337.

Parmigianino*Saint Peter and Saint John Healing the Cripple at the Gate of the Temple*

After Raphael

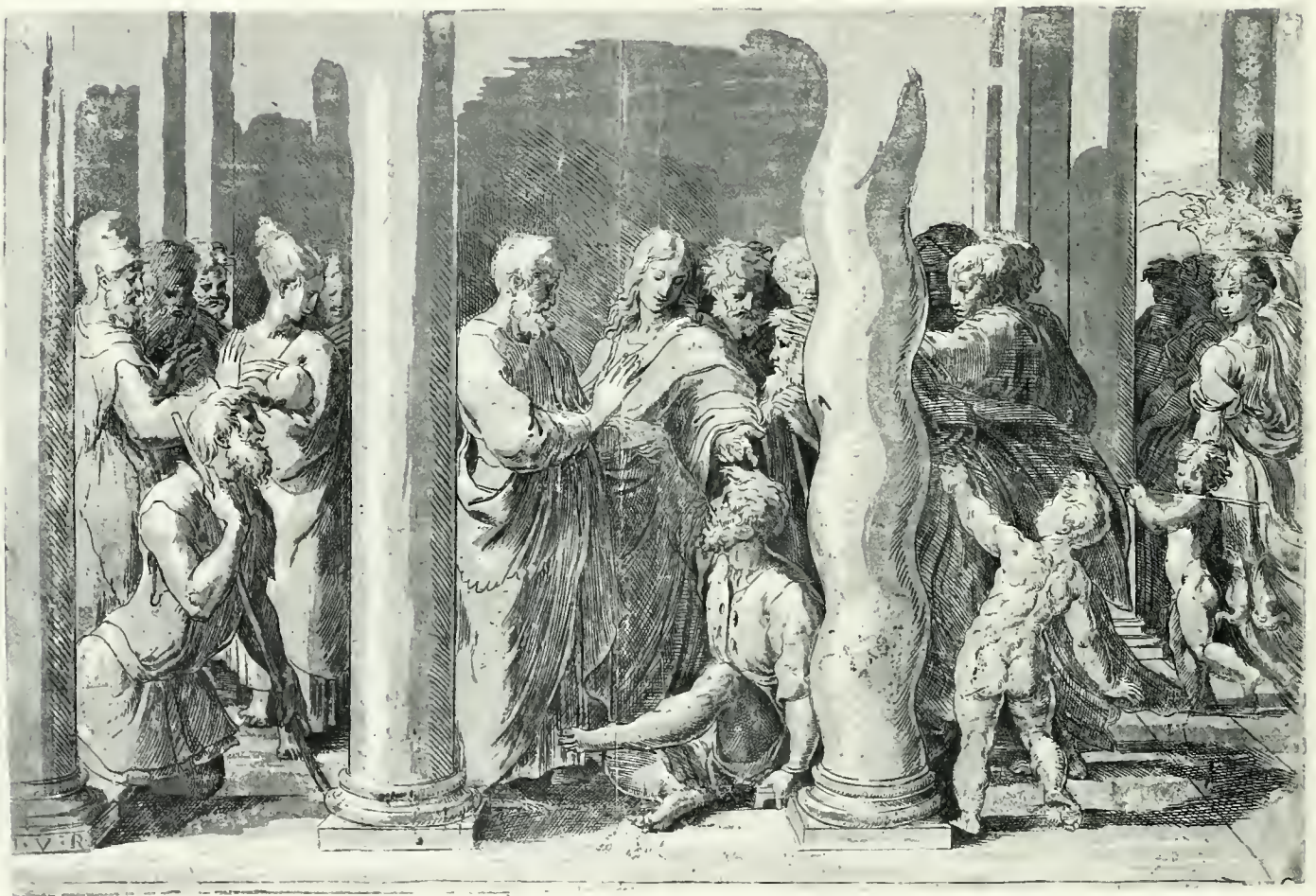
Etching and chiaroscuro woodcut printed in ocher and brown
10³/₄ x 15¹⁵/₁₆ in. (27.8 x 40.5 cm)*Illustrated in color on page 27***Inscriptions***Lower left: I.V.R.***References**Bartsch, 12:78, no. 27, and 16:9,
no. 7 ii/ii; Le Blanc, 2:630,
no. 8 ii/ii**Literature**Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no.
240; Fossi, 29, no. 78; Massari et
al., 131, no. iv, 1b; Oberhuber,
Parmigianino, 23, no. 46; Schab,
50, no. 40



Fig. 33a
 Parmigianino
Saint Peter and Saint John
Healing the Cripple
at the Gate of the Temple
 Etching
 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (25.7 x 40.5 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

The first state of *Saint Peter and Saint John Healing the Cripple at the Gate of the Temple* is executed in pure etching (fig. 33a). Fossi considered the chiaroscuro version to be an anonymous copy of Parmigianino's etching, although this view is unsupportable because the printed lines in the two works correspond exactly.¹ The present impression from the second state was printed with two tone blocks, and the etched plate received additional work, especially in the shading of Saint Peter's drapery and in his shadow cast on the ground.

The question has been raised about Parmigianino's artistic intentions for this print, namely whether he intended it as a chiaroscuro or whether the tone blocks, as well as the re-etching, were later additions presumably to mask wear in the copper plate. The mixture of intaglio and relief media might have been inspired by contemporary experimentation in these techniques by Domenico Beccafumi.² This combination of etching and woodcut was unusual at this time because it is generally associated with later Netherlandish artists such as Crispijn van den Broek and Frederick Bloemaert.

Oberhuber considered the composition as complete in its etched state and argued that the color was not planned initially by Parmigianino. In comparison with Parmigianino's other prints, however, the first state appears rather sparse and perfunctory in the modeling of the forms, especially the two columns in the foreground and the figure of Saint Peter. The additional shading and color enhance the visual richness and spatial depth of the design. They do not appear to have been added simply for decorative purposes.

The print is based, in reverse, on Raphael's now-lost *modello* for one of the Vatican tapestries commissioned in 1515 by Pope Leo X; the cartoons are in the royal collection, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum.³ Another now-lost preparatory drawing by Raphael is recorded in an etching of the subject by Giovanni Battista Franco.⁴

The composition illustrates one of the miracles of the Apostles shortly after the Resurrection. Saint Peter and Saint John had gone to the Beautiful Gate of the temple in Jerusalem, where they met a crippled man who always begged there. Saint Peter healed him (Acts 3.1–7).

Notes

1. Oberhuber has published varying opinions on the print. In *Parmigianino and Raphael's Zeichnungen* he accepted it as Parmigianino's work. In an article on Parmigianino's etchings, however, he expressed doubts about its authenticity ("Parmigianino als Radierer," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 8, no. 68 [1963]: 34 n. 29).
2. See Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 132–34, nos. 204 and 206.
3. For a lucid discussion of the place of the present work as a record of Raphael's progression of ideas in the compositional development of the cartoon, see John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London: Phaidon Press, 1972), 98.
4. Bartsch, 16:124, no. 15.

Etching printed in brown ink
12⁵/₁₆ x 9³/₈ in. (31.3 x 23.8 cm), lower margin trimmed

References

Bartsch, 16:8, no. 5; Le Blanc,
2:630, no. 6 i/ii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 9:548, no. 5

Literature

Copertini, 2:25, 151; Ferrara and
Gacta Bertelà, no. 242;
Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 20,
no. 43; Oberhuber, *Renaissance*,
144, no. 232; Petrucci, 103, pl. 30





Fig. 34a
 Parmigianino
The Entombment
 Etching
 10¹/₁₆ x 8¹/₄ in. (27.7 x 20.9 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

The Entombment is one of a pair of compositionally similar but reversed and stylistically distinct etchings of this subject by Parmigianino. Bartsch accepted the present work as Parmigianino's but considered the other version a copy by Guido Reni (fig. 34a).¹ Copertini, however, accepted the latter as by Parmigianino and attributed the present version to Jacopo Bertoia. In a view now generally recognized, Oberhuber ascribed both prints to Parmigianino and regarded this etching as Parmigianino's copy of his own earlier work. The two prints are strikingly different in their overall visual impression. The present work is more evenly and deeply etched, with an emphasis on the sculptural and three-dimensional character of the forms. In the earlier version Parmigianino was more interested in the evanescent quality of light, which appears to be dissolving the figures, and the effect is quite otherworldly. It is understandable why Bartsch considered it a print from a much later period because its rococo lightness is reminiscent of an eighteenth-century artist like Donato Creti. As Oberhuber observed, however, the

conception and execution are consistent with Parmigianino's oeuvre.

Because his corpus of prints is confined to a relatively brief period of four years between 1527 and about 1531, it is probably hazardous to try to arrange Parmigianino's etchings in a rigid chronological sequence. Nevertheless, it is logical to view the present work as a later development from the sketch-like impression of the other version. In the more iconographically coherent present version Nicodemus holds the crown of thorns over Christ's head. In the other etching the crown lies on the ground, while Nicodemus's arm disappears behind the back of one of the women. Because the present work is in reverse of the other version, so that Nicodemus is holding the crown in his left hand, it is reasonable to assume this etching is the copy.

The story of the Entombment is told in all four Gospels (Matthew 27.57–60, Mark 15.42–47, Luke 23.50–56, John 19.38–42). After Christ's death by crucifixion Joseph of Arimathea petitioned Pontius Pilate for the body, which was then placed in a new tomb by Joseph, Nicodemus, Christ's mother, and some of his disciples and friends.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 18:300, no. 46.

Marcantonio Raimondi
The Standard Bearer

After Raphael

Engraving

10 x 7½ in. (25.4 x 18.1 cm)

References

Bartsch, 14:357, no. 481;
 Delaborde, 224, no. 197; Le
 Blanc, 3:281, no. 291; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 13:504, no.
 368; Passavant, 6:40, no. 257

Literature

Heineken, 1:366, no. 56; Mason
 and Natale, 76, no. 93; Massari
 et al., 269, under no. 4; Petrucci,
 94 n. 15; Schab, 10, no. 2;
 Shoemaker, 22, 24, fig. 3





Fig. 35a
 Marcantonio Raimondi
*Man Climbing
 the Bank of a River*
 Engraving
 7¹/₁₆ x 5³/₁₆ in. (19.6 x 13.2 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

Bartsch catalogued two nearly identical versions of *The Standard Bearer*: Bartsch 481 (the present engraving) as by Marcantonio and Bartsch 482 as by Agostino Veneziano. He described Agostino's print as a copy of Marcantonio's, with the only notable difference being the presence of four rather than three pebbles near the figure's right foot. Since Bartsch's publication, there has been little agreement about the date of the print or the identity of its engraver and inventor. Recent literature has overlooked the convincing suggestion made by Oskar Fischel more than sixty years ago that *The Standard Bearer* may be related to Raphael's carefully planned but never-executed design *The Resurrection*, circa 1511.¹ The figure in *The Standard Bearer* was extracted from that composition, in which he appeared as one of the Roman soldiers struggling to control his banner against the force of the miraculous event.

If the relationship between the engraving and Raphael's project is accepted, other nagging questions about the print can be answered. First, *The Standard Bearer* must have been engraved contemporaneously with Raphael's design because the figure was adapted soon afterward as the model for Saint Christopher in Titian's monumental woodcut *The Triumph of Christ*, circa 1510–11.²

Second, Titian's use of the engraving at this early date precludes the suggestion made by Passavant, and followed by several others, that the design can be attributed to Giulio Romano rather than Raphael; Giulio would have been only about twelve years old at the time. Third, Bartsch was correct in claiming that the present engraving is the original, and Agostino's version is the copy because Agostino did not enter Marcantonio's workshop until 1516.

Furthermore, *The Standard Bearer's* attribution to Marcantonio is convincing on stylistic evidence. As several authors have noted, the figure's pose was influenced by Michelangelo's cartoon *The Battle of Cascina*. About 1508 Marcantonio copied one of the figures in the painting (Bartsch 488) (fig. 35a)³ and in 1510 he engraved a group of three men entitled *The Climbers* (Bartsch 487), also copied from Michelangelo's composition. Marcantonio's method of defining the anatomy of *The Standard Bearer* and *The Climbers* is similar, and the two engravings were probably executed about the same time. In both works the rosy musculature is delineated by a series of short, feathery strokes of the burin. This method is used successfully to soften the contours of the figures and contrasts with the more sharply defined single soldier in the engraving of about 1508.

Notes

1. Oskar Fischel, "Raphael's Auferstehung Christi," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 46 (1925): 191–200.
2. Rosand and Muraro, 37–54, nos. 1–2. The date of about 1516–17 for the woodcut, suggested by Mason, Natale, and Massari, is not convincing.
3. For the proposed date, see Shoemaker, 90, 92, under no. 19.

After Raphael
 Engraving
 17 x 13¼ in. (43.2 x 33.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Upper left, on tablet:
 AEOLVS IMMITTIT/VENTOS
 IVNONE/PRECANTE
 Lower left, on tablet:
 TROIANOSQ VAGOS/LIBYCAS
 EXPELLIT/IN ORAS
 Lower center, on tablet:
 CUI VENVS/ASCANII
 SVB/IMAGINE/
 MITTIT/AMOREM
 Upper right, on tablet:
 SOLATVR VENEREM/DICTIS
 PATER IPSE/DOLENTEM
 Lower right, on tablet:
 AENEAM RECIPIT PVL-/CHRA
 CARTHAGINE/DIDO
 Lower right: Ant. Sal. exc.

References

Bartsch, 14:264, no. 352 ii/ii;
 Delaborde, 146, no. 102 ii/ii, Le
 Blanc, 3:279, no. 222 ii/ii, Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 13:493, no.
 294; Passavant, 6:26, no. 138

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no.
 420; Heinecken, 1:347, no. 3;
 Mariette, 4:327–28; Mason and
 Natale, 68, no. 84; Massari et al.,
 244, no. IV, 1c; Nees, 18–29;
 Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 99, no.
 149; Oberhuber, *Rome and
 Venice*, 31, no. 17; Petrucci, pl.
 14; Pittaluga, 154, fig. 89; Rodari,
 73, no. 2; Schab, 15, no. 7;
 Shoemaker, 120, no. 32



The design of *Quos Ego* has been attributed to both Raphael and Baldassare Peruzzi. Raphael's authorship is supported, however, by the presence at Chatsworth of sketches by him for three of the *all'antica* side panels.¹ Raphael's invention is apparent in the creative genius of the artistic conception of the narrative as a Renaissance pictorial recreation of an ancient relief. Nees pointed out Raphael's compositional debt to a type of antique sculptural relief known as *tabula iliaca*, in which a central narrative panel is surrounded by several subsidiary scenes. Shoemaker stressed further the visual variety of the different degrees of illusionism, ranging from the effect of shallow relief in the panel at the upper left, to the central scene with Neptune, which is viewed as though through a window. This central composition is the most compelling argument for Raphael's authorship of *Quos Ego*. The self-contained and perfectly balanced dynamism

of the figure of Neptune clearly seems to be the product of the same artist who conceived and painted the fresco of *Galatea* in the Villa Farnesina, Rome. The flanking panels in the engraving are comparable in style with another *all'antica* Raphael composition engraved by Marcantonio contemporaneously with *Quos Ego: Alexander the Great Placing the Books of Homer in the Cabinet of Darius*,² based on the fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican.

The present impression is from the second state, with the addition of the address of Antonio Salamanca at the lower right. The composition was popular with maiolica painters and other decorative artists, and it was reproduced in a variety of media.³

The subject of *Quos Ego* comes from Virgil (*Aeneid*, 1.125–43). The central scene shows Neptune calming the sea for Aeneas and the Trojans, after the wind god Aeolus had caused a storm at the behest of Juno, bitter enemy of the Trojans.

Notes

1. For a discussion of these sheets, see John Gere and Nicholas Turner, *Drawings by Raphael*, exh. cat. (London: The British Museum, 1983), 150–52, nos. 124–25.

2. Bartsch, 14:168, no. 207.

3. For an inventory of several examples, see A. V. B. Norman, *Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Ceramics 1. Pottery, Maiolica, Faience, Stoneware* (London: Wallace Collection, 1976), 90; and Verdier, 122.

Marcantonio Raimondi
Lo Stregozzo

After Giulio Romano (?)

Engraving

11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (30.2 x 64.2 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left, on tablet: AV

References

Bartsch, 14:321, no. 426 i/ii;
 Delaborde, 204, no. 175 i/ii; Le
 Blanc, 3:77, no. 159 i/ii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 13:499, no.
 341; Passavant, 6:37, no. 236 i/ii

Literature

D'Amico, 32, no. 64; Heineken,
 1:314, no. 6; Mariette, 4:325;
 Massari et al., 262, no. II, 1;
 Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 102,
 no. 145; Petrucci, 29–30, pl. 17;
 Pittaluga, 163–64, 199 n. 15, fig.
 99; Rotili, 54, no. 14; Schab,
 11, no. 3





Lo Stregozzo (the witch's procession) is one of the most magnificent yet most puzzling prints of the sixteenth century. Controversy surrounding its authorship was voiced by Bartsch, who noted the differing opinions on the identity of the engraver. His description of two states has fueled these opposing views. Bartsch's first state is signed in the form of a blank tablet, an insignia used by both Marcantonio and Agostino Veneziano. The configuration of the tablet seen here lower left, with its triangular attachment, is not found on Marcantonio's prints but occasionally on Agostino's, such as his copies after Marcantonio's *Man Carrying the Base of a Column* (Bartsch 477) and *The Standard Bearer* (Bartsch 482) and his own design *Vase with Two Handles* (Bartsch 545). In Bartsch's second state Agostino's initials appear on the horn played by the youth riding the goat. These second state impressions tend to be rather worn and pale. Bartsch's description of the states of *Lo Stregozzo* needs to be revised because it does not take into account impressions such as the present one with the initials "AV" somewhat carelessly inscribed on the tablet. Passavant also noted impressions where the blank tablet has evidence of burinishing, as though the initials had been removed. The engraving consequently appears to have undergone four states: the first with the blank tablet, the second with Agostino's initials on the tablet, the third with the initials removed, and the fourth with Agostino's initials inscribed on the horn and additional burin work in the shadows.

The presence or absence of Agostino's initials has prompted a variety of opinions on the identity of the engraver. Bartsch, who was convinced of Agostino's authorship, described four theories, each of which has had its adherents: Agostino was the author;

the plate was engraved by Marcantonio but retouched by Agostino, who added his initials; the plate was a collaborative effort begun by Marcantonio and completed by Agostino; or the addition of Agostino's initials was a later error of attribution. The collaborative process in Marcantonio's workshop is difficult to unravel, although two other examples of collaboration may be cited: *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (Bartsch 13) and *The Emperor Freeing the Slave Androcles* (Bartsch 196).¹ In the former a less-skilled hand, possibly Agostino's, appears to have completed the plate begun by Marcantonio. *The Emperor* bears the double signature of the empty tablet and Agostino's initials, and as with *Lo Stregozzo*, Passavant recorded an impression signed only with the empty tablet. Oberhuber's explanation for the double signature on Agostino's *The Emperor* was that the engraver was closely imitating Marcantonio's style of engraving. Nevertheless, Oberhuber considered *Lo Stregozzo* to be completely in Marcantonio's manner.

The dilemma can only be resolved by stylistic analysis, and Oberhuber seems to be correct in attributing the print to Marcantonio. The sheer variety of marks of the burin—long, short, widely spaced, closely spaced, curving, straight, parallel, cross-hatched—provides a visually rich and painterly tonality not encountered in Agostino's engravings. Marcantonio's late works, executed between Raphael's death in 1520 and the Sack of Rome in 1527, have been characterized as rather dry, even mechanical, in the regularity of their technique. Yet, in some late prints, such as *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (cat. no. 38), Marcantonio displayed considerable tonal variety, power, and drama. *Lo Stregozzo* prob-



Fig. 37a
 Raphael (Italy, 1483–1520)
Male Nude with Sword
 Black chalk, heightened with
 white
 14⁷/₁₆ x 8 in. (36.7 x 20.4 cm)
 Cabinet des Dessins,
 Musée du Louvre, Paris

ably dates from the same period. Still, how does one explain the presence of Agostino's initials? If *Lo Stregozzo* were an example of collaboration between Marcantonio and his pupil, it is very different from the clearly discernible stylistic disparity seen in the engraving *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*. Agostino's role in *Lo Stregozzo* would have been limited to engraving minor details, such as elements of the landscape, because the figures are completely characteristic of Marcantonio's work.

The attribution of the composition's invention has been as vexing as the search for the engraver's identity. The following list of suggested designers indicates the range of opinions: Raphael (Mariette, Bartsch, Passavant, Pittaluga), Michelangelo (Lomazzo, Le Blanc, Massari), Giulio Romano (Delaborde), Girolamo Genga (Oberhuber), and Marcantonio (D'Amico).² The attribution of the design to Marcantonio is most likely incorrect because he seems to have been exclusively a reproductive engraver. Michelangelo's name has been mentioned because of the similarities between the nudes in the engraving and the figures in Michelangelo's cartoon *The Battle of Cascina*.³ The pose of the striding nude at the extreme left of *Lo Stregozzo* is particularly close to a study in the Teylers Museum for a figure in the painting.⁴ There is, however, no record of Michelangelo having created a composition such as *Lo Stregozzo*. The attribution of the design to Raphael seems closer to the mark, and he is known to have adapted Michelangelo's Cascina figures for his own compositions (for example, Marcantonio's *The Standard Bearer* [cat. no. 35]). Also similar to the engraving's nude in the left foreground is a drawing by Raphael in the Louvre (fig. 37a) for a figure in a fresco in the Sala di

Costantino in the Vatican, *The Battle for the Milvian Bridge*.⁵ The design and execution of that fresco, however, like the others in the Sala di Costantino, are due primarily to Giulio, and it is Giulio's art of this period with which *Lo Stregozzo* has most in common. The excited and straining muscular figures in the engraving have counterparts in some soldiers in Giulio's fresco *The Vision of Constantine* in the Sala di Costantino.⁶ This sense of heightened emotionalism and physical energy is one of the distinguishing characteristics between Giulio's art and the more balanced classicism of Raphael's style.

Other visual borrowings in the composition have been suggested. Most notable is the resemblance between the old witch riding the carcass and Albrecht Dürer's engraving *The Witch*,⁷ an image in turn borrowed from Mantegna's figure of Envy in the left half of his engraving *The Battle of the Sea Gods*.⁸ The legs of the running man (right rear) have been compared with those of a figure in the Master of the Die's engraving *The Sacrifice to Priapus* after Raphael or Giulio.⁹ The employment of that pose only supports further the argument of attributing the design to Giulio.

The third puzzling aspect of *Lo Stregozzo* is its subject. It is not simply a scene of witchcraft but intermixed are iconographic features from antiquity, particularly those associated with bacchanals, such as the wildly gesticulating figures, the youth riding a goat, and the marshy setting like those sacred to Artemis and Dionysus. Swamps are also believed to be important for witches' sabbaths.¹⁰ The combination of motifs related to sorcery and mythology suggested to Tietze-Conrat the goddess Hecate, a figure from the Underworld frequently associated with sorcery and the souls of dead infants.¹¹

Notes

1. Shoemaker, 168, no. 54; and *ibid.*, 197, no. 68.
2. The farfetched recent suggestion of Giorgio Ghisi as the designer and engraver has received no support. See *Master Prints and Drawings* (London: Artemis Fine Arts, 1984), no. 7.
3. The most complete visual record of Michelangelo's lost cartoon is a grisaille copy at Holkham Hall, reproduced in Mason and Natale, 76.
4. *Tekeningen van Michelangelo* (Haarlem: Teylers Museum, 1964), no. 5.
5. Oberhuber, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, 204, no. 489, pl. 88. Raphael's figure was also apparently influenced by the antique sculpture known as the Borghese Warrior.
6. Hartt, 2:pl. 57.
7. Bartsch, 10:82, no. 67.
8. Hind, 5:15, no. 5.
9. Bartsch, 15:303, no. 27.
10. Maxime Préaud, *Les Sorcières*, exh. cat. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1973), 49, no. 70.
11. Edith Tietze-Conrat, "Der 'Stregozzo' [Ein Deutungsversuch]," *Die Graphischen Künste*, n.s., 1 (1936): 57–59.

Marcantonio Raimondi
The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence

After Baccio Bandinelli

Engraving

17¼ x 22⅞ in. (43.8 x 58.1 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: MAF [monogram of Marcantonio]

Lower left, on tablet:

BACCIUS/BRANDIN/INVEN

References

Bartsch, 14:89, no. 104 ii/ii;
 Delahorde, no. 85 ii/ii; Le Blanc,
 3:275, no. 50 ii/ii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 13:468, no.
 132; Passavant, 6:17, no. 46

Literature

Borea, 244, no. 596; Ferrara and
 Gaeta Bertelà, no. 354;
 Heinecken, 1:304, no. 9;
 Mariette, 4:239–41; Oberhuber,
Renaissance, 101, no. 142;
 Petrucci, 28–29, pl. 16;
 Pittaluga, 156; Rotili, 52, no. 10;
 Schab, 32, no. 21; Shoemaker,
 14–15, fig. A



Fig. 38a

Baccio Bandinelli
(Italy, 1493–1560)
*The Martyrdom of Saint
Lawrence*

Pen and brown ink, brown wash
Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris

The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, Marcantonio's major work after the death of Raphael, ranks with *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Bartsch 18) and *The Judgment of Paris* (Bartsch 245) as one of his most celebrated engravings as well as being one of his rarest. Vasari recounted that Bandinelli was commissioned by Pope Clement VII about 1525 to paint the subject for the choir chapel in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence.¹ The fresco was never executed, and Marcantonio's engraving is the principal surviving evidence. Compositional studies in the Louvre (fig. 38a) and in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, have been connected with this commission;² the much-damaged drawing in Munich is identical to the print in almost every detail and is considered a copy by most authors. Vasari also recounted the conflict between Bandinelli and Marcantonio over the execution of the engraving. In order to have his composition reproduced, the sculptor arranged for the engraver's release from jail, where he had been incarcerated for his part in the scandalous and pornographic series of engravings *I Modi*, designed by Giulio Romano. But Bandinelli was dissatisfied with Marcantonio's *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, believing that the engraver had ruined his image. The pope adjudicated the dispute and ruled in favor of Marcantonio, stating that the printmaker had actually improved and corrected the design. Shoemaker and Davidson praised this work as a refutation of criticism of Marcantonio's late engravings as being overly dry and mechanical in their technique.³ In fact the modeling is rich and varied.

The martyrdom takes place in the courtyard of a monumental architectural setting. The arrangement of the figures in two semicircular tiers recalls Raphael's fresco *Disputa* in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. Bandinelli's energetic treatment of the nudes, however, is reminiscent of

Michelangelo's cartoon *The Battle of Cascina*. Despite the classicizing, architectonic underpinning of *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, the design is anticlassical because most of the spectators are figurative ornaments seemingly unaware of the principal event of martyrdom. The torturers move with balletic grace as they place Lawrence on the fiery grill. Even the dying saint resembles an antique river god more than a suffering man. The overall emotional effect is rather cool. In this respect the scene contrasts with Bandinelli's compositionally similar but agitated and violent design *The Massacre of the Innocents*, engraved a couple of years earlier by Marco Dente.⁴

Bandinelli's treatment of the figures as discrete sculptural entities in his design for *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* had repercussions especially in the Netherlands in the art of Maarten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris, and Martin de Vos. Marcantonio's very popular engraving was copied several times in the sixteenth century by, among others, Michele Lucchese, Giulio Sanuto, and Diana Scultori.⁵ The print is further notable as a frequently cited source for the composition of Rembrandt's drypoint *Christ Presented to the People*, whose subject is also located before a monumental arched building.

Saint Lawrence was a young Spanish archdeacon under Pope Sixtus II in the third century. The Church's treasures were confided to Lawrence, who distributed them among the poor in Rome after the pope was killed. The Roman prefect imprisoned the young man in order to acquire the Church's assets. On the third day of his imprisonment Lawrence was called before the prefect, who demanded the assets be given to him. In response Lawrence gathered the sick and poor and claimed that they were the Church's treasures. In a rage the prefect ordered Lawrence to be killed by placing him on an iron grid and roasting him alive.

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:418–19, 6:147.
2. For the Louvre sketch, see Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè, "Per la cronologia dei disegni di Baccio Bandinelli fino al 1540," *Commentari* 17 (1966): 155, fig. 12. For the Munich drawing, see Harprath, 16, no. 5, pl. 33.
3. Bernice F. Davidson, "Marcantonio's Martyrdom of S. Lorenzo," *Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design* 47, no. 3 (1961): 1–6.
4. Bartsch, 14:24, no. 21. Ciardi Duprè ("Per la cronologia," 153–54) dated this design about 1518–19.
5. For a list of copies, see Massari, *Incisori*, 112, under no. 166.

School of Marcantonio Raimondi
Joseph Telling His Dreams

After Raphael
Engraving
9¾ x 14¼ in. (24.8 x 36.2 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower center: RAPH. VR. IN

References

Bartsch, 15:10, no. 5; Passavant,
6:75, no. 5

Literature

Massari et al., 74, no. 1, 14 i/ii

According to Bartsch, *Joseph Telling His Dreams* was based on a drawing for Raphael's fresco in the Vatican Loggia. The painting was executed by Giovanni Francesco Penni, whose lost *modello* is known through a copy in the Albertina.¹ The composition also was engraved, in reverse, by Nicolas Beatrizet (fig. 8a).² His version is very close to the fresco and the *modello* in its arrangement of the figures. The present engraving may reflect a now-lost earlier sketch for the composition because of differences in the positions of the heads in the group of men at the left and in the placement of the legs of the three brothers at the right. Both prints show landscapes differing from that in the fresco and are presumably the engravers' own inventions. The printmakers probably worked from preparatory drawings without the setting, such as the sketch in the Albertina in which only the figures are shown.

The present work is more stylized and less naturalistic than the fresco or Beatrizet's print: the palm tree is like a decorative stage prop, the drapery has the appearance of carved marble, and the delineation of musculature shows a greater interest in pattern than in the depiction of pliant flesh. Bartsch considered this engraving to be in the manner of Philippe Soye. In contrast Massari considered it closer to the style of Giulio Bonasone and also noted the presence of a second state retouched by the publisher Francesco Villamena.

The story of Joseph telling his dreams is recounted in Genesis 37.5–10. Joseph, a son of Jacob, was his father's favorite and hated by his eleven brothers. He was despised even more when he told them his dreams, which they interpreted as Joseph setting himself above them. These dreams, in which Joseph was worshipped by the heavens and by the wheat in the fields, are represented in the engraving by the roundels in the sky. Joseph's brothers eventually captured him and sold him into slavery.

Notes

1. For the fresco, see Nicole Dacos, *Le logge di Raffaello* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1977), 178, pl. 28a. For the drawing, see Oberhuber, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, 168, no. 460b, fig. 173.

2. Bartsch, 15:244, no. 9.

After Titian
Engraving
17³/₄ x 13¹³/₁₆ in. (45.1 x 35 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: QVAERIT AQVAS . . . /
. . . LINGVA DEDIT

References

Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
16:510, no. 10; Passavant, 6:10,
no. 16

Literature

Mauroner, 58, no. 2; Oberhuber,
Renaissance, 197, no. 336;
Schab, 24, no. 15; Wethey,
3:156–60, no. 19/C, Print 3,
pl. 104



Fig. 40a
Cornelis Cort
Tityus
Engraving
15¹/₈ x 12³/₈ in. (38.5 x 31.4 cm)
Graphische Sammlung
Albertina, Vienna



Tantalus reproduces Titian's now-lost painting of 1548–53 commissioned by Mary of Hungary, sister of Emperor Charles V and regent of the Netherlands. The canvas was part of a series of four paintings depicting mythological sinners; the others represented Tityus, Sisyphus (both works now in the Prado), and Ixion (lost with no known copy, print, or drawing).¹ Sanuto's *Tantalus* was probably executed about the same time as Cort's *Tityus* of 1566 (fig. 40a). Sanuto's manner of engraving provides a telling contrast to Cort's style. Although Sanuto might have been influenced by Cort in the use of curved and swelling lines of the burin, the Venetian's technique owes a greater debt to Battista Franco's evocation of painterly and fluid light. The clarity of Cort's engraving technique creates forms more tactile and sculptural than Franco's and Sanuto's.

Nagler described *Tantalus* as very rare, and Passavant wrote that he had not seen the print but knew it only from Nagler's description.

The story of Tantalus is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4.451–61). Tantalus was cursed because he killed his son Pelops and served him to the gods at table. For this gross insult Tantalus was condemned in Hades to suffer eternal hunger and thirst. His lips could not catch water and the fruit tree continually eluded his grasp.

Notes

1. Schab mistakenly described *Ixion* as known through an engraved copy by Cornelis Cort. That print, however, reproduces *Tityus*. See Bierens de Haan, 174, no. 192, there identified as *Prometheus*.

Andrea Schiavone
Christ Healing the Lepers

After Parmigianino
Etching and drypoint from two plates
11³/₁₆ x 15³/₄ in. (28.4 x 40 cm)



References

Bartsch, 16:49, no. 16; Le Blanc,
3:447, no. 16; Richardson, 83,
no. 16

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no.
260; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*,
74, no. 203



Schiavone's etching *Christ Healing the Lepers* is one of several versions of Parmigianino's composition: a chiaroscuro woodcut by Nicolò Vicentino (cat. no. 51); an etching, in reverse, by Léon Davent;¹ another, smaller version, in reverse, by Schiavone, known in impressions in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 41a), and Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna;² and, an etching by Schiavone showing only the right-hand group of Christ and the Disciples, (cat. no. 42). According to Richardson, the present copy was based on Vicentino's chiaroscuro woodcut, rather than on Parmigianino's original drawing now at Chatsworth (fig. 41b),³ because the etching's patterns of light and shade are closer to those in the woodcut. In fact the etching's system of shading appears closer to that in the drawing. The patterns on the drapery of Christ are particularly similar. Christ's torso is partly in shadow in both the etching and drawing, whereas in the woodcut the dark tone block casts his entire torso in darkness. The etching in Boston and Bologna is markedly different from the present work and Parmigianino's drawing, with the addition of more figures, a more expansive landscape setting, the emphatic elongation of the forms, and the relieflike arrangement of the two groups.

The story of Christ healing the lepers is told in Luke 17.11–14. When Jesus and his disciples were traveling between Galilee and Samaria, they were approached by a group of ten lepers, and Christ healed them.

Fig. 41a
Andrea Schiavone
Christ Healing the Lepers
Drypoint
7⁷/₈ x 11 in. (20 x 28 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvey D. Parker Collection

Fig. 41b
Parmigianino
Christ Healing the Lepers
Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white
10¹/₆ x 16¹/₂ in. (27.1 x 42 cm)
The Duke of Devonshire and the
Chatsworth Settlement Trustees,
Chatsworth

Notes

1. Zerner, *School*, no. LD 63.
2. Richardson (99, no. 95) believed the Boston impression to be unique, but see Ferrara and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 261, for an impression in Bologna.
3. Popham, 1:204, no. 690, 2:pl. 133.

Andrea Schiavone
Christ and His Disciples

Etching and drypoint
11 x 7¾ in. (27.9 x 19.7 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: MAF

References

Bryan, 3:317, no. 94; Richardson,
98, no. 94



Christ and His Disciples is quite rare and possibly unique. Richardson knew it only from Bryan's description. This etching reproduces the right half of Parmigianino's design *Christ Healing the Lepers* (see cat. no. 41). As noted by Bryan, it differs from Schiavone's depiction of the full composition in the expressions of the figures and the omission of Christ's sandals. In addition the landscape is altered. *Christ and His Disciples* is more technically advanced than Schiavone's *Christ Healing the Lepers*, circa 1545, in its system of crosshatching for modeling the figures and drapery and was probably executed a few years later. This print is not the only example of Schiavone repeating a composition. He also etched three variants of Parmigianino's *The Entombment*.¹

Notes

1. Richardson, 84, nos. 17–19.

Giuseppe Scolari
Saint George

After Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone
Woodcut and wood-engraving
20⁷/₈ x 14¹/₄ in. (52.7 x 36.2 cm)

References

Le Blanc, 3:486, no. 6; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 11:160, no. 6;
Passavant, 6:234, no. 56

Literature

Dreyer, 59, no. 42 i/iii; Landau,
352, no. P61 i/iii; Oberhuber,
Renaissance, 125, no. 188;
Petrucci, 68, pl. 66; Rosand and
Muraro, 301, no. 96



Fig. 43a
 Nicolò Vicentino
Marcus Curtius
 Chiaroscuro woodcut
 16¹/₁₆ x 10¹/₁₆ in. (40.8 x 27.1 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London



Although an engraved copy by Theodore Galle of this woodcut identifies the inventor of the composition as Titian, *Saint George* is now recognized as reproducing a figure in Pordenone's now-lost fresco of about 1530–35 on the facade of the Palazzo d'Anna, Venice. Pordenone's design of a man on horseback is also known in the form of chiaroscuro woodcuts by Nicolò Vicentino (fig. 43a) and Nicolò Boldrini.¹ In Vicentino's and Boldrini's prints the subject is Marcus Curtius. The fact that the chiaroscuro woodcuts accurately reflect Pordenone's original subject and composition is proven by his drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum for the entire facade.² In that sheet the horse and rider are depicted in an urban architectural setting like that in which Curtius is shown in the chiaroscuros. For the present work Scolari transformed the Roman hero into a Christian saint and added the highly dramatic and expressive landscape setting with the dragon.

Landau clarified the description of the woodcut's three states. The impression here is from the rare first state. In the second state much of the shading on the horse's chest was cut away. In the third state, as the woodblock became worn, a plug was set into the lower margin, and breaks appeared along the upper border. Landau also identified rare impressions of the print in the Rijksmuseum and Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, in which Scolari varied the inking of the block to create a sense of atmospheric perspective. The uniform inking of the present impression heightens the woodcut's highly decorative character resulting from the dense overall patterning of the shading.

Another work reproducing one of Pordenone's now-lost Palazzo d'Anna frescoes is Vicentino's chiaroscuro woodcut *Saturn* (cat. no. 54).

Notes

1. Landau, 336, nos. P36 and P37.
2. Cohen, 84–85, fig. 78.

Adamo Scultori
The Flagellation

After Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo
Engraving
17³/₈ x 13⁵/₁₆ in. (44.1 x 33.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: AS [monogram of Scultori]

References

Suzanne Boorsch and John Spike, eds., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 31 (New York: Abaris Books, 1986), 154–55.





Fig. 44a
After Adamo Scultori
The Flagellation
Engraving
17 x 13¼ in. (43.2 x 33.7 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Boorsch observed that the print catalogued by Bartsch (presumably the impression in the Albertina) as Scultori's reproduction of Sebastiano's *The Flagellation* is in fact a copy of the present engraving (fig. 44a).¹ The present work, then in the collection of Robert Dance, was accepted by Boorsch as Scultori's original engraving, of which no other impressions are known. Although similar in size and in the same direction, the print here differs in several respects from the copy. In the copy the flooring has a mottled and checkered design; the veining in the marble columns is more pronounced, with veining added to the rear pilasters and to the back wall; the cast shadows form a different pattern, with additional shading on the right thigh of Christ; the hair of the figures is rendered more schematically and with less sense of texture; and the delineation of the musculature, particularly on the torso of Christ and on the back of the man at the right, is emphasized so strongly that the muscles are much less naturalistic and form an abstract pattern.

The Flagellation is related to the design provided to Sebastiano by Michelangelo for the fresco of 1516–24 in the Borgherini Chapel in the church of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome.² Michelangelo and Sebastiano collaborated on several occasions, although there has been considerable disagreement over the extent of Michelangelo's involvement in the design of *The Flagellation*. Vasari reported that Michelangelo provided only a small drawing,³ presumably the one now in the British Museum,⁴ which Sebastiano then elaborated. Scultori also engraved another, less technically sophisticated version of the subject,⁵ which may represent an intermediate idea by Michelangelo or Sebastiano or may, as Bartsch supposed, reproduce the invention of another, anonymous artist.

The story of the flagellation of Christ appears as a passing reference in all four Gospel accounts (Matthew 27.26, Mark 15.15, Luke 22.63, John 19.1). After the people opted to free the thief Barabbas rather than Christ, Pontius Pilate's soldiers took Christ aside and flogged him.

Notes

1. What Boorsch considered the copy (Bartsch, 15:417, no. 2), of which she reproduced an impression in the Albertina, appears in two states. The impression in the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, illustrated by Massari (*Incisori*, 30, under no. 13, fig. 10) and Rotili (81, no. 76), has the addition of the addresses of Gratiani and de Nobilibus and the date 1582. Consequently, Scultori's engraving precedes that date.
2. For a discussion of Sebastiano's painting, see Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 49–65, pl. 75.
3. Vasari, 5:569.
4. Johannes Wilde, *Michelangelo and His Studio* (London: British Museum, 1953), 27–29, no. 15, pl. 31.
5. Bartsch, 15:417, no. 1.

Diana Scultori
The Snakeholder

After Giulio Romano
Engraving
8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (22.6 x 30.4 cm)



References

Albricci, "Diana," 19, no. 7;
Bartsch, 15:451, no. 44 i/ii; Le
Blanc, 2:293, no. 46 i/ii

Literature

Massari, *Incisori*, 84, no. 140 i/iv;
Sopher, 36, no. 48

Fig. 45a
Giulio Romano (Italy,
1499–1546) and studio
The Snakeholder
Fresco
Sala dei Venti, Palazzo del Tè,
Mantua



The Snakeholder, dated about 1550 by Massari, is a rectangular version of one of sixteen circular frescoes (fig. 45a) designed by Giulio for the Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.¹ Because of several differences in the two works, particularly Scultori's omission of the religious banner behind the snakeholder, she might have worked, as noted by Massari, from Giulio's drawing in the Louvre.² This is hypothetical, however, because the drawing has been silhouetted, thus removing all details of the background. Bartsch's title for this print, *The Charlatan*, suggests a simple genre subject. This interpretation is understandable when the image is seen outside the context of Giulio's decorations in the Sala dei Venti. The iconographic program of the fresco, however, illustrates the effects on human events of the zodiac and the constellations. *The Snakeholder* is connected with the sign of Capricorn and the constellation Ophiuchus, known as the Snakeholder.

This impression is from the first state before the subsequent addition and removal of the names of the publishers Pacificus and de Rossi.

Notes

1. Hartt, 2:fig. 208.
2. *Ibid.*, 1:296, no. 153.

After Giulio Romano

Engraving

10⁵/₁₆ x 15¹/₄ in. (26.2 x 38.7 cm)**Inscriptions**

Lower left: DIANA

References

Albricci, "Diana," 18, no. 5;
 Bartsch, 15:449, no. 39 i/ii; Le
 Blanc, 2:292, no. 34 i/ii

Literature

Massari, *Incisori*, 91, no. 147 i/v;
 Rodari, 89, no. 63; Schab, 36,
 no. 26



The Birth of Apollo and Diana is based, in reverse, on a study by Giulio Romano in the Louvre (fig. 46a) for his painting in the royal collection at Hampton Court.¹ Although the print shows more of the composition than the sketch, Scultori probably worked from it, rather than the canvas, because of similarities in details of the landscape. The painting was part of a cycle of twelve scenes, illustrating the infancy and youth of Jupiter and his family, the intended site for which remains a mystery.² Several of the paintings were engraved by Giulio Bonasone,³ including one, *Jupiter Suckled by the Goat Amalthea*, similar in dimensions and composition to Scultori's print.⁴ Her print probably was executed a few years later but might have been engraved as a pendant.

Fig. 46a
Giulio Romano
(Italy, 1499–1546)
The Birth of Apollo and Diana
Pen and brown wash
11⁵/₁₆ x 17¹/₂ in. (30.4 x 44.6 cm)
Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris

Notes

1. For the drawing, see Hartt, 1:305, no. 305. For the painting, see *ibid.*, 2:fig. 459.
2. *Ibid.*, 1:211–12.
3. Bartsch, 15:137, nos. 94–96, 142, no. 107.
4. Bonasone's engraving has been attributed sometimes to Diana's father, Giovanni Battista Scultori. See Massari, *Bonasone*, 1:91, no. 115.

Diana Scultori
Regina Angelorum

After Giulio Romano
Engraving
14³/₈ x 10¹³/₁₆ in. (36.5 x 27.5 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: DIANA
Below left: Roma Antonij Lafreri
formis

References

Albricci, "Diana," 20, no. 23;
Bartsch, 15:446, no. 31 i/ii; Le
Blanc, 2:292, no. 32 i/ii

Literature

Massari, *Incisori*, 99, no. 151;
Massari et al., 211, no. XLV, 1a;
Passavant, 6:142, no. 31 i/ii;
Schab, 37, no. 27





Fig. 47a
 Marcantonio Raimondi
The Virgin and Child
Seated on Clouds
 Engraving
 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17.9 x 14.7 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

Bartsch attributed the design of *Regina Angelorum* to Raphael, based on the initials "RVI" that appear on later impressions of the print. Passavant was probably correct in claiming that this inscription was a mistake and in attributing the design instead to Giulio. It is certainly true, however, that this composition is redolent with Raphaellesque motifs. Massari noted the derivation of the group of the Madonna and Christ Child from an engraving after Raphael by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 47a).¹ Additional borrowings are present: the figures of the Archangel Raphael and Tobias are an adaptation of the same group in Raphael's painting *The Madonna with the Fish*, 1513–14, in the Prado,² and the pose of the Archangel Michael with the dragon represents a less dynamically graceful variant of Raphael's painting *Saint Michael*, 1518, in the Louvre.³ The resulting type of additive composition is characteristic of the Raphael school, justifying Passavant's attribution of the design to Giulio.

Like many sixteenth-century Roman engravings Scultori's plate passed through the hands of several publishers. Massari's description of the five states, however, needs to be reordered because she omitted from her list the state represented by the present impression. The order suggested here is: the first state before all letters, the second with the names of the artist and the publisher Lafreri at the lower left (this impression), the third with the initials "RVI" added at the lower right, the fourth with the removal of Lafreri's address, the fifth with the title "REGINA ANGELORVM" added below the image, and the sixth with the addition of de Rossi's address at the bottom.

The engraving represents the theme of Mary, Queen of Angels.⁴ The Virgin and Christ Child are depicted in glory on clouds above the three principal archangels, from left, Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael. Each angel is shown in his traditional role: Gabriel gesturing as the angel of the Annunciation, Michael conquering the demon Lucifer, and Raphael as the guardian angel with the young Tobias.

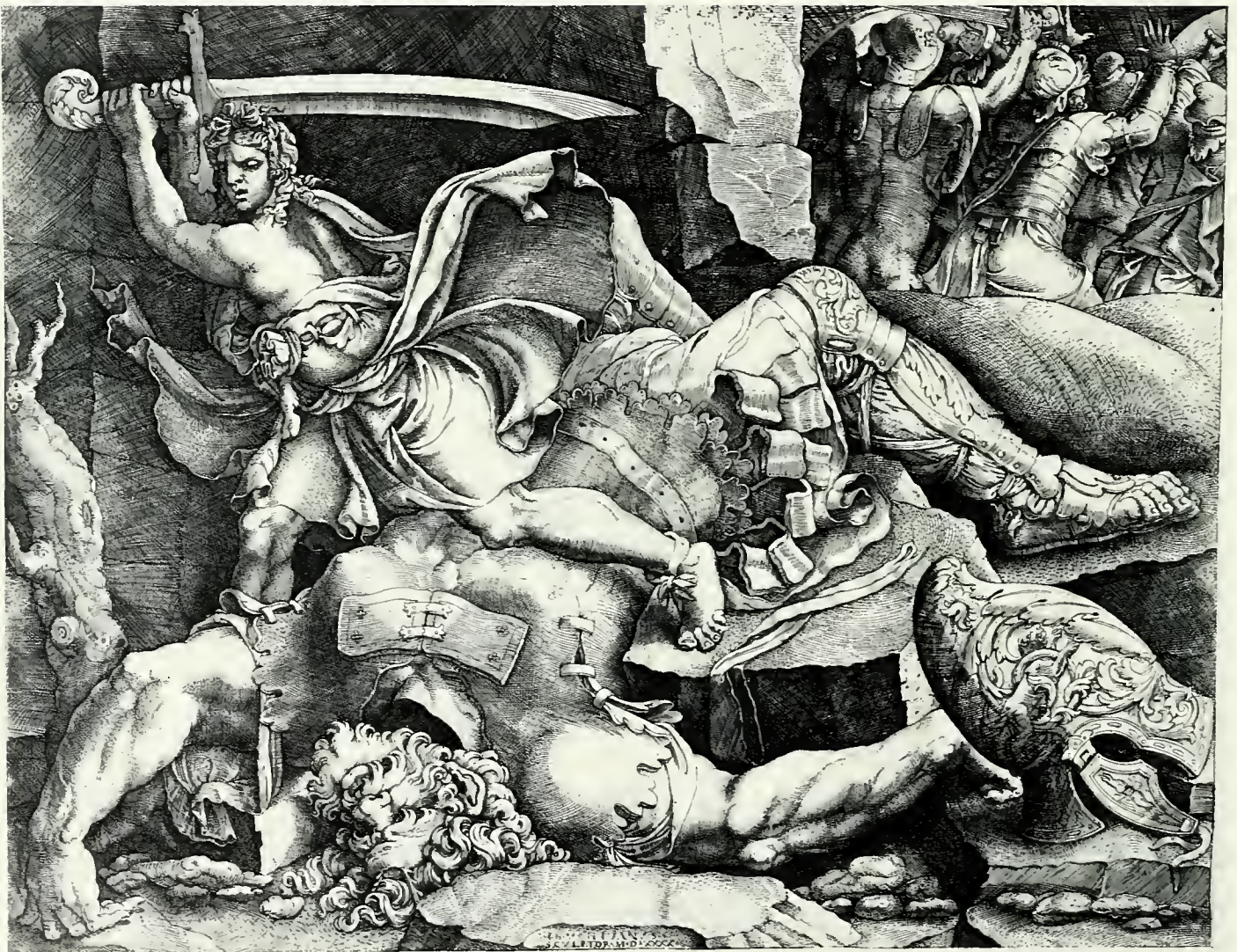
Notes

1. Bartsch, 14:53, no. 47. Scultori copied this Raphaellesque motif even more explicitly in her *Madonna and Child Seated on Clouds* (*ibid.*, 15:438, no. 15).
2. The painting, then in the church of San Domenico in Naples, was engraved by Marco Dente (*ibid.*, 14:61, no. 54).
3. A similarly sedate adaptation by a member of Raphael's workshop can be seen in a drawing by Giovanni Francesco Penni in the National Gallery, Oslo. See Oberhuber, *Raphael's Zeichnungen*, 46, fig. 48.
4. For a discussion of the engraving's subject, see Sylvie Béguin, "La Vierge, reine des anges par Le Primateice," *Revue du Louvre* 19 (1969): 143–56.

After Giulio Romano

Engraving

13¹⁵/₁₆ x 17³/₄ in. (35.4 x 45.1 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower center: IBMANTVANVS/
 SCVLPTOR.M.D.XXXX

References

Albricci, "Le incisioni," 27,
 no. 6 ii/ii; Bartsch, 15:379, no. 6;
 Le Blanc, 1:293, no. 1; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 5:411

Literature

Massari, *Incisori*, 23, no. 7 ii/ii;
 Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 179,
 no. 301; Pittaluga, 189



Fig. 48a
Giulio Romano (Italy,
1499–1546) and studio
David and Goliath
Fresco
Loggia, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua

One of Scultori's most impressive engravings, *David and Goliath* is exceeded in size only by his *Naval Battle between Greeks and Trojans* (fig. 27b). Scultori's oeuvre of twenty-one engravings appears to be divided between reproductions of designs provided by Giulio and his own inventions strongly influenced by Giulio's style. Bartsch attributed the composition of *David and Goliath* to Giulio, and it is closely related to Giulio's design of the subject (fig. 48a), probably painted by Rinaldo Mantovano, in the loggia of the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.¹ Despite the differences in com-

position between painting and print, the animated and emotionally charged relieflike design of Scultori's engraving is convincing as Giulio's invention.

The only difference between the first and second states of *David and Goliath* occurs in the inscription at the lower center, which is partly abraded and reengraved in the second state, as in the present impression.

The story of the battle between the young Israelite David and the Philistine giant Goliath is told in 1 Samuel 17.4–51. As the champion of the Philistine army Goliath was challenged to a duel with David who was armed only with a slingshot. After killing the giant with a shot to the forehead, David beheaded Goliath, and the Philistine army was routed.

Notes

1. Hartt, 1:150–51, 2:fig. 329.

Antonio da Trento
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl

After Parmigianino
 Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black and ocher
 13¾ x 10½ in. (34.9 x 26.7 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 28

References

Bartsch, 12:90, no. 7; Le Blanc, 2:218, no. 7; Meyer et al., 2:154, no. 22; Zava Boccazzi, 58, no. 4

Literature

D'Amico, 37, no. 104; Fossi, 18, no. 24; Hasselt, 43, no. 133; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 46, no. 111; Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 130, no. 198; Pittaluga, 241; Popham, 1:13, fig. 24; Rodari, 81, no. 32; Schab, 56, no. 45; Servolini, *Zilografia*, 59; Weigel, 475, no. 5653



Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl has been praised by Bartsch and others as one of da Trento's most beautiful *chiaroscuros*. Parmigianino's finished study for the print is lost, but several preparatory drawings have been identified: an early sketch in the Louvre of the two protagonists, whose gestures are reversed,¹ studies in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin,² and formerly in the Skippe collection³ of the same two figures, but closer than the ones in the Louvre sketch to their positions in the woodcut; and a lost drawing, known through an engraving by Francesco Rosaspina,⁴ in which the architectural setting and secondary figures are indicated. The popular composition was also copied in a *chiaroscuro* woodcut by Nicolò Vicentino (cat. no. 52), an engraving by Giulio Bonasone,⁵ and another *chiaroscuro* attributed to Ugo da Carpi.⁶

Da Trento's composition differs from Vicentino's only by the addition of foliage around the columns at the right and in the foreground. The two woodcuts differ primarily in the artists' technical means. Da Trento used the line block to a much greater extent as a way of defining the forms; the single tone block delineates some of the architectural details but adds little to the volume of the forms. Vicentino's version is executed in what has been characterized as the Italian manner of *chiaroscuro*, with its reliance solely on the tone blocks to define the forms.

Sibyls were heathen prophetesses who foretold to the gentiles the coming of Christ. The Roman Senate had decreed divine honors for Emperor Augustus, who consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl on whether to accept them. She advised Augustus that her powers were waning because a child was coming who would rule over all. At that point the skies opened to reveal to the emperor a vision of the Madonna and Christ Child.

Notes

1. Popham, 1:142, no. 398.
2. *Ibid.*, 184, no. 595 recto.
3. *Ibid.*, 229, no. 802.
4. *Ibid.*, 253, no. O.R. 68.
5. Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 31, no. 65.
6. *Ibid.*, 47, under no. 111.

Antonio da Trento
Narcissus and Echo

After Parmigianino
Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black and brown
1 1/8 x 7 1/16 in. (28.3 x 18 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 29

References

Bartsch, 12:148, no. 13; Le Blanc, 2:218, no. 10; Meyer et al., 2:155, no. 36; Zava Boccazzi, 58, no. 7

Literature

D'Amico, 38, no. 111; Fossi, 19, no. 33; Hasselt, 43, no. 135; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 48, no. 116; Popham, 1:13, fig. 23; Weigel, 484, no. 5767



Although no painting or *modello* by Parmigianino is known as the source for *Narcissus and Echo*, Vasari's attribution is undoubtedly accurate.¹ The compositional device of the figure emerging from the lower corner appears in other works by Parmigianino, such as his etching *The Adoration of the Shepherds*² and his design for Nicolò Vicentino's chiaroscuro *The Presentation in the Temple* (cat. no. 55). The only drawing by Parmigianino related to the print is a study in the Rijksmuseum of trees and foliage used for the background.³

Bartsch followed Vasari's description of this woodcut as simply representing a nude man seen from the back. In 1957, however, the present title was suggested.⁴ The sad tale of the nymph Echo's ill-fated love for the handsome youth Narcissus is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 3.342–510). Narcissus was so beautiful he was desired by all, but he spurned these advances, including Echo's, who in her grief was reduced to only a voice. In despair one of Narcissus's admirers cried to the gods that the youth should experience

the same frustration and rejection. Narcissus consequently fell in love with his own reflection in a forest pool, and unable to possess his beloved, he wasted away and was transformed into a yellow flower. Da Trento's woodcut shows Narcissus from the back in rapt self-absorption, while a seemingly disembodied Echo observes him at lower left.

Recently another subject was suggested: the sleep of Endymion.⁵ He was also a handsome youth in Greek mythology, beloved by the moon goddess Selene. She visited and lay beside him every night as he slept. Eventually Zeus granted Endymion's wish of perpetual slumber. This narrative appears suitable for the woodcut's composition, because in the story of Narcissus and Echo the lovesick nymph had already been transformed into her namesake when Narcissus became enamored with his reflection. It might be argued, however, that Parmigianino's placement of the female figure in the lower margin is a clever and inventive way of suggesting that the woman is not really materially present.

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:423.
2. Bartsch, 16:7, no. 3.
3. Popham, 1:43, no. 2.
4. Werner Schade, *Italienische Farbenholzschnitte des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Chiaroscuro*, exh. cat., Staatliche Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar (Weimar: J. Keipert, 1957), no. 31.
5. Caroline Roland-Levy's proposed subject is cited in *Drawings and Prints* (New York: C. & J. Goodfriend, 1985) no. 34.

Nicolò Vicentino
Christ Healing the Lepers

After Parmigianino

Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black, light brown, and dark brown
11¾ x 16⅜ in. (29.8 x 41.6 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 30



Inscriptions

Lower right: AA [monogram of
Andrea Andreani] in mantova
1608

References

Bartsch, 12:39, no. 15 ii/ii;
Le Blanc, 4:116, no. 3 ii/ii

Literature

Fossi, 16, no. 16; Hasselt, 45, no.
144; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*,
43, no. 101; Oberhuber,
Renaissance, 131, no. 201;
Pittaluga, 245, fig. 180; Popham,
1:13, fig. 27; Weigel, 464,
no. 5510

For the numerous versions of this composition, see the discussion of Andrea Schiavone's etching (cat. no. 41). Vicentino's woodcut is based on a drawing by Parmigianino at Chatsworth (fig. 41b).¹ According to Vasari, collaboration between Parmigianino and his principal chiaroscurist, Antonio da Trento, suddenly ceased when one day, while Parmigianino was still in bed, da Trento ran off with a cache of Parmigianino's drawings, etchings, and copper plates.² Popham opined that the Chatsworth sheet was one of the stolen drawings. Vicentino later had access to it to make his woodcut. Unlike many copyists of the period, Vicentino reproduced faithfully not only the figures but also the background rather than supplying one of his own invention as did Schiavone.

Notes

1. Popham, 1:204, no. 690, 2:pl. 133.

2. Vasari, 5:226, 422.

Nicolò Vicentino
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl

After Parmigianino
Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black and three shades of green
13½ x 10⁵/₁₆ in. (34.3 x 26.2 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 31

References

Bartsch, 12:90, no. 8; Le Blanc,
4:116, no. 5

Literature

Hasselt, 45, no. 145; Meyer et al.,
2:154, under no. 22; Oberhuber,
Parmigianino, 45, no. 104;
Pittaluga, 245; Popham, 1:13;
Servolini, *Zilografia*, 71; Weigel,
475, no. 5654



Fig. 52a
 Nicolò Vicentino
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl
 Chiaroscuro woodcut
 13½ x 10⅝ in. (34.3 x 26.2 cm)
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1939

Fig. 52b
 Nicolò Vicentino
Cloelia Crossing the Tiber
 Chiaroscuro woodcut
 11 x 16½ in. (27.9 x 41.9 cm)
 Los Angeles County Museum of Art
 Purchased with funds provided by Mrs. Arnold Palmer



For other versions of this composition, see the discussion of Antonio da Trento's chiaroscuro woodcut (cat. no. 49).

The present work appears to be an unrecorded second state of Vicentino's woodcut, rather than a copy of the composition by Master ND of Bologna, an attribution suggested by Caroline Karpinski.¹ The impression in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 52a), for example, is printed from three tone blocks, whereas the present impression, like the one illustrated by Reichel,² has an additional line block printed in black. The two darker tone blocks are the same in both states, but the lightest tone block apparently was recut in the second. Changes in the block include the additional white highlights along the upper margin, the detailing of the architecture at the upper right, the crosshatching on the low platform in the middleground, and the patches of light throughout the composition.

Because the two darker tone blocks appear to be essentially the same in both states, it is reasonable to describe this impression as a second state rather than another version. It is not the only example of Vicentino substantially reworking the blocks in one of his woodcuts. His chiaroscuro *Cloelia Crossing the Tiber* was described by Bartsch as having two states,³ the second being one of Andrea Andreani's republications with the lightest tone block recut. Another state before Andreani's address can be seen, however, in an impression in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 52b), in which a third, intermediary tone block was added. This additional printing element was omitted by Andreani, who might have believed it muddied the composition by canceling out many of the highlights of the lightest block and by obscuring some of the details of the darkest one.



Notes

1. Quoted in *Old Master and Modern Prints* (New York: Lucien Goldschmidt, 1981), no. 108. The discussion of the print in that catalogue is confused because the work is printed from four, not three, blocks, and the Bartsch number cited is incorrect. The present impression is the one catalogued by Goldschmidt.

2. Anton Reichel, *Die Clair-Obscur-Schnitte des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, Leipzig, and Vienna: Amalthea-Verlag, 1926), 33, fig. 11.

3. Bartsch, 12:96, no. 5.

Nicolò Vicentino
Psyche Honored as a Goddess

After Francesco Salviati
Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black, dark brownish green,
and light brownish green
9³/₈ x 9¹/₂ in. (23.8 x 24.1 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 32

References

Bartsch, 12:125, no. 26 i/ii;
Le Blanc, 2:218, no. 8 i/ii;
Passavant, 6:222, no. 26; Zava
Boccazzi, 59, no. 4 i/ii

Literature

Borea, 265, no. 696; D'Amico, 37,
no. 107; Hasselt, 44, no. 141;
Mariette, 5:163; Pittaluga, 247,
fig. 182; Weigel, 473, no. 5630



Mariette correctly identified the source of Vicentino's composition as Francesco Salviati's now-lost ceiling decoration of 1539 in the Palazzo Grimani near Santa Maria Formosa, Venice. Bartsch's subsequent suggestion of Giuseppe Salviati as the inventor still appears, however, in literature.¹ Mariette, Passavant, and Weigel suggested Vicentino as the printmaker; Bartsch, followed by most later writers, attributed the woodcut's execution to Antonio da Trento. Again, Mariette was correct, and Borea's note of caution regarding this attribution is unfounded. The very painterly and unsculptural character of the tone blocks used in *Psyche Honored as a Goddess* contrasts with da Trento's greater dependence on the line block for defining forms. The delineation of the architectural setting in this woodcut is very similar to that in Vicentino's *Christ Healing the Lepers* (cat. no. 51).

Although planned as a decoration for a ceiling, Francesco Salviati's composition has none of the stunningly and dramatically foreshortened illusionism of Giulio Romano's version of the subject of 1528 in the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.² Salviati's arrangement of the figures across the foreground, with Psyche and her attendants on one side and the adoring citizens on the other, is similar to the Raphael-esque design of the subject by Michiel Coxcie engraved by the Master of the Die.³

For the story of Cupid and Psyche, see Giorgio Ghisi's engraving of that subject (cat. no. 31). As depicted in Vicentino's woodcut, the mortal princess Psyche inspired adoration by her citizens thus causing the jealousy of the goddess Venus, which proved nearly fatal to Psyche.

Notes

1. Exceptions are Max Kolloff in Meyer et al., 1:726, and Iris H. Cheney, "Francesco Salviati's North Italian Journey," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963):341.

2. Hartt, 2:fig. 230.

3. Bartsch, 15:213, no. 40. Bartsch attributed the design to Raphael himself but was corrected by Passavant (6:160).

After Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone
Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black, dark grayish green,
and light grayish green
12¾ x 17⅛ in. (32.4 x 43.5 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 33



Inscriptions

Lower right: AA [monogram of
Andrea Andreani] in mantova
1604

References

Bartsch, 12:125, no. 27 ii/ii;
Le Blanc, 1:596, no. 16 ii/ii,
Servolini, *Ugo*, no. 34

Literature

Fossi, 15, no. 13; Landau, 335, no.
P35; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*,
39, no. 89; Rodari, 82, no. 36;
Schab, 58, no. 47; Weigel, 471,
no. 5604

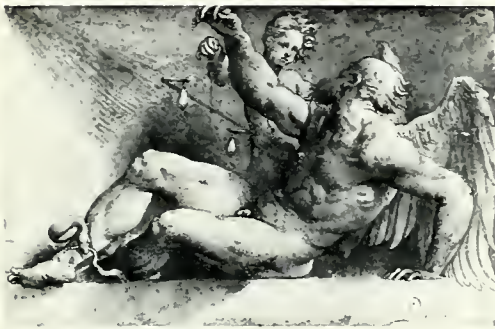


Fig. 54a

Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone
[Italy, c. 1484–1539]

Saturn

Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white

10³/₁₆ x 16¹/₂ in. (27.5 x 42 cm)

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Devonshire and the Chatsworth
Settlement Trustees, Chatsworth

Until Landau's convincing arguments to the contrary the identities of the cutter and inventor of *Saturn* were thought to be Ugo da Carpi and Parmigianino, respectively. The woodcut is now recognized as being based on Pordenone's now-lost fresco on the facade of the Palazzo d'Anna, Venice. (Giuseppe Scolari's *Saint George* [cat. no. 43] is another print based on the d'Anna decoration.) Vicentino probably had access to Pordenone's finished *modello*, formerly at Chatsworth (fig. 54a), because the sheets are nearly identical in size and composition.¹ Not only is this print's technique comparable with other works by Vicentino, such as *Christ Healing the Lepers* (cat. no. 51), but Landau considered Andreani's publication of the block to be evidence of Vicentino's, rather than Ugo's, authorship. According to Landau, Andreani must have acquired the contents of Vicentino's studio because almost all of his republished woodcuts are by Vicentino, whereas none are by Ugo.

Bartsch identified the subject of this woodcut as Saturn, the allegorical embodiment of time. Saturn, or Chronos in Greek mythology, is often represented with his attributes of wings (in reference to the passage of time) and scales (because of his association with the zodiacal sign of Libra). It has also been suggested that the composition illustrates the proverb *Amor vincit Tempus* (love conquers time).²

Notes

1. For the drawing, see Cohen, 64, fig. 82. The drawing was sold at Christie's, London, 3 July 1984, lot 36. The only difference in size is the vertical extension of the woodcut.

2. T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Parmigianino and Boulle," *Burlington Magazine* 68 (1936): 287–88.

Attributed to Nicolò Vicentino
The Presentation in the Temple

After Parmigianino

Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black and three shades of olive green
 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (41 x 30.4 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 34

Inscriptions

Lower right: DEL S. VIATI AA
 [monogram of Andrea Andreani]
 in mantova 1608

References

Bartsch, 12:31, no. 6 ii/ii;
 Servolini, *Ugo*, no. 27

Literature

Fossi, 29, no. 79; Heineken,
 3:604; Mariette, 5:161–62;
 Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 42,
 no. 97; Richardson, 82, under
 no. 10





Fig. 55a
 Parmigianino
The Adoration of the Shepherds
 Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
 heightened with white
 4¹³/₁₆ x 3¹/₈ in. (12.2 x 7.9 cm)
 Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

Andrea Andreani, who published the woodcut *The Presentation in the Temple* in the second state, attributed its design to Salviati, without signifying whether he meant Francesco or Giuseppe. Consequently each artist has received credit for the invention of the composition. Bartsch, however, believed that Andreani might have been mistaken and that the invention was perhaps Parmigianino's, an opinion with which Oberhuber concurred. No drawing or painting by Parmigianino of this composition has survived. Popham observed that the closest visual evidence of Parmigianino's authorship is a study in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (fig. 55a) for his etching *The Adoration of the Shepherds*.¹ Two figures appear in identical attitudes and position in the lower left corner in both *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *The Presentation in the Temple*. Although in the etching the two figures are female, in the drawing and woodcut the two figures are male.

According to Richardson, Schiavone's etching *The Presentation in the Temple*, circa 1543–46, is a copy of the present woodcut, whose design he considered a paraphrase of elements in Francesco Salviati's fresco *The Visitation* in the oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, Rome.² Given Schiavone's attach-

ment to the art of Parmigianino as well as the Parmigianesque elements of the composition and nothing recalling Salviati, it is more likely that Vicentino's and Schiavone's prints are based on a now-lost drawing by Parmigianino.³ There are, however, considerable differences between the compositions of the two prints: Schiavone's lacks the two male figures at the lower left; the Virgin, Christ Child, and the priest are placed off center; Joseph is replaced by a young acolyte; the setting and furnishings are different.

The execution of the woodcut *The Presentation in the Temple* has been attributed traditionally to Ugo da Carpi, an attribution most scholars do not now accept. In Oberhuber's incisive analysis the handling of the line block combined with the painterly application of the tone block suggested Vicentino's authorship of the woodcut.

The narrative of the Presentation of the Christ Child in the temple in Jerusalem is recounted in Luke 2.22–32. According to Hebrew law, a first-born child must be presented to the Lord, accompanied by the sacrifice of two turtledoves. Mary and Joseph, Christ's parents, took him to Jerusalem and presented him to the aged priest Simeon, who had been promised that he would live until he saw the Messiah.

Notes

1. For the drawing, see Popham, 1:183, no. 593, 2:pl.153. For the etching, see Bartsch, 16:7, no. 3.
2. Bartsch, 16:44, no. 10. Some of the figures were used again in Schiavone's etching *The Circumcision* (*ibid.*, 46, no. 12).
3. An unconvincing attempt has been made recently to attribute the woodcut's design to the circle of the mid-sixteenth-century Veronese painter Battista Zelotti. See Howard Coutts, "A Print and Two Drawings from the Circle of Zelotti," *Print Quarterly* 4 (1987): 47–50.

After Parmigianino
Three from a series of six chiaroscuro woodcuts

56 *Charity*

Printed in black, light brown, and dark brown
5¾ x 3¹⁵/₁₆ in. (14.6 x 10 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 35

References

Bartsch, 12:128, no. 3; Zava
Boccazzi, 60, no. 16

Literature

Copertini, 2:36, 45 n. 9; Fossi, 17,
under no. 21; Hasselt, 47, no.
154; Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*,
46, no. 107; Weigel, 465, no.
5527c



57 *Temperance*

Printed in black, light brown, and dark brown
5¾ x 3⅞ in. (14.6 x 9.9 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 36

References

Bartsch, 12:129, no. 5 i/ii; Zava
Boccazzi, 60, no. 18

Literature

Copertini, 2:36, 45 n. 9; Fossi, 17,
no. 23; Hasselt, 47, no. 156;
Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 46,
no. 109; Weigel, 465, no. 5527c



58 *Prudence*

Printed in black, gray, and ocher
5¹/₁₆ x 4 in. (14.5 x 10.1 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 37

References

Bartsch, 12:129, no. 6; Zava
Boccazzi, 60, no. 19

Literature

Copertini, 2:36, 45 n. 9; Ferrara
and Gaeta Bertelà, no. 484; Fossi,
17, no. 22; Hasselt, 46, no. 152;
Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 46,
no. 110; Pittaluga, 239, fig. 174;
Weigel, 465, no. 5527f



Charity, Temperance, and Prudence are from a set of six chiaroscuro woodcuts depicting the Christian virtues. The other prints represent faith, hope, and fortitude. Although their designs have been attributed traditionally to Parmigianino, no related drawings by him have been identified. Parmigianino's known studies of such subjects as temperance, hope, and fortitude are quite different from the woodcuts in this series. Perhaps the closest candidate for the representation of prudence holding the mirror is a sheet at Chatsworth depicting a woman seated in profile holding a sphere.¹ The series of prints has been attributed to Antonio da Trento. Fossi made the persuasive suggestion, with which Oberhuber agreed, that the chiaroscuros are related more to the manner of Vicentino. This attribution is convincing because the painterly style of the prints and the use of multiple tone blocks resemble works by Vicentino such as *Psyche Honored as a Goddess* and *Saturn* (cat. nos. 53–54). Like many of Vicentino's woodcuts *The Christian Virtues* were republished by Andrea Andreani. Andreani's monogram, however, appears only on impressions of *Temperance*. The states of the other five woodcuts are consequently impossible to determine.

The three symbols of Christian virtue included here are represented with their traditional attributes: Charity surrounded by a group of infants, Temperance pouring water from her vase into a cistern, and Prudence gazing into a mirror.

Notes

1. Popham, 1:207, no. 706, 2:pl.184. A group of related drawings in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, shows a woman seated frontally holding a sphere and staff. See *ibid.*, 179–80, nos. 572–78, 2:pl.184.

After Parmigianino

Engraving

11 1/2 x 8 1/8 in. (29.2 x 20.7 cm), lower margin trimmed

Inscriptions*Lower left:* E.V./FRAN. PAR./
INVENTOR*Below:* Mentre che . . . / . . . no fu
difetto.**References**

Bartsch, 15:289, no. 17

LiteratureCopertini, 2:57; Freedberg, 238;
Oberhuber, *Parmigianino*, 34,
no. 70; Schab, 52, no. 41

Fig. 59a
Parmigianino
Lucretia
Watercolors in brown, black,
green, yellow, orange, salmon,
and red, heightened with white,
over black chalk
11¾ x 8¼ in. (29.8 x 20.9 cm)
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.
Gift of Mrs. Alice Kaplan



According to Vasari, Parmigianino's last painting was a depiction of Lucretia.¹ Several renditions of the subject by Parmigianino have been proposed as clues to the lost painting's composition,² including a highly finished multicolored drawing in the National Gallery of Art on which Vico's engraving is based (fig. 59a). The attribution of this sketch has vacillated between Parmigianino and Girolamo Mazzola-Bedoli.³ DeGrazia, however, has made a forceful argument for accepting it as the subject of Vasari's description. The morphology of the languid and sensuous figure of Lucretia indicates a work from late in the artist's career, because of its obvious similarity to Parmigianino's painting *Madonna dal Collo Lungo*, commissioned in 1534 and left unfinished at his death in 1540.⁴

Vico might have intended *Lucretia* as a pendant to his engraving *Mars and Venus* (cat. no. 60). The vertical orientation and dimensions of the engravings are similar. Each print has for a legend a poem of four lines, printed in identical cursive script and framed in the same fashion. The subjects, however, are not complementary, as one (*Lucretia*) celebrates the Roman political virtues, while the other (*Mars and Venus*) alludes to the power of love and peace over strife and war.

Lucretia was a Roman matron of great virtue from the sixth century B.C. who became a significant symbol of republicanism. She was raped by Sextus Tarquinius, one of the sons of Tarquinius Superbus, king of Rome. After receiving a vow of vengeance from her father and husband, Lucretia killed herself. Her family then drove the ruling Tarquins from Rome, and the Roman Republic was established in 509 B.C.

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:233.
2. See Freedberg, 238–39.
3. For a summary of opinions on the sheet's attribution, see DeGrazia, 178, no. 55.
4. Freedberg, 186–87, fig. 80.

After Giovanni Battista Scultori
Engraving
11¹⁵/₁₆ x 8¹/₈ in. (30.3 x 20.7 cm)

Inscriptions

Upper left: AE.V.

Below: Qui tra Venere . . . /
. . . Cesare in Tesaglia

References

Bartsch, 15:292, no. 21 i/ii,
Le Blanc, 4:117, no. 21 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Le incisioni," 37,
under no. 13; Passavant, 6:122,
under no. 21; Schab, 78, no. 64



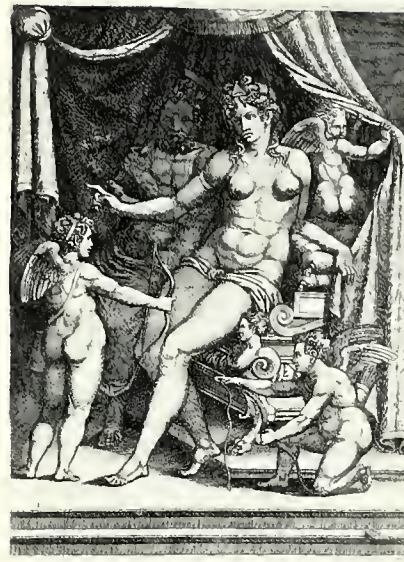


Fig. 60a
Giovanni Battista Scultori
Mars and Venus
Pen and brown ink
11¹/₁₆ x 8¹/₁₆ in. (30 x 22 cm)
Staatliche Graphische
Sammlung, Munich

Fig. 60b
Giorgio Ghisi
Venus and Vulcan
Seated on a Bed
Engraving
11¹/₄ x 8³/₁₆ in. (28.7 x 20.8 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

In his description of Vico's *Mars and Venus*, Bartsch did not note that it is a copy of an engraving dated 1539 by Giovanni Battista Scultori, although this fact is found in his description of Scultori's print.¹ This omission of cross-referencing has led to some confusion about the composition's design. Bartsch stated that the engraving was believed to be after Parmigianino, but his authorship is now generally discounted. On the basis of John Gere's attribution of a related drawing in Munich (fig. 60a), Harprath suggested Ippolito Andreasi as the inventor.² This opinion was followed by Schab. Harprath compared the drawing only with Vico's engraving, apparently unaware of the earlier version by Scultori, which was executed nine years before Andreasi's birth in about 1548. Harprath has since realized this discrepancy and subsequently attributed the sheet in Munich to Scultori himself.³ Some aspects of the composition corroborate this attribution. Bartsch noted a degree of hardness in the drawing of the figures, a quality also found in Giorgio Ghisi's engraving *The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas* after Scultori (cat. no. 27). The dense overall patterning of the surface of *Mars and Venus*, with its rich and somewhat overwrought accumulation of detail, is comparable with Scultori's design of Ghisi's print.

Mars and Venus recalls the work of other artists, and this only confirms the eclectic nature of Scultori's artistic personality. One significant source of inspiration was Perino del Vaga, who probably provided the design for Ghisi's compositionally similar engraving *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed* (fig. 60b).⁴ The figural proportions of Mars and Venus, with their small heads and tiny, graceful feet, are encountered frequently in Perino's oeuvre, such as his design for Ghisi's engraving.⁵ The connection with Perino seems more apt than one with Giulio Romano, with whose works *Mars and Venus* has also been compared.⁶ The drawing in Munich, however, is clearly not by Perino or Giulio. As Harprath observed, this sketch differs in several details from Vico's and Scultori's engravings, so that its being a copy of the print can be ruled out. It may also be observed that Pierre Crozat owned a drawing attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni by Mariette, who noted that it was engraved by Scultori.⁷ But because this sketch has not been located, it is not possible to ascertain its relation to either this *Mars and Venus* or to another depiction, smaller and slightly different in composition, by Scultori.⁸

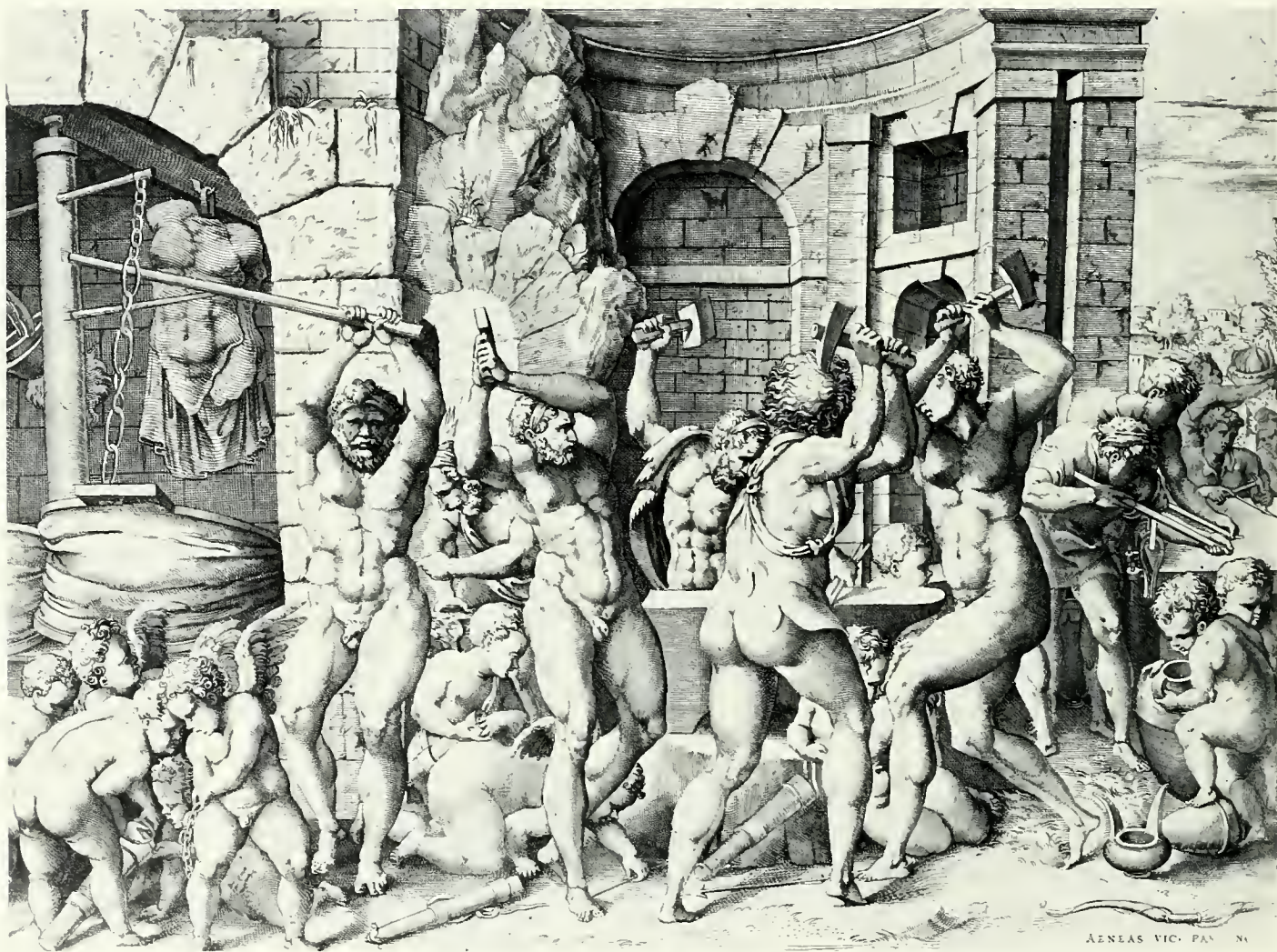
Mars and Venus might have been intended as a pendant to Vico's *Lucretia* (for discussion, see cat. no. 59).

Notes

1. Bartsch, 15:381, no. 13.
2. Harprath, 13, no. 13.
3. Letter to the author, 29 August 1986.
4. Bartsch, 15:399, no. 35. Massari (*Incisori*, 130, no. 190) noted the possible relationship between Scultori's and Ghisi's prints.
5. The elegantly clad figure of Mars is also reminiscent of a drawing of a soldier by Perino in the Uffizi. See Bernice F. Davidson, *Disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia* (Florence: Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 1966), 60, no. 60, fig. 52.
6. For example, the print has been compared by Albricci with Giulio's painting *Two Lovers on a Bed* in the Hermitage.
7. Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description sommaire des dessins . . . du cabinet de feu M. Crozat* (1741; reprint ed., Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), 16, no. 154.
8. Bartsch, 15:379, no. 7.

Enea Vico
The Forge of Vulcan

After Francesco Primaticcio
 Engraving
 12 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (31 x 41.6 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right: AENEAS VIC.
 PARMEN.

References

Bartsch, 15:297, no. 31; Le Blanc,
 4:118, no. 31

Literature

Ferrara and Gaeta Bertela, no.
 504; Herbet, 120, under no. 6;
 Mariette, 6:63; Schab, 61, no. 50



Fig. 61a
 Francesco Primaticcio
 (Italy, 1504–1570)
The Forge of Vulcan
 Red chalk and wash, contours
 redrawn with pen and black ink
 12¼ x 16¾ in. (31.2 x 41.6 cm)
 Cabinet des Dessins,
 Musée du Louvre, Paris

Vasari rightly described Vico's *The Forge of Vulcan* as a very beautiful print but erroneously attributed its design to Rosso Fiorentino.¹ Bartsch correctly recognized Primaticcio as the inventor, whose now-lost painting of 1541–45 hung over the mantle in the Cabinet du Roi at Fontainebleau.² Two other engraved versions of the composition are known: one by François Gentil, another by an anonymous engraver of the school of Fontainebleau.³ The three prints are nearly identical in size and composition to Primaticcio's preparatory drawing in the Louvre (fig. 61a).⁴ The only notable difference in Vico's version is the view at the right to a verdant landscape. In Primaticcio's drawing and the school of Fontainebleau engravings there is a view of a rocky and precipitous mountain. Vico probably made his copy from one of the French prints rather than from the drawing itself. His engraving is in the same direction as the sketch but in reverse of the other prints.

In a variant of this composition etched by Léon Davent, a group of muscular male nudes is similarly arranged in a circle against an architectural backdrop with an arched niche.⁵ Zerner attributed the invention of that print to Luca Penni, but given the similarities in composition and Davent's penchant for the works of Primaticcio, it may be more plausible to consider it a free variant of Primaticcio's lost painting.

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:427.
2. Dimier, 263.
3. Herbert, 119, no. 6, and Bartsch, 16:403, no. 71.
4. Roseline Bacou and Sylvie Béguin in *L'École de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), 141, no. 150. A drawing of this subject in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, has been attributed to Primaticcio, but is now recognized as a work by Maarten van Heemskerck. See Veldman, 28, fig. 10.
5. Zerner, *School*, no. LD 67.



FRENCH PRINTS

Domenico del Barbieri	François Gentil
Jacques Bellange	Juste de Juste
René Boyvin	Master I ♀ V
Léon Davent	Jean Mignon
Etienne Delaune	Pierre Milan
Antonio Fantuzzi	Pierre Woëriot
	Domenico Zenoni

After Rosso Fiorentino

Engraving

12¹⁵/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆ in. (32.9 x 23 cm)

Inscriptions

Upper left: AMPHIARAO

Lower left: DOMENICO/
 DELBARBIER

References

Bartsch, 16:358, no. 4; Herbet,
 97, no. 4; Le Blanc, 1:147,
 no. 7; Meyer et al., 2:728, no. 7;
 Zerner, *School*, no. DB 6

Literature

Borea, 278, no. 766; Heineken,
 2:163; Kusenber, 159;
 Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 151,
 no. 245; Rotili, 91, no. 96;
 Zerner, "Gravures," 276, no. 355





Fig. 62a
Rosso Fiorentino
[Italy, 1494–1540]
The Education of Achilles
Fresco
Galerie François I, Chateau de
Fontainebleau

Heineken attributed the invention of *Amphiaraus* to Primaticcio. Bartsch cited Rosso Fiorentino as the designer, an attribution followed by most subsequent authors. Zerner stated that the composition may be Barbieri's own invention because of few similarities to Rosso's art and even fewer to Primaticcio's. However, parallels to the dynamic and energetic figure of *Amphiaraus* are found in Rosso's frescoes in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau, such as the male nude figures flanking *The Education of Hercules* (fig. 62a). The balanced torsion of the nude seated in the background of the engraving is comparable with a similar figure in the foreground of Rosso's *The Conquest of Ignorance* (cat. no. 100). Bartsch's traditional attribution, consequently, is acceptable.

The magician *Amphiaraus* was one of the Seven against Thebes, the group that battled against Eteocles in order to restore the rightful lands to the sons of Oedipus. As prophesized by *Amphiaraus*, the mission was doomed to fail. *Amphiaraus* survived the attack, but during his escape he, his chariot, and its driver were swallowed by the earth.

Domenico del Barbiero
The Banquet of Alexander the Great

After Francesco Primaticcio
 Engraving
 9¾ x 14⅞ in. (24.8 x 37.2 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: DOMENICO/
 FIORENTINO

Lower right: A. FONTANA. BELO/
 BOL

References

Bartsch, 16:359, no. 6; Herbet,
 98, no. 6 ii/ii; Le Blanc, 1:147, no.
 12; Meyer et al., 2:728, no. 9;
 Zerner, *School*, no. DB 7

Literature

Davis, 42; Dimier, 494, no. 56;
 Mariette, 4:214; Oberhuber,
Renaissance, 151, no. 246;
 Petrucci, pl. 44; Schab, 80, no.
 65; Zerner, "Gravures," 279,
 no. 336

Fig. 63a

Francesco Primaticcio
(Italy, 1504–1570)

*The Banquet of Alexander
the Great*

Pen and brown ink

10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (25.7 x 27.4 cm)

Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris



The Banquet of Alexander the Great reproduces faithfully, in reverse, Primaticcio's now-lost painting of 1541–45 in the Chambre de Madame d'Etampes, also called the Chambre d'Alexandre, at Fontainebleau. Primaticcio's preparatory drawing for the composition is in the Louvre (fig. 63a).¹ McAllister Johnson has compared the architectural details of Primaticcio's invention with Giulio Romano's tapestry design *The Banquet of Scipio*.² In all other respects Primaticcio's design owes very little to Giulio. The spare geometry of Primaticcio's setting, with the figures placed in a U-shaped arrangement of elegantly mannered poses, contrasts conspicuously with the meticulously detailed surfaces of Giulio's composition. The elaborately overwrought articulation of Giulio's design is typical of Mantuan taste, and such a characterization hardly applies to Barbieri's engraving. Instead the engraving probably is a reflection of Primaticcio's absorption, during his Italian journey of 1539–40, of the Roman styles of Raphael and Parmigianino, exemplified by the calmly balanced compositions of Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. Herbert described a first state before the inscription. Zerner, however, was unable to locate an impression of it.

Primaticcio's composition illustrates the scene of Alexander the Great's celebration in Persepolis of his victory over the Persian army.

Notes

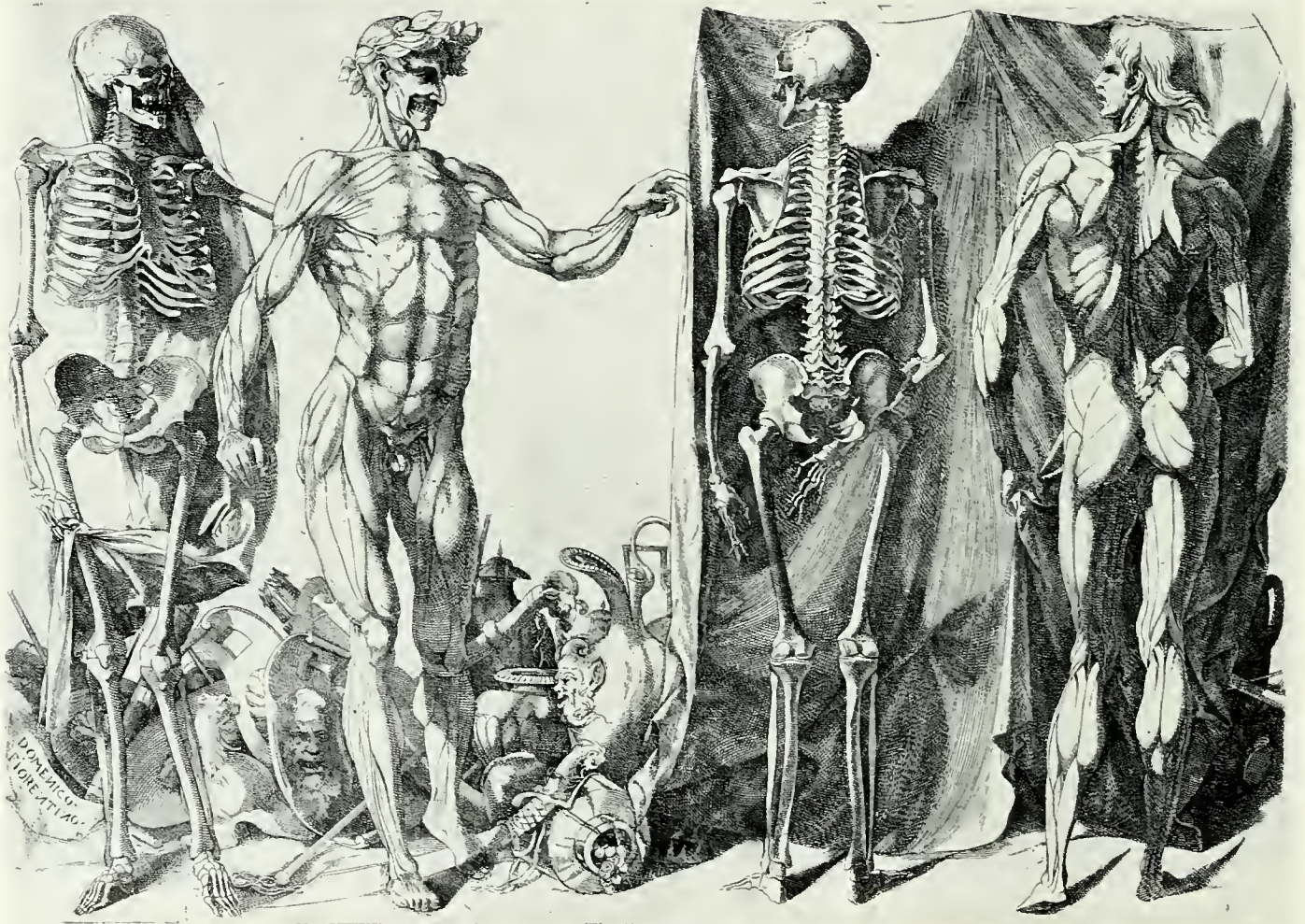
1. Dimier, 434, no. 57.

2. W. McAllister Johnson, "Primaticcio Revisited: Aspects of Draftsmanship in the School of Fontainebleau," *Art Quarterly* 29 (1966): 255. Giulio's preliminary study for the tapestry is in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Hartt, 2:fig. 482), and the composition was also etched in 1543 by Antonio Fantuzzi (Zerner, *School*, no. AF 57).

After Rosso Fiorentino

Engraving

9⁷/₁₆ x 13¹/₄ in. (23.7 x 33.7 cm), left margin trimmed



Inscriptions

Lower left: DOMENICO / FIORENTINO.

References

Bartsch, 16:359, no. 8; Herbet,
98, no. 8; Le Blanc, 1:147, no. 9;
Meyer et al., 2:728, no. 11;
Zerner, *School*, no. DB 10

Literature

Borea, 280, no. 768; Davis, 43;
Kusenberg, 106, 159; Zerner,
"Gravures," 279, no. 339

Vasari mentioned a publication on anatomy planned by Rosso.¹ If ever executed, the book is lost. *Écorchés and Skeletons*, suggested by Kusenberg as a reflection of this project, is not the only instance of the appearance of such figures in Rosso's art. Other examples include Gian Giacomo Caraglio's *Frenzy* (cat. no. 17) and Marco Dente's *The Skeletons* (cat. no. 22). Like those compositions Barbieri's engraving may contain a message with the moralizing overtones of a *memento mori*. Zerner suggested that the crown of laurel worn by one of the flayed figures and the still life of trophies and overturned vases allude to the vanity of human achievements. The compositional division into two parts and the juxtaposition of figures facing front and back may have moral as well as pedagogical implications. It has also been suggested that Rosso's alternation of flayed and skeletal figures may reflect the illustrations with a similar format in a 1543 edition of Andreas Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica, libri septem*.²

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:171.
2. Veldman, 118–19, fig. 69.

65

School of Domenico del Barbieri
Ten Nude Men in a Landscape

After Luca Penni

Engraving

11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (30.2 x 44.1 cm)



References

Herbet, 99, no. 13; Meyer et al.,
2:728, no. 12

Literature

Zerner, *School*, Barbieri intro.



Fig. 65a
 Jean Mignon
Combat of Nude Men
 Etching
 11¹/₁₆ x 17⁷/₈ in. (29.7 x 44.8 cm)
 Graphische Sammlung
 Albertina, Vienna

The subject of this curious composition has always been considered to be simply ten nude men in a landscape. The title suggests a purely academic exercise of showing the nude figure in motion. *Ten Nude Men in a Landscape*, however, appears to depict a specific and possibly identifiable narrative. Some act of violence is evidently occurring; the man holding a dagger is being restrained, after presumably attacking the two injured men (right of center). The nudity of the figures has two possible explanations. First, the engraving might have been based on a preliminary drawing, rather than on a finished composition, because Renaissance artists often sketched from nude models placed in a *tableau vivant* of the intended design. Second, the nudity might have been chosen to provide an atmosphere appropriate for a scene from antiquity. The most notable prototype for Barbieri's engraving is Antonio Pollaiuolo's engraving *The Battle of the Nudes*, the subject of which has also

remained conjectural.¹ Suggestions for the narrative of Pollaiuolo's print have ranged from a subjectless exercise of showing the nude figure in action to a scene from Roman history, a depiction of the legend of the Golden Fleece, or a gladiatorial combat perhaps connected with events in Florentine political history. Barbieri's engraving has yet to attract such speculation on its subject.

According to Herbet, this engraving is listed at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, as being based on Rosso's design. It is suggested here that Barbieri's source might have been a composition by Luca Penni. Other representations from the school of Fontainebleau of nudes in battle include Jean Mignon's etching *Combat of Nude Men* after Penni (fig. 65a) and a related drawing by Penni in the Louvre.² The relieflike character of these compositions, seen as well in Barbieri's engraving, indicates that the initial visual source of these representations was an antique sarcophagus.

Notes

1. For a summary of different opinions, see Laurie S. Fusco's discussion in Levenson, Oberhuber, and Sheehan, 66–71, no. 13.
2. Zerner, *School*, no. JM 33; and Golson, fig. 3.

Jacques Bellange
The Martyrdom of Saint Lucy

Etching and engraving
 18 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (46.5 x 35.2 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: Bellange

References

Le Blanc, 1:260, no. 20; Robert-Dumesnil, 5:89, no. 15, 11:10, no. 15; Reed and Worthen, 53, no. 29; Walch, 174, no. 16

Literature

Heineken, 2:424; Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 253, no. 377



Probably Bellange's first large multifigured etching, *The Martyrdom of Saint Lucy* is also one of his most electric compositions, with three dozen actors swirling around the figure of the martyred saint. Bellange's manipulation of the biting and inking of the copper plate was probably inspired by Federico Barocci's small graphic oeuvre, such as his great etchings *The Annunciation* and *Il Perdono*.¹ Bellange's use of stippling for modeling forms also probably derived from Barocci. Because she is delineated with lightly etched lines, Saint Lucy is a radiant ethereal presence in the pagan crowd, a personification of her name, meaning light; her attribute of the lamp is held by the statue of Diana at the left. Stippling softens the outlines of the figures, and some of the participants, such as the woman standing at lower left, seem to radiate with an inner glow.

Other Italianate features in Bellange's composition have been identified. The placement of the figures in a monumental architectural setting has been compared with Veronese's painting *The Martyrdom of Saint Justina*, 1575, possibly known to Bellange through Agostino Carracci's engraved copy of 1582.² The arrangement of the figures within Bellange's engraving, however, is not particularly Venetian, and Walch has compared it with Taddeo Zuccaro's *Ecce Homo*, engraved in 1590 by Anton Eisenhoit,³ in which the viewer's eye is led into the composition by a line of spectators cut off by the lower edge of the picture. This device is also seen in Nicolò Vicentino's chiaroscuro woodcut *The Presentation in the Temple* after Parmigianino (cat. no. 55).

Lucy of Syracuse was identified as a Christian when she gave away her wealth as a gesture of gratitude for her mother's cure, an act of benevolence that irritated Lucy's fiancé. When she refused to worship pagan idols, such as the statue of Diana, Lucy was stabbed in the throat.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 17:2, no. 1; and *ibid.*, 4, no. 4.
2. Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 253.
3. Walch, 174.

Etching

11½ x 6¼ in. (29.2 x 17 cm)

Inscriptions*Lower left: leBlond excud**Lower right: Bellan***References**

Le Blanc, 1:259, no. 2-4; Reed and Worthen, 59, no. 35 ii/ii; Robert-Dumesnil, 5:93, no. 35, 11:11, no. 35 ii/ii; Walch, 196, no. 18 ii/ii

Literature

Heinecken, 2:423



Fig. 67a
 Jacques Bellange
Balthasar
 Etching
 1 1/4 x 6 1/2 in. (28.7 x 16.6 cm)
 The Metropolitan Museum of
 Art, New York
 The Elisha Wittelsey Collection,
 The Elisha Wittelsey Fund, 1981

Fig. 67b
 Jacques Bellange
Caspar
 Etching
 1 1/8 x 6 1/2 in. (28.3 x 16.6 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London



Bellange's etching is an unusual depiction of Melchior, one of the three wise men from the East who appeared in Bethlehem after the birth of Jesus, in that he is shown alone. The trio is traditionally shown together in depictions of the Adoration of the Magi. *Melchior* is from a group of three etchings by Bellange of the wise men, the other two identified as Balthasar and Caspar (figs. 67a and 67b). The biblical narrative of the subject does not specify the three men as distinct individuals, but they assumed names and places of origin during the Middle Ages. When Matthaeus Merien copied Bellange's figures about 1615, he provided identifying captions that were challenged by Walch and others on the basis of pairing Bellange's images with the traditional descriptions of Balthasar as the Moorish king, Caspar as the old king, and Melchior as the young king.¹ Apart from this ostensible iconography, Bellange's etchings are in the genre of costume studies of exotic types, such as depictions of Turks and orientals (for example, Christoffel van Sichem 1's *Young Man with a Turban* [cat. no. 148]). This characterization is especially true of *Melchior*, in which the face cannot be seen. The viewer is invited to concentrate instead on the expressive silhouette, the elaborate headwear, the textures of the materials, and the piquant contrast of the figure's voluminous cloak and his tiny feet.

The first state of *Melchior* does not have Le Blond's address as the publisher.

Notes

1. For Merien's copies, where Melchior is called Balthasar, see Reed and Worthen, 59–60, nos. 36–37. The present work, in fact, was not copied by Merien but replaced by another of Bellange's images of a wise man seen from the back, extracted from his large etching *The Adoration of the Magi*.

René Boyvin
Susanna and the Elders

After Luca Penni
 Engraving
 11⁵/₈ x 8¹⁵/₁₆ in. (29.5 x 22.7 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: B

References

Le Blanc, 1:506, no. 2 i/ii;
 Levrion, no. 2 i/ii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 12:223;
 Robert-Dumesnil, 8:19,
 no. 3 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 86, no. 3;
 Heineken, 3:107; Kusenberg,
 169; Linzeler, 166; Mariette,
 5:17-18; Schab, 81, no. 66

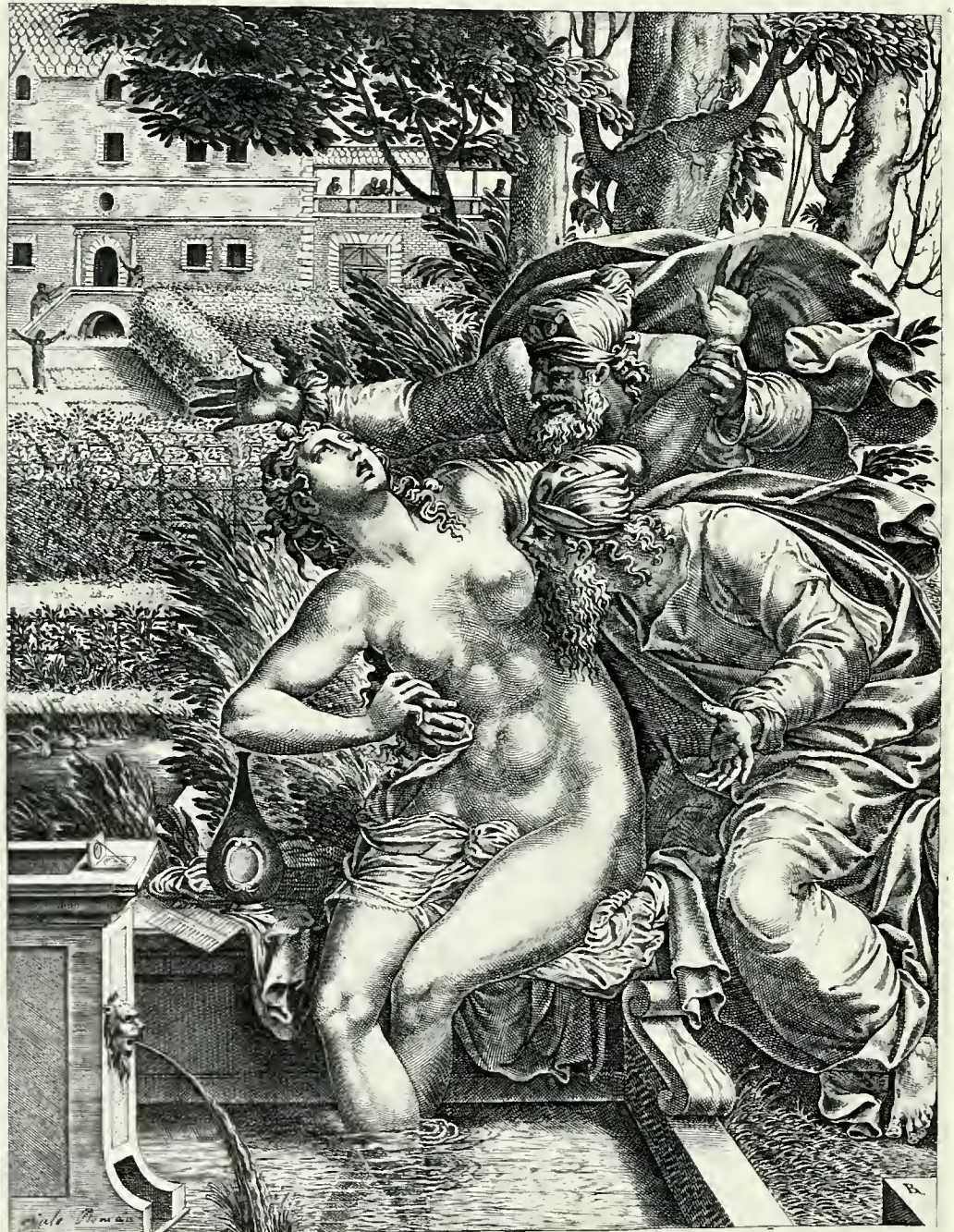




Fig. 68a
Jean Mignon
The Death of Cleopatra
Etching
16³/₄ x 12¹/₁₆ in. (42.5 x 30.6 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Mariette, Le Blanc, and Robert-Dumesnil claimed Rosso Fiorentino as the inventor of *Susanna and the Elders*. Kusenbergl disputed Rosso's authorship and noted the inscription in the second state with Giulio Romano's name as the designer. Most authors have subsequently championed either Rosso or Giulio. An exception was Nagler who suggested Penni as the inventor. His attribution was based on a passage in which Vasari, without naming the printmaker, mentioned that a design by Penni depicting Susanna and the elders was engraved.¹ Boyvin's engraving is the only print fitting Vasari's description. With the exaggerated lustful intensity of the old men's expressions, the traditional attribution to Rosso is understandable. Although Boyvin's engravings were frequently based on Rosso's designs, the somewhat bland countenance of Susanna and the three-dimensional solidity of her figure are typical of Penni. The expression and figural type of Susanna are comparable with Jean Mignon's

etching *The Death of Cleopatra* (fig. 68a), generally considered to be based on Penni's design.²

The composition also appears on a painted enamel plaque of about 1570–80 by Pierre Courteys in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,³ as well as a plate by Pierre Reymond in the Louvre.

The story of Susanna, told in the Apocryphal book of Daniel and Susanna 1.1–23, has been popular with artists since the Renaissance because of the opportunity to depict a voluptuous female nude. Susanna was a Hebrew woman in Babylon. The elders of the Hebrew community met at her husband's house. After one of these meetings, two elders hid in the garden in order to ogle Susanna at her bath. They told her she must submit to them, and if she refused, they would tell others that she had had a clandestine meeting with her lover. Susanna was eventually exonerated and the elders punished.

Notes

1. Vasari, 5:434.
2. Zerner, *School*, no. JM 31.
3. Verdier, 280, no. 153.

After Parmigianino

Engraving

6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.8 x 12.1 cm)**Inscriptions**

Upper left: MR/LD

Lower center: 1540

ReferencesBartsch, 16:328, no. 58; Herbet,
36, no. 87; Le Blanc, 4:30, no. 53;
Zerner, *School*, no. LD 3**Literature**Adhémar, 294; Copertini, 2:60;
Heinecken, 4:536; Massari,
Bonasona, 1:40–41, under no. 13



Fig. 69a
 Giulio Bonasone
*A Seated Woman and
 Two Children*
 Engraving
 5¾ x 4¼ in. (14.6 x 10.8 cm)
 The Trustees of the British
 Museum, London

The inscription on *Young Woman in Antique Dress with Two Children* has led to considerable disagreement over the identity of the design's inventor. The letters have been interpreted as "IVR," "MAR," and "MR." Despite recent suggestions of Giulio Romano as the inventor if the inscription is read as "IVR" (Ivlio, or Giulio, Romano), Heinecken's and Bartsch's attribution of the design to Parmigianino is unquestionably correct. The composition and figural types are so typical of Parmigianino's manner it is difficult to imagine how the attribution was ever questioned. Davent's engraving probably does not derive from Parmigianino's original drawing, known through an old copy in the British Museum,¹ but through the intermediary source of an engraving of the composition (fig. 69a), once considered school of Marcantonio Raimondi and now attributed to Giulio Bonasone.² It is to this engraving that the inscription may refer, rather than to Giulio Romano. It is suggested here that the inscription may be interpreted as signifying Marcantonio Raimondi or Marco da Ravenna

(as Marco Dente was also known) if it is read as "MAR" or "MR."

Popham identified Parmigianino's design as representing the Virgin with the infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist, whereas Bartsch titled both Bonasone's and Davent's engravings more prosaically as a seated young woman with two children. The prints differ from the British Museum drawing, and presumably from Parmigianino's original sketch as well, in several details. In the engravings the woman's arm is outstretched in a pointing gesture rather than resting on a ledge, her drapery covers her head, and her right hand is cupped rather than resting on the seat. In the drawing the two children are more entwined than they are in the prints. Davent's engraving differs in other ways from its models: the composition is extended vertically, the two children are seated on pillows placed on a draped table rather than on a plain ledge, the curtain behind them is more elaborately detailed and knotted, and the rear wall is pierced by a window through which can be seen a distant landscape with pyramids.

Notes

1. Popham, 1:234, no. 3.
2. Catalogued by Bartsch (15:47, no. 3) as school of Marcantonio in the manner of Marco Dente. The attribution to Bonasone is accepted by Pittaluga (177), Oberhuber (*Parmigianino*, 32, no. 66), and Massari.

Léon Davent
The Abduction of Europa

After Francesco Primaticcio
 Etching

9⁵/₁₆ x 8³/₈ in. (23.7 x 21.3 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: Bologna LD

References

Bartsch, 16:317, no. 29; Herbet, 28, no. 18; Le Blanc, 4:29, no. 24; Zerner, *School*, no. LD 43

Literature

Adhémar, 288; Dimier, 489, no. 15; Heineken, 4:533; Mariette, 4:219; Schab, 89, no. 74; Zerner, "Gravures," 301, no. 378



Fig. 70a
Francesco Primaticcio
(Italy, 1504–1570)
The Abduction of Europa
Pen and brown ink,
heightened with white
9¼ x 8¼ in. (23 x 21 cm)
Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris



Primaticcio's now-lost painting *The Abduction of Europa* was not part of the decoration at Fontainebleau but was probably painted there about 1541–44. A study, in reverse, in the Louvre for the attendant at the center is on the same sheet as a drawing for a painting of 1541–44 in the vestibule of the Porte Dorée at Fontainebleau.¹ Primaticcio's study for the whole composition, formerly in Mariette's collection, is also in the Louvre (fig. 70a).²

The composition is rather puzzling. Europa is depicted mounting the bull in the foreground. Behind them are the hind-quarters of another animal. The presence of this second animal is inexplicable, both compositionally and iconographically. Europa was a Phoenician princess who was abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull. She was carried across the ocean to Crete where, impregnated by Zeus, she gave birth to Minos, the legendary king of Crete. At no place in this story, as told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 2.835–77), is there a second animal.

Notes

1. Dimier, 441, no. 100.
2. *Ibid.*, 445, no. 120.

*Camillus Arriving at the Moment the Romans
Atone for Their Pillage*

After Luca Penni

Etching

11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28.3 x 39 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: L.D

References

Bartsch, 16:314, no. 13; Herbet,
30, no. 42; Le Blanc, 4:29, no. 13;
Zerner, *School*, no. LD 75

Literature

Adhémar, 289

Davent's etchings are associated most closely with Francesco Primaticcio. Bartsch, however, attributed the invention of *Camillus Arriving at the Moment the Romans Atoned for Their Pillage* to a follower of Primaticcio, and Dimier did not include it among the prints after Primaticcio's paintings and designs. Zerner suggested Penni as the inventor, an attribution worth serious consideration. The proportions of the figures are unworthy of Primaticcio's customary suavity and grace. Their spindly elongation is especially apparent in the form of the soldier standing at the center holding a sword. The anatomy seems rubbery and boneless, similar to Penni's figures in Jean Mignon's etching *The Judgment of Paris* (cat. no. 92). The prosaic character of the present composition's interpretation of classicism and grace is completely typical of Penni. As a somewhat debased example of High Maniera, Davent's etching also lacks the material opulence of one of the landmarks of High Maniera, the compositionally similar and contemporary fresco *The Victory of Camillus over the Gauls* by Francesco Salviati in the Sala dell'Udienza in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.¹

Marcus Furius Camillus was honored by the Romans with the accolade "the second founder of Rome." He was created dictator, one of five times he held the post, when the city was besieged by the invading Gauls in the early fourth century B.C. He rebuilt the city and defeated many of Rome's Latin neighbors as well as repulsing a second Gallic attack in 367 B.C. Perhaps the most familiar subject from his life involves the schoolchildren of Falereii, the best-known treatment being Nicolas Poussin's painting *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falereii*, 1637, in the Louvre.

Notes

1. Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920), 1:fig. 81.

Léon Davent
Fishing Scene

After Francesco Primaticcio

Etching

11¹/₁₆ x 13⁷/₁₆ in. (29.4 x 34.1 cm), signature and date (1547) trimmed



References

Bartsch, 16:331, no. 65; Herbet,
33, no. 64; Le Blanc, 4:30, no. 60;
Zerner, *School*, no. LD 79

Literature

Davis, 49; Golson, 30;
Heineken, 4:535; Zerner,
"Gravures," 307, no. 388



Fig. 72a
Léon Davent
*Adonis and His Companions
Pursuing the Calydonian Boar*
Etching
12¼ x 15½ in. (31.2 x 39.5 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Fig. 72b
Léon Davent
*Diana and Her Nymphs
Hunting a Stag*
Etching
12⅝ x 15⅝ in. (32 x 39 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Fishing Scene is from a series of three etchings by Davent with similar oval formats, dimensions, and dates. The other two are *Adonis and His Companions Pursuing the Calydonian Boar* and *Diana and Her Nymphs Hunting a Stag* (figs. 72a and 72b).¹ It is reasonable to expect that the present work also has a mythological subject, but it has not been identified.

The attribution of the composition's inventor has vacillated between Primaticcio and Luca Penni. Zerner's and Béguin's arguments in favor of Primaticcio are convincing. They cite the spatial arrangement of the figures and the method of linking them. These characteristics, as well as the physiognomies, are comparable with prints after Primaticcio, such as Domenico del Barbieri's *The Banquet of Alexander the Great* (cat. no. 63), François Gentil's *Wounded Paris Carried off the Field of Battle* (cat. no. 81), and Master I♀V's *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well* (cat. no. 85).

Herbet and Golson attributed this design, as well as that of its two companion etchings, to Penni, strongly influenced by Giulio Romano, particularly Giulio's designs for medallion frescoes in the Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, such as *Asses under Ray from Neptune* and *The Arrow*.² Primaticcio, however, also studied with Giulio, and the arguments favoring the former's invention of the etched compositions are more convincing.

Notes

1. Zerner, *School*, nos. LD 77–78.
2. Hartt, 2:figs. 200 and 203.

After Luca Penni (?)
Series of six etchings

73 *Latona Transforms the Lycians into Frogs*

3¼ x 4¼ in. (8.3 x 10.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: S F; CVM PRI REGIS

Below: LATONAM LYCIVS . . . /

. . . INCOLA POENAS

References

Le Blanc, 2:504, no. 86; Robert-
Dumesnil, 9:47, no. 133 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 107,
no. 37; Linzeler, 242, no. 134

74 *Apollo Slays Python*

3¾ x 4 in. (8.1 x 10.2 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: S. F. CVM PRI REGIS

Below: FATIDICI PYTHON . . . /

. . . APOLLINIS ARCV.

References

Le Blanc, 2:504, no. 87; Robert-
Dumesnil, 9:47, no. 134 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 108,
no. 38; Linzeler, 242, no. 135



75 *Diana Invites Orion to the Hunt*

3⁵/₁₆ x 4¹/₄ in. (8.4 x 10.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: STEPHANVS. F.
CVM PRI REGIS
Below: IN SILVAS COMITEM . . . /
. . . ATTULLIT ILLI.

References

Le Blanc, 2:504, no. 88; Robert-
Dumesnil, 9:48, no. 135 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 109,
no. 39; Linzeler, 242, no. 136



IN SILVAS COMITEM VOCAT ORIONA OIANA,
SED PLACVISSE DEÆ CAUSAM NECIS ATTULLIT ILLI.

76 *The Escape of Britomartis*

3¹/₄ x 4¹/₄ in. (8.3 x 10.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: CVM PR/REGIS/S F
Below: LATONAM TITYVS . . . /
. . . CORDA SAGITTA.

References

Le Blanc, 2:504, no. 89; Robert-
Dumesnil, 9:48, no. 136 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 110,
no. 40; Linzeler, 243, no. 137



LATONAM TITYVS AVSVS TENTARE PVDICAM,
LAT PÆNAS CERTA FINVS PER CORDA SAGITTA.

3¼ x 4⁵/₁₆ in. (8.3 x 11 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower left:* S.F.; CVM PRI REGIS*Below:* IMPROBVS ORION ... /

... ACVMINE TELI.

References

Le Blanc, 2:504, no. 90; Robert-Dumesnil, 9:48, no. 137 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 111, no. 41; Linzeler, 243, no. 138

3¼ x 4⁵/₁₆ in. (8.3 x 11 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower left:* CVM/PRI/REGIS/S.F.*Below:* VENANDI SOCIVM ... /

... LVCTIBVS AVDIT.

References

Le Blanc, 2:504, no. 91; Robert-Dumesnil, 9:48, no. 138 i/ii

Literature

Albricci, "Luca Penni," 112, no. 42; Linzeler, 243, no. 139





Fig. 77a
 Attributed to Luca Penni
 (Italy, 1500/1504–1556)
Apollo Slays Orion
 Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
 heightened with white (oxidized)
 15¾ x 21⅞ in. (40 x 55.5 cm)
 Cabinet des Dessins,
 Musée du Louvre, Paris

Discussion of Delaune's series of etchings is entwined with a related group of tapestries illustrating the history of Diana commissioned about 1549–52 by Henri II to decorate the chateau of his mistress Diane de Poitiers at Anet.¹ The literature for the two sets has advanced on parallel courses, particularly regarding the attribution of their invention. The design of the etchings generally has been given to Penni, whereas different writers have attributed the design for the tapestries to Philibert de l'Orme, Jean Cousin the Elder, or Penni. Further complicating the issue is the presence in different French collections of drawings related to the etchings: in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, for *Diana Invites Orion to the Hunt*,² and in the Louvre for *Apollo Slays Orion* (fig. 77a) and *Diana Mourns the Death of Orion*. Whereas Golson accepted Dimier's earlier attribution to Penni of these studies, it also is possible that the drawings are simply copies of Delaune's prints, especially in light of their correspondence in almost every detail and their similar orientation.³ Goldsmith Phillips's attribution to Cousin for the designs of the Anet tapestries warrants further study for the attribu-

tion of Delaune's prints.⁴ Despite Golson's conviction of Penni's authorship of the compositions, the images seem to argue otherwise because the diminutive stature of the figures in relation to their setting is not typical of Penni's work, although employed frequently by Cousin. Goldsmith Phillips compared these images with the set of tapestries, documented as Cousin's inventions, illustrating the life of Saint Mammés. The comparison is striking because of the similarities in proportions, figural types, and manner of spatial organization.

The history of Diana and Apollo begins with the story of their mother, Latona, who took revenge on the Lycian peasants when they refused to allow her access to water, after her difficult childbirth. In some accounts of the myth of Apollo, Diana, and the giant hunter Orion, Diana was in love with Orion. In others he tried to ravish her, and she killed him. Here Apollo kills Orion for attacking his sister. She mourns his death and pleads with her father, Zeus, to transform him into a constellation; Sirius, the hunter's faithful hound lying dead beside him, became the Dog Star.

Notes

1. For the tapestries, see Jean Coural and Marie-Hélène Babelon in *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), 347–51, nos. 455–61.
2. Golson, 31–32, figs. 9–11. Also at Rennes is a large drawing attributed to Penni, *The Hunt of Diana*, which is not related to Delaune's prints. See François Bergot, *Dessins de la collection du Marquis de Robien conservés au Musée de Rennes* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1972), 28, no. 14, pl. 4.
3. The attribution to Penni is questioned by Edith A. Standen ("The Tapestries of Diane de Poitiers," in *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau* [Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975], 94) and Boorsch (Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 93 n. 3).
4. John Goldsmith Phillips, "Diane de Poitiers and Jean Cousin," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 2 (1943): 112–16.

Antonio Fantuzzi
The Clemency of Scipio

After Giulio Romano

Etching

15½ x 19¾ in. (39.3 x 49.2 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right, on fence: IHS
 [monogram of Master of the
 Name of Jesus]

References

Bartsch, 15:513, no. 3; Herbet,
 81, no. 58 iii/iii; Zava Boccazzi,
 60, no. 1; Zerner, *School*,
 no. AF 1 iii/iii

Literature

Zerner, "Gravures," 261, no. 306

Bartsch attributed *The Clemency of Scipio* to the Master of the Name of Jesus. Herbet corrected this mistake by describing three states of the etching. In the first state the plate is unfinished. The second is completed with the addition of Fantuzzi's initials and the date. The inscription is removed in the third state, replaced by the monogram of the Master of the Name of Jesus; Bartsch apparently knew only an impression of this final state. The date on impressions of the second state has also been variously read. Herbet interpreted it as 1545, Zava Boccazzi as 1543, and Zerner as 1542. Based on Zerner's reconstruction of Fantuzzi's oeuvre, his interpretation of the date is probably correct. No drawing or painting by Giulio for this etching is known, but Zerner suggested it reproduces an abandoned composition from Giulio's series of tapestry designs of about 1532 representing the triumph of Scipio.¹ Although Fantuzzi's etching is considerably larger than Giulio's surviving *modelli* for the tapestries, it shares with the drawings the horizontal format, the scale of the figures in relation to the setting, and the massing of a large number of figures into a tightly compressed group close to the front of the picture plane, in a manner resembling an ancient marble relief.

For the story of the clemency of Scipio, see the engraving of this subject attributed to Nicolas Beatrixet (cat. no. 8).

Notes

1. For Giulio's designs, see Hartt, 1:227–31, 2:figs. 474–83.

Antonio Fantuzzi
The Incineration of a Cadaver

After Rosso Fiorentino

Etching

10¹/₁₆ x 16¹/₄ in. (27.2 x 41.3 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: .AF.

References

Bartsch, 16:348, no. 26; Herbet,
 77, no. 41; Zava Boccazzi, 62,
 no. 20; Zerner, *School*, no. AF 21

Literature

Borea, 261, no. 666; Carroll,
 Rosso, 242, no. 75; Davis, 53;
 Kusenber, 164; Schab, 85, no. 69

According to Herbet, Mariette provided the attribution of Rosso's invention of this mysterious composition. This traditional attribution is more acceptable than Bartsch's suggestion of the school of Primaticcio. Although no comparable subject in drawings or paintings by Rosso is known, there are similarities to Rosso's paintings in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau. The emotional tenor of *The Incineration of a Cadaver*, with its figures gesticulating wildly in their grief and anguish, is comparable with Rosso's painting *The Conquest of Ignorance* (see the engraving by Domenico Zenoni [cat. no. 100]).¹ The corpulent man at the left of the flaming pyre resembles the blindfolded personification of ignorance in Rosso's painted composition, a resemblance that has not served to clarify the subject of Fantuzzi's etching.

Herbet recorded an impression of the print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with the inscription "Sardanapale brûlé dans

son palais." According to Greek legend, Sardanapalus was the last great Assyrian king, sometimes equated with the real seventh-century B.C. Assyrian king Assur-banipal. Frightened during a siege of his capital, Sardanapalus burned himself and his wives in his palace. The legend is best known through Eugène Delacroix's painting *The Death of Sardanapalus* in the Louvre. This narrative does not coincide, however, with Fantuzzi's composition in which only a single figure is consumed by flames. The women are depicted as fervently lamenting this event but do not appear to be in danger of being burned. Carroll has recently suggested the more plausible identification of the subject as a scene from the Trojan War, the funeral of Hector. According to Carroll's interpretation, Fantuzzi's etching illustrates Rosso's initial ideas for one of the paintings in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau. The composition was replaced, however, by *The Death of Adonis*.²

Notes

1. For Rosso's fresco, see Kusenbergl, pl. 46.

2. Carroll, *Rosso*, 242-44, no. 75.

After Francesco Primaticcio

Engraving

10 x 15¹/₁₆ in. (25.4 x 38.2 cm)**Inscriptions**

Lower center: A.FONTA
BLEO.BOL.

Lower right: FGR [monogram of
Gentil]

Literature

Davis, 54; Dimier, 496, no. 70;
Mariette, 4:210–11, 5:146;
Passavant, 4:108; Rotili, 90, no.
94; Schab, 97, no. 82

References

Bartsch, 15:415, no. 1;
Herbet, 116, no. 1; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 15:422,
no. 9

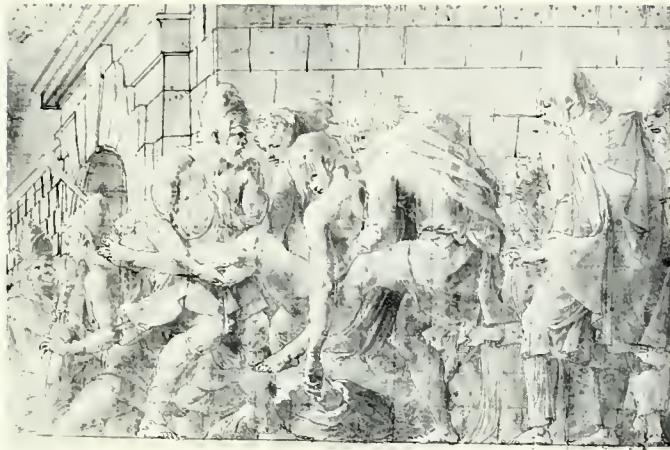


Fig. 81a
 Francesco Primaticcio
 (Italy, 1504–1570)
*Wounded Paris Carried off
 the Field of Battle*
 Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
 heightened with white, traces of
 black chalk
 9⁵/₈ x 14³/₄ in. (24.4 x 37.5 cm)
 Cabinet des Dessins,
 Musée du Louvre, Paris

The engraver of *Wounded Paris Carried off the Field of Battle* has been identified by a variety of names: Master FG or Master GR (depending on the reading of the signature), Guido Ruggieri, Rugiero Rugieri, François Gentil, and Giorgio Reverdino.¹ Herbert provided the most thorough discussion of questions about the engraver's identity, beginning with a convincing refutation of Mariette's attribution to Guido Ruggieri. Bartsch accepted Mariette's attribution while also noting that the artist Ruggieri was listed by Vasari only as a painter. The same circumstance is true for Rugiero Rugieri, recorded at Fontainebleau in numerous documents from 1557 onward as an assistant of Primaticcio. Herbert showed that, although an artist named Ruggieri was mentioned by Vasari as one of Primaticcio's assistants, the name Guido was Mariette's own fabrication. Herbert concluded his discussion by suggesting the name of François Gentil as the engraver.

Unlike the other attributions, Gentil is recorded as a printmaker and was closely associated with the engraver Domenico del Barbieri. The phrase inscribed on several engravings attributed to Gentil, "A Fontana Bleo Bol," indicating Primaticcio's invention of the composition at Fontainebleau, is also found on Barbieri's engraving *The Banquet of Alexander the Great* after Primaticcio (cat.

no. 63). The style of engraving in the present work, as well as in others attributed to Gentil,² supports Herbert's hypothesis of an artist associated with Barbieri. Herbert read the inscription as "GIRE," suggesting this as a reference to a publisher, meaning "Giovanni Iacomo Rossi Formis." Rossi was a member of a family of Roman print publishers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Rossi inventory of engraved plates became the nucleus of the *Calcografia Nazionale*, Rome, but plates attributed to Gentil are not found there.³ If the inscription is read as "FGR," the "R" may refer to the city of Riceys, Gentil's birthplace. Although there are no prints signed with Gentil's full name, Herbert's attribution to him of engravings signed in this manner is the most plausible one.

This engraving reproduces a now-lost painting of 1541–45 by Primaticcio in the vestibule of the *Porte Dorée* at Fontainebleau. Primaticcio's drawing for the composition is in the Louvre (fig. 81a).⁴ It is squared for transfer and nearly identical to the engraving in details and size. The subject is usually interpreted as the wounded Trojan prince Paris carried before the walls of Troy. As noted by Dimier,⁵ this subject complements others in this room representing martial themes, such as *Hercules Fighting the Argonauts*⁶ and *Zeus Destroying the Titans*.

Notes

1. The name of Reverdino was suggested by Schab but seems untenable in comparison with prints accepted as Reverdino's.
2. To be added to Herbert's list is the engraving *Romulus and Remus Building the Walls of Rome*, catalogued by Bartsch (16:392, no. 40) as anonymous school of Fontainebleau but seemingly by the same hand as the engraving here. Herbert mentioned the print (p. 112) in disproving the authorship of Rugiero Rugieri but did not include it in his catalogue of Gentil's prints.
3. Carlo Alberto Petrucci, *Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla Calcografia Nazionale* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1953).
4. Dimier, 433, no. 55.
5. *Ibid.*, 77.
6. Etched by Léon Davent. See Zerner, *School*, no. LD 46.

Three etchings

82 *Pyramid of Six Men*10 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 8 in. (25.5 x 20.3 cm)**Inscriptions**

Lower right: IVSTE [signature of
Juste (V and S indistinct)]

References

Herbet, 172, no. 2; Zerner,
School, no. J 2

Literature

Adhémar, 155, no. 5



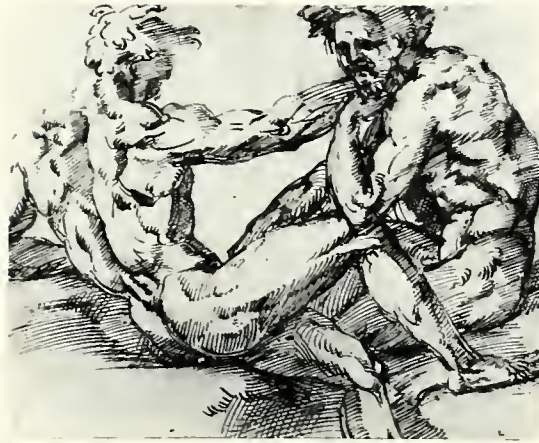


Fig. 82–84a
Antonio Fantuzzi
Hercules and Cacus
Etching
10⁵/₈ x 5 in. (27 x 12.8 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Fig. 82–84b
Baccio Bandinelli
(Italy, 1493–1560)
Two Seated Male Nudes
Pen and brown ink
10⁷/₁₆ x 13¹/₁₆ in. (26.5 x 33.2 cm)
Windsor Castle, Royal Library
©Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth
II, 1987

The sculptor known as Juste de Juste, who came from a family of Florentine sculptors and served as Rosso's assistant at Fontainebleau, left a small but highly distinctive, even eccentric, corpus of etchings. *Pyramid of Six Men* is one of a group of five works featuring human pyramids composed of acrobatic male nudes. The remainder of his oeuvre, including *Front of Figure* and *Back of Figure*, *Leaning Toward Right on a Large Stick*, consists of twelve etchings of single male nudes displayed in a variety of poses like models in an atelier. The five multifigured compositions are signed. The twelve single prints are unsigned but unquestionably are products of the same artistic conception and hand.

Deciphering the signature on *Pyramid of Six Men* is difficult. The letters have been unscrambled to read either "IVSTE" or "VISET." Jean Viset is documented as a professional printmaker in 1536, and the identification of the present etchings with Viset is accepted by Herbet, Adhémar, and Oberhuber.¹ Zerner, who interprets the signature as Juste's, convincingly argues that the highly personal and eccentric imagery of these etchings suggests the hand of a sculptor experimenting with the medium of etching.²

The purpose of Juste's curious but consistent body of works is unknown. Their rarity suggests they were intended as private studio exercises of the artist's skill in rendering the human figure in action, much like an academy (a drawn study of a nude male model). Juste's extraordinarily free and casual manner of etching is remarkable even for the school of Fontainebleau with its exponents of an open style of modeling like Antonio Fantuzzi and Jean Mignon. Perhaps the closest parallel for Juste's handling of the human figure is the monster in Fantuzzi's etching *Hercules and Cacus* after Rosso Fiorentino (fig. 82–84a).³ Juste's particular interest in the nude might have been influenced by Rosso's anatomical studies, as seen in Marco Dente's engraving *The Skeletons* (cat. no. 22), Gian Giacomo Caraglio's *Frenzy* (cat. no. 17), and Domenico del Barbieri's *Écorchés and Skeletons* (cat. no. 64). The draftsmanship of Juste's etchings, however, is closer to that of Baccio Bandinelli, who also was greatly interested in anatomy, such as in his sketch *Two Seated Male Nudes* at Windsor Castle (fig. 82–84b).⁴

Notes

1. Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 184.
2. Zerner, *School*, 33–34.
3. *Ibid.*, no. AF 67.
4. Popham and Wilde, 188, no. 73, pl. 39.

83 *Front of Figure*

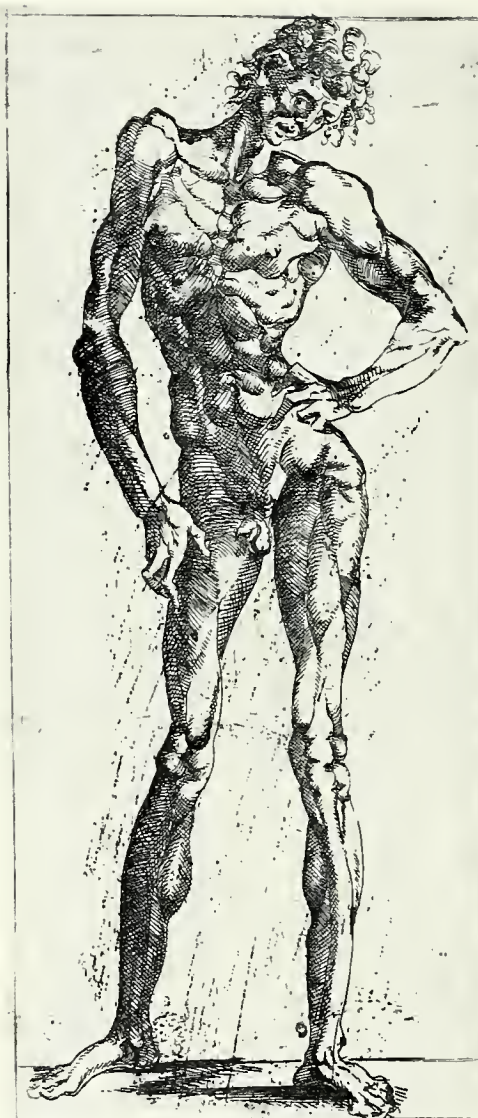
7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (20 x 8.7 cm)

References

Zerner, *School*, no. 16

Literature

Adhémar, 156, no. 13



84 *Back of Figure, Leaning Toward Right on a Large Stick*

6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (17.5 x 8.9 cm)

References

Zerner, *School*, no. J 15

Literature

Adhémar, 156, no. 8; Schab, 89,
no. 73



After Francesco Primaticcio

Etching

13⁷/₁₆ x 12⁵/₈ in. (34.5 x 32.1 cm), upper margin trimmed**References**Bartsch, 16:407, no. 81; Herbet,
79, no. 49**Literature**Davis, 53; Schab, 91, no. 76;
Zerner, "Gravures," 294, no. 361

Fig. 85a
Léon Davent
Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well
Etching
11³/₈ x 10⁵/₈ in. (29.5 x 27 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London



This composition by Primaticcio was etched by both Master I ♀ V and Léon Davent (fig. 85a).¹ Catalogued by Bartsch as anonymous and by Herbet as by Antonio Fantuzzi, the present work was given its current attribution by Zerner. The inscription on Davent's etching indicates that the design was executed at Fontainebleau, but that work is now lost. As noted by Zerner, a drawing by Primaticcio in the Louvre is related in subject but not in composition.²

Comparison of Master I ♀ V's and Davent's versions is instructive for the differences in approach by the two etchers. The figures are virtually identical, with the exception of the child at the lower right; in Davent's print the figure is a young woman in profile. The principal difference is the relationship of the figures to the setting. Davent focused on the figures, set against a plain striated background with a ruined arbor. Master I ♀ V expanded the composition on all sides, with the resulting diminution in scale of the figures, and added vegetation and a stream in the foreground and a garden with trees and mountains in the background. His manner of etching is also more minutely detailed than Davent's. As described by Zerner, the technique recalls Jean Duvet's.

The narrative is told in Genesis 24.1–20. Abraham sent his servant Eliezer to find a wife for his son Isaac. Eliezer arrived in a town in Mesopotamia and decided the first woman to offer water for him and his camels would be the chosen one. Rebecca did and became Isaac's wife.

Notes

1. Zerner, *School*, no. LD 23.

2. For the drawing, see Dimier, 424, no. 3.

Master I ♀ V
The Holy Family

After Antonio Fantuzzi and Rosso Fiorentino
Etching
12⁹/₁₆ x 10⁷/₈ in. (31.9 x 27.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: IVR

References

Bartsch, 16:388, no. 32; Herbet,
203, no. 18

Literature

Borea, 262, no. 671; Carroll,
Rosso, 310, no. 100; Kusenberg,
164, 166, 168; Zerner,
"Gravures," 273, under no. 325;
Zerner, *School*, under no. AF 74





Fig. 86a
Rosso Fiorentino (Italy,
1494–1540)
*Allegory of Salvation with the
Virgin, the Christ Child, Saint
Elizabeth, the Young Saint John,
and Two Angels*
Oil on panel
63½ x 47 in. (161.3 x 119.4 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Herbert T.
Kalmus

The Holy Family is a copy, in reverse, of an etching by Antonio Fantuzzi of 1544–45;¹ a third version by an anonymous artist is a reduced copy, in reverse, of Master I♀V's etching.² In his version Master I♀V added drapery to the midsection of the angel carrying a vase and placed a vase at the lower left. Bartsch noted that the inscription "IVR" (interpreted as Ivlio, or Giulio, Romano) led some to attribute the design to Giulio Romano. The invention, however, is generally given to Rosso. The etching has been compared with Rosso's painting *Allegory of Salvation with the Virgin, the Christ Child, Saint Elizabeth, the Young Saint John, and Two Angels*, circa 1521, in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 86a),³ because of similarities in subject and the figural type of the emaciated crone seen at the right in the etching. These similarities led some writers, notably Béguin, Carroll, and Freedberg, to consider the Los Angeles painting a work from late in Rosso's French period.⁴ Most writers dated the panel to Rosso's early Florentine career, about 1518–21, because its highly personal and eccentric depiction of the subject recalls his *Madonna and Child with Four Saints*, 1518, in the Uffizi and *The Deposition*, 1521, in the Pinacoteca, Volterra.

If the Los Angeles painting is not as late as some have suggested, the same may be true for Rosso's design for Master I♀V's etching. Although Fantuzzi's and Master I♀V's etchings were executed at Fontainebleau,

they do not necessarily reproduce a design from Rosso's tenure at the royal palace. Some elements of the composition suggest an origin from Rosso's later Italian career of 1525–30. The figure of the angel carrying a vase has been compared frequently with a similar type in Parmigianino's *Madonna dal Collo Lungo*, circa 1535. But such an elegantly proportioned and twisting nude male figure can be seen earlier in Rosso's *Bacchus*, 1526, engraved by Gian Giacomo Caraglio in his series *Gods in Niches*.⁵ Rosso's *Jupiter* from the same series is similar in its physiognomy and dynamic movement to the bearded male figure at the center of Master I♀V's etching.⁶ Finally, the woman seated in the left foreground of the print could be the sister of the woman standing at the left of Rosso's painting *The Resurrection*, 1528–30, in the Duomo, Città di Castello,⁷ so similar are they in type and expression.

Panofsky discussed in detail the subject of this print. Rather than representing simply a scene from the infancy of Christ, according to Panofsky, Rosso reinterpreted the characters "to express Christianity's eternal hope for the ultimate conversion of all mankind." Consequently, in his view, the woman seated at the left is not the Virgin Mary but representative of Judaism, the young woman kneeling at the right is not Saint Catherine but a symbol of the gentiles, the bearded man is not Saint Joseph but a prophet foreseeing the Passion of Christ, and the old woman is not Saint Anne but a sibyl.⁸

Notes

1. Bartsch, 16:336, no. 1; Zerner, *School*, no. AF 74.
2. Herbet, 215, no. 22.
3. Scott Schaefer, Peter Fusco, and Paula-Teresa Wiens, *European Painting and Sculpture in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987), 87.
4. Sylvie Béguin in *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), 178, no. 201; Eugene A. Carroll, "A Drawing by Rosso Fiorentino of Judith and Holofernes," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1978): 46 n. 2; Sydney J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500–1600* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), 485 n. 37.
5. Bartsch, 15:79, no. 40.
6. *Ibid.*, 78, no. 26.
7. Kusenberg, pl. 27.
8. Panofsky, 167–68 n. 28.

After Giulio Romano

Etching

14 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35.9 x 32.7 cm)**References**Bartsch, 16:390, no. 34; Herbet,
216, no. 32

When *Landscape with Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Anthony the Hermit* appeared recently in the famous Chatsworth sale, it was listed simply as an engraving from the school of Fontainebleau.¹ The catalogue failed to recognize its inclusion by Herbet in his list of etchings by Master I♀V. On the basis of style Herbet's attribution is convincing. The handling of the landscape, particularly the distinctive appearance of the clouds, the dotted manner of the shading, and the compulsively detailed composition, are all characteristics found in the other works by Master I♀V catalogued here (cat. nos. 85–86 and 88–89).

Bartsch and Herbet considered this etching as having been based on a design by Giulio Romano. Although Giulio's original composition is lost,² his authorship is undeniable, probably dating from the 1530s. The bearded and patriarchal figure of Saint Anthony the Hermit is comparable with the figure of Chronos in Giulio's study, formerly

in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar, for a section of the fresco *Olympus*, 1531–32, in the Sala dei Giganti in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua.³ Giulio's compositions are usually dominated by the figures, with little interest in the landscape. There are, however, examples in which Giulio placed his protagonists before a panoramic vista, such as a drawing of the early 1540s, *A Symbolic Representation of the Arms of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga*, formerly at Chatsworth.⁴ In light of the similar types of landscapes painted in France by Nicolò dell'Abate, the taste in France for an image such as Master I♀V's is understandable.

Saint John the Evangelist was the most beloved of Christ's disciples and the author of several books of the New Testament. Saint Anthony the Hermit, a hermetic figure in Egypt during the third and fourth centuries, is considered the father of Christian monasticism. His attributes are a bell and a pig. He is frequently depicted tempted by devils in the wilderness.

Notes

1. *Old Master Prints from Chatsworth* (London: Christie's, 5 December 1985), lot 105.
2. This design is not listed by Hartt among Giulio's lost works.
3. Hartt, 1:299, no. 210, 2:fig. 349.
4. *Ibid.*, 1:251, no. 362, 2:fig. 518.

Master I ♀ V
The Destruction of Catania

After Rosso Fiorentino
Etching and engraving
12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (32.1 x 43.8 cm)



References

Bartsch, 16:413, no. 93; Herbet,
75, no. 33; Zava Boccazzi, 69,
no. 13

Literature

Borea, 261, no. 662; Carroll,
Rosso, 259 n. 1; Kusenberg, 165;
Mariette, 5:22; Zerner, *School*,
Fantuzzi intro.



Fig. 88a
Master I♀V
The Death of Adonis
Etching
14⁵/₁₆ x 21¹⁵/₁₆ in. (36.4 x 55.7 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Fig. 88b
René Boyvin
The Destruction of Catania
Engraving
11³/₄ x 17 in. (28.9 x 43.2 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

The identities of this print's subject and engraver remain unresolved. It reproduces, in reverse, a painting by Rosso in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau.¹ The subject has been titled traditionally *The Destruction of Catania*, representing the story of the twins Amphinomus and Aenapias, exemplars of the virtue of filial piety, who rescued their parents when the Sicilian town of Catania was destroyed during the eruption of Mount Etna. If, as Panofsky observed,² filial piety were the general theme to be illustrated, the subject probably would have been Aeneas and Anchises, the best-known example of the subject. Panofsky, however, viewed the narrative as a reference to Francis I's gratitude to two of his sons, who were held hostage for three years in Spain as ransom for the release of the king, captured during the Battle of Pavia in 1525. The resemblance of *The Destruction of Catania* to the story of Aeneas saving his father Anchises from the ruins of Troy is exemplified by the adaptation of Rosso's composition for Pierre Courteys's *The Escape of Aeneas and Anchises*, one of a set of seven enameled plaques by Courteys of scenes from the Trojan War.³

The Destruction of Catania was catalogued by Bartsch among the anonymous prints of the school of Fontainebleau. Herbet and Kusenberg attributed it to Antonio Fantuzzi, a suggestion found unconvincing by Zerner. Mariette believed the artist was the same as the one responsible for an etching *The Death of Adonis*. He might have meant Fantuzzi's etching after Rosso's painting of

that subject in the Galerie François I,⁴ although the two prints are clearly not by the same hand. Instead, Mariette probably intended to compare *The Destruction of Catania* with another print of the death of Adonis (fig. 88a), catalogued by Bartsch as an anonymous etching after Giulio Romano.⁵ More recently Boorsch grouped that *Death of Adonis* with three other etchings after Giulio, including *The Death of Procris* (cat. no. 89), and attributed them to Master I♀V.⁶ Mariette was astute in relating the style of *The Destruction of Catania* to a print now associated with Master I♀V. Its soft and atmospheric chiaroscuro, achieved by means of closely spaced hatching and stippling, is consistent with the manner of modeling forms seen in other prints by Master I♀V, such as *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well* (cat. no. 85), once attributed to Fantuzzi, and *The Holy Family* (cat. no. 86), a copy after an etching by Fantuzzi.

The composition was also engraved by René Boyvin (fig. 88b).⁷ Master I♀V's etching differs from Rosso's painting and Boyvin's engraving in its vertical extension, with a resulting increase in prominence given to the landscape. This alteration in the relationship between figures and setting is also seen in Master I♀V's *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well*. In other respects, noted recently by Carroll, Master I♀V's print is more faithful than Boyvin's to the original painting.⁸ In Boyvin's version the woman rushing in at the right is partly nude, the appearance of the baggage at the center has changed, and the important element of fire destroying the city is missing.

Notes

1. Kusenberg, pl. 36.
2. Panofsky, 136–37.
3. Clare Vincent in *Liechtenstein*, 220, no. 141. The other six plaques were based on Jean Mignon's series of etchings *Scenes from the Trojan War* (for four of these compositions, see cat. nos. 92–95).
4. Zerner, *School*, no. AF 27.
5. Bartsch, 16:506, no. 77.
6. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 46.
7. Robert-Dumesnil, 8:25, no. 17.
8. Carroll, Rosso, 256–59, no. 80.

Master I ♀ V
The Death of Procris

After Giorgio Ghisi and Giulio Romano
Etching
14 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (35.9 x 56.2 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:406, no. 78; Herbet,
220, no. 55

Literature

Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 46,
fig. 27





Fig. 89a
Master I♀V
The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar
Etching
13⁵/₁₆ x 22¹/₄ in. (33.9 x 56.5 cm)
Graphische Sammlung
Albertina, Vienna



Bartsch and Herbet accurately described *The Death of Procris* as being based, in reverse, on a design by Giulio Romano, and noted another version of the composition of about 1540 by Ghisi (cat. no. 26); Giulio's finished drawing is in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut (fig. 26a).¹ Those authors, however, could not identify the etcher. Boorsch was the first to connect the present print with three other etchings, *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar* (fig. 89a), *Hylas and the Nymphs*, and *The Death of Adonis* (fig. 88a),² and to attribute the group to Master I♀V. *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar* is signed by Master I♀V and dated 1543, and Boorsch is convincing in suggesting that the four prints, similar in style and size, were issued as a set. Master I♀V's and Ghisi's prints are nearly identical to Giulio's *modello* in the placement of the figures but differ in the handling of the landscape. As is usual for Master I♀V, this version is more intricately detailed than Ghisi's, with an increased sense of overall patterning on the surface. It is consequently less sculptural and more decorative than Ghisi's engraving.

For the story of Cephalus and Procris, see Giorgio Ghisi's *The Death of Procris* (cat. no. 26).

Notes

1. Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 45.
2. Bartsch, 16:372, no. 4; *ibid.*, 405, no. 76; and *ibid.*, 406, no. 77.

After Luca Penni

Etching and engraving

12¹³/₁₆ x 11⁹/₁₆ in. (32.6 x 28.7 cm)**References**

Bartsch, 16:387, no. 29; Herbet,
184, no. 8; Zerner, *School*,
no. JM-30

Literature

Adhémar, 15, no. 8; Albricci,
"Luca Penni," 138, no. 60



Fig. 90a
Workshop of Jean Mignon
The Entombment
Etching
12¹³/₁₆ x 11¹/₈ in. (32.6 x 28.2 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London



Bartsch listed *Pietà* among the anonymous prints of the school of Fontainebleau, while remarking on its stylistic similarity to Mignon's works. Herbert and Zerner considered an attribution to Mignon persuasive. The print's ornamental frame, with its combination of strapwork, fruits, and vegetables, is a type characteristic of the school of Fontainebleau and is found on other prints by or attributed to Mignon after Penni, including, among the religious compositions, *The Deposition* (cat. no. 97) and *The Entombment* (fig. 90a),¹ and among the profane subjects, *The Death of Adonis* (cat. no. 96) and *The Death of Cleopatra* (fig. 68a). *Pietà* might have been executed as a pendant to *The Deposition* and *The Entombment*. The formats of the three prints are similar, the subjects are related, and the dimensions are comparable, differing by at most four millimeters. The question remains whether Mignon was the etcher of each composition. Bartsch mentioned Mignon's name only in connection with *Pietà*. Herbert attributed it and *The Deposition* to Mignon but placed *The Entombment* among the anonymous etchings.² Zerner accepted *Pietà* but claimed *The Deposition* was too crude for Mignon; he did not discuss *The Entombment*. It seems plausible, however, that *The Deposition* and *The Entombment* are by the same artist. Because of the similarities to Mignon's *Pietà*, it is very likely they were produced in Mignon's workshop and under his supervision as companions to his own etching.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 16:385, no. 24.
2. Herbert, 215, no. 27.

Jean Mignon
Mars, Venus, and Cupid

After Luca Penni
Etching
11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.9 x 29.2 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:396, no. 52; Herbet,
185, no. 17 ii/ii; Zerner, *School*,
no. JM 38 ii/ii

Literature

Adhémar, 16, no. 17; Albricci,
"Luca Penni," 152, no. 75



Herbet correctly dismissed Bartsch's attribution of *Mars, Venus, and Cupid*, as well as several other prints after Penni, to Florent Despeches, and gave them instead to Mignon.¹ Herbert's attributions are now generally accepted. Most authors have also accepted Penni's invention of this design, although Bartsch and Zerner were somewhat equivocal in their opinions.² As noted by Zerner, however, Mignon was "above all, the etcher of Penni,"³ and because that is an apt characterization, this composition is acceptable as Penni's. Its rather frigid nobility is typical of Penni. Of all the school of Fontainebleau he was closest to the Central Italian tradition of mannerist classicism, particularly well represented by his brother-in-law Perino del Vaga. The cold eroticism of *Mars, Venus, and Cupid* is especially comparable with Giorgio Ghisi's engraving *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed* (fig. 60b), whose design is close to both Penni and Perino.⁴

According to Zerner, Mignon's etching career was rather short, lasting only from 1543 to about 1547.⁵ *Mars, Venus, and Cupid* falls about midway in his oeuvre, executed about 1545. The plate was trimmed slightly in the second state.

As described by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 4.171–89), Mars, the Roman god of war, had an illicit love affair with Venus, the goddess of love, while she was married to Vulcan, the god of fire; Cupid is her son by Mars.

Notes

1. Herbert, 181–83.
2. Suzanne Boorsch (letter to the author, 2 February 1987) also has doubts about the attribution to Penni.
3. Zerner, *School*, 29.
4. For a discussion of this design, see Boorsch, Lewis, and Lewis, 85, no. 18.
5. Zerner, *School*, 26–29.

After Luca Penni
Four from a series of six etchings

92 *The Judgment of Paris*

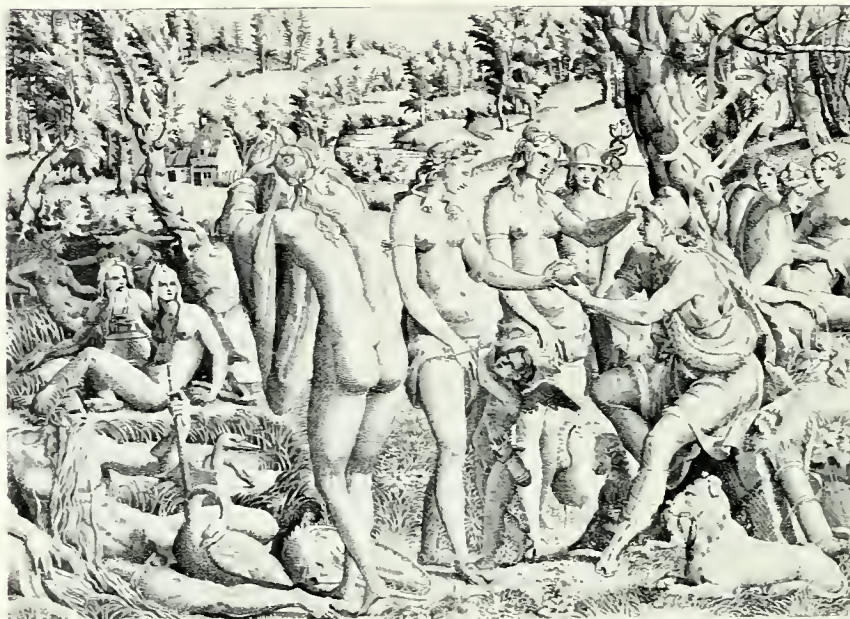
12³/₁₆ x 17 in. (31 x 43.2 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:404, no. 72; Herbet,
186, no. 21; Zerner, *School*,
no. JM 40

Literature

Adhémar, 16, no. 21; Albricci,
"Luca Penni," 140, no. 65;
Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 182, no.
266; Schab, 95, no. 80; Zerner,
"Gravures," 319, no. 413



93 *The Abduction of Helen*

12⁵/₈ x 16¹³/₁₆ in. (32.1 x 42.7 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:393, no. 42; Herbet,
185, no. 12; Zerner, *School*,
no. JM 41

Literature

Adhémar, 15, no. 12; Albricci,
"Luca Penni," 142, no. 66; Schab,
92, no. 77



94 *The Trojans Pull the Wooden Horse into the City*

12³/₄ x 17¹/₈ in. (32.4 x 43.5 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:394, no. 45; Herbet, 185, no. 14; Zerner, *School*, no. JM 44

Literature

Adhémar, 16, no. 14; Albricci, "Luca Penni," 146, no. 69; Davis, 56; Zerner, "Gravures," 320, no. 414



95 *The Sack of Troy*

12⁹/₁₆ x 17¹/₈ in. (31.9 x 43.5 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:393, no. 44; Herbet, 185, no. 13; Zerner, *School*, no. JM 45

Literature

Adhémar, 15, no. 13; Albricci, "Luca Penni," 148, no. 70; Davis, 54





Fig. 92a
Luca Penni
(Italy, 1500/1504–1556)
The Judgment of Paris
Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white
Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 94a
Luca Penni
(Italy, 1500/1504–1556)
*The Trojans Pull the Wooden
Horse into the City*
Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white
Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris

The other two prints from Mignon's series of about 1545 on the Trojan War are *Battle before Troy* and *Treacherous Sinon Brought into the Trojan Camp*.¹ All the etchings are based on designs by Penni. The six etchings also served as the visual sources for a series of enameled plaques by Pierre Courteys in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein.² Herbet noted that Mignon's etchings were also used by Pierre Reymond for an enameled casket formerly in the collection of Charles Mannheim, Paris.

Bartsch noted two etchings of Penni's composition *The Judgment of Paris*. He considered the present work an anonymous copy of a smaller version, in reverse, by Mignon.³ Bartsch was followed in this error by Adhémar. Herbet corrected Bartsch by transposing these attributions, but mistakenly recorded for this etching the dimensions of the smaller print. Zerner finally correctly catalogued Mignon's print. Penni's design for the etching is in the Louvre (fig. 92a).⁴ The composition was also used for a *tazza* by Courteys in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, in addition to the enamels by Courteys and Reymond.⁵ Vincent compared the composition *The Abduction of Helen*, for which Penni's original drawing is lost, with Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of the subject,⁶ catalogued by Bartsch as Raphael's design but more accurately attributable to Giulio Romano.⁷ Vincent also noted that Courteys used the composition for a circular

plaque in the Louvre. Penni's drawing for the etching *The Trojans Pull the Wooden Horse into the City* is in the Louvre (fig. 94a).⁸ Herbet claimed that Penni's drawing for the etching *The Sack of Troy* was in the Louvre, and this statement was repeated by Adhémar and Davis. Zerner, Albricci, and Vincent, however, do not mention the sketch, so Herbet was apparently mistaken.

The story of the ten-year war between the Greeks and the Trojans is recounted in Homer's *The Iliad*, although the tale was embellished and expanded over the centuries. It begins with the wedding feast of the parents of Achilles, Peleus and Thetis, during which the goddess of discord, Eris—who was not invited to the banquet—cast among the guests an apple inscribed "for the most beautiful." Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite each claimed the apple, and the Trojan prince Paris was asked to adjudicate the dispute. Aphrodite successfully bribed Paris by promising him the beautiful Spartan princess Helen as his wife. Paris seduced and abducted Helen, and her husband Menelaus and brother-in-law Agamemnon led the Greek army against the Trojans. The war was a stalemate for ten years until the Greeks tricked the Trojans into believing they were giving up and departing. An enormous wooden horse was left at the gate of Troy as a parting gift to the Trojans. Part of the Greek army was hidden inside the horse, and when night fell, the soldiers escaped, opened the gates to the rest of the waiting Greek army, and sacked the city.

Notes

1. Zerner, *School*, nos. JM 42–43.
2. Clare Vincent in *Liechtenstein*, 213–20, nos. 135–41. The seventh plaque was based on Master I & V's *The Destruction of Catania* after Rosso Fiorentino (cat. no. 88).
3. Bartsch, 16:400, no. 64.
4. Albricci, "Luca Penni," fig. 31.
5. Verdier, 267, no. 148.
6. Vincent in *Liechtenstein*, 215, no. 136.
7. Bartsch, 14:170, no. 209.
8. Albricci, "Luca Penni," fig. 36.

Jean Mignon
The Death of Adonis

After Luca Penni
 Etching
 11¹/₁₆ x 9⁷/₁₆ in. (28.1 x 24 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:398, no. 58; Herbet, 185, no. 19; Zerner, *School*, no. JM 53 i/ii

Literature

Adhémar, 16, no. 19; Albricci, "Luca Penni," 152, no. 77; Davis, 56; Schab, 94, no. 79; Zerner, "Gravures," 320, no. 416



Fig. 96a

Luca Penni

(Italy, 1500/1504–1556)

The Death of Adonis

Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white, traces of
black chalk, incised for transfer

10³/₄ x 9 in. (27.3 x 22.9 cm)

Teylers Museum, Haarlem



As noted by Zerner, Penni's preparatory drawing in the Teylers Museum (fig. 96a) provided Mignon with the model for the figures and the decorative frame but not for the landscape. The landscape was the etcher's own invention, as printmakers were often wont to do (for example, Master 19V's *The Death of Procris* [cat. no. 89]). The type of ornament used for the frame is also found in Mignon's *Pietà* (cat. no. 90) and *The Deposition* (cat. no. 97), supporting the attribution to Penni of the design of all three etchings. The same subject was etched by Léon Davent.¹ Because of similarities in the pose of the dead Adonis in Davent's and Mignon's prints, the traditional attribution to Penni of the design for Davent's etching is probably correct.

The story of Venus and Adonis comes from Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 10.708–28). Venus was in love with the handsome Greek youth and warned him of the dangers of hunting. Ignoring this advice, Adonis stalked a wild boar, and when his arrow only wounded it, the enraged animal killed him. Venus is shown mourning her dead lover.

Notes

1. Zerner, *School*, no. LD 70.

School of Jean Mignon
The Deposition

After Luca Penni

Etching

13⁵/₁₆ x 11³/₈ in. (33.8 x 28.9 cm)

References

Bartsch, 16:386, no. 25; Herbet,
184, no. 7

Literature

Adhémar, 14, no. 7; Albricci,
"Luca Penni," 138, no. 61; Davis,
54; Schab, 92, no. 78; Zerner,
School, Mignon intro.



For the attributions of the design and execution of *The Deposition*, see discussion of Mignon's *Pietà* after Penni (cat. no. 90).

The story of the removal of Christ's body from the cross is told in John 19.38–40. As a narrative involving some action, the Deposition contrasts with the similar imagery of the *Pietà*, which involves only Mary's lamentation over the body of her dead son, as in Mignon's etching of the subject (cat. no. 90). The design of the present work is traditionally and reasonably attributed to Penni. The physiognomies and costumes are like those found in other compositions by Penni, such as Mignon's *Pietà*, and the presentation of the body of Christ, parallel to the picture plane and with arms askew, recalls Mignon's *The Death of Adonis* after Penni (cat. no. 96). The pure frontality of the figure in *The Deposition* is also similar to Francesco Salviati's design *The Death of Meleager* (fig. 6b).

Two other versions of this composition are recorded by Bartsch: a roundel of about the same dimensions with an ornamental frame and a copy, in reverse, without the frame but with an extensive and detailed landscape.¹ The latter is the most accomplished of the three prints.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 16:386, nos. 26–27; Herbet, 215, nos. 25–26.

After Rosso Fiorentino
Engraving
11 1/8 x 15 3/4 in. (28.3 x 40 cm)



Inscriptions

Below: Cum privilegio
Regis.; Quercum erisichthonian
dryades cinxere choreis;
Rous.Floren.Inven.

References

Le Blanc, 1:507, no. 39 i/ii;
Robert-Dumesnil, 8:47, no. 74
i/ii; Zerner, *School*, no. PM 1

Literature

Borea, 258, no. 653; Carroll,
Rosso, 282, no. 89; Davis, 56;
Kusenber, 161; Levron, 54;
Linzeler, 178; Metman, 206;
Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 178,
no. 299; Zerner, "Gravures,"
323, no. 419



Fig. 98a
 After Pierre Milan
Dance of the Dryads
 Engraving
 10¹⁵/₁₆ x 1 5¹/₂ in. (27.8 x 39.4 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

Dance of the Dryads reproduces, in reverse, the figures in Rosso's painting in the cartouche below his fresco *The Sacrifice* in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau.¹ Whereas the painting resembles an antique cameo in the placement of the figures in a barely indicated setting, the engraving includes a more detailed landscape, particularly the addition of the tree at the center.

Borea recorded two other versions of the composition, one published by Hendrik Hondius (considered erroneously by Robert-Dumesnil to be the second state of Milan's print), and an anonymous print published in 1606 in The Hague. New York print dealer Alan Stone noted the appearance on the market of a very deceptive copy of Milan's engraving (fig. 98a).² The two prints are nearly identical in size and agree in almost every detail. The principal differences appear in the slightly different lettering in the legend and in the delineation of the shading.

Panofsky provided the most extensive explanation of the changes between Rosso's fresco and Milan's print and their meaning.³ As indicated by the engraving's legend,

depicted is the dance of the dryads around the sacred oak of Ceres, which is adorned with garlands of flowers as testimonies to answered prayers.⁴ Erysichthon was punished in mythology for his sacrilege against this oak. A similar tree appears in Rosso's fresco *The Sacrifice* and, according to Panofsky, represents the dynastic tree of France. *Dance of the Dryads* thus serves as a warning to those who would attack this royal lineage.

This engraving has been attributed to both René Boyvin and Milan. Although earlier writers considered it a work by Boyvin, Metman discovered references to Milan's engraving in documents concerning a minor French official, Claude Bernard. The engraved plate for *Dance of the Dryads* had been given to Bernard in 1545 as collateral for a loan to Milan. The documents also shed light on the role of printmaking at the court of Fontainebleau and on the print market in Paris. Whereas most etchings from the school of Fontainebleau are rare, 1,050 impressions of Milan's engraving were recorded in an inventory of Bernard's possessions at the time of his death in 1557.

Notes

1. Kusenbergh, pl. 33.
2. *Old Master and Modern Prints: Catalogue Number 7* (New York: Hill-Stone, Inc., 1982), no. 22. An impression of Stone's deceptive copy was sold, as by Milan, at Sotheby's, New York, 7 May 1976, lot 539.
3. Panofsky, 125–26.
4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7.746–49.

After Baldassare Peruzzi

Etching

8¹³/₁₆ x 6³/₄ in. (22.4 x 17.2 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower center: .P.WOEIRIOT./F.***References**

Le Blanc, 4:244, no. 88 i/ii;
 Robert-Dumesnil, 7:93, no. 205
 i/ii, 11:344, under no. 206

Literature

Adhémar, 166, no. 21 i/ii



Phalaris Condemns Perillus to the Bronze Bull is from a set of three prints by Woeiriot; the other two are *The Wife of Asdrubal* and *Phocas Brought to Heraclius*.¹ Frommel dated the group about 1555–60 and suggested Peruzzi's original designs were created about 1520–23.² Frommel noted the influence of Raphael's fresco *The Coronation of Charlemagne*, in the Sala dell'Incendio in the Vatican, on the diagonal orientation of Peruzzi's design. This compositional device is also seen in Peruzzi's drawing *The Discovery of the True Cross* in the British Museum, likewise dating from the early 1520s.³

As Caroline Karpinski has astutely pointed out, Woeiriot probably engraved the present print in Rome because of the presence of the plate in the Calcografia Nazionale, Rome.⁴ Woeiriot's plate was reworked at a later date, with altered expressions on the faces of several figures and the removal of most of the shading on the figure of the soldier to the left of Phalaris.

Phalaris was a tyrant in the city of Agrigento in the sixth century B.C.. Infamous for his cruelty, he commissioned the Athenian sculptor Perillus to create a bronze bull in which Phalaris placed his enemies for torture. The bull, mentioned briefly by Pindar, was then heated, and the prisoners' cries resembled those of the animal. Perillus reportedly was the first victim.

Notes

1. Robert-Dumesnil, 7:94, nos. 206–7.
2. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner," *Beiheft zum Römischen Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11 (1967–68), 110, no. 72, pl. 54b.
3. *Ibid.*, 109, no. 71, pl. 54a.
4. Caroline Karpinski, *Italian Printmaking, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987), 87.

Domenico Zenoni
The Conquest of Ignorance

After Rosso Fiorentino

Engraving

11¹³/₁₆ x 15³/₄ in. (30 x 40 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right: Dominicus Zenoi
 Venetus./excidebat.

Below: Qualunque ardisce . . . /
 . . . fra mille squadre.

References

Herbet, 74, under no. 28;
 Le Blanc, 4:262, no. 17; Robert-
 Dumesnil, 8:25, under no. 16

Literature

Borea, 261, no. 660; Carroll,
 Rosso, 91 n. 2; Kusenberg, 161,
 167; Linzeler, 169; Mariette, 5:23

Fig. 100a
Rosso Fiorentino
(Italy, 1494–1540)
The Conquest of Ignorance
Fresco
Galerie François 1, Chateau de
Fontainebleau



The Conquest of Ignorance is based on Rosso's fresco in the Galerie François 1 at Fontainebleau (fig. 100a).¹ Two earlier prints are known of the composition, both in reverse of the painting, by Antonio Fantuzzi and René Boyvin.² Because Zenoni's engraving is closer in style and detail to Boyvin's version, Robert-Dumesnil suggested, probably correctly, that Zenoni based his print on Boyvin's rather than on the fresco itself.

Panofsky explained the meaning of Rosso's painting. Francis I is portrayed in the background entering the Temple of Jove whose portal is flanked by vessels inscribed "Bona" (good) and "Mala" (evil). In the foreground is a group of blindfolded figures, the Vices, surrounding their overweight begetter, Ignorance.³

Notes

1. Kusenberg, 69–70, pl. 46.
2. For Fantuzzi's print, see Zerner, *School*, no. AF 24. For Boyvin's print, see Robert-Dumesnil, 8:24, no. 16; and Kusenberg, pl. 47.
3. Panofsky, 119–20.



NETHERLANDISH PRINTS

Cornelis Bos

Dirck Volkertz. Coornhert

Cornelis Cort

Michiel Coxcie

Frans Floris

Jacques de Gheyn II

Hendrik Goltzius

Lucas Kilian

Cornelis Massys

Master G.A.I.F.

Jacob Matham

Jan Muller

Aegidius Sadeler

Jan Saenredam

Christoffel van Sichem I

Hendrik Goltzius
Hercules and Cacus (cat. no. 116)



Hendrik Goltzius
The Magician (cat. no. 117)



Hendrik Goltzius
Helios (cat. no. 118)



Hendrik Goltzius
Amphitrite (cat. no. 119)



Hendrik Goltzius

Landscape with a Waterfall (cat. no. 123)

Hendrik Goltzius

Landscape with Seated Couple (cat. no. 124)



Hendrik Goltzius

Landscape with Peasant Dwelling (cat. no. 125)

Hendrik Goltzius

Cliff on the Seashore (cat. no. 126)



After Maarten van Heemskerck

Engraving from two plates

19½ x 13¾ in. (49.5 x 34.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: CB 1547

References

Hollstein, 3:123, nos. 39–40,
8:237, nos. 3–4, Le Blanc, 1:467,
no. 10; Schéle, 27, 119, no. 27;
Wurzbach, 1:145, no. 19



Fig. 101a
 Attributed to Cornelis Cort
Lazarus in Heaven
and the Rich Man in Hell
 Engraving
 7¹⁵/₁₆ x 9¹/₂ in. (20.1 x 24.1 cm)
 Graphische Sammlung
 Albertina, Vienna



According to Schéle, *Lazarus in Heaven and the Rich Man in Hell*, dated 1547, was probably created when Bos and Heemskerck were together in Haarlem, just prior to the engraver's departure for three years in Italy. Other engravings of this subject by Heemskerck have been noted. In 1551 Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert, believed to be Bos's pupil, engraved a set of four plates illustrating the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.¹ A second series of four engravings, perhaps dating from the late 1550s, has been attributed to Cornelis Cort. In his catalogue of Cort's prints Bierens de Haan expressed some doubt about this attribution and suggested stylistic affinities to the engravings of Philip Galle.² Riggs questioned as well the attribution of the designs to Heemskerck.³ Even accounting for a difference of ten years, the *Lazarus in Heaven and the Rich Man in Hell* in the set attributed to Cort (fig. 101a) differs considerably from Bos's engraving. The later image is characterized by clarity and simplicity in the disposition of the figures of the rich man and the torturing demon.⁴ Bos's larger engraving has more figures, is more complex in space and movement, and is more dramatic.

In Christ's parable of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16.19–31), the beggar Lazarus went to heaven, where he was comforted at the bosom of Abraham, while the rich man was tortured in the fires of hell, a reversal of their lots in life. From his vantage in the lower depths, the rich man lamented for his surviving wealthy brothers who would suffer the same fate.

Notes

1. Hollstein, 4:229, nos. 97–100.
2. Bierens de Haan, 87, nos. 71–74. For illustrations, see Walter L. Strauss and Tomoko Shimura, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, Vol. 52. *Netherlandish Artists: Cornelis Cort* (New York: Abaris Books, 1986), 85–88.
3. Riggs, 374, no. 249.
4. A possible candidate for the designer of this suite of engravings attributed to Cort is Frans Floris. The composition of *The Rich Man in Hell* is comparable with Floris's *Hercules Killing Cerberus* engraved by Cort. See Strauss and Shimura, 198.

Cornelis Bos
The Holy Trinity

After Frans Floris
 Engraving
 14⁷/₁₆ x 10¹⁵/₁₆ in. (36.7 x 27.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: frans floris in/fentur
Lower right: Cornelis Bus/fesit

References

Hollstein, 3:123, no. 35, 6:254,
 no. 7; Schéle, 38, 121, no. 32

Literature

Van de Velde, 1:403, no. 38,
 2:pl. 191



Schéle suggested *The Holy Trinity* probably dates from the end of Bos's career, after his return from Italy in 1550. This hypothesis is based on the supposed similarity between the inscriptions on the present work and two other engravings by Bos after Floris: *The Gathering of Manna*, undated, and *The Entombment of Christ*, dated 1554.¹ These inscriptions are, however, not similar at all, with the form and spelling of the signatures different in each case. *The Gathering of Manna* is monogrammed and inscribed "Franciscus Florius inuent." *The Entombment of Christ* is signed "Cornelis Bus fecit" and inscribed "Franciscus floris inuentor." *The Holy Trinity* is signed "Cornelis Bus fesit" and inscribed "frans florus in/fentur." The unusual spelling of Bos's name in these signatures, "Bus," appears on three other prints, all dating from the 1550s: *Moses Showing the Tablets of the Law* after Raphael, 1551, *The Worship of the Golden Calf* after Raphael, 1551, and *The Assiduous Wife* after Maarten van Heemskerck, 1555.² Schéle's argument for dating *The Holy Trinity* to the 1550s should have focused on the fact that the distinctive spelling of Bos's name appears only on prints from this period.

No painting of this subject by Floris is known.

Notes

1. Schéle, 114, no. 15; and *ibid.*, 120, no. 31.

2. *Ibid.*, 115, no. 16; *ibid.*, no. 17; and *ibid.*, 117, no. 24.

Dirck Volkertz. Coornhert
The Massacre of the Innocents

After Maarten van Heemskerck
 Engraving from two plates
 10¾ x 23 in. (27.3 x 58.4 cm)



Inscriptions

Upper right: Martin Hemskerck
 inventor/DVCuerenhert fecit
 1551

References

Hollstein, 4:229, no. 90, 8:239,
 no. 91

In 1546 Heemskerck was commissioned by the clothweavers guild in Haarlem to paint an altarpiece for the guild's chapel in the church of Saint Bavo.¹ This triptych probably included *The Massacre of the Innocents* as the central panel, flanked by *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *The Adoration of the Magi*. The middle canvas was destroyed in a fire and replaced in 1591 by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem's version of the subject, one of the most representative examples of mannerism in Haarlem, to which were attached Heemskerck's surviving wings.² Coornhert's engraving is very likely a record of Heemskerck's lost painting.

Coornhert was the engraver most closely associated with Heemskerck; Hollstein records 188 examples of collaboration between the two artists.³ They probably met via introduction by Cornelis Bos, Coornhert's teacher and an earlier collaborator of Heemskerck (see *Lazarus in Heaven and the Rich Man in Hell* [cat. no. 101]). After Bos's departure for Italy in 1547 Coornhert became Heemskerck's principal engraver. *The Massacre of the Innocents* dates from the early period of their association. There is some question, however, as to whether Coornhert's first print after Heemskerck might have preceded 1547.⁴ Coornhert's last signed and dated engraving after Heemskerck was created in 1559.⁵

The brutal and tragic story of the Massacre of the Innocents is told in Matthew 2.16. When Herod heard from the three wise men that Jesus had been born in Bethlehem, he ordered his soldiers to kill all male children under the age of two in the town.

Notes

1. Rainald Grosshans, *Maarten van Heemskerck: Die Gemälde* (Berlin: Horst Boettcher Verlag, 1980), 171, no. 55.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. 81.

3. Hollstein, 8:237–42.

4. Hollstein (*ibid.*, 241, no. 184) claimed their collaboration began in 1546 with Heemskerck's design of a lottery poster for the city of Haarlem. Veldman (55 n. 3) stated that this commission actually dated from 1547.

5. It is one of the prints in the series *Parable of the King Who Made Supper* (Hollstein, 8:239, no. 100). An unsigned set of eight engravings dated 1564, *The Vicissitude of Human Things*, is attributed to Coornhert (*ibid.*, 240, nos. 128–35). Riggs (346, no. 146), however, thinks they are closer to Cornelis Cort or Philip Galle.

Cornelis Cort
Ruggiero Liberating Angelica

After Titian
Engraving
12¹/₁₆ x 17⁹/₁₆ in. (30.7 x 44.6 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: Cum Privilegio; 1565
Lower right: Titianus

References

Bierens de Haan, 205, no. 222
i/iii; Hollstein, 5:59, no. 222 i/iii;
Le Blanc, 2:53, no. 149;
Wurzbach, 1:342, no. 6r

Literature

Catelli Isola, 42, no. 34;
Heinecken, 4:352; Mariette,
5:325–26; Mauroner, 58, no. 2;
Oberhuber, *Renaissance*, 20r,
no. 343; Schab, 25, no. 16;
Wethey, 3:165, pl. 224



Fig. 104a
 Titian (Italy, c. 1489–1576)
Ruggiero Liberating Angelica
 Pen and brown ink
 10¹/₁₆ x 15¹⁵/₁₆ in. (25.6 x 40.5 cm)
 Musée Bonnat, Bayonne

Because of the presence in *Ruggiero Liberating Angelica* of the voluptuous woman with a dragon, the subject has sometimes been interpreted as the mythological story of Perseus rescuing Andromeda. Mariette, however, was probably correct in interpreting the theme as Ruggiero and Angelica. Cort's engraving reproduces, in reverse, a drawing by Titian formerly in Mariette's collection and now in Bayonne (fig. 104a). Copies of this sheet are in Chatsworth (previously considered Titian's original), the Louvre, and the British Museum.¹ Cort's engraving, one of his first after the Venetian master, is faithful in its dimensions and details to Titian's *modello*. The drawing in Bayonne, as well as

the one in Chatsworth, appears to have been trimmed along the upper edge. The only notable changes made by Cort are the addition of a smoking ewer behind the head of Angelica, and some minor alterations to the ruins in the right background. Titian's design has been dated generally about 1540–50, but Oberhuber has assigned it to the period closer to the date of Cort's engraving, suggesting, in fact, that it was made especially for Cort to reproduce.

The subject is taken from Lodovico Ariosto's epic Renaissance poem *Orlando Furioso*, in which the beautiful princess Angelica is captured by an evil people, exposed to a ravenous sea monster (not so threatening in Titian's version), and rescued by the brave paladin Ruggiero riding a hippogriff, a legendary animal that is half-horse, half-griffin.

Notes

1. For a discussion of Titian's drawing, see Konrad Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat., Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1976), 101–3, no. 45.

After Polidoro da Caravaggio

Engraving

17 x 22⁵/₁₆ in. (43.2 x 56.7 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower right:* 1569*Below:* Polidorus/invent; Hocteoritur . . . ; Romae ex Typis Ant./D. Salamanca.**References**

Bierens de Haan, 52, no. 30 ii/iv; Hollstein, 5:42, no. 30 iia/iv; Le Blanc, 2:51, no. 35; Wurzbach, 1:342, no. 36 i/ii

Literature

Heineken, 4:344



Polidoro's *The Adoration of the Shepherds* of the early 1520s was one of his most famous and influential compositions. Cort's engraving of 1569 is only one of several printed, drawn, and painted copies of Polidoro's original design, a drawing in Madrid (fig. 105a).¹ The painted versions include canvases in private collections in the United States (attributed to Girolamo da Carpi) and Rome and at Burghley House (derived from Cort's engraving).² Drawn copies are in the Louvre and the Albertina.³ Bierens de Haan recorded seven other engraved versions of the composition, and DeGrazia attributed an eighth version to Cherubino Alberti.⁴

Because of the number of copies, Ravalli presumed the onetime existence of a painting or fresco of this composition by Polidoro. It is more likely that the Madrid sheet was simply the final and most original of Polidoro's graphic variations on the theme of the Adoration. Of his four drawings of the subject noted by Marabottini,⁵ the Madrid study is certainly the most dynamic and spatially complex, with the figures radiating from the Christ Child like the points of a star. Unlike many printmakers who freely interpreted their models, especially altering details of the landscape, in his engraving Cort was remarkably faithful in reproducing Polidoro's drawing.

For the story of the Adoration of the Shepherds, see Giovanni Battista Franco's version of this subject (cat. no. 24).

Fig. 105a
Polidoro da Caravaggio
(Italy, c. 1499/1500–c. 1543)
The Adoration of the Shepherds
Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white, traces of
black chalk
17¹/₈ x 22⁷/₁₆ in. (43.5 x 57 cm)
Real Academia de Bellas Artes de
San Fernando, Madrid

Notes

1. Lanfranco Ravalli, *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio* (Bergamo: Edizioni "Monumenta Bergomensia," 1978), 117, no. 45.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 240–41, nos. 331–32.
4. Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1979), 505, fig. 4.
5. Three other drawings are discussed in Alessandro Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1969), 1:84–86, 2:pls. 64–65.

Cornelis Cort
The Forge of the Cyclopes

After Titian
 Engraving
 16³/₈ x 15³/₈ in. (41.6 x 39 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: EX ARCHE/TYPO
 PALLATII/BRIXIENSIS/1572; M/F
Lower center: Cum Privilegio/
 Cornelio cort. fe

References

Bierens de Haan, 158, no. 156
 ii/iv; Hollstein, 5:55, no. 156
 ii/iv; Le Blanc, 2:53, no. 148;
 Wurzbach, 1:342, no. 62

Literature

Catelli Isola, 44, no. 39;
 Heinecken, 4:351; Mariette,
 5:322–23; Mauroner, 61, no. 14;
 Wethey, 3:225, fig. 66



Cort's engraving *The Forge of the Cyclopes* is the only surviving evidence of a set of three canvases painted by Titian in 1564–68 for the Palazzo Comunale, Brescia; the paintings were destroyed in a fire in 1575. Comparison with earlier Italian examples of the subject, such as Enea Vico's engraving *The Forge of Vulcan* after Primaticcio (cat. no. 61), accentuates the highly dramatic and protobaroque character of Titian's composition, particularly its *sotto in sù* viewpoint and its dynamic arrangement of the figures in space.

In spite of the presence on this plate of Cort's signature, his authorship has been doubted. Bierens de Haan discussed the merits of these arguments and rejected them in favor of the traditional attribution to Cort. The puzzling inscription "MF" had been interpreted as signifying the authorship of another artist, specifically the Swiss engraver Melchior Meier. Bierens de Haan proposed another hypothesis: the mysterious monogram may refer to one of Titian's pupils or assistants, such as Marco Vecelli, who provided Cort with a drawn copy of Titian's painting. Another possibility is that the monogram refers to the publisher of the engraving, if the initials are interpreted as signifying "M formis."

As described by Virgil (*Aeneid*, 8.424–53), the Cyclopes, the one-eyed sons of Uranus and Gaea, worked in the forge of Vulcan, where they made Zeus's thunderbolts and arms for Aeneas. Titian adapted the mythological subject for civic purposes by showing the Cyclopes forging arms for the city of Brescia.

After Federico Barocci

Engraving

16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (41 x 28.5 cm)**Inscriptions**

Lower right: Federicus Barotyus
Vrbinas/inventor/Corneli cort fe.

Below: Virgo quid . . . /Romae
An. lub 1575

Below, on cartouche: AMPL.mo
Cardinali . . . /Laurentius
Vaccarius D.D.

References

Bierens de Haan, 61, no. 43 iii/iii;
Heineken, 4:344; Hollstein,
5:44, no. 43 iii/iii; Le Blanc, 2:51,
no. 41; Mariette, 1:71; Wurzbach,
1:342, no. 1



Virgo quid hauris aquas. Nasone dataura petenti? Arborisve fructus ubi dulces Christe, videntur. Virginitas et pueri (quos no tecla subintrat).
Ap sine: vt nostro pellat ab ore sitim. Sic tua (frux mundo dulcia poma dabit. Hospitum Orbis rector, in orbe, caret.
Romae An. lub 1575

Federicus Barotyus Vrbinas
inventor
AMPL. Cardinali et Illi. DOMINO
IACOBO SABELLO S. VICARIO
auctoritate ordo,
LAURENTIUS VACCARIUS. D. D.

The Rest on the Return from Egypt is based on Barocci's *Madonna della Scodella*. Cort's engraving reproduces the second of Barocci's three autograph versions, painted between 1570 and 1573 and now in the church of Santo Stefano, Piobbico.¹ The differences between the three paintings are relatively minor, and Cort's reproduction is faithful to Barocci's original, differing principally in details in the setting. Cort's engraving or Barocci's original was one of the inspirations for Hendrik Goltzius's *The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, 1593 (cat. no. 121).

The subject of the Holy Family's return from Egypt is encountered considerably less frequently than their flight to Egypt. The principal differentiating characteristic in representations of the two narratives is the older appearance of the Christ Child in the present subject. As told in Matthew 2.19–20, after the Holy Family had settled in Egypt, an angel told them of Herod's death and that it was safe for them to return to their homeland.

Notes

1. Olsen, 154–55, no. 22/ii. The first version of 1570, now lost, was engraved in 1612 by Raffaele Schiaminossi (Bartsch, 17:218, no. 29). The third version of 1573 is in the Vatican Pinacoteca.

Etching and engraving
 11½ x 16¼ in. (29.2 x 42.4 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower right: MIGHEL.FLA/
 MINGO.IN/.VENTVR.

Literature

Heineken, 4:385; Oberhuber,
Zwischen, 89, no. 101

References

Hollstein, 5:62, no. 1; Wurzbach,
 1:351, no. 1, 2:779

Oberhuber accurately described *The Brazen Serpent* as “an accumulation of motifs rather than a unified whole.” Although inscribed as Coxcie’s own invention, the composition’s artfully posed figures owe a considerable debt to works of Italian artists of the High Maniera, such as Agnolo Bronzino, Francesco Salviati, and Perino del Vaga. The placement of the figures in the foreground and the vista at the left into the distant landscape recall, in reverse, Salviati’s composition *The Birth of Adonis*, engraved in 1544.¹ The twisting nude standing at the center of *The Brazen Serpent* is a figural type seen in many Central Italian compositions of the midsixteenth century. The writhing nude reclining at the lower right is another familiar figure, such as the figure in Nicolas Beatrixet’s *Tityus* after Michelangelo (cat. no. 6).

According to Vasari, this print was executed during the 1540s, that is, after Coxcie returned to Flanders from his lengthy stay in Italy.² Despite this reference the execution was attributed by Wurzbach to Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, probably because Coxcie is identified on the print only as the inventor; but the attribution to Vermeyen generally has been rejected. A related drawing by Coxcie is at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.³

The story of the brazen serpent is told in Numbers 21.6–9. After the Hebrews escaped from Egypt, they complained to Moses about their hardships. As punishment God sent a pack of serpents to destroy them. When the Hebrews repented, God instructed Moses to make a serpent out of brass and raise it on a pole. If they had been bitten, those who looked at the brass serpent would live. This story is considered a portent of the Crucifixion.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 15:42, no. 12.

2. Vasari, 5:435–36.

3. Noted in Karel G. Boon, *Catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Rijksmuseum: Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1978), 1:196, under no. 523, n. 2.

Etching

12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (31.5 x 43.5 cm)**Inscriptions**

Upper center: Victoria

Lower left, on tablet: fracs floris
fecit/Cock excudebat

Lower left: 1552

Below: Haec tibi . . . / . . . mole
Superba.**References**Hollstein, 6:253, no. 4; Le Blanc,
2:241, no. 3; Nagler,
Monogrammisten, 5:47;
Wurzbach, 1:543, no. 3**Literature**Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 90, no.
102; Riggs, 328, no. 68; Van de
Velde, 1:416, no. 77, 2:pl. 230

Victory is based on Floris's monumental painting of 1549, created to decorate the Arch of the Genoese for the festivities celebrating the triumphal entry to Antwerp of Emperor Charles v and his son. The allegorical female figure standing at the center alludes to the victory of the imperial navy over the Turkish fleet; the muscular enchained nudes represent the defeated infidels. The dense, planar arrangement of the emphatically plastic figures resembles an antique sculptural relief, as does the figure reclining like an antique river god in the upper right corner.¹ Floris's painting was executed after his stay in Italy from 1541 to 1547. During that period he made numerous copies after Italian works of art, and *Victory* manifests his careful study of antiquity, Michelangelo, and particularly the paintings of Giulio Romano.

Notes

1. For a study of Floris's interest in the antique, see Carl van de Velde, "A Roman Sketchbook of Frans Floris," *Master Drawings* 7 (1969): 255–86.

Jacques de Gheyn II
The Wedding Feast of Peleus and Thetis

After Crispijn van den Broeck
 Engraving
 13 x 18⁷/₈ in. (33 x 48 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: CVBrock. Invent. Ao
 1589/IDGheyn. Sculptor/J. Razet
 exc:
 Below: Dum convivatum . . . /
 H.I.R.

References

Hollstein, 7:174, no. 336; Le
 Blanc, 2:288, no. 47; Nagler,
Monogrammisten, 5:403;
 Passavant, 3:124, no. 205;
 Wurzbach, 1:584, no. 205

Literature

Broeder, 95, no. 102; Heineken,
 3:363

Fig. 110a
 Crispijn van den Broek
 (Flanders, c. 1524–1588/89)
The Marriage Feast of Peleus and Thetis
 Pen and brown ink, gray wash
 6⁷/₁₆ x 8⁷/₈ in. (16.4 x 22.6 cm)
 National Gallery of Scotland,
 Edinburgh



The Wedding Feast of Peleus and Thetis is based on a late design by van den Broeck. A related preparatory drawing, in reverse, signed and dated 1586, is in the National Gallery of Scotland (fig. 110a).¹ This sketch, however, could not have been de Gheyn's *modello* because of numerous differences in details as well as being considerably smaller than the engraving. Furthermore, the composition of the drawing is aligned parallel to the picture plane, whereas the engraving shows a more dramatic recession into space.

This engraving is one of de Gheyn's relatively few mythological subjects, and one he engraved again in 1597.² Although de Gheyn's style developed in a naturalistic direction, the later version is curiously more mannerist in composition, with the figures arranged in a fashion reminiscent of Goltzius's engraving *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* after Bartholomeus Spranger, 1587 (fig. 132a).

Hollstein recorded a single state for this engraving. Christopher Mendez identified three states: a first state with the address of J. Pitten, a second (like the present impression) with the address of J. Razet, and a third with the addition of the address of J. Allardt.³

This engraving is sometimes referred to simply as *The Banquet of the Gods*, but the present title is more specific. For a description of this feast, see Jean Mignon's *Scenes from the Trojan Wars* (cat. nos. 92–95).

Notes

1. Keith Andrews, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1985), 1:14, no. D 694, 2:fig. 97. Andrews also mentions another version in Darmstadt.
2. Hollstein, 7:174, no. 337.
3. *New Acquisitions* (London: Christopher Mendez Old Master Prints, 1987), no. 21.

III

Jacques de Gheyn II *The Conversion of Saint Paul*

After Karel van Mander
Engraving
13⁵/₈ x 21³/₄ in. (34.6 x 55.3 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: KVMandere Inven,
IDGeyn excude,
Below: Dum ferus . . . /H.Grotius
AEtat XII

References

Hollstein, 7:184, no. 395, i/ii





Fig. 111a
Karel van Mander
(Flanders, 1548–1606)
The Conversion of Saint Paul
Pen and brown ink, gray wash
11¹³/₁₆ x 19¹¹/₁₆ in. (30 x 50 cm)
Lutz Riester, London



Although undated, stylistic evidence suggests that *The Conversion of Saint Paul* was executed about 1595–96, when the accompanying verses were signed by the poet Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) at the age of twelve. A similar signature by Grotius appears on de Gheyn's engraving *Vanitas*, assigned to about 1595–96 by Ackley.¹ The present work bears de Gheyn's signature as the publisher, not as the engraver. As Ackley pointed out, of the more than four hundred prints attributed by Hollstein to de Gheyn, most list him only as the inventor or the publisher. This group includes some of the best-known engravings attributed to de Gheyn, including *The Witches' Sabbath* and *The Crossbowman*.² Significantly *The Conversion of Saint Paul* was not listed among de Gheyn's oeuvre by Le Blanc, Passavant, or Wurzbach.

The engraving is identical, in reverse, to van Mander's *modello* recently on the art market (fig. 111a).³ The only discernible difference is that the drawing has been trimmed slightly, particularly along the top and left margins.

The story of the conversion of Saint Paul is told in Acts 9.1–6. Saul of Tarsus persecuted the early Christians in Jerusalem. He and a group of persecutors were traveling to Damascus in order to continue their harassment of Christians. Christ appeared in the sky and blinded Saul, who was thrown from his horse and is depicted here seated on a rock at the left. Christ converted him and rechristened him Paul.

Notes

1. Hollstein, 7:125, no. 104; Ackley, 21, no. 11.
2. Hollstein, 7:120, no. 96; and *ibid.*, 128, no. 108. For a discussion of these prints, see Ackley, 43, no. 23. Mariette (quoted in Hollstein, 28:99) attributed these prints to Andries Stock. J. P. Filedt Kok, curator of prints, the Rijksmuseum, suggested in conversation with the author, November 1987, that the engraver of *The Conversion of Saint Paul* is de Gheyn's pupil Zacharias Dolendo.
3. Sold at Karl & Faber, Munich, 27 November 1986, lot 86.

Jacques de Gheyn II
The Prodigal Son

After Karel van Mander

Engraving from two plates

15¹³/₁₆ x 25¹⁵/₁₆ in. (40.2 x 65.9 cm)

Gift of Mary Stansbury Ruiz in honor of Ebria Feinblatt

Inscriptions

Lower left: Illustrissimo . . . /
Anno S. CIO IO XC VI [1596];
KVMandere inven, Iacobus de
geyn Sculptor.

Lower right: ICVisscher excudit.

References

Hollstein, 7:185, no. 410 ii/iii;
Le Blanc, 2:288, no. 7; Nagler,
Monogrammisten, 5:403;
Passavant, 3:123, no. 190;
Wurzbach, 1:583, no. 190

Literature

Broeder, 97, no. 106; Korazija, 72,
no. 42; Oberhuber, *Zwischen*,
223, no. 335





Fig. 112a
 Gregorio Pagani
 (Italy, 1558–1605)
A Country Dance
 Pen and brown wash, heightened
 with white, traces of black chalk
 10⁷/₁₆ x 16⁵/₁₆ in. (26.5 x 41.5 cm)
 The Governing Body,
 Christ Church, Oxford



Like Hendrik Goltzius's *The Judgment of Midas* (cat. no. 120), de Gheyn's *The Prodigal Son* is crowded with auxiliary and secondary spectators, with the protagonists (the prodigal son and his dancing partner) almost lost in the center of the crowd. This method of composition was favored by many Dutch mannerist artists at the end of the sixteenth century, following van Mander's strictures for organizing historical narratives.¹ For this engraving van Mander composed a scene of extraordinary worldliness and luxury befitting its moralizing subject. In Christ's parable, told in Luke 15.13, the prodigal son squandered his father's inheritance through riotous living. Van Mander depicted the same scene four years earlier in his design of the subject in a set of four engravings by Jacob Matham.² The differences between the two engravings are dramatic. Although both are essentially genre scenes of aristocratic frivolity, de Gheyn's setting resembles a village kermis, while Matham's looks like a noble banquet. De Gheyn's composition appears less like earlier Flemish village scenes, such as those painted by Pieter Brueghel the Elder, as it does a drawing, *A Country Dance* (fig. 112a), from the early 1580s by van Mander's Italian contemporary Gregorio Pagani,³ whose design seems to anticipate van Mander's recommendations for composition. The semicircular arrangement of the figures in *A Country Dance* is found in other Florentine works of this period, particularly those by Jan Stradanus and Antonio Tempesta. Van Mander was in Italy in the early 1570s and could have imported this style to the Netherlands.

Notes

1. For a summary of van Mander's theories, see Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:504.
2. Bartsch, 3:174, no. 173.
3. James Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 1:92, no. 250.

Two from a series of ten engravings

II3 *Marcus Curtius*

14½ x 9¾ in. (36.9 x 23.7 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: 4; HG. fecit.

Below: Curtius in vastum . . . /
. . . F. Estius.

References

Bartsch, 3:34, no. 99; Dutilleul,
4:421, no. 99 ii/ii; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 68, no. 165 ii/ii;
Hollstein, 8:36, no. 165 ii/ii;
Strauss, *Goltzius*, 1:392, no. 234
ii/ii; Wurzbach, 1:599, no. 99

Literature

Broeder, 49, no. 34



4. HG. fecit.
Curtius in vastum sese telluris hiatum
Conjicit, ut patria cedat acerba lucis.
F' nunc et spernas patria caelestis amorem
Dum pati, et pulvis sidera vivat humus.

14¹³/₁₆ x 9¹/₄ in. (37.7 x 23.5 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left, on pedestal: Omnia morte . . . / . . . Posteritate viget. /

ΑΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ Η ΑΑΚΗ

Lower center: HGoltzius fecit./Ao. 1586

Below: Vita hominum . . . / . . . F. Estius. com./posuit.

References

Bartsch, 3:34, no. 95; Dutuit, 1:420, no. 95 ii/ii; Hirschmann, 70, no. 170 ii/ii; Hollstein, 8:36, no. 170 ii/ii; Strauss, *Goltzius*, 1:402, no. 239 ii/ii; Wurzbach, 1:599, no. 95

Literature

Mielke, 60, no. 86; Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 206, no. 301



Vita hominum brevis est, hinc instar aquatilis exit. Gloriam illius cui leuis umbra fugit. Indicia quin virtus, et fortia facta priorum. Morsu chaos aeterno suis tenebrisq; ferent; Scruola tu, Curtiq;, et Codes, et alter Heruli, Effretis cineres, sumus, et aura, nihil. Vuuda Posteritas, et facti postera Fama Vi ferat in lucem, et nocte latere vetet.

Te quoq;, virtutemq; tuam, nomenq; futurum Et deus, o Caesar, Teutonicoq; Duces, Euthon Posteritas, et praeperit Fama velatu. Per teris omnes, aequora, et astra venent; Imperium iam tot quorum virtute per annos Nullam aui carion sentit, et usq; viget. Et stupis Trevigenum Germanos nata nepotes Inuncto priscos Marte tuetur avos.



Fig. 113a
 Hendrik Goltzius
Marcus Curtius
 Pen and brown ink
 13⁷/₈ x 9¹/₄ in. (35.2 x 23.5 cm)
 Den Kongelige
 Kobberstiksamling, Statens
 Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

Marcus Curtius of 1586 is the fourth plate in Goltzius's series *The Roman Heroes*, made up of eight engravings and two title pages. The other figures represented are Publius Horatius, Horatius Cocles, Muscius Scaevola, Titus Manlius Torquatus, Marcus Valerius Corvus, Titus Manlius, and Calphurnius. In 362 B.C. Marcus Curtius, considered the bravest of the Roman heroes, appeased the gods by leaping to his death in full armor near the Roman Forum. This event is shown in the background of Goltzius's composition.

Goltzius's dramatic figure of Curtius on horseback is comparable with Italian equestrian subjects such as Giuseppe Scolarì's woodcut *Saint George* (cat. no. 43) based on a now-lost fresco of Curtius by Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone. In spite of the differences in media the two prints have much in common. Scolarì's method of cutting the block displays his keen interest in richly pictorial effects similar to those employed by Cornelis Cort in his engravings after Titian, and Goltzius was the consummate heir of Cort's technical achievements in engraving. Scolarì and Goltzius used a dense network of linear patterning to emphasize the sculptural mass of the forms and the dramatic and dynamic character of the setting. The exaggerated muscularity of Goltzius's horse and rider is typical of his works from the late 1580s.

A drawing related to *Marcus Curtius* is in Copenhagen (fig. 113a).¹ It is identical in nearly every respect to the second state of the print, except for the absence of the turbulent sky and Goltzius's signature. Reznicek suggested that this sheet was made as a record of the engraving, perhaps as a gift for a patron, rather than in preparation for it. Reznicek also noted that this drawing marked a new

development in Goltzius's draftsmanship in which he employed the conventions of engraving, with swelling and tapering lines, to delineate the forms. This manner became widespread in the work of mannerist artists at the end of the century, from Goltzius's Dutch followers Jacob Matham and Jan Muller to the Italian Agostino Carracci.

Fame and History is the tailpiece, or perhaps an alternative frontispiece, to Goltzius's series. The figure of Fame, who appears to be walking on air in a complex pose of graceful *contrapposto*, is comparable with similar types in Bartholomeus Spranger's works of the early 1580s, such as his fresco *Mercury and Minerva* in Hradčany Castle, Prague, or drawing *Jupiter and Juno* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick.² The twisting, kneeling figure of History also recalls a Spranger type, such as the female nude in his slightly later painting *Susanna and the Elders*, circa 1585–90, in the Schlossmuseum, Schleissheim.³ Both Goltzius's and Spranger's figures might have been inspired by Vincenzo Danti's sculpture *Honor Vanquishing Deceit*, circa 1561, in the Museo Nazionale, Florence.⁴

Fame and History functions as an elaborate allegory on the transitory nature of fame. While the winged female above trumpets the glory of the Roman heroes, below kneels a woman reading a book inscribed "HISTORIA." She is surrounded by a variety of elements often found in *vanitas* still lifes: the skull (death), the winged hourglass (the passing of time), the architectural ruins and broken pottery (the former glory of Rome), and the phoenix rising from the flames (rebirth). The message is that although the mortal lives of the Roman heroes have been extinguished, the virtue of their deeds resounds eternally.

Notes

1. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:295, no. 142.
2. Kaufmann, 299, no. 20–40; and Albrecht Niederstein, "Das graphische Werk des Bartholomäus Spranger," *Reportorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 52 (1931): 7, fig. 1.
3. Diez, pl. 21.
4. John David Summers, *The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti: A Study in the Influence of Michelangelo and the Ideals of the Maniera* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), fig. 28.

After Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem
Engraving
13 x 13 1/8 in. (33 x 33.3 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower center: C.C. inve./HG.
sculp., 2

Around tondo: DVM SIBI . . .
DONAT AQVIS.; SCIRE, DEI . . .
TENVISSE SVIS.

References

Bartsch, 3:79, no. 259; Dutuit,
4:449, no. 259; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 134, no. 307;
Hollstein, 8:103, no. 307;
Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:446, no. 258;
Wurzbach, 1:601, no. 259

Literature

Hirschmann, *Meister*, 52;
Korazija, 61, no. 18; Rodari, 106,
no. 110; Rotili, 108, no. 133



Hendrik Goltzius
Hercules and Cacus

Chiaroscuro woodcut printed in black, pale ocher, and light blue
16 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (40.8 x 32.7 cm), lower margin trimmed

Illustrated in color on page 228

Inscriptions

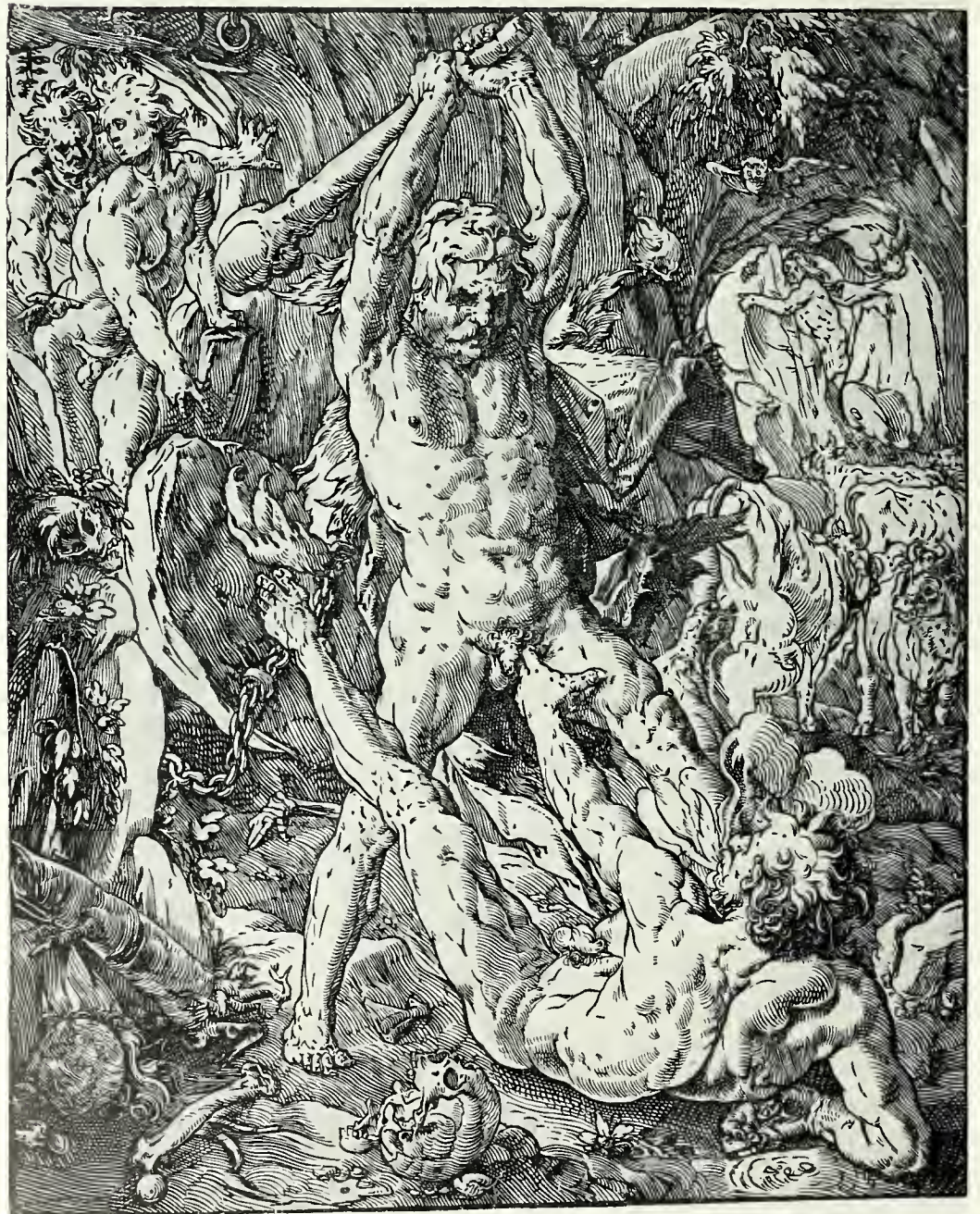
Center left, on rock: Ao. 88;
HGoltzius Inve

References

Bartsch, 3:72, no. 231; Dutuit,
4:445, no. 231; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 162, no. 373 iii/iii;
Hollstein, 8:122, no. 373 iii or
iv/iv; Strauss, *Goltzius*,
2:687–88, 696, no. 403 ii or iii/iv;
Wurzbach, 1:600, no. 231

Literature

Broeder, 75, no. 68; Hirschmann,
Meister, 127–28; Korazija, 63,
no. 24; Mielke, 26, no. 6;
Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 214, no.
317; Rodari, 106, no. 114; Rotili,
109, no. 137; Strauss,
Chiaroscuro, 287, no. 134



Hercules and Cacus is Goltzius's largest, only dated, and possibly earliest chiaroscuro woodcut. Unlike his slightly later set of deities (see cat. nos. 117–19) the present woodcut bears Goltzius's signature only as the inventor, not as the cutter of the block. The form of this inscription consequently has raised doubts about his role in the print's creation.¹ The inference is that Goltzius employed a professional woodcutter to execute his design. Strauss argued that the form of the inscription on *Hercules and Cacus* and its location in the tone block, rather than the line block, suggest two theories: first, that Goltzius did not personally execute the print and second, that the tone blocks might have been added at a later date. The issue probably can be resolved only through stylistic analysis.

Perhaps the closest comparable work is *The Magician* (cat. no. 117). Both woodcuts, as well as the chiaroscuro deities, are executed in the Italian tradition of Antonio da Trento's extensive use of the line block to carry the design (for example, *Narcissus and*

Echo [cat. no. 50]). The musculature of the figures of Hercules and the magician is defined exclusively by the line block. In slightly later chiaroscuros, such as *Amphitrite* (cat. no. 119), Goltzius used both blocks to model the forms. Because of the similarities between *Hercules and Cacus* and *The Magician*, the doubts about Goltzius's authorship of this print may be removed.

In the third state of this woodcut, the name of publisher Willem Janssen appears below the lower borderline. Because the present impression has been trimmed, it is not possible to determine its state. Nancy Bialler observed, however, that this impression's combination of colors is rare.² For this reason it may be supposed that this print is from the earlier state.

Cacus was the fire-breathing son of Vulcan, who lived in a cave on the Aventine Hill in Rome. After completing his tenth labor (stealing the cattle of Geryon), Hercules headed back for Greece. While in Italy, some of his cattle were stolen by Cacus. Hercules discovered Cacus's cave and killed him.

Notes

1. Similar doubts were raised by Bartsch regarding a set of three engravings of goddesses, bearing only Goltzius's monogram, which he attributed to Jan Saenredam (3:241, nos. 62–64); they are now accepted, however, as Goltzius's own.

2. Conversation with Mary Stansbury Ruiz, late 1986.

Three from a series of seven chiaroscuro woodcuts

117 *The Magician*Printed in black, ocher, and green
13⁹/₁₆ x 10¹/₄ in. (34.5 x 26 cm)*Illustrated in color on page 229***Inscriptions**

Lower center: HG f.

ReferencesBartsch, 3:73, no. 238; Dutuit,
4:446, no. 238; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 163, no. 374;
Hollstein, 8:123, no. 374;
Strauss, *Goltzius*, 740, no. 418;
Würzbach, 1:600, no. 238**Literature**Broeder, 75, no. 69; Hirschmann,
Meister, 131; Mielke, 57, no. 81;
Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 215, no.
318; Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 286,
no. 135

118 *Helios*

Printed in black, brown, and tan
13⁷/₈ x 10¹/₂ in. (35.2 x 26.7 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 230

Inscriptions

Lower center: HG. fe.

References

Bartsch, 3:73, no. 234; Dutuit,
4:445, no. 234; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 162, no. 371;
Hollstein, 8:121, no. 371; Le
Blanc, 2:306, no. 89; Strauss,
Goltzius, 2:743, no. 419;
Wurzbach, 1:600, no. 234

Literature

Broeder, 72, no. 66; Hirschmann,
Meister, 128, 133; Strauss,
Chiaroscuro, 296, no. 140



119 *Amphitrite*

Printed in black, brown, and ocher
13¾ x 10¼ in. (34.9 x 26 cm)

Illustrated in color on page 231

Inscriptions

Lower center: HG. fe.

References

Bartsch, 3:73, no. 235; Dutuit,
4:445, no. 235; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 161, no. 368 ii/ii;
Hollstein, 8:121, no. 368 ii/ii;
Le Blanc, 2:306, no. 89; Strauss,
Goltzius, 2:750, no. 422 ii/ii;
Wurzbach, 1:600, no. 235

Literature

Hirschmann, *Meister*, 128, 133;
Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 290, no.
137 ii/ii





Fig. 118a
Hendrik Goltzius
Apollo
Engraving
13¹/₁₆ x 10¹/₄ in. (34.7 x 26 cm)
The Trustees of the British
Museum, London

Shortly after Goltzius's *Hercules and Cacus*, 1588 (cat. no. 116) came his most significant chiaroscuro woodcuts: a series of six oval representations of gods and goddesses, plus an introductory plate entitled *The Magician*. Strauss dated the prints about 1594 (after Goltzius's return from Italy), but most authors more correctly assign them to the late 1580s. The gods and goddesses form three pairs of male mythological figures and their female consorts: *Helios*, god of the sun, and *Nox* (Bartsch 237), goddess of night; *Pluto* (Bartsch 233), ruler of the Underworld, and *Persephone* (Bartsch 236), his wife; and *Neptune* (Bartsch 232), god of the sea, and *Amphitrite*, his wife. The six prints form a cosmological representation of the world.

If the three pairs of gods and goddesses symbolize the elements of air, earth, and water, *The Magician* represents the synthesis of time, nature, and creation. This woodcut is also known as *The Cave of Eternity*. Strauss provided a summary of the composition's classical source in Claudian. The old man is Demogorgon, the creator of all things, who writes the laws that determine the movements of the universe. He is surrounded by references to time, such as the snake swallowing its tail (an Egyptian symbol of eternity) and the clocks on the rear wall of the cave. The many-breasted woman at the right is Mother Nature, who holds an instrument emitting the products of her creation.

The figure of Helios provides the most compelling parallels to Goltzius's works of the 1580s. The size, format, and depiction of the setting are close to his engraving *Apollo*, 1588 (fig. 118a), and the striding Helios is similar to the Apollo in Jan Muller's engraving *The Creation of the Sun and the Moon* after Goltzius, 1589.¹ Helios and the other male gods in this series are especially representative of the confluence in Haarlem of the artistic ideas of Bartholomeus Spranger,

Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Karel van Mander, and Goltzius. The latter three artists set up an academy in Haarlem that flourished about 1588–90. One of its aesthetic tenets was the importance of making studies from the live model, and the male figures in the present woodcuts resemble several of Cornelis's male nudes.² Although more naturalistic in the treatment of the musculature than the gods in this series, the goddesses possess the elongated proportions and icy elegance of Spranger's female figures.³

The Magician is probably the earliest woodcut in this series because it is nearest to *Hercules and Cacus* in its reliance on the line block to carry the design. *Helios* and *Amphitrite* exhibit Goltzius's later use of the tone blocks to define the forms. This method is especially evident in *Amphitrite* in which the plasticity of the female nude is defined through hatching in the tone block as much as through the cutting of the line block. Modeling the figure with the tone blocks creates a softer, less exaggeratedly sculptural effect than his approach to the male nudes.

The representation of Helios is iconographically straightforward. As god of the sun, he is depicted standing on a rainbow against a fiery backdrop. The identification of Amphitrite has been more problematic. Bartsch thought the woodcut represented the sea nymph Galatea, a subject favored by Wurzbach and Strauss, who compared Goltzius's composition with Raphael's fresco *The Triumph of Galatea*. Ackley simply titled the print *A Sea Goddess* but considered plausible the suggestion of Amphitrite as the subject.⁴ The other proposed identifications, Galatea and Venus Marina, have no particularly personal connection with Neptune, aside from their association with the sea. Because the other paired deities in the series share intimate relationships, it is most likely that this female figure is Neptune's wife.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:43, no. 141; and *ibid.*, 279, no. 39.
2. For example, Goltzius's *Pluto* is comparable with Cornelis's drawing *Mercury* in the Kunstsammlung der Universität, Göttingen, and to the figure of Ulysses in Jan Muller's engraving *Ulysses and Irus* after Cornelis, 1589 (Thiel, pl. 5; and Bartsch, 3:276, no. 30). Goltzius's *Neptune* is comparable with Cornelis's design for *Arion* engraved by Muller (Bartsch, 3:277, no. 32).
3. Bartsch, 3:288, no. 73. Amphitrite's languid pose is like Spranger's *Nymphs Presenting Flowers and Fruit to Venus* engraved by Muller.
4. Ackley, 8, no. 4.

Hendrik Goltzius
The Judgment of Midas

Engraving

16 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 26 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (42.2 x 75.1 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: Anno 1590.

Lower right: SPECTABILI . . . /
 HGoltzius invent. et sculpt. D.d.

Below: Thymbreis fidibus . . . /
 Franco Estius.

References

Bartsch, 3:43, no. 140; Dutuit,
 4:427, no. 140 i/ii; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 52, no. 132 i/iii;
 Hollstein, 8:28, no. 132 i/iii;
 Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:504, no. 285
 i/iii; Wurzbach, 1:600, no. 140

Literature

Broeder, 44, no. 26; Hirschmann,
Meister, 59; Korazija, 64, no. 26;
 Mielke, 25, no. 4; Oberhuber,
Zwischen, 210, no. 307; Rodari,
 104, no. 103



Fig. 120a
Hendrik Goltzius
The Judgment of Midas
Pen and brown ink, rose-brown,
brown, and gray washes, green
and white bodycolor
15¾ x 26¾ in. (40 x 68.1 cm)
The Pierpont Morgan Library,
New York

The Judgment of Midas has always been considered the culmination of the most mannerist phase of Goltzius's career. Dated 1590, the engraving was his last major print before his departure for Italy in November of that year. His post-Italian oeuvre is generally more classical and less willfully exaggerated in the treatment of anatomy than the engravings of the 1580s. The present engraving indicates that Goltzius was moving stylistically in that direction prior to his visit to Italy. His rendering of the male figures (Apollo, King Tmolus, Pan) is already more naturalistic than, for example, his engraving *The Large Hercules* from the previous year.¹ To some degree *The Judgment of Midas* follows, however, Karel van Mander's mannerist principles of composition, with the ostensible subject placed in the middleground and secondary figures and spectators dominating the foreground. In this regard Goltzius's print shares methods of composition common with van Mander's design of this subject, engraved in 1589 by Claes Jansz. Clock.² Also, like Jacques de Gheyn II's *The Prodigal Son* (cat. no. 112) and unlike van Mander's composition, Goltzius's engraving features several figures in contemporary dress, making the classical subject

more accessible for audiences of the time.

Goltzius's full-scale, brightly colored *modello*, in reverse, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 120a).³ A smaller preliminary sketch drawn rapidly in pen and brown ink is in an English private collection.⁴ In about 1592 Spranger painted a copy, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, of the left half of the composition.⁵

The humorous story of the musical contest between the gods Apollo and Pan is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 11.147–80). This competition, with Apollo here depicted playing a violin and Pan standing at the extreme right holding his pipes, was judged by the mountain god Tmolus, seated on a bank at the right. Everyone, except King Midas of Phrygia, standing to Pan's left, judged Apollo the winner. In retaliation Apollo, saying no one with human ears could prefer Pan's music to his, transformed Midas's ears to those of an ass. Present in Goltzius's composition, but not in Ovid's account, are the figures of Minerva and the nine Muses. It has been plausibly suggested that Goltzius originally might have intended the design as part of his illustrations to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* engraved in 1589–90 by members of his workshop.⁶

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:44, no. 142.
2. Hollstein, 4:172, no. 4; reproduced in Hand et al., 219, fig. 2.
3. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:273, no. 107, 2:pl. 127.
4. Shoaf and Turner, 270–71, fig. 151.
5. Kaufmann, 303, no. 20–52.
6. Hand et al., 159–60.

Engraving

18¹³/₁₆ x 13⁷/₈ in. (47.8 x 35.3 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower left:* HG/1593/6*Below:* PRAECVRSOR DOMINI . . . /
. . . CRESCENTIBVS ANNIS.**References**Bartsch, 3:16, no. 20; Dutuit,
4:409, no. 20 iii/iv; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 11, no. 14 iii/v;
Hollstein, 8:5, no. 14 iii/v; Le
Blanc, 2:306, no. 18; Strauss,
Goltzius, 2:574, no. 317 iii/v;
Wurzbach, 1:599, no. 20**Literature**Broeder, 30, no. 6; Hirschmann,
Meister, 75–76; Mariette, 2:316;
Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 213,
no. 312PRAECVRSOR DOMINI LACTANTIS AB VBERE MATRIS
BLANDITVR PVERO PVERO. ET COLLVDIT AMICE.QVEM . . . RECOGNOVIT SALIENS VTERO ADDITVS HVNC ET
INDICE MONSTRAVIT DIGITO CRESCENTIBVS ANNIS

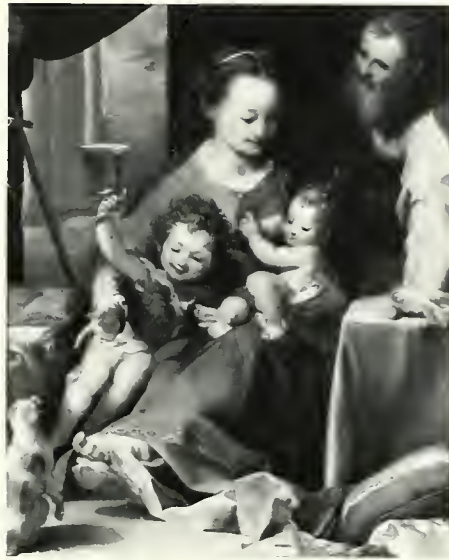


Fig. 121a
 Federico Barocci (Italy,
 1535–1612)
Madonna del Gatto
 Oil on canvas
 44½ x 35¼ in. (113 x 91 cm)
 National Gallery, London

The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist is from a series of six engravings illustrating scenes from the life of the Virgin, known as the *Meisterstiche* (master prints) because of Goltzius's virtuosity in imitating the manner of a different famous artist in each engraving.¹ The verses on *The Annunciation*, 1594, compare Goltzius with the mythological characters Vertumnus and Pomona, who had the ability to transform themselves into whatever other forms they desired. The dedication of the group to Duke Wilhelm v of Bavaria appears on *The Annunciation*. For this dedication Goltzius received from the duke a gold chain and portrait medallion.

The other prints in the series are *The Visitation*, 1593, in the style of Parmigianino,² *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1594, in the style of Jacopo Bassano, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1594, in the style of Lucas van Leyden, and *The Circumcision*, 1594, in the style of Albrecht Dürer. Mariette and Bartsch considered Raphael to be Goltzius's source for *The Annunciation*, 1594. Hirschmann suggested instead

Federico Zuccaro without, however, citing a comparable work by the painter. Another possible inspiration, probably seen by Goltzius during his visit to Rome, is Francesco Salviati's painting of the subject in the church of San Francesco a Ripa.³

Of the six prints, only *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Circumcision* attempt to duplicate the graphic techniques of their models, van Leyden and Dürer. The other four engravings reflect only the compositions and/or figural types of their sources. Perhaps as a result of their greater ambition, *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Circumcision* are generally considered the finest pieces in the set. In fact, Bartsch considered them "veritables chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art."

The present work derives from the style of Federico Barocci. Its composition resembles Barocci's paintings *Madonna del Gatto*, circa 1573–74 (fig. 121a), in the National Gallery, London,⁴ and *Madonna della Scodella* (see Cornelis Cort's 1575 engraving after this painting, *The Rest on the Return from Egypt* [cat. no. 107]).

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:15–16, nos. 15–20.
2. Goltzius's composition seems only partially in the manner of Parmigianino. Most like the Parmese master is Goltzius's spatial construction, with the dramatic and narratively incohesive shifts in scale between foreground, middle-ground, and background. This quality, combined with the elegant contrapposto of the figure (Joseph or Zacharias) in the middle-ground, is reminiscent of Parmigianino's *Madonna dal Collo Lungo* in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence. As noted by Strauss, however, the weighty *gravitas* of the figures of Mary and Elizabeth is more reminiscent of Goltzius's Raphaellesque set of engravings *The Nine Muses*, 1592 (ibid., 3:45–56, nos. 146–54). The head of Mary especially recalls, in reverse, *Thalia* from this series.
3. Rolf E. Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom: Eine Studie seiner Fresken* (Rome: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1976), pl. 38.
4. Olsen, 157, no. 26, pl. 33. Goltzius might have seen the painting in Italy or known it through Cort's engraved copy (Bierens de Haan, 64, no. 44).

After Palma Giovane
Engraving
16½ x 11 in. (41.9 x 27.9 cm)

Inscriptions

Upper right: Alexandro Victorio
... / Jacobus Palma Invent.
HGoltzius sculp
Lower right: Cum privil.
Sa.C.M./Anno. 1596.
Below: Vir pictatis ... ;
C. Schoneus

References

Bartsch, 3:81, no. 266; Dutuit,
4:450, no. 266 i/ii; Hirschmann,
Verzeichnis, 135, no. 311 i/iii;
Hollstein, 8:105, no. 311 i/iii;
Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:616, no. 335
i/iii; Wurzbach, 1:601, no. 266

Literature

Broeder, 66, no. 55; Hirschmann,
Meister, 85



Fig. 122a
 Alessandro Vittoria
 (Italy, 1525–1608)
Saint Jerome
 Marble
 Santa Maria dei Frari, Venice



Goltzius met the Venetian painter Palma Giovane during the Dutch artist's visit to Venice in 1591. It was probably at that time that Goltzius drew Palma's portrait, which is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.¹ The Venetian master depicted on many occasions the subject of Saint Jerome (see discussion of Palma's etching *Saint Jerome, Pope Damasus, and Two Putti* [cat. no. 32]). The specific source of Goltzius's engraving has not been identified, although a connection has been suggested with a painting by Palma of Saint Jerome in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, which was sent in 1594 to Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino.² As Mason Rinaldi observed, however, the differences in pose between that in the engraving and the painting and the discrepancy in date (Goltzius was in Venice in 1591; the engraving was executed in 1596) preclude this suggested relationship between the two works.³ The figure of Saint Jerome, with its languid and Tintorettesque *contrapposto* and its angular positioning of the limbs, has more in common with Palma's painting of Saint Jerome of about 1590–95 in the Brass collection, Venice.⁴

The engraving's dedication to the late sixteenth-century Venetian sculptor Alessandro Vittoria provides an additional link with Venetian art. The figure's elongated proportions and long, intricately textured beard resemble Vittoria's sculpture of the same subject of about 1565 in the church of Santa Maria dei Frari, Venice (fig. 122a).⁵ Just as Goltzius's engraving *Marcus Curtius* (cat. no. 113) may owe a debt to Giuseppe Scolari, the present work is similar in physiognomy and vertical composition to Scolari's woodcut *Saint Jerome*, itself influenced by Vittoria's sculpture.⁶

Notes

1. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:365, no. 281.
2. Most recently suggested by Nicola Ivanoff and Pietro Zampetti, "Giacomo Negretti detto Palma il Giovane" in *I pittori bergameschi. Il Cinquecento III* (Bergamo: Poligrafiche Bolis, 1979), 546, no. 128.
3. Mason Rinaldi, 96, under no. 174.
4. *Ibid.*, 135, no. 502.
5. Francesco Cessi, *Alessandro Vittoria scultore (1525–1608)* (Trento: Collana Artisti Trentini, 1961), vol. 4, pt. 1, 33, pl. 22.
6. Rosand and Muraro, 302, no. 97.

Series of four woodcuts on blue paper

*Illustrated in color on pages 232–33***123** *Landscape with a Waterfall*4⁷/₁₆ x 5³/₄ in. (11.2 x 14.6 cm)**Inscriptions**

Lower left: HG

ReferencesBartsch, 3:75, no. 242; Dutuit, 4:446, no. 242; Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis*, 164, no. 378 i/ii; Hollstein, 8:127, no. 378 i/ii; Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:720, no. 410 i/ii; Wurzbach, 1:601, no. 242**Literature**Broeder, 77, no. 72; Hirschmann, *Meister*, 136–37; Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 274, no. 129 i/ii**124** *Landscape with Seated Couple*4⁷/₁₆ x 5³/₄ in. (11.3 x 14.6 cm)**Inscriptions**

Lower center: HG

ReferencesBartsch, 3:75, no. 243; Dutuit, 4:446, no. 243; Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis*, 164, no. 379 i/ii; Hollstein, 8:127, no. 379 i/ii; Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:718, no. 409 i/ii; Wurzbach, 1:601, no. 243**Literature**Broeder, 78, no. 73; Hirschmann, *Meister*, 136–37; Oberhuber, *Zwischen*, 216, no. 321; Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 276, no. 130 i/ii

125 *Landscape with Peasant Dwelling*

4½ x 5⅝ in. (11.4 x 14.4 cm)

Inscriptions

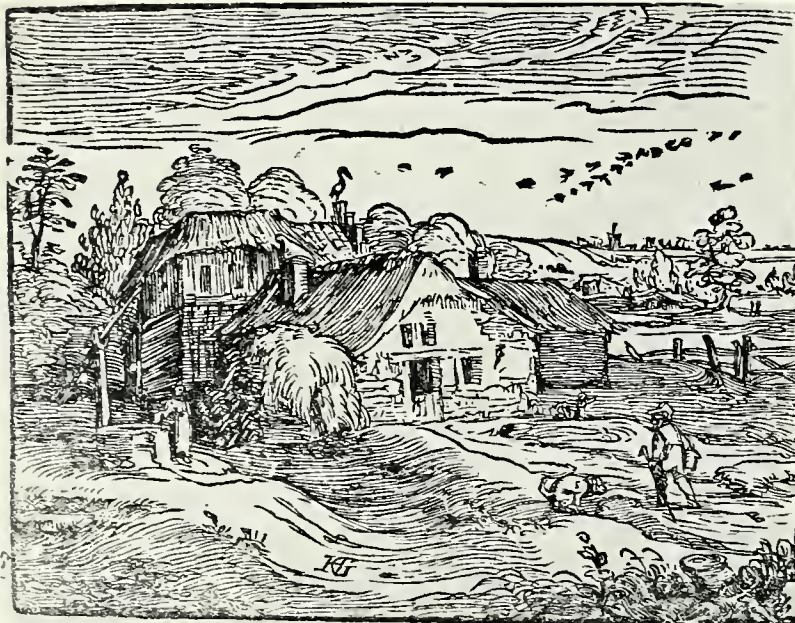
Lower center: HG

References

Bartsch, 3:75, no. 244; Dutuit, 4:446, no. 244; Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis*, 164, no. 380 i/ii; Hollstein, 8:127, no. 380 i/ii; Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:722, no. 411, ib/ii; Wurzbach, 1:601, no. 244

Literature

Broeder, 78, no. 74; Hirschmann, *Meister*, 136–37; Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 272, no. 128 i/iii



126 *Cliff on the Seashore*

4⅞ x 5¾ in. (11.3 x 14.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower center: HG

References

Bartsch, 3:75, no. 245; Dutuit, 4:447, no. 245; Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis*, 164, no. 381 i/ii; Hollstein, 8:127, no. 381 i/ii; Strauss, *Goltzius*, 2:724, no. 412 ii/iii; Wurzbach, 1:601, no. 245

Literature

Broeder, 79, no. 75; Hirschmann, *Meister*, 136–37; Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 278, no. 131 ii/iii



Goltzius's series of four woodcut landscapes is generally dated about 1595–1600, among the last examples of his activity as a printmaker. He was not particularly interested in the subject of landscape prior to his return from Italy in 1591. His experience of crossing the Alps and especially his exposure to the Italian landscape tradition probably inspired him in this new direction. These four woodcuts were printed either as chiaroscuros with the addition of two tone blocks or, as here, from only the line block on blue paper; impressions on blue paper were frequently heightened with white gouache. These methods of printing were used for several other woodcuts by Goltzius and have raised the issue of when the tone blocks were added. Strauss believed the color impressions dated considerably later, while Ackley located impressions on blue paper showing amounts of wear in the line block similar to that found in chiaroscuro versions.¹ Although not associated solely with Venice, the use of blue paper traditionally has been considered a distinctive feature of Venetian draftsmanship.² Because of controversy over the chronology of Goltzius's woodcuts, it may be hazardous to consider his use of blue paper a result of his visit to Venice. Signifi-

cantly, however, none of his major pre-Italian woodcuts—*Hercules and Cacus* (cat. no. 116) and the seven oval chiaroscuros (see cat. nos. 117–19)—was printed on blue paper.

Several authors have remarked on the compositional similarities between Goltzius's *Landscape with Waterfall* and *Landscape with Seated Couple* and woodcuts by Titian, Domenico Campagnola, and other Venetian artists. Goltzius's method of printing proofs with and without the tone blocks, although practiced at the beginning of the sixteenth century by German artists such as Lucas Cranach, Hans Burgkmair, and Hans Baldung Grien, is also encountered in Venetian woodcuts of the period; Nicolò Boldrini's *Milo of Croton* (cat. no. 9) is an example of a block printed in both manners.

The question remains as to whether Goltzius personally cut the blocks. Strauss believed the name of Jacob Matham could be read in each block, a questionable theory denied by Ackley.³ Even though some woodcuts traditionally attributed to Goltzius have been removed from his oeuvre,⁴ these four landscapes are consistent in their fluid and painterly manner of hatching with other woodcuts bearing similar monograms, such as *Young Man with a Cane* and *Portrait of Gillis van Breen*.⁵

Notes

1. Ackley, 27–29, nos. 14–15.
2. For a discussion of the origins and uses of blue paper, see Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing* (1919), translated and revised by Winslow Ames (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), 1:141–42.
3. Ackley, 28.
4. Ackley (50–51, nos. 27–28) suggested Esias van de Velde as the author of *Arcadian Landscape* (Bartsch 241) and *Monk Fed by Ravens* (not in Bartsch).
5. Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 250–55, nos. 121–22.

Lucas Kilian
Hercules and Antaeus

After Bartholomeus Spranger
Engraving
18 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (46 x 32.4 cm)

Inscriptions

Below left: S.C.M. pictor.
B./Spranger pinxit
Below center: Successus
hominum . . . /
. . . CID IDC X. [1610]
Below right: L.K. ex. cum/S.C.M.
privilegio

References

Hollstein, 17:142, no. 527;
Le Blanc, 2:451, no. 60

Literature

Korazija, 72, no. 43; Rodari, 111,
no. 130; Rotili, 121, no. 164



Successus hominum non intabescere taceant,
Vita tibi mecum certamina athena dolores,
Invidia afflatu nam quid non possunt sumis,

Viribus Hercules victum a te creas Leonem.
Munus e cunctis unis quibusque uicinis
suauiter amicos, Opem, fortunamque ualere.

S.C.M. pictor B.
Spranger pinxit

CL ET ORNAT VIRO DN IOHANNI STAINBERGERO SENATORI AVG VINDEL ANTIQVE ELEGANTIE AD
MIRATUM ET CONSPICUUM DNO ET PATRONO HONORANDO Lucas Kilianus scyber. auct. August.
Vinid. hinc et iterum. 1610. D.D.D. A.V.F. 60.100.

L.K. ex. cum
S.C.M. privilegio.



Fig. 127a
 Bartholomeus Spranger
 (Flanders, 1546–1611)
Mars and Venus
 Pen and gray-brown ink,
 gray-brown wash, heightened
 with white
 10 x 8 in. (25.4 x 20.3 cm)
 Smith College Museum of Art,
 Northampton, Massachusetts

According to the inscription, Kilian's *Hercules and Antaeus* is based on a now-lost painting by Spranger. Although the print is dated 1610, Spranger's composition was probably created several years earlier. The intertwining figures of Hercules and Antaeus are comparable with those in Spranger's series of paintings of the 1580s and 1590s, mostly in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, representing pairs of mythological lovers. The twisting figure of Hercules seen from the back in Kilian's engraving is especially close to Spranger's drawing *Mars and Venus*, 1597 (fig. 127a).¹ Spranger's mustachioed and overly muscular figures are also familiar from Hendrik Goltzius's series of engravings *The Roman Heroes*, 1586 (see cat. nos. 113–14). Although based on his own designs, Goltzius's series was strongly influenced by Spranger.

The tightly knit, three-dimensional group of Hercules and Antaeus might also have been influenced by the sculpture of

Adriaen de Vries. Because the struggling Antaeus is partly obscured by the massive Hercules, they resemble a group intended to be viewed in the round. This complex spatial arrangement is similar to Jan Muller's engraving *The Abduction of a Sabine Woman* after de Vries (cat. no. 134). Kilian's method of delineation with an extremely dense network of engraved lines is very reminiscent of Muller's style during the first decade of the seventeenth century, as seen in *Cupid Discovers Psyche in His Bed* and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. nos. 140–41), both after Spranger.

Antaeus was the monstrous son of the earth goddess Gaea and the sea god Neptune. After killing the Nemean lion (seen in the background), Hercules met Antaeus who was invincible as long as he was in contact with his mother (Gaea is the reclining figure growing out of the earth). By lifting Antaeus off the ground, Hercules was able to crush his enemy.

Notes

1. The drawing is known in two almost identical versions in the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, and Smith College. See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire 1540–1680*, exh. cat. (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1982), 140–42, no. 49.

After Siciolante da Sermoneta

Engraving

14⁹/₁₆ x 19 in. (37 x 48.2 cm)**Inscriptions**

Below: SVM·BONA . . . VSQVE.
LABOS

Literature

Schéle, 209, no. 251, pl. 63

References

Hollstein, 11:197, no. 84; Nagler,
Monogrammisten, 2:169, no. 16;
Passavant, 3:101, no. 101;
Wurzbach, 2:111, no. 101

Passavant thought a more appropriate title for *Allegory with Skill, Diligence, and Indolence* would be *The Choice of Hercules*, claiming that the subject shows Hercules deciding between the arduous path of virtue and the easy path of vice. Although generally similar in meaning Massys's composition clearly does not depict Hercules; the nude male has none of the usual attributes of the ancient hero. The standing woman represents skill rewarding the industrious male at the right and punishing the indolent figure reclining at the left. Hendrik Goltzius's engraving *Art and Practice*, 1582, conveys a similar message: diligence will be rewarded.¹

Massys's engraving is based on a painting by Siciolante formerly in Pierre Crozat's collection but now lost. A painted copy is in the collection of Baron Descamps, Brussels.² Because Massys's print is in reverse of the painting in Brussels, it may be assumed it is also in reverse of Siciolante's original canvas. In the engraving the figure representing diligence is seated to the left of the symbol of skill, when properly he should be seated to her right. Massys made a few other changes in the composition: the figural types are less Raphaelesque, the gestures of the standing woman are different, and a landscape with rolling hills has replaced the original seascape.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:37, no. 111. The comparison was made by Tervarent, 219.

2. Tervarent, 219, fig. 43. Crozat's painting was engraved by Jean Haussard in the eighteenth century. See Roger Portalis and Henri Bérardi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Damascène Morgand et Charles Fatout, 1881), 2:381.

Master G.A.I.F.
Christ Healing the Sick

Etching and engraving
12⁵/₈ x 14¹/₈ in. (32.1 x 35.9 cm)



Inscriptions
Lower right: G.A.I.F

References
Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, 2:965,
no. 2705

Literature
Schab, 96, no. 81

Master G.A.I.F. is a completely mysterious artist, known only through his initials on this print. *Christ Healing the Sick* has been placed traditionally among the school of Fontainebleau in the second half of the sixteenth century. Its style of etching and composition suggests, however, Flemish prints of this period, and it should be catalogued more accurately as a Netherlandish print. The somewhat stiff and classicizing figures are completely unlike the suave and elegant types seen in the designs of the Fontainebleau artists. The setting, with its panoramic landscape dotted with classical ruins, recalls similar views in works by Flemish Romanist artists like Maarten van Heemskerck.

Timothy Riggs agrees with this suggestion of the print's Flemish origin.¹ He compared its distinctive figural style—the large, round heads with tightly curled hair—with some prints by Jan and/or Lucas van Duetecum: *The Story of Judith*, a series of four etchings with engraving, and *Susanna*

and the Elders, an etching with engraving.² These prints are thought to be based on designs by Frans Floris or his school. Although Riggs does not believe *Christ Healing the Sick* is attributable to the Duetecums, he does pinpoint it to their and Floris's milieu.

The initials "G.A.I.F" inscribed on the plate can be interpreted several ways. The traditional reading has been that the letters represent the artist's complete name. A second possibility is that the "F" stands for *fecit*, making the artist's initials G.A.I. Furthermore, the "I" might signify *invenit*, making the artist's monogram G.A. Finally there is the possibility that, if the print were Flemish in origin, the "A" could refer to Antwerp, so that the inscription could be translated "artist 'G' from Antwerp designed and made" this etching.

The Gospels contain several stories of Christ healing the sick. This composition does not provide enough visual clues to identify the particular event.

Notes

1. Letter to the author, 2 February 1987.
2. Riggs, 369, nos. 226–27.

After Hendrik Goltzius
Two from a series of eight engravings

130 *The Four Elements*

11¹³/₁₆ x 8³/₁₆ in. (30 x 20.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: 1

Lower right: HGoltzius inve./

ICVisscher excud. Ao. 1588

Below: Sub celo Pater... /

... Nectar alit.; 1

References

Bartsch 3:200, no. 278; Dutuit,

4:493, no. 105 ii/ii; Hollstein,

11:228, no. 237 ii/iii

Literature

Rodari, 109, no. 125



131 *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres*

11¹³/₁₆ x 8³/₁₆ in. (30 x 20.8 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: 3.

Lower center: HG. Invent.

Below: Alma Ceres . . . / . . . atq
Ceres.; 3

References

Bartsch, 3:200, no. 280; Dutuit,
4:493, no. 107; Hollstein, 11:228,
no. 239 iii/iii



3. HG. Invent.
*Alma Ceres, Venus ubera, simul patet almus Bacchus,
Nunquid cuncta fruunt contrariisq; sine*

*Hic sine nil constat, nil nascitur, omnia pessum,
Si sterilis Bacchus, si Venus, atq; Ceres.*

3

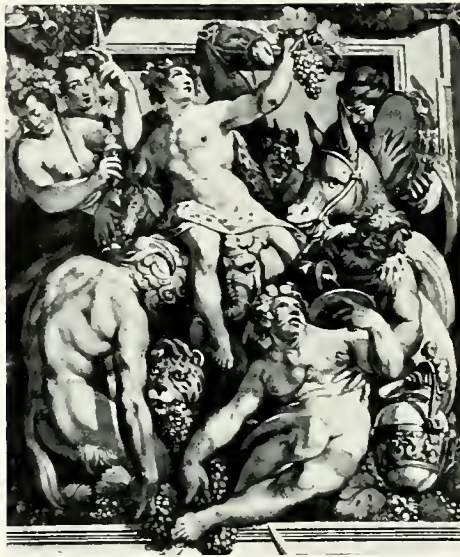


Fig. 131a
Hendrik Goltzius
Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres
Pen and black ink, gray
bodycolor, incised for transfer
11⁷/₁₆ x 8³/₈ in. (29 x 20.6 cm)
The Visitors of the Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford

Fig. 131b
Jacopo Zucchi
(Italy, c. 1541–c. 1589)
Bacchus with Attendants
Fresco
Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome

The Four Elements and *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* are the first and third plates of a series of eight engravings by Matham after Goltzius. The unifying theme of the series is unclear, except that each print depicts a group of mythological or allegorical figures, such as the three fates, the five senses, and the seven cardinal virtues. Reznicek identified preparatory studies by Goltzius for *The Seven Cardinal Virtues*, *The Three Graces*, and *The Alliance of Mercury and Minerva*.¹ Shoaf and Turner added to this group a drawing for *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* (fig. 131a),² at one time considered a copy. Finally, a rapid compositional sketch by Goltzius in the University of Leiden, formerly associated with *The Third Day of Creation* engraved by Jan Muller in 1589, has been published as a preliminary sketch for Matham's *The Four Elements*.³ The confusion is understandable because Goltzius's designs for Matham's and Muller's prints, engraved only a year apart, are similar in the elongated elegance and exaggeratedly dynamic torsion of the figures. Matham's engravings stress the planarity of the compositions through the vertical arrangement of the figures, with relatively little recession into depth from the foremost to the rearmost figures. This two-dimensional and relieflike quality is characteristic of many late mannerist Italian paintings. The composition of *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres*, for example, is comparable with Jacopo Zucchi's fresco *Bacchus with Attendants* in the Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome (fig. 131b).

The Four Elements is the only dated print in the series. It is also the only plate with the name of the publisher: Goltzius himself in the first state; Visscher, as here, in the second; and Valck in the third. Hollstein also noted that the numbers appear twice in the third state. The present impression, how-

ever, has the double numbers (at the lower left of the image, and at the lower right in the legend) but with Visscher's address.

The Four Elements depicts personifications, from top to bottom, of fire, air, water, and earth. Each is shown with attributes and an elaborate symbolic headdress. Similar to the treatment of the sun god in Goltzius's engraving *Apollo* (fig. 118a), the hair of the symbol of fire is arranged in flamelike tresses. He also holds flints and is seated on a salamander, an attribute of fire. The hair of the figure representing air has been transformed into cloud formations, and she holds a chameleon, which according to legend, was believed to subsist on air. The symbol of water reclines like an ancient river god, leaning on an overturned urn, resting her foot on a sea creature, and wearing an outrageous crown made of shells and a miniature boat. The representation of earth is seated on the ground, holds fruits and vegetables, and wears an even more outrageous headdress of vegetation and a mountain topped by a walled tower.

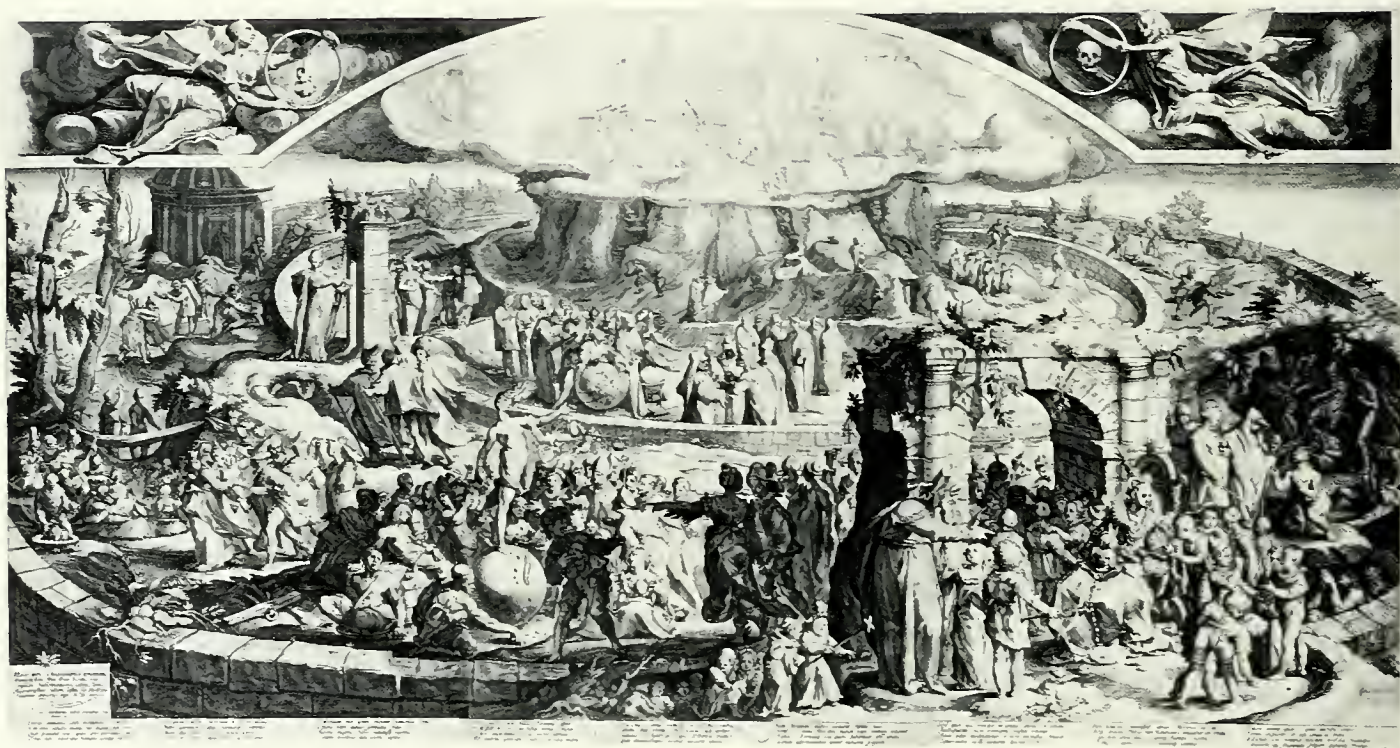
Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres is an illustration of a theme popular in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century: *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* (without feasting and wine, love grows cold); for another representation of this subject, see Jan Saenredam's engraving (cat. no. 143). Venus, the goddess of love, is seated holding a stalk of grain, while her son, Cupid, offers her a bunch of grapes. Bacchus, the god most closely associated with wine, is resting on a wine cask, wearing a crown of grape leaves, and holding aloft a wineglass. Instead of his customary youthful and sensuous appearance, Bacchus resembles his portly and older tutor Silenus. Ceres, the goddess of fertility and abundance, is seated on the ground with an elaborate coiffure resembling the cornucopia she is embracing.

Notes

1. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:263, no. 81; *ibid.*, 289, no. 133; and *ibid.*, 290, no. 134.
2. Shoaf and Turner, 267–70, fig. 148.
3. Hand et al., 156, no. 55.

Jacob Matham
The Table of Cebes

After Hendrik Goltzius
 Engraving from three plates
 25¾ x 49 in. (65.4 x 124.5 cm)



Inscriptions

Lower left: Hocce artis ... /Anno.
 1592.

Below: Dircaei commenta ... /
 Franco Estius

References

Bartsch, 3:166, no. 139; Dutuit,
 4:484, no. 43; Hollstein, 11:229,
 no. 253 i/ii; Le Blanc, 2:623, no.
 36; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
 9:444, no. 139; Wurzbach, 2:123,
 no. 139

Literature

Mariette, 3:284



Fig. 132a
 Hendrik Goltzius
The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche
 Engraving
 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 33 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (41 x 85.5 cm)
 The Trustees of the British Museum, London

This multifigured, rare engraving printed from three separate plates, one of the largest prints produced in the Netherlands, is certainly Matham's most ambitious work. It is slightly larger than Matham's engraving *Cleopatra Returning to Marc Antony*, also printed from three plates.¹ Its scale and composition invite comparison with Goltzius's monumental masterpiece *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* after Bartholomeus Spranger, 1587 (fig. 132a).² The gap of five years between the two engravings strikingly illustrates changes in Goltzius's style during that period. Despite the presence of a degree of mannerist artifice in the proportions and movements of some of the figures, such as Fortune standing on a globe at the lower center,³ *The Table of Cebe*s is essentially an allegory told in the language of a contemporary Dutch genre piece. In this respect it is similar to Jacques de Gheyn II's engraving *The Prodigal Son*, 1596 (cat. no. 112). Goltzius's composition, with its expansive viewpoint, dramatic chiaroscuro, and imaginative and varied groupings of figures, is different from earlier Netherlandish representations of the

theme, such as Philip Galle's 1561 engraving after Frans Floris, whose design appears, in comparison with Goltzius's, more diagrammatic and illustrational.⁴ Shortly after its publication Matham's engraving was copied in a very large canvas by Joseph Heintz now in the Kunstmuseum, Bern.⁵

*The Table of Cebe*s is a reconstruction of an allegorical painting described in the dialogue "Pinax" by Cebe, a pupil of Socrates.⁶ In general terms it depicts the journey of life, with mankind divided into concentric rings corresponding to the spiritually true and false paths leading ultimately to the palace of contentment. At the gated entrance in the lower right, the figure of an old man explains the future courses of the people's lives. Fortune is distributing her gifts to the assembled masses. As the people travel the circuitous paths, they are frequently interrupted by symbols, each with an identifying label, of immoderation, wastefulness, flattery, revenge, improper upbringing, and so on. By making the morally correct choices in life, mankind eventually arrives at the glittering and brightly illuminated palace at the top of the composition.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:189, no. 226.
2. *Ibid.*, 85, no. 277.
3. This figure is very similar to the one in Jan Muller's engraving *Fortune Distributing Her Gifts* after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, 1590 (*ibid.*, 277, no. 33).
4. Van de Velde, 1:430, no. 134, 2:pl. 287.
5. Kaufmann, 227, no. 7-2.
6. For a summary of the imagery, see Anton Pigler, *Barockthemen* (Budapest: Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956), 2:459.

After Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem
Engraving
13³/₈ x 8⁷/₈ in. (34 x 22.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower center: CC Harlemensis
Invent; IMatham sculp.
Below: Astrorum Princeps . . . /
. . . alles regierick

References

Bartsch, 3:156, no. 95; Hollstein,
11:227, no. 182 i/ii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 9:442, no. 95;
Wurzbach, 2:123, no. 95

Literature

Heineken, 4:316



Fig. 133a
 Jacob Matham
Diana
 Engraving
 1 3⁵/₁₆ x 8³/₄ in. (33.8 x 22.2 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection



Apollo reproduces a typically dynamic, heavily muscled, and dramatically foreshortened invention of Cornelis. Like Goltzius's engraving *Icarus* (cat. no. 115) Matham's print documents the kind of nude studies Cornelis and other members of the Haarlem Academy were making about 1590. Apollo's pose is comparable with a drawing in Vienna of a nude male, formerly attributed to Cornelis but now given to Abraham Bloemaert.¹ The print's dynamic character also recalls, as does *Icarus*, developments in late mannerist Italian painting, such as the strongly foreshortened flying angel in Pellegrino Tibaldi's fresco *The Conception of John the Baptist*, circa 1555, in the church of San Giacomo, Bologna,² as well as Cherubino and Giovanni Alberti's *quadratura* frescoes in Rome.

This representation of the sun god is the pendant to Matham's engraving of Apollo's sister Diana, goddess of the moon (fig. 133a).³ Like Cornelis's series *The Four Disgracers*, to which Goltzius's *Icarus* belongs, *Apollo* and *Diana* present a number of pairs of contrasts: male-female, sun-moon, light-dark, front-back, advancing-receding. The highly energetic Apollo appears to burst through the picture plane in a protobaroque manner that contrasts with the suave, sinuous, and mannerist conception of Goltzius's engraving of the subject from a few years earlier (fig. 118a).

Notes

1. Thiel, 152, fig. 4.
2. Giuliano Briganti, *Il manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi* (Rome: Cosmopolita, 1945), fig. 137.
3. Bartsch, 3:156, no. 96.

After Adriaen de Vries

Engraving

16¹⁵/₁₆ x 11³/₈ in. (43 x 28.9 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower center: 2**Below left: Adrianus de vries
Hagien./inventor.**Below center: Sic pubes . . . /
. . . posse dari.**Below right: Joan Muller
sculpsit./Dancker Danckertz
Exc.***References**Bartsch, 3:291, no. 78 ii/ii;
Hollstein, 14:108, no. 66 iv/vi;
Le Blanc, 3:67, no. 62 ii/ii;
Wurzbach, 2:205, no. 78**Literature**

Korazija, 77, no. 53

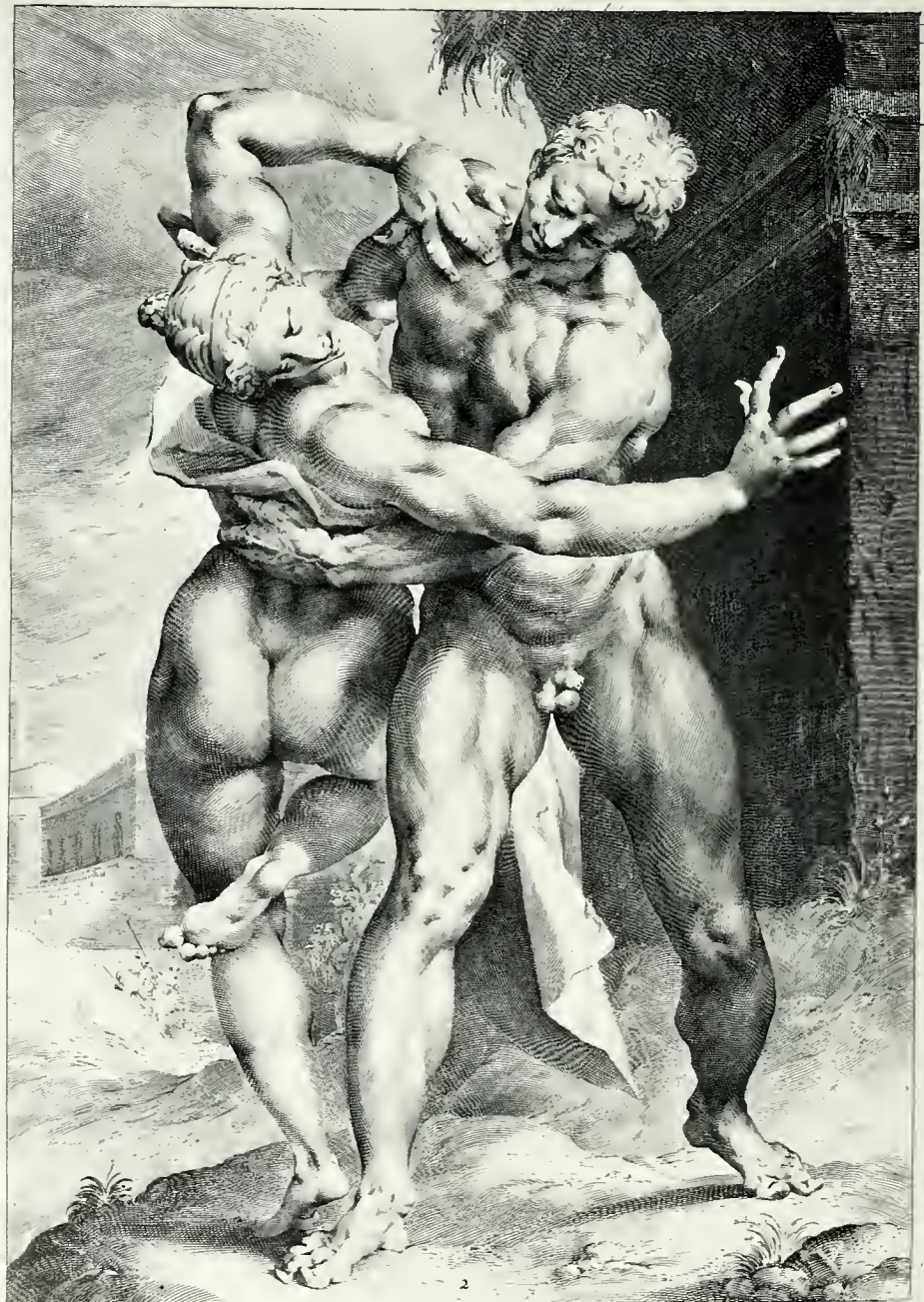
*Adrianus de vries
Hagien. inventor.**Sic pubes Romanae sunt iam. falsa reputant,
Dum rapit, optabat quod sibi posse dari.**Joan Muller sculpsit
Dancker Danckertz Exc.*



Fig. 134a
Jan Muller
The Abduction of a Sabine Woman
Engraving
16¼ x 11¼ in. (42.5 x 28.6 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

Fig. 134b
Jan Muller
The Abduction of a Sabine Woman
Engraving
16¼ x 11¾ in. (42.5 x 28.9 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

The Abduction of a Sabine Woman is from a set of three prints by Muller (figs. 134a and 134b) showing different views of the same subject, a now-lost wax maquette by de Vries.¹ It is not known precisely when Muller and de Vries collaborated. Muller was in Italy for a period between 1594 and 1602, and de Vries was traveling throughout Europe during that time. Larsson suggested 1594, when de Vries was in The Hague, as the most likely time of their meeting.² Muller engraved several designs by de Vries, only one of which, *Mercury and Psyche*, bears a date, 1593.³ Because the sculptor was still in Italy and Muller was in the Netherlands, the date probably refers to the period of the sculpture's creation rather than to the date of the engraving.⁴ Nevertheless, it is suggested here that most of Muller's prints after de Vries date from the mid-1590s when they might have been in contact in the Netherlands, Italy, or Prague. Muller's predominant emphasis on the three-dimensional qualities of the figures in the present engraving reflects the sculp-

tural nature of his model and is also consistent with his dated engravings after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem from the beginning of his career, such as *The Combat of Ulysses and Irus*, 1589, and *Fortune Distributing Her Gifts*, 1590.⁵

Like his *Abduction of a Sabine Woman* engravings Muller's three *Mercury and Psyche* engravings, also after de Vries, show a sculpture from three points of view. The two sets of prints may be related to the *paragone*, the debate between painters and sculptors over the superiority of their respective crafts. Painters considered their creations more lifelike because of their use of color; sculptors countered by arguing for their ability to render volume. Muller's sets are tours de force of the engraver's success in suggesting light, color, texture, and three-dimensionality.

Muller's engraving illustrates a scene from early Roman history. Romulus recognized Rome's lack of suitable women for wives and invited the neighboring Sabines to a festival, during which the Sabine women were forcefully abducted.

Notes

1. Lars Olaf Larsson, *Adrian de Vries* (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1967), 125, no. 56.
2. *Ibid.*, 17–18.
3. Bartsch, 3:292, nos. 82–84.
4. For the sculpture, see Larsson, *Adrian de Vries*, 122, no. 31, figs. 10–11.
5. Bartsch, 3:276–77, nos. 30 and 33.

Jan Muller
The Three Fates

After Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem
 Engraving
 12 x 10¹/₁₆ in. (30.5 x 25.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: C. Cornelij
 Harlemen inve./Harman
 Mullerus excud./Amsterdamj
 Below: Tres tria . . . / . . . morsq
 venit.

References

Bartsch, 3:277, no. 31; Hollstein,
 14:109, no. 69 iii/iii; Le Blanc,
 3:67, no. 55; Nagler, *Künstler-
 Lexikon*, 11:90, no. 31;
 Wurzbach, 2:205, no. 13

Literature

Heinecken, 4:316



*Tres tria lanifica designant tempora Parca:
 Arbitrio quam vitam morsq. venit.*

The monumental physical presence of the three female nudes in *The Three Fates* is a striking and distinctive example of the degree of Michelangelo's influence on Cornelis's figural style. The nudes project the massive and androgynous muscularity of Michelangelo's female figures in the Sistine Chapel, Rome, or the Medici tombs, Florence. This physicality contrasts with the lithe elegance, elongated proportions, and Sprangeresque suavity of Matham's depiction of the same subject based on a design by Goltzius.¹

The Fates were mythological spirits who determined at the time of birth the course of an individual's destiny. They are usually depicted as spinning "the thread of life," with Clotho holding the spindle, Lachesis apportioning the thread, and Atropos cutting it and bringing life to an end.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:200, no. 284.

Engraving
 12½ x 8½ in. (31.8 x 21.6 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: JMuller fecit.
Below: Christe, sator . . . /
 Harman Muller excud:

References

Bartsch, 3:266, no. 3 ii/ii;
 Hollstein, 14:106, no. 16 ii/ii;
 Le Blanc, 3:66, no. 17 ii/ii;
 Wurzbach, 2:204, no. 3



*Christe, sator mundi, proles generosa Tonantis,
 Sic iuuat impuros purus adire lacus?*

*O quam diuini mysteria sancta lauacri,
 Quo solet impurus purus adire lacu!*
 Harman Muller excud.

Fig. 136a
 Jan Muller
The Baptism of Christ
 Brush and brown wash,
 heightened with white
 11¹/₁₆ x 8³/₁₆ in. (29.6 x 20.8 cm)
 Staatliche Graphische
 Sammlung, Munich



The Baptism of Christ is a significant touchstone for discussing the stylistic development of Muller's manner of engraving. Muller's very painterly preparatory drawing (fig. 136a), in reverse, is dated 1590 and nearly identical in size to the engraving.¹ The figures in the drawing are bathed in flickering and dramatic chiaroscuro, transforming the scene into a highly mystical and otherworldly event. This quality is also evident in Muller's engravings from the end of the decade, such as *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Feast of Belshazzar* (cat. nos. 138–39). *The Baptism of Christ*, however, is less dramatic than the later prints in its contrasts of light and shade. Muller's feathery manner of engraving caresses the forms in a soft, enveloping light. This sense of fluidity is its most Sprangeresque quality, akin to his engraving *A Satyr Removing a Thorn from a Faun's Foot* after Bartholomeus Spranger.² The soft muscularity of the anatomies in the present engraving suggests the pliability of porcelain or terracotta rather than the marblelike sculptural quality of Muller's figures based on the designs of Adriaen de Vries for *The Abduction of a Sabine Woman* and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem for *The Three Fates* (cat. nos. 134–35).

The subject comes from Matthew 3:13–17. While John the Baptist was preaching in the desert and baptizing people in the Jordan River, Jesus asked to be baptized. When the rite was completed, the heavens opened, the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove, and the voice of God the Father acknowledged Jesus as his son.

Notes

1. Wolfgang Wegner, *Kataloge der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München: Die niederländischen Handzeichnungen des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1973), 1:112, no. 800, 2:pl.81.

2. Bartsch, 3:287, no. 71.

Engraving

18¹³/₁₆ x 14¹/₈ in. (47.8 x 35.9 cm)**Inscriptions**

Upper border: ΓΝΩΘΙ
ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ Ano. 1596. Nosce
teipsum.

Lower border: Chilon
Philosophus Spartanus./Joan.
Muller. fecit.

Below: Harman Muller.;
excudebat.

References

Bartsch, 3:269, no. 13 i/ii;
Hollstein, 14:111, no. 80 ii/iii;
Le Blanc, 3:68, no. 73 ii/iii;
Wurzbach, 2:204, no. 13

Literature

Mielke, 41, no. 39; Oberhuber,
Zwischen, 228, no. 341



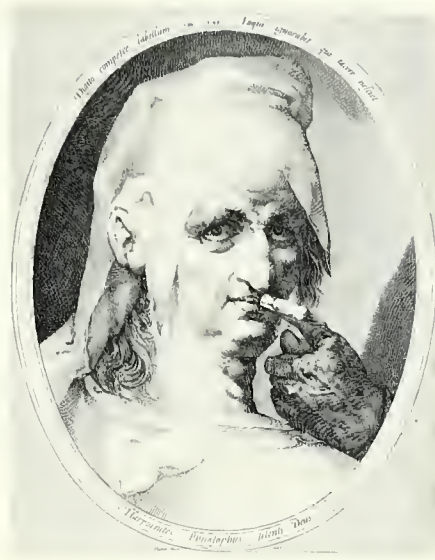


Fig. 137a
Jan Muller
Harpocrates
Engraving
18¾ x 14³/₁₆ in. (47.6 x 37.6 cm)
Los Angeles County
Museum of Art
Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

Although executed three years apart, Muller's engravings *Chilon*, 1596, and *Harpocrates*, 1593 (Bartsch 12) (fig. 137a), were created as pendants; they are identical in size and oval format and are balanced in the directions of the compositions. Bartsch singled out these prints, especially *Chilon*, for their boldness and freedom of handling of the burin and claimed that they elevated Muller to the ranks of the most distinguished engravers. Bartsch was perceptive in this assessment because this engraving is as fine as Goltzius's best work. Muller's treatment of the hair is especially notable for its painterly freedom. Several authors have remarked on the similarity between his engraving technique and Goltzius's *Federkunststücke* (pen-and-ink drawings executed in the manner of engravings). Perhaps the best-known example of Goltzius's drawings in this fashion is *Head of Mercury*, 1587, in the Ashmolean.¹ Muller's delineation of Chilon's

right hand, meticulously detailed in all its knobby splendor, is similar to another well-known *Federkunststück*, Goltzius's 1588 study of his own hand in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem.² Reznicek first published a drawing in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, identical to *Chilon* in almost every detail, as Muller's preparatory study but later considered it a copy.³ Christoffel van Sichem 1's *Young Man with a Turban* (cat. no. 148) is another example of a print executed in this manner.

The engraved inscription identifies this figure as Chilon, one of the legendary Seven Sages of Greece, best known for his exhortation, "Know thyself." As an illustration of this homily, Chilon is depicted holding a mirror. Hollstein recorded three states of this engraving, to which Oberhuber added a different first state: an impression in the Albertina before the inscription, as in Hollstein's first state but with the mirror unfinished.

Notes

1. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:280, no. 119, 2:pl. 75.
2. *Ibid.*, 1:305, no. 165, 2:pl. 86.
3. Reznicek, "Muller als Tekenaar," 91, 113, no. 13, fig. 13; *idem*, "Muller Addenda," 116–17.

Engraving
 13⁷/₈ x 17³/₁₆ in. (35.3 x 43.7 cm)



*En, Deus humana vestitus carne, pudice
 In gremio Matris conspicendus adest.*

*O quam preclarum divini pignus amoris,
 Quo nullum toto certus Orbe fuit.*

*Incensum, thus, myrrham, Regiū, Deoꝝ, hominū,
 Mystica pro modulo munera quisq; prebet.*

*Harman Muller excudit
 1598.*

Inscriptions

*Upper left: Joan Muller
 inventor/et sculpsit
 Below: En, Deus humana . . . /
 . . . Harman Muller excude./
 1598.*

References

Bartsch, 3:265, no. 2; Hollstein,
 14:105, no. 14 ii/ii; Le Blanc,
 3:66, no. 11 ii/iii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 11:88, no. 2;
 Wurzbach, 2:204, no. 2

Literature

Mielke, 52, no. 65; Oberhuber,
Zwischen, 228, no. 340

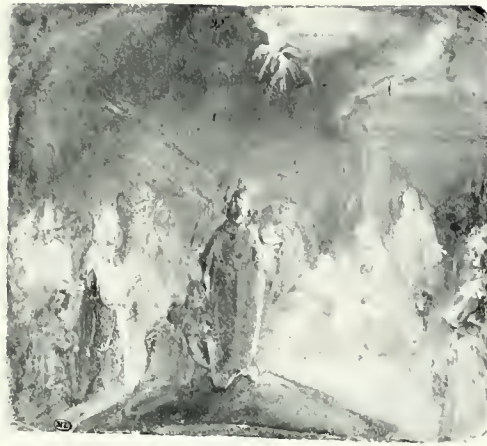


Fig. 138a
Jan Muller
The Adoration of the Magi
Purple chalk and wash,
heightened with white
5 x 5¾ in. (12.7 x 14.7 cm)
Cabinet des Dessins,
Musée du Louvre, Paris

While not pendants in scale, iconography, or time of creation, Muller's *The Adoration of the Magi*, dated 1598, and *The Feast of Belshazzar* (cat. no. 139) are often paired because they are his two great nocturnal engravings. Muller is believed to have been in Italy between 1594 and 1602, but he might have been back in the Netherlands, where the present engraving was published, by 1598. It seems that his conception of the nocturnes with their strong emphasis on dramatic and flickering illumination would have been inconceivable without the artist's first-hand experience of Jacopo Tintoretto's paintings in Venice.

The Adoration of the Magi has a decentralized Karel van Mander-like design with the principal figures of the Holy Family placed in the background. The proportions of the figures, with their elongated bodies and tiny heads, and the doll-like appearances of the Madonna, Christ Child, and kneeling king recall Bartholomeus Spranger's painting *The Adoration of the Magi*, circa 1595, in the

National Gallery, London.¹ Both compositions in turn are reminiscent of Pieter Brueghel the Elder's painting of the subject of 1563, also in the National Gallery.² Ackley stressed the place of Muller's engravings in the Netherlandish tradition of interest in nocturnal effects, beginning in the fifteenth century with the paintings of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and continuing in the seventeenth century with prints by artists such as Hendrik Goudt and Rembrandt.³

A small, colorful, and very painterly study for *The Adoration of the Magi* is in the Louvre (fig. 138a).⁴ Also similar in composition to the central group of the Holy Family is a sheet of about 1597 in the Uffizi, *The Holy Family with Musical Angels*.⁵

The story of the Adoration of the Magi is told in Matthew 2.1-11. The three wise men arrived in Bethlehem from the east by following a star that led them to the place where Jesus was born. Prostrating themselves before the Holy Family, they offered gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

Notes

1. Cecil Gould, ed., *The National Gallery: Illustrated General Catalogue* (London: National Gallery, 1973), 696, no. 6392.
2. *Ibid.*, 81, no. 3556.
3. Ackley, 16, no. 8.
4. Reznicek, "Muller Addenda," 123-24, 131, no. 15, pl. 6.
5. Reznicek, "Muller als Tekenaar," 115, no. 22, fig. 10.

139

Jan Muller
The Feast of Belshazzar

Engraving
 14³/₁₆ x 15¹⁵/₁₆ in. (36 x 40.5 cm)



Joannes Muller 1711 Cernite Chaldaei cuius sub imagine Regis. Horrefia inferens diuini nominis iram. Sciat hac decuit plecti ratione superba, Numine contempto, lingua qui idola crepabat. Qui simili peccare modo presumitis, esto Disce ab exemplo, similis ne parna sequatur. Henricus Muller excudebat 1711

Inscriptions

Below: Joannes Muller:/fecit.;
 Cernite Chaldaei . . . / . . . ne
 paena sequatur.; Harman
 Muller/excudebat.

References

Bartsch, 3:265, no. 1; Hollstein,
 14:105, no. 11 ii/iii; Le Blanc,
 3:66, no. 10 ii/iii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 11:88, no. 1;
 Wurzbach, 2:204, no. 1

Literature

Korazija, 74, no. 48; Mielke, 51,
 no. 64; Oberhuber, *Zwischen*,
 227, no. 339



Fig. 139a
 Jacopo Tintoretto
 (Italy, 1519–1594)
The Last Supper
 Oil on canvas
 144 x 224 in. (365.8 x 569 cm)
 San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice

The undated *Feast of Belshazzar* was probably engraved a couple of years later than Muller's *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1598 (cat. no. 138). Although large, multifigured compositions were not unknown among Netherlandish prints of the sixteenth century, Muller's pair of nocturnal engravings is especially notable for his presentation of the narratives as spectacles, with their emphasis on grandeur, opulence, and sweeping theatricality in the storytelling. His compositional approach links Muller with contemporary Venetian masters like Jacopo Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese. His handling of light in unifying the diverse elements of the compositions is indebted to Tintoretto and differs considerably from a Netherlandish version of a spectacle, such as Jacques de Gheyn II's *The Prodigal Son* (cat. no. 112).

The diagonal orientation of *The Feast of Belshazzar* is particularly comparable with Tintoretto's contemporary painting *The Last Supper*, 1592–94 (fig. 140a), in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, which Muller could have seen while he was in Italy. Reznicek also compared Muller's diagonal

composition and candlelit illumination with Hendrik Goltzius's early engraving *The Banquet at the House of Tarquinius*, circa 1578.¹ Muller's full-scale drawing for *The Feast of Belshazzar* is in the Rijksmuseum.²

The nocturnal prints are less calligraphic and linear than Muller's earlier engravings after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem and Adriaen de Vries, as his handling of the burin in the night prints created broad tonal effects of light and texture. Muller's technique became systematized during the seventeenth century especially among the reproductive engravers of the school of Peter Paul Rubens.

According to Daniel 5.1–31, Belshazzar, king of Babylon, hosted a feast during which the guests drank from vessels taken from the temple in Jerusalem. The banquet was interrupted by the miraculous appearance on the wall of the words "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin." None of Belshazzar's magicians and wise men could interpret the phrase, so he summoned the Hebrew prophet Daniel, who successfully translated the words as a warning from God that the end of the Babylonian kingdom was near.

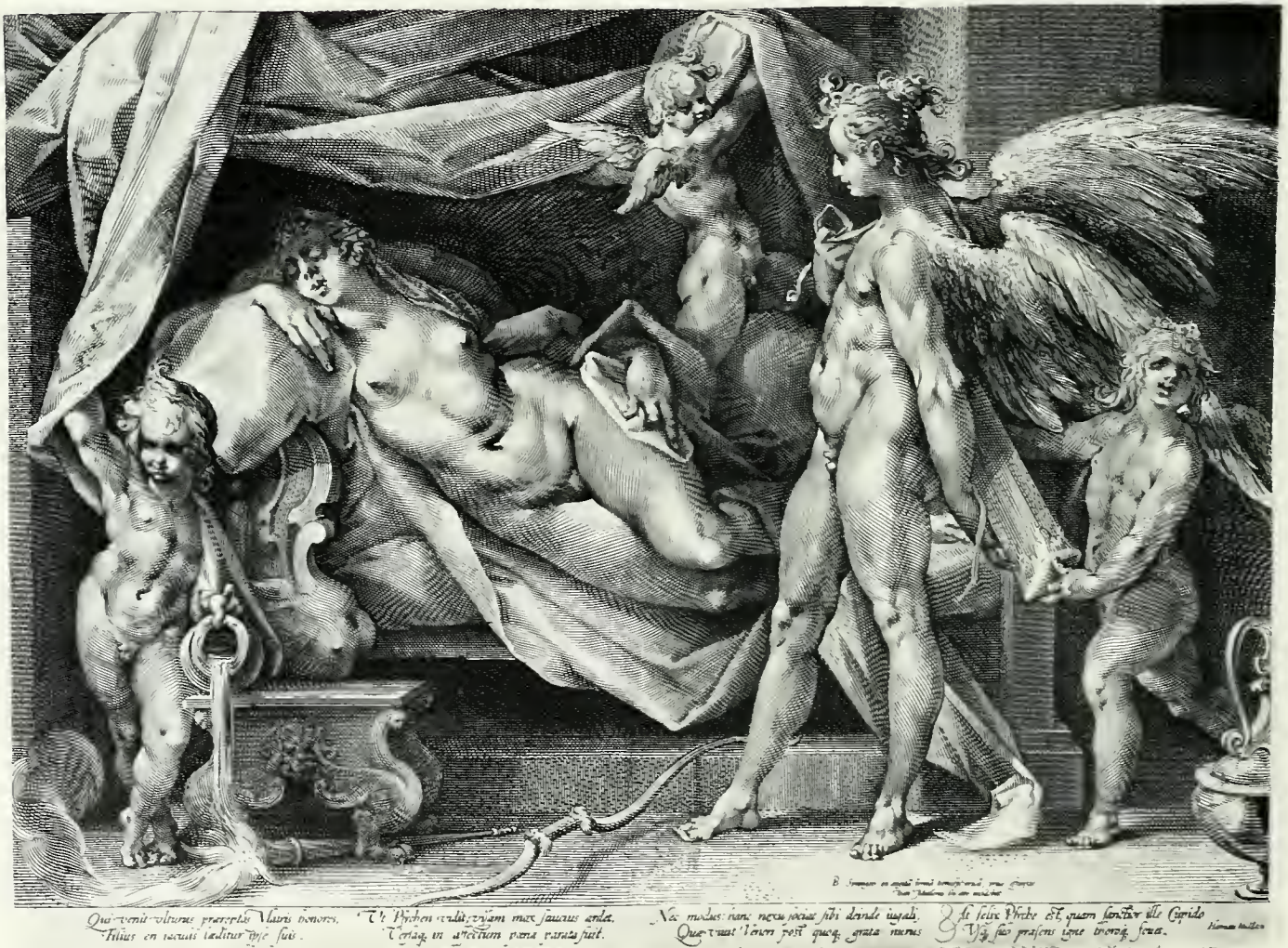
Notes

1. Reznicek, "Muller als Tekenaar," 101; Bartsch, 3:35, no. 104.
2. Reznicek, "Muller als Tekenaar," 111, no. 1, fig. 19.

After Bartholomeus Spranger

Engraving

15 x 20¼ in. (38.1 x 51.4 cm)

**Inscriptions**

Lower right: B. Sprangers in
 argilla . . . /Joan: Mullerus in aere
 incidebat.

Below: Qui venit . . . ; Harman
 Muller.

References

Bartsch, 3:286, no. 70; Hollstein,
 14:107, no. 51 i/ii; Le Blanc, 3:67,
 no. 50; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
 11:91, no. 70; Wurzbach, 2:205,
 no. 70

Literature

Korazija, 75, no. 49; Mielke, 34,
 no. 21; Rodari, 109, no. 123



Fig. 140a
Abraham Bloemaert
(Holland, 1564–1651)
The Wedding of Psyche
Oil on canvas
40 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 57 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (102 x 145 cm)
Bayerische
Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Munich

Cupid Discovers Psyche in His Bed is a document of Spranger's activity as a sculptor at the court of Emperor Rudolf II.¹ The engraving is based on Spranger's now-lost wax relief of this subject. A *terminus ante quem* for Spranger's sculpture is provided by Abraham Bloemaert's painting *The Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche*, circa 1593–94, in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on deposit at the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 140a).² The figure of Cupid in Spranger's composition is copied in the lower right of Bloemaert's painting.

The dating of Muller's engraving is speculative because the chronology of his prints has not been established. It is suggested here, however, that it dates about 1600–1605. In works from about 1600, such as *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Feast of Belshazzar* (cat. nos. 138–39), and *The Raising of Lazarus* after Abraham Bloemaert,³ Muller introduced increasingly rich pictorial elements and dramatic chiaroscuro—achieved through an extraordinarily dense and elaborate network of crosshatching—

into his manner of engraving. These characteristics are present in *Cupid Discovers Psyche in His Bed* as well as in *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1606 (cat. no. 141). It is appropriate to locate the present work in this period.

For the fable of Cupid and Psyche, see Giorgio Ghisi's *Cupid and Psyche* (cat. no. 31). Psyche's deathlike slumber is alluded to by the putto at the left extinguishing a torch with a vase of water.

Notes

1. For Spranger's activity as a sculptor, see E. K. J. Reznicek, "Bartholomeus Spranger als Bildhauer," in Antje Kosengarten and Peter Tigler, eds., *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), 1:370–75. The only surviving sculpture attributed to Spranger is the wax relief *Dead Christ with Angels* formerly in the collection of Count Antoine Seilern. See *ibid.*, fig. 1.

2. Pieter van Thiel in Albert Blankert, ed., *Gods, Saints and Heroes*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1980), 88, no. 5. A date of about 1595 was suggested earlier by Gustav Delbanco, *Der Maler Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651)* (Strasbourg: J. H. Ed. Heitz, 1928), 74, no. 7.

3. Bartsch, 3:274, no. 27.

Jan Muller
The Adoration of the Shepherds

After Bartholomeus Spranger
 Engraving
 22¼ x 17 in. (56.5 x 43.2 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower center: CVM PRIVIL/S.
 CAES. M. SER

Below: Hei mihi! . . . / . . . ecce,
 iacet.

References

Bartsch, 3:284, no. 65; Hollstein,
 14:105, no. 13 i/ii; Le Blanc, 3:66,
 no. 12; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
 11:90, no. 65; Wurzbach, 2:205,
 no. 65



Muller's increased interest in tonal effects in his engravings at the beginning of the seventeenth century, apparent in *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Feast of Belshazzar*, and *Cupid Discovers Psyche in His Bed* (cat. nos. 138–40), is also manifest in the present work of 1606. Because the figural style of Spranger's design is more naturalistic in its proportions and movements than the excessively artificial and elegant types found in his works of the 1580s and 1590s, it probably dates from the early seventeenth century. Muller's technique of engraving in a manner resembling watered silk is a trademark of his later prints. This dense network of engraved lines is also seen in other early seventeenth-century Netherlandish prints in this volume, such as Lucas Kilian's *Hercules and Antaeus* (cat. no. 127) and Aegedius Sadeler's *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance* (cat. no. 142), both after Spranger.

After Bartholomeus Spranger
 Engraving
 19⁵/₈ x 13¹⁵/₁₆ in. (49.9 x 35.4 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower left: B: Spranger
 invent./Eg: Sadeler scalp
 Below: Non datur . . . / . . . honore
 ruat.

References

Hollstein, 21:33, no. 115; Le
 Blanc, 3:397, no. 175; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 16:15, no.
 159; Wurzbach, 2:536, no. 82

Literature

Korazija, 78, no. 56





Wisdom Conquers Ignorance is based on a painting by Spranger of about 1591 (fig. 142a).¹ It appears, however, that this print was made about ten or fifteen years later. The dense network of engraved lines modeling the figure resembles the effect of watered silk seen in the late engravings of Jan Muller, such as *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1606 (cat. no. 141), as well as Lucas Kilian's *Hercules and Antaeus*, 1610 (cat. no. 127). The central figure of Wisdom is not placed parallel to the picture plane as in the painting but twists her body in the elegant movement of a characteristic mannerist form, the *figura serpentinata*. The new design might have been provided by Spranger himself because the pose of Wisdom is very similar to Spranger's drawing *Saint Martin and the Beggar*, circa 1604 (fig. 142b), in the Rijksmuseum.² In the self-contained torsion of their movements, the figures of Wisdom and Saint Martin both recall Raphael's fresco *The Triumph of Galatea* in the Villa Farnesina, Rome.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century illustrations for theses and other books mythological subjects featuring heroes defeating monsters, such as the labors of Hercules, Perseus slaying Medusa, and Cadmus and the dragon, were often employed as allegories of the triumph of the intellect. Such themes could also be interpreted more generally as the victory of virtue over vice. Kaufmann summarized the various interpretations of Spranger's design. The most convincing is Oberhuber's suggestion that the composition represents the sovereignty of Emperor Rudolf II in the realms of war, symbolized by the figure of Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, at the lower left, and the arts, represented by the surrounding figures of the Muses. Consequently, Sadeler's *Wisdom Conquers Ignorance* is not simply a philosophical treatise but also a paean to the political and cultural power of the Holy Roman Empire.

Fig. 142a
Bartholomeus Spranger
(Flanders, 1546–1611)
Wisdom Conquers Ignorance
Oil on canvas
64³/₁₆ x 46¹/₁₆ in. (163 x 117 cm)
Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Vienna

Fig. 142b
Bartholomeus Spranger
(Flanders, 1546–1611)
Saint Martin and the Beggar
Pen and brown ink, brown wash,
heightened with white
9¹/₁₆ x 4³/₄ in. (24.6 x 12 cm)
Rijksprentenkabinet,
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Notes

1. Kaufmann, 302, no. 20–49. Kaufmann mistakenly attributes this engraving to Jan Muller. A drawn replica by Spranger of the painting was sold recently at Sotheby's, London, 19 February 1987, lot 257.

2. K. G. Boon, *Catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Rijksmuseum: Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1978), 1:152, no. 417.

Jan Saenredam
Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres

After Abraham Bloemaert
 Engraving
 10³/₄ x 8¹/₈ in. (27.3 x 20.7 cm)

Inscriptions

*Below: SINE CERERE ET
 BACCHO FRIGET VENUS./*
 Ipsa Venus . . . /
 Iacobus Razet divulgavit.

References

Bartsch, 3:229, no. 28; Hollstein,
 23:58, no. 75 ii/iii; Le Blanc,
 3:404, no. 53 ii/ii; Nagler,
Künstler-Lexikon, 16:28 no. 28
 ii/ii; Wurzbach, 2:545, no. 28

Literature

Heineken, 3:33



SINE CERERE ET BACCHO FRIGET VENUS.
*Ipsa Venus, Bacchus, Ceres, tunc totæque frigent,
 Si genitalis adest Bacchus et alma Ceres.
 Qui cepit sua blandis nimis indulget Amori,
 Nec retinet omni pocula crebra, nimis.*
 Abrah. Blom inv. Saenredam sculpsit.
*Immoderata etenim Venus Bacchique, cupido
 Enervat vires, ingeniumque nocet.
 Tunc probitas, omnis pudor, et reverentia cedunt
 In quorum subeunt furta, aëliq, locum.* J. R.
 Iacobus Razet divulgavit.

Saenredam's *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* is one of several illustrations of this subject by Hendrik Goltzius and his school, including Jacob Matham's 1588 engraving after Goltzius (cat. no. 131). Compared with some of the other versions, including Saenredam's 1600 engraving after Goltzius,¹ Bloemaert's composition is more intimate in its close view of the participants as well as less classically refined in the ribald intertwining of the three deities. Despite the mythological overtones of the subject, Saenredam's engraving resembles an earthy Netherlandish genre piece, such as a merry company of soldiers and prostitutes or a group of frolicking peasants. The emphasis on the agricultural attributes is more pronounced here than in the other depictions, adding to its affinities with peasant genre scenes.

Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres is probably an early work by Saenredam, almost certainly executed before 1600. The manner of engraving is less dense and silvery than a later work such as his *Temptation of Adam*, 1604 (cat. no. 146). Because of the openness of the hatching the present work is less dramatic in its description of light and shade, as well as less opulent in its description of the various textures. It might have been executed not long after Saenredam's 1594 series of engravings after Polidoro da Caravaggio.²

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:243, no. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, 231, no. 33.

After Hendrik Goltzius

Engraving

12 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (32.7 x 22 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower left:* 1/HG*Below:* Leta Jovis . . . /F. Estius.**References**

Bartsch, 3:239, no. 53; Dutuit,
4:501, no. 14; Hollstein, 23:45,
no. 57; Le Blanc, 3:405, no. 57;
Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*, 16:31,
no. 53; Wurzbach, 2:545, no. 53

Literature

Mariette, 5:152



*Leta Jovis thalamus quiescit Saturnia visit
(Blanditurq; Deo rosas inmixta lacertis,*

*Jeta trifida tacant, semitruq; per cetera nullam,
Cephole Peana canunt, pax aurea mendo est.*
F. ESTIUS.

Fig. 144a
 Jan Saenredam
Neptune and Amphitrite
 Engraving
 12⁷/₈ x 8⁵/₈ in. (32.7 x 21.9 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection

Fig. 144b
 Jan Saenredam
Pluto and Proserpina
 Engraving
 12¹³/₁₆ x 8³/₁₆ in. (32.5 x 21.7 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Mary Stansbury Ruiz Collection



Jupiter and Juno is from Saenredam's set of three prints representing pairs of mythological gods and goddesses; the other works are *Neptune and Amphitrite* and *Pluto and Proserpina* (figs. 144a and 144b).¹ Like Goltzius's earlier series of oval chiaroscuro woodcuts (see cat. nos. 117–19), Saenredam's three engravings symbolize the cosmos with the three mythological representations of the rulers of the sky, the sea, and the underworld. The engravings also illustrate well the substantial changes in Goltzius's figural style in the course of ten years between his chiaroscuros and Saenredam's engravings after his designs. Although undated, the prints of gods and goddesses reflect the less capricious, nobler, calmer, and more classicizing character of Goltzius's post-Italian works. Even though it is reminiscent of his earlier woodcut *Amphitrite* (cat. no. 119), the pose of Juno is closer in its idealized refinement to later Goltzius designs engraved by Saenredam, such as *Adam and Eve*, 1597, and *Diana and Callisto*, 1599.² The exquisite and sensuous figures in these designs undoubtedly were inspired by Titian's nudes, especially his canvas *Diana and Callisto*, circa 1556–59, in the National Gallery of Scotland.³ For these reasons it is likely that Saenredam's set was engraved during the last years of the sixteenth century.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:239, nos. 54–55.
2. *Ibid.*, 234, no. 40; and *ibid.*, 238, no. 52.
3. Wethey, 3:141, no. 10, pl. 143.

After Hendrik Goltzius

Engraving

10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.7 x 18.1 cm)**Inscriptions***Lower left:* Cum privil. Sa.
Cae. M.*Lower right:* HG. invent.

J. Saenreda. sculp./Ao. 1601

Below: Andromaden Perseus ... /

... morte draconem;

C. Schoneus

ReferencesBartsch, 3:245, no. 80; Dutuit,
4:505, no. 41; Hollstein, 23:65,
no. 85 i/iii; Le Blanc, 3:404, no.
41; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
16:33, no. 80; Wurzbach, 2:546,
no. 80

Andromeda is an ideal example of the marriage of form and technique: Goltzius's sinuous and elegant design and Saenredam's fluid and calligraphic manner of engraving. One could hardly find a more representative illustration of the mannerist *figura serpentinata* than the figure of Andromeda, as the direction of the viewer's gaze follows a gently curving path from the figure's foot to her head. Her voluptuous form is echoed by the delineation of the landscape through undulating parallel strokes. This style of draftsmanship recalls his calligraphic landscape drawings of the 1590s, such as his 1596 *Landscape with Mercury* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon,¹ as well as his series of landscape woodcuts from this period (cat. nos. 123–26).

Goltzius's and Saenredam's fluid and curvilinear delineation harks back to Venetian models interpreted by Cornelis Cort, such as his engraving *Ruggiero Rescuing Angelica* after Titian (cat. no. 104).

Saenredam's engraving is the last and finest of three compositions of the subject designed by Goltzius, who engraved one version himself in 1583.² A large and multi-figured composition was engraved by Jacob Matham in 1597.³

Andromeda was the daughter of Cepheus, king of the Ethiopians, and Cassiopeia. As a result of Cassiopeia's boast about her daughter's beauty, a dragon was sent by Poseidon to ravage their kingdom. In order to appease the monster, Andromeda was offered as a sacrifice and chained to a rock. She was rescued, however, by the Greek hero Perseus, son of the mating of Zeus and Danae. Perseus and Andromeda then married.

Notes

1. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:424, no. 393.

2. Bartsch, 3:47, no. 156.

3. *Ibid.*, 169, no. 162.

After Abraham Bloemaert
Two from a series of six engravings

146 *The Temptation of Adam*

10¹⁵/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈ in. (27.8 x 20 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: A. Bloemaert.
invc./J. Saenredam sculp./3
Below: *Ambitiosa fames . . . /*
. . . arbore fructus

References

Bartsch, 3:225, no. 15; Hollstein,
23:7, no. 3 i/iii; Le Blanc, 3:403,
no. 3; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
16:26, no. 15; Wurzbach, 2:544,
no. 15

Literature

Heineken, 3:25



*Ambitiosa fames, et ceterisque insana curatio,
Sicutas creantibus serpens insidiosa arationi*

*Sebarunt mortale genus; cum perfida pellex
Aula est fatales accipere ab arbore fructus*

147 *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*

10¹³/₁₆ x 7¹³/₁₆ in. (27.5 x 19.9 cm)

Inscriptions

Lower right: A. Bloemaert
inven./J. Saenredam sculp./
4 [number largely erased]
Below: Reddita lux . . . /
. . . vindice silvas

References

Bartsch, 3:225, no. 16; Hollstein,
23:7, no. 4 i/ii; Le Blanc, 3:403,
no. 4; Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*,
16:26, no. 16; Wurzbach, 2:544,
no. 16

Literature

Heineken, 3:25



Reddita lux oculis; fudo, et gravis moruit horror
fronibus. Cui uota legens sinuamina serpens

Verrit humum: Superâ ruit aliger arce satellites,
Qui flammâ intactas delendat vindice silvas

A. Bloemaert inven.
J. Saenredam sculp.



Fig. 146a
 Frederick Bloemaert (Holland,
 c. 1610–1669)
Studies of Two Male Nudes
 Engraving
 7½ x 5½ in. (19 x 15.1 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Graphic Arts Council Curatorial
 Discretionary Fund

Fig. 146b
 Frederick Bloemaert
 (Holland, c. 1610–1669)
Studies of Head and Hands
 Engraving
 8½ x 6⅞ in. (21.6 x 17.5 cm)
 Los Angeles County
 Museum of Art
 Graphic Arts Council Curatorial
 Discretionary Fund

The Temptation and *The Expulsion* are from a series of six engravings, the first plate of which is dated 1604. The other prints are *Adam Naming the Animals*, *Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden*, *Adam Forced to Labor*, and *Adam and Eve Mourning the Death of Abel*.¹ Bloemaert's figural vocabulary in this series exemplifies the remarkable evolution over the course of fifteen years in the treatment of human anatomy by Dutch artists. Bloemaert's appealing naturalism in this set differs substantially from the exaggerated and highly artificial musculature of the Sprangeresque style practiced by artists in Haarlem about 1590. The figures in *The Temptation*, especially the seated Adam, appear to have been sketched directly from models in the artist's studio. They are unheroically observed. This naturalistic treatment of the nudes is comparable with plate 96 (fig. 146a) of *Het Konstryk Tekenboek van Abraham Bloemaert* (Abraham Bloemaert's drawing manual), a book reproducing a sketchbook by the artist, etched and published before 1652 by his son Frederick Bloemaert. Furthermore, the tousled head of Adam resembles Bloemaert's sketches on plate 5 (fig. 146b).²

In 1604 Saenredam also engraved a set of four prints after Bloemaert with nearly the same dimensions as the Adam series illustrating scenes from the lives of the prophets Ahijah and Elijah.³ The figures of the prophets are scaled smaller in relation to their settings, with the landscapes consequently playing a more dominant role in the compositions than in the Adam series. Taken together, the two sets can be interpreted as typological illustrations of the fall and redemption of mankind, ranging from the

depiction of man in his perfect state (Adam naming the animals) to his eventual reunion with God (the prophet Elijah carried to heaven).

One especially notable iconographic aspect of *The Temptation of Adam* is the use of animal symbolism, particularly the presence of the cat and the turkey. One of the best-known examples of such symbols is Albrecht Dürer's 1504 engraving *The Fall of Man*, in which animals are employed to represent the medieval notion of the four temperaments and other aspects of human nature.⁴ The cat appears in Dürer's image, as well as in other representations of the subject, as a symbol of the choleric temperament. The presence in Saenredam's engraving of the turkey, however, is puzzling because this bird was not part of the medieval symbolic tradition. The turkey, native to North America, was imported to Europe by the Spanish during the first half of the sixteenth century. Because of its origins the turkey was often later used as an attribute in allegorical representations of the North American continent. It is not clear why such a symbol would be employed in an image of the Garden of Eden.

The narrative of the temptation and expulsion comes from Genesis 3.1–6, 21–24. Adam and Eve were forbidden to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, but Eve was tempted by Satan in the form of a serpent, ate the fruit, and offered it to Adam. In the shame of their act and the new awareness of their nudity, Adam and Eve hid from God who discovered, clothed, and expelled them from Paradise. The Tree of Knowledge then was protected from later generations by an angel with a flaming sword.

Notes

1. Bartsch, 3:225–26, nos. 13–18.
2. For information on the drawing manual, see Strauss, *Chiaroscuro*, 346.
3. Bartsch, 3:226–27, nos. 20–23.
4. Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), 1:84–85.

Christoffel van Sichem I
 Young Man with a Turban

After Jacob Matham

Woodcut

12⁵/₁₆ x 8⁷/₁₆ in. (31.3 x 21.5 cm)

Inscriptions

Center left: 1613.

Lower left: I Matham. Inv./
 CVSichem. scalps.

References

Bartsch, 3:212, no. 1; Hollstein,
 27:32, no. 136; Nagler, *Künstler-
 Lexikon*, 18:365, no. 23;
 Wurzbach, 2:620, no. 21

Literature

Ackley, 86, no. 51





Fig. 148a
Hendrik Goltzius
"Quis evadet nemo"
Pen and brown ink
18 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (46 x 35.5 cm)
The Pierpont Morgan Library,
New York

Young Man with a Turban belongs to the genre often referred to as fantasy portraits: subjectless studies of figures, usually male, in exotic and frequently outlandish costumes. These types were particularly popular in Venice, beginning in the fifteenth century with Gentile Bellini's paintings of Turkish and other oriental figures. Perhaps the most famous examples are Michelangelo's *teste divine* (ideal heads) of the late 1520s, such as the drawing of a head of a woman in the British Museum.¹ These kinds of fantastically ornamental studies were also popular at Fontainebleau, as is evident from Rosso Fiorentino's designs for masks and costumes engraved by René Boyvin. This taste for exotica continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the works of Rembrandt, Jan Lievens, Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, and Gian Domenico Tiepolo.

Ackley compared *Young Man with a Turban* with two other van SicheM woodcuts after Goltzius, *Portrait of a Man* and *Young Man Accompanying Four Singers*,² and suggested all three might have been executed about the same time, particularly in light of their similarities in size and format. Ackley also commented on the androgynous,

Bacchus-like appearance of *Young Man with a Turban*, and it is this quality that distinguishes it from Goltzius's more gruffly realistic fantasy portraits, as well as from another work cited by Ackley, Matham's fantasy portrait of 1612 in the Witt collection, London.³ Many of Goltzius's fantasy portraits executed during the period from about 1595 to 1610 are, in fact, fairly straightforward in their dress except for their imitation of the manner of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden. Van SicheM's woodcut is closer in its idealized appearance to Goltzius's early study *Mercury*, 1587, in the Ashmolean and his late sheet "Quis evadet nemo," 1614, in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 148a).⁴ The fantastic helmet worn by the young man in van SicheM's woodcut resembles less the multifeathered soft caps in Goltzius's fantasy portraits than the headgear worn by Goltzius's mythological figures.⁵

Matham's *modello* for this woodcut was clearly a *Federkunststück*, a tour-de-force imitation of an engraving. As noted by Ackley, it is rare to find such drawings reproduced in the laborious medium of woodcut. These drawings were customarily replicated through the medium of engraving.

Notes

1. Johannes Wilde, *Michelangelo and his Studio* (London: British Museum, 1953), 78, no. 42, pl. 77. Both this drawing and its pendant, known through a copy also in the British Museum, were etched in 1613 by Antonio Tempesta (Bartsch, 17:180, nos. 1371–72).
2. Bartsch, 3:126–27, nos. 3–4.
3. Reznicek, *Goltzius*, 1:fig. 36.
4. *Ibid.*, 1:280, no. 119, 389, no. 332, 2:pls. 75 and 443.
5. See, for example, engravings of Athena by Saenredam (Bartsch, 3:239, no. 56) and Matham (*ibid.*, 200, no. 281).

Cherubino Alberti (cat. no. 1)

Painter and engraver, Alberti was born in 1553 in Borgo San Sepolcro and died in 1615 in Rome. It was there that he learned the art of engraving from Cornelis Cort. Alberti was presumably in Rome by 1571, when he engraved Taddeo Zuccaro's painting *The Assumption of the Virgin* in the church of Santissima Trinità dei Monti. Because of his activity as a printmaker, Alberti is better known than his brother and collaborator in painting, Giovanni Alberti, but the latter was more esteemed during their lifetimes. Most of Alberti's dated engravings are from the 1570s and 1580s. His earliest documented painting is his 1587 decoration of the rear facade of the Vatican Library, after which date he apparently devoted his career to painting and engraved only occasionally.

Andrea Andreani (cat. no. 2)

Chiaroscuro woodcutter and publisher, Andreani was born about 1558–59 in Mantua, where he died in 1629. His career began in Florence and Siena, where he reproduced designs by Domenico Beccafumi, Giovanni da Bologna, Jacopo Ligozzi, and Francesco Vanni, among others. He was in Mantua between 1593 and 1610, during which time he republished a group of twenty-nine earlier chiaroscuro woodblocks, perhaps acquired from the estate of Nicolò Vicentino and identifiable by the addition of Andreani's intertwined initials and the date of publication (see cat. nos. 51 and 54–55).

Amico Aspertini (cat. no. 3)

Born about 1474–75 in Bologna, where he died in 1552, Aspertini was one of the most eccentrically anticlassical painters of the sixteenth century, despite his visit of about 1500–1503 to Rome, where he avidly studied antique works of art. Only one print, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* (cat. no. 3), has been associated with Aspertini. He could have been introduced to the art of engraving by his younger compatriot Giulio Bonasone or through visits to Bologna by Marcantonio Raimondi and Agostino Veneziano after the Sack of Rome in 1527.

Domenico del Barbieri (cat. nos. 62–65)

Also known in France as Dominique Florentin because of his Tuscan origins, Barbieri was a sculptor, stuccoer, painter, mosaicist, ceramicist, and engraver. He was born about 1506 in Florence and died before 1566 in Troyes. He traveled in the entourage of his teacher, Rosso Fiorentino, to Fontainebleau, where he is recorded in 1537 as a stuccoer. After Rosso's death in 1540, Barbieri entered the workshop of Francesco Primaticcio. He was the most notable engraver at Fontainebleau, as most of the printmakers there were etchers. Pierre Milan, the other notable engraver of the first school of Fontainebleau, was located in Paris.

Giovanni Battista d'Angolo, called Battista del Moro (cat. no. 4)

Painter, miniaturist, and etcher, del Moro was born about 1515 probably in Verona, where he became a pupil of his father-in-law, Francesco Torbido del Moro, whose name he adopted. About 1557 del Moro moved to Murano, where he died about 1573. His style of etching, similar to the manners of Paolo Farinati and Giovanni Battista Franco, was employed for his own inventions, as well as reproductive prints after compositions by Giulio Romano, Parmigianino, Titian, and others. His son Marco del Moro was also an engraver.

Nicolas Beatrizet (cat. nos. 5–8)

Born in 1507 in Thionville, Beatrizet was active between 1540 and 1565 in Rome, where he might have studied with Agostino Veneziano. He worked primarily for the publishers Antonio Lafreri and Antonio Salamanca. Particularly notable for reproductions of designs by Michelangelo, Beatrizet's oeuvre also includes engravings after compositions by Baccio Bandinelli, Girolamo Muziano, Raphael, and Francesco Salviati as well as portraits, copies of antique works, and anatomical illustrations.

Jacques Bellange (cat. nos. 66–67)

Documented in Nancy between 1602 and 1616, Bellange was a painter and decorator but is known primarily as an etcher and draftsman and one of the last proponents of mannerism. He probably learned the art of etching from Mattaeus Merian or Frederick Brentel, with whom he collaborated about 1610–11 on one of the illustrations to the *Pompe funèbre de Charles III*, a book devoted to the funeral of Duke Charles III of Lorraine.

Nicolò Boldrini (cat. no. 9)

Little is known about the life of Boldrini, the most notable woodcutter associated with Titian. He was probably born in Vicenza about 1500. His only signed and dated print, *Venus and Cupid* after Titian, 1566, might have been his last. Recent historians have removed from Boldrini's oeuvre many woodcuts traditionally attributed to him.

Giulio Bonasone (cat. nos. 10–15)

Painter, engraver, and etcher, Bonasone was born about 1498 in Bologna, where he was a pupil of the painter Lorenzo Sabbatini. He might have learned engraving from Marcantonio Raimondi, who was in Bologna after the Sack of Rome in 1527. Bonasone was active between 1531 and 1574, years during which he certainly spent some time in Rome. He reproduced designs by all of the leading Italian artists of the period, including Parmigianino, Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, Francesco Primaticcio, and Titian, as well as his own inventions.

Cornelis Bos (cat. nos. 101–2)

Born about 1510 in Hertogenbosch, Bos died in 1556 in Groningen. In 1540 he was a resident in Antwerp but fled to Haarlem in 1544 because of religious persecution. In Haarlem he collaborated with Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert. He was probably in Rome between 1548 and 1550. Bos engraved compositions by Maarten van Heemskerck, Lambert Lombard, and Frans Floris, but most of his oeuvre consists of ornamental prints. His engravings in this genre frequently have been confused with those by Cornelis Floris, who is now recognized as the true inventor of the Netherlandish grotesque.

René Boyvin (cat. no. 68)

Born about 1525 in Angers and active as an engraver and goldsmith, Boyvin was last recorded in 1580 in Paris but might have died as late as 1630 in Rome. About 1545 in Paris he was evidently a pupil of Pierre Milan, some of whose engraved plates, such as *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, were completed by Boyvin after Milan's death. Boyvin is closely identified with the works of Rosso Fiorentino, and much of his oeuvre is based on Rosso's ornamental designs for masks, costumes, and decorative objects. His best-known engravings, however, are a set of twenty-six illustrations of the history of Jason after compositions by Léonard Thiry.

Domenico Campagnola (cat. no. 16)

Painter, draftsman, and engraver, Campagnola was born to German parents about 1500 in Venice, where he died in 1564. He was adopted by the engraver Giulio Campagnola, from whom he undoubtedly learned printmaking and whose name he assumed. Judging from Campagnola's stylistic development, he probably spent a long period in Titian's workshop, and together the two artists developed a highly influential style of landscape. Campagnola's small printmaking oeuvre is dated mostly 1517–18, when he was still a teenager.

Gian Giacomo Caraglio (cat. nos. 17–18)

Engraver, lapidary, and medalist, Caraglio was born about 1505 in Parma or Verona and died in 1570 in Parma. By 1526 he was in Rome, where he might have been a pupil of Marcantonio Raimondi. Caraglio engraved compositions by the younger generation of artists in Rome before the Sack in 1527, especially Parmigianino, Rosso Fiorentino, and Perino del Vaga. Caraglio's series *The Labors of Hercules* and *The Loves of the Gods* were to have significant stylistic repercussions later in the sixteenth century in the art of Fontainebleau and northern Europe. He traveled north through Venice, where he was recorded in 1537 and where he engraved *The Annunciation* (cat. no. 18) after Titian's recently completed painting. By 1539 Caraglio was employed in Poland as a medalist and lapidary.

Ugo da Carpi (cat. no. 19)

The preeminent Italian chiaroscuro woodcutter of the sixteenth century, Ugo was born about 1480 to a noble family in Carpi. His first signed woodcuts were published in 1511 in Venice, where in 1516 he petitioned the Senate for a patent on his falsely claimed invention of the technique of the chiaroscuro woodcut. About 1517 he traveled to Rome, where he worked closely with Raphael, creating in relation to the master the chiaroscuro equivalent of Marcantonio Raimondi's engravings. Marcantonio and Ugo sometimes even worked in their respective media from the same compositions by Raphael, such as *The Massacre of the Innocents* and *The Descent from the Cross*. After the Sack of Rome in 1527 he fled to Bologna, where he died in 1532.

Nicolò della Casa (cat. no. 20)

Like his contemporary Nicolas Beatrizet, with whom he might have studied, della Casa came from the duchy of Lorraine to Rome, where he was active from about 1543 to 1548. His small oeuvre consists of portraits, except for the large, eleven-part engraved copy of Michelangelo's fresco *The Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel.

Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert (cat. no. 103)

Engraver, etcher, bookseller, poet, and humanist, Coornhert was born in 1522 in Amsterdam and died in 1590 in Gouda. About 1545 he was in Haarlem, where the following year he etched Maarten van Heemskerck's design for a lottery advertisement commissioned by the city. As a result of his freethinking advocacy of religious tolerance, Coornhert spent most of his life in exile. From 1568 to 1576 he was in Cleves and Xanten and from 1577 to 1587 again in Haarlem. His collaborations with Heemskerck are particularly notable. Coornhert was probably Philip Galle's teacher, but his most significant pupil was Hendrik Goltzius.

Cornelis Cort (cat. nos. 104–7)

An engraver and etcher, Cort was born in 1533 in Hoorn and died in 1578 in Rome. About 1552–53 he began to work with publisher Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp, a relationship that lasted until 1565, when Cort departed for Italy, where he had been recommended to Titian by Dominique Lampson. Cort became the most significant engraver of the great painter's compositions, but his importance resides primarily in his technique of modeling forms by swelling and tapering lines, a method of considerable importance for the late sixteenth-century styles of Hendrik Goltzius, Agostino Carracci, and many others.

Michiel Coxcie (cat. no. 108)

Coxcie was born in 1499 in Mechelen, where he died in 1592. For a long period in the 1530s he was in Italy, where he met Giorgio Vasari, and in 1534 he became a member of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. By 1539 he was back in Mechelen. In 1543 he was a citizen of Brussels, where he was named royal painter to Philip II of Spain. Coxcie made only one etching, *The Brazen Serpent* (cat. no. 108). As is evident in his thirty-two designs from the story of Cupid and Psyche engraved by the Master of the Die (Bartsch, 14:211, nos. 39–70), he was especially influenced by the art of Raphael and Michelangelo.

Master L.D., called Léon Davent (cat. nos. 69–72)

The artist's name derives from an inscription, "Lion daven," on the large four-plate etching *The Apostles Contemplating Christ and the Virgin* after Giulio Romano. The remainder of Davent's signed plates are inscribed simply "L.D." Nothing is known of this etcher and engraver apart from the dates on his prints from 1540 to 1556. His earliest works are engravings, a craft he might have learned from Pierre Milan. Davent, who appears to have begun to etch about 1543, perhaps as a pupil of Antonio Fantuzzi, is considered the finest of the Fontainebleau etchers and was associated closely with Francesco Primaticcio.

Etienne Delaune (cat. nos. 73–78)

Engraver and medalist, Delaune was born about 1518–19 in either Paris, Geneva, or Orleans and died in 1583 in Paris. He probably learned his craft from his father, Christophe Delaune, an engraver at the royal mint in Paris. Delaune was active as a medalist until 1562. His prints are dated between 1561 and 1582. After the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572 he spent a decade away from Paris, primarily in Strasbourg and Augsburg. His elegant and delicate figural style is indebted to late sixteenth-century French painters such as Antoine Caron and Jean Cousin the Younger, whereas the diminutive scale of his prints has been compared to the German Little Masters. Most of Delaune's oeuvre of about 450 engravings consists of ornamental prints, a genre in which he excelled.

Marco Dente (cat. nos. 21–22)

Little is known about Dente except that he was born in Ravenna—thus explaining his frequently encountered monogram "SR," meaning "Ravennas Sculptor"—and was killed by German soldiers during the Sack of Rome in 1527. About 1515 he was in Rome in Marcantonio Raimondi's workshop, where he engraved many of the same designs as the master, such as *The Massacre of the Innocents* and *The Judgment of Paris*, both after Raphael. Together with Marcantonio and Agostino Veneziano, Dente was part of the great triumvirate of Roman engravers who made Raphael's works known throughout Europe and whose style determined the course of engraving in sixteenth-century Italy.

Antonio Fantuzzi (cat. nos. 79–80)

Of Bolognese origin Fantuzzi is recorded at Fontainebleau between 1537 and 1550 as an assistant to Francesco Primaticcio. His etchings are datable to a short period between 1542 and 1545. Although Fantuzzi reproduced compositions by Primaticcio, he is associated particularly closely with Rosso Fiorentino's paintings in the Galerie François I, as well as other designs by Rosso. For a long time he was confused with the chiaroscurist Antonio da Trento but is now recognized as a separate artistic personality.

Frans Floris (cat. no. 109)

Floris was born about 1518–19 in Antwerp, where he died in 1570. He was a pupil of the painter Lambert Lombard between 1538 and 1540 in Liège. From about 1541 to 1547 he traveled in Italy, where he absorbed the most recent developments by Italian painters, especially Michelangelo and his followers. Floris returned to Antwerp, where he became the leading artist of the day in the Netherlands. Although only a single etching by him is known, *Victory* (cat. no. 109), he was very active in Netherlandish printmaking by providing drawings translated into etchings and engravings by Cornelis Bos, Hieronymus Cock, Cornelis Cort, Philip Galle, and others.

Giovanni Battista Franco (cat. nos. 23–25)

Painter and etcher, Franco was born about 1510 in Venice, where he died in 1561. About 1530 he was in Rome, where he was one of the principal followers of Michelangelo. Thereafter he spent a peripatetic career: he was in Florence from 1536 to 1540, then back in Rome, in Urbino in 1545, again in Rome in 1550, again in Urbino in 1551, and in Venice from about 1552 until his death. His son was the Venetian engraver and publisher Giacomo Franco, who published several of his father's works. One of the finest Italian printmakers of the mid-sixteenth century, Franco deserves further study.

François Gentil (cat. no. 81)

For a discussion of the identity of this engraver, see commentary on Gentil's *Wounded Paris Carried off the Field of Battle* (cat. no. 81).

Jacques de Gheyn II (cat. nos. 110–12)

Painter, architect, engraver, and etcher, de Gheyn was born in 1565 in Antwerp and died in 1629 in The Hague. He was the most prominent member of three generations of artists with the same name and learned the art of glass painting from his father in Utrecht or Amsterdam. About 1585 de Gheyn learned engraving from Hendrik Goltzius in Haarlem and became one of his most brilliant followers. Many of de Gheyn's prints are based on compositions by Goltzius, Abraham Bloemaert, and Karel van Mander. De Gheyn's own designs, especially his highly esteemed drawings, are notable for their imaginativeness, fantasy, and naturalism. His realistic approach to landscape and genre had considerable influence on developments in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Although more than four hundred prints were listed by Hollstein, de Gheyn's oeuvre requires further study because most are inscribed with his name only in the capacity of publisher or inventor and were probably products of his workshop. Like Goltzius, de Gheyn abandoned printmaking about 1600 in favor of painting.

Giorgio Ghisi (cat. nos. 26–31)

Ghisi was born about 1520–21 in Mantua, where he died in 1582. He most likely learned printmaking from Giovanni Battista Scultori, whom Ghisi eventually surpassed as the stellar engraver of the Mantuan school. His earliest prints from about 1540 were based on designs by Giulio Romano. About the mid-1540s Ghisi was in Rome, where he was in contact with the publisher Antonio Lafreri. At the end of the decade Ghisi was invited to Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock, the leading publisher of the period in the North. Ghisi was in France from the mid-1550s until 1567 when he returned to Mantua. Although Ghisi spent many years in northern Europe, the compositional sources for his engravings were, with one exception, Italian artists such as Giulio, Raphael, Michelangelo, Luca Penni, and Giovanni Battista Bertani.

Hendrik Goltzius (cat. nos. 113–26)

Goltzius was born in 1558 in Mühlbrecht and died in 1617 in Haarlem. He was the greatest engraver after Albrecht Dürer. About 1575 Goltzius learned engraving in Xanten from Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert, at that time in political exile from the Netherlands. Shortly thereafter Coornhert, accompanied by his student, returned to Haarlem. Goltzius's first prints were published in Antwerp by Philip Galle, but in 1582 he established his own workshop. The following year he met painter and theorist Karel van Mander, who introduced him to the drawings of Bartholomeus Spranger, the Flemish court painter to Rudolf II in Prague. Together with painter Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Goltzius established the wildly exaggerated style characteristic of late Dutch mannerism. In late 1590 Goltzius traveled to Italy, and the experience of studying first-hand the monuments of the High Renaissance and antiquity, as well as the most recent developments in Counter-Maniera art in Italy, inspired him to abandon his Sprangeresque style of the 1580s in favor of a more classicizing manner. Like Jacques de Gheyn II, Goltzius abandoned engraving about 1600 in favor of painting. Engraving in Holland at the end of the century was profoundly indebted to Goltzius's example. Among his most significant Dutch followers were his stepson Jacob Matham, de Gheyn, Jan Muller, and Jan Saenredam.

Juste de Juste (cat. nos. 82–84)

Juste was born in 1505 in Tours, where he died in 1559. He was a member of a notable family of sculptors originally from Florence and became one of Rosso Fiorentino's assistants at Fontainebleau. His association with the seventeen etchings attributed to him is hypothetical, based on the reading of the signature on the five multfigured prints (see cat. no. 82). Juste is not otherwise known as a printmaker.

Lucas Kilian (cat. no. 127)

Kilian was born in 1579 in Augsburg, where he died in 1637. He learned engraving from his stepfather, the publisher Domenicus Custos. After his apprenticeship Kilian traveled in Italy from 1601 to 1604 and then returned to Augsburg. His style of engraving was influenced by Aegidius Sadeler and Hendrik Goltzius, and like them he engraved designs by the leading artists at the Bavarian and imperial courts, such as Bartholomeus Spranger and Joseph Heintz.

Cornelis Massys (cat. no. 128)

Son of Flemish painter Quentin Massys, Cornelis was born about 1505–8 in Antwerp and died after 1562, perhaps in Rome, where he was apparently recorded among the Netherlandish artists residing there. His dated engravings range between 1537 and 1562. The earlier prints are in the style and format of the German Little Masters, whereas some of Cornelis's other works, such as *Allegory with Skill, Diligence, and Indolence* (cat. no. 128), are not only larger in scale but also more Italianate in style and probably date from the later years of his career.

Master G.A.I.F. (cat. no. 129)

For a discussion of this completely unknown artist, see commentary on Master G.A.I.F.'s *Christ Healing the Sick* (cat. no. 129).

Master I♀V (cat. nos. 85–89)

Nothing is known about this etcher, sometimes identified as Jean Vaquet, except for his activity about 1543 at Fontainebleau. His monogram appears on only about a dozen prints, but several other prints have been reasonably attributed to him. He probably worked in Francesco Primaticcio's workshop alongside Antonio Fantuzzi, with whose works Master I♀V's sometimes have been confused. Master I♀V's manner of etching is notable for its density and attention to detail.

Jacob Matham (cat. nos. 130–33)

Matham was born in 1571 in Haarlem, where he died in 1631. In 1579 when Hendrik Goltzius married the widow of Adriaen Matham, he became the stepfather to her son Jacob, who in 1581 entered Goltzius's workshop and learned the art of engraving. From about 1593 Matham traveled in Italy for four years, probably visiting Venice and Rome, where he engraved compositions by leading artists, past and present, including Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, Francesco Salviati, Palma Giovane, Cavaliere d'Arpino, and Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro. In the Netherlands, Matham engraved designs by Abraham Bloemaert, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Karel van Mander, and especially Goltzius. He was the most prolific but least original follower of Goltzius.

Jean Mignon (cat. nos. 90–97)

Mignon worked as a painter and etcher at Fontainebleau, beginning about 1537–40. Only two etchings are signed, but his oeuvre is now believed to number about sixty works. His career as a printmaker was of rather short duration, lasting only from about 1543 to 1547. Although some of his prints can be related to works by Francesco Primaticcio, Mignon was first and foremost the etcher most closely associated with Luca Penni. Mignon's style is considered among the most lively and imaginative in the school of Fontainebleau.

Pierre Milan (cat. no. 98)

Documented between 1542 and 1556, Milan was, together with Domenico del Barbieri, the principal French engraver of the midsixteenth century, although judging from his surname, he might have been Italian rather than French. It has also been suggested he may be identifiable with a certain Pierre de la Cuffle, an engraver mentioned by Karel van Mander. Milan was not active in Fontainebleau but in Paris, where he was probably the teacher of René Boyvin. Documents published by Metman have been instrumental in establishing Milan's oeuvre, as well as clarifying the degree of collaboration between Milan and Boyvin.

Jan Muller (cat. nos. 134–41)

Painter and engraver, Muller was born in 1571 in Amsterdam, where he died in 1628. He probably learned the art of engraving from his father, the print publisher Harman Muller. It often has been assumed that Muller was in Haarlem about 1589–90 because of his set of engravings from 1589, *The Days of Creation*, after Hendrik Goltzius and because of several engravings from about the same period after designs by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. There is, however, no evidence Muller and Goltzius or Muller and Cornelis were collaborators in the sense of having direct contact. Some time between 1594 and 1602 Muller traveled to Italy, where he was especially affected by the dramatic chiaroscuro of Venetian painters like Jacopo Tintoretto. A stopover at the imperial court in Prague has been suggested because some of Muller's engravings are after court artists such as Bartholomeus Spranger, Adriaen de Vries, and Hans van Aachen. These prints date from the early years of the seventeenth century. Much of Muller's later work was devoted to portraiture.

Jacopo Negretti, called Palma Giovane (cat. no. 32)

Painter and etcher, Palma was born in 1548 in Venice, where he died in 1628. He was known as Palma Giovane in order to distinguish him from his uncle, the Venetian painter Palma Vecchio. About 1564 Palma was invited to Urbino by Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere and then spent eight years in Rome. Upon his return to Venice he became the principal assistant to the aged Titian. With one exception Palma's printed oeuvre consists of twenty-six etchings first published in 1611 by Giacomo Franco as a book known as *The Principles of Drawing* (see cat. no. 32).

Francesco Mazzola, called Parmigianino (cat. nos. 33–34)

Painter, etcher, and designer of woodcuts, Parmigianino was born in 1503 in Parma and died in 1540 in Casalmaggiore. As a young artist in 1523 he went to Rome, where he stayed until the Sack in 1527. He fled to Bologna until about 1530–31, when he returned to Parma. His combination of Antonio Corregio's Emilian grace with Raphael's Roman *disegno* proved to be one of the most influential stylistic developments in the sixteenth century. Parmigianino was equally seminal in the area of printmaking, being the first true painter-etcher who understood the freely expressive capabilities of etching, as distinct from the medium of engraving. Etchings from the school of Fontainebleau, for example, are inconceivable without Parmigianino's example. He was equally important for the history of chiaroscuro woodcuts in Italy through his drawings reproduced principally by Antonio da Trento and Nicolò Vicentino.

Marcantonio Raimondi (cat. nos. 35–39)

Born about 1475–80 in Argini, near Bologna, Marcantonio learned engraving from the Bolognese painter, goldsmith, and niellist Francesco Francia. In 1506 he was in Venice, where he copied, and was accused of forging, Albrecht Dürer's series of woodcuts *The Life of the Virgin*. About 1510 Marcantonio was probably in Florence. In 1511 he was in Rome, where he entered into a working relationship with Raphael and the print publisher Baviera. This relationship lasted until Raphael's death in 1520, after which Marcantonio engraved designs by Raphael's principal successor, Giulio Romano, as well as by other artists like Baccio Bandinelli. After the Sack of Rome in 1527, during which Marcantonio suffered considerable personal hardship, he returned to Bologna, where he died some time before 1534.

Aegidius Sadeler (cat. no. 142)

Painter and engraver, Sadeler was born in 1570 in Antwerp and died in 1629 in Prague. He came from a family of printmakers, including his uncle and teacher Jan Sadeler, another uncle Raphael Sadeler, and cousins Philip, Jan II, and Raphael II. In 1590 he was in Munich, in 1593 in Rome, then in Venice, and finally again in Munich. In 1597 he was named imperial engraver to Rudolf II in Prague, where he engraved designs by Bartholomeus Spranger and notably landscapes by Roelandt Savery and Pieter Stevens. Sadeler's oeuvre is large (Hollstein lists almost four hundred engravings). He was the teacher of seventeenth-century artist and biographer Joachim von Sandrart.

Jan Saenredam (cat. nos. 143–47)

Saenredam was born in 1565 in Saerдам and died in 1607 in Assendelft. Initially trained as a mapmaker, he spent a short period in Haarlem in 1589 in Hendrik Goltzius's studio. Saenredam then spent two years in Amsterdam, perhaps in the workshop of Jacques de Gheyn II, and returned to Haarlem, again with Goltzius, before settling in Assendelft. Saenredam engraved designs by the familiar roster of Dutch mannerist artists (Abraham Bloemaert, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Karel van Mander) and especially after Goltzius's designs of the late 1590s. The rich and silvery tonality of his engravings sets Saenredam apart from the other members of the Goltzius school. He was the father of Pieter Saenredam, a painter of Dutch interiors.

Giulio Sanuto (cat. no. 40)

Sanuto was active in Venice between 1540 and 1580. Because of his copies after works by Raphael and Marcantonio Raimondi, it has been suggested that he also might have spent some time in Rome. The later prints in Sanuto's oeuvre of about seventeen engravings show the influence of Giovanni Battista Franco, who was in Venice from about 1552 to 1561.

Andrea Meldolla, called Andrea Schiavone (cat. nos. 41–42)

Painter, etcher, and woodcutter, Schiavone was born about 1510–15 in Dalmatia and died in 1563 in Venice. Although a devoted follower of Parmigianino's figural style, Schiavone probably never apprenticed with him but learned Parmigianino's manner through the study of his drawings and reproductive engravings after his works. In Schiavone's art the graceful elegance of Parmigianino was tempered by the precision of the Tuscan-Roman sense of sculptural form known in Venice through influential visits to the city by Giorgio Vasari and Francesco Salviati. Schiavone probably began his career as a printmaker about 1536. He ranks with Parmigianino as the most innovative and experimental Italian etcher of the sixteenth century, especially in his use of drypoint.

Giuseppe Scolari (cat. no. 43)

All that is known today of Scolari's career is his activity as a woodcutter in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century. He apparently was active also in Vicenza and Verona. His oeuvre of only about nine or ten prints is now recognized as the climax of Italian Renaissance woodcuts. Through his distinctive handling of the woodblocks Scolari achieved an unparalleled sense of dramatic urgency in his prints.

Adamo Scultori (cat. no. 44)

The son and undoubtedly pupil of engraver Giovanni Battista Scultori and the brother of engraver Diana Scultori, Adamo was born about 1530 in Mantua, where he died in 1585. His oeuvre consists mostly of engravings after designs by Giulio Romano but also includes a series of seventy-three somewhat crude reproductions of figures in Michelangelo's ceiling fresco in the Sistine Chapel.

Diana Scultori (cat. nos. 45–47)

Like her brother Adamo Scultori, Diana was probably trained in the art of engraving by her father Giovanni Battista Scultori. Born in Mantua probably before Adamo, she died after 1588 in Rome. She is especially notable as one of the few female printmakers recorded in the sixteenth century. Diana copied many compositions by Giulio Romano in Mantua and also worked in Rome, where she reproduced designs by such late sixteenth-century painters as Paris Nogari, Rafaellino da Reggio, and Federico Zuccaro.

Giovanni Battista Scultori (cat. no. 48)

Sculptor and engraver, Scultori was born in 1503 in Mantua, where he died in 1575. He was the founder of the Mantuan school of engraving, which included his children Adamo and Diana Scultori and most notably Giorgio Ghisi. He collaborated with Giulio Romano in the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. He might have learned the art of engraving from Agostino Veneziano, who had fled to Mantua after the Sack of Rome in 1527. Scultori's oeuvre is the rarest of the Mantuan school, consisting of only twenty-one engravings.

Christoffel van Sichem I (cat. no. 148)

Born about 1546 in Amsterdam, where he died in 1624, van Sichem was the founder of four generations of woodcutters with the same name. Between 1555 and 1567 he was the pupil of woodcutter Jan Ewoutsz. Muller. Van Sichem's oeuvre consists primarily of portraits used as book illustrations, and many of his works have been confused with those of his son Christoffel van Sichem II, who used the same signature as his father.

Antonio da Trento (cat. nos. 49–50)

For a long time the chiaroscuro woodcutter Antonio da Trento was considered to be the same person as the school of Fontainebleau etcher Antonio Fantuzzi, but they are now believed to be different artists. According to Giorgio Vasari, da Trento was in Bologna with Parmigianino between 1527 and 1531 but disappeared one day with a cache of the master's drawings and etchings. Some of da Trento's woodcuts might have, in fact, been based on these stolen works. In comparison with Ugo da Carpi and Nicolò Vicentino, his compositions tend to rely more on the linear definition of the line block.

Giuseppe Nicola Rossigliani, called Nicolò Vicentino
(cat. nos. 51–58)

Very little is known about the chiaroscuro woodcutter Vicentino, except that he came from Vicenza and that most of his prints are based on designs by Parmigianino and were probably printed about midcentury, after Parmigianino's death.

Enea Vico (cat. nos. 59–61)

Born in 1523 in Parma, Vico studied engraving in Rome with the publisher Tommaso Barlacchi, who in 1541 published a series of grotesques engraved by Vico. Very prolific, Vico produced an oeuvre of more than five hundred prints, most of which, however, consists of such relatively minor subjects as studies of costumes from various nations and portrait medals. He later traveled to Florence, and in 1563 was in the service of Duke Alfonso d'Este II in Ferrara, where he died in 1567.

Pierre Woeiriot (cat. no. 99)

Engraver, woodcutter, sculptor, painter, and medalist, Woeiriot was born about 1531–32 in Neufchateau or Damblain and died after 1596, perhaps in Nancy. Trained initially in the family trade as a goldsmith, he began his career as a printmaker about 1555 after traveling to Italy and Lyon. His last dated work is from 1589. Woeiriot adopted the noble surname de Bouzey in 1562, after which he often signed his prints with the initials P.W.D.B. and the cross of Lorraine. His oeuvre of more than four hundred prints is comprised predominantly of portraits as well as ornamental and illustrational works.

Domenico Zenoni (cat. no. 100)

Also known as Domenico Zenoi, this engraver and publisher was active in Venice between about 1560 and 1580. His graphic oeuvre includes religious, allegorical, and mythological compositions, as well as events from contemporary history and portraits.

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INDEX OF INVENTORS

The following index indicates catalogue numbers for prints executed from designs by the inventors.

- Bandinelli, Baccio, 20, 38
Barocci, Federico, 107
Beccafumi, Domenico, 2
Bertani, Giovanni Battista, 28
Bloemaert, Abraham, 143, 146-47
Broeck, Crispijn van den, 110

Caravaggio, Polidoro da, 105
Conte, Jacopino del, 13

Fantuzzi, Antonio, 86
Fiorentino, Rosso, 17, 22, 62, 64, 80, 86, 88, 98, 100
Floris, Frans, 102

Ghisi, Giorgio, 89
Giovane, Palma, 122
Goltzius, Hendrik, 130-32, 144-45

Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van, 115, 133, 135
Heemskerck, Maarten van, 101, 103

Mander, Karel van, 111-12
Matham, Jacob, 148
Michelangelo, 1, 6-7, 44

Parmigianino, 4-5, 19, 41, 49-52, 55-59, 69
Penni, Luca, 29, 65, 68, 71, 73-78, 90-97
Peruzzi, Baldassare, 99
Piombo, Sebastiano del, 44
Pordenone, Giovanni Antonio da, 9, 43, 54
Primaticcio, Francesco, 11, 61, 63, 70, 72, 81, 85

Raphael, 33, 35-36, 39
Romano, Giulio, 12, 21, 26, 30-31, 37, 45-48, 79, 87, 89

Salviati, Francesco, 8, 53
Schiaivone, Andrea, 4
Scultori, Giovanni Battista, 27, 60
Sermoneta, Siciolante da, 128
Spranger, Bartholomeus, 127, 140-42

Titian, 18, 40, 104, 106

Vaga, Perino del, 15
Vries, Adriaen de, 134

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