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ROBERT SIMON FINE ART

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CATALOGUE BY
Dominic Ferrante
with Robert B. Simon

ROBERT SIMON FINE ART

Front cover and frontispiece, detail:

Lorenzo di Credi, *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*,
tempera on panel, tondo, 36 inches diameter (91.4 cm).

Back cover, detail:

Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Girl from the Sabine Hills (Mädchen aus den Sabiner Bergen)*,
oil on canvas, 29 ¼ by 25 inches (74.5 by 63 cm).

High-resolution digital photographs of the featured paintings are available upon request.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the first catalogue we have published since 2005. In the intervening fourteen years we have presented paintings and works of art through digital media, primarily via our website www.robertsimon.com. While this is an effective way of sharing our holdings with those who know what we do, as well as those who do not and who might find the gallery incidentally, we have come to the realization that the very special paintings that we prize are now lost in a cacophonous storm of messages, advertisements, news items, and competing stimuli. Fourteen years ago one may have been tempted to follow a link to images and information about an intriguing painting. Now, at least speaking for myself, the initial impulse is to ignore or delete anything digital that does not seem to require immediate attention.

The present catalogue includes works painted over a period of 450 years, dating from mirroring dates of the 1380s for a rare Bohemian panel to the 1830s with Franz Xaver Winterhalter's stunning *Girl from the Sabine Hills*. It is a small publication to be perused, read in parts, enjoyed, and savored at a quiet time, without an electronic interface or a glowing screen. It can be marked up, torn apart, placed on a bookshelf, shared with an acquaintance, or deleted the old-fashioned way. It is the product of considerable efforts in securing the paintings within and great pleasure in researching, understanding, and expressing their significance and contexts. Many scholars have shared their expertise to that end; they are cited in the individual entries. Others not mentioned—conservators, art historians, curators, framers, colleagues, and friends—have contributed in various ways. While the creation of this catalogue is the result of the combined efforts of myself, Lydia Melamed Johnson, and Dominic Ferrante, Dominic deserves special recognition as both the dominant researcher and primary author of the entries.

Our website will continue to provide information and brilliant images of the paintings in this catalogue, as well as other works that we are now handling or that may come our way in the future. But as an introduction both to our gallery and to the paintings we are now featuring, I hope this paper-and-ink will prove a welcome source of information and inspiration.

RBS

THE MASTER OF THE PRADO REDEMPTION

(Flemish, ca. 1460)

Christ Blessing

Oil on panel

12 ¾ x 10 ½ inches (32.4 x 26.7 cm)

PROVENANCE

John Rushout, 6th Baronet and 2nd Baron Northwick, Northwick Park, near Moreton-in-the-Marsh, originally Worcestershire, now Gloucestershire, and Thirlestane House, near Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, by 1846; his sale, Phillips, at Thirlestane House, 26 July–30 August 1859, sixth day of the sale, lot 593; where acquired by: with Henry Moses, Bristol.

Von Behr Collection, Berlin, by 1922.

Sale, Christie's, New York, 4 June 1986, lot 63, as Manner of Bouts; where acquired by:

Vlaicu Ionescu, New York, 1986–2002; thence by descent until 2019.

LITERATURE

Hours in the Picture Galleries of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham; Being a Catalogue, with Critical and Descriptive Notices of Some of the Principal Paintings in Lord Northwick's Collection, Cheltenham, 1846, p. 63, no. 354, as in the Upper Room.

“Visit to Private Galleries. No. XV. The Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Northwick, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham,” *The Art-Union, Monthly Journal of The Fine Arts*, vol. 8, London, September 1846, p. 255, as “Jan Van Eyck. ‘Head of Christ,’ life size” in the New Gallery, Second Room.

A Catalogue of the Pictures in the Galleries of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham: The Residence of The Right Hon. Lord Northwick, Cheltenham, 1853, p. 24, as “Head of the Saviour, by J. van Eyck,” in the Platform Gallery.

Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol. 3, 1854, p. 205, “Christ blessing, called a Jan van Eyck, is a somewhat later, but interesting picture of the Netherlandish school.”

Hours in Lord Northwick's Picture Galleries; Being a Catalogue, with Critical and Descriptive Notices of Some of the Principal Paintings in Thirlestane House Collection, 1854, p. 63, no. 300, as “Head of the Saviour, by J. van Eyck,” in the Platform Gallery.

A Catalogue of the Pictures in the Galleries of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham: The Residence of The Right Hon. Lord Northwick, Cheltenham, 1855, p. 23, no. 300, as “Head of the Saviour, by J. van Eyck,” in the Platform Gallery.

A Catalogue of the Pictures in the Galleries of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham: The Residence of The Right Hon. Lord Northwick, Cheltenham, 1856, p. 23, no. 300, as “Head of the Saviour, by J. van Eyck,” in the Platform Gallery.

William H. J. Weale and Maurice W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, London, 1912, Appendix B: “List of Pictures (and some Drawings) sold at Public Auction under the Name of the Van Eycks,” p. 264.

Jan Białostocki, “Fifteenth-Century Pictures of the Blessing Christ, Based on Rogier van der Weyden,” *Gesta*, vol. 15, no. 1/2 (1976), pp. 315–6, fig. 5, as dating from the early XVI century.

Oliver Bradbury and Nicholas Penny, “The picture collecting of Lord Northwick: Part II” *Burlington Magazine* (October 2002), p. 611.

THE PRESENT PAINTING is an important addition to the oeuvre of the Master of the Prado Redemption, a close follower of Rogier van der Weyden active in the mid-fifteenth century. This Master has traditionally been identified as Vrancke van der Stockt (before 1420–1495), an associate of Rogier who succeeded him as official painter in Brussels. However, as no works can firmly be attributed to van der Stockt, that identification is now discounted and the artist is now conventionally known after his masterpiece, the Redemption Triptych in the Museo del Prado in Ma-





Fig. 1. Detail of the present work.

drid.¹ The Master of the Prado Redemption was manifestly indebted to Rogier's visual language and emulated both his style and compositions. Our painting is based in part on a lost depiction of Christ Blessing by Rogier and constitutes an original response by the artist to the works of his predecessors in the Netherlands.

In this work, Christ is depicted fully frontal and bust length, his expressive face and the careful articulation of his features creating an image of remarkable presence. This is not an iconic depiction of an abstract Christ, but rather a portrait-like representation suggesting his true likeness. Christ looks out of the painting with a piercing gaze as he blesses the viewer, his blessing hand half hidden behind the frame while the other rests on top of it. The close cropping of the figure and the strategic placement of the hands emphasizes his proximity to the picture plane and to the viewer beyond it. The artist has rendered the gold trimming on Christ's red mantle and the large bejeweled brooch with the IHS monogram that fastens it with remarkable skill and finesse, applying the paint with controlled, individual brushstrokes (Fig. 1). The curls of flowing hair that cascade over Christ's mantle and his ruddy cheeks are also beautifully described. Christ's divinity is signaled by the ornate floriated nimbus decorated with pomegranate designs, which stands out against the vibrant blue background of the painting. The nimbus is inscribed with Alpha and Omega above and the letters P and F below, which derive from Christ's ultimate declaration of his divine nature in the New Testament: "ego sum Alpha et Omega primus et novissimus principium et finis" (Revelation 22:13).²

This painting assimilates and adapts features from several earlier Netherlandish models, resulting in a distinctly new and innovative image. The floriated nimbus with the inscription referring to the Book of Revelation derive from lost paintings of the *Holy Face* by Jan van Eyck, which is known today through several faithful copies (Fig. 2).³ Van Eyck's image was revolutionary in its presentation of the Savior and exerted a considerable influence on all subsequent depictions of Christ. Immediately following its creation, it was widely disseminated in copies and was imitated by artists in Netherlands and beyond in both paintings and manuscript illuminations.⁴ The facial type and the position of Christ's hands in the present painting stem from a lost depiction of Christ Blessing by Rogier van der Weyden, a variation on the figure of Christ in his *Braque Trip-*



Fig. 2. Copy after Jan van Eyck, *The Holy Face*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

Fig. 3. Detail of the central panel of Rogier van der Weyden, *The Braque Triptych*, Paris, Louvre.

tych in the Louvre (Fig. 3). Rogier's lost painting is similarly known through numerous copies and was also the source of inspiration for Hans Memling's depictions of Christ Blessing.⁵

Technical images of the painting have revealed the artist's preparation for this composition (Fig. 4). The underdrawing for Christ's eyes, right ear, curly hair, and hands are clearly visible. Additionally, the infrared reflectogram has indicated significant changes in the position of the index and middle finger of Christ's blessing hand—faintly visible to the naked eye—as well as a *pentimento* in the ring finger on the same hand. The oak panel bears on its verso a painted pattern of drips signifying the five Holy Wounds of Christ (Fig. 5). Their schematic arrangement in the corners signifies the four nail wounds from the Crucifixion, and in the center of the panel, the gash from Longinus's lance in his side. The presence of this design, which seems to be original to the painting, reflects the widespread devotion to the wounds of Christ in the period.



Fig. 4. Detail of infrared reflectogram of the present work.



Fig. 5. Painted design on the reverse of the present painting.



Fig. 6. Photograph of the present work from the Friedländer archive, ca. 1922, possibly in the original frame.

Our painting has only appeared once in the scholarly literature on early Netherlandish painting. Jan Białostocki published it in his 1976 article on copies of and paintings influenced by Rogier van der Weyden's lost painting of the blessing Christ. It was then known only from a damaged photograph in the archive of Max J. Friedländer at the RKD, the Netherlands Institute for Art History, which shows the painting in an old (and likely the original) frame with an extensive inscription, alas indecipherable, inscribed along the border (Fig. 6).⁶ Białostocki considered it to be by a follower of Rogier van der Weyden, and proposed a date of execution in the early sixteenth century.

This work has recently been studied firsthand by Dr. Mary-an Ainsworth, who has attributed it to the Master of the Prado Redemption and dates it to the 1460s (verbal communication, 31 July 2019). Ainsworth has commented on the excellent state of conservation of the painted surface and compared the morphology of Christ's face with that in the right wing of the artist's eponymous triptych in the Museo del Prado, depicting the *Last Judgement* (Fig. 7).⁷ She notes in particular the similarities in the construction of Christ's neck, which displays a distinctive V-shape in both works, as well as the shape of the forehead and the plump lips. Further analogies are to be found in the neck, the lips, and the exceptionally long, spindly fingers of our Christ when compared with those in the figure of Adam in *The Expulsion* from the left wing of the Prado triptych (Fig. 8).

The dating of our *Christ Blessing* is supported by the dendrochronological investigation performed by Dr. Peter Klein, which established that it is painted on a Baltic oak panel whose last rings were formed in 1431.⁸ Klein's analysis indicates an earliest felling date of 1440, with an earliest possible fabrication date of 1442 and a plausible fabrication date of 1448 or later.

In the nineteenth century, our painting was in the celebrated collection of Old Master paintings assembled by Lord Northwick at Thirlestane House in Cheltenham, England.⁹ It was then attributed to Jan van Eyck and was later sold out of the collection with this attribution. The painting was seen there by Gustav Waagen, who described it in his 1854 *Treasures of Art in Great Brit-*



Fig. 7. Detail of the Master of the Prado Redemption, *Last Judgment*, Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Fig. 8. Detail of the Master of the Prado Redemption, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

ain as “Christ blessing, called a Jan van Eyck, [it] is a somewhat later, but interesting picture of the Netherlandish school.”¹⁰ It must also have been viewed by the countless visitors to the collection at Thirlestane House, which was free and open to the public. The numerous catalogues of Lord Northwick’s collection, published throughout his life, help us trace the movements of the picture to different rooms in Thirlestane House and also provide an approximate date of acquisition. The painting first appeared in the 1846 catalogue, but as it was absent from the 1843 edition, it is likely that Northwick acquired it in the intervening years.¹¹ Nothing more is known about its earlier history or where it was acquired by Northwick.

Following Lord Northwick’s death, his collection was dispersed at auction in 1859. Our painting was purchased there by Henry Moses, an obscure picture dealer and frame maker active in Bristol.¹² The next notice of the painting is not until 1922, when a photograph of the work entered the archive of Max J. Friedländer. Inscribed on the reverse in Friedländer’s hand, “V. Behr / 23.VI.1922,” this refers to the painting’s then owner, a “V. Behr” of Berlin cited in Friedländer’s notebook from 1923 and likely to be identified with the Legationsrat R. von Behr of Bestland (in the former province of Pomerania) who resided in Berlin and is known to have had a collection of Old Master paintings.¹³

BOHEMIAN SCHOOL, CA. 1380–1400

The Resurrection of Christ

Tempera on panel
33 x 22 inches (83.8 x 55.9 cm)

PROVENANCE

with dealer “Mr. Scheer,” Vienna, by July 1918; where acquired by:
Jindřich Waldes, Prague, 1918–1941; thence by descent to:
Private Collection, New York.

LITERATURE

Rudolf Kuchynka, “České obrazy tabulové ve Waldesově obrazárně,” *Památky archeologické*, vol. 31 (1919), pp. 62–64, fig. 5.
Jaroslav Pešina, “K datování deskových obrazů ve Waldesově obrazárně,” *Ročenka Krubu pro Pěstování Dějin Umění: za rok* (1934), pp. 131–137.
Jaroslav Pešina, *Pozdně gotické deskové malířství v Čechách*, Prague, 1940, pp. 150–151, 220.
Patrik Šimon, *Jindřich Waldes: sběratel umění*, Prague, 2001, pp. 166, 168, footnote 190.
Ivo Hlobil, “Tři gotické obrazy ze sbírky Jindřicha Waldese,” *Umění*, vol. 52, no. 4 (2004), p. 369.

THIS IMPRESSIVE DEPICTION of the *Resurrection* is an important re-discovery for the corpus of early Bohemian panel painting. Executed sometime in the 1380s or 1390s by a close associate of the Master of the Třeboň Altarpiece, the present panel is a rare survival of a work created at the royal court in Prague. It has emerged from an American collection, descendants of the celebrated Czech industrialist and collector Jindřich Waldes who died in Havana fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe.

The distinctive visual tradition of the Bohemian school first began to take shape in the middle of the fourteenth century after Charles IV—king of Bohemia and later Holy Roman Emperor—established Prague as a major artistic center. The influx of foreign artists and the importation of significant works of art from across Europe had a profound influence on the development of a local pictorial style. Early Italian paintings, especially those by Siennese painters and Tommaso da Modena (who worked at Charles IV’s court), had a considerable impact on the first generation of Bohemian painters. Although this influence is still felt in the brilliant gold ground and the delicate tooling of the present work, the author of this painting appears to be responding more to the paintings of his predecessors in Prague than to foreign influences.

This *Resurrection of Christ* employs a compositional format that was popular throughout the late medieval period but was particularly pervasive in Bohemian painting. Christ is shown sitting atop a pink marble sarcophagus, stepping down onto the ground with one bare foot. He blesses the viewer with his right hand, while in his left he holds a triumphal cross with a fluttering banner, symbolizing his victory over death. Several Roman soldiers doze at the base of the tomb, except for one grotesque figure, who, beginning to wake, shields his eyes from the light and looks on



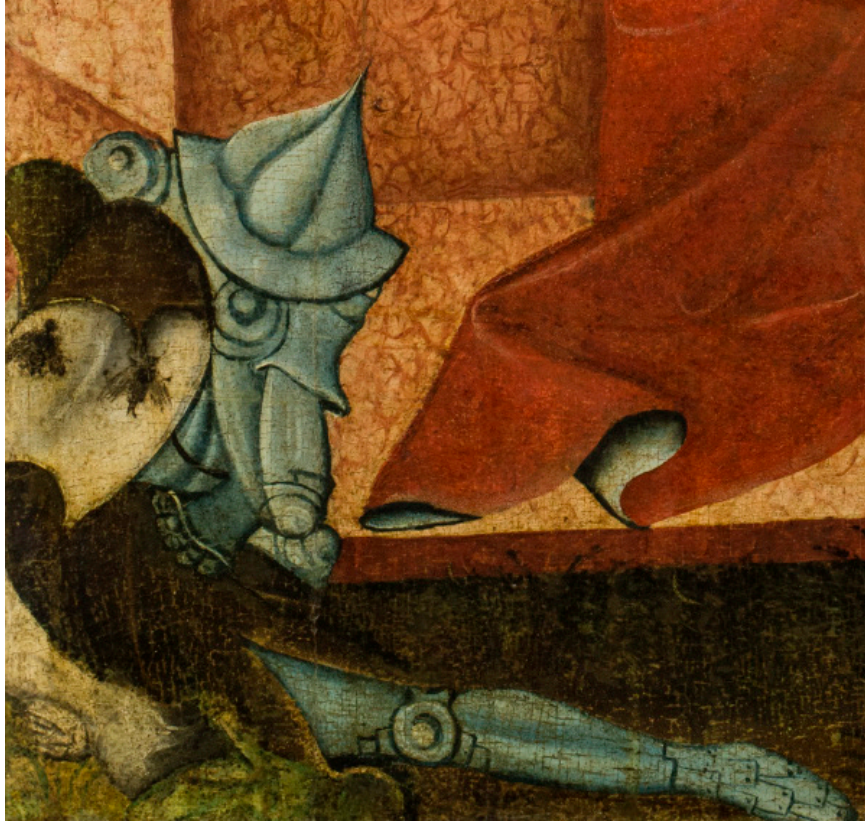


Fig. 1. Detail of the present painting.

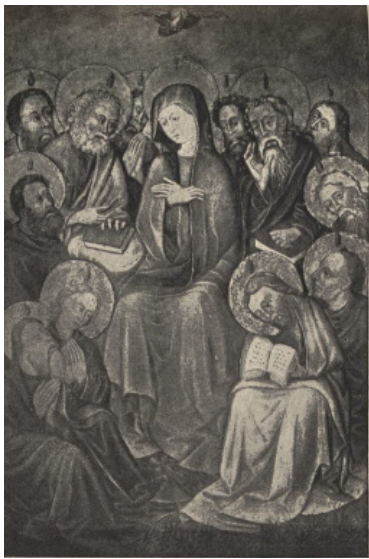
with a face of bewilderment as Christ emerges from his tomb. Christ is wrapped in a striking red robe with a blue interior lining, the colors of which vary subtly in the changing light. He stands out prominently against the gold backdrop, which is interrupted only by the abstractly rendered landscape and trees on either side of him.

The soldiers' armor is rendered in exacting detail, the cool gray of the metal contrasting with the earth tones of the outer garments. The sleeping soldier set within a jumble of armor with neither face nor hands exposed, is covered with what appears to be a shield emblazoned with two flies on a white field, somewhat resembling a cartouche (Fig. 1). This may be a heraldic device of the altarpiece's patron or it may signify evil, referencing either the Roman soldiers or death, over both of which Christ triumphs.

This painting formed part of the collection assembled by the Czech industrialist and founder of the Waldes Koh-i-noor Company, Jindřich Waldes, in the early twentieth century. As a collector he is best remembered for establishing the Waldes Museum in Prague to house his collection of buttons (totaling nearly 70,000 items), as well as for being the primary patron of the modernist painter František Kupka. Waldes was also an avid collector of older art, and he approached his collecting activity with the goal of creating an encyclopedic collection of Czech art from the medieval period through to the then-present day.¹ At the conclusion of two decades of collecting, his inventory counted 2331 paintings and drawings, 4764 prints, and 162 sculptures.² This collection, which constituted the Waldesova Obrazárna (Waldes Picture Gallery), was first displayed

in Waldes' home in Prague at 44 Americká Street and later at his newly built Villa Marie at 12 Koperníkova Street.³ This *Resurrection of Christ* retains its frame from the Waldes Picture Gallery, including its original plaque "173 / Český malíř z konce 14 stol." ("Czech painter from the end of the 14th century") and Waldes' collection label on the reverse.⁴

The *Resurrection of Christ* was one of the most significant late medieval panel paintings in the Waldes Picture Gallery. It was part of a series of four paintings including a *Flagellation of Christ*, *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, and *The Pentecost*—constituting a Passion Cycle—that Waldes acquired in July 1918 (Figs. 2–5). This was an important moment in Waldes' activity as a collector of early Czech painting. His purchase of this Passion Cycle came on the heels of his headline-mak-



Clockwise from top left:

Fig. 2. *The Resurrection of Christ*, the present work.

Fig. 3. *The Flagellation of Christ*, whereabouts unknown.

Fig. 4. *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, Private Collection.

Fig. 5. *The Pentecost*, whereabouts unknown.

ing acquisition of an early Bohemian diptych at the sale of Richard von Kaufmann's collection in Berlin in December 1917, the first medieval painting that he added to his collection. However, while the Waldes diptych has been well-documented and frequently commented on by scholars,⁵ the present painting and the other related panels have been absent from the literature on early Bohemian art and have remained unseen by scholars for almost a century.

The earliest notice of the *Resurrection* and the series to which it belongs was published in 1919 by Rudolf Kuchynka, the curator and administrator of the Waldes Picture Gallery. According to Kuchynka, the four paintings were originally two wings of an altarpiece (painted on the front and reverse) that were cut down and cradled, creating four distinct works.⁶ Although nothing further is known about the original complex, it is likely that these wings flanked a central image of the Crucifixion. Kuchynka compared these paintings to those of the Master of Vyšší Brod and the Master of the Třeboň Altarpiece, suggesting a date for these panels of around 1400.⁷

A later date was suggested by Jaroslav Pešina who proposed that the Waldes panels were examples of “conscious archaism,” but his proposal has since been widely discounted.⁸ The dating of the series was more recently discussed by Ivo Hlobil in 2004. Focusing specifically on the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* and the *Pentecost*, Hlobil posits that those two paintings, but not the others, are by later hands, proposing a date for these in the 1440s.⁹ It may well be that the inner panels—the *Flagellation* and our *Resurrection*—and the outer panels—*Christ on the Mount of Olives* and the *Pentecost*—of the altarpiece were painted as much as fifty years apart. This accords well with Dr. Alexandra Suda's recent dating of our *Resurrection* to the 1380s or 1390s (verbal communication 28 August 2019).¹⁰ The author of our *Resurrection* is not at present identifiable with any of the known artistic personalities of early Bohemian panel painting. Suda has suggested that on stylistic grounds he must be close to the Master of the Třeboň Altarpiece and it is possible that our artist trained in that Master's evidently large workshop.

The fact that the Waldes *Resurrection of Christ* has been absent from the scholarly literature is largely explained by its transferal to the United States at the outbreak of the Second World War. In the 1930s Jindřich Waldes sent his family to the United States—the Koh-i-noor Company had several factories and an extensive operation there—while he remained behind in Prague as a proud Czech patriot. He was arrested by the Gestapo in September 1939 and imprisoned in Dachau and Buchenwald because of his Jewish heritage. Waldes was released from the concentration camp in 1941 after his wife paid a ransom of 8 million Czech korunas to the Gestapo, but he died during his voyage from Europe to the United States. He had sent a portion of his art collection (including the present painting) to United States along with his family, while the balance remained in Prague only to be confiscated by the Nazi's in 1941, deposited in the National Gallery of Prague, and eventually incorporated into the museum's collections. Some of these works were restituted to the family in 1996.¹¹



LORENZO DI CREDI

(Florence, ca. 1456 – 1536)

The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist
“The Portinari Tondo”

Tempera on panel, tondo
36 inches diameter (91.4 cm)

PROVENANCE

Alexander Barker, London; his estate sale, Christie's, London, 6–8 June 1874, lot 73; where acquired by:
Octavius E. Coope, Rochetts, near Brentwood, Essex; his estate sale, Christie's, London, 6 May 1910, lot 61
(purchased by Mr. Vicars); where acquired by:
Duveen Brothers, London, Paris, and New York; where acquired by:
Rita de Acosta Lydig, New York, 1910–1911; by whom sold to:
Duveen Brothers, New York, 1911–1915; their sale, American Art Association, New York, 29 April 1915, lot 3;
where acquired by:
Reinhardt Galleries, 1915; where acquired by:
John North Willys, New York, 1915–1935; by to descent to:
Isabel Van Wie Willys, New York, 1935–1945; her estate sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, 25 October 1945, lot 9;
where acquired by:
Christopher J. and Bonaventura Devine, New Jersey, 1945–1985; thence by descent to:
Mary Jane Devine Kenny, New Jersey, 1985–2018; by descent to:
Private Collection, USA.

EXHIBITED

British Institution, London, 1858, cat. no. 20.
British Institution, London, 1860.
Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1871, cat. no. 78.

LITERATURE

Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 3, London, 1866, p. 414, as Lorenzo di Credi.
Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Geschichte der italienischen Malerei*, ed. Max Jordan, Leipzig, 1872, vol. 4, part 2, “Umbrische und sienesische Schule des XV. Jahrhunderts,” p. 431, no. 3, as Lorenzo di Credi.
Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy, Umbria, Florence and Siena, from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 6, “Sienese and Florentine Masters of the Sixteenth Century,” ed. Tancred Borenius, London, 1914, p. 41, no. 3, as Lorenzo di Credi.
“Madonna and Child by Lorenzo di Credi,” Henry Reinhardt, New York, 1915 (bound catalogue that accompanied the painting at the 1945 Parke Bernet sale).
Ralph Flint, “John N. Willys Collection,” *International Studio*, vol. 80, no. 333 (February 1925), pp. 367–368, as Lorenzo di Credi.
Gigetta Dalli Regoli, *Lorenzo di Credi*, Cremona, 1966, pp. 188, 203, cat. no. 214, as workshop, part of series B (denoting anonymous repetitions of di Credi compositions), location unknown.
Anabel Humphreys, “Credi, Tommaso, and a York Tondo,” *Preview*, vol. 22, no. 86 (April 1969), p. 788, no. A2.
Gigetta Dalli Regoli, “Novità per Lorenzo di Credi: un Tondo di committenza Portinari,” *Finestre sull'Arte*, published online 22 September 2019, as by Lorenzo di Credi, commissioned by Benedetto Portinari (https://www.finestresullarte.info/1142n_novita-per-lorenzo-di-credi-tondo-portinari.php).



WHILE LONG RECORDED IN THE LITERATURE, Lorenzo di Credi's *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* has remained unseen in private American collections for over a century. As is well known, the artist trained in the workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio alongside Leonardo da Vinci and Perugino, specializing in devotional works often painted in collaboration with his master and fellow pupils. After Verrocchio left for Venice around 1480 and Leonardo da Vinci departed for Milan around 1482–1483, Lorenzo assumed control of his master's workshop and was later named heir and executor of Verrocchio's will. Lorenzo took the workshop in a new direction, focusing less on large ecclesiastical commissions than on more modestly scaled works for private patrons that reflect his own artistic identity. Such a work is the present painting, which dates from shortly after Lorenzo established himself as an independent master and was executed at the height of the demand for *tondi* as private devotional images intended for domestic interiors. It has recently been proposed that this work was painted for a member of one of the most important and powerful families in Florence in the late Quattrocento: the Portinari.

In this painting, the Virgin and the infant Saint John the Baptist are shown kneeling with hands folded in prayer as they look down on the Christ Child. He lies atop a gray blanket at their feet, leaning against a stuffed sack—one likely filled with grain. Christ is imbued with a sense of playful movement typical of a newborn, with his right leg kicking in the air and a finger touching his mouth. The nakedness of Christ and Saint John—who is only partially covered by a veil—contrasts sharply with the sumptuous ultramarine blue robe of the Virgin. Her weighty drapery falls in beautifully described folds that bunch up on the ground near the diminutive white flowers at the bottom edge of the work. Lorenzo's sensitivity to the depiction of different fabrics and materials is apparent in the modulated colors of the red interior lining of the Virgin's garments and the masterfully rendered transparent veil that covers her hair. The principal figures are placed in a sweeping landscape that includes a lake and several buildings in the distance. On the hill to the left of the figures, just above Saint John's head, a herdsman is shown tending his sheep, a clear reference to the biblical episode of the Annunciation to the Shepherds of Christ's birth (Luke 2: 8–21). At the apex of the painting, clouds part to reveal a bright yellow light shining down on



Fig. 1. Detail of infrared reflectogram of the present work.

the scene, possibly indicating the descent of the Holy Spirit on the figures or the appearance of the *stella maris* just above the Virgin's fingertips.

Technical images of the painting have revealed Lorenzo di Credi's meticulous underdrawing (Fig. 1). The artist devoted much attention to the design of the figures' hands, the Virgin and Saint John's hair, and the folds and gold embroidery of the Virgin's garments. Infrared reflectography has also made visible several *pentimenti* in the painting, including changes to the Virgin's flowing hair and the oak tree. It has also uncovered several rocks that were originally positioned between Christ and the Virgin, as well as on top of the outcrop on the right edge of the painting—elements that were ultimately removed from the final composition.



Fig. 2. Lorenzo di Credi, *Adoration of the Child*, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.

The present painting has only irregularly been mentioned in the scholarly literature on Lorenzo di Credi. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that it has remained in private hands and largely out of public view since the dispersal of the Alexander Barker collection in 1874. Although recorded by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who must have seen the painting in Barker's London home, it has otherwise been known only through the photograph of the painting included in the 1910 auction catalogue of the Coope Collection. It was on the basis of that image that Gigetta Dalli Regoli judged the painting to be a product of Lorenzo di Credi's workshop in her 1966 catalogue raisonné. However, after studying photographs of the present painting after its recent conservation treatment, she has confirmed Lorenzo di Credi's authorship of the work in full (written communication, 7 September 2019 and the 2019 article cited above). The attribution to Lorenzo di Credi has been confirmed as well by Dr. Laurence Kanter on the basis of firsthand inspection. He believes that any workshop participation in the painting is confined to the pillow on which the Christ Child rests.

Our *tondo* dates from the early years of Lorenzo di Credi's independent career. As Dalli Regoli has pointed out, the dimensions of this work roughly coincide with the typical size ($1\frac{1}{2}$ braccia in diameter) of Lorenzo's early *tondi*. Additionally, the use of tempera also points to an early dating, as the artist's later works were executed in oil. The composition of the painting follows a formula that Lorenzo repeated and reworked several times in the late 1470s through the 1480s. Dalli Regoli compares our painting with several closely related *tondi* dating from 1475–1485, including those in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (Fig. 2), the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, the Fondazione Querini Stampalia in Venice, and formerly in the Casati collection.¹ In each of these works, the Virgin is depicted as a youthful mother who kneels in prayer above her newborn

son. The Christ Child is placed prominently in the foreground, lying on the ground, and is often accompanied by Saint John the Baptist. The holy figures are portrayed in an outdoor setting that opens onto an expansive landscape, populated with trees, bodies of water, and architectural structures. Dalli Regoli dates our painting slightly later than these *tondi*, proposing a dating of 1485–1490. This places our painting in one of most successful periods of Lorenzo’s career, just after he assumed control of Verrocchio’s workshop in Florence and before he came under the sway of the fiery preacher Girolamo Savonarola, whose extreme views had a profound influence on Florentine art and life in the 1490s.

In her recent article publishing our *tondo*, Dalli Regoli remarks on the treatment of the setting behind the protagonists, which is unique for the artist. She notes that in Lorenzo’s early devotional works, he typically employed a small backdrop or partition behind the Virgin to separate



Fig. 3. Lorenzo di Credi, *Portrait of a Young Woman in Black*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the holy figures from the earthly landscape beyond (Fig. 2). Unusually, in the present work two oak trees—one intact and the other truncated but with a new branch—are prominently placed on either side of the Virgin, occupying the space in which this division would usually appear. As this is the single instance in which identifiable oak trees are included in a work by the artist, their prominent inclusion here, she maintains, had a specific function—identifying the patron of the work itself. Trees, bushes and foliage appear throughout Lorenzo’s oeuvre. But these are usually rendered generically, suggesting forms and types commonly found in Tuscany, such as citrus trees, myrtle, laurel, beeches, poplars, and cypresses. In only one autograph painting by Lorenzo is a specific kind of vegetation clearly, and meaningfully, depicted. That is Lorenzo’s *Portrait of a Young Woman in Black* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 3), which, as in Leonardo da Vinci’s *Portrait of Ginevra de’ Benci* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), features the sitter portrayed in front of a background of prickly juniper leaves. In both the presence of the juniper, or *ginepro* in Italian, unambiguously references the name of the sitter, Ginevra.²

Dalli Regoli notes that, in our painting, the oak trees evoke the personal emblem of Benedetto Portinari (1466–1551), a member of the celebrated Florentine banking and merchant family. Benedetto was the youngest son of Pigello di Folco Portinari, the director of the Medici bank branch in Milan, and the nephew of Tommaso Portinari, who commissioned the monumental triptych by Hugo van der Goes in the Uffizi. Benedetto worked for the Portinari firm as well, taking over management of it with his brother Folco in the 1490s following their uncle Tommaso’s retirement. He was portrayed in a triptych commissioned from Memling (Fig. 4), now divided between the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (the central panel depicting the Virgin and Child) and the Uffizi in Florence (wings). The right wing of the triptych contains the portrait of Benedetto and is inscribed with the date of the work, 1487, while the left wing depicts his name-saint, Saint Benedict. The reverse of the left wing, which would have been visible when the triptych was closed,



Fig. 4. Hans Memling, *Benedetto Portinari* (From the *Benedetto Portinari Triptych*), Uffizi, Florence.

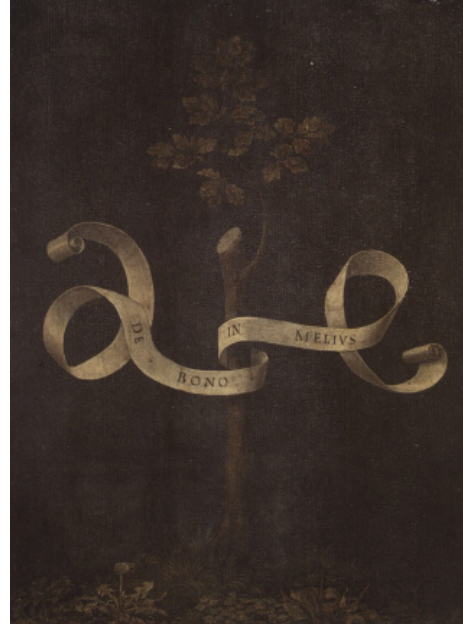


Fig. 5. Hans Memling, *Benedetto Portinari's Emblem* (From the *Benedetto Portinari Triptych*), Uffizi, Florence.

displays Benedetto Portinari's personal emblem, a truncated oak tree with a sprouting branch, as well as his motto inscribed on a banderole: "De Bono in Melius," From Good to Better (Fig. 5).³

In the present *tondo*, special emphasis is given to the two oak trees that appear on either side of the Virgin, placed at different depths within the space of the painting. Dalli Regoli hypothesizes that the presence of the intact tree on the left is intended to make the severed trunk more obvious as an oak tree, and most importantly, as Benedetto's emblem (Fig. 6). The precisely articulated oak leaves in both further serve to distinguish the motif from more generic emblems of truncated trees with new branches, such as those referencing the new dispensation of Christianity or the revival of the Medicean lineage (the *broncone*). Rendered with distinctive rounded lobes and in subtle golden-green color, the leaves of the intact oak tree stand out against the brown tones of the earth beneath and the gray-blue of the landscape and sky. Dalli Regoli notes that the simplicity of the field beyond the Virgin is likely intended to give the greatest possible emphasis to the oak trees. The proximity of Benedetto Portinari's emblem to the Virgin would also seem a fitting prompt for viewer to request protection for Portinari and his family during their personal devotion.

Regarding the commission of the work and the connection between Benedetto Portinari and Lorenzo di Credi, Dalli Regoli points out two close associations. Leonardo Da Vinci, a fellow pupil of Lorenzo in Verrocchio's workshop, was clearly acquainted with Benedetto. In his *Codex Atlanticus* datable to 1489 when Leonardo had already moved to Milan, he records a note reminding himself to ask Benedetto how it is that people skate on ice in the Low Countries.⁴ Additionally, it is worth noting that the Memling's triptych for Benedetto Portinari was sent to Florence shortly



Fig. 6. Detail of the present work.

after its creation, and by the early 1500s must have been in the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova.⁵ The Ospedale was a major institution in Florence that had been founded in 1288 by Benedetto's famous ancestor, Folco di Ricovero Portinari, and was patronized by the family until 1617. The Portinari maintained a family chapel in the choir of the church of the Ospedale, Sant'Egidio, which housed several of the family's Netherlandish paintings.⁶ Dalli Regoli suggests that the commission of our *tondo* from Lorenzo di Credi may have been motivated by the artist's own close association with the Ospedale. Lorenzo was a tenant in a home belonging to the institution in 1486. Furthermore, in 1531 at the age of the 71, he joined the Ospedale—renouncing his possessions in exchange for lodging and a modest annuity for the rest of his life—and died there five years later.

Dalli Regoli writes that the stylistic aspects of the work and the complex set of circumstances surrounding its commission confirms a date for the *tondo* in the late 1480s, when Benedetto Portinari was in his early twenties and was already established in the family business. Whether the *tondo* was commissioned by Benedetto during a stay in Florence, as Dalli Regoli posits, or ordered through an agent there is unknown. Nor whether the painting travelled to Bruges with Benedetto

or remained in Florence, although the panel support and size would suggest the latter. The format of the *tondo* suggests that the painting was commissioned for a domestic interior, and a fitting location would have been the newly erected Palazzo Portinari. Construction of it began in 1473, and by 1495 it was owned jointly by Pigello's three sons—Ludovico, Folco, and our Benedetto—although it was almost certainly inhabited before this date.⁷ However, the lack of male heirs for Benedetto and his brothers eventually resulted in the bequest of the palazzo and its contents to the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, and its later to sale by the Ospedale to the Salviati family.⁸ It has not yet been possible to trace the later history of our *tondo*, as no will or inventory of Benedetto's possessions has been located. However, it is likely that the *tondo* remained in Florence until it entered the possession of the dealer and collector Alexander Barker in the nineteenth century. Barker frequently purchased works in Florence, often directly from Florentine noble families, but it is not known where he acquired this work by Lorenzo di Credi, one of seven works by the artist in his collection.⁹

Another episode in the history of this painting that has gone unnoticed is the role Bernard Berenson played in its acquisition by Joseph Duveen in 1910. Before he officially entered into his secret partnership with Duveen in 1912, Berenson had already begun advising the dealer on Italian paintings that were on the art market. When this *tondo* appeared in the catalogue for the Coope sale at Christie's, Duveen sent Berenson a letter on 30 April 1910 asking if the picture was genuine and if he should buy it.¹⁰ Berenson's enthusiastic response is preserved in a telegram dated 3 May 1910: "CREDI GENUINE BUY. BERENSON."¹¹ Duveen purchased the Lorenzo di Credi,¹² and it appears in the Berenson X Book, which lists the gallery stock that was authenticated by Berenson and sold by Duveen, with Berenson receiving a portion of the proceeds.¹³ The present painting is one of the first Italian paintings that Duveen acquired on Berenson's advice, being only the fourth entry in the X Book. Although Berenson was directly involved in its purchase, the work does not appear in any edition of his published lists of Italian paintings, the *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, presumably because he did not know its later whereabouts.



RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO

(San Lorenzo a Vigliano, ca. 1466 – 1524 Florence)

Madonna and Child

Fresco, mounted on board, tondo

35 ¾ inches diameter (90.8 cm)

PROVENANCE

Casa Ulivi, Borgo la Croce, Florence.

Giuseppe Toscanelli, Pontedera, Pisa; his sale, Sambon, Florence, 9–23 April 1883, lot 79, as Filippino Lippi.

Bertha Caroline Jennings-Bramly, née Larking, acquired in Italy ca. 1900; by descent to her daughter:

Amy Constance Akers-Douglas, Viscountess Chilston, Chilston Park, Maidstone, Kent; her sale, Sotheby's, London,

9 June 1955, lot 96, as Filippino Lippi (reported as purchased by A. L. Johnson, but evidently unsold); reoffered

Sotheby's, London, 26 June 1957, lot 40, as Raffaellino del Garbo (purchased by Twining).

with Wildenstein & Co., Paris and New York, by 1960.

Private Collection, U.S.A., 1992–2019.

EXHIBITED

"The Christmas Story in Art," IBM Gallery, New York, 13 December 1965–8 January 1966, cat. no. 13, illustrated on the cover.

LITERATURE

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Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la Renaissance (1250–1580)*, Paris, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 102, 699, no. 1, illustrated.

Carlo Gamba, "Dipinti ignoti di Raffaello Carli," *Rassegna d'arte*, vol. 7, no. 7 (July 1907), p. 104, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the II to the XVI Century*, ed. Edward Hutton, London and New York, 1909, vol. 2, p. 439, no. 1, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

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Alfred Scharf, *Filippino Lippi*, Vienna, 1935, p. 115, no. 113, under workshop and school paintings, as in the style of Filippino Lippi.

Mortiz Hauptmann, *Der Tondo: Ursprung, Bedeutung und Geschichte des Italienischen Rundbildes in Relief und Malerei*, Frankfurt, 1936, p. 221, no. 14B, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

"Forthcoming Sales," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 97, no. 627 (June 1955), p. 192.

Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School*, London, 1963, vol. 1, p. 186, vol. 2, pl. 1164, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

Maria Grazia Carpaneto Bianchi, "Raffaellino del Garbo, pt. I," *Antichità viva*, vol. 9, no. 4 (July–August 1970) p. 23, footnote 52, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

Maria Pia Mannini, *Il Museo Civico di Prato: Le Collezioni D'Arte*, Florence, 1990, p. 88, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

Hildegard Buschmann, *Raffaellino del Garbo: Werkmonographie und Katalog*, PhD dissertation, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1993, pp. 74, 129, cat. no. 4, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

Laura Martini, *Museo Civico Pinacoteca Crociani*, Siena, 2000, pp. 72–73, as Raffaellino del Garbo.

Rita Balleri, in *Filippino Lippi; un bellissimo ingegno; origini ed eredità*, Prato, 2004, p. 53, as Raffaellino del Garbo.



Danilo Barsanti, "I Toscanelli: Da Impresari Edili a Famiglia Aristocratica. Dimore, Abitudini, Mentalità," in *Le Dimore di Pisa: L'Arte di Abitare i Palazzi di una Antica Repubblica Marinara dal Medioevo all'Unità d'Italia*, ed. Emilia Daniele, Florence, 2010, p. 306.

Barbara Bertelli, "Sulla formazione della collezione Toscanelli e il mercato antiquario pisano negli anni dell'Italia unita," in *Pisa Unità nelle Arti: Un Profilo di Città*, ed. Stefano Bruni, Florence, 2011, p. 172, footnote 29.

Umberto Ragozzino, *Lettere familiari inedite di Ubaldino Peruzzi ed Emilia Toscanelli Peruzzi ed altri documenti dai manoscritti dell'archivio Ragozzino-Adami*, Florence, 2013, p. 584.

THIS COMPELLING *TONDO* of the Virgin and Child is one of only a few surviving frescoes by one of the most eclectic painters of the Italian Renaissance, Raffaellino del Garbo. Raffaellino began his career as an assistant to Filippino Lippi, and his earliest known work is a frescoed vault adjacent to the Filippino's Carafa Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, painted around 1493. Five years later, he is recorded as an independent painter in Florence and the following year he matriculated in the painter's guild. Raffaellino's style underwent several significant transformations throughout his career, revealing responses to the work of Filippino, Piero di Cosimo, and Perugino. Rather than following a linear development, Raffaellino's style is also refreshingly inconsistent, so much so that art historians once separated his oeuvre into two groups. His early works were once associated with his nickname, Raffaellino del Garbo—derived from the street on which his workshop was located, the Via del Garbo in Florence—and his later works with his actual name, Raffaellino de' Carli. This detached fresco, which was formerly in the celebrated collection of Giuseppe Toscanelli, dates from the height of Raffaellino's career and portrays one of his most successful compositions.

This fresco presents a powerful, iconic image of the Virgin and Child isolated against a dark background. The Christ Child sits in his mother's lap, wrapped in a soft pink veil and holding a small cross. He looks out of the painting towards the viewer, his resolute expression contrasted by the sadness and tenderness in the Virgin's downcast gaze as she holds him protectively within her mantle. The figures are situated close to the pictorial plane and the Virgin's great stature nearly fills the frame, creating a graceful and balanced depiction of the holy figures. The *tondo* format, which is likely original to the fresco, rose to prominence in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and was frequently employed for private devotional imagery. Raffaellino produced numerous works of this type throughout his career, and, given that most *tondi* were intended for domestic settings, it is no surprise that this fresco was detached from the interior wall of a home.

When this fresco was sold from the Toscanelli collection in 1883, it was considered a work by Filippino Lippi. It retained this attribution while in the collection at Chilston Park, and it was first offered by Viscountess Chilston at Sotheby's London in 1955 as work by Filippino before being reoffered in 1957 with the correct attribution to Raffaellino.¹ Raffaellino's authorship of the painting had by this point already been long established in the scholarly literature. Following the dispersal of the Toscanelli collection, all scholars from Carlo Gamba on have rightly recognized it as by Raffaellino.² The composition of our Virgin and Child is related to that in Raffaellino del Garbo's high altarpiece in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Siena, signed and dated 1502.³ Executed in Raffaellino's eccentric and highly personal style, our fresco successfully distills



Fig. 1. Raffaellino del Garbo, *The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist*, Prato, Museo Civico.

the central figures from his altarpiece into an intimate composition that brings the viewer into close proximity with the Virgin and Child. Rather than providing a window into their world, the work's intense focus on the object of the viewer's devotion gives the impression that the holy figures are physically present before us, sharing the same space. Raffaellino repeated his design for the Virgin and Child in a second *tondo* in the Museo Civico di Prato (Fig. 1), which is generally dated around 1511, the year of his *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Louvre.⁴ Each of these three works display slight variations in the positions and attributes of the principal figures. Whereas the Virgin's hair is covered in the Siena altarpiece, her golden locks flow freely in the present painting and in the Prato *tondo*. There are also some differences in the arrangement of her beautifully described hands between the three works. The Christ Child appears nearly identically in the Siena altarpiece and in this fresco—draped with a veil (referring to the shroud he would be wrapped in after his crucifixion) that wraps around his leg—whereas in the Prato *tondo* he is depicted with curly hair and dressed in a white cloak, holding a book. Our fresco dates after Raffaellino's Siena altarpiece of 1502 and was likely executed around the same time as the Prato *tondo* of ca. 1511 given the compositional and stylistic similarities.

The existence of several variations on this composition of the Virgin and Child in Raffaellino's oeuvre suggests that he was most likely working from a cartoon, or at the very least drawn designs, first executed for his Siena altarpiece that he retained after the completion of that project. Raffaellino was an expert draughtsman, and although no drawings that can be directly associated with the present work have survived, his studies of the head of the Virgin in Berlin and Stockholm,⁵ as well as his spirited studies of hands in various positions in Vienna and London,⁶ give us an indication of both the detailed planning that went into his works and the large stock of motifs kept in the workshop that he was able to draw from. The popularity of this composition and the probable



Fig. 2. Photograph of the present painting in the Toscanelli Album.

former existence of a cartoon (or other preparatory drawings) for this figural group are furthermore attested by two *tondi* from the workshop of Raffaellino del Garbo, which are based on his designs: a damaged *tondo* in the Museo Civico di Montepulciano (Fig. 2)⁷ and an untraced *tondo* sold in the sale of the contents of the Villa Salviatino outside Florence in 1891.⁸

The present painting formed part of the exceptional collection of medieval and Renaissance paintings assembled by the Pisan businessman and politician Giuseppe Toscanelli, which was sold in Florence in 1883. The importance of the collection was such that the sale catalogue was authored by the art historian Gaetano Milanesi⁹ and a lavish album containing photographic reproductions of the most significant paintings, including this one, was produced for the sale (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The entry on our fresco reports that it was detached from the wall of a house belonging to the Ulivi family on the Borgo la Croce in Florence that was demolished in order to widen the street, which runs between the Church of Sant’Ambrogio and the Piazza Beccaria. However, an alternative provenance for the painting should also be considered. Barbara Bertelli recently noted that one of Toscanelli’s earliest documented acquisitions was a Quattrocento fresco depicting the Virgin and Child, which he commissioned the Pisan restorer Guglielmo Botti to detach from a country house outside Siena in 1856.¹¹ Given that the sale catalogue for the Toscanelli collection is known to have inaccurately reported the origins of several paintings, it is worthwhile to entertain the possibility that the present work may have been acquired from outside Siena.¹² The presence of this fresco in a home outside Siena would fit a pattern of patronage observed throughout the history of early Italian painting, and one especially common in Siena, in which a patron commissioned a smaller work based on a revered model.

Following the sale of the Toscanelli collection, the painting reappeared at Sotheby’s London in 1955 from the collection of Viscountess Chilston. According to an unpublished typewritten note sent by the English writer and Italophile Edward Hutton to Bernard Berenson in October 1955, this work was purchased in Italy around 1900 by Viscountess Chilston’s mother, Bertha Caroline Jennings-Bramly.¹³ The note further indicates that the conservator Mauro Pelliccioli, perhaps best remembered for conserving Leonardo da Vinci’s fresco of the *Last Supper* in the 1950s, had treated the *tondo* for Mrs. Jennings-Bramly. While Hutton stated that the fresco had been transferred to canvas, it is in fact mounted on board, and it seems likely that it was Pelliccioli who removed the passages of rather crude overpaint visible in the 1883 Toscanelli photograph.



GIOVANNI FRANCESCO PENNI

(Italian, 1488?/96? – 1528?)

Holy Family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria and the Young Saint John the Baptist

Oil on canvas, possibly transferred from panel

49 ¼ x 36 ⅞ inches (125 x 93.5 cm)

PROVENANCE

Horatio Granville Murray-Stewart of Broughton, Cally House, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Scotland (1834–1904),

his armorial bookplate on the verso; probably sold at his estate sale, Robinson & Fisher, London, 12 May 1904.¹

Private Collection, Boston (there framed by Foster Brothers between 1906 and 1942).²

with Childs Gallery, Boston, by 1955.

Private Collection, Boston.

EXHIBITED

“El último Rafael,” Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 12 June–16 September 2012, cat. no. 84.

“Raphaël les derniers années,” Musée du Louvre, Paris, 11 October 2012– 14 January 2013, cat. no. 84.

“The meeting of two paintings. Gianfrancesco Penni, Holy Family—versions of Boston and Warsaw,” Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (National Museum in Warsaw), 4 February–31 March 2013.

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Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, “Review of Late Raphael Madrid and Paris,” *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 154, no. 1361 (November 2012), p. 812.

David Love, “Gianfrancesco Penni: Designs for Overlooked Panel Paintings,” in *Late Raphael: Proceedings of the International Symposium; Actas del Congreso Internacional*, ed. Miguel Falomir, Madrid, 2013, p. 139, 148, footnote 36.

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Grażyna Bastek, Barbara Łydzba-Kopczyńska, Elżbieta Pilecka-Pietrusińska, and Iwona Maria Stefańska, “Technological Examination of the Warsaw and Boston Versions of *The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine* by Gianfrancesco Penni,” *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*, New Series, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 181–195; in Polish as “Święta Rodzina ze świętym Janem Chrzcicielem i świętą Katarzyną Aleksandryjską Gianfrancesca Penniego — badania technologiczne wersji,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*. Nowa Seria, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 151–180.

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Paul Joannides, “Gianfrancesco Penni’s Two Versions of *The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine*,” *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*. New Series, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 245–254; in Polish as “Dwie wersje obrazu *Święta Rodzina ze świętym Janem Chrzcicielem i świętą Katarzyną Aleksandryjską* Gianfrancesca Penniego,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*. Nowa Seria, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 232–244.

David Love, “The Currency of Connoisseurs: The History of Two Versions of *The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine* by Gianfrancesco Penni,” *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*. New Series, vol. 3, no. 39



(2014), p. 285; in Polish as “Waluta koneserów — o historii dwóch wersji *Świętej Rodziny ze świętym Janem Chrzycielem i świętą Katarzyną Aleksandryjską* Gianfrancesca Penniego”, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*. Nowa Seria, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 272–273.

THE RECENT “LATE RAPHAEL” EXHIBITION, shown at the Louvre and the Prado in 2012–2013, not only illuminated the career of Raphael in his last decade, but gave order to the life and works of Giovanni Francesco Penni, Raphael’s principal assistant and closest follower. A previously unpublished painting first presented in the exhibition was the present work, Penni’s *Holy Family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria and the Young Saint John the Baptist*, which had long remained unidentified in a private Boston collection, there familiarly referred to as “the old Italian painting.” Its reemergence is a notable addition to our knowledge of the High Renaissance and, in particular, of Roman classicism in the circle of Raphael.

Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano were the joint heirs, both practically and artistically, of Raphael’s studio following the master’s death in 1520. They worked together in the first years of the decade, collaborating most famously on the frescoes of the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace and the *Monteluce Coronation*, now in the Vatican Pinacoteca. But after the Sack of Rome in 1527 their careers dramatically diverged. Giulio moved to Mantua where he was to enjoy the patronage of the Gonzaga family until his death in 1546. Penni’s life after Rome was shockingly brief. He joined the retinue of the Marquis Alfonso d’Avalos and traveled with him to Ischia and Naples before dying of unknown causes in 1528.

Penni’s early work is essentially Raphael’s. He participated in most every major project of Raphael’s from 1513 on while organizing the practical workings of the studio, thus acquiring his nickname “*il Fattore*,” or “the Manager.” Although aspects of his personal style are perceptible in many of the productions of the Raphael workshop, tellingly no documented independent paintings by

Penni are known from Raphael’s lifetime. Nonetheless his elegant refined style is discernable in several paintings from the second decade of the century—many of which have until recently been given to Raphael himself. While Giulio Romano is the more distinctive and inventive of the two, Penni was clearly the more faithful in executing and later carrying forth the aesthetics of his master.

The *Holy Family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria and the Young Saint John the Baptist* was first attributed to Penni in 2004 by Paul Joannides,³ who noted that it was a variant of a known composition by the artist in the collection of the National Museum of Warsaw (Fig. 1).⁴ Since then both



Fig. 1. Giovanni Francesco Penni, *Holy Family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria and the Young Saint John the Baptist*, Warsaw, National Museum.

paintings have been extensively studied, separately and together, by scholars and conservators employing advanced technical imaging and analysis. The present painting was exhibited in the “Late Raphael” exhibition, but due to legal issues the Warsaw panel could not be included. However, in 2013 the two paintings were shown together in a focus exhibition in Warsaw and discussed in a conference convened on 4 February 2013. The conclusions of that conference are related in the 2014 publications cited above. These confirmed that both versions of the composition are autograph and that they were executed side-by-side in the same studio. Technical images of the paintings demonstrated that the principal figures were prepared using the same cartoon. Infrared reflectography also revealed identical compositional changes in the underdrawing—a group of buildings were planned to the right of Saint Joseph in both works, but were not painted (Fig. 2).⁵ Although it was impossible to determine the primacy of either version, the many variations between the two paintings—most notably in the landscape treatment and palette but also in details such as Saint Catherine’s hair-style, tiara, and her fastened or unfastened sandal—reveal the creative process involved in the gestation of these two related compositions.



Fig. 2. Detail of the infrared reflectogram of the present painting.

The setting of our *Holy Family* is a broad landscape with classical ruins perched on a rocky outcropping. In the distance a river dotted with small ships wends its way into the distance between villages on either bank. In the foreground the Christ Child emerges from his cradle to embrace his mother as Joseph sternly observes from his post leaning against a damaged stone pedestal, a further emblem of the old order supplanted by Christianity. Catherine stands to the side, her right hand gently grasping the arm of the young John the Baptist, her left hand poised atop her wheel. While the three principal figures of the composition are directly drawn from Raphael’s *Holy Family of Francis I* in the Louvre (Fig. 3), the two saints at the left are Penni’s inventions. The figure of Saint Catherine—in pose, dress, and detail—is derived from classical models, particularly a Roman figure of Minerva, and can be associated with antiquities recorded in the so-called *Fossombrone Sketchbook*, the work of an unidentified draughtsman in Raphael’s circle. Similarly, the evocative Roman ruins above her head, which depict the Baths of Caracalla, clearly relate to drawings in the same source (Fig. 4).⁶

Our painting and its Polish cognate have been extensively studied in the publications cited above. There David Love treats the intricate and involved iconography of the composition, the fusion of classical and modern imagery, the significance of the scene depicted—which exists out of time, Catherine having lived in the fourth century—and its religious import and connection with evangelical theology. Both Love and Joannides discuss the relationship of the two versions, the placement of the painting within Penni’s career, and possible issues of patronage. They date the



Fig. 3. Raphael Sanzio, *The Holy Family of Francis I*, Paris, Louvre.

painting, as does Tom Henry, soon after Raphael's death, contemporary with the *Monteluce Coronation*, ca. 1521–1522.⁷

Grażyna Bastek and her colleagues study and review the technical issues involved in both paintings' facture and conservation, incorporating their own findings on the Warsaw painting with the results of the technical examination undertaken in 2011 by Kate Smith of the Straus Center for Conservation at Harvard. However, subsequent to these reports, the present painting was cleaned in 2014 by Anthony Moore, a dramatically successful treatment that removed passages of repaint and discolored varnish which had compromised the painting's appearance during its exhibition in Paris, Madrid, and Warsaw. One question, still unresolved, is that of the picture's original support. While Bastek believes that the painting was transferred from panel to canvas sometime in the nineteenth century, Moore contends that it remains on its original canvas support. In any case, the paint surface is remarkably intact with only minor localized losses.



Fig. 4. Detail of the present work.

PIER FRANCESCO DI JACOPO FOSCHI

(Florence, 1502 – 1567)

Madonna and Child with Two Angels

Oil on panel

37 ¼ x 29 ⅞ inches (94.5 x 74.5 cm)

PROVENANCE

Private Collection, United Kingdom (late 19th century – 2015), as Andrea del Sarto.

LITERATURE

Simone Giordani, *Madonna and Child with the Young St John the Baptist by Pier Francesco Foschi*, Florence, 2019, pp. 20–22, fig. 19.

THIS MAJESTIC DEPICTION of the Virgin and Child is a new addition to the oeuvre of the Florentine painter Pier Francesco Foschi. Foschi was the son of Jacopo di Domenico, a pupil of Sandro Botticelli so closely linked to his master that he was often referred to as “Jacopo di Sandro.” Although born to a painter trained in the Botticellian idiom, Foschi began his artistic formation in the workshop of Andrea del Sarto. He must have remained associated with Andrea del Sarto’s workshop until the latter’s death in 1530, although he began his independent artistic activity in the late 1520s and is known to have rented a studio jointly with his father in 1529.¹ Throughout his career Foschi remained indebted to his master’s legacy, drawing on Sarto’s compositions while reworking them into novel and highly successful devotional images.

When Giorgio Vasari entered Andrea del Sarto’s workshop as a young boy in the mid-1520s, Foschi must have already been among the master’s principal assistants. Although Vasari planned to include a biography on Foschi in his *Lives of the Artists*—as attested by the inclusion of his name in a list of artists that Vasari compiled in preparation for the second edition of his seminal text, completed in 1568—he ultimately did not.² Nonetheless Foschi is mentioned several times in the *Lives*, which records several prominent commissions that he undertook for the Medici, including collaborations with Pontormo on fresco cycles at the Villa di Careggi in 1535 (now lost) and at the Villa di Castello in 1536. Vasari also reports that Foschi was a founding member of the Accademia del Disegno and was involved in the creation of the decorations for Michelangelo’s funeral in the Basilica di San Lorenzo in 1564, evincing Foschi’s privileged position in the artistic community in Florence. Nevertheless, the fact that Vasari did not include a life of Foschi in his *Lives* relegated him to relative obscurity, from which the artist has emerged only in the last 75 years. Contributions by Roberto Longhi, Antonio Pinelli, and most recently, Simone Giordani have now brought his artistic personality and career into greater focus.³ Foschi’s authorship of the present work has been confirmed by Dr. Giordani, to whom we are grateful for his observations on the placement of the painting in the artist’s oeuvre.⁴

Although he was engaged to paint several monumental altarpieces over the course of his long career—including those in the Oratorio di San Sebastiano dei Bini (1525) and in the family chapels of the Bettoni, Torrigiani, and the Bini families in the church of Santo Spirito in Florence (all





Fig. 1. Detail of the present work.

1540s)—Foschi was, to borrow the words of Luigi Lanzi, a “*pittor di private cose*,” a painter of private works.⁵ He remained in Florence throughout his life, painting many portraits of Florentine patricians and religious works intended for domestic settings. While he was somewhat influenced by the formal experimentation and stylistic aberrations of Rosso Fiorentino and Pontormo, Foschi remained largely resistant to the dominant mannerist style of the 1550s and 1560s.

Simone Giordani considers our *Madonna* to be “one of Foschi’s most successful compositions,” and has noted how the artist skillfully translates Sarto’s *chiaroscuro* effects and naturalism with a palette of brilliant colors, at times enhanced by iridescent effects, which serve to articulate the volumes of the artificial and monumental forms.⁶ This painting depicts a heavenly apparition of the Virgin and Child supported by two angels in the sky. The Virgin is seated on a cloud, holding the standing Christ Child tenderly in her arms. The principal figures are bookended by two angels—one bathed in light who looks up at Christ and the other cast in shadow who turns away to the right. The bright clouds that serve as the backdrop are fluidly painted with broad and quickly applied brushstrokes, contrasting with the tightly controlled application of the paint that Foschi employed in the principal figures. The faces of Christ and Virgin are rendered with great sensitiv-

ity, and Christ's hair is highlighted with a thick, golden impasto that is typical of Foschi's refined technique (Fig. 1).

Foschi here synthesizes elements from several works by Andrea del Sarto. The upper portion of the Virgin, shown in three-quarter profile looking downwards with a shawl wrapped around her head and shoulders, derives from her counterpart in Sarto's *tondo* of the *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John the Baptist* in the Louvre (Fig. 2).⁷ Additionally, the face of the playful cherub emerging from the clouds to left of the principal figures is adapted directly from Sarto's *Gambassi Altarpiece*.⁸ Beyond these specific borrowings, other elements more generally recall Sarto's works, attesting both to Foschi's deep familiarity with his master's compositional inventions and his unparalleled ability to transform them. Giordani has compared the studied pose of our Virgin to that found in two altarpieces by Sarto—the Panciatichi and the Passerini *Assumptions of the Virgin*, both in the Galleria Palatina in Florence.⁹ He also notes the similarities between the angel on the right and the cherub who peers out of the shadowy niche in the *Madonna of the Harpies* (Florence, Uffizi),¹⁰ although here Foschi cleverly depicts the angel grasping protectively at the Virgin's mantle, as if preventing her from falling off her cloud. The works that Foschi took as reference points in our *Madonna and Child* were all executed by Andrea del Sarto in the last decade and a half of his career, exactly the period in which Foschi was active in his workshop. Rather than copy his sources, Foschi masterfully reworked them into a fluid composition that appears both natural and entirely original.

The popularity of Foschi's composition is confirmed by its repetition in three autograph works, two of which are found in public collections in Italy. Giordani proposes that a version in the Gallery of the Ospedale degli Innocenti is the earliest in date, from roughly the middle of the 1530s, though he notes that it has suffered from areas of old repaint. Another version, in the Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea in Vittorio Veneto, was painted somewhat later. Giordani considers our painting to be the best-preserved example, roughly contemporary with that in the Ospedale degli Innocenti, though possibly executed shortly afterward. Another version, which is somewhat damaged and difficult to judge from photographs, appeared on the art market a decade ago.

The painting is presented in a superb sixteenth-century gilt wood *cassetta* frame ornamented with a foliate punchwork design.



Fig. 2. Andrea del Sarto, *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John the Baptist*, Paris, Louvre.

FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER

(Menzenschwand 1805 – 1873 Frankfurt am Main)

Girl from the Sabine Hills (Mädchen aus den Sabiner Bergen)

Signed, lower right: *FW*

Oil on canvas

29 ¼ by 25 inches (74.5 by 63 cm)

PROVENANCE

The Artist, 1834; from whom acquired for the Badischer Kunstverein lottery, 7 December 1834.

(Possibly) Sold by lottery at the Badischer Kunstverein, Karlsruhe, by 1837

Frau C. S., et al.; their sale, Rudolf Bangel, Frankfurt am Main, 25–27 September 1907, lot 149, as *Schlafende Italienerin im Grünen*; where acquired by:

Albert Dessoiff, Frankfurt

Galerie Stern, Düsseldorf, by 1937; their forced sale, “Die Bestände Der Galerie Stern Düsseldorf,” Lempertz,

Cologne, 13 November 1937, lot 181, as *Mädchen aus den Sabiner Bergen*; where acquired by:

Karl Heinrich Christian Wilharm, Hofgeismar, Germany, 1937–1956; by descent to his wife:

Countess Lilli von Platen-Hallermund, Hofgeismar, Germany, 1956–1991; by descent to:

Maria-Luise Franziska Eugenie Elisabeth Christa Bissonnette, née Freiin von Morsey and formerly Youmans, Woonsocket and Providence, Rhode Island;

Consigned by the above to Estates Unlimited, Cranston, Rhode Island, 6 January 2005, lot 1098 (withdrawn).

Restituted to the heirs of Max Stern in December 2008.

Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern Foundation, Montreal, 2008–present.

EXHIBITED

Karlsruhe, Badischer Kunstverein Ausstellung (Fine Art Society Exhibition), 1834, as *Schlafende Italienerin*, lent by the artist.

Kassel, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, “Ein Jahrhundert romantische Malerei: von Martin v. Rohden (1778–1868) bis Louis Kolitz (1845–1914),” June 1952, no. 142, as *Schlafende junge Italienerin*, lent by Dr. Wilharm.

Montreal, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2009–2018.

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Lithograph by Hermann Eichens (1813–1866); exhibited Salon of 1846, Paris, no. 2385, as *La Siesta*. (*Catalogue complet du Salon de 1846, annoté de A-H Delaunay*, p. 179)

Porcelain plaques by Johann Martin Morgenroth (1800–1859), 17 x 14 cm. “Morgenroth px: nach F. Winterhalter.”

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THIS STUNNING DEPICTION of an Italian girl resting in the shade of a tree is one of the most evocative and important works by the German painter Franz Xaver Winterhalter. Although today best known for his grand portraits of royals and nobles across all of Europe, Winterhalter rose to fame primarily from the romantic genre paintings that he produced during and following his residence in Italy in the 1830s. The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* is perhaps the most accomplished of these Italian works and constitutes a milestone in his career as one of his earliest public successes. Remarkably, it survives in what appears to be its original frame.

The subject is the figure of a sleeping girl, here portrayed in dramatic, almost intimate close-up. She is shown three-quarter length leaning against a tree, with an earthenware jug partially covered by vines by her side, a distant landscape behind her. The work is executed in a rich palette of bold colors, with brilliantly rendered details of her costume, jewelry, and headdress contrasting with the placid beauty of the subject's features in slumber. The effect is heightened by the juxtaposition

of her delicately modeled skin tones with the bravura brushwork that the artist employs in the swirl of hair escaping from the headdress, the striking gold earring articulated by rich impasto, the eagle-shaped hairpin, and the coarsely woven embroidery of the blue apron. Winterhalter's ability to capture the tactile qualities of the disparate textiles that comprise her costume—cotton, suede, satin, and velvet—presages his mastery of depicting the elaborate gowns that bedeck the subjects in his later formal portraits.

Franz Winterhalter came from humble roots. He was born into a family of farmers in the small village of Menzenschwand in the Black Forest. At a young age he was apprenticed to the workshop of Karl Ludwig Schüler in nearby Freiburg, where he trained as a commercial draughtsman and lithographer. Winterhalter's prodigious talent was recognized early on by the Jewish industrialist David Seligmann, Baron von Eichtal, who had established a factory in the former monastery of St. Blasien, near the artist's birthplace. He would become Franz's first benefactor, sponsoring his move to Munich, where in 1825 he received a grant from the Grand Duke of Baden, Ludwig I, to study at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste.

The academic training Winterhalter would receive served him well, as he soon began work with the court portraitist Joseph Karl Stieler, an artist best known today for his dynamic 1820 *Portrait of Beethoven* (Beethoven-Haus, Bonn). It was here that Winterhalter made his first forays into portrait painting in oils, laying the groundwork for what would eventually become the principal occupation of his career. The young artist moved to Karlsruhe in 1828, where he began to work both as a professional portraitist and as the drawing instructor to Sophie, the future Grand Duchess of Baden. She was the wife of Leopold, who would succeed his half-brother Ludwig as Grand Duke in 1830 and prove to be an even more generous patron of the artist. Winterhalter served as court painter to the House of Baden in all but name (his official appointment to this position would come later) and the Grand Duke rewarded the artist by underwriting a two-year residence to study and to paint in Italy.

The "Italienische Reise"—to use the title of Goethe's famed Italian travel journals—was considered an essential part of artistic training in the early nineteenth century. This was especially true for German artists, motivated by the influential writings of Goethe and the archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Winterhalter had yearned to make such a journey as early as 1827, but his financial situation prevented him from doing so until the receipt of Leopold's largesse.¹ He set out from Karlsruhe late in 1832 and travelled through the major centers of Italy, filling sketchbooks with pencil drawings and watercolors that document his progress down the peninsula. He eventually settled in Rome in mid-1833. There he joined the thriving community of German painters, but increasingly associated himself with the circle of French artists around Horace Vernet, earning him the nickname "the Frenchman" among his fellow countrymen.²

Although Winterhalter did paint some portraits of German diplomats and fellow artists during this period, his primary activity focused on depictions of the local populace, landscapes, and scenes of everyday life. The present work is now known as the *Girl from the Sabine Hills*—in German,

Mädchen aus der Sabiner Bergen—after its title at the 1937 sale at Lempertz, although it has been variously titled across its history. It was first exhibited in Karlsruhe under the titles *Schlafende Italienerin* (“Sleeping Italian Girl”), or *Unter einem Baume schlafende Albaneserin*—the meaning of “Albaneserin” being rather equivocal. It may indicate that the sleeping girl is a native of the hill town of Albano, located in the Castelli Romani area just outside Rome. Winterhalter regularly sketched in the countryside around the city, both in the Sabine Hills (Colli della Sabina) north of Rome, and in the Alban Hills (Colli Albani) to the south. In fact, his Italian sketchbook, now in the possession of the artist’s descendants, preserves a watercolor depicting Albano from above.³ Alternatively, an “*Albaneserin*” may refer to an Albanian girl, or a girl in Albanian dress. The subject’s attire does resemble traditional Albanian wear, often characterized by a billowy white blouse covered by a bodice (much like the Austrian dirndl), although similar folk costumes were worn throughout central and southern Italy.



Fig. 1. Franz Winterhalter, *A Woman from Cervara*, Private Collection.

With his on-site drawings and watercolors Winterhalter was both refining his talents and creating a personal archive of source material that he could later reference in his studio. His records of the vistas and people he encountered would serve as source material for the genre paintings depicting romantic idylls of Italian life. While there are no known preparatory works for the *Girl from the Sabine Hills*, other drawings preserved in Winterhalter’s Italian sketchbook, such as the one here illustrated, demonstrate the artist’s interest in local costumes and document the care he took in recording their minute details (Fig. 1). It is likely that Winterhalter would have drawn upon his own sketches of this type, and likely ones recording the specific dress worn by the subject, when composing the *Girl from the Sabine Hills*.

Winterhalter’s technical ability and style underwent a significant transformation during his time in Italy. Under the southern sun he developed a more vivid palette and a greater sensitivity to lighting effects. He also gained a more masterful handling of poses and further refined the expressive brushwork that already characterized his earlier work. The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* was one of the first fruits of this metamorphosis. Winterhalter skillfully renders changes in texture and color among the various components of the girl’s costume, from the billowing folds of the white sleeves, to the dark green and gold piping of her bodice and the orange ribbon binding it together, to the reds and blacks of the woven band across her blue apron, and the pale green skirt beneath. The placement of the light source at a point high at the upper right and slightly behind the figure helps to achieve a dramatic play of light and shadow across the figure. Cast almost completely in shadow, the girl is accented by bursts of light that brightly reflect off her hair, the gold stripes in her headdress, the cuff and the top of her right forearm, as well as the entire underside of her left sleeve. The two strands of her necklace are masterpieces of illusionistic rendering, as each pearl is precisely defined by subtle variations in size, reflection, and luminosity—the choker resting about and casting a shadow across the nape of her neck. The unforced combination

of precise and loose brushwork is a quality that speaks both the artist's confidence and his technical prowess at this moment in his career.

The pose of the figure, with her arms folded behind her head, echoes that of the *Sleeping Ariadne* (Fig. 2), one of the great classical exemplars for all artists visiting Rome, then and now in the Vatican. But in addition to their compositional affinities, both works share a common visual dynamic as each woman is depicted innocent in her slumber and unaware of any observer, while patently being closely examined by both artist and, later, viewer, intimately and somewhat voyeuristically.



Fig 2. *Sleeping Ariadne*, Vatican City, The Vatican Museums.

Winterhalter painted his first genre scenes while still in Italy, as attested by the signatures on several of his canvases from this period—all variations of “Fr Winterhalter fec. / Roma 1833.” However, although he completed numerous drawings and sketches while in Italy, fully realized oil paintings executed in his Roman studio are exceptionally rare. Only five other paintings from his Italian period are known, three of which are in public collections: *Roman Genre Scene* (1833) in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (Fig. 3); *Girl with a Tambourine* (1834) in The Vasnetzov Regional Museum of Fine Arts in Kirov; and *Italian Girl Resting on a Tambourine* (1834) in the Altonaer Museum in Hamburg.⁴

Although the signature on the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* does not include an indication of its place of production, Winterhalter must have painted it in Rome, as he lent the painting to the exhibition of the Badischer Kunstverein in Karlsruhe in 1834, immediately following his return from Italy. Indeed, his sole surviving letter penned from Rome, written to his parents on 12 March 1833, states: “In one month I will send three pictures from here to Karlsruhe and will try to sell them. It is already very warm here – it is quite green and everything is in bloom. This truly is a beautiful country. I will be glad all my life that I came here.”⁵ The latter part of this quotation has elicited comments from almost every scholar writing on the painter as it perfectly captures the huge impact that Italy had on Winterhalter’s artistic development. However, less attention has been paid to the first part of the letter. It is clear from this statement that Winterhalter was planning and finishing paintings for the domestic market in Germany while still in Rome. Furthermore, it is possible, and perhaps likely, that the present painting is one of the three works shipped from Rome back to Karlsruhe for exhibition.



Fig. 3. Franz Winterhalter, *Roman Genre Scene*, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.

Winterhalter left Rome for Karlsruhe early in 1834. The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* was on view in the Badischer Kunstverein exhibition in June and by August the artist had been officially appointed Court Painter to Grand Duke Leopold of Baden. The Kunstverein was a fine art institution that, like Winterhalter, had recently come under the patronage of the Grand Duke. It had acquired a permanent space through the support of Duke Leopold in 1830, and from 1832 on mounted annual public art exhibitions. According to the statutes from that year, the aim of the organization was to display and sell works of art, both directly to collectors and through a lottery among its members. The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* met with critical esteem during this 1834 exhibition: the reviewer for the art periodical *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* reported that Winterhalter's painting "won the prize [for best painting] in the eyes of the public." A year later it was still referred to as having been a "popular sensation."⁶

Despite the positive response to the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* and the artist's position at court, Winterhalter soon left Karlsruhe for Paris, where he would reside for the next thirty-six years. There he continued to paint Italianate genre scenes and his first success in the city came with one—a large-scale painting titled *Il Dolce Far Niente* (Private Collection), exhibited at the Salon of 1836. Another work from this period, Winterhalter's *Jeune Fille de l'Ariccia* of 1838 (Private Collection), evokes the same sensual atmosphere and compositional format as the present painting.⁷ However, Winterhalter's portrait commissions quickly began to overshadow his narrative works, and he was engaged almost exclusively as a portraitist for the remainder of his career.

Although Winterhalter's period as a painter of Italian genre scenes was relatively short-lived, it had two lasting effects. The first was the influence of Franz's Italian paintings on his younger brother Hermann, also a painter. Hermann followed Franz to Paris in 1840, first working as an assistant in his brother's studio before embarking on his own career. Indeed, it has only recently been recognized that the *Young Italian Girl by the Well* in the Augustinermuseum in Freiburg, long thought to be the work of Franz, is in fact a signed work by Hermann (Fig. 4).⁸ Another work of this type by Hermann, the *Young Girl from the Sabine Hills*, has also recently been identified.⁹ Both are thought to have been painted by Hermann in the late 1830s or 1840s and clearly rely on Franz's works, both reference drawings made in Italy and paintings he would have known, such as the present work. Hermann never travelled to Italy, but he achieved some modest success imitating his brother's Italian genre paintings, if never with the same verve or even compositional brilliance.

The second lasting effect of Winterhalter's Italian period was on the style and technique of his portraits. As Eugene Barilo von Reisberg has aptly observed, as a result of his Italian sojourn and activity as a narrative painter, Winterhalter's portraits gained "a greater sense of naturalness and corporeality...[t]hey became less mannered and posed, his color palette brighter and more



Fig. 4. Hermann Winterhalter, *Girl by the Well*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Augustinermuseum.

luscious, the atmospheric effects clearer and more realistic, and the painterly style more fluid and vigorous.”¹⁰ It was precisely these qualities of his paintings that made Winterhalter the most fashionable and sought-after portraitist in the courts of Europe, earning him the sobriquet “Fürstenmaler Europas,” Europe’s Painter of Princes.

Winterhalter’s *Girl from the Sabine Hills* reflects the artistic crosscurrents of the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe. The focus on materiality—of the precise and convincing rendering of dress, objects, and textures—to create a kind of heightened reality recalls the sensibilities of Biedermeier taste. Yet the painting may be seen as emerging from a Neo-Classical paradigm, not only by the compositional echo of an antique prototype, but in its nostalgic evocation of an Arcadian existence. Evident as well are qualities of the Romantic movement, given both the obvious contemporaneity of the subject and the blissful emotional state in which she is portrayed. The girl herself, putatively a simple *contadina* taking a nap in the middle of a hot day, is a kind of Romantic invention as her sumptuous dress, precious jewelry, perfectly composed hair, not to mention her exquisite beauty, belie her humble origins.

Copies of the *Girl from the Sabine Hills*

Despite the paucity of information regarding the location and owner of the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* in the nineteenth century, it is clear that the work enjoyed some celebrity. The painting seems to have been known by the earliest writers on the artist, including Georg Kaspar Nagler, compiler of the *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* (1851), and the anonymous authors of the essays on Winterhalter in the *Abendblatt der Wiener Zeitung* (1856) and *Die Dioskuren* (1873). The miniature painter Johann Martin Morgenroth, painted faithful copies after the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* on porcelain that were sold with imitations of the original frame—two versions of which have recently appeared on the art market (Fig. 5). Each is undated but signed: “Morgenroth px: nach F. Winterhalter.”¹¹ It is evident that Morgenroth viewed Winterhalter’s painting firsthand (and maybe painted his first porcelain replica working directly in front it), as the colors of his work faithfully reproduce those in the original painting.



Fig. 5. Johann Martin Morgenroth, Copy after Winterhalter’s *Girl from the Sabine Hills*, Private Collection.

The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* was also copied in a handsome lithograph by Hermann Eichens (Fig. 6). Although the subscription of the print lists publishers in Paris, London, and Leipzig, only one example of the print, titled “La Siesta,” has been located. That, conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, was acquired by the library in 1845, when it was also listed in the *Bibliographie de la France*.¹² Eichens exhibited this lithograph at the Paris Salon of 1846.¹³ Eichens was born in Berlin, but, like Winterhalter was living and working in Paris in 1845.



Fig. 6. Hermann Eichens, *La Siesta*, after Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Mountains*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Provenance Notes

The early history of the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* from the time of its first exhibition in Karlsruhe to the beginning of the twentieth century remains imperfectly known. Preliminary research in the archives of the Badischer Kunstverein (now held in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe) indicates that following its exhibition in the summer of 1834 the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* was returned to Winterhalter unsold on 16 August of that year.¹⁴ However, on 7 December the painting was included

among a group of works acquired by the Kunstverein for its lottery.¹⁵ When the lottery took place is not recorded. A painting by Winterhalter, listed simply as an Italian girl (*Italienerin*) was listed as sold in the Kunstverein lottery of 1837; whether that is to be identified with the *Girl of the Sabine Mountains* or another work by the artist is unclear.¹⁶ The painting next appears at auction at Rudolf Bangel in Frankfurt am Main in 1907. The consignor's identity is not known, but its purchaser, noted in a priced copy of a catalogue as "Dessoff," was Albert Dessoff, the son of the composer and conductor of the Frankfurt Opera House Otto Dessoff and the brother of the choir director Margarete Dessoff. Albert was an art historian (he co-authored the volume *Kunst und Künstler in Frankfurt am Main im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* with Heinrich Weizsäcker, published in 1907), and appears to have been active as either a collector or a modest dealer, as he was a frequent bidder and purchaser at Bangel auctions.¹⁷

The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* next resurfaces in the possession of the Galerie Stern in Düsseldorf. The Galerie Stern was established in 1913 by the German-Jewish art dealer Julius Stern and rose to prominence as one of the leading galleries in the city, specializing in the paintings by established artists of the Düsseldorf school, nineteenth century German paintings, and Old Masters. Julius's son Max Stern joined the gallery in 1928 after completing his PhD in art history. Over the course of the following decade, the Galerie Stern suffered great difficulties brought on first by the global economic downturn and later by the rise of Nazism in Germany. As a result of the Great Depression, the Galerie Stern, like many other art galleries, began to hold auctions, operating as



Fig. 9. Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Hills* in the home of Karl Wilharm in Hofgeismar, Germany.

Fig. 10. Yousuf Karsh, *Portrait of Max Stern*, 1973.

for the auction (Figs. 7–8). Furthermore, the painting made the highest price of all of the “Neuere Meister” paintings in the sale at 3600 Reichsmark, surpassed in price only by two Old Master paintings—the Philips Wouwerman and the Ludovico Carracci (for which see the following catalogue entry).²⁰

The *Girl from the Sabine Hills* was purchased at the Lempertz sale by Karl Heinrich Christian Wilharm, an early Nazi sympathizer and party member who served as a medical officer in the Sturmabteilung, a Nazi paramilitary force known as the SA. Wilharm was an avid collector who clearly profited from the spoils of Nazi persecution of Jewish art dealers and collectors, which flooded the art market with first-rate works newly available at rock-bottom prices. An undated photograph of Wilharm's home in Hofgeismar shows a room filled with paintings and other *objets d'art*, including Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Hills* hanging high in a corner, and with Wilharm and his wife standing below (Fig. 9). In 1952 the painting was one of seven works lent by Wilharm to an exhibition in Kassel devoted to Romanticism.²¹ The painting's problematic history then went unnoticed.

Max Stern was able to leave Germany in 1937, first traveling to London, where he was interned in 1940 on the Isle of Man as an enemy alien; then to Canada, where internment greeted him as well, although he was released in 1941. He moved to Montreal and was able to find work at the newly-established Dominion Gallery. There, having acquired a passionate interest in contemporary Canadian artists to complement his knowledge of European painting, he flourished. Over the years he became a partner in the gallery and eventually came to own it (Fig. 10). His distinguished career as an art dealer in Canada could only partially compensate for the dire situation that forced him to leave his native country. Stern never stopped seeking the return of paintings that he had been forced to abandon or sell at auction in Germany.

After Wilharm's death, the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* descended to his wife, then to his stepdaughter, Maria-Luise Bissonnette. At the age of 84, Bissonnette, then a resident of Providence, Rhode Island, consigned the painting to an auction in nearby Cranston, Rhode Island, scheduled for January 2005. Research undertaken prior to the sale by interested dealers revealed that the painting had been part of the 1937 forced sale of the Galerie Stern. The Art Loss Register was then alerted and an injunction filed to halt the sale. Bissonnette, who disputed the claim that the painting was stolen property, illegally exported the painting to Germany. The painting became the subject of a

prolonged legal battle between Bissonnette and the Max Stern Estate.²² In a widely-publicized decision, the painting was ultimately awarded to the beneficiaries of the Estate of Max Stern (Concordia University and McGill University in Montreal, and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem). Following its return, the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* has been exhibited at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and has featured in all of the recent literature on Winterhalter.

A Personal Note from Robert Simon

In December 2004 I received a phone call from my friends and colleagues Joan Nissman and Mort Abromson, husband-and-wife art historians and art dealers whom I have known since graduate school at Columbia University. They had noted an advertisement announcing the forthcoming auction sale in Rhode Island of an attractive painting by Franz Winterhalter—what would prove to be the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* (Fig. 11).

We agreed to pursue the painting together. Joan and Mort drove from their home near Boston to the auction venue to examine the painting. They observed its high quality, as well as its excellent condition, despite layers of discolored varnish. They took detail photographs of both the front and back of the painting, which they emailed to me (Fig. 12). One of those recorded a label on the verso (now lost), hand-written in German with notations of the artist, title, size, and provenance of the painting (Fig. 13). With this information in hand I undertook some hurried research at the Frick Art Reference Library. It did not take long to identify the painting as an authentic work by Winterhalter, and one that had been sold in an auction sale of the Galerie Stern in Düsseldorf in 1937. The Library in fact owned a copy of the catalogue. But further research also indicated that the auction was a forced sale of a Jewish-owned gallery by the Nazi regime, the illegitimacy of which had been established. Faced with this information and little time before the auction in Rhode Island, I contacted the Art Loss Register and reported my findings. They were able to confirm that the Winterhalter was a “wanted painting,” one registered with the ALR by the heirs of Max Stern, the owner of the Galerie Stern in 1937. The ALR alerted the auction house to the Stern Estate’s claim and the painting was withdrawn from the auction.



Fig. 11. Winterhalter’s *Girl from the Sabine Hills* as it appeared at the Estates Unlimited auction scheduled for 6 January 2005.

Fig. 12. Old label previously affixed to the painting’s stretcher (now detached), inscribed “Franz Xaver Winterhalter,” probably in the artist’s hand.

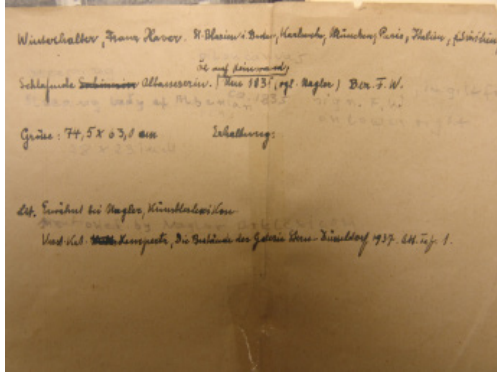


Fig. 13. Label formerly on the verso of the painting.

Then followed nearly four years of litigation, in Rhode Island, New York, and Germany principally between the Stern Estate and the consignor to the auction house—following which the Winterhalter painting was awarded to the Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern Foundation, the entity established by Max Stern as his beneficiary following his death in 1987.

I had no further contact with the Foundation, nor with the painting, until 2018, when I learned that the sale of the Winterhalter painting was being contemplated in order to fund the programs of the Max Stern Art Restitution Project, established in Montreal in 2002.²³ I approached the Foundation with a proposal to undertake extensive research on the painting and then to offer it to museums and private collectors—which was accepted. Robert Simon Fine Art is now honored to be presenting the *Girl from the Sabine Hills* for sale. The painting is manifestly a significant and spectacular work of art. But more than that, it is a mute witness to the trauma of our history, and its restitution, rehabilitation, and future enjoyment by others can serve in some way as vindication of the losses suffered by its former owner and an object lesson on the profound dangers that humanity has faced and continues to face.

Proceeds from the sale of Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Hills* will directly fund the Project's mission to further the recovery of works expropriated from Max Stern and to support related research and educational programs.



LUDOVICO CARRACCI

(Bologna, 1555 – 1619)

The Vision of Saint Jerome

Oil on canvas

16 ⅞ x 12 ¼ inches (41 x 31 cm)

PROVENANCE

Probably Sampieri Collection, Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio, Bologna, by the late 18th century.

Private Collection, England, as Guercino, until 1933; when acquired by:

Hermann Voss, Berlin and Wiesbaden, 1933–1937; by whom sold to:

Galerie Stern, Düsseldorf; their forced sale, “Die Bestände Der Galerie Stern Düsseldorf,” Lempertz, Cologne, 13

November 1937, lot 181; where acquired by:

Private Collection, Rhineland, Germany

Private Collection, Zürich, Switzerland, until 2000; by whom sold, Lempertz, Cologne, 20 May 2000, lot 625;

where acquired by:

Richard L. Feigen, New York, 2000–2009; by whom voluntarily restituted to the heirs of Max Stern:

Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern Foundation, Montreal, 2009–present.

EXHIBITED

“Italienische Malerei des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,” Wiesbaden, Nassauisches Landesmuseum, May–June 1935, as

Ludovico Carracci, lent by Hermann Voss, and on long-term loan to the museum until 1937.

Montreal, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2009–2018.

COPIES

Engravings

- 1) Wandutius Aurifex, c. 1670, inscribed “Wandutius Aurifex fecit” and “Lodovicus Carratius In,” Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett.
- 2) Anonymous (possibly by Ludovico Mattioli), Lambertini Album XIII, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, no. 5273.

Drawings

- 1) Sir Joshua Reynolds, pencil, pen and ink, foglio 50r in Copland-Griffiths sketchbook no. 61, Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery, inv. no. 2014.72.

Paintings

- 1) After Ludovico Carracci, oil on canvas, 15 x 11 inches (38.1 x 27.9 cm), Christie’s, New York, 23 January 2004, lot 169.
- 2) After Ludovico Carracci, oil on canvas, 16½ x 13½ inches (42 x 34 cm), Dorotheum, Vienna, 10 December 2015, lot 115.
- 3) After Ludovico Carracci, dimensions unknown, private collection, consigned to Dorotheum, Vienna in 2011 (according to Brogi 2016, p. 119–120, footnote 187, fig. 148).
- 4) After Ludovico Carracci, dimensions unknown, Vatican Museums, Vatican City (according to Brogi 2016, p. 120, footnote 187).

LITERATURE

Marcello Oretti, *Le pitture che si ammirano nelli palaggi e case de’ nobili città di Bologna*, manuscript, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. B.104, ca. 1760–1780, foglio 29, “Un piccolo Quadretto con un S. Girolamo, tiene in mano un teschio di morte, da un piede il Leone, e due Angioletti in aria, quasi simile a quello di Lodovico, in S. Martino, è delli Carracci,” as in the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio dalla Mercanzia.

1783 Inventory of the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio di Bologna, fondo specia-



- le *Talon Sampieri*, B 344, fasc. 132, “Inventario e stima de quadri esistenti nella casa senatoria Sampieri, stimate dal signor Pedrini,” c. 3v. “Due quad: piccoli un rap: S. Girolamo, e l’altro S. Franco: di Lodovico Carracci, con cornice intagl: e dorato.”
- Hermann Voss, “Quellenforschung und Stilkritik: Eine Praktische Methodik mit Beispielen aus der Spätitalienischen Malerei,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1933), pp. 191–192, fig. 8, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Italianische Malerei des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Katalog der von der Stadt Wiesbaden und dem Nassauischen Kunstverein Veranstalteten Ausstellung*, Wiesbaden, 1935, p. 8, cat. no. 54, as Ludovico Carracci.
- “Auflösung der Galerie Stern,” *Internationale Sammler-Zeitung*, no. 19 (1 December 1937), p. 205.
- Die Weltkunst*, vol. 11, no. 42/43 (24 October 1937), p. 5.
- Die Weltkunst*, vol. 11, no. 46 (21 November 1937), p. 6.
- Heinrich Bodmer, *Lodovico Carracci*, Burg bei Magdeburg, 1939, p. 142, as attributed to Ludovico Carracci by Hermann Voss.
- Gail Feigenbaum, *Lodovico Carracci, A Study of His Later Career and a Catalogue of his Paintings*, PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1984, pp. 255–256, cat. no. 37, fig. 54, in catalogue A, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Emilia Calbi and Daniela Scaglietti Kelesian, *Marcello Oretti e il Patrimonio Artistico Privato Bolognese: Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. B.104*, Bologna, 1984, p. 59.
- Alessandro Brogi, “Il fregio dei Carracci con “Storie di Romolo e Remo” nel salone di palazzo Magnani,” in *Il Credito Romagnolo fra storia, arte e tradizione*, Bologna, 1985, p. 246, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Giovanna Perini “L’uomo più grande in pittura che abbia avuto Bologna’ – L’alterna fortuna critica e figurative di Ludovico Carracci,” in *Ludovico Carracci*, ed. Andrea Emiliani, Milan, 1993, pp. 315–316, footnote 287; Appendix 2: “Elenco Sommario delle Stampe da Ludovico Carracci,” p. 341, no. 38, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Catherine MacKenzie, ed., *Auktion 392: Reclaiming the Galerie Stern, Düsseldorf*, exh. cat., Montreal, Faculty of Fine Art Gallery, Concordia University; New York, Leo Baeck Institute; London, Ben Uri Gallery; Jerusalem, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 20 October 2006–31 August 2008, pp. 17, 50, cat. no. 185.
- Laurence Kanter and John Marciari, *Italian Paintings from the Richard L. Feigen Collection*, New Haven, 2010, p. 130, footnote 5, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Giovanna Perini Folesani, “Riflessioni baroccesche tra Bologna e Urbino,” in *Barocci in Bottega*, ed. Bonita Cleri, Macerata, 2013, p. 39, footnote 104, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Sara Angel, “The Secret Life of Max Stern,” *The Walrus* (15 October 2014).
- Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619)*, Bologna, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 271–273, cat. no. R51, under rejected attributions; and vol. 2, fig. 291, as Bolognese painter, second half of the seventeenth century; p. 298, cat. no. P103, the *Saint Jerome in the Desert* documented in the Palazzo Sampieri listed under lost or dispersed works.
- Giovanna Perini Folesani, *Sir Joshua Reynolds in Italia (1850–1752): Passaggio in Toscana, Il taccuino 201 a 10 del British Museum*, Florence, 2012, pp. 90–91, footnote 196, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci: Addenda*, Bologna, 2016, pp. 116, 118–120, footnotes 178, 184–185, fig. 146, as “after Ludovico Carracci (?),” a copy after the lost original by Ludovico Carracci in the Sampieri collection.
- Christie’s, New York, Property from the Collection of Richard L. Feigen, 1 May 2019, under lot no. 26, as Ludovico Carracci.
- Giovanna Perini Folesani, *Sir Joshua Reynolds in Italia - Il soggiorno romano - I - il taccuino di Plymouth*, Florence, forthcoming.

THIS STRIKING CANVAS is an example of the dynamism and jewel-like refinement that characterize the small-scale works of Ludovico Carracci, the preeminent painter in late sixteenth-century Bologna. Along with his younger cousins Agostino and Annibale, Ludovico helped introduce a new naturalism to contemporary painting as head of the family’s *Accademia degli Incamminati*—literally “the academy of the progressives.” The artistic reform ushered in by the Carracci was a watershed moment in the history of painting in Italy, effectively putting an end to the dominant Mannerist style and making way for the Baroque. With its earthy tones, graceful forms, and dramatic lighting effects, the present work exemplifies the mature style that was emu-

lated by Ludovico’s pupils, chief among them, Guercino. In fact, the art historian and former owner of the painting, Hermann Voss, once cited our *Saint Jerome* as “proof of the influence that Ludovico had over Guercino.”¹ Ludovico’s style moved in a different direction later in his career, his works characterized by their monumentality and eccentricity. However, it was the earlier, small devotional and cabinet paintings like this one that exerted the greatest influence on the next several generation of Bolognese painters.

Saint Jerome was an early Christian priest and theologian, best known for his Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate. He spent several years as a penitent hermit in the Syrian desert—which is how he is depicted here, naked and covered only by dark blue drapery that billows over his legs onto the rocky earth. At his feet rests a lion, his legendary companion tamed after he healed its injured paw. The saint is shown receiving divine inspiration through the agency of two *putti* floating above a dark cloud at the upper left. He turns to them and away from the skull, the traditional symbol of the transience of human life, and the book, an allusion to his celebrated translation. Ludovico has masterfully created gentle torsion in the saint’s uncovered body as he reaches towards the right edge of the painting while turning his head left to witness the heavenly apparition (Fig. 1). A swathe of bright blue sky and distant landscape cuts diagonally across the composition, creating both a dramatic abstract division between the divine and the earthly, and a vector that connects the saint and his visitants.

Our *Saint Jerome* was first published in 1933 by Hermann Voss, who attributed the painting to Ludovico in part on the basis of a print signed Wandutius Aurifex that recorded the composition and attributed its design to the artist (Fig. 2).² The composition of the painting is also recorded in a second engraving (Fig. 3), possibly by the Bolognese artist Ludovico Mattioli,³ which is similarly executed in reverse orientation to the present work. As Voss and several subsequent scholars



Fig. 1. Detail of the present painting.



Fig. 2. Wandutius Aurifex after Ludovico Carracci, engraving.

Fig. 3. Anonymous (possibly by Ludovico Mattioli) after Ludovico Carracci, engraving.



Fig. 4. Detail of Ludovico Carracci, *Vision of Saint Hyacinth*, Paris, Louvre.

Fig. 5. Ludovico Carracci, *Study for the Angel Warning Saint Joseph to Flee to Egypt*, whereabouts unknown.

have noted, the pose of Saint Jerome is strikingly similar to that of the angel in the upper right of Ludovico's 1594 *Vision of Saint Hyacinth* in the Louvre (Fig. 4). Alessandro Brogi has questioned Ludovico's authorship of this composition based on this resemblance, claiming that the artist never repeated the pose of a figure in two of his works.⁴ However, Babette Bohn has noted that in the period of 1594–1598 Ludovico “particularly favor[ed] arms and/or legs traversing the body, as Jerome's right arm does here.”⁵ Ludovico frequently employed this motif in both paintings and drawings in these years, and the position of Jerome in the present work is especially close to that of his counterpart in his study for the *Angel Warning Saint Joseph to Flee to Egypt* of ca. 1595–1596 (Fig. 5).⁶ A date for the present painting around 1594–1598 seems particularly appropriate, as this is also the period in which Ludovico executed his grand altarpiece of Saint Jerome for the church of San Martino in Bologna.

In her 1984 dissertation on Ludovico Carracci, Gail Feigenbaum associated our *Saint Jerome* with paintings described in two eighteenth-century collection inventories. The 1701 inventory of the collection of Louis Bauyn, Seigneur de Cormery, lists: “a painting on wood, fourteen poulces high by six poulces wide, with a gold frame, representing St. Jerome, with a skull and a book under his hand, a lion at his feet, and two small angels up above, all in a landscape, painted by Ludovico Carracci.”⁷ Additionally, in the late-eighteenth century the Bolognese nobleman and cataloguer Marcello Oretti recorded in his list of works in the Sampieri collection “a small painting with a Saint Jerome who holds a skull in his hand with a lion at his feet with two small angels in the air, similar to that by Ludovico in San Martino, it is by the Carracci.”⁸ Scholars have rightly noted that our *Saint Jerome* could not be the one from the collection of Louis Bauyn, as that work is described as painted on panel.⁹ However, there is general agreement that the painting recorded by Marcello Oretti in the Sampieri collection was the original autograph painting of the composition by Ludovico, on which the prints discussed above are based.

The Sampieri possessed one of the most celebrated collections in Bologna. The paintings were displayed in the *quadreria* (paintings gallery) on the ground floor of the family's palazzo on the Strada Maggiore (no. 244, today no. 24), which was decorated with frescoes by Ludovico, Agostino, and Annibale Carracci. The fame of the *quadreria Sampieri* stretched far beyond Bologna, and it was

a popular destination for locals and visitors to the city, especially artists. Sir Joshua Reynolds, a great admirer of Ludovico Carracci, made a drawing after our *Saint Jerome* in a sketchbook that he used to record details and entire compositions of paintings that he encountered on his journey through Italy between 1751–1752 (Fig. 6).¹⁰ This sketch, which must have been executed during Reynolds’ visit to Bologna in July 1752, faithfully reproduces the seated saint and the two angels above him. Several weak copies after the present painting, all similar in scale, are also known.¹¹ The existence of these copies may be explained by the fact that works in the Sampieri collection—including Annibale Carracci’s *Burial of Christ* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the *Virgin and Child with Saint Lucy* formerly in the Richard L. Feigen collection—were easily accessible and frequently copied by artists.



Fig. 6. Sir Joshua Reynolds, after Ludovico Carracci, Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery. *Saint Joseph to Flee to Egypt*, present whereabouts unknown.

It is not known when the *Saint Jerome* by Ludovico Carracci entered the Sampieri collection. However, it is conceivable that the painting might have been commissioned by Abbate Astorre di Vincenzo Sampieri, an important early patron of the Carracci. Interestingly, it has not been previously recognized in the literature that Marcello Oretti records our *Saint Jerome* in the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio (73 Via Santo Stefano, near the Loggia dei Mercanti or Palazzo della Mercanzia), rather than in the main Sampieri palazzo on the Strada Maggiore that was home to the famous *quadreria*.¹² The painting was later listed in the 1783 inventory of the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio, which explains why the *Saint Jerome* does not appear in any of the eighteenth century inventories of the Palazzo Sampieri on the Strada Maggiore, nor in any written descriptions of the *quadreria*.¹³ While it is possible that our *Saint Jerome* was in the Sampieri palazzo on the Strada Maggiore at an earlier date, it must have been in the Palazzo Senatorio that Sir Joshua Reynolds, and possibly also the engravers and the copyists, encountered this work.

Luigi Sampieri was the proprietor of the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio in the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ Following the death of the heirless Padre Ferdinando Francesco Sampieri, the last living member of the main branch of the Sampieri family, Luigi inherited the Strada Maggiore palace and the collection of paintings it contained in 1787.¹⁵ The documents attest that some (but not all) of the pictures from the collection at the Palazzo Senatorio were at this point brought to the *quadreria* on the Strada Maggiore.¹⁶ This includes Francesco Francia’s *Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Barbara* now in The Morgan Library and Museum, here newly identified as originating from the Sampieri collection.¹⁷ However, our *Saint Jerome* was not among the works transferred to the *quadreria*.¹⁸ It must have remained in the collection at the Palazzo Senatorio, but unfortunately it has not yet been possible to determine when our painting left the Palazzo Senatorio or when it was sold by the Sampieri.

The attribution of our *Saint Jerome* to Ludovico Carracci and its identification as the original work in the Sampieri collection has been accepted by art historians both before and after the painting’s re-emergence in 2000. In addition to those scholars cited in the literature (Voss, Perini, and Fei-

genbaum), the painting has recently been studied firsthand by Laurence Kanter, John Marciari, and Babette Bohn—all of whom have endorsed Ludovico's authorship of the present painting.¹⁹ Dr. Bohn has commented: "The composition of the picture (with little middle-ground transition from near to far), the complex pose of Saint Jerome, with head, right arm, and legs all oriented in various directions to create a dynamic resolution for the figure that expresses his spiritual excitement, and above all the wonderfully expressive head of Saint Jerome, all confirm the autograph status of the picture around 1594–1598" (written communication, 6 October 2019). She notes as well the relationship of the present painting with Ludovico's *Saint Hyacinth* in the Louvre and Ludovico's drawings from these years.²⁰ However, Alessandro Brogi, who had previously accepted the painting as by Ludovico but knows the painting only through photographs, has called into question the authorship of the painting and suggested that it is an old copy of the painting from the Sampieri collection, which he considers lost.²¹

The painting is presented in a seventeenth-century Sienese parcel-gilt *cassetta* frame, courtesy of Diego Salazar Antique Frames.

Provenance Notes

Our *Saint Jerome* was first published in 1933 by Hermann Voss, one of the most prominent German art historians of the twentieth century. In his publication, Voss reported that the *Saint Jerome* was in a private collection in Berlin and that it had previously been in a private collection in England where it was considered the work of Guercino. It has gone unnoticed in the scholarly literature on Ludovico Carracci, as well as on Hermann Voss's collecting activities, that Voss was the owner of this *Saint Jerome*.²² After having worked for nearly a decade as a curator at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Voss departed Berlin for London in 1933 in search of new career opportunities, bringing his personal library and paintings collection with him.²³ However, his application for a British visa was denied in 1934 on the grounds that he was not suffering religious, racial or political persecution, and he returned to Germany, taking up a position as the director of the Nassauisches Landesmuseum in Wiesbaden.²⁴

Voss lent the *Saint Jerome*, along with several other works from his personal collection, to the exhibition of seventeenth and eighteenth century Italian paintings that he organized at the museum in Wiesbaden in 1935.²⁵ It was also on long-term loan to the museum and on view in the permanent collection.²⁶ The *Saint Jerome* was likely in Voss's possession by the time of his 1933 article, but he is known to have avoided publicizing the fact that he personally owned some of the paintings that he published and exhibited throughout his life.²⁷ Furthermore, given that Voss was in England in 1933, it is probable that he acquired the work during his brief tenure there. However, it is still not known from whom he acquired it.²⁸ Given that Voss notes that the painting was previously in an English private collection, it is possible that he could have acquired it directly from the previous owner or through a dealer.

Voss sold the *Saint Jerome* along with a landscape by Laurent de La Hire to the Galerie Stern in exchange for *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde* by Josef Anton Koch in February 1937.²⁹ The Düssel-

dorf-based art dealer Leo Pauly acted as Voss's agent or intermediary in the exchange, and it is not clear if Max Stern knew that the *Saint Jerome* was coming from Voss's personal collection.³⁰ Voss's acquisition of Koch's *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde* has been discussed by Kathrin Iselt, who noted that "it is not known at what price and when exactly Voss acquired the [Koch] painting from Max Stern."³¹ This previously unknown transaction finally clarifies the circumstances of how Voss acquired *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde* and how this painting by Ludovico Carracci arrived at the Galerie Stern.

The *Saint Jerome* came into Max Stern's possession not long before the forced sale of the Galerie Stern at Lempertz (for more information on Max Stern and the forced sale of the Galerie Stern, see the previous entry on Franz Xaver Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Hills* beginning on page 42). The importance of the *Saint Jerome* was clearly recognized by Stern, who acquired it for his gallery's stock despite already being under intense pressure from the Nazis to close his business, as well as by the organizers of the auction at Lempertz in the period leading up to the sale. The entry on the painting in the auction catalogue included a long quotation from Hermann Voss's 1933 article and reported that the painting had been on loan to the museum in Wiesbaden. In addition to being featured as the first lot offered in the section of 'Alte Meister' paintings in the Lempertz sale, the *Saint Jerome* was listed among the paintings on offer in the advertisements for the highly publicized sale.³² The painting made the second highest price of all of the "Alte Meister" paintings in the sale at 4800 Reichsmark, surpassed only by the Philips Wouwerman, which sold for 5000.³³

As with nearly all of the works from the Galerie Stern forcibly sold at Lempertz in 1937, excepting Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Hills*, the identity of the buyer of the *Saint Jerome* at the sale is unknown. Although the prices paid for the paintings at the Stern sale were reported in *Die Weltkunst* and the *Internationale Sammler-Zeitung* in 1937, these publications do not record the names of the buyers. Additionally, Lempertz's auction records were destroyed during the bombing of Cologne in 1943, making it impossible to identify the buyers at the sale.

When the *Saint Jerome* reappeared at auction at Lempertz in May 2000, it was listed as having been in a private collection in the Rhineland following the 1937 sale, and then in a private collection in Zürich, likely the consignor of the painting to the 2000 sale.³⁴ The painting was there purchased by the New York dealer and collector Richard L. Feigen for his personal collection. The *Saint Jerome* was originally slated to be included in the exhibition of the Italian paintings from his collection at the Yale University Art Gallery in 2010. However, shortly before the exhibition Feigen learned of the circumstances of the 1937 Galerie Stern auction and voluntarily returned the *Saint Jerome* to the Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern Foundation.³⁵ The exhibition catalogue thus only briefly mentioned the *Saint Jerome* (with an attribution to Ludovico Carracci in full).³⁶

Ludovico Carracci's *Saint Jerome* is now being sold for the benefit of the Max Stern Art Restitution Project, to further the recovery of works expropriated from Max Stern and to support related research and educational programs.

LAVINIA FONTANA

(Bologna 1552 – 1614 Rome)

Portrait of a Lady of the Gonzaga or Sanvitale Family

Oil on canvas

45 ¼ x 34 ¼ inches (115 x 87 cm)

PROVENANCE

Probably Sanvitale Collection, by the 18th century; thence by descent to Count Giovanni Sanvitale di Fontanellatto, until ca. 1940.

Private Collection, France.

EXHIBITED

“De Dames van de Barok: vrouwelijke schilders in het Italië van de 16de en 17de eeuw / Les Dames du Baroque: femmes peintres dans l’Italie du XVIe et XVIIe siècle,” Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 20 October 2018 – 20 January 2019, cat. no. 19.

“Women’s Histories: Artists before 1900,” Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP), São Paulo, Brazil, 22 August – 17 November 2019.

LITERATURE

(Probably) No. 64, in an undated eighteenth-century Sanvitale Inventory, Archivio di Stato di Parma, Fondo Sanvitale, Busta 809-810, *Nota di Quadri e Pitture*: “n. 63. Ritratto di Donna con sghiratto in tela maniera di Girolamo Mazzola molto ritocco. n. 64 Come sopra suo compagno, meno ritocco.”

(Probably) No. 1395, in an undated inventory for Count Stefano Sanvitale, thus compiled between 1764 and 1838. Busta n. 811a, *Inventario Generale delle Mobiglie di ragione del Patrimonio di S.a E.a il Sign.r Co. Stefano Sanvitale*; pp. 137–138: “N. 1394 ... quadro senza cornice rappresentante un Ritratto di donna con scojatolo, di Girolamo Mazzola intatto, in tela per alto. Alto p.mi 57. Largo p.mi 48; N. 1395 Altro quadro senza cornice rappresentante come sopra un ritratto di donna di maniera di Girolamo Mazzola in tela per alto. Alto p.mi 57. Largo p.mi 48.”

(Probably) *Mostra iconografica gonzaghesca*, exh. cat., Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, 16 May – 19 September 1937, p. 70, under cat. no. 312.

Consuelo Lollobrigida, in *De Dames van de Barok: vrouwelijke schilders in het Italië van de 16de en 17de eeuw / Les Dames du Baroque: femmes peintres dans l’Italie du XVIe et XVIIe siècle*, exh. cat., Ghent, 2018, pp. 73, 96–7, cat. no. 19.

Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, in *Histórias Das Mulheres, Histórias Feministas*, exh. cat., São Paulo, 2019, pp. 88–89, fig. 27.

LAVINIA FONTANA has the distinction of being considered the first woman artist working within the same sphere as her male counterparts outside of a court or convent. She achieved her independent success and celebrity in one of the most intense of artistic environments, Bologna in the late Cinquecento. The daughter of the artist Prospero Fontana, Lavinia is best known as a portrait painter of elegance and sympathy, and her fame in her own lifetime extended throughout Italy and beyond. In an arrangement that was unusual, if not unique for the age, Lavinia married a fellow painter from a noble family, who then acted as his wife’s assistant and managed their large household (the couple had 11 children, only three of whom outlived their mother). From the 1580s until the turn of the seventeenth century Lavinia was the portraitist of choice among Bolognese nobility. She then moved to Rome, where she became a painter at the papal court and the





Fig. 1. Lavinia Fontana, *Lady in Green*, Private Collection, USA.

recipient of numerous honors. Her art and career have recently been the subject of renewed scholarly attention and collector interest.

The present painting is a stunning addition to the known corpus of Lavinia Fontana's works. It has been recently studied by Dr. Maria Teresa Cantaro, author of the standard monograph on the artist, who has confirmed the attribution to Lavinia Fontana (written communication, 26 May 2013) and to whom we are grateful for her observations on the painting.¹ Cantaro dates the painting to ca. 1585, contemporary with some of the artist's most distinguished celebrated works: the *Portrait of the Gozzadini Family* (1585, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), the *Portrait of a Man of the Tozzoni Family* (1584, Imola, Palazzo Tozzoni), and the *Portrait of Fra Francesco Panigarola* (1585, Florence, Galleria Palatina).² The portrait is framed in an elaborate period frame, which is believed to be the original. Lavinia Fontana's authorship has also been confirmed upon first-hand inspection by Dr. Babette Bohn (verbal communication, January 2014), who also dates the portrait to the mid-1580s.

Our painting is closely related to another portrait by Lavinia of nearly identical size and format (Fig. 1). The sitter in that work, attired in a brilliant green dress, is so close to that of the present portrait that Cantaro considers it likely that the same woman is depicted. They certainly share many similarities in their physiognomy, hairstyle, dress, jewelry, and pose. The differences are notable as well, although the significance of the changes may be difficult to appreciate. While a closed book appears on the table next to the sitter in our portrait, a letter rests on the table next to the lady in green. Cantaro suggests that our painting was executed at the time of her engagement and the other after her marriage. Whereas in the present painting the sitter wears her rings on her index and little fingers (Fig. 2), the lady in green wears her bands on her ring fingers and she holds a glove, a symbol that is typically thought to indicate a married state. If not two portraits of the same sitter, the two paintings may rather depict sisters. A fragmentary inscription formerly on the letter in the related portrait gave the name of "Laura Gonzaga, contessa di Sabbionetta," however her identification as the sitter has been rejected by Cantaro, both because the inscription was a later addition (and disappeared during the recent cleaning) and the fact that Laura Gonzaga, born in 1547 or 1548, had become a nun and entered a Benedictine convent in 1566.

Cantaro associates both works with a pair of identically sized portraits recorded in eighteenth-century Sanvitale inventories as in the "manner of Girolamo Mazzola." The *Lady in Green* was photographed when in the collection of Count Giovanni Sanvitale at the Rocca di Fontanellato in



Fig. 2. Details of the hands in the present painting.

1931.³ This portrait is identifiable in the earlier Sanvitale inventories based on the description of the jeweled marten's head—a luxury item known as a *zibellino*, which was associated with fertility and childbirth—that is attached to sitter's belt and held in her hand.⁴ The marten's head is mentioned in the inventories as a "scojatolo" (a squirrel) and later as a "sghiratto" (another word for a *zibellino*). In addition to the fact that the Sanvitale inventories record the presence of a companion painting to the *Lady in Green*—another portrait of a woman—our portrait also appears to have been recorded in the collection of Count Giovanni Sanvitale in the 1930s. The *Lady in Green* was exhibited in the *Mostra Iconografica Gonzaghesca* in 1937, and the catalogue noted the presence of a similar portrait (almost certainly ours) in the *sala d'armi* of the Rocca di Fontanellato. These two portraits would have descended from either the Sanvitale family, or from the Sabionetta or the Bozzolo branches of the Gonzaga. They evidently remained with the Sanvitale family until the dispersal of the family collections in the 1940s. Cantaro discusses the Sanvitale provenance in her essay, in which she makes the tentative proposal to identify the sitter of our portrait as Isabella Gonzaga, daughter of Vespasiano Gonzaga, Lord of Sabbioneta, who married Don Luigi Caraffa in 1584. She furthermore notes that the date of Isabella Gonzaga's matrimony corresponds exactly to dating of these portraits, executed one shortly after the other.

NICOLAES MAES
(Dordrecht 1634 – 1693 Amsterdam)

Portrait of a Young Lady

Signed and dated, lower right: *N. MAES / 1672*

Oil on canvas

46 ¾ x 38 ½ inches (116.8 x 96.5 cm)

PROVENANCE

with Galerie Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris; where acquired by:
John Wanamaker, Lindenhurst, his estate outside Philadelphia in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, by 1904; his estate sale,
Parke-Bernet, New York, 2 November 1939, lot 50; where acquired by:
Charles Chester Wickwire, Cortland, New York, 1939–1956; thence by descent until 2019.

EXHIBITED

Wanamaker Art Galleries, Wanamaker's, Philadelphia, by 1928 and until at least 1929.

LITERATURE

E. C. Siter, *Lindenhurst Galleries: Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures by the Old Masters and of the Early English Schools and Mihály Munkácsy*, Philadelphia, 1904, pp. 21–22, 27, cat. no. 32.
Paintings and Objects d'art from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Chester Wickwire, New York, 1953, p. 4.
León Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693)*, Petersberg, 2000, pp. 92, 96, 306, cat. no. A 122, fig. 171.

THIS IMPOSING PORTRAIT of an elegant young lady by Nicolaes Maes has been known to scholars only from black-and-white photographs taken when the painting was in the collection of the celebrated Philadelphia department store magnate John Wanamaker. It has recently emerged from a New York family, whose ancestor purchased it at the sale of the Wanamaker Collection in 1939. In excellent condition and with robust coloration, it can now be seen as one of the artist's finest and most attractive portraits.

Maes trained under Rembrandt from the late 1640s until 1653 and was among his most talented pupils. After he left Rembrandt's studio in Amsterdam, Maes returned to his native Dordrecht, where he began to paint religious and domestic compositions greatly indebted to his master. However, he soon turned away from genre paintings and by 1660 had devoted himself almost entirely to portraiture. This shift in focus, a response to both the aesthetic and commercial demands of his day, occurred in tandem with Maes's development towards a more refined, formal style, one associated with the work of Anthony van Dyck. Our portrait is among the earliest portraits Maes painted after undergoing this transformation and is a particularly fine example of the depictions of fashionably attired Dutch citizens for which Maes became known in the following two decades.

Maes portrayed the sitter in three-quarter length, standing in a relaxed but formal pose in a garden setting before a rocky outcrop. The subject's high status is evident not only from the stately format of the painting—which ranks among the largest female portraits in the Maes's oeuvre—but also from her impressive pear-shaped pearl earring and the dazzling strand of pearls hung around her





Fig. 1. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of Maria Magdalena van Alphen*, Private Collection.

neck, signifiers of her wealth and taste. She is dressed in a lavish costume, rendered with a rich palette of burnt orange and soft pink, that both reflects contemporary fashion of the period and possesses a certain timelessness.¹ In the 1670s Maes began to depict his sitters in historicizing costumes that were in tune with the arcadian landscapes in which he placed them.² León Krepel has suggested that the sitter's dress here is one such *à l'antique* costume, intended to present her as a classical shepherdess (if an unusually well-to-do one).³ Closely comparable attire, including the shimmering wrap that encircles the figure, appears in other portraits by Maes of this period. The artist repeated the ensemble nearly exactly, but in reverse, in his portrait of Maria Magdalena van Alphen (Fig. 1). This work is one of a series of portraits of the van Alphen family, which present Maria Magdalena and her husband Dirk in classical garb. The similarities in design between the present painting and the portrait of Maria Magdalena van Alphen raise

the possibility that our work may also have been paired with a portrait of the sitter's husband. At the very least, the several allusions to love and chastity found throughout the composition suggest that this portrait was likely commissioned to celebrate her marriage. The sumptuous pearls worn by the sitter serve as emblems of virtue, while the beautifully observed pink rose that she holds in her hand is a symbol of love (Fig. 2). Additionally, the clear water flowing into the fountain basin, seemingly emerging from the edge of the frame, is a reference to her purity. The delicate petals of the rose and the rippling water in the fountain are both treated with great sensitivity and make this portrait especially appealing.



Fig. 2. Detail of the present painting.

Maes's tendency to portray his sitters in pastoral landscapes punctuated by vibrantly colored sunsets—here executed in a bold orange—must be viewed within the context of land ownership and social mobility in this period. During the mid-seventeenth century, there was a sudden increase in the number of wealthy burghers seeking to purchase estates in the countryside. Land was greatly valued and in short supply in the Dutch provinces, and ownership of a country estate seemed a natural adjunct to a rise in social status. Even if such a purchase was unattainable, the appearance of land ownership could be achieved in paint. This led to an increased demand for exterior views in portraits, and along with this, references to antiquity and the imagery of pastoral literature, as in the present work.⁴ From a stylistic standpoint, Maes's portraits are indebted to the new vitality and visual language that van Dyck infused into the genre of portraiture in the seventeenth century. Arnold Houbraken, the painter and biographer of Dutch Golden Age artists, claimed in his *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* that Maes had in fact traveled to Antwerp to study portraits by van Dyck and Peter Paul Rubens.⁵ More likely, however, Maes had encountered this innovative style locally, through the works of Jan Mijtens and Adriaen Hanneman, who introduced the Flemish style of portraiture into the northern Netherlands beginning in the 1650s.⁶ In the present painting, the pose of the figure, the flowing drapery, and the expressive brushwork reflect the influence of van Dyck and his followers. However, unlike van Dyck who tended to idealize his sitters, Maes has carefully articulated the young lady's features, creating an image of remarkable presence. It is no surprise that Houbraken wrote of Maes that he knew of no painter before or after him who was more skilled at capturing a sitter's likeness.⁷

Our portrait is prominently signed and dated 1672 in the lower right of the canvas with what has been termed the artist's *Schnörkeltypus* [curlicue-type] signature, which he employed primarily in the years 1669–1674 (Fig. 3).⁸ Although the identity of the sitter has been lost to history, she al-

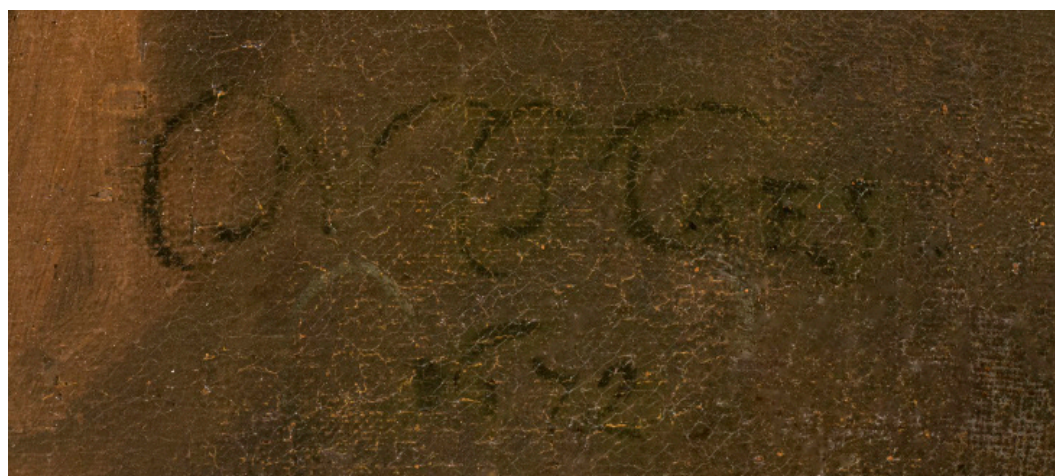


Fig. 3. The signature on the present painting.

most certainly hailed from Dordrecht, as our portrait was completed the year before Maes's move from his native city to Amsterdam in 1673.⁹ There his career blossomed following the deaths of the portraitists Bartholomeus van der Helst in 1670 and Abraham van den Tempel in 1672, and

in response to the presence of wealthy patrons and foreign visitors to the city.¹⁰ Houbraken noted that after Maes's move to Amsterdam, "so much work came his way that it was deemed a favour if one person was granted the opportunity to sit for his portrait before another, and so it remained for the rest of his life."¹¹

The present painting is an especially important example by the artist, as it dates from a pivotal moment in Maes's career. This portrait is one of the first Maes produced in the highly refined and vibrant style that both cemented his success in Amsterdam and defined the remainder of his career. It is also one of the last portraits that Maes painted in the period before departing from Dordrecht, during which time he produced relatively few paintings. In 1672, Louis XIV launched an offensive against the Dutch provinces in an attempt to bring them under France's rule. This war, known as the Third Anglo-Dutch War, lasted until 1674 and brought devastating consequences for the Dutch Republic, undoubtedly influencing Maes's decision to relocate to Amsterdam. The number of signed and dated portraits by Maes plummeted in these years as a result of the war, making this work especially rare.¹² It is possible that this portrait was among the final works produced by Maes before the French invasion.

Little is known about the early history of our painting. It was first published when in the collection of John Wanamaker, the Gilded Age magnate and pioneer of the American department store. John Wanamaker & Co. (or Wanamaker's, as it was more commonly known) encompassed an entire block in downtown Philadelphia across from City Hall and included a twelve-story atrium known as the Grand Court. Wanamaker amassed a considerable fortune from this enterprise, and started voraciously acquiring paintings in Europe in the 1880s. The 1939 sale catalogue of the Wanamaker collection notes that our portrait had been acquired from Charles Sedelmeyer in Paris, from whom Wanamaker purchased many paintings. However, nothing further is known about the date of its purchase or the earlier provenance of the painting, nor does the painting appear in any of Sedelmeyer's illustrated catalogues.

By 1904 Wanamaker had assembled a collection of nearly 250 Old Master paintings, which he installed in his impressive home, Lindenhurst, outside Philadelphia. Lindenhurst included a large gallery, which Wanamaker had purpose-built to display his collection of Dutch, Flemish, and French paintings. The illustrated catalogue of the collection includes several interior views of the gallery, showing our Maes portrait hanging high on the wall above the doorway (Figs. 4–5). In the winter of 1907, a fire broke out at Lindenhurst, destroying the home and much of its contents. Fortunately, the gallery was built as an adjacent wing of the home, which allowed most of the works to be saved before the fire reached there.¹³ That included the Maes portrait, as the painting did not appear on a 1908 list of fire-damaged paintings treated by the conservator Pasquale Farina.¹⁴

The display of paintings—both works for sale and from John Wanamaker's personal collection—was an integral aspect of Wanamaker's department store. In addition to exhibiting paintings throughout different areas of the store, Wanamaker constructed a dedicated art gallery in the flag-



Fig. 4. North-west view of the Dutch, Flemish and French Gallery, Lindenhurst, 1904. The Maes portrait can be seen high on the wall over the entryway, to the left of the large potted palm.

Fig. 5. North-east view of the Dutch, Flemish and French Gallery, Lindenhurst, 1904. Here the Maes portrait is visible at the extreme upper left of the photograph.

ship Philadelphia building in 1881. Wanamaker was the first department store owner to display art in this way, and he thought of Wanamaker's as rivalling America's newly formed public museums.¹⁵ The *Golden Book of Wanamaker Stores* proudly boasted that the exhibitions "have helped to convert the Wanamaker Stores into vast public museums...reaching a larger number [of visitors] than many of the museums owned and controlled by the city or the state. The record of last year at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York City, for example, showed a visitors' list of upwards of a million. The attendance at Wanamaker's reaches an annual total of many millions of

visitors!”¹⁶ The Wanamaker Art Galleries were situated just outside John Wanamaker’s office on the eighth floor of the department store.¹⁷ Wanamaker frequently moved paintings between his residences and the department store throughout his life. Following his death in 1922, most if not all of his personal collection of Old Masters was put on display in Wanamaker’s in Philadelphia. Nicolaes Maes’s *Portrait of a Lady* is recorded in two inventories of the Wanamaker Art Galleries. The 1927 inventory of the collection lists the painting in the Dutch Gallery on the eighth floor.¹⁸ The Wanamaker Art Galleries seems to have been relocated to a new space on the seventh floor in the following year, and the Maes is again listed among the Dutch pictures in 1928.¹⁹ A blueprint of the art galleries from this period shows that the Old Master paintings from John Wanamaker’s collection were displayed together in the room shown in the upper left of the plan.²⁰

While our portrait was admired by countless visitors to Wanamaker’s in the first decades of the twentieth century, it has remained unseen and overlooked by scholars of the Dutch Golden Age for the past eighty years.²¹ León Krempel included it in his catalogue raisonné of Maes’s paintings, published in 2000, relying on the photograph from the 1939 Wanamaker catalogue. Dr. Krempel has recently confirmed Maes’s authorship of the present painting on the basis of new photography (written communication, 17 July 2019).



NICOLAS TOURNIER

(Montbéliard 1590 – 1639 Toulouse)

Saint Jerome Writing

Oil on canvas

36 x 52 inches (91.4 x 132 cm)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Christie's, New York, 2 June 1988, lot 72, as attributed to Matthias Stomer; where acquired by:
Private Collection, New York, 1988–2019.

LITERATURE

Gianni Papi, “Un *San Gerolamo* e un *Sant'Andrea* di Nicolas Tournier e ancora qualche riflessione sull'influenza di Ribera,” in *Entro l'aria bruna d'una camera rinchiusa: Scritti su Caravaggio e l'ambiente caravaggesco*, Naples, 2016, pp. 182–189, pl. 1.

THIS IMPOSING DEPICTION of Saint Jerome is an important addition to the oeuvre of Nicolas Tournier, one of the most significant French Caravaggesque painters of the seventeenth century. Little is known of Tournier's life before his arrival in Rome at the age of twenty-nine. He was born the son of a painter from Besançon and one early source suggested that he was the student of Valentin de Boulogne. However, his strongest stylistic connections are to Bartolomeo Manfredi and to Caravaggio himself. When sold over twenty-five years ago, this painting, then heavily obscured by discolored varnish, bore a tentative attribution to Matthias Stomer. It has only recently been identified as a work by Tournier dating from his short-lived period in Italy, from which only a small number of securely attributed works have survived.

Jerome is here presented solitarily and nobly at his desk. A large book, gently propped up by two smaller tomes stacked at the front edge of the painting and held in place by his left arm, is open before him. In his right hand, he holds a quill poised over an inkwell as he raises his head in contemplation of what he is about to write. To his right rests a skull—the traditional emblem of the saint's meditation—and an open book, no doubt the Bible, which Jerome famously translated into Latin. Saint Jerome is dramatically lit and appears as if he is emerging from the dark background of the painting, his face half-cast in shadow. Tournier's skillful *chiaroscuro* effects lend a heightened sense of drama to what is otherwise a quiet and contemplative scene. The artist's interest in the human form, influenced by the new naturalism introduced in Rome by Caravaggio in the 1590s, is clearly discernable in the studied pose of the saint. The highlighting on Jerome's proper left shoulder, which just begins to emerge from his mantle, is especially striking and bespeaks Tournier's great skill and finesse. The saint's ruddy face and reddened hands—the color of which transitions beautifully to a pale white further up his forearm—are similarly masterfully rendered and seems a pointed reference to Jerome's years as a hermit in the Syrian desert.

Tournier's authorship of this *Saint Jerome Writing* has been confirmed by Dr. Gianni Papi, who has published an article on the painting and to whom we are grateful for his observations on





Fig. 1. Detail of Nicolas Tournier, *Guard Room*, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie.

Fig. 2. Detail of Nicolas Tournier, *Meeting of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, location unknown.

the placement of the painting in the artist's oeuvre. Papi notes that this painting demonstrates the hallmarks of Tournier's style during his Italian sojourn. Tournier must have arrived in Rome before 1619, when he first appears in the Roman census in the parish of San Lorenzo in Lucina, amid the colony of expatriate French artists. He remained in the city at least until 1626, when he is registered for the last time as living in the nearby parish of Santa Maria del Popolo.¹ Whereas Tournier's later period in France is well-documented and numerous paintings survive from these years, there are far fewer touchstones for the artist's time in Rome. A group of only approximately twenty paintings by Tournier from this period survive—all undated and undocumented—the nucleus of which was first established by Roberto Longhi in 1935.² Papi notes that it is difficult to establish a chronology for these paintings, which makes Tournier among the most problematic and mysterious painters of the Caravaggesque world. However, he suggests a hypothetical dating for our painting from the middle of the 1620s, when Tournier had reached his full maturity in Rome.

The present painting shares several stylistic analogies with works by Tournier from his roughly ten-year stint in Italy. The heavy drapery of the saint's mantle, which is rendered with wide and deep folds, is comparable to that of the *Flutist* (Brera, Milan)³ and with Christ's robe in the *Suffer My Children* (Galleria Corsini, Rome).⁴ The *Suffer My Children* also displays strong analogies to this painting in the structure and treatment of the hands of the figures. Like Caravaggio and many of the painters working in his wake, Tournier seems to have employed a regular cast of models, which lends his figures a sense of humanity and individual character. The physical type of our Saint Jerome reoccurs throughout the catalogue of works painted by Tournier in Italy, suggesting that these faces are all based on a single model. One finds the piercing eyes, furrowed brow, and scraggly hair and beard of Jerome in the armored soldier in the *Guard Room* in Dresden (Fig. 1)⁵ and the attendant in the background of the *Meeting of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* of unknown location (Fig. 2).⁶ The facial and nasal structure of the figure, as well as the controlled brushwork in the face and hair, also finds parallels in the elder competitor in the *Dice Players* in the Speed Art Museum in Louisville,⁷ as well as in the figure of Saint Peter in two depictions of the *Denial of Saint Peter*—one in the Prado⁸ and the other in a private collection.⁹



GIOVANNI BATTISTA BEINASCHI

(Fossano, near Turin 1636 – 1688 Naples)

The Martyrdom of Saint Peter

Oil on canvas

114 ½ x 76 inches (290.8 x 193.1 cm)

PROVENANCE

with Simoni del Cava, until 1817; where acquired by:

Johann I Josef, Prince of Liechtenstein, Duke of Troppau and Jägerndorf (1760–1836); thence by descent in the Liechtenstein Garden Palace, Rossau, Vienna to:

Aloys II, Prince of Liechtenstein (1796–1858), Liechtenstein Garden Palace, Rossau, Vienna; by descent to:

Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein (1840–1929), Liechtenstein Garden Palace, Rossau, Vienna; by descent to:

Franz Joseph II, Prince of Liechtenstein (1906–1989), Liechtenstein Garden Palace, Rossau, Vienna, until transferred to Schloss Eisgrub, Lednice, Bohemia, from November 1942 until October 1944, when moved to Schloss Moosham, Unternberg, Lungau, until February 1945, when moved to Schloss Vaduz, Liechtenstein; by descent to:

Hans-Adam II, Prince of Liechtenstein, Schloss Vaduz, Liechtenstein until 2008; by whom sold at Christie's, London, July 9, 2008, lot 127, as Giovanni Battista Beinaschi; where acquired by:

Private Collection, London, 2008–2013.

LITERATURE

Liechtenstein *Ankaufsverzeichnis* (manuscript acquisitions list), no. 99.

Katalog der Fürstlich Liechtensteinischen Bilder-Galerie im Gartenpalais der Rossau zu Wien, Vienna, 1873, p. 45, no. 371, as Jusepe de Ribera.

Jakob von Falke, *Katalog der fürstlich Liechtensteinischen Bilder-Galerie im Gartenpalais der Rossau zu Wien*, Vienna, 1885, p. 7, no. 41, as Jusepe de Ribera.

August L. Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto)*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 195, as by a student or imitator of Jusepe de Ribera (listed under “Schulbilder, Nachahmungen”).

Adolf Kronfeld, *Führer durch die Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, 2nd edition, Vienna, 1929, p. 13, no. 41; 3rd edition, Vienna, 1931, p. 16, no. 41, as Jusepe de Ribera.

Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *La pintura española fuera de España: historia y catálogo*, Madrid, 1958, p. 279, no. 2312, as by Jusepe de Ribera.

Craig McFadyen Felton, “Jusepe de Ribera; A Catalogue Raisonné,” unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1971, p. 619, cat. no. X519, as an unaccepted attribution to Jusepe de Ribera.

Francesco Petrucci, “Beinaschi tra Roma e Napoli,” in *Giovanni Battista Beinaschi: pittore barocco tra Roma e Napoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli and Francesco Petrucci, Rome, 2011, pp. 51–52, fig. 65, as Giovanni Battista Beinaschi.

Antonio Gesino, in *Giovanni Battista Beinaschi: pittore barocco tra Roma e Napoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli and Francesco Petrucci, Rome, 2011, pp. 271–272, cat. no. B1, illustrated, as Giovanni Battista Beinaschi.

THIS MONUMENTAL ALTARPIECE is the single-most important painting by Giovanni Battista Beinaschi to have left Italy. A dramatic work Caravaggesque in its lighting, theatricality, and affect, it was long considered to be by Jusepe de Ribera, whose name remains emblazoned on the picture frame in which the painting has been exhibited since its tenure in the collection of the princes of Liechtenstein.

G. Ribera Spagnoletto



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Fig. 1. Photograph of Room III in the Liechtenstein Garden Palace, Rossau, Vienna, ca. 1900. The Beinaschi *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* can be seen to the right of Guido Reni's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in the National Gallery, London.

Beinaschi was born near Turin, and his earliest training was with Esprit Grandjean, an artist active at the Savoy court. By 1652 he had moved to Rome, where he was to live for more than a decade before the lure of ecclesiastical patronage brought him to Naples. Although he is often referred to as *piemontese*, Beinaschi perfected a style that shows little evidence of his Piedmont origins. Rather, it seems most indebted to the work of Giovanni Lanfranco, whose works Beinaschi knew well (he had engraved Lanfranco's altarpieces in San Andrea della Valle and San Carlo Catinari), although he apparently never met the elder artist, who died in Rome only a few years before Beinaschi arrived there. Beinaschi moved to Naples around 1664, where he painted both altarpieces and fresco cycles in churches throughout the city. His work was consistently in demand for his entire career and he received a succession of commissions both private and public (although predominantly ecclesiastic) with the result that nearly all of his paintings remain in Italy, most in the places for which they were painted.

The *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* is one of Beinaschi's most impressive works, yet due to its inaccessibility, it has until recently remained relatively unknown and unrecognized as a significant work by the artist. From 1817 until 2008 it was in the collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein, exhibited before World War II in the Liechtenstein Palace in Vienna (Fig. 1), but then consigned successively to family castles in Bohemia, the Austrian Alps, and Liechtenstein. Over all these years it was considered to be by Jusepe de Ribera, but as early as 1908 August Mayer had questioned that attribution. It was not until a century later that Nicola Spinosa definitively recognized Beinaschi's authorship. His opinion was subsequently confirmed by Francesco Petrucci and Antonio Gesino in the recent catalogue raisonné of the artist's work and made yet more apparent following recent conservation of the painting, which removed generations of dirt and discolored varnish. All of these scholars place the painting relatively early in the painter's maturity, for Spinosa around 1660, for Petrucci and Gesino slightly later, ca. 1663–1665. This would suggest that the original site for the altarpiece was either in Naples, executed at the beginning of Beinaschi's tenure there, or in Rome, among the last works painted before his departure.

Fig. 2. Engraving of Jupiter [Iuppiter Verospi] in Jean Barbault, *Recueil des divers monumens anciens*, Roma, 1770, pl. 64.



The composition is a swirling depiction of the martyrdom of Saint Peter, legendarily crucified upside down. Peter has been nailed to the cross by his feet alone, as his arms flail wildly. In emphatically portraying Peter's unbound arms, Beinaschi seems to be referring to Christ's prediction of the form of Peter's death in John 21:18–19: "But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldst not. And this he said, signifying by what death he should glorify God." Four soldiers are occupied with raising the cross. One at the lower right steadies the top against the ground. Above him, another pulls down with both hands and all his weight on the rope that leads through an unseen pulley to lift the bottom of Peter's cross. Two other soldiers at the left, one behind the other, struggle to raise it upright. At the upper center an angel descends, gazing directly at Peter and gesturing towards heaven with one hand as he delicately bestows a martyr's palm with the other, his wings and robes obscuring the spectral glow of the moon.

A pagan priest at the center of the painting grasps Peter's right wrist and points with his left arm to the seated statue at the upper right, demanding his submission to the Roman deity. With uncommon historical accuracy Beinaschi has modeled the idol on the monumental *Jupiter Verospi*, a third-century replica of the original by Apollonius, which was the principal cult figure in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome at the time of Peter's martyrdom (Fig. 2). In the seventeenth century the sculpture was on view in the courtyard of the Palazzo Verospi in Rome and was later acquired for the Vatican by Pope Clement XIV in 1771.



Fig. 3. Detail of Nicolas Poussin's *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*, Saint Peter's, Vatican City.

Beinaschi's altarpiece has been described as a "magisterial translation of a Caravaggesque subject treated by many of the greatest exponents of baroque and classicizing painting."¹ Indeed, it seems to echo Guido Reni's altarpiece, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, as well as Caravaggio's in Santa Maria del Popolo, while explicitly quoting the figure of the priest in Nicolas Poussin's *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*, painted for Saint Peter's (Fig. 3).² Analogies with the works of Mattia Preti (such as his *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* at the Barber Institute, Birmingham) and Luca Giordano suggest a Neapolitan origin,³ and thus a slightly later date for the altarpiece, but until documentation emerges, the specific origin of this powerful Baroque canvas is likely to remain unknown. Beinaschi treated the subject in two other canvases, both considerably smaller and later in date: one is on deposit from the Brera in the church of Santa Maria Assunta in Golasecca, Varese; the other is in the collection of Marcello Aldega in Rome.⁴



GASPARE TRAVERSI

(Naples, ca. 1722 – 1770 Rome)

The Monk, the Maiden, and the Novice

Oil on canvas

24 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches (62 x 74 cm)

PROVENANCE

Bence Collection, Uruguay, by the 1920s; thence by descent until 2015.

THIS WITTY DEPICTION of a monk admonishing a young maiden is an impressive example of the genre scenes for which Gaspare Traversi is best known. Traversi was one of most original and eccentric painters in eighteenth-century Naples. His secular paintings are extraordinary depictions of Italian society, treating all classes, seen through the ironic and at times acerbic eye of a master storyteller. Scenes from everyday life are transformed into high drama in paintings that can be at once moralistic, tragic, tender, or comical. The present work is a newly discovered painting by the artist that has survived in exceptional condition and in its original frame.

Traversi's distinctive style was shaped by the influence of Francesco Solimena and Giuseppe Bonito, to whom he was apprenticed around 1730. While his earliest documented paintings were religious commissions dating from 1749, Traversi had already begun producing his signature genre paintings by the late 1730s. These works depicted scenes of everyday life populated by the local rich and emerging middle-class, as well by the humble, derelict, and socially marginalized populace. While Traversi portrayed the bourgeois in costumes and with the manners of the aristocracy—almost always with a satirical, humorous, or moralizing intent—paintings of common folk, such as the present work, show their subjects benevolently and sympathetically.

The three protagonists in our painting form an intriguing and dramatic triangle. A bearded Capuchin monk is shown lecturing a beautiful maiden as she tentatively holds, and he forcefully points to, a small painting of the *Madonna and Child* of a type known as the *Madonna delle Grazie* (Our Lady of Graces)—a venerated popular devotional image (Fig. 1). We are clearly witnessing a lesson in moral behavior as the girl contritely bows her head and modestly covers her bodice with a shawl. At the left a young novice shyly peers out at the viewer, a look of guilt on his face. We are left to provide the backstory to this intimate scene, but the exchange and avoidance of glances among the figures suggests that whatever transgression the maiden has committed, she had done so with the complicity of the boy. The monk is perhaps attempting to persuade her to seek redemption for her sins, possibly that of prostitution, to which she may have been driven by the pressures of poverty. Whether or not it was inspired by an incident witnessed by the artist, the scene undoubtedly reflects the realities of everyday life in the impoverished neighborhoods of mid-eighteenth century Naples and Rome—particularly the port zone (Borgo Vergini) and the Rione Sanità in Naples, as well as the quarter of Trastevere in Rome.





Fig. 1. Detail of the present painting.

While the figures are compressed into an intricate and tight composition, dramatic lighting focuses attention on the expressive faces of the monk and the maiden, while the shrinking novice looms in the shadows behind, clutching his cloak. The soft pastel colors of the young woman's elegant dress and her translucent skin contrast sharply with the earth tones of the monk's distinctive brown habit and reddened face. Her place in the composition, seated in profile facing to the left along the right edge of the frame, is repeated in several of Traversi's works.¹ And her delicate features were likely based on a model who posed regularly for the artist—she is found in several of his works, including the *Spinet Player* (Private Collection) and the *Detected Love Letter* (Ringingling Museum, Sarasota).²

The attribution of this painting to Gaspare Traversi has been confirmed on firsthand inspection by Dr. Nicola Spinosa, to whom we are grateful for his observations on this work.³ Spinosa writes of this painting, “By its style and forceful naturalism, the present canvas is without question a work by the Neapolitan painter Gaspare Traversi . . . It belongs to a series of paintings from the years 1747–1752 depicting scenes of seduction, marriage contracts, popular games and the like, in which Traversi captures and records diverse aspects of contemporary society, but with a subtle critical eye, an ethical rigor, and with a visual intensity not found in the earlier treatments of similar subjects by his teacher Giuseppe Bonito.” He dates our canvas to around 1750, just prior to the artist's move from Naples to Rome. Spinosa notes that Traversi's departure from his native city was motivated in part by the fact that his genre paintings—presenting direct and often biting caricatures of both the masses and the elite—were not well received by Neapolitan patrons, often the object of his satire.

By 1752, Traversi had settled in the quarter of Trastevere in Rome, one of the city's most impoverished neighborhoods, where he received the support of the Capuchin friars for whom he had already completed several projects in Naples. Among these were commissions for Capuchin churches,⁴ as well as portraits for celebrated members of the order.⁵ Capuchin monks were also among the regular cast of characters that Traversi depicted in his genre paintings, as in the present



Fig. 2. Gaspare Traversi, *Franciscan with a Novice*, Pesaro, Cassa di Risparmio.

work. A canvas now in the collection of the Cassa di Risparmio of Pesaro similarly depicts an elderly monk accompanied by a novice, who bears a striking resemblance to his counterpart in our painting (Fig. 2).⁶ While the work in the Cassa di Risparmio is an uncritical presentation of the figures begging for alms, the present work reveals Traversi's willingness to make his patrons and their brethren the subject of his visual critique. Our painting is seemingly a winking comment on the licentiousness of young novitiates, or their general lack of obedience to the strict rules imposed by their Order.

Endnotes

THE MASTER OF THE PRADO REDEMPTION

Christ Blessing

- 1 For the most recent literature on the Master of the Prado Redemption and the former identification of the artist as Vrancke van der Stockt, see: José Juan Pérez Preciado, “En torno al Tríptico de la Redención del Museo del Prado,” in *Rogier van der Weyden y España, Actas del Congreso Internacional*, eds. Lorne Campbell and José Juan Pérez Preciado, Madrid, 2016, pp. 102-117; Lorne Campbell and José Juan Pérez Preciado, “Master of the Prado Redemption,” in *Rogier van der Weyden and the Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. Lorne Campbell, Madrid, 2015, pp. 120-127; and Griet Steyaert, *L’Héritage de Rogier van der Weyden: La Peinture à Bruxelles 1450-1520*, Tiel, 2013, pp. 147-151.
- 2 “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End.”
- 3 These copies are in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and the Groeningemuseum in Bruges. For these works, see most recently: Miyako Sugiyama, “Replicating the sanctity of the Holy Face: Jan van Eyck’s Head of Christ,” *Simiolus*, vol. 39, no. 1/2 (2017), pp. 5–6, figures 1 and 3. These versions, and presumably the original works by Van Eyck are inscribed in the nimbus with Alpha, Omega, I, and F, deriving from a different but related passage Revelation 21:6, “ego sum Alpha et Omega initium et finis ego” [“I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End”].
- 4 For paintings emulating Van Eyck’s paintings, see for example Petrus Christus’s *Head of Christ* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435897>) and the small image on parchment in the background of his *Portrait of a Young Man* in the National Gallery in London (<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/petrus-christus-portrait-of-a-young-man>). For imitations in manuscript illuminations, see: *Head of Christ* from the book of hours, Bruges, c. 1450, Morgan Library & Museum, New York, Ms. M.421, fol. 13v (<http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/136028>).
- 5 Jan Białostocki first proposed the former existence of this lost painting by Rogier van der Weyden and identified its influence on Hans Memling. See: Jan Białostocki, “Fifteenth-Century Pictures of the Blessing Christ, Based on Rogier van der Weyden,” *Gesta*, vol. 15, no. 1/2 (1976), pp. 317–319. This was later accepted by Dirk de Vos. See: Dirk De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works*, New York, 1999, p. 391, cat. no. B23. See Hans Memling’s paintings of Christ Blessing in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/35484/christ-blessing>) and the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (<https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/M.1974.17.P>).
- 6 M. J. Friedländer Photo Archive, RKD, The Hague, no. 294640 (<https://rkd.nl/explore/images/294640>).
- 7 <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/artist/master-of-the-prado-redemption/481ac645-e041-43a3-8d39-00249b915abe>.
- 8 Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (written communication, 10 October 2019). The full report is available upon request. The triptych by the Master of the Prado Redemption is similarly painted on Baltic oak and has an earlier felling date, its last rings having been formed in 1414. Its central panel is comprised of seven boards, each nearly two meters high, which may have required longer aging. See: Campbell and Preciado, “Master of the Prado Redemption,” p. 120.
- 9 For an exhaustive discussion of Lord Northwick’s collection, see: Oliver Bradbury and Nicholas Penny, “The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part I,” *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 144, no. 1193 (August 2002), pp. 485–496 and “The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part II” *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 144, no. 1195 (October 2002), pp. 606–617.
- 10 Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol. 3, 1854, p. 205.
- 11 The painting also does not appear in the earlier catalogue of his collection at his family’s seat, Northwick Park: *Catalogue of Pictures and Works of Art at Northwick Park*, 1835.
- 12 The buyer of this painting at the Northwick sale is identified in the sale catalogue and in George Redford’s *Art Sales* (1888) as “Moses (Bristol).” *Mathews’s Annual Directory for the City and County of Bristol* (1859, pp. 184 and 317) lists a picture dealer, frame carver, and gilder by this name at 46 Park Street in Bristol. We have not been able to

locate any further information about Moses's operation as a dealer in the scholarly literature. He purchased roughly 10 paintings at the Northwick sale, all untraced except the present work.

- 13 M. J. Friedländer Archive, RKD, The Hague, inv. no. 2713, p. 45. This is the only appearance of Von Behr in Friedländer's notebooks, confirmed by Dr. Suzanne Laemers of the RKD (written communication, 14 May 2019). Friedländer's correspondence with dealers and collectors has not survived. Friedländer also knew two panels by Ambrosius Benson depicting the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, which were cut from a Crucifixion, in Von Behr's possession. The Crucifixion by Benson was in the collection of a certain Prof. Schadow in 1920 (<https://rkd.nl/explore/images/62072>). Friedländer inscribed on the reverse of his photograph of the painting that Schadow was interested to sell the picture: "I.1920 pr. / Prof. Schadow ... verkaufen will." The painting had been cut down and the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist panels were with Von Behr by 1921, as attested by Friedländer's inscription: "V. Behr XI 1921 / ausgeschnitten / aus Kreuzig[un]g die / Schadow hatte" (<https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63496> and <https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63498>). Friedländer published these two panels as having been with a Kunsthandel on the Berlin art market in 1921. See: Max J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, vol. 11, Berlin, 1933, pp. 143, 157, cat. no. 250. R. von Behr is recorded as having acquired a tapestry based on the Raphael cartoons from a London dealer around 1910, as cited by Erik Everth ("Durch Vermittlung eines Londoner Händlers erwarb Herr Legationsrat von Behr auf Bestland in Pommern für seine Sammlung alter Gemälde in Berlin einen alten Wandteppich"). See: Erik Everth, "Ein neu aufgefundener Teppich nach Raffael," *Der Cicerone*, vol. 2 (1910), p. 353; H. W. S., "Art in Germany, Austria and Switzerland," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 17, no. 88 (July 1910), p. 246; and Emil Kumsch, *Die Apostel-Geschichte: Eine Folge von Wandteppichen nach Entworfen von Raffael Santi*, Dresden, 1914, pp. B, 28, and 55. Von Behr also donated a sculpture by Arnolfo di Cambio to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in 1911. See: "Verzeichnis der Erwerbungen im August," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 33, no. 1 (October 1911), p. 13–14; and "Sammlungen," *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 23, no. 3 (27 October 1911), p. 38.

BOHEMIAN SCHOOL, CA. 1380–1400

The Resurrection of Christ

- 1 Rudolf Kuchynka, "České obrazy tabulové ve Waldesově obrazárně," *Památky archeologické*, vol. 31 (1919), p. 61.
- 2 *Kupka-Waldes, The Artist and His Collector: Works of František Kupka in the Jindřich Waldes Collection*, Prague, 1999, p. 64.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Our picture is also listed in the list of acquisitions of the Jindřich Waldes Picture Gallery (no. 173). For a discussion of the list of Waldes's acquisitions, see: Patrik Šimon, *Jindřich Waldes: sběratel umění*, Prague, 2001, p. 64. For Waldes's collection label (Lugt 2543), see: <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/9646>.
- 5 See: Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiri Fajt, *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437*, New York, 2005, p. 246–247, under cat. no. 99.
- 6 Kuchynka, "České obrazy tabulové," p. 64. Although he does not give a clear indication of when this work was undertaken, it seems likely that it was done after Waldes' purchase of the paintings. He also notes that nothing about the earlier provenance was revealed by the dealer at the time of the purchase.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Jaroslav Pešina, "K datování deskových obrazů ve Waldesově obrazárně," *Ročenka Krúhu pro Pěstování Dějin Umění: za rok* (1934), p. 135. Pešina's argument regarding the dating of these works rested on the similarity of the *Flagellation* to a drawing in the collection of the Veste Coburg in Germany (inv. no. Z.0238). He suggested a terminus post quem of 1500 for both the Veste Coburg drawing and the Waldes *Flagellation*, which he applied to the entire cycle of paintings. Pešina repeated this opinion in his 1940 publication, writing that the *Flagellation* was a "modified reduction" of the composition in the Veste Coburg drawing, and the other paintings in the series emulations of genuine fourteenth-century works. See: Jaroslav Pešina, *Pozdně gotické deskové malířství v Čechách*, Prague, 1940, p. 152. However, alternative explanations for the similarities between the Veste Coburg drawing and the Waldes *Flagellation* include that both works could be emulating another, now lost painting, or that the Veste Coburg drawing is a copy after a now lost work by the painter of the Waldes *Flagellation*.

- 9 Ivo Hlobil, “Tři gotické obrazy ze sbírky Jindřicha Waldese,” *Umění*, vol. 52, no. 4 (2004), pp. 369–370. Hlobil emphasizes the urgent need for scholars to address the question of the place of these works in the corpus of early Czech painting, given that these paintings have not been discussed in the literature. He writes that the group is important for our understanding of Czech panel painting, expressing his view that these works should be part of the collections of the National Gallery in Prague.
- 10 We are grateful for Dr. Suda’s assistance and comments, made on the basis of photographs.
- 11 For a comprehensive summary of the fate of the Jindřich Waldes, the seizure of his collection, and its partial restitution in 1996, see: Sophie Coeuré, “Looted art and libraries: a challenge for post-war relationships between France and Czechoslovakia,” in *Plundered, But By Whom? Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Occupied Europe in the Light of the Nazi-Art Looting*, Prague, 2015, pp. 141–143.

LORENZO DI CREDI

The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist

- 1 Gigetta Dalli Regoli, “Novità per Lorenzo di Credi: un Tondo di committenza Portinari,” *Finestre sull’Arte*, published online 22 September 2019, see especially footnote 3. Dalli Regoli notes that the painting formerly in the Casati collection is possibly the earliest of these four *tondi*.
- 2 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436910>. The sitter in Lorenzo’s portrait in the Met had traditionally been identified as Ginevra de’ Benci, given the presence of an old inscription on the reverse of the panel identifying her as Ginevra d’Amerigo de’ Benci—the same woman depicted in Leonardo’s portrait in Washington. In her 1966 monograph Gigetta Dalli Regoli alternatively proposed that the portrait depicts the widow of Lorenzo di Credi’s elder brother Carlo, Ginevra di Giovanni di Niccolò.
- 3 The motto “De Bono in Melius” originates from a French motto used at the Burgundian court: “De bien en mieuls.” See: Federica Veratelli, “I tratti del potere. I clienti italiani di Memling,” in *Memling. Rinascimento fiammingo*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert, Milan, 2014, p. 61. The emblem of the oak tree and the motto in its French form, “De bien en mieuls,” also appeared on the reverse an earlier portrait of Benedetto by Hans Memling, probably his first commission from the artist not long after his arrival in Bruges. The painting was formerly in the Uffizi and has been missing since the Second World War. See: Till-Holger Borchert, *Memling’s Portraits*, Ghent, 2005, pp. 174–175.
- 4 Veratelli, “I tratti del potere,” p. 61, footnote 72. “Domanda [a] Benedetto Portinari in che modo si corre per lo diaccio di Fiandra.” Furthermore, Paula Nuttall has noted that Leonardo must have been familiar with Benedetto Portinari’s triptych, as he borrows the columns and loggia setting in the *Mona Lisa*, which is now mostly lost due to the panel being cut down. See: Paula Nuttall, “Memling and the European Renaissance Portrait,” in *Memling’s Portraits*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert, Ghent, 2005, p. 83.
- 5 Till-Holger Borchert, *Memling. Rinascimento fiammingo*, Milan, 2014, pp. 218–219. The wings of the triptych are only first recorded in the Ospedale in 1825, when they were purchased by the Uffizi.
- 6 The presence of Benedetto Portinari’s triptych in the Ospedale is attested by the fact that the landscape behind his portrait was copied in a *Virgin and Child* in the National Gallery in London, which is attributed to Andrea di Aloisio d’Assisi and dates from the 1490s. See: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/possibly-by-andrea-di-alloigi-the-virgin-and-child>; Lorne Campbell, “Memling and the Netherlandish Portrait Tradition,” in *Memling’s Portraits*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert, Milan, 2014, p. 52; and Bert Meijer, *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi: 1430–1530*, Livorno, 2008, p. 184.
- 7 Guido Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, Florence, 1960, pp. 33–38. See also: Leonardo Ginori Lisci, *I Palazzi di Firenze nella storia e nell’arte*, vol. 1, Florence, 1972, pp. 471–472.
- 8 Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p. 38.
- 9 For information on Barker, see: John Fleming, “Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II,” *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 121, no. 917 (August 1979), p. 505, footnote 77; and Mark Westgarth, “A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique & Curiosity Dealers,” *The Journal of the Regional Furniture Society*, vol. 24 (2009), pp. 69–70.
- 10 Bernard Berenson Archive, Villa I Tatti, Fiesole.
- 11 Duveen Brothers Records, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. For their further correspondence regarding the work, see Berenson’s telegrams from 5 and 6 May 1910 in the Duveen Brothers Records, and Duveen’s undated telegram (presumably from 5 or 6 May 1910) in the Berenson Archive.

- 12 The painting is recorded as having been purchased by Mr. Vicars in the *Continuation of Redford's Art Sales* as well as in Crowe and Cavalcaselle. This either is a mistake, or Duveen may have hired one of the three Vicars brothers—fine art dealers on Old Bond Street in London who are known to have collaborated with Duveen—to act as his agent in purchasing the painting at auction.
- 13 The Berenson X Book covers the years 1910–1927 and is conserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO

Madonna and Child

- 1 The attribution to Filippino Lippi was apparently confirmed by the art historian and collector Frederick Mason Perkins, as well as by Ettore Modigliani, director of the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan from 1908 to 1934. See footnote 13 below. Modigliani presumably encountered the painting in England through his role in organizing the exhibition of Italian Painting at the Royal Academy at Burlington House in 1930. This painting was not shown in the exhibition, but Viscount Chilston was one of the Honorary Committee Members.
- 2 In addition to the scholars cited in the bibliography above, Federico Zeri's unpublished opinion is recorded in an annotation on the reverse of a photo of this work in the Frick Art Reference Library (Raffaellino del Garbo Supply File, "Raffaellino del Garbo / F Z / Feb 20 1962"), as well as on a photo in the Fondazione Zeri photographic archive, entry number 13924 (<http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/16828/>).
- 3 Hildegard Buschmann, *Raffaellino del Garbo: Werkmonographie und Katalog*, PhD dissertation, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1993, pp. 161–162, cat. no. 26, illustrated.
- 4 Cristina Gnoni Mavarelli, in *Filippo et Filippino Lippi: la Renaissance à Prato*, Milan, 2009, cat. no. 30, pp. 166–167.
- 5 Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. no. 5026: <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&objectId=943904&viewtype=detailview>; and Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 52/1863: <http://emp-web-84.zetcom.ch/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=45589&viewType=detailView>. For a discussion of both the Berlin and Stockholm drawings, see: Per Bjurström, *Italian drawings from the Collection of Giorgio Vasari*, Stockholm, 2001, cat. no. 1034.
- 6 Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. no. 4858: [http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=\[4858\]&showtype=record](http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[4858]&showtype=record); and British Museum, London, inv. no. Pp.1.14: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=713481&partId=1&searchText=garbo&page=1. For a discussion of these drawings, see: Carmen Bambach, in *The Drawings of Filippino Lippi and his Circle*, New York, 1997, under cat. no. 113, pp. 342–343.
- 7 <https://www.museocivicomontepulciano.it/it/opere-sezione-pinacoteca/dipinti/bottega-di-raffaellino-de-carli-detto-del-garbo-1466-1524>. See also: Buschmann, *Raffaellino del Garbo*, p. 183, cat. no. A50.
- 8 Fondazione Zeri photographic archive, entry number 13926 (<http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/16847/>). Sold by Sangiorgi, Florence, 8-25 April 1891, lot 552, as Gerino da Pistoia, illustrated in the catalogue.
- 9 For a transcription of Gaetano Milanesi's letter to Toscanelli, which included a draft of the completed catalogued in the original Italian, before its translation into French by Auguste Riblet, see: Umberto Ragozzino, *Lettere familiari inedite di Ubaldino Peruzzi ed Emilia Toscanelli Peruzzi ed altri documenti dai manoscritti dell'archivio Ragozzino-Adami*, Florence, 2013, pp. 577–591.
- 10 *Collection Toscanelli: Album Contenant la Reproduction des Tableaux et Meubles Anciens*, Florence, 1883. Only 35 of the 236 paintings offered at the sale were illustrated in this album.
- 11 Barbara Bertelli, "Sulla formazione della collezione Toscanelli e il mercato antiquario pisano negli anni dell'Italia unita," in *Pisa Unità nelle Arti: Un Profilo di Città*, ed. Stefano Bruni, Florence, 2011, pp. 168–169, 172, footnote 29. This episode has also been discussed by Stefano Renzoni, who reports Botti's description of the painting as the Virgin "with the divine son in her lap" ("col divin figlio in grembo"). See: Stefano Renzoni, *Pittori e Scultori attivi a Pisa nel XIX Secolo*, Pisa, 1997, p. 47.
- 12 Bertelli, "Sulla formazione della collezione Toscanelli," pp. 167, 169. The only two frescoes of the Virgin in Child present in the 1883 Toscanelli sale are the present work and an unillustrated *tondo*, lot 84, attributed to the school of Lorenzo di Credi (untraced). No other fresco with this subject is known to have been at any point in the Tos-

canelli collection. Bertelli speculated that the fresco Botti was engaged to detach may have been Toscanelli's Lorenzo di Credi, based on Botti's description of the work in his receipt: "by a very expert hand, from the school of Pietro Perugino" ["da mano molto esperta della scuola di Pietro Perugino"]. See: Bertelli, "Sulla formazione della collezione Toscanelli," p. 172, footnote 29. Bertelli's suggestion is presumably based on the fact that Lorenzo di Credi worked alongside Perugino in Andrea del Verrocchio's studio in Florence in the 1470s and was notably influenced by his contact with the Perugian painter. However, Botti's description of the fresco applies equally well to the present painting, which was painted by Raffaellino at the height of his so-called Peruginesque period.

- 13 Fototeca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, Fiesole, filed under Raffaellino del Garbo, Homeless Paintings. "Att. to Filippino Lippi [struck through] / It belongs to Lady Chilston of Chilston Park, in Kent, and was bought by her mother in Italy about 50 years ago. The attribution is that of M. Mason Perkins and Modigliani of the Brera. It is a fresco and Pelliccioli of Milan transferred it to canvas for Lady Chilston's mother." Annotated in Berenson's hand, "R. del Garbo" with a note "to be listed" in Berenson's *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*.

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO PENNI

Holy Family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria and the Young Saint John the Baptist

- 1 No catalogue for this sale has been so far located, but an advertisement in *The Times* of London on 11 May 1904, p. 16, notes "Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square. On View – A Collection of Pictures and Drawings, chiefly of the Modern School, the property of a Lady; Pictures of the Dutch and Italian School, by direction of the Executors of the late Horatio Granville Murray Stewart, removed from Cally, Gatehouse, N.B., and from other sources. Messrs. Robinson and Fisher are instructed to sell at their Rooms, as above, To-morrow (Thursday) May 12th, at 1 o'clock precisely, a collection of Pictures and Drawings, as above, comprising examples by [several artists none relevant] May be viewed, and catalogues had." Murray-Stewart's collection was clearly significant. The collector and dealer Herbert Horne attended this sale and purchased Bernardo Daddi's *Coronation of the Virgin*, now in the National Gallery, London, and Giotto's *Saint Stephen*, now in the Museo Horne, Florence. He also noted a Botticelli school *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, but it is unclear whether he acquired it. Charles Ricketts refers to the auction in his diary (British Library Add Ms 58116, 27r, as noted by Caroline Elam). At the sale Ricketts and Charles Haslewood Shannon evidently acquired an anonymous Florentine *Virgin and Child*, a work later given to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, as by Bicci di Lorenzo. Other paintings known to have been owned by Murray-Stewart (so identified, as with the present work, by the placement of his armorial bookplate on the verso, include Magnasco's *Landscape with Figures* in the Seattle Museum of Art (inv. no. 57.58) and the *Argolla Players* by Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio, sold at Sotheby's, London, 4 December 2013, lot 15. See: Simona Di Nepi, Ashok Roy, and Rachel Billinge, "Bernardo Daddi's *Coronation of the Virgin*: The Reunion of Two Long-Separated Panels," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, volume 28 (2007), p. 6 and 23, footnotes 15 and 16; Herbert P. Horne, *Alessandro Filipepi, commonly called Sandro Botticelli, Painter of Florence. Appendix III: Catalogue of the Works of Sandro Botticelli, and of his disciples and imitators, together with notices of those erroneously attributed to him, in the public and private collections of Europe and America*, ed. Caterina Caneva, Florence, 1987, p. 60; Elisabetta Nardicocchi, *Museo Horne: Guida alla Visita del Museo*, Florence, 2011, p. 85; J. W. Goodison and G. H. Robertson, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings*, Cambridge, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 54–55, cat. no. 1987; and Malcolm M'lachlan, *Rambles in Galloway*, Edinburgh, 1876, p. 85, which briefly mentions the artistic holdings of Cally House: "In the drawing-room, among a variety of other pictures, are specimens of Claude Lorraine and Pousin, etc., and in the other rooms Velasquez, Ruysdael, Wouvermans, Murillo, Durer, Reynolds and other famous masters are represented."
- 2 A label on the painting's verso is marked "Foster Brothers/ 4 Park Sq./ Boston/ Picture Frames/ order # 2363" and another bears the number "C-378." Foster Brothers moved from 3 Park Square to 4 Park Square between 1902 and 1906. They continued at 4 Park Square until they ceased business in 1942.
- 3 Joannides notes that the painting was first associated with Penni by Eliza Katz Ward. See: Paul Joannides, "Afterthoughts on Late Raphael," in *Late Raphael: Proceedings of the International Symposium; Actas del Congreso Internacional*, ed. Miguel Falomir, Madrid, 2013, p. 170.
- 4 The Warsaw painting has an illustrious provenance: Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Mantua; Charles I of England; his gift

to the Duke of Hamilton Grand Duke Leopold Wilhelm; Pope Clemente XIV; Count Kaunitz, Vienna; Count Potocki, Cracow, and by descent until acquired by National Museum, Warsaw in 1949. For a discussion of this, see: David Love, “The Currency of Connoisseurs: The History of Two Versions of *The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine* by Gianfrancesco Penni,” *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*. New Series, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 274–284.

- 5 Grażyna Bastek, Barbara Lydzba-Kopczyńska, Elżbieta Pilecka-Pietrusińska, and Iwona Maria Stefańska, “Technological Examination of the Warsaw and Boston Versions of *The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine* by Gianfrancesco Penni,” *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*, New Series, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), pp. 182–183; and Paul Joannides, “Gianfrancesco Penni’s Two Versions of *The Holy Family with Saint John and Saint Catherine*,” *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*. New Series, vol. 3, no. 39 (2014), p. 253.
- 6 Joannides, “Gianfrancesco Penni’s Two Versions,” pp. 252–253. The drawings referred to here are found on folios 10 verso, 83 recto, and 84 recto of the *Fossombrone Sketchbook*. See: Arnold Nesselrath, *Das Fossombroner Skizzenbuch*, London, 1993, plates 18, 64, and 65.
- 7 Joannides, “Gianfrancesco Penni’s Two Versions,” pp. 249–250; Bastek et. al, “Technological Examination,” p. 182.

PIER FRANCESCO DI JACOPO FOSCHI

Madonna and Child with Two Angels

- 1 Louis Waldman, “Three Altarpieces by Pier Francesco Foschi: Patronage, Context and Function,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 137 (2001), p. 22.
- 2 Simone Giordani, *Madonna and Child with the Young St John the Baptist by Pier Francesco Foschi*, Florence, 2019, p. 11–12. This autograph list of artists is now in the British Museum.
- 3 Roberto Longhi, “Avvio a Pier Francesco Toschi,” *Paragone*, vol. 43 (1953), pp. 53–54. The correct spelling of the artist’s surname was established by: Donato Sanminiatielli, “Foschi e non Toschi,” *Paragone*, vol. 91 (1957), pp. 55–57. The catalogue of works attributed to Foschi was first assembled by: Antonio Pinelli, “Pier Francesco di Jacopo Foschi,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 109 (1967), pp. 87–108. For the most recent treatment of the artist, see: Simone Giordani, *Madonna and Child with the Young St John the Baptist by Pier Francesco Foschi*, Florence, 2019.
- 4 A catalogue entry on our painting authored by Dr. Giordani is available upon request.
- 5 Luigi Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica della Italia*, vol. 1, Milan, 1824, p. 270.
- 6 Giordani, *Madonna and Child*, p. 20.
- 7 Giordani, *Madonna and Child*, pp. 20–22. For the *Holy Family* in the Louvre, see Antonio Natali and Alessandro Cecchi, *Andrea del Sarto: Catalogo Completo dei Dipinti*, Florence, 1989, pp. 70–71, cat. no. 29.
- 8 Giordani, *Madonna and Child*, p. 22. For the *Gambassi Altarpiece*, see: Natali and Cecchi, *Andrea del Sarto*, pp. 112–113, cat. no. 52.
- 9 For the Panciatichi and the Passerini altarpieces, see: Natali and Cecchi, *Andrea del Sarto*, pp. 92–93, cat. no. 42 and pp. 110–111, cat. no. 51.
- 10 For the *Madonna of the Harpies* see: Natali and Cecchi, *Andrea del Sarto*, pp. 74–75, cat. no. 31.

FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER

Girl from the Sabine Hills (Mädchen aus den Sabiner Bergen)

- 1 See Winterhalter’s letter to his parents (dated 3 August 1827): Hubert Mayer, *Die Künstlerfamilie Winterhalter: Ein Briefwechsel*, Karlsruhe, 1998, pp. 93–94.
- 2 Ingeborg Eismann, *Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805–1873): Der Fürstenmaler Europas*, Petersberg, 2007, p. 18.
- 3 Elisabeth Kaiser and Dietmar Rimmel, *Franz Xaver Winterhalter: Ansichten aus Italien, Aus Zwei Skizzenbüchern, 1832–1834*, St. Blasien, 2012, unpaginated, as “Blick auf Albano.”
- 4 The two paintings from this period in private collections are *The Approaching Storm* (1834) and *By a Garden Pool* (1834).
- 5 Hubert Mayer, *Die Künstlerfamilie Winterhalter: Ein Briefwechsel*, Karlsruhe, 1998, pp. 108–109. “Ich werde bis in einem Monat drey Bilder von hier weg nach Carlsruh schiken, und suchen sie zu verkaufen - es ist hier jezt schon recht grün und blüht alles und sehr warm. Es ist doch ein schönes Land! Ich werde in meinem ganzen Leben mich

- freuen, daß ich hier gewesen bin, und wer weiß ob es das letzte mal ist, daß ich hier bin; ich mag es nicht glauben.”
- 6 See: “Nachrichten, Karlsruhe,” *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, no. 144, Stuttgart (17 June 1834), p. 576, “schlafende Albaneserin in den Augen des Publikums den Preis davonträgt”; and “Kunstaussstellung in Karlsruhe,” *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände / Kunstblatt*, no. 60, Stuttgart and Tübingen (28 July 1835), pp. 249–50, “Seine unter einem Baume schlafende Albaneserin, die voriges Jahr im Kunstverein ausgestellt war, hat...allgemeine Sensation im Publikum erregt.”
 - 7 Oil on canvas, 57.9 x 44.9 inches (147 x 114 cm). Sold Sotheby’s New York, 23 October 1997, lot 109, \$1,762,500.
 - 8 Emmanuel Burlion, *Franz Xaver & Hermann Winterhalter*, Brest, 2016, p. 70; and Lena J. Reuber, in *High Society: The Portraits of Franz Xaver Winterhalter*, ed. Helga Kessler Aurisch et al., Stuttgart and Houston, 2016, pp. 228–229.
 - 9 Eugene Barilo von Reisberg, “New Catalogue Entry – Hermann Winterhalter,” 20 February 2015, Hermann Winterhalter catalogue raisonné, no. 101K. <https://franzxaverwinterhalter.wordpress.com/2015/02/20/new-catalogue-entry-hermann-winterhalter/>.
 - 10 Eugene Barilo von Reisberg, in *High Society: The Portraits of Franz Xaver Winterhalter*, ed. Helga Kessler Aurisch et al., Stuttgart and Houston, 2016, p. 36.
 - 11 Nagel Auktionen, Stuttgart, 28 January 2016, lot 646, 17 x 14.5 cm, illustrated here; and Kunstauktionshaus Schloss Ahlden, Ahlden, 23 April 2016, lot 531, 17 x 14 cm.
 - 12 BNF, Paris, inv. no. 1845–2181; *Bibliographie de la France: ou Journal général de l’imprimerie et de la librairie*, Paris, 1845, p. 352, under no. 774.
 - 13 A. H. Delaunay, *Catalogue Complet de Salon de 1846*, Paris, 1846, p. 179, no. 2385.
 - 14 GLA 69 92. Kunstverein Tagebuch Ausstellungen, 1834, no. 120. We are grateful to by Dr. Andrea Gáldy for undertaking archival research in Karlsruhe, as well as further study into the provenance of the present work.
 - 15 GLA 69 15. “Es kam somit in die Verlosung...die schon frueher angebotenen Oelbilder, eine schlafende Italienerin von Winterhalter.” [Became part of the lottery...the oil paintings offered before, a sleeping Italian woman by Winterhalter.]
 - 16 GLA 69 16. “Liste der von dem Kunstverein fuer das Grossherzogthum Baden aus den fonds von 1835 & 1836 angeschafften Kunstgegenstaenden . . . bei der am 25 November 1837 veranstalteten Lotterie zur Ausspielung kommen . . . Italienerin von Winterhalter.” [Works of art bought by the Kunstverein to be sold at the lottery of 25 Nov 1837 . . . Italian girl by Winterhalter.]
 - 17 Written communication, Christoph Andreas (31 March 2019), owner of a full run of annotated Rudolf Bangel auction catalogues.
 - 18 For a full account of the forced closure of the Galerie Stern by the Nazi authorities, see: Catherine MacKenzie, ed., *Auktion 392: Reclaiming the Galerie Stern, Düsseldorf*, exh. cat., Montreal, Faculty of Fine Art Gallery, Concordia University, 20 October 2006–31 August 2008, pp. 13–14; and <https://www.concordia.ca/arts/max-stern/context.html>.
 - 19 Additionally, no documentation of the previous owner of the painting or the date of its acquisition have survived in the fragmentary records of the Galerie Stern, now conserved at the National Gallery of Art in Canada, for which see: <https://www.gallery.ca/english/library/biblio/ngc030.html#a1>.
 - 20 See: “Auflösung der Galerie Stern,” *Internationale Sammler-Zeitung*, no. 19 (December 1937), pp. 204–5.
 - 21 A surviving letter dated 9 May 1952 from Dr. Walter Kramm documents his request for seven works from Wilhelm’s collection for the exhibition at the Städtische Kunstsammlungen in Kassel.
 - 22 For a comprehensive and detailed description of the legal proceedings, see: Van L. Hayhow, “Is There an Effective US Legal Remedy for Original Owners of Art Looted During the Nazi Era in Europe?,” Master’s thesis, Harvard University Extension School, 2015, pp. 39–61; available online: <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/26519851>.
 - 23 For the Max Stern Restitution Project, see: <https://www.concordia.ca/arts/max-stern.html>.

LUDOVICO CARRACCI

The Vision of Saint Jerome

- 1 Hermann Voss, “Quellenforschung und Stilkritik: Eine praktische Methodik mit Beispielen aus der spätitalienischen Malerei,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1933), p. 191. When the painting was in a private collection in England, it had even been attributed to Guercino.
- 2 The identity of Wandutius Aurifex is unknown, but he is generally assumed to be Bolognese. This is the only print signed by or attributed to the artist, and it is thought to date from around 1670. Wandutius is sometimes cited with the Italian form of his name, Vanducci Orefice. The Vanducci were an ancient noble family in Bologna, and it is possible that this goldsmith came from their ranks. For references to Wandutius Aurifex, see: Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 34, 1940, p. 94; Pietro Zani, *Enciclopedia metodica critico-ragionata delle belle arti*, part 1, vol. 19, Parma, 1824, p. 44; and Karl Heinrich von Heinecken, *Dictionnaire des artistes, dont nous avons des estampes, avec une notice détaillée de leurs ouvrages gravés*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1789, p. 626.
- 3 Giovanna Perini “L'uom più grande in pittura che abbia avuto Bologna’ – L’alterna fortuna critica e figurative di Ludovico Carracci,” in *Ludovico Carracci*, ed. Andrea Emiliani, Milan, 1993, p. 316.
- 4 Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci: Addenda*, Bologna, 2016, p. 119.
- 5 Written communication, 8 July 2019.
- 6 Babette Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*, Turnhout, 2004, pp. 263–264, cat. no. 130. This drawing is a study for a lost painting by Ludovico, of which there is a copy in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (Zambecari collection, inv. no. 351).
- 7 Gail Feigenbaum, *Ludovico Carracci, A Study of His Later Career and a Catalogue of his Paintings*, PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1984, pp. 255–256. Transcribed in: Daniel Wildenstein, *Inventaires après décès d’artistes et de collectionneurs français du xviii siècle*, Paris, 1967, p. 9, “No. 459 Item un tableau sur bois ayant quatorze pouces de haut sur dix pouces de large, avec sa bordure dorée, représentant un Saint Hiérosme, appuyé sur une teste de morte et un livre sous sa main, un lyon a ses pieds et deux petits anges en haut, le tout dans un paysage, peint. par Louis Carrache prisé...350 l.”
- 8 Marcello Oretti, *Le pitture che si ammirano nelli palaggi e case de’ nobili città di Bologna*, manuscript, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. B.104, ca. 1760–80, foglio 29. Transcribed in: Emilia Calbi and Daniela Scaglietti Kelesian, *Marcello Oretti e il Patrimonio Artistico Privato Bolognese: Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. B.104*, Bologna, 1984, p. 59, no. [b] 29/9. For biographical details on Oretti, see: Giovanna Perini, “Nota Biographica,” in Marcello Oretti, *Raccolta di alcune marche e sottoscrizioni praticate da pittori e scultori*, Florence, 1983, pp. III–XV.
- 9 John Marciari, unpublished catalogue entry on the *Vision of Saint Jerome*, written in preparation for the exhibition *Italian Paintings from the Richard L. Feigen Collection* in 2010. Marciari notes: “The passage of the painting from Bologna to France and back again within the eighteenth century is improbable, and moreover, the Sampieri were important early patrons of the Carracci, and their collection remained intact until the late eighteenth century. The most likely scenario is that the picture in France was a copy after a Sampieri original. There is ample evidence that the Sampieri pictures were often copied, and Ludovico seems never to have used panel supports for pictures of this type (the only pre-1600 panel paintings generally accepted as his work are the musicians in the Hercolani collection, Bologna, which are evidently fragments of a *cantoria* from Palazzo Fava).”
- 10 This drawing is foglio 50r in Copland-Griffiths sketchbook no. 61, one of the two Reynolds sketchbooks formerly in the Copland-Griffiths collection, which was acquired by the Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery in 2014 (inv. no. 2014.72). For a full reference to the sketchbook, see: Nicholas Penny, *Reynolds*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy, London, 1986, p. 334, cat. no. 159. Reynolds’ inscription in the upper right of the drawing reads ‘Draperie Black.’
- 11 Alessandro Brogi has proposed that a painting previously with Dorotheum in Vienna but never offered at auction, is possibly older than the present work, which he does not consider to be by Ludovico. Brogi also mentions another painted copy in the collection of the Vatican Museums. We have not been able to locate an image of this work. See: Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci: Addenda*, pp. 119–120, footnote 187.
- 12 The Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio was another historic palace that was in the possession of the family from the year 1467 on. By the eighteenth century, the palazzo was owned by a different branch of the Sampieri family than the

- main branch that resided in the Strada Maggiore palace. See: Giancarlo Roversi, *Palazzi e case nobili del '500 a Bologna: la storia, le famiglie, le opere d'arte*, Bologna, 1986, pp. 337–339; and Giancarlo Roversi, “Residenze Senatorie Bolognesi,” in *I Palazzi Senatorii a Bologna. Architettura Come Immagine del Potere*, ed. Giampiero Cuppini, Bologna, 1974, p. 316. The Palazzo Senatorio also housed a collection of paintings, including a family chapel frescoed by Ercole Graziani. See: Claudia di Sturco, “Fonti Catastali Bolognesi: Analisi della Proprietà Nella Strada S. Stefano Tra XVIII e XIX Secolo,” unpublished thesis, Università di Bologna, 2007, p. 51.
- 13 For the 1783 inventory of the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio, see: Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, fondo speciale *Talon Sampieri*, B.344, fasc. 132, “Inventario e stima de quadri esistenti nella casa senatoria Sampieri, stimate dal signor Pedrini,” 1783, c. 3v. “Due quad: piccoli un rap: S. Girolamo, e l'altro S. Franco: di Lodovico Caracci, con cornice intagl: e dorato.” The earliest inventories of the Sampieri collection in the palazzo on the Strada Maggiore all date from the eighteenth century: 1718 (BCABO, fondo speciale *Talon Sampieri*, B.62, fasc. 86); 1743 (BCABO, fondo speciale *Talon Sampieri*, B.344, fasc. 132 and another version cited in Giuseppe Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti*, Modena, 1870, pp. 598–602); 1746 (BCABO, fondo speciale *Talon Sampieri*, B.344, fasc. 132); and 1787 (BCABO, fondo speciale *Talon Sampieri*, A.219, fasc. 7). Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Le pitture di Bologna*, Bologna, 1686; Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Pitture sculture ed architetture delle chiese, luoghi pubblici, palazzi, e case della città di Bologna, e suoi sobborghi*, Bologna, 1792; and Luigi Lanzi, “Viaggio specialmente del 1782 per Bologna, Venezia, la Romagna,” ms. 36/I, Biblioteca della Galleria degli Uffizi, Firenze (published by Giovanna Perini in *Ludovico Carracci*, 1993, pp. 335–337).
 - 14 “Sampieri Luigi: 27 Gennaio 1758–13 Agosto 1797,” *Storia e Memoria di Bologna*, <https://www.storiaememoriadibologna.it/sampieri-luigi-481067-persona>.
 - 15 Angelo Mazza, “Sulle tracce del ‘Ballo degli amorini’ di Francesco Albani. Vicende settecentesche della Galleria Sampieri, ‘superbissimo museo,’” in *La Danza degli amorini (1623–1625) di Francesco Albani: una favola mitologica come dono nuziale*, exh. cat., Milan, 2014, pp. 35–37.
 - 16 For the 1788 inventory of paintings added to the *quadreria*, see: BCABO, fondo speciale *Talon Sampieri*, B.344, fasc. 132, “Quadri aggiunti nella Galleria da Sua Eccza Sig. Marse. Senat.re Luigi Sampieri Padrone della medma,” 1788.
 - 17 <https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/103130>. For a brief discussion of the movement of works from the Palazzo Sampieri Senatorio to the Strada Maggiore, see: Marinella Pigozzi, “La Collezione Sampieri, Dalla Dispersione alla Negazione, All'Auspicabile Valorizzazione,” *Intrecci d'arte Dossier*, no. 3, 2018, pp. 51–52, footnote 30.
 - 18 It does not appear in the 1795 catalogue of the Sampieri *quadreria* (*Descrizione Italiana e Francese di tutto ciò che si contiene nella Galleria del sig. Marchese Senatore Luigi Sampieri*), or in any of the other known inventories, catalogues, and written descriptions of the Strada Maggiore palazzo that post-date Luigi Sampieri's inheritance of the property. This includes the 1801 inventory of the *quadreria* compiled by Giovanni Tambroni, the keeper of the collection (fondo *Talon Sampieri*, A.219, fasc. 7), as well as Giacomo Gatti's discussion of the collection in his *Descrizione delle più rare cose di bologna, e suoi subborghi* of 1803. The painting is also absent from the 1841 *Catálogo dei quadri, ed altri oggetti d'arte esistenti nella Galleria Sampieri posta in Bologna Strada Maggiore*, compiled after the majority of the Sampieri collection was sold by Francesco Sampieri, the son of Luigi, to the viceroy of the newly formed Kingdom of Italy Eugène de Beauharnais in 1811. The *Saint Jerome* was not among the works in the Sampieri collection sold to Eugène de Beauharnais, inventoried in the *Stima delli sottonotati quadri esistenti nella famosa Galleria Sampieri di Bologna*, dated 31 October 1810 (fondo *Talon Sampieri*, A.219, fasc. 7).
 - 19 John Marciari has kindly shared his catalogue entry on the painting, written in preparation for the exhibition *Italian Paintings from the Richard L. Feigen Collection* in 2010, but never published as the painting was restituted prior to the exhibition—which is available upon request. Marciari dated the painting to the around 1588–1590 based on a comparison with several of Ludovico's small-scale devotional pictures from this time.
 - 20 Written communication, 8 July 2019; and Babette Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*, Turnhout, 2004, pp. 252–265, cat. nos. 121–131.
 - 21 Alessandro Brogi, “Il fregio dei Carracci con “Storie di Romolo e Remo” nel salone di palazzo Magnani,” in *Il Credito Romagnolo fra storia, arte e tradizione*, Bologna, 1985, p. 246; Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619)*, Bologna, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 271–273, cat. no. R51; and Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci: Addenda*, Bologna, 2016, pp. 116, 118–120, footnotes 178, 184–185.
 - 22 For a discussion of Hermann Voss's activities as a scholar and art collector, see: Kathrin Iselt, “Sonderbeauftragter

- des Führers*": *der Kunsthistoriker und Museumsmann Hermann Voss (1884–1969)*, Cologne, 2010; and Camillo Miceli, *Hermann Voss tra storia dell'arte e connoisseurship - carteggi e studi (1907–1966)*, PhD dissertation, Udine, 2009.
- 23 Katherin Iselt has shown that the narrative that Voss was dismissed from this post in Berlin for his liberal political views after the Nazis rose to power in 1933, commonly repeated in the literature and possibly originating with Voss himself, is false. See: Iselt, *Sonderbeauftragter des Führers*, p. 450; and Ilse von zur Mühlen, "Hermann Voss – Ein Kunsthistoriker im Dienste Adolf Hitlers," *AKMB-news*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2010), p. 57.
 - 24 Lee Sorensen, "Voss, Hermann." *Dictionary of Art Historians*. <http://www.arthistorians.info/vossh>; and Gerhard Ewald, "Obituaries: Hermann Voss," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 112, no. 809, *British Art in the Eighteenth Century. Dedicated to Professor E. K. Waterhouse* (August 1970), p. 541.
 - 25 The painting is listed in the catalogue as being from a "Privater deutscher Kunstbesitz."
 - 26 See the entry on the painting in the Lempertz catalogue "Die Bestände Der Galerie Stern Düsseldorf," 13 November 1937, lot 181.
 - 27 Iselt, *Sonderbeauftragter des Führers*, p. 436.
 - 28 Research in the Nachlass Voss in the Deutsches Kunstarhiv in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Voss's photographic archive at the Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut in Florence, and elsewhere has not yielded any further clues to the earlier provenance of this work.
 - 29 The painting is now attributed to Franz von Riepenhausen. See: Iselt, *Sonderbeauftragter des Führers*, pp. 427 and 440.
 - 30 For a discussion of Leo Pauly's role as agent for Hermann Voss, see: Iselt, *Sonderbeauftragter des Führers*, pp. 89–91.
 - 31 Iselt, *Sonderbeauftragter des Führers*, p. 440. "Zu welchem Preis und wann genau Voss das Bild von Max Stern erwarb, ist nicht bekannt."
 - 32 See Fig. 8 in see the previous entry on Franz Xaver Winterhalter's *Girl from the Sabine Hills*.
 - 33 "Auflösung der Galerie Stern," *Internationale Sammler-Zeitung*, no. 19 (1 December 1937), pp. 204–5; and *Die Weltkunst*, vol. 11, no. 46 (21 November 1937), p. 6.
 - 34 Prior to the 2000 sale, Lempertz responded to an inquiry from Richard Feigen regarding the provenance of the painting, stating: "We sold it [in] 1937 to a collector in the Rhine area." See: Mattias Weller et. al, *Kulturgüterrecht - Reproduktionsfotografie - StreetPhotography Tagungsband des Elften Heidelberger Kunstrechtstags am 20. und 21. Oktober 2017*, Baden-Baden, 2018, p. 43.
 - 35 "Richard L. Feigen Returns Ludovico Carracci's Depiction of St. Jerome He Unwittingly Bought," *Art Daily*, 2009: <http://artdaily.com/news/30696/Richard-L--Feigen-Returns-Ludovico-Carracci-s-Depiction-of-St--Jerome-He-Unwittingly-Bought->.
 - 36 John Marciari in *Italian Paintings from the Richard L. Feigen Collection*, New Haven, 2010, p. 130, no. 5.

LAVINIA FONTANA

Portrait of a Lady of the Gonzaga or Sanvitale Family

- 1 Maria Teresa Cantaro, *Lavinia Fontana bolognese "pittora singolare"*, Rome, 1989; and Maria Teresa Cantaro, "Aggiornamenti e precisazioni sul catalogo di Lavinia Fontana," *Bollettino d'Arte*, vol. 79 (May–June 1993), pp. 85–102. A catalogue entry on our portrait authored by Dr. Cantaro is available upon request.
- 2 For these portraits, see: Cantaro, *Lavinia Fontana*, cat. no. 4a.42, pp. 117–118; cat. no. 4a.48, pp. 131–132; and cat. no. 4a.49, pp. 133.
- 3 Antonio Sorrentino, "La Rocca di Fontanellato," *Emporium*, vol. 74 (1931), pp. 32 and 33.
- 4 A rare surviving jeweled marten's head from the sixteenth century is in the collection of the Walters Museum in Baltimore: <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/20181/martens-head/>.

NICOLAES MAES

Portrait of a Young Lady

- 1 León Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693)*, Petersberg, 2000, p. 96.
- 2 Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes*, pp. 92, 94–96.

- 3 Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes*, pp. 92, 94.
- 4 Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age*, New Jersey, 1983, pp. 10–11, 18, 65, 70–71.
- 5 Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlandsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, Amsterdam, 1976, vol. 2, p. 275. “Gelyk hy tot dien einde eens een speelreis naar Antwerpen gedaan heeft, om de overheerlyke pen-ceelkonst van Rubbens, van Dyk, en andere hoogvliegiers te zien, als ook de Konstenaars te bezoeken.”
- 6 William W. Robinson, “Nicolaes Maes: Some Observations on His Early Portraits,” in *Rembrandt and His Pupils*, ed. by Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Stockholm, 1993, pp. 112–114.
- 7 Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 2, p. 274. “Ik niet weet dat ’er een Schilder voor of na hem is geweest, die gelukkiger is geweest in ’t wel treffen der gelykenissen van der menschen weezens.”
- 8 For discussions of signatures of this type, see: Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes*, p. 27. The Schnörkeltypus signature is characterized by the flourishes on the N and the M. Krempel notes that the fully fledged, baroque type of flourish, as it appears in this work, is concentrated to the years 1670–1672.
- 9 Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes*, p. 85.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 2, p. 275, “Hy zig met zyn huisgezin tot Amsterdam neergeslagen hebbende kreeg de handen zoo vol werk dat het voor een gunst gerekent wierd, als den eenen voor den anderen, gelegentheid wierd ingeschikt van te kunnen voor hun pourtret zitten, en dit bleef zoo duuren tot het einde van zyn leven, waarom ’er ook een groot getal pourtretien onafgedaan zyn na gebleven.” Translation from William W. Robinson, “Nicolaes Maes” in *The Grove Dictionary of Art, From Rembrandt to Vermeer, 17th-Century Dutch Artists*, New York, 2000, pp. 202–203.
- 12 Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes*, pp. 23, 85, 89.
- 13 Nicole C. Kirk, *Wanamaker’s Temple*, New York, 2018, pp. 124–125.
- 14 John Wanamaker Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. “Mr. Wanamaker’s Private Collection of Paintings...Listed by Pasquale Farina, 1908.” Farina was also the conservator to the collector of early Italian paintings, John G. Johnson, ca. 1909–1916. For more information on Farina, see: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pasquale-farina_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pasquale-farina_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).
- 15 Kirk, *Wanamaker’s Temple*, pp. 137–142.
- 16 *Golden Book of Wanamaker Stores*, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 248.
- 17 For a discussion of the Wanamaker Art Galleries and methods of display at Wanamaker’s, see: Kirk, *Wanamaker’s Temple*, pp. 143–146.
- 18 John Wanamaker Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. “Inventory of the Old Master Canvases as Exhibited on the Eight Floor, Market Street front in a series of six rooms, known as the Wanamaker Galleries,” 22 March 1927, p. 4, no. 12, Portrait of a Lady, by Nicolaes Maes, in the Dutch Gallery.
- 19 John Wanamaker Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. “List of Old Masters...in the New Wanamaker Art Galleries, now in position on the Seventh Floor, Chestnut Street Building, Juniper Street Side,” 13 September 1928, p. 10, Portrait of a Lady, by Nicolaes Maes.
- 20 Plan for the Art Galleries, from an Album of Interior Design Drawings for the Wanamaker Store, Philadelphia, by George W. Smith & Co., c. 1929, Wanamaker Collection, Athenaeum of Philadelphia. <http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/r.cfm?r=643127>.
- 21 The painting does not appear in Hofstede de Groot’s catalogue raisonné of Dutch painters or in his fiches at the RKD in The Hague. It was also not discussed in Wilhelm R. Valentiner’s 1924 monograph on Nicolaes Maes.

NICOLAS TOURNIER

Saint Jerome Writing

- 1 Rosella Vodret, *Alla ricerca di “Ghiograti”: studi sui libri parrocchiali romani (1600–1630)*, Rome, 2011, p. 450.
- 2 Roberto Longhi, “I pittori della realtà in Francia, ovvero i caravaggeschi francesi del Seicento,” *L’Italia letteraria* (1935), pp. 1–6; reprinted in *Paragone*, vol. 23 (1972), pp. 3–18.
- 3 Alex Hémerly, in *Nicolas Tournier, 1590–1639: un peintre caravagesque*, exh. cat., Musée des Augustins, Toulouse,

- Paris, 2001, cat. no. 18, pp. 116–118.
- 4 Hémery, *Nicolas Tournier, 1590–1639*, cat. no. 19, pp. 118–120.
 - 5 <https://skd-online-collection.skdmuseum/Details/Index/410197>; and Hémery, in *Nicolas Tournier, 1590–1639*, cat. no. 11, pp. 102–103.
 - 6 Gianni Papi, “Tournier e le sue relazioni con l’ambiente artistico romano,” in *Nicolas Tournier et la peinture caravagesque en Italie, en France et en Espagne*, ed. Pascal François Bertrand and Stephanié Trouvé, Toulouse, 2003, pp. 103–114, fig. 43. Papi has noted that the figure with a turban at the left in this work finds is remarkably similar to the *Saint Paul* in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse—which exhibits an identical highlight at the tip of the nose and the striking large black eyes—as well as in the face of *Saint Paul* in the Musée Fesch in Ajaccio and the figure in armor at the extreme left of the *Dice Players* in the Speed Art Museum in Louisville.
 - 7 Hémery, in *Nicolas Tournier, 1590–1639*, cat. no. 7, pp. 92–93.
 - 8 Hémery, in *Nicolas Tournier, 1590–1639*, cat. no. 15, pp. 110–111.
 - 9 Hémery, in *Nicolas Tournier, 1590–1639*, cat. no. 8, pp. 94–96; and Gianni Papi, in *Caravaggio e l’Europa. Il movimento caravaggesco internazionale da Caravaggio a Mattia Preti*, exh. cat., Milan, 2005, p. 324.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA BEINASCHI

The Martyrdom of Saint Peter

- 1 Antonio Gesino, in *Giovanni Battista Beinaschi: pittore barocco tra Roma e Napoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli and Francesco Petrucci, Rome, 2011, pp. 271–272, cat. no. B1.
- 2 Francesco Petrucci, “Beinaschi tra Roma e Napoli,” in *Giovanni Battista Beinaschi: pittore barocco tra Roma e Napoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli and Francesco Petrucci, Rome, 2011, pp. 50–51, figures 66 and 67.
- 3 Petrucci, “Beinaschi tra Roma e Napoli,” pp. 51–52, figure 68.
- 4 Giuseppe Porzio, in *Giovanni Battista Beinaschi: pittore barocco tra Roma e Napoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli and Francesco Petrucci, Rome, 2011, pp. 51–53, figure 69 and pp. 278–279, cat. no. B12 for the Brera version; and pp. 52–53, figure 70, and p. 279, cat. no. B13 for the Aldega version.

GASPARE TRAVERSI

The Monk, the Maiden, and the Novice

- 1 For example, the *Card Players* in a Private Collection. See: Nicola Spinosa and Tiziana Scarpa, in *Gaspere Traversi: Napoletani del ‘700 tra miseria e nobiltà*, exh. cat., Naples, 2003, p. 234, cat. no. R60.
- 2 Spinosa and Scarpa, in *Gaspere Traversi*, p. 235, cat. no. R65; and p. 246, cat. no. R123.
- 3 A catalogue entry on our portrait authored by Dr. Spinosa (dated 31 July 2016) is available upon request.
- 4 For example, see the painting now in the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, transferred from a Capuchin church in Trastevere. Additionally, in 1753 Padre Raffaello Rossi da Lugagnano, the Vicar and later General Minister of the Order, commissioned from Traversi the sizeable and important cycle of religious canvases painted for the Collegiata of Castell’Arquato near Parma (today divided between the Cathedral and Church of San Pietro d’Alcantara in Parma, the Museum of the Collegiata di Castell’Arquato, and the Church of San Rocco in Borgo Val di Taro). See: Spinosa and Scarpa, in *Gaspere Traversi*, p. 232, cat. nos. R51–R54; and pp. 237–239, cat. nos. R83–89.
- 5 These include the portraits of Padre Gaetano Politi da Laurino (formerly art market, Milan), Padre Gherardo degli Angeli (Private Collection), and Padre Rossi (formerly Federico Zeri Collection, Mentana). See: Spinosa and Scarpa, in *Gaspere Traversi*, p. 227, cat. no. R21; p. 227, cat. no. R22; and p. 233, cat. no. R55.
- 6 Spinosa and Scarpa, in *Gaspere Traversi*, p. 229, cat. no. R34.

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