

top of the cross in the Getty drawing – thereby giving special emphasis to these motifs or perhaps making minor corrections. In more general terms, the two drawings contain a similar and highly complex range of techniques and mannerisms, indicating an identity of creative process separable only by the greater boldness of the Getty drawing.

With its distinctive, varied draughtsmanship and monumental disposition of figures, the Getty *Christ carrying the Cross* displays features particular to Altdorfer and absent in the work of followers and copyists. It remains, however, to consider the date and purpose of this new Altdorfer drawing. Close parallels with his work on the St Florian altar-piece suggest a date of around 1515, not too far removed in time from the Erlangen *Christ carrying the Cross*. The circular format of the Getty drawing and its planar composition indicate that it may have been made as a design for a stained-glass window, and as such would be the only surviving stained-glass design by Altdorfer. Given the rarity of preparatory drawings by Altdorfer, this large and impressive sheet is among the most important German renaissance drawings to appear in many years, one which adds a further dimension to our understanding of Altdorfer's draughtsmanship.

'Blessed be the hand of Bronzino': the portrait of Cosimo I in armour

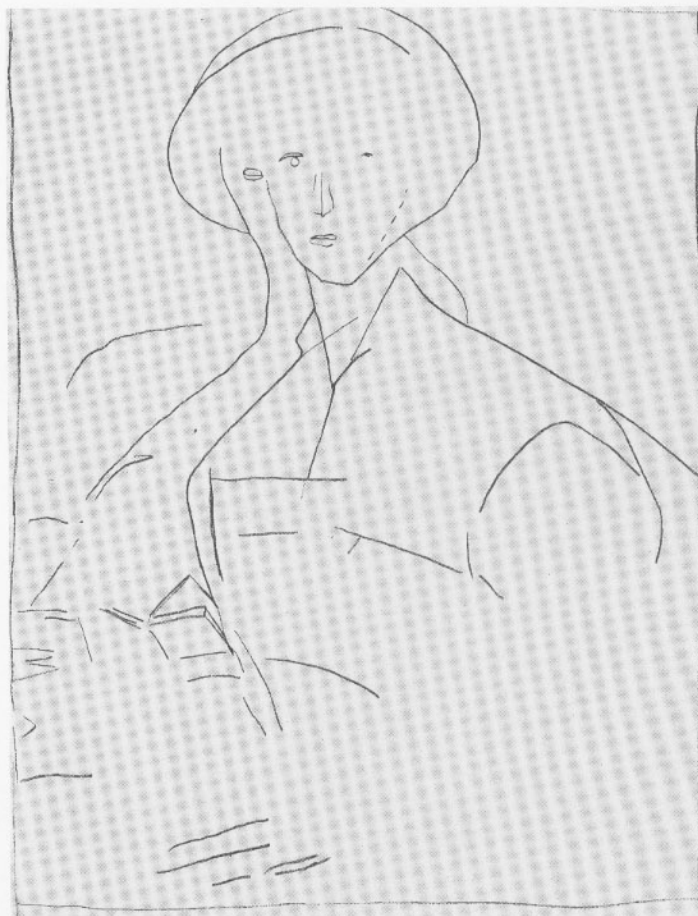
BY ROBERT B. SIMON

I should like to append two notes to my discussion of the recently discovered autograph version of Bronzino's *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici*, published in the September 1983 issue of *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, pp.527-39. The first concerns the picture's early history, one aspect of which had remained annoyingly unresolved. The provenance had proved traceable without interruption from the present day back to 1551, when the painting was first recorded in the collection of Paolo Giòvio; however, the circumstances of Giòvio's acquisition of the portrait, painted around 1544, could only be conjectured. Giòvio's collection had been formed primarily by solicitation, one result of which was that many of the works of art given him were of unremarkable quality. I suggested 'it would seem most likely that Cosimo made a gift of the picture to Giòvio, much as he had bestowed on the Bishop vestments, a house in Florence, a generous stipend, and tapestries from the Medici *Arazzeria*. Of these, the Bronzino would seem the most appropriate gift for the Duke's portrait-collecting friend and advisor. That so important a version of the portrait (rather than a workshop copy) was sent may reflect not only the high regard with which Giòvio was held by Cosimo – as well as by Bronzino, who, Vasari noted, was *amico suo* – but also Giòvio's own responsibility for the picture's iconography' (p.533).

Recently, Candace Adelson discovered a letter of Giòvio's in the Florentine archives that helps to resolve the question of the acquisition of the portrait (see Appendix). The letter is addressed from Rome on 30th July 1546 to Cosimo I's majordomo Pier Francesco Riccio in Florence. In it Giòvio asks Riccio to thank the duke on his behalf for what is clearly Bronzino's *Portrait of Cosimo I in armour*. The painting, which has evidently just arrived, is termed 'marvellous' by Giòvio who says that it has been praised both by other members of the papal curia and by painters. The bishop asks that his gratitude be expressed to Cosimo, noting that 'in three parts of four it seemed to me the portrait of the excellent Giovanni [dalle Bande Nere], his father, whom I remember as vividly as a man alive'. He adds, 'And blessed be the hand of Bronzino, which it seems to me surpasses that of his master Pontormo'. (Giòvio concludes with an unrelated question, inquiring whether Antonfrancesco Doni's press had been



44. X-ray of *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici*, by Agnolo Bronzino. Panel, 86 by 67 cm. (Private collection).



45. Line drawing showing figure visible beneath Bronzino's *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici*, in the X-ray in Fig. 44.



46. Detail of Fig.44.

set up in Florence and if there is any chance that his own *Life of Leo X* might be published there.)

Although one might expect that Cosimo's sending his portrait to a partisan member of the papal curia was preparatory to his giving the picture to the pope, the bishop's avowed gratitude to Cosimo and, most obviously, the subsequent history of the portrait, suggest that it was meant for Giovio himself. To what extent the duke was motivated in his gift by considerations other than friendship is impossible to say; perhaps related correspondence will further elucidate the context. And while Giovio's comment that the portrait is three-fourths an image of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere may be intended only as a flattering allusion to Cosimo's warrior father, one cannot help wondering whether the remark was somehow literally intended. The anonymous *Portrait of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere* in Turin (Fig.15 in the cited article) features the same suit of armour as appears on Cosimo, which, though quite differently rendered may be said to occupy three-fourths of the picture. In any case this 'new' letter significantly confirms the source and indicates the date of acquisition of the Bronzino *Portrait of Cosimo I in armour* owned by Giovio.

The second issue, which was unfortunately omitted from my article, concerns the x-rays of the portrait itself.¹ A photograph after the x-ray mosaic (Fig.44) reveals several notable variations from the finished picture – most obviously in the area of the head. At least one other face appears slightly below and to the right of the surface Cosimo; the outlines of alternate eyes, nose, and mouth are clearly visible (Fig.46). A soft cap, much like those seen in Bronzino's portraits of *Ugolino Martelli* (Berlin) and the *Man with a Lute* (Uffizi), quite visibly surrounds the head and a more expansive left shoulder appears above the silhouette of the duke's armor. Elements of domestic dress are visible as is a book held open in the area of the couter (or elbow-cop) in the finished picture.

¹Herbert Lank, who cleaned the portrait in 1971, was kind enough to share with me his thoughts and documentation concerning the x-rays.

The interpretation of the image presents some difficulties (Fig.45). The variations do not seem to be related to corresponding elements in the completed portrait and thus cannot be considered true *pentimenti*; nor do these changes form a cohesive whole, indicating a single abandoned project beneath the present picture. They would seem, rather, to indicate two portraits or more likely two differing conceptions of a single portrait – in, for example, the three roughly parallel left contours of the face, one on either side of the visible profile. That the head(s) seem more fully modelled than the other features perceptible in the x-ray may be attributable not only to the greater amount of lead white not normally employed in that area but also to the incompleteness of much of the abandoned portrait.

The facial features of the sitter in the first portrait seem quite close to the duke's – especially if one accepts the identification as Cosimo of Pontormo's *Halberdier* (New York, Stillman Coll.) and the related *Young Man with a Plume* (New York, art market).² It is thus not impossible that the first portrait represented Cosimo as well, younger and in mufti, but such an identification can be considered only speculative. Besides these issues, the x-ray does substantiate the near perfect condition of the present portrait, which has been subject to only minor losses along the vertical split down the centre of the panel.

Appendix: Letter from Paolo Giovio in Rome to Pier Francesco Riccio in Florence, 30th July 1546³

Signor mio honorando

Il mirabile ritratto di sua excellenza è piaciuto summamente alli galonthuomini di questa Corte, et giudicato finissimo da pittori, Dil che mi trouo obligato molto al signor Duca, auisando vostra signoria che nelle tre parti delle quattro mi ha rappresentato l'effigio del brauissimo signor Giouanni suo Padre. della quale ane ho freschissima memoria quanto huomo che uiua Et benedetta sia la mano di Bronzino qual mi pare che auanzi quella del Pontorni suo maestro. et cosi vostra signoria ne ringratiera in mio nome sua excellenza Hauerò ben anche caro intender se'l Donj con la sua diligenza hauera fatto piantar la stampa, et se gli sarà speranza che costi si stampi la vita del magnanimo Leone. Così resto baciando la mano á vostra signoria Di Roma il xxx di luglio 1546
D. V. S.

Servitor el vescovo Jouio

²K.W. FORSTER: 'Probleme um Pontormos Porträtmalerei (I)', *Pantheon*, XXII, 6 [1964], Figs.7 and 5.

³Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato, 1170A, Insert 2, busta 6, fol.14r, address on 15v. The transcription is by Candace Adelson, who brought the letter to my attention and has kindly permitted its publication here. I have expanded the conventional abbreviations.

El Greco's books

BY JOHN BURY

WHEN Jorge Manuel Theotocopuli compiled the inventory of his possessions on the occasion of his second marriage in 1621 he included twenty-one brief titles, or descriptions, of '*libros de arquitetura*'.¹ In the list he had made of his father's library shortly after the latter's death in 1614 he seems to have soon tired of itemising the books and resorted instead to recording them in numbered groups by language or subject. In the latter

¹FRANCISCO DE BORJA DE SAN ROMAN Y FERNANDES: 'De la vida del Greco', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, III [1927], pp.88-90.