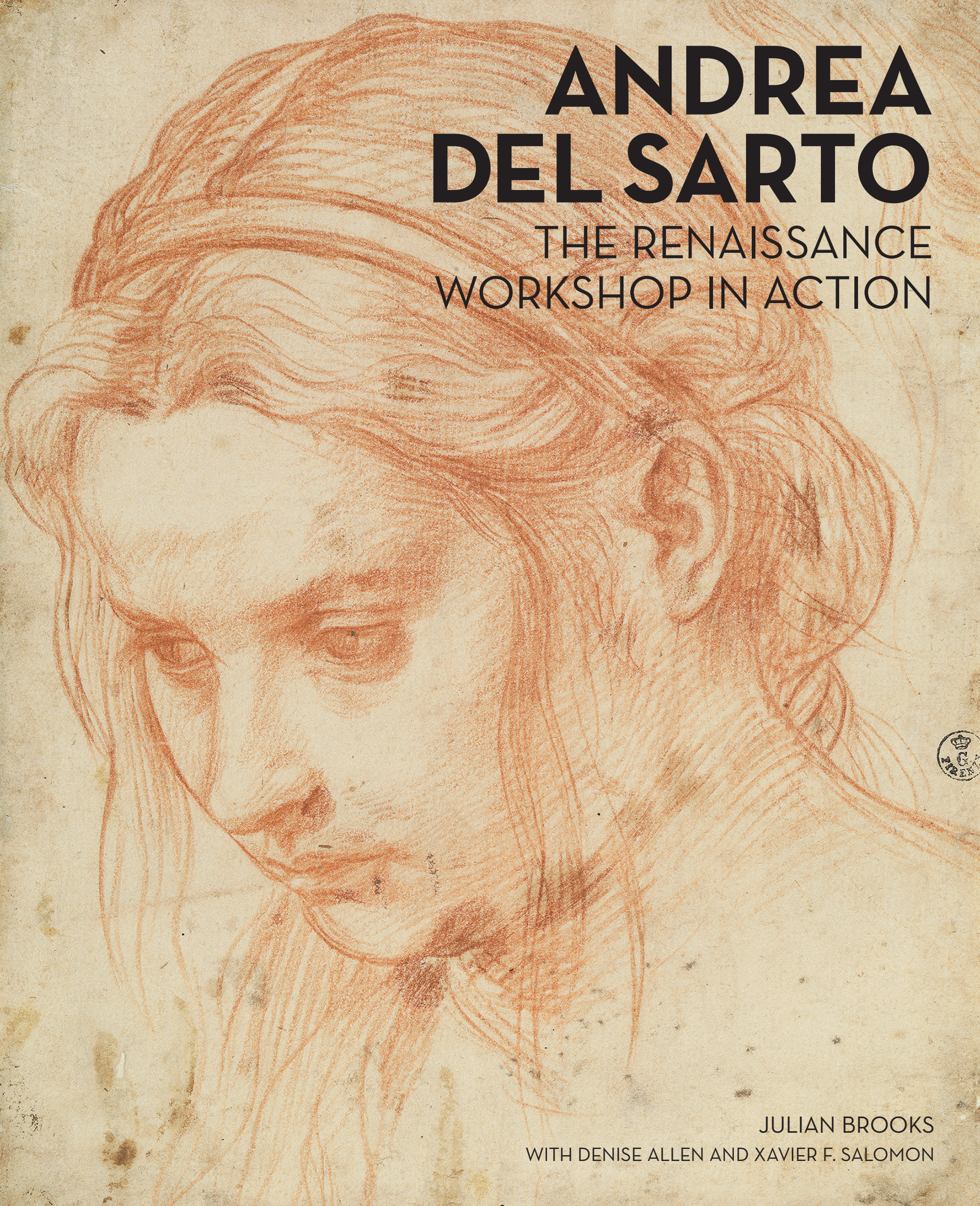
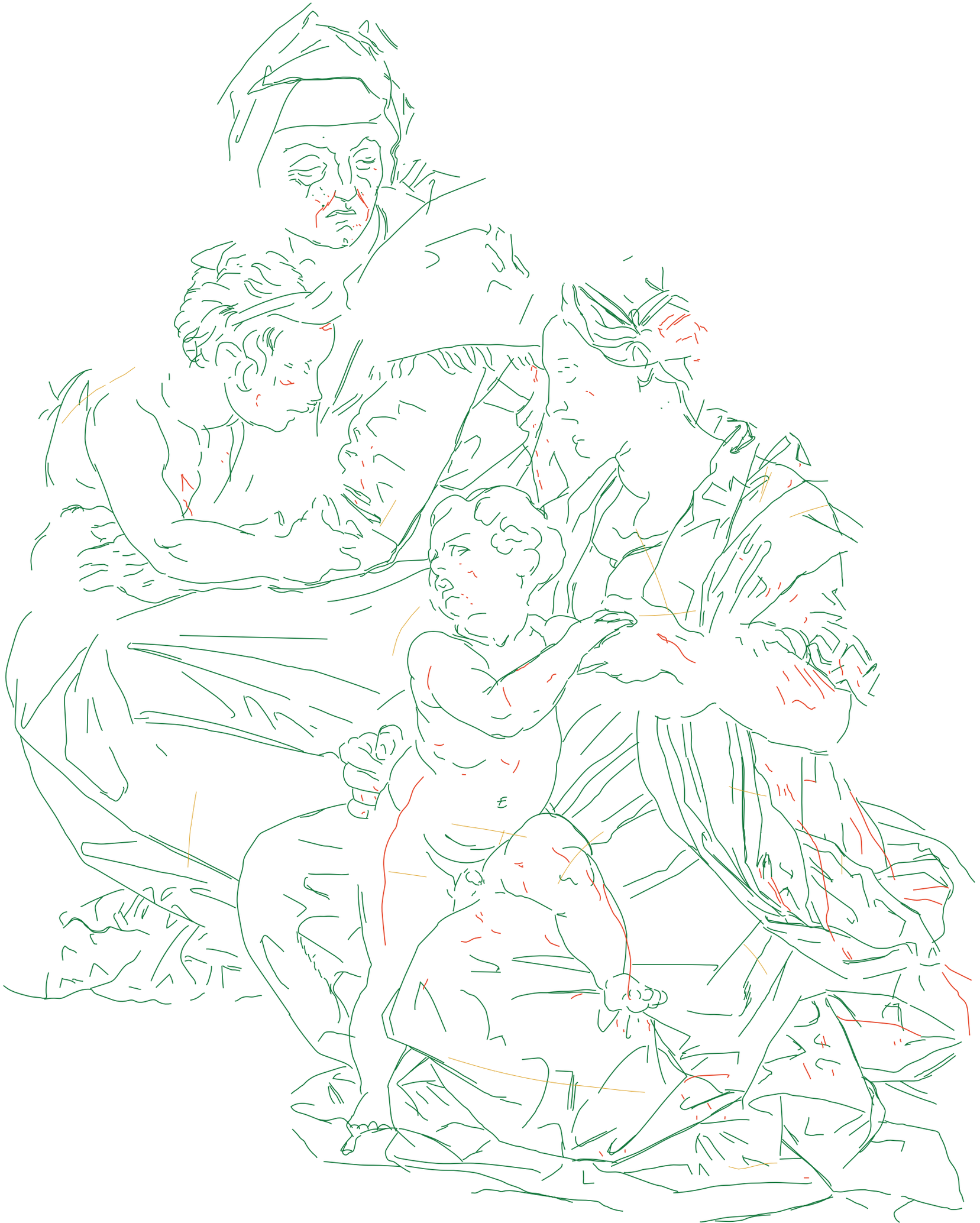


ANDREA DEL SARTO

THE RENAISSANCE WORKSHOP IN ACTION

JULIAN BROOKS
WITH DENISE ALLEN AND XAVIER F. SALOMON



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WITH ESSAYS BY ALESSANDRO CECCHI,
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AND A CONTRIBUTION BY MARCIA STEELE

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM | LOS ANGELES

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The exhibition has been co-organized by The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, and The Frick Collection, New York in collaboration with the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence. The exhibition has been curated by Julian Brooks, Curator of Drawings at The J. Paul Getty Museum; Xavier F. Salomon, Peter Jay Sharp Chief Curator at The Frick Collection; and Aimee Ng, Associate Curator at The Frick Collection.

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FOREWORD

THE PERENNIAL APPEAL OF DRAWINGS derives in no small part from their ability to transport you to the moment of artistic creation—to stand at the shoulder of the artist as he first translates the vision of mind and eye into a physical representation. To do this with an artist who lived five hundred years ago is doubly mesmerizing, and that is the effect that this book and accompanying exhibition aim to recreate. Andrea del Sarto is not just any artist. His drawings are stunningly beautiful works of art, which were much sought after by collectors ever since they were made. But del Sarto's importance goes much beyond this to the role he played as the lynchpin of art in Florence in the 1510s and 1520s, shaping the future at a time when methods of working were evolving faster than ever before.

Here, for the first time, a substantial group of Andrea's drawings—fifty-one from a surviving corpus of about 180—is brought together from collections around the world in conjunction with major paintings. The exhibition gives, as far as is possible, a 360-degree view of Andrea's creative process, from the first spark of inspiration in compositional sketches, through the intensely naturalistic drawings of faces and figures used to inject verisimilitude into his paintings, to his final rendering of scenes in paint.

New scans of Andrea's paintings with infrared reflectography allow us to see through layers of paint to the underlying drawing with a clarity never before possible. Numerous changes of design, many very major and some made even after the painting was seemingly complete, show the artist's restless but practical creativity, with a determination to achieve his distinctive form of perfection. Such revelations allow us to glimpse how Andrea aligned the seemingly incompatible realities of a large and productive workshop, satisfying a huge demand for paintings and frescoes, with his insistence on maintaining an extremely high standard of quality.

The Getty has four drawings by Andrea del Sarto, the most of any North American collection, but clearly this exhibition could not have happened without significant loans from the many institutions that agreed to temporarily part with some of their most precious jewels. We gratefully acknowledge their generosity. In particular, this exhibition has been organized in collaboration with the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, whose loan of eighteen drawings to both venues of the show is crucial, as well as the Galleria Palatina at the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, from whose riches of Andrea del Sarto paintings we are exceptionally pleased to celebrate the Medici *Holy Family* and *Saint John the Baptist*. The book and exhibition were also supported by an anonymous gift in memory of Melvin R. Seiden.

It is entirely fitting that the exhibition will be seen by an East Coast audience at The Frick Collection, where it joins an illustrious lineage of focused drawings shows. The Frick Collection extends its gratitude to the many donors who have made the exhibition possible in New York, in particular, the following for their early support of the project: the Robert H. Smith Family Foundation, the Christian Humann Foundation, Andrea Woodner, Helen-Mae and Seymour Askin, Diane Allen Nixon, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw, David and Julie Tobey, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, Jon and Barbara Landau, and Margot and Jerry Bogert.

Finally, we are grateful to Julian Brooks, curator in the Department of Drawings at the Getty, who has poured his scholarship, connoisseurship and commitment into conceiving this project; as well as to Denise Allen, curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and formerly curator at The Frick Collection, Xavier F. Salomon, Peter J. Sharp Chief Curator, The Frick Collection, and Aimee Ng, Associate Curator, The Frick Collection, who have also helped to guide it to fruition.

Timothy Potts, Director
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Los Angeles

Ian Wardropper, Director
The Frick Collection
New York

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

AS A STUDENT IN THE 1980s and 1990s I spent many happy days in the study room of the British Museum looking at drawings. Among all the treasures there, my favorite box contained the drawings of Andrea del Sarto. Miracles of red chalk, the spontaneity and surety in their draftsmanship astonished me, and still does. But now I realize how much fuller Andrea's preparatory process was.

This exhibition focuses unashamedly solely on Andrea. While the artists of the period provide a rich context for him, it seemed important—for better or worse—to fully get a sense of Andrea and his working practice, and review similar information on contemporaries before any attempt to place him alongside them. Given this, it was vital to represent Andrea with his strongest, most relevant, and most informative drawings, and I am very grateful to the lenders who enabled us to do that. In particular, the collaboration with the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, depended on Marzia Faietti and Giorgio Marini, and their knowledge, support, and warmth have been greatly appreciated. I also gratefully acknowledge the help of Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques director Xavier Salmon and former director Carel van Tuyll, as well as Dominique Cordellier; Ger Luijten at the Fondation Custodia; Hugo Chapman at the British Museum; Catherine Whistler at the Ashmolean Museum; Dagmar Korbacher at the Berlin Staatliche Museen Kupferstichkabinett; George Goldner and Carmen Bambach at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; Meg Grasselli and Andrew Robison at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC; the collectors David and Julie Tobey, and Luca Baroni for arranging a loan from another private collection.

A focused selection of paintings—including some of Andrea's most famous works—enables visitors to appreciate the whole of his preparatory process and, more importantly, to see the spectacular final results. For their help in making this possible, I thank director Matteo Ceriana and former director Alessandro Cecchi, Anna Bisceglia, and Cristina Gabbrielli at the Galleria Palatina; Carol Plazzotta, Caroline Campbell, and Nicholas Penny at the National Gallery in London; and Jon Seydl, former curator, and William M. Griswold, director at the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Some of the most valuable information for this project has come from recent infrared reflectograms of Andrea del Sarto paintings, and my Getty colleagues Yvonne Szafran and Sue Ann Chui have been invaluable members of the del Sarto team in helping to gather and interpret these images. For their help, I thank Cecilia Frosinini and Roberto Bellucci at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence, Larry Keith and Rachel Billinge at the National Gallery in London, Marcia Steele at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ana González Mozo, Miguel Falomir, Gabriele Finaldi, and their colleagues at the Prado, Noelle Ocon at the North Carolina Museum of Art, Michael Gallagher and Andrea Bayer at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and Jay Kruger, Elizabeth Walmsley, Joanna Dunn, Douglas Lachance, and John Delaney at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.

I am particularly grateful for a period of study during the spring of 2013 at the Villa I Tatti, the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, as a Craig Hugh Smyth Visiting Fellow. The few months I spent there were hugely productive, and I thank the director, professor Lino Pertile, as well as Anna Bensted, Jonathan Nelson, Michael Rocke, Eve Borsook, and all of the dedicated staff for their welcome and assistance.

The Andrea del Sarto project could not have happened without the support, enthusiasm, and hard work of many people at the Getty, and I acknowledge with gratitude Timothy Potts, director; Thom Kren, associate director for collections; Quincy Houghton, associate director for exhibitions, and Susan McGinty in the Exhibitions Department; Nik Honeysett, former head of administration; Nancy Yocco, Ron Stroud, Stephen Heer, Marc Harnly, and Chris Cook in the Department of Paper Conservation; assistant curator Peter Kerber and former senior curator Scott Schaefer in the Paintings Department; Christine Sciacca and Bryan Keene in the Manuscripts Department; Betsy Severance, Kanoko Sasao, Jacqueline Cabrera, Cherie Chen, and Leigh Grissom in the Registrar's Department, as well as former chief registrar Sally Hibbard; Irma Ramirez and Merritt Price in the Exhibition Design Department; Michael Smith in Imaging Services; Chris Keledjian, Laura Hubber, Karen Voss, and Erik Bertoletti in Collections Information and Access; Maite Alvarez, Peter Tokofsky, and Toby Tannenbaum in Education; Kevin Marshall and his able team in Preparations; Annelisa Stephan and Sarah Waldorf in the Web Group; and Ali Sivak in Communications.

Lee Hendrix and my colleagues in the Drawings Department, curator Stephanie Schrader and former associate curator Edouard Kopp, kindly covered for me while I was at Villa I Tatti, and have been a constant source of encouragement, as have the members of the Getty Disegno Group. Our graduate intern,

Laurel Garber, and former graduate interns, Emily Anderson and Tatiana Bissolati, were vital to the project at different stages, as were Robin Trento and senior staff assistant Minna Philips.

The team at Getty Publications produced the beautiful book you now hold, and I thank publisher Kara Kirk; former editor in chief Rob Flynn; project editor Beatrice Hohenegger; designer Catherine Lorenz; rights manager Pam Moffat; and production coordinator Elizabeth Kahn. Katya Rice was a superb manuscript editor.

For various kindnesses, support, and valuable conversations, I would also like to thank Colin Bailey; Carmen Bambach; Donatella Boschi; Valentina Conticelli; Tiarna Doherty; David Ekserdjian; Gabriele Finaldi; David Franklin; Ketty Gottardo; Katrin Henkel; Simona Mammana; Timothy Mayhew; Jonathan Nelson; Stephen, Laura, and Sebastian Ongpin; Guy, Lucy, and Charlie Peppiatt; Marta Privitera; Lala Ragimov; Sandra Romito; David Scrase; Claudio Screti and Francesca Carrara; David Steele; Louis Waldman; and Lucy Whitaker. My wife, Lena, and daughter, Phoebe, have been patiently understanding of my deadlines and absences.

The collaboration with the Frick Collection has been a very happy one, and I particularly thank Denise Allen, former curator, for her sensible guidance, work, warmth, and encouragement in bringing the exhibition and book together, Xavier F. Salomon, Peter J. Sharp Chief Curator, for his key contribution, and Robert B. Goldsmith, deputy director and chief operating officer for his support. Additionally, I have appreciated the work of research associate Virginia Napoleone, Ayesha Bulchandani-Mathrani interns Isabelle Erb and Dominic Ferrante, as well as undergraduate intern Giulia Nicita, and curatorial assistants Katie Steiner, Eloise Owens, and Jenna Nugent. I would also like to thank associate curator Aimee Ng.

The value of this catalogue has been increased in great measure by the contributions of the other authors, of course, including Denise Allen, Xavier F. Salomon, Yvonne Szafran, and Sue Ann Chui, but also by the essays of Alessandro Cecchi and Dominique Cordellier, who both know Andrea and his work much more profoundly than I ever will. Marzia Faietti beautifully sets within a wide context Andrea's work in red chalk, and Sanne Wellen and Marcia Steele provide key insights from their fields of expertise. I acknowledge with respect the deep contributions to the field made by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, Serena Padovani, Antonio Natali, Ezio Buzzegoli, and Diane Kunzelman, and I appreciate their conversations with me.

I hope that through this book and exhibition Andrea del Sarto's spectacular drawings will become even more widely appreciated.

Julian Brooks, Curator
Department of Drawings
The J. Paul Getty Museum

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Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Cleveland Museum of Art

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi

Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina

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Washington DC, National Gallery of Art

TIMELINE

COMPILED BY LAUREL GARBER

1486 — Andrea del Sarto is born in Florence

1492 — Lorenzo de' Medici dies

1494 — Medici family is expelled from Florence (until 1512)

1496 — Andrea probably joins workshop of Piero di Cosimo

1499 — Led by Louis XII, the French invade Italy

1500 — Leonardo returns to Florence after two decades in Milan

1503 — Leonardo is commissioned to paint *Battle of Anghiari* fresco for the Great Council Hall of the Palazzo della Signoria (unfinished); Michelangelo is commissioned to paint *Battle of Cascina* fresco for a nearby wall (never executed)

1506 — Andrea rents a workroom with Franciabigio in the Piazza del Grano, behind the Palazzo Vecchio

1512 — The French are expelled from Italy; Medici rulers return to Florence

1512 — Andrea completes *Archangel Raphael, Tobias, and Saint Leonard* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; cat. 1.1)

1513 — Pope Julius II dies; Giovanni de' Medici accedes to the papacy as Pope Leo X

1517 — Fra Bartolommeo dies in Florence, age 45

1517–18 — Andrea completes *Portrait of a Young Man* (London, National Gallery; cat. 2)

1518 — Andrea marries Lucrezia del Fede

1518 — Andrea is called to the service of King Francis I in France

1519 — Leonardo da Vinci dies in France, age 67

1519 — Andrea returns from France to Florence

1519 — Charles V (Charles I of Spain) is elected Holy Roman Emperor

1520 — Raphael dies in Rome, age 37

1520 — Andrea probably visits Rome

1520–21 — Andrea completes *Tribute to Caesar* (Poggio a Caiano, Medici Villa; cat. 23.1)

1522 — Andrea completes *Madonna of the Steps* (Madrid, Prado; fig. 20)

1523 — Giulio de' Medici accedes to the papacy as Pope Clement VII

1523 — Andrea completes *Saint John the Baptist* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; cat. 48)

1524 — Giorgio Vasari arrives in Florence and becomes Andrea's pupil

1524 — Andrea completes Luco *Pietà* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; cat. 31.1)

1525 — Andrea completes *Madonna of the Sack* (Florence, SS. Annunziata; cat. 15.1)

1526–27 — Andrea completes *Last Supper* (Florence, San Salvi; cat. 17.2)

1527 — The Medici are exiled from Florence; troops of Charles V sack Rome

1528 — Andrea completes *Sacrifice of Isaac* (Cleveland Museum of Art; cat. 50)

1529 — Andrea completes Medici *Holy Family* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; cat. 53)

1530 — Florence surrenders to imperial forces after 10-month siege; the Medici are reinstated

1530 — Andrea dies of the plague in Florence, age 43

1535 — Alessandro Farnese accedes to the papacy as Pope Paul III

1550 — Vasari publishes first edition of *Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects)

1564 — Michelangelo dies in Rome, age 88

1568 — Vasari publishes second edition of *Vite*

FIG. 1 | Andrea del Sarto (Italian, 1486–1530), *Self-Portrait on Tile*, 1528. Oil on tile, 53 × 38 cm (20⅞ × 15 in.). Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 1890, no. 1694

INTRODUCTION

JULIAN BROOKS

COMPARED WITH HIS PEERS—Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Correggio, Parmigianino, Titian—Andrea del Sarto has been little studied in recent times. Even Andrea's pupils have been better served by scholarship in the past two decades than their master. The year 2014 saw a large exhibition dedicated to Rosso Fiorentino and Pontormo,[1] who have been the subject of multiple volumes; Francesco Salviati has been the focus of intense interest, and Vasari as well. But where is Andrea del Sarto, the revolutionary engine of the Florentine Renaissance and the transformer of draftsmanship?

Perhaps working against Andrea in the world of the twenty-first century is the intense piety and spirituality of his art. This subject matter, increasingly foreign to a secular, multicultural world, casts a veil over the living people who served as models for Andrea's religious figures and obscures how, for example, his Madonnas and children retain the immediacy of portraits. Perhaps his art does not shock in the way that most modern taste demands, nor does it offer instant gratification; instead, it requires close, continued looking and rewards viewers with gentle dawnings and realizations. (We must discover, for example, who among the apostles is the betrayer of Christ in the San Salvi *Last Supper*, cat. 17.2.) Perhaps the very concentration of Andrea's paintings and drawings in Florence, largely as a result of Medici interest, also works against him on the globe of today.

There is an almost elegiac note in John Shearman's 1965 writings about the artist, pondering the relative lack of interest in him at the time.[2] He notes how at the end of the sixteenth century Andrea reigned supreme, ranked by Francesco Bocchi above Raphael and Michelangelo; in the seventeenth century Agucchi placed him alongside Leonardo at the head of the Florentine school; but in the next century Andrea del Sarto's reputation gradually diminished, in comparison to that of Raphael and Titian. In the nineteenth century Vasari's negative biography came to overshadow him, as in Robert Browning's dramatic monologue *Andrea del Sarto*. At the turn of the twentieth century Bernard Berenson claimed that Andrea lacked imagination.[3] The double-double of Sydney Freedberg's (1963) and John Shearman's (1965) accounts brought a much-needed new assessment of the artist and set him thoroughly in context. Yet, ironically, perhaps because Shearman's study (in particular) was so exhaustive and has stood the test of time so well, it has to an extent held back further study. His book still remains the most thorough, methodical, and deeply pondered analysis of Andrea's art, although it has been supplemented by important contributions in 1986, the five hundredth anniversary of his birth. These focused on the collections of Andrea's drawings and paintings in Florence and in Paris, and generated vital new scholarship on patronage, iconography, and the drawings. Analysis with the evolving technique of infrared reflectography (IRR) rendered the painter's cartoon transfer lines fully visible, showing what changes he had made under the surface of his paintings and yielding insights into his working process. Beyond Antonio Natali's monograph of 1998, more recent study has built on this scientific aspect, especially an exhibition in Munich in 2009, but there has until now never been a major exhibition of Andrea's work featuring paintings and drawings brought together from multiple international collections. This catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies are intended to provide focused investigation and appreciation of Andrea's drawings and his full working process, building on what has gone before, but with a more comprehensive approach that encompasses new firsthand scrutiny of the drawings, an exploration of their relationship with the cartoon transfer lines, and the full painting process.

The volume is arranged in sections that bring into focus Andrea's creative process and the role that drawing played within it. In the first section, painting conservators Yvonne Szafran and Sue Ann Chui study some of the technical aspects of his practice; Dominique Cordellier looks at Andrea's inspiration from and use of ancient and modern work; and Marzia Faietti examines his identity as a draftsman in red chalk. In the catalogue entries that follow, Xavier F. Salomon explores Andrea's innovations in portraiture, while Julian Brooks studies the genesis of his compositions on paper and examines how Andrea

manipulated red and black chalk to capture the effects of reality and bring verisimilitude to his painted work. In the next section, Sanne Wellen illuminates aspects of Andrea's *fiorentinità* and his treatment by Vasari, and Alessandro Cecchi deals with the Medici family's avid pursuit of works by a native son, building on a much wider study of patronage he published in 1986.[4] Finally, Julian Brooks and Denise Allen present four case studies that capture Andrea del Sarto in the act of planning and executing his pictures, exploring the relationship of a single painting to its surviving corpus of preparatory drawings and to its IRR images.

Andrea deserves study not because he is worthy of it (although he is), or because he is an interesting subject (he is), or because of his role in Italian Renaissance art (pivotal), but because, in addition to all these things, he opens a door for us on the essence of the creativity of that extraordinary period.

FIG. 2 | Andrea del Sarto, *The Journey of the Magi*, ca. 1511. Fresco, 407 × 321 cm (160¼ × 126⅜ in.). Florence, SS. Annunziata

Biography

Our principal source for Andrea's life is the account written by his former pupil, the Aretine artist-biographer Giorgio Vasari, in his *Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects). In his portrayal of Andrea as a timid, henpecked man and an unambitious if talented painter, Vasari's own biases shine through more clearly than his essentially positive assessment of Andrea's achievements. It was only in the last decades of the twentieth century that scholars began to systematically explore the reasons for Vasari's negative slant (see Sanne Wellen's essay). Nevertheless, the facts of Andrea's artistic production as delivered by Vasari are straightforward, and there is no doubt that for the two decades before his death in 1530 Andrea ran the most successful, highly esteemed, and productive workshop in Florence, leaving the city richly decorated with his art and an influence that cast a long shadow over the rest of the century. While his most significant pupils are all seen as practitioners of so-called mannerism,[5] it says something for the complexity of Andrea's legacy that when artists later in the century such as Santi di Tito responded to the calls of the Council of Trent for a clearer, more realistic expression of faith, it was in Andrea's art that they too found their inspiration.

The name by which Andrea is known—del Sarto—derives from his father's occupation as a tailor (*sarto*). Andrea was born to Agnolo di Francesco and Costanza di Silvestro in Florence on July 16, 1486. His first training was at the age of seven with a goldsmith, but his skill in drawing was noted by the (now obscure) painter Andrea di Salvi Barile (1468–post-1525). After three years with Barile, Andrea was taken into one of the most significant workshops in Florence, that of Piero di Cosimo (1462–1522), who apparently delighted in the boy's intuitive handling of color and his assiduous study. Andrea spent his free moments studying Michelangelo's and Leonardo's famed giant cartoons of the *Battle of Cascina* and the *Battle of Anghiari*, his own skills surpassing—says Vasari—those of the many other young artists who had come from near and far to study the cartoons as well. He most likely also spent time in the studio of Raffaellino del Garbo (?1466–1524) at this point. In about 1506 Andrea rented a workroom with his friend Franciabigio (1484–1525) in the Piazza del Grano, behind the Palazzo Vecchio; in December 1508 they were both enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali, the guild that included painters, and they continued to work both together and independently. Among Andrea's first frescoes, in 1509–10, were the *Annunciation* at Orsanmichele and four scenes of the life of San Filippo Benizzi in the Chiostrino dei Voti, SS. Annunziata, a very prestigious public showroom for his work. In 1511 came his *Journey of the Magi* (fig. 2) in the same cloister, now damaged, but which includes a self-portrait as well as portraits of Francesco de Layolle the musician (1492–ca. 1540) and the sculptor Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570). Sansovino joined Andrea and Franciabigio at that time when they moved to rooms in the

artists' complex known as the Sapienza, close to SS. Annunziata, where the sculptor Giovanni Francesco Rustici (1474–1554), a friend of Leonardo's, worked as well. Andrea's *Birth of the Virgin*, also for the Chiostrino dei Voti, followed in 1514 and was praised for its naturalism.

Andrea's altarpiece for Leonardo Morelli (see cat. 1) of *The Archangel Raphael, Tobias, and Saint Leonard* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; cat. 1.1) and *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; fig. 3) show the state of his art at that time: they are carefully composed works with a strong symmetricality animated through diagonals, gestures, glances, and the strategic placement of motifs. Above all, there is an intense observation and rendering of nature that has been harmonized and fully integrated with numerous artistic influences: the naturalism and *sfumato* of Leonardo, the playful humor and attention to detail of Piero di Cosimo, the harmony and balance of Raphael, and the darkly powerful shadowed eye sockets found in close contemporaries such as Franciabigio and Puligo. As befits the son of a tailor, Andrea also demonstrates a love of, and an ability to convey, sumptuous colors and fabrics. Andrea's studio must have grown as he garnered commissions and reputation, and included Pontormo and possibly Rosso Fiorentino during this period; a trip to Rome with one or both of them has been persuasively posited.[6]

All the while, Andrea produced portraits as well as pictures of the Madonna and Child and the Holy Family ("using models," says Vasari—that is, including real-life figures in these scenes). Their naturalism, harmony, and ingenious compositions cemented his reputation as one of the prime painters of Florence. It was around this time that he began his intermittent work—continuing until 1526—on the cycle of monochrome frescoes celebrating the life of Saint John the Baptist in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, considered one of his greatest achievements and a touchstone for the evolution of his art.[7] In 1515 came the grand wedding of Pierfrancesco Borgherini and Margherita Acciaiuoli; Andrea made two works for their nuptial bedchamber decorated with *The Story of Joseph*; others were commissioned from Francesco Granacci, Jacopo Pontormo, and Francesco Bacchiacca.

Shortly afterward, Andrea developed a fondness for a young widow, Lucrezia del Fede, whose husband Carlo di Domenico, a capmaker, had died on September 17, 1516. The following year he almost certainly used her features for those of the Virgin Mary in one of his most famous altarpieces, the so-called *Madonna of the Harpies* (cat. 22.1; see also cat. 6). Andrea's pupil/biographer Vasari saw his devotion to Lucrezia as the root of many problems and missed opportunities, but it is unlikely to have been the case (see Wellen's essay). Andrea and Lucrezia probably married in the spring of 1518, but a few months later he was called to the service of King Francis I in France, and he went, along with his assistant Andrea Sguazzella. For the king he executed a painting of *Charity* (Louvre) and other works that have been lost; he did not remain in France, choosing to return to Florence (and to Lucrezia, who had stayed behind) in the fall of 1519.[8] Almost immediately he resumed his work at the Chiostro dello Scalzo, on which Franciabigio had worked in his absence. Andrea now ranked as the most acclaimed and the principal artist in Florence, a position that had been confirmed by the death of Fra Bartolommeo, the head of the School of San Marco, in 1517.

FIG. 3 | Andrea del Sarto, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine,* ca. 1512–13. Oil on panel, 167 × 122 cm (65¾ × 48 in.). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 76

It seems likely that at some point following Raphael's death on April 6, 1520, Andrea went to Rome and viewed the works of that master and Michelangelo in the Vatican; most scholars see formal evidence of this trip in Andrea's grand-scale fresco of *The Tribute to Caesar* at Poggio a Caiano of about 1521 (cat. 23.1). Beyond such projects and his ongoing work in the Scalzo, Andrea's workshop was thriving in the production of Madonnas and both small and large religious pictures. The Panciatichi

Assumption (cat. 26.2) was likely begun in 1522, and *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 48) dates to about 1523. A sojourn in the Mugello in the autumn of 1523 to avoid the plague resulted in the Luco *Pietà* (cat. 31.1) with its bold coloring and monumental composition, and in 1525 Andrea signed his iconic frescoed lunette in SS. Annunziata's Chiostro dei Morti, *The Madonna of the Sack* (cat. 15.1). One feels a sense of accelerated production during these years as Andrea strove to keep up with the demand for his paintings from Florence, other parts of Tuscany, and France. In 1526 came the Gambassi altarpiece, made for his close friend the glassmaker Beccuccio, who is featured in a portrait now in Edinburgh, and also the commission from Cortona for the large-scale Passerini *Assumption* (cat. 26.3).

Andrea's absolute command of powerful Michelangelesque forms in combination with harmonious coloring, nuanced storytelling, and intense naturalism is apparent in his near-life-size frescoed *Last Supper* at San Salvi, paid for in 1527. The altarpieces for Vallombrosa (Uffizi) and Sarzana (formerly Berlin), dated 1528, and the Saint Agnes altarpiece (Pisa, Duomo) were complemented by more domestic works such as the Borgherini *Holy Family* (New York, Metropolitan Museum), the Barberini *Holy Family* (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica), and the three panels of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (see cat. 50). The following year he painted the Medici *Holy Family* (cat. 53) and began an altarpiece for the Badia at San Fedele, Poppi. During the siege of Florence, during which the Medici were exiled and a republic was declared, Andrea's talents were employed on defamatory life-size frescoes of deserter-conspirators, the *capitani*.[9] A half-length *Saint Sebastian*, painted for the Company of Saint Sebastian, which he joined in 1529, was said to be the last work he painted. Andrea fell victim to the plague following the siege of Florence and was buried in SS. Annunziata on September 29, 1530.

Pupils

Noting that Andrea's pupils were "innumerable," Vasari nevertheless mentions by name Jacopo Pontormo, Andrea Sguazzella,[10] Antonio Solosmeo, Pier Francesco (di Jacopo di Sandro), Francesco Salviati, Jacopino del Conte, Nannoccio,[11] Jacone,[12] and Domenico Conti, to whom Andrea bequeathed his drawings and cartoons and from whom, per Vasari, many were stolen one night.[13] When we add other candidates such as Rosso Fiorentino, the list represents a group of artists who today can be seen to have had an extraordinarily diverse and individually distinctive range of styles; Andrea was clearly not an artist who, according to Quattrocento practice, would have insisted that his pupils learn to paint specifically or exclusively in his manner. Giorgio Vasari was himself Andrea's pupil; he arrived in Florence in May 1524 under the patronage of Cardinal Silvio Passerini, and perhaps joined Andrea soon after. Although he himself states that his apprenticeship was not a long one, his transfer to Bandinelli's studio, Shearman notes, "could not have been before the end of 1525."[14] In 1527 he returned to his hometown, Arezzo, as the siege of Florence deprived him of the support of his Medici patrons.[15] Even if we know the names of some of Andrea's pupils, we do not know how the workshop was structured, who was responsible for tasks such as the transferring of the cartoon to the panel, or even how much Andrea himself was involved. There is in fact very little information about such matters in the Renaissance.[16]

Drawing

Writing about his collection of drawings, the *Libro de' disegni*, Vasari noted: "In our book are many drawings by [del Sarto's] hand, all good; but in particular there is one that is altogether beautiful, of the scene that he painted at Poggio, showing the tribute of all the animals from the East being presented to Caesar. This drawing (reproduced here as fig. 8), which is executed in chiaroscuro, is a rare thing, and the most finished that Andrea ever made; for when he drew natural objects for reproduction in his works, he made mere sketches dashed off on the spot, contenting himself with marking the character of the reality; and afterwards, when reproducing them in his works, he brought them to perfection. His drawings, therefore, served him rather as memoranda of what he had seen than as models from which to make exact copies in his pictures."[17]

So Vasari described Andrea's draftsmanship, and he was in a good position to do so, having been his pupil. While Vasari and Andrea were very different people, and very different artists, the biographer's words provide us with a starting point for our consideration of Andrea's draftsmanship.

What did Andrea bring to drawing? If we glance from, say, *The Madonna and Child with Four Saints* (cat. 9) to the later *Composition Study of the Madonna and Child with Saints* (cat. 18), the change is dramatic, even allowing for the different types of draw-

ing: the first is set clearly in the modes, media, and types of the fifteenth century, while the second is startlingly modern, abbreviated almost to abstraction, and yet wholly effective. Or compare Andrea's *Studies of a Head and a Hand* (cat. 19) and his *Studies of Children* (cat. 28): the first is a fine and persuasive rendition of a child, the second a capturing of what seems like a slice of reality, strikingly immediate, although drawn five hundred years ago. Between these works is a transformation in expressive power. And what did drawing give to Andrea? We will see below how central draftsmanship was for Andrea in planning his compositions and how crucial it was to the naturalism that dominates his work.

While drawings are normally a private means of expression with a limited potential influence, especially in a period with only prints as a form of reproduction, Andrea's "innumerable" pupils and the centrality of many of them to the succeeding generations of artists in Florence, Rome, and beyond gave Andrea's draftsmanship an impact that was widely felt. This is perhaps particularly true of his work in red chalk, which as a result not only became a quintessentially Florentine medium but also came to be used in a novel way. During the Renaissance—and even after it, some would argue—no one used red chalk as Andrea did. Even artists as hugely talented as Raphael or Michelangelo would not make a drawing like the *Study of a Standing Male Figure* (cat. 7), and it is Andrea's distinctive abbreviations and schematic renderings that were absorbed by his followers. These were supported by, and went hand in hand with, his more detailed naturalistic studies (such as the *Study of the Head of a Young Woman*, cat. 31), which owe something to his experience of Leonardo's draftsmanship. Andrea's works of this kind were admired and mimicked for the rest of the century in Florence and elsewhere.

There are about 180 drawings by Andrea in existence today. The Uffizi has about 90, the Louvre about 40, and the British Museum has nine, with single-digit groups in other public collections. John Shearman estimated that for a single major commission Andrea would have made about 150 sheets, most of them studies of figures, drapery, and details.[18] Just as for many other artists, we must consider many hundreds of drawings lost: some perhaps thrown away after use, others destroyed through workshop handling, bundles lost, burned, buried. We must be grateful for what exists.

The majority of Andrea's drawings can be linked to paintings that are or were known; there is a strong sense of purpose and focus in his oeuvre. No idle doodles survive, and it is unlikely that he made them. Red chalk is the medium in which the greater proportion of Andrea's studies was made. He clearly found it convenient, versatile, and capable of the numerous effects and qualities he needed. The midtone of the red chalk was particularly suitable for conveying the subtleties of texture, color, and human expression. As he grew more comfortable with it, he became more aware of the effects he could achieve, using greater variety of line and finer and blunter parts of the chalk, and also rubbing and stumping (tapping it with a stump, normally a tightly rolled piece of paper or leather, thus spreading the particles). He also seems to have used a damp brush to go over some areas of a drawing, often then revisiting it with further chalk strokes afterward when dry. To achieve such tone in a time-sensitive situation he would just use a very blunt chalk instead (for example, Uffizi, inv. 314 F).[19]

Andrea also made black-chalk studies throughout his career, from the early *Head of Leonardo di Lorenzo Morelli* (cat. 1) to the late *Head of a Man Looking Up* (cat. 39), and used it sometimes interchangeably and sometimes sequentially with red chalk (see the *Madonna of the Steps* process, cat. 41–47). Black chalk gave him less coloristic and textural range but more sculptural solidity in its greater contrast with the paper, and he again sometimes used a damp brush to obtain an expanded range and subtlety of tone. Black chalk would have been readily available in his studio, given its use in the transfer of designs. Both red and black chalks were naturally occurring, and they varied greatly in tone and hardness depending on the deposit from which they were mined.

Many Renaissance artists used pen and ink as the root of their drawing practice, but for Andrea, beyond a number of *modelli* with wash and some round embroidery studies, there are precisely three drawings in this medium.[20] These are quick and show him using the pen like chalk;[21] even taking into account accidents of survival, the medium does not seem to have played a large role in Andrea's practice. The precision he could achieve in red chalk perhaps made pen and ink superfluous.

Given that most of Andrea's drawings are related to paintings, what are we to make of Vasari's statement "His drawings, therefore, served him rather as memoranda of what he had seen than as models from which to make exact copies in his pictures"? Most likely Vasari is implying that even though Andrea's drawings were descriptive and helped him convey reality, he added a good deal more into his painted figures in terms of character and detail,

such as the sunburned neck of Abraham's attendant (Cleveland, cat. 50) or the "workman's hands" of the *Madonna of the Steps* angel.[22] Also embedded within Vasari's remark is Andrea's practice of extending the creative process associated with drawing into the act of painting in oil, as we shall see.

Planning on Paper

There is such a sense of perfect balance and careful conception in Andrea's paintings that, even taking into account his intuition and talent, one might expect a raft of compositional sketches in his oeuvre. Yet the opposite is the case: there are relatively few, perhaps fifteen in total. Compositional sketches, particularly swift ones such as *Five Studies for a Lunette with the Virgin and Child* (cat. 15) and *Composition Study for the Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 16), belong to a class of drawing that often seems to have been lost; succeeding generations were more likely to preserve highly finished or visibly worked *modelli*, and one can note how Vasari cherished the *modello* for Poggio a Caiano that he mentioned (above). Vasari's boast that it was the most highly finished sheet that Andrea ever made is quite possibly even true, as would have befitted its role as a *modello* for an important patron.[23] But if that is the pinnacle, the germ is to be found in sketches such as the *Five Studies for a Lunette*, where Andrea seems to render, consider, and discard ideas as they enter his head.[24] There are no surviving compositional sketches for his early frescoes, but one might expect them to look like the *Composition Study for the Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, a drawing characterized by the qualities of searching, planning, considering—and changing. Making changes in fresco was time-consuming and labor intensive, and there were likely more prosaic drawings in which aspects such as perspective and scale were considered prior to making the cartoon. Changes could be made once the incisions were placed in the *intonaco*, but the drying plaster gave a limited window of opportunity before painting had to begin, and there is little evidence that Andrea made major changes at that stage. (For more on process, see the essay by Yvonne Szafran and Sue Ann Chui.)

Andrea's chalk *modelli*, which seem to be peculiar to him—see, for instance, the *Composition Study for a Pietà* (cat. 14)—allowed him to study almost all aspects of a composition quickly. It is possible that the *modelli* sometimes played a role in the patronage process: Andrea could give his patrons a sense of what they would be getting. Perhaps patrons were also sometimes behind changes that Andrea made to his compositions, but there is simply no evidence of that aspect of potential influence. Andrea's apparent perfectionism (perhaps in itself already taking into account an understanding of what the patron wanted) seems to have been the driving force behind the evolution of his paintings. The versatility of Andrea's chalk *modelli* is expressed in the *Composition Study of the Madonna and Child with Saints* (cat. 18), and we can note how the head positions have not yet been fixed there; the power and significance of glances and the directions of protagonists' gazes were crucial to Andrea's art, resulting in dramatic pentimenti such as in the *Study of Figures behind a Balustrade* (cat. 13) and the revisions he often made in the painting process.

By the 1520s Andrea certainly seems to have found it important to visualize the whole composition directly on the panel that was to be painted, often making changes. He calibrated his painting process to accommodate such creative readjustments (see *The Madonna of the Steps*, cat. 41–47). The cartoon transfer marks (discussed in the next section) showed him the composition, and he could then make changes, great or small, in his first layers of monochrome "wash." Does this approach to painting mean that he used compositional studies less? Sheets such as the *Composition Study of the Madonna and Child with Saints* suggest that he retained a role for compositional drawings to visualize the arrangement of figures even when he was fully mature, and he could create such sheets with speed. There are also indications in figure and head studies throughout his career that he knew where other elements of the composition would be placed. His *Drapery Study* (cat. 47), for example, made after the cartoon transfer and composition shift, already takes account of the new placement of Christ's legs. Yet half the thrill for drawings specialists of seeing the cartoon transfer lines with IRR—in the Medici *Holy Family* image, for example—is that they are effectively also large, masterfully rendered, abbreviated compositional drawings.

The location of a commissioned work, particularly with an emphasis on the architectural space and the fall of natural light within it, was an aspect that Andrea considered keenly as part of his process, as is evident from the *Five Studies for a Lunette* (cat. 15) and as John Shearman brilliantly studied in his analysis of the Chiostro dello Scalzo frescoes and the San Salvi *Last Supper*.[25]

Rendering Reality

Key to the power and impact of Andrea's art was naturalism—not the dramatic naturalism of an artist such as Caravaggio, but the desperately sincere observation of the nuances of human facial expression, body language, and everyday detail of form, texture, and quality of light. For Andrea, the key to naturalism was drawing—"marking the character of reality," as Vasari put it. Many of his head studies were of expression and mood; they seek psychological insight of a more subtle type than Leonardo's but were certainly inspired by his work. Crucially, Andrea could draw quickly enough and well enough to capture these fleeting qualities. His paintings show a love of the clear profile and silhouette of the face; more than any other Renaissance artist, Andrea seems to have found that by endowing faces with precise profiles or silhouettes within a composition he could obtain a clarity of gaze, highlight expressions, and focus a grouping of figures. The expressive power of hands and their positions was of interest to him, too, yet there are also a number of drawings of feet, legs, and so on that show a near-obsessive attention to detail, even if in their study he was unhindered by the need to render minutiae precisely. Unless nude, the figures in his paintings are always extremely well-clothed, and his understanding of the fall of cloth, of texture, and of the weight of fabric is the knowledge of a tailor's son.

Andrea often reused his drawings. Along with being a logical and efficient way of making the most of his assets, reuse enabled him to maintain quality in a studio that was producing works at such a high rate. In a similar manner, many of the same models appear repeatedly in Andrea's works—for example, the head that appears in *Head of a Man Looking Up* (cat. 39), also features as Abraham in *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50).[26] Andrea seems to have used friends and family as models, and he most likely retained numerous such studies that he could reuse, reversed or modified as necessary. Andrea followed traditional Renaissance studio practice in studying figures without clothing to understand their musculature, and making *garzone* studies from posed studio assistants as the basis for painted postures (see, for example, *Study of a Standing Young Man Holding a Book*, cat. 20).

In many cases the forms drawn by Andrea push against or move beyond the size of the sheet of paper on which he worked. Raffaello Monti has associated that inadequacy of the support, the paper too small for Andrea's ideas or his art, with the *non finito* beloved by succeeding generations—a built-in *non finito*, in fact.[27] Andrea's manipulation of the figures' scale and placement in his drawings also underscores both the freedom and the control inherent in his artistic process.

Cartoons

Central to Andrea's studio practice was the use of cartoons, or full-scale drawings. The design was generally transferred to the panel by the *calco* or carbon-copy technique, which involved blackening the back of the cartoon or an intermediary sheet and incising the outlines to leave marks on the panel (see Szafran and Chui's essay). *Calco* was in essence a freehand technique, and it can be difficult to tell the *calco* lines from direct freehand-drawn lines; in general they tend to be shorter, more stilted, sometimes gone over, and less fluid than original creative lines. These lines from the transfer of the cartoon are often called "underdrawing" in the literature, but given that some of Andrea's panels show evidence of both cartoon transfer and direct freehand drawing, a clear distinction must be made here. (Going forward, the lines transferred from the cartoon are called cartoon transfer lines, and marks made freehand directly on the panel are called freehand drawing.)

The one surviving drawing that is generally considered to be the best example of a cartoon for direct transfer is a black-chalk figure of Saint Francis that is related to the painting of *The Dispute on the Trinity* (fig. 4); the drawing is blackened on the back of the sheet and incised for transfer.[28] Yet the drawn figure is demonstrably smaller than its painted counterpart and cannot have served this purpose.[29] It may relate to the production of a reduced-scale version by Andrea or someone else in his shop; the stylistic traits of such drawings are few, and indeed its draftsmanship is not even certain to be Andrea's. The drawing lacks the subtlety of expression found in two other cartoon fragments known today.[30] Both of these, also in black chalk with incised outlines, relate to the Bracci *Holy Family*; one, for the head of the Madonna, is in the Rijksmuseum, while the other, for the head of Saint Joseph (cat. 34.2), has found its way to Regina, Saskatchewan.[31] The dimensions of these two seem to correspond to the appropriate parts of the painting; they are badly damaged but appear to be relatively highly worked sheets with intense hatching and cross-hatching as well as deliberate rubbing of the chalk. The level of finish is higher than one might expect, and they reflect the study of Leonardo's cartoons in particular.

FIG. 4 | Andrea del Sarto, *The Dispute on the Trinity,* 1517. Oil on panel, 232 × 193 cm (91⅜ × 76 in.). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 172

While for many Renaissance artists the creation of the cartoon and its transfer were the final stages of the creative process, it is clear that Andrea regarded these as intermediate steps. The case studies in this volume provide evidence of Andrea's willingness to embark upon major changes after transferring the cartoon, often returning to drawing on paper to study details of the "new" composition. As with his practice of reusing his drawings, he was also happy to reuse cartoons, particularly as his workshop became busier and busier in the 1520s; it was an efficient way to keep up with demand. Cartoons were sometimes reused whole, particularly with versions of the Madonna and Child and the Holy Family, as in the cases of the Botti *Madonna and Child*,[32] the National Gallery *Madonna and Child*,[33] the Petworth *Madonna, Child, and Angels*,[34] the Pitti *Madonna and Child*,[35] and the Ottawa *Madonna and Child*,[36] or sometimes were used as a common basis for very similar cartoons, as in the Louvre/Munich *Holy Family*.[37] Even large-scale paintings sometimes had a common cartoon basis, as with the Panciatichi and Passerini *Assumptions* (cat. 26.2 and 26.3)[38] and *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50). Andrea's practice of generating new compositions from existing cartoons makes a mockery of an earlier scholarly insistence on a "primary version" of a painting that was duplicated in lesser workshop copies, as Shearman and Keith have noted; Andrea would have been closely involved in the production of all versions, or at least those produced in his workshop during his lifetime, and these were sometimes produced side by side in the studio.[39] It is also becoming increasingly clear that Andrea made and used (and reused) partial cartoons, adding a figure, a piece of drapery, or a head into a new composition (see the Medici *Holy Family*, cat. 53–55, and Szafran and Chui's essay).[40]

Sculpture

Andrea used a number of early Renaissance and contemporary sources, as Dominique Cordellier explores in his essay, but he was also firmly embedded in the artistic community of Florence. He shared a workshop with Jacopo Sansovino; he attempted to teach Baccio Bandinelli how to paint, at the sculptor's request; Niccolò Tribolo and Giovanni Francesco Rustici numbered in his circle. Vasari draws attention to Andrea's close relationship with sculptors and points out that the painter enjoyed discussing the "difficulties of art" with Sansovino, who also made models for him.[41] Andrea's interest in sculpture marks a new phase in the late-Quattrocento Florentine tradition of sculptor-painters like Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio, which culminated with Michelangelo. His mutually beneficial personal and professional interchange with Sansovino is more akin to the collaborative relationship between Leonardo and Rustici, harkening back to the excitement of the early Renaissance when sculptors opened a path for new developments in painting. Shearman's sensitive analysis of how Andrea's study of sculpture influenced his approach to figurative composition and the manipulation of light focuses on the master's paintings,[42] but it also provides insight into the role sculpture played in Andrea's drawing practice. Andrea seems to have studied sculpture as a source for complex poses and foreshortenings—the "difficulties of art" mentioned by Vasari. The fall of light on sculpture could be captured more swiftly and precisely than on the live model. Absorbing the lessons of sculpture condensed the steps in Andrea's creative process, providing him with a ready-made reduction of means. The fluent, robustly three-dimensional character of Andrea's figurative studies in red and black chalk is vivid testament to his successful mastery of this process. His practices of rubbing the chalk and of applying a wetted brush to his drawings extended the limits of the medium, increasing the tonal range so that the drawings could serve as the launch point for paintings executed in complex chords of brilliant color. The compact simplicity of sculpture, its weighted implied narrative, and its emotional presence stands

at the core of Andrea's invention, amplified by the study of the live model and translated through the process of creating in drawing and in paint.

Conclusion

Andrea del Sarto was affectionately called Andreino, Little Andrea, by his friends, and his affability was noted by contemporaries. Such a person might be amused at our attempts to analyze his drawings and make sense of his working practice. But he would perhaps also be proud that his work is still being admired and studied to such an extent, and that he could reach such a wide audience (although he was firmly based in Florence for most of his life, he frequently supplied works to patrons outside the city, including in France). He would be amazed at the quality of printed reproductions available, having been—according to Vasari—horrified at Agostino Veneziano's attempt to render one of his works in an engraving. Each generation has its own image of Andrea del Sarto. Perhaps for us the immediacy and accessibility of his drawings can be a route into an appreciation of the care and attention with which he created his paintings, and the subtlety and complexity of expression that exists in them. Perhaps we can finally focus on the more positive aspects of Vasari's biography and understand Andrea as the supreme craftsman, artist, innovator, and leader that he was. In twenty years' time, new scientific techniques or perhaps archival research may necessitate a complete reconfiguring of our ideas regarding Andrea's working methods. Such studies as this are always attempts at explaining information that changes and moves, and this book is only—as the cartoon was for Andrea—a point in the process.

NOTES

1 Falciani and Natali, *Pontormo e Rosso Fiorentino*.
2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:176–77, and preceding pages.
3 For a full critical history see Shearman, *AdS*, or Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 59–69.
4 Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni,* 42–58.
5 The problematic word "mannerism" defies easy definition, but traditionally it is used to refer to the post-Renaissance evolution of the work of such artists as Rosso and Pontormo; for a discussion see Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence*, 127, which notes that Andrea's style begins with so-called mannerism but grows more classical, contradicting the usual sequence.
6 See most recently Natali, *AdS*, 46–47.
7 For the best account see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:52–74.
8 For the most recent accounts of his French years, see Delieuvin in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt,* 53–79, and Cordellier, "Précisions sur quelques apports des peintres florentins."
9 For which see Ludemann in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt,* 79–111.
10 Cordellier, "Précisions sur quelques apports des peintres florentins."
11 Bellosi, "Per Nannoccio Capassini."
12 Faietti, "Jacone."
13 Natali discusses del Sarto's pupils in *AdS*, 53–63, 182; for Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino, see Falciani and Natali, *Pontormo e Rosso Fiorentino*.
14 Shearman, "*AdS*'s Two Paintings of the Assumption," 128.
15 Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 81–89.
16 See Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 29–30.
17 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853–54.
18 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:156.
19 *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 271–72, no. 60.
20 Uffizi, inv. 295 F (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 234, no. 29); inv. 34 F (287, no. 71); inv. 10972 F (300, no. 81). For the Passerini embroidery roundels, see Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 31, 264, 466, note 104.
21 Compare, for example, Uffizi, inv. 34 F, with inv. 663 E (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 287–88, nos. 71, 72).
22 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:92.
23 See Cordellier, *Hommage*, 45–47.
24 For his Madonnas there must have been additional brief sketches such as Uffizi, inv. 297 F verso (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 301–2, no. 82).
25 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:52–75, 94–95.
26 See Padovani, "L'Annunciazione di *AdS*," 52–55.
27 Cited by Cordellier, *Hommage*, 17.
28 Uffizi, inv. 6449 F; Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 66–68; Buzzegoli and Kunzelman, "Re-use of Cartoons," 74. For the *Dispute* see *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 115–17, no. 8.
29 As noted by Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni,* 228, no. 25, and Shearman, *Botti Madonna*, 19, note 14. The sheet does, however, seem to have evolved from Andrea's original conception of this pose on a sheet in the Louvre (inv. RF 76; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 39–40, no. 25), with the figure leaning forward, head tilted slightly down. A new IRR of the *Dispute* might shed further light on the situation.
30 A group of four (including those below for the Bracci *Holy Family* and heads of Christ and the Baptist) was noted by Shearman (*AdS*, 2:386) with the last-known provenance of R. E. A. Wilson, London, 1934.
31 Rijksmuseum, inv. RP-T 1954-41, heavily incised several times; noted by Shearman, *AdS,* and Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 120–21; MacKenzie Art Gallery, University of Regina Collection, gift of Mr. Norman MacKenzie, inv. 1935-003, black chalk on paper mounted on card, 32.7 × 23.6 cm (12⅞ × 9¼ in.). (The location was first identified in the scholarly literature by Franklin, *Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance in Florence*, 341.) I have not yet been able to make tracings.
32 See Shearman, *Botti Madonna.*
33 See Keith, "AdS's *The Virgin and Child*."
34 Shearman, *Botti Madonna*, 17; Natali and Cecchi, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 52.
35 Padovani, "Genesie e fortuna"; Buzzegoli and Kunzelman, "Re-use of Cartoons," 72–77.
36 Shearman, *Botti Madonna,* 19–20.
37 Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt.*
38 See Anna Forlani and Ezio Buzzegoli in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni,* 333–38.
39 Shearman, *Botti Madonna*, 16–17. As Shearman points out, this does not mean that everything was necessarily of the same quality, and there might have been more or less of Andrea's intervention; it just makes it extremely difficult to make generalizations. Needless to say, the presence or adjustment of cartoon transfer lines (and their perceived quality or lack of it) cannot in itself be used as evidence of the extent of Andrea's own involvement.
40 From the limited evidence of the Medici *Holy Family* and the Borgherini *Holy Family*, these cartoon parts seem to have been incorporated into a new full-size cartoon for transfer rather than "assembled" directly on the panel, of which we have not found specific evidence. They would most likely have had to be scaled in any case. As our study goes on, the process will become clearer.
41 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:826.
42 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:62–63.

INVENTION AND COMPOSITION

A PERFECTIONIST REVEALED
THE RESOURCEFUL METHODS OF ANDREA DEL SARTO

YVONNE SZAFRAN AND SUE ANN CHUI

> "Free from errors, and absolutely perfect in every respect"
> —Giorgio Vasari[1]

INTEGRAL TO THE SKILLFUL and complex renderings evident in Andrea del Sarto's works are the resourceful drawing and painting methods he employed. A profound revolution in painting techniques took place before and during Andrea's lifetime, with the transition from egg tempera to oil paint and new ways of working championed by Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, and others. The new artistic practices encouraged a more spontaneous, less constrained way of working that Andrea exploited, his compositions and forms displaying a looser and more painterly approach throughout the process, from the very early stages of working on the prepared panel to the finished painting.

The extraordinary number of compositional versions and variants painted by Andrea (and his workshop) that have survived today is evident in any review of his work.[2] Their existence demonstrates that Andrea's workshop was extremely active and successful, as the inventive adaptation of compositions provided the workshop with the ability to generate multiple unique works of art, essential to the financial viability of the enterprise. The relationship among the different versions has been clarified only with the advent of technical imaging, which provides a nuanced understanding of Andrea's working methods.[3]

Yet despite technological advances in the examination of paintings, questions still remain about Andrea's exact working methods. With that in mind, we will consider in this essay specific aspects of del Sarto's method that facilitated his creative approach, including, first, preparation of the support; second, the adaptable use of cartoons; third, the enlargement and reduction of cartoons and the use of a proportional compass; and, finally, the *imprimitura*, the use of "washes," and the exploitation of the new paint medium.

Preparation of the Support

One of the most common supports to paint on—and the one Andrea preferred—was the wooden panel. After the panel was gessoed and smoothed, it was ready to receive the artist's preliminary design, which would serve as a map of the composition. This initial preparatory drawing is traditionally called an "underdrawing," because it lies under the paint. It was common practice in the sixteenth century for an artist to establish his composition for a painting through drawing on paper and then creating a cartoon, a full-size drawing, to transfer the design onto the prepared painting support, with the transfer being done either by the artist or more likely by someone in the workshop. There were two methods to accomplish the transfer, *spolvero* and *calco*, and Andrea del Sarto was familiar with both.

The older and more established method, introduced in the fourteenth century,[4] was *spolvero*. To transfer a design by the *spolvero* method, small holes are pricked along the lines of the drawing, and loose pigment, usually charcoal, is placed in a little cloth sack that is pounced on the surface so that the pigment passes through the holes and deposits the design as a series of tiny dots onto the painting support. Evidence of the technique, used by many artists, can be seen in wall paintings on fresh plaster (fresco) and in easel paintings. In the Sistine Chapel ceiling frescoes by Michelangelo there are numerous instances of the use of *spolvero*, and recent studies of Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* in the Louvre have also found traces of its use in all of the figures' faces.[5]

Andrea del Sarto used the *spolvero* method for the first scenes he painted in fresco, depicting the life of Saint John the Baptist at the Chiostro dello Scalzo. This early commission, recounted at length by Vasari, essentially established Andrea as one of the foremost artists of his time.[6] It was only with this commission that Vasari explicitly mentioned cartoons made by Andrea, but, as will be discussed below, cartoons were created and used routinely in Andrea's paintings. To date, however, *spolvero* marks have not been found on any of Andrea's easel paintings.

Like *spolvero*, the later transfer method, *calco*, has been used for both frescoes and easel paintings. As Vasari describes the

process,[7] the cartoon is laid onto the painting support by rubbing an interleaf with charcoal on one side and placing it between the drawing and the prepared panel. (Alternatively—but more damagingly—charcoal is rubbed onto the back of the drawing itself.) Then the design is traced with a hard stylus, usually made of metal, so that a carbon copy is produced on the panel; it is for this reason that the method is also known as the carbon-copy technique. In fresco painting, no charcoal is necessary, as the traced lines become incised on the still-soft plaster and thus leave a visible guide for the artist. Andrea used both *spolvero* and *calco* in his later frescoes at the Chiostro dello Scalzo. Incisions were made there in three different ways: by following *spolvero* marks, by tracing over the cartoon, and by drawing freehand to reinforce, edit, or correct the initial *spolvero* design.[8]

The characteristic angular lines created by the *calco* method in easel paintings (here called "cartoon transfer lines") are uniform in thickness, and their ends often overlap with the ends of adjacent lines where tracing stopped and then restarted. There are a few surviving drawings by Andrea that demonstrate various stages of *calco* transfer, and (as noted in the Introduction) only a few surviving cartoon fragments.

The Adaptable Use of a Cartoon

The continued study of Andrea del Sarto's paintings with infrared reflectography (IRR), starting with the comprehensive research done in Florence in conjunction with the 1986 exhibition on the artist,[9] consistently reveals cartoon transfer lines remaining from the *calco* method, with just a few occurrences of freehand drawing. If we look at the evidence from paintings with similar compositions, in some instances Andrea seems to have simply reused cartoons. In two versions of *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, one in Cleveland (cat. 50) and one in Dresden (cat. 50.7), the same cartoon was used for the figures of Abraham and Isaac, as Larry Keith has convincingly demonstrated.[10] More unusually, collaborative research carried out on two versions of the *Holy Family* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and the Musée du Louvre indicate that the Paris picture was derived from a cartoon made from the painting in Munich.[11]

In the instances where compositions exist in varying sizes and where there are recurring figures, however, the designs seem to derive from shared cartoons that have been somehow reworked. Careful comparative examination reveals compositional forms that do not always align as one might expect in terms of size and proportion. Thanks in part to the new IRR done of Andrea's *Charity* and the Borgherini *Holy Family*, we can see through tracing overlays that parts of the paintings almost exactly align with each other but that other parts of the paintings do not, and the New York painting—the Borgherini *Holy Family*—is larger than the other.[12] The profiles of Charity's and the Madonna's faces correspond precisely, as do their sleeves, while Charity's torso is longer than the Borgherini Madonna's. The profile of Saint John's first head in the Borgherini *Holy Family* coincides with the final profile of a child in *Charity*, but their bodies are sized and posed differently.[13] The explanation for body parts on the same scale is probably linked to the use of partial cartoons. Interestingly, in fresco painting it was common to use partial cartoons that were made by cutting a full-size cartoon into smaller pieces corresponding to a day's work, known as a *giornata*.[14] But this type of cartoon differs from what was utilized in Andrea's panel paintings, where the visual evidence suggests that he had a collection of partial cartoons of body parts, figures, and drapery that he could combine to create entirely new, large, original compositions (see cat. 53–55).[15]

Enlargement and Reduction and the Use of a Proportional Compass

The idea that one might further manipulate partial cartoons by flipping them or by enlarging or reducing them has roots reaching as far back as Giotto,[16] and Andrea was not the only artist to exploit the creative, yet efficient, possibilities of this technique.[17] But one unanswered question about Andrea's working technique is, how did he resize his cartoons and compositions? It is a question to which we do not have an answer. His *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (cat. 50.2), for example, is about a quarter the size of the Dresden painting and the unfinished version in Cleveland of the same subject, and the procedure the artist used to arrive at the reduced-scale composition is unclear.

In the Trecento and Quattrocento, a technique called "squaring," rooted in advances in the scientific understanding of perspective, became a common way of enlarging a compositional drawing.[18] Squaring involves drawing a grid of horizontal and vertical lines across the composition, making a corresponding, proportionally enlarged grid over a larger surface, and then carefully

FIG. 5 | Fra Bartolommeo (Italian, 1472–1517), *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt with Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1509. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 96.PB.15. Overall view and detail of squaring

transferring the lines of the design by visual estimation. In his treatise of 1436, *De pictura* (On Painting), the humanist and architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) describes the process well: "We will endeavor to have everything so well worked beforehand that there will be nothing in the picture whose exact collocation we do not know perfectly. In order that we may know this with greater certainty, it will help to divide our preparatory studies into parallels, so that everything can then be transferred, as it were from our private papers and put in its correct position in the work for public exhibition."[19]

Evidence of such a practice exists in the work of Fra Bartolommeo, with whose paintings Andrea would have been familiar. Numerous drawings exist in that artist's oeuvre with grid lines drawn directly on them, such as his *Study for the Figure of the Infant Saint John the Baptist*.[20] Evidence can also be found in the paintings themselves, such as his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt with Saint John the Baptist*.[21] Notches and small holes along the edges of the painting suggest a transfer of the original design through the use of strings pulled tight above the panel (fig. 5). Drawing the squaring directly on the panel would perhaps have interfered with the subsequent paint layers.

While there are a few examples of squared drawings in Andrea's oeuvre (see cat. 12 and 12.2), no evidence has yet been found suggesting that he used this method on his paintings. Interestingly, though, some of Andrea's paintings show probable evidence of the use of a compass. Segments of incised lines, mostly arcing, can be seen clearly when the paintings are examined with raking light, and in IRR even more of the incision is visible.[22] Incised arced lines that do not seem to be directly related to the composition, either parallel to each other or intersecting, were observed in the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac* (see cat. 50) and in the Washington *Charity* (fig. 6). Incisions of this kind are categorically different from the ruled direct construction lines often made by Andrea to delineate perspective and architectural features. The short incised lines on panel differ also from the incised lines in fresco painting resulting from *calco*, because in fresco the whole composition is traced. As the parallel incisions on panel often occur in figures—in Charity's head, for example—and intersect at body junctures such as the edge of Abraham's forehead in the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac*, their placement appears deliberate rather than haphazard.

It is not clear which part of the artistic process produced these parallel incisions. They may have been created when a compass was adjusted on the delicate surface of the prepared support, perhaps to help lay out the composition, serving as registration marks to position a partial cartoon on the support. Carmen Bambach has observed incised compass marks in frescoes that were probably reference points, and intersecting arcs that were aids in constructing lines.[23] Or perhaps the incisions were left when measurements were taken with a compass from a design that was already established. It is worth noting that evidence of the proportional enlargement of drawings with a compass (through methods other than squaring) in the work of earlier artists has been well documented.[24]

FIG. 6 | Andrea del Sarto, *Charity* (cat. 40.3). Detail of IRR showing incisions

The development at this time of proportional compasses must have been truly exciting, as it allowed for more straightforward and more precise execution of these processes.[25] A compass can be any number of different devices used for drawing, measuring, and computing of proportions. The common compass for drawing circles and arcs was used even in ancient times and certainly in the Trecento, where its use was described by Cennino Cennini,[26] and in the Renaissance a number of specialized compasses were developed as well.[27] Of particular interest here is the four-point, or "reduction compass"—*compasso di riduzione*—to enlarge or reduce drawings. It is not clear where the idea for this compass originated, but it is worth pointing out that Leonardo da Vinci sketched one at the end of the fifteenth century.[28] The compass would have functioned similarly to the later pantograph, allowing one to trace the original design, enlarging or reducing it, depending on how the compass was set.

Imprimitura, "Washes," and Exploitation of the New Paint Medium

After the composition was laid out on the panel but before the true paint layers were applied, Andrea transformed the underdrawing by introducing light and shade with a monochromatic underpainting. Undoubtedly the chiaroscuro cartoons by the leading artists in Florence, Leonardo and Michelangelo, and by Raphael in Rome, had a profound influence on Andrea and his contemporaries, which would eventually lead to changes in style and, in turn, in painting technique.[29] This kind of monochromatic underpainting can be appreciated in Fra Bartolommeo's unfinished *Pala della Signoria* at the Museo di San Marco, Florence, and in two unfinished paintings by Leonardo, *Adoration of the Magi* and *Saint Jerome*.[30] In Andrea's oeuvre, the artist's own skill in monochrome painting is easily observed in the frescoes at the Chiostro dello Scalzo that Vasari calls grisaille.[31] Cennino Cennini first mentions using ink diluted with water, *acquerella d'inchiostro*, to model shadows in the drawing,[32] and studies in Andrea's technique have equated his monochromatic underpainting with Cennini's term *acquerella*, "watercolor."[33] But in the almost one hundred years that separate Cennini and Andrea, in the period toward the end of the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth, a great shift in painting took place—the replacement of egg tempera with oil as the predominant paint medium, also known as the binder.

Oil gave artists the possibility of a freer and more intuitive process. Advantages of the new medium included slower drying time, greater manipulation of blending and texture and luminosity, and the ability to make changes more easily. Many pigments appeared more saturated and luminous. No longer did an artist have to diligently follow his initial concept, painting laboriously with the small hatched or stippled brushstrokes that had been necessary when he painted with egg tempera. Although Andrea's painting medium has been characterized as oil, until recently there was scant scientific data to corroborate this description; the characterization came mostly from visual examination and through Vasari's account. In the most recently published medium analysis carried out on Andrea's *Holy Family* in Munich, however, both walnut oil and egg were detected, and were used in combination as the binder for the *imprimitura* and all the paint colors.[34] The finding suggests that the transition from tempera to oil paint was not sudden but gradual, an idea others have explored as well.[35]

Along with the introduction of oil paint came an extra step in the preparatory process, the *imprimitura* layer, which can influence the choice of binder used in the monochrome underpainting. First mentioned by Filarete in 1464,[36] the *imprimitura* is described by Vasari as an overall, evenly applied layer of pigments with siccative qualities bound in oil.[37] The layer functions to

reduce the absorbency of the ground and to tone down its harsh white hue.[38] Vasari adds that the *imprimitura* is applied on top of the gesso, followed by the underdrawing. But research has shown that the order in which the *imprimitura* and underdrawing were applied is not consistent in Andrea's work. In the case of the Munich *Holy Family*, the order of application is unclear; in the Louvre version, however, the underdrawing seems to have been executed before the *imprimitura*, and that is the case for the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac* as well, contradicting Vasari's directions.[39]

The order of application, which may seem inconsequential at first, has implications for our understanding of the monochrome layer. Traditionally, the modeling of the underdrawing was done with a "wash," normally a dilute, water-based paint. If the monochrome painting were water-based, it would be difficult to apply it on top of the oil-bound *imprimitura* unless an additive was used to keep it from beading up. If a monochrome layer were painted out on the ground, which is water based, with the drawing already in place before the *imprimitura* was applied, a purely aqueous monochrome painting is plausible. But if the monochrome underpainting was applied after the *imprimitura*, it would seem more likely that the monochrome layer was oil-based like the *imprimitura*, albeit rich in paint medium and very liquid to allow a quick and easy application over the prepared panel. If used in the monochrome layer, the mixed medium of oil and egg, an emulsion, would, in theory, allow the underpainting to be applied regardless of the sequence of the *imprimitura*, since the emulsion has the properties of both water and oil and would adhere to either an aqueous or oil-bound underlayer.[40] And when the medium is the same in all layers, as was found in the Munich *Holy Family*, the layers could have been painted in either order. In the IRR the light gray modeling in Andrea's paintings is interpreted as the monochrome underpainting and has the appearance of a traditional aqueous "wash," a lightly pigmented layer relatively free of marks from the brush that applied it. With the recent improvements in infrared cameras, the higher resolution allows us to see faint brush marks in this monochrome layer, a finding that might suggest a non-aqueous paint.[41]

It may be Andrea's use of a mixed medium that inspired Vasari's many comments about the extraordinary coloration in his paintings. Along with giving him longer drying and working times, the mixed medium would have produced optical properties different from those of pure tempera or pure oil. Pigments tend to retain their opacity when bound with egg tempera, whereas paints made with oil tend to be more transparent or translucent. Combining tempera and oil as a binder creates a hybrid of the optical properties of each, resulting in colors that are more translucent and saturated than those bound with egg alone but more opaque than those bound with only oil.

Pentimenti

Another aspect of the artist's practice that can be seen with IRR is any change, called pentimento, that the artist made before arriving at the final composition. As far as we can tell with the available analytical techniques, Andrea generally made changes with "wash" in the early working up of the composition but also

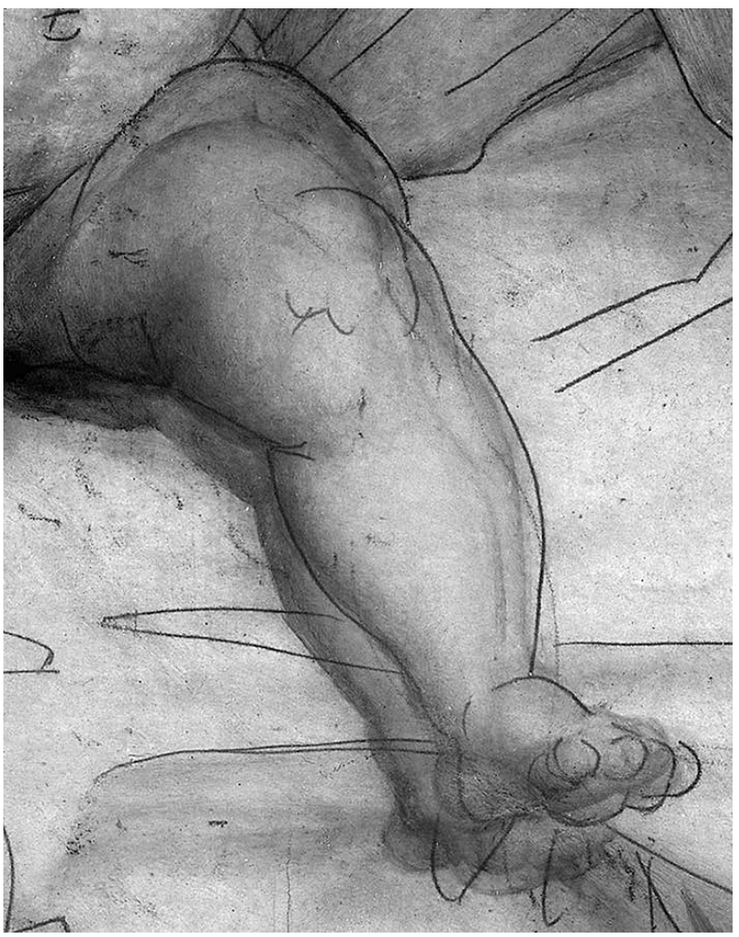


FIG. 7 | Andrea del Sarto, The Medici *Holy Family* (cat. 53). Detail of IRR showing multiple pentimenti in the Child's left leg

used freehand underdrawing, as can be seen in the Medici *Holy Family* at the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 7; see also cat. 53).[42] A pentimento in the Child's left leg is partially visible in normal viewing, but the new infrared image clearly shows that it had several adjustments.[43] The cartoon transfer lines mostly likely indicate the first position of the leg, the freehand drawing intersecting them was made afterward,[44] and then two more legs were painted before the artist settled on the final position. In the Munich *Holy Family*, areas of pentimenti were found to consist of two or three thin paint layers, which is conceivably the case in the Medici *Holy Family* as well.[45]

While *calco* cartoon transfer lines may have been the first plan for a composition, we can see that they were not always followed closely. A painted composition did not develop exclusively on the panel; Andrea returned to paper to make intermediary drawings, as was identified for *The Madonna of the Steps* (fig. 20) and the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50), suggesting a responsive and nuanced evolution of the final painting.

Interestingly, pentimenti were sometimes repeated in different versions of the same composition. But why would the same changes be made in different paintings if the composition had already been established in the first? A possible explanation is that the versions might have been painted at the same time in the studio. This was the conclusion reached for the identical pentimenti recently discovered in the two versions of the *Mona Lisa*—Leonardo da Vinci's famous one at the Louvre, and the version at the Prado by an artist in Leonardo's workshop.[46] The simultaneous making of several paintings of essentially the same composition would provide evidence of the very active workshop that Vasari hinted at when he listed some of the pupils in Andrea's studio.[47]

The paint layers are not the only place where Andrea made changes; there are a few instances in which the panel support was altered during the painting process. An example can be seen in the *Annunciation*, which was originally intended to be the upper part of an altarpiece, the *Pala di Sarzana*, but was kept in Florence by the painting's new patron. The panel was transformed from a lunette into a rectangular support before the cartoon transfer was carried out.[48] Another case of a change in the panel support is the Munich *Holy Family*, where an early addition was made to the left side of the painting. Similar blue paint is found on both the main panel and the addition, but the *imprimitura* existing on the main panel is missing on the addition, which suggests that it was added in the artist's workshop before the painting was finished.[49]

Conclusion

The new techniques and approaches of the early sixteenth century clearly prompted new thoughts as to how an artist might plan and paint a composition. The possibility of changing paths even once the initial idea had been firmly laid down on the support was quite different from the precise planning needed when painting in egg tempera. While Andrea del Sarto (and others) still carefully planned out many compositions, one of the keys to his success must have been this new medium's more adaptable qualities that facilitated reworking and adjusting compositions, allowing Andrea to create many variations (an economically advantageous way of working). In addition, the paint's working properties encouraged him to paint in a broader, more coloristic and painterly manner that freed him from the limitation of the cartoon and supported an evolution of the form as opposed to holding on to a predetermined one. Further modification and improvement of the composition with individual intermediary studies on paper, as well as exploratory drawing on the actual surface of the painting, resulted in an even more creative technique, enabling him to carefully modulate and perfect his paintings.

NOTES

1 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:823; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:6.
2 Freedberg, *AdS*, and Shearman, *AdS*.
3 See, for example, Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*; Keith, "AdS's *The Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John the Baptist*"; Ciatti in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 330–40; Buzzegoli et al. in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 341–57.
4 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 137.
5 Eveno, Mottin, and Ravaud in Delieuvin, *La Sainte Anne*, 370.
6 Borsook, *Mural Painters of Tuscany*, 129; Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:825; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:9.
7 Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, ed. Brown, 231.
8 Borsook, *Mural Painters of Tuscany*, 129. Cartoon incisions and *spolvero* marks almost always appear simultaneously in mural paintings from the 1460s to the 1470s, and by 1520 *calco* becomes the favorite and predominant method for transferring cartoons (Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 334).
9 See the contributions by Ciatti and by Buzzegoli et al. in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*. For a detailed discussion on IRR, see Bomford, *Art in the Making*.
10 Keith, "AdS's *The Virgin and Child*," 50.
11 It was suggested that a tracing was made with transparent paper of the *Holy Family* currently in Munich to serve as the cartoon for the Louvre's version. Schmidt and Syre in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 129. Also see Mottin in the same volume, 203. For further discussion of the use of tracing paper, see Galassi, "Visual Evidence for the Use of *Carta lucida*."
12 AdS, *Charity*, before 1530, oil on panel, 119.5 × 92.5 cm, Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. 1957.14.5; *The Holy*

Family with the Young Saint John the Baptist, 1528 or 1529, oil on wood, 135.9 × 100.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Maria DeWitt Jesup Fund, inv. 1922,22.75. Many thanks to Jay Kruger, Elizabeth Walmsley, Joanna Dunn, Douglas Lachance, and John Delaney in Washington and Michael Gallagher and Andrea Bayer in New York for sharing their IRR for this study.

13 In the Borgherini *Holy Family*, the artist initially placed Saint John's head slightly farther to the right.

14 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 69.

15 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 66.

16 See Zanardi, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 409.

17 See, for example, Bellucci and Frosinini, "Myth of Cartoon Re-Use in Perugino's Underdrawing."

18 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 188.

19 Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Grayson, 94.

20 Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 97.GB.7.

21 Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 96.PB.15.

22 More of the incisions are visible with IRR. Even though these shallow lines are now filled and not visible on the surface, the covering paint layers become transparent in infrared, revealing the lines' location below as the disturbance in the ground layer casts a shadow. Elizabeth Walmsley, e-mail to Sue Ann Chui, March 5, 2014.

23 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 74–76.

24 For example, Bellucci and Frosinini, "Ipotesi sul metodo di restituzione dei disegni preparatori di Piero della Francesca."

25 See Filippo Camerota, *Il compasso di Fabrizio Mordente: Per la storia del compasso di proporzione* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2000), and Ian Verstegen, "Simone Barocci, the Reduction Compass, and the Prehistory of the Enlargement (and Reduction) of Designs," paper presented at the conference "I Barocci a Urbino tra arte e scienza," Urbino, 2012.

26 Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. Thompson, 42, chap. 67.

27 See, for example, "Galileo's Compass: History of an Invention," http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/esplora/compasso/dswmedia/storia/estoria1.html.

28 Leonardo, *Codice Forster* 1, fol. 4r, London, Victoria and Albert Museum. A particularly good example of a surviving one exists in the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, inv. 49857.

29 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 249.

30 *Adoration of the Magi*, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 1890, no. 1594; *Saint Jerome*, Rome, Pinacoteca, Musei Vaticani, inv. 40337.

31 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:833; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:22.

32 Buzzegoli and Kunzelman in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 341. "E togli, in uno vasellino, mezzo d'acqua chiara e alcune gocciole d'inchiostro; e con uno penelletto di vaio puntìo va' raffermando tutto il tuo disegno. Poi abbi un mazzetto delle dette penne, e spazza per tutto 'l disegno del carbone. Poi abbi un'acquerella del detto inchiostro, e con pennello mozzetto di vaio va' aombrando alcuna piega e alcuna ombra nel viso. E così ti rimarrà un disegno vago, che farai innamorare ognu uomo de' fatti tuoi" (Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, ed. Brunello, 126–27).

33 Buzzegoli and Kunzelman in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 341.

34 Neugebauer et al. in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 142, 146–48.

35 See, for example, Higgitt and White, "Analyses of Paint Media"; Dunkerton, "Observations on the Handling Properties of Binding Media"; and Hale, Arslanoglu, and Centero, "Granacci in The Metropolitan Museum of Art."

36 Neugebauer et al. in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 143.

37 Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, 230–31.

38 Ciatti in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 336; Keith, "AdS's *The Virgin and Child*," 44.

39 Neugebauer et al. in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 142. See the Appendix by Marcia Steele for cat. 50, the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac*.

40 No contemporary written source has yet been discovered that describes the emulsion technique, though the use of a mixed egg-oil medium has long been discussed. See, for example, Dunkerton, "Modifications to Traditional Egg Tempera Techniques." Patterns of loss that appear to follow brushstrokes in an underpainted layer observed on both the unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* and the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac* may relate to the medium used.

41 It seems the monochrome layer has so far not been identified in cross-section samples, and that no medium analysis has been carried out specifically, but even if the monochrome layer were identified, it might be very difficult or impossible to separate it from the paint layers above it for chemical analysis at this time.

42 Some drawing media, such as red chalk and iron gall ink, cannot be detected with IRR.

43 Many thanks go to our colleagues at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, especially Roberto Bellucci and Cecilia Fosinini, for reexamining the painting with their latest infrared equipment for this exhibition.

44 It cannot be excluded that the freehand drawing came first. If a partial cartoon were used, the freehand drawing could have been a placement aid.

45 Neugebauer et al. in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 154.

46 González Mozo in Delieuvin, *La Sainte Anne*, 234–39. It has been suggested that either Gian Giacomo Caprotti, called Salai (ca. 1480–1524), or Francesco Melzi (1491/1493–ca. 1570) painted the Prado version. Also see Mottin in Menu, *Leonardo da Vinci's Technical Practice*, 203–22, and González Mozo in the same volume, 194–202.

47 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:854; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:57–58.

48 Buzzegoli et al. in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 350.

49 Neugebauer et al. in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 139.

DRAWINGS BY ANDREA DEL SARTO AFTER ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES

DOMINIQUE CORDELLIER

ANDREA DEL SARTO'S FIRST BIOGRAPHER, his pupil Giorgio Vasari,[1] did not describe him as one of those painters who thirst for visual inspiration or who are capable of both borrowing from their contemporaries and integrating into their art—through observation, study, and drawing—a large repertoire of magisterial forms from earlier generations. As is often the case in the *Vite*, Vasari's account of the artist's years of apprenticeship, which would normally be an invaluable time for the practice of copying and the building of a cultural foundation, is not developed at length, and we must admit that today we know of no drawing that Andrea del Sarto made when he was with the goldsmith who was his first teacher or with the painter he worked with for three years, Gian (or perhaps Andrea) Barile. Nor do there exist drawings from the period when he studied with Piero di Cosimo (according to Vasari)[2] or Raffaellino del Garbo[3] (according to Anonimo Magliabechiano).[4] Similarly, even if Vasari makes a point of saying that Andrea "should serve in every place as an example to Tuscan craftsmen,"[5] he remains unclear about the impact Andrea's works might have had as models, beyond the instruction he provided to his pupils or his associates, Jacopo Pontormo, Andrea Sguazzella, Antonio Solosmeo, Pier Francesco di Jacopo Foschi, Jacopo del Conte, Giovanni Capassini ("Nannoccio"), Jacone, Francesco Salviati, Giorgio Vasari, Bernardo di Girolamo Rosselli (Bernardo del Buda), Domenico Conti, and, in another sense, Domenico Puligo and Brescianino.[6]

Vasari is not, however, completely silent on the subject of Andrea's study of the art of the past. He notes that the young Andrea del Sarto learned his trade in front of Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence,[7] and that he spent entire days drawing in the Sala del Papa, which held the cartoons for Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina* and Leonardo da Vinci's *Battle of Anghiari*.[8] According to some historians, the technique and monochrome palette of these cartoons might have made an impression on Andrea del Sarto, as suggested by the way he employed grisaille in his frescoes in the Chiostro dello Scalzo beginning around 1511.[9] Vasari adds (in 1568) that while Andrea was working on his *Life of Saint John the Baptist* in this cloister, the publication of some of Albrecht Dürer's copper engravings stimulated him to borrow some figures from them, "transforming them into his manner," which, his former pupil unkindly stresses, "has caused some people . . . to believe that Andrea had not much invention."[10] The figure of Christ in the Puccini *Pietà*[11] in fact borrows much from Dürer's *Trinity* (1511),[12] just as a figure in *The Baptist Preaching in the Desert* borrows from Dürer's *Christ Presented to the People* (1512)[13] and the woman sitting with a child in her arms in the same work from his *Birth of the Virgin* woodcut.[14] Vasari could have said the same of the engravings of Lucas van Leyden.[15]

These comments of Vasari's, even if they clearly place Andrea del Sarto on the side of modernity, do not suffice to distinguish him from a large group of other artists of the same period—Raphael, Franciabigio, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Francesco Granacci, Baccio Bandinelli, Alonso Berruguete, Jacopo Sansovino, Rosso Fiorentino, Maturino, Lorenzetto, Tribolo, Jacopo Pontormo, Perino del Vaga—who were drawn to Masaccio's frescoes and to the cartoons of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palazzo Vecchio. Nor do they distinguish him from those who demonstrated a taste for Dürer's engravings (in particular Bacchiacca and Pontormo). Later in the biography, while writing about the artist's stay in Rome, Vasari suggests that Andrea not only failed to seize every opportunity to improve his style by studying models in which he nevertheless expressed interest, but that, worse yet, he was overcome by the abundance of those models and by the work of other able artists who made good use of them, notably the students of Raphael: "If [Andrea] had stayed in Rome, he would have surpassed all the craftsmen of his time. But some believe that he was deterred from this by the abundance of works of sculpture and painting, both ancient and modern, that he saw in that city, and by observing the many young men, disciples of Raffaello and of others, resolute in draughtsmanship and working

FIG. 8 | Andrea del Sarto, *The Tribute to Caesar*, ca. 1519–21. Brown and gray wash, heightened with white, 43.3 × 33.5 cm (17 1/16 × 13 3/16 in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1673

FIG. 9 | Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, ca. 1475. Oil on panel, 292 × 203 cm (115 × 79.9 in.). London, National Gallery, inv. NG292

confidently and without effort, whom, like the timid fellow that he was, he did not feel it in him to excel."[16]

We will not dwell on the unique environment of Rome, which André Chastel analyzed long ago, though he rather left aside the competition and emulation among artists.[17] In Vasari's eyes Andrea remained a painter who seemed unable to take advantage of the wealth of exceptional works of art there and who was thus in the same league as some other Florentine artists of his time, Fra Bartolommeo (earlier) or Rosso Fiorentino (later),[18] and unlike others such as Michelangelo, Perino del Vaga, Salviati, or Vasari himself. Some modern critics have, moreover, rightly noted that Vasari's biography of Andrea del Sarto not only ignores the painter's sources (his models, the subjects he studied, the objects he admired) but also disregards the deep influence his art had into the 1560s, notably in the work of his student Pontormo,[19] which has fortunately since been the object of careful study.[20]

Vasari's silences should not be interpreted without due consideration. It is well acknowledged that the *Vite* are but one facet of this painter-historian's work and that they should not be read in isolation. They find their continuation and complements in the *Libro de' disegni*, that vast collection of drawings that Vasari began compiling when he was seventeen years old and that he mentions quite often in his writings. The biography of Andrea is no exception: "In our book are many drawings by his hand, all good; but in particular there is one that is altogether beautiful, of the scene that he painted at Poggio [a Caiano]" (fig. 8).[21] The *Libro de' disegni* was unfortunately disassembled, but among the sheets by Andrea that come from it,[22] one or two drawings, pasted onto one of the rare pages preserved in its entirety, are concrete proof that the artist drew from the work of the masters.[23] The attribution of these drawings has sometimes been debated, but wrongly, I think, given that it was one of his pupils who attributed them to Andrea.[24]

The first of these drawings appears on the verso of the page. It is a red-chalk study of a small horseback rider on a rearing horse, which cannot be connected to any other work, except perhaps vaguely to an analogous, though inverted, motif in the background of *The Journey of the Magi* in the SS. Annunziata (1511; see fig. 2).[25] Furthermore, another motif from the background of *The Journey of the Magi* has also sometimes been associated with a red-chalk study by Andrea del Sarto, in this case a study that copies a secondary detail in the painting *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* by Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo (fig. 9), once in the

Pucci chapel in the SS. Annunziata and today one of the gems of the National Gallery in London.[26] Thus, around 1510, Andrea del Sarto—like Raphael in 1503[27]—chose to study a Florentine painting made in 1475 (several years before his birth), but in a remarkable evolution of process he executed it in red chalk, not in pen and ink. The other drawing on the page from Vasari's *Libro* represents a dragon fighting a snake. The artist copied in red chalk a lost drawing by Michelangelo, known through a copy held in Christ Church in Oxford,[28] which is certainly quite comparable to the ink drawing that is currently in the Ashmolean Museum, also in Oxford[29] and dated from the period 1520–25.[30] Andrea del Sarto was obviously not the first to use red chalk with the same finesse as that of a pen: Raphael had already done this in some of his drawings from the years 1510–11.

Around 1511–12, Michelangelo was completing on the vault of the Sistine Chapel in Rome his fresco of the Libyan Sibyl, from which Andrea del Sarto copied in red chalk the two putti painted to the left of the main figure.[31] It is tempting to imagine that during a stay in Rome in those years Andrea del Sarto, the esteemed compatriot of Michelangelo, had access to the work by climbing the scaffolding of the work site; but it is not impossible, either, that he had copied in red chalk a drawing by Michelangelo, as the draftsmanship in the sheet with the putti greatly resembles the effects of the master's pen.[32] In any case, this copy must have been done shortly after the creation of its model, since Andrea used it to paint one of the angels of the Corsini Madonna, which is generally dated to between 1512 and 1514.[33] Andrea's studious interest in Michelangelo's work is further confirmed by another drawing, which until now has remained unidentified in the collections of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt (fig. 10).[34] It is a large sheet, done in red chalk, on which appear an incomplete sketch of a left foot, seen in profile, and two studies of arms, right and left, respectively. None of these motifs is found in exactly the same form in any known finished work by Andrea del Sarto, but the study of the foot has echoes in the preparatory drawings for *The Madonna of the Harpies* of 1517[35] and perhaps to a lesser degree in those related to the San Salvi *Last Supper* of about 1522–26.[36]

If this detail is compared with other parts of the human body in other sketches, the drawing resembles many of the artist's most confident sheets. Beyond that, the color of the red chalk, the energetic line, its rhythms, its accents, and the halo of

FIG. 10 | Andrea del Sarto, *Study of a Left Foot (after Michelangelo)*, ca. 1518–19. Red chalk, 29.3 × 23 cm (11⁹⁄₁₆ × 9⁁₁₆ in.). Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, inv. 5586

curvilinear hatchings lightly crossing around the arms leave no doubt as to the attribution of the drawing.[37] We must remember, however, that in Frankfurt it was long classified with the drawings of Michelangelo. This earlier classification can easily be explained by the style and arrangement of the two arms, which owe a great deal to the way Michelangelo arranged his figures and conceived of their anatomy. Several of his statues indeed have (or had) this type of arm bent behind the shoulder, or dangling arms ending with a slight bend at the wrist and a large hand, highly articulated, with angular fingers. One of his preparatory drawings for the bronze *David* commissioned in Florence in August 1502 combines these characteristics.[38] The statue was sent to France in 1508 and placed in the home of Florimond Robertet, first at his Hôtel d'Alluye in Blois and then, at an unknown date, at the Château de Bury (built between 1515 and 1524).[39] Andrea del Sarto could have seen the statue in one or the other of these homes of the king's secretary during his stay at the court of Francis I, between June 1518 and September 1519.[40] One might wonder also whether the study drawing now in Frankfurt offers two views of parts of this statue, as one of the two hands drawn by Andrea del Sarto seems to hold the end of a slingshot, the weapon of

the young David against Goliath. It should in any case be noted that, unlike some of his Florentine contemporaries who did not go beyond the Alps, such as Sogliani,[41] Andrea was not copying a drawing by Michelangelo here, but drawing from a three-dimensional model.

Most strikingly, Andrea del Sarto approaches this drawing as he does his studies from life created in front of the motif. With regard to technique, he employs red chalk. Andrea del Sarto was in fact a member of a small group of radical innovators, artists who almost completely renounced drawing with a metal tip onto prepared paper, who only very infrequently heightened their studies with touches of white gouache, and who, rarer still, almost always avoided the use of pen[42] or brush. He explored in depth, however, the relatively new possibilities of both red and black chalk. In the history of Florentine drawing this technical revolution had commenced before Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo began to work on the great project commissioned by Piero Soderini for the decoration of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palazzo Vecchio (1503–4), but with that project the revolution was conclusively under way. This evolution can perhaps be paralleled with that in which Florentine drawing changed from a form of note taking, which was essentially a practical exercise and a refinement of expression, to another form that—through a process sometimes filled with detours—searched for the decisive *idea* in the genesis of a work.[43]

In the Frankfurt sheet, moreover, Andrea del Sarto juxtaposes and superimposes various sketches and focuses his attention on the expression of the nude, often leaving large areas open and unfinished. Vasari, referring in his biography of Andrea del Sarto to the artist's very summary drawings from life that are preparatory to paintings executed to perfection, explains that these works "served him rather as memoranda of what he had seen than as models from which to make exact copies in his pictures."[44] The drawn copies were undoubtedly done in the same way: not drawings done from actual models, but "notes" taken or sketched on the fly. The other important point concerning this presumed study after Michelangelo that is conserved in Frankfurt is that, as it was most likely done in 1518 or 1519, it constitutes not a youthful training exercise by Andrea but rather a maturation of his style. If we are to believe Vasari—to whom we must always return, since he was as much the witness as the historian of Andrea's work and activity—during the following decade Andrea maintained his commitment to renew his style through the drawn study. Vasari states in fact that before 1526 Andrea "had added grandeur to his manner after having seen the figures that Michelangelo had begun and partly finished for the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo."[45]

Beyond the work of Michelangelo, Andrea's desire to develop his art found support in ancient models and in the work of artists as diverse as Raphael and Bandinelli. The drawings after ancient statuary are few in number and do not reveal a working method very different from that which is seen in the drawings after Michelangelo's models. They are of interest, however, since they indicate that Andrea del Sarto's curiosity was not strictly "Tuscan-centric"; he was also open to Roman influences. A red-chalk drawing of an ancient statue of a winged putto,[46] of a type that was well known by artists and very common in Rome in the sixteenth century,[47] offers a good example of this. Its rounded forms, soft and gentle, which reminded Berenson of Fra Bartolommeo rather than Andrea, have prompted some historians to place this study rather early in Andrea's career and to present it as proof of his hypothetical (and likely) first stay in Rome in 1511. Inspired by ancient statuary for three of his figures—a *Victory* from the Grifonetti collection[48] for the Virgin; one of the sons in the *Laocoön*[49] for the head of the angel; and the Ludovisi *Ares*[50] for the "Adam" in the background[51]—the *Annunciation* Andrea painted for the Augustinian monastery of San Gallo[52] shows that by about 1512 the artist had already made use of a true Roman repertoire.

We should note, however, that on the verso of his drawing of the winged putto we can see studies of a foot and a horseback rider's hand which seem to belong to a clearly more advanced period in the artist's work, even dating from the years immediately following the (second?) Roman stay, dated to 1520–21. We must also ask whether the apparent graphic timidity of the drawing of the putto is indeed an indication of a juvenile style or if it is here the expression of a caution unique to the act of copying. It is true that this timidity does not exist in Andrea's other drawings of "Roman" inspiration, whether they are studies of men's heads inspired by a bust of Homer, a medal of Vitellius (for *The Tribute to Caesar*, cat. 24),[53] and the *Knife-Grinder* (for the Panciatichi *Assumption*),[54] or his copy after the *Laocoön* discovered in Rome in 1506 (cat. 51).[55] In this last work, as in the case of the presumed copy after Michelangelo's bronze *David*, we have a partial, seemingly disarticulated, drawing of a single figure, one of the sons

in the *Laocoön*. Before definitively calling it "Roman," as we did above, we must firmly establish whether this drawing was truly done in Rome or whether it was done in Florence from a modern copy.

The importance of this ancient model for artists close to Andrea del Sarto—notably the sculptors Jacopo Sansovino and Baccio Bandinelli—is well known, and it would not in fact be surprising if Andrea del Sarto had studied the copy sculpted in marble to scale by Baccio Bandinelli which arrived in Florence in 1525. It is in any case certain that Andrea del Sarto and Bandinelli maintained a reciprocal interest in each other's work. In telling the story, Vasari implies, somewhat maliciously, that Bandinelli, wanting to save money while becoming a painter—he was already an esteemed draftsman—tried to learn the use of colors not by studying with a master but by secretly observing Andrea del Sarto's method as he painted his portrait.[56] The latter supposedly thwarted the plan without saying a word.[57] Bandinelli was probably impressed not only by Andrea's paintings but also by his drawings. The geometricized placement and the slightly abstract treatment of the model that we observe in a study by Andrea del Sarto (before May 1523; cat. 30)[58] for a secondary figure in *The Feast of Herod*, in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, thus find a subtle echo in the simplified shadows of Baccio Bandinelli's *garzone* studies.[59]

For his part, Andrea showed his interest in Bandinelli's expertise more openly by making large numbers of drawings after the *Massacre of the Innocents* engraved by Marco Dente da Ravenna after a drawing that Bandinelli had done in Rome, probably around 1520.[60] According to Vasari, the composition was sufficiently known and disseminated to assure the artist renown throughout Europe.[61] Thus it is not surprising that Andrea del Sarto had access to it. Attesting to this are five sheets of studies drawn from the print. Three, identified in the early 1980s by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani,[62] are held in Florence in the collection of the Uffizi;[63] two others, which we discovered in 1986, are in the Louvre's collection of drawings in Paris.[64] They are all rapid sketches in red chalk of nude men or children in dynamic or expressive poses, following the fragmentary, elliptical, and allusive image—in turn accentuated and compressed—that is characteristic of Andrea del Sarto's drawings. This series of drawings shows that in the 1520s the artist continued to seek in the models of Bandinelli what must have caught his attention in Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*: the expression of the human body violently and dramatically engaged within an agitated crowd. By choosing Bandinelli's engraving as a model, however, he was also concentrating on a type of architectural composition, frontal and ambitious, which sought to carry on the great Roman style of Raphael's work of 1511–20 and which synthesized Michelangelo and the Antique (among other sources). Let us pause for a moment on the attention paid to Raphael.

In the preface to the third part of the *Vite*, Vasari writes that Andrea del Sarto pursued the style of Raphael, a style that he describes as true, as effective in its narrative as a speech, composed of strength and grace, of ancient and modern, of drawing and color, not too simple, not too complicated, and altogether agreeable. He adds that Andrea del Sarto followed this style while introducing more sweetness in the coloring and less vigor.[65] Andrea's ability to imitate Raphael is known, moreover, through a famous anecdote: Vasari points out that Andrea, upon the request of Ottaviano de' Medici, who wished to satisfy the request of Federico Gonzaga without giving up the original, created a perfectly deceptive painted copy of the painting by Raphael showing the portrait of Pope Leo between Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and Cardinal de' Rossi.[66] Showing more fairness toward his former master than he does on other occasions, Vasari recalls that one of Raphael's best students, Giulio Romano, was fooled and, when made aware of the truth, offered this praise: "It is something out of the course of nature that a man of excellence should imitate the manner of another so well."[67] Again looking to Raphael, Andrea also made a copy of just the head of Cardinal Giulio.[68] In fact, at the time he made these very faithful copies, Andrea had long been interested in Raphael's art. The little *Virgin with Child* in the Galleria Corsini in Rome[69] shows that very early on Andrea was interested in the way in which Raphael carefully animated, both physically and spiritually, the tender, youthful, and joyful relationship between the Christ Child and his mother. In the Child's animated pose he made use of the ideas sketched by Raphael for his Florentine Madonnas around 1506.[70]

Elsewhere, in a little painting from the beginning of the second decade of the 1500s, *The Madonna of Humility* in the Galleria Palatina in Florence,[71] and in a drawing, *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John*,[72] Andrea del Sarto again refers explicitly to—while simplifying the construction of—the Florentine Madonnas of Raphael (ca. 1507–8). The Christ Child in the one

and the young Saint John in the other clearly borrow their forms from the studies for *The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist* (Paris, Louvre) and even more from the Esterhazy *Madonna* (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum), which themselves came out of those made by Michelangelo for the *Doni Tondo* (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi). Similarly, the Giustiniani *Madonna*, which has recently been recognized in a painting in the Museum of Fine Arts in Perm, Russia,[73] which unfortunately I have not seen, was evidently based (around 1509–10) on a Raphaelesque scheme dating from 1506–8. It has sometimes been suggested that Andrea del Sarto's study of Raphael occurred through the filter of his Roman stay,[74] but it is also conceivable that he acquired familiarity with Raphael's work more directly in Florence around 1510. In the case of the Madonna in the Galleria Corsini, as in that of *The Madonna of Humility*, Andrea del Sarto does not limit himself to borrowing the shapes of prestigious models; he strives to envelop—or to mist or cloud over (if we wish to accept this image)—the clear and incisive *concetto* of Raphael with a veil that owes much to Fra Bartolommeo's method of painting, as if to hide the evidence of the model.

After about 1515, Andrea's adaptation of Raphael's drawings was pursued discreetly. Indeed, his *Virgin and Child with the Infant Baptist* in the Wallace Collection[75] and its presumed preparatory drawing in the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille[76] do not develop just one type of composition conceived by Donatello;[77] they also transpose, in an angular and compact manner, the entire design of the Virgin in the *Madonna of Alba* (Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, ca. 1511).[78] Later, in 1521, the year following the death of Raphael, Andrea played with the spatial constructions of the *School of Athens* and the cartoons for the tapestry of the *Acts of the Apostles* by taking not a frontal viewpoint but a lateral one, as if the spectator of this painted stage had passed from the orchestra to the wings.[79] Even later, two apostle figures, in the foreground of the *modello* for the *Pentecost* painted in miniature in a Gradual of the monastery of San Pietro of Perugia,[80] quote directly figures from a preparatory drawing by Raphael for the *Disputation of the Holy Sacrament* (1508–9).[81] Andrea del Sarto, who left a copy in red chalk of Raphael's sheet,[82] could use these two figures all the more freely since Raphael had not depicted them in the same way in his definitive composition. Still at the beginning of the 1520s, the Virgin and Child in a small *Adoration of the Magi*, for which we have two drawings and a painted version (see cat. 12),[83] presents significant similarities to Raphael's *Madonna with the Fish* (ca. 1513–14), of which an engraved reproduction (one that did not reverse the composition of the painting) was in circulation very early on.[84]

Whatever works he chose to study, Andrea copied with a free hand and without methodical attention to measure or proportion. He liberated the act of copying from the literal approach, rejecting the principle of strict imitation in favor of free sketching and of transposing techniques. His drawings of the work of other artists do not seem to be conceived any differently from his original studies; they combine repetitions, reiterations, excesses, and redundancies, contour lines, bold but compressed hatchings, arrangements of overlapping studies of details (heads and expressions) with a phrasing and a balance of the parts that certainly derive from the drawing style of Fra Bartolommeo from around 1510.[85]

For Andrea del Sarto, drawing from the works of others, ancient or modern, was thus a simple means not to conform to the rules of art but to dominate them. It must be stressed, furthermore, that his use of the examples of the great masters is not entirely revealed by his drawn copies. It often appears in a more subtle and cryptic way in his original works, completed or not. Some aspects of the facture of Andrea del Sarto's drawings in *carboncino*—a concentration on facial features, the *non finito* of the hairstyle, an approach through successive approximations to the tracing of contour, simple placements of peripheral motifs—have antecedents in certain drawings by Andrea del Verrocchio, such as the study of the head of a young woman in the British Museum in London,[86] although Andrea does not seem to have left copies drawn after the works of Verrocchio. Using the same comparative method, one might relate, based on a similar contrast between the modeled face and the suggestive incompleteness of the space around it, a *Head Study* by Leonardo da Vinci (fig. 11) for one of the fighters of the *Battle of Anghiari*[87] to certain drawings by Andrea del Sarto, such as his *Head of a Man in Profile, Looking Up* (cat. 45), preparatory to one of the apostles of the Panciatichi *Assumption*.[88] There are many such examples.

In other works Andrea del Sarto reveals a deep knowledge of the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci: the *Saint John the Baptist* (ca. 1517) in the Worcester Art Museum[89] reveals his familiarity with Leonardo's depictions of the same subject[90] in the combination of the iconography of Saint John the Baptist and that of

Bacchus, and in the emphasis on the U-shaped gesture of the preacher who announces the Incarnation and gives "testimony to the light."[91] Perhaps Andrea del Sarto was in Rome when Leonardo lived there, and it is conceivable that he saw or saw again his works in France between June 1518 and September 1519; Leonardo's *Saint Anne* might have stimulated the idea for the pyramidal composition of Andrea's *Charity*.[92] But his essential debt to Leonardo's art does not depend on this. Above all, in his painting, Andrea del Sarto owed to Leonardo the sense of the *attenuation* of the energy of the drawing.[93] That very particular way of softening, tempering the verve of the form and its rendering, conformed—in Vasari's opinion[94]—to Andrea del Sarto's natural tendency toward timidity; but modern criticism, in contrast, has interpreted it as a more deliberate method of the artist, who thus magnificently brings together, through the *morbidezza* of color, the *sfumato* of Leonardo, and the solid reliefs of Michelangelo[95] while maintaining a sense of balance worthy of Raphael.[96] Unfortunately, these nuances of surface have often disappeared during overly aggressive conservation treatments of his paintings, but, as some of the artists of his time, such as Domenico Puligo, understood very well, it was primarily those nuances that caused Andrea's work to be *senza errori*.[97]

NOTES

This essay has benefited from the bibliographic research of Michèle Gardon, head of documentation in the Département des Arts graphiques at the Musée du Louvre. I am deeply grateful to her.
(Essay translation by Teresa Fagan)

1 On Vasari as Andrea del Sarto's biographer, see Vasari, *Das Leben des AdS*, and Spagnolo, "Vasari allievo e critico di AdS," 113–30.
2 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:824; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:7–8. Recently, again, followed by Angelini, "Recensione alla mostra *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*," 86.
3 These two facts are not necessarily contradictory, even if Andrea's painting ultimately shows the influence of Piero di Cosimo's melancholy more than the raw verve of Raffaellino del Garbo. For the lasting influence of Piero di Cosimo on Andrea del Sarto, see Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence*, 130.
4 Followed by Shearman, *AdS*, 1:23.
5 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:855; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:60.
6 I hesitate to include Rosso Fiorentino in this list, since the question of his apprenticeship with Andrea del Sarto remains under debate (on this subject see Bonsanti, "Rosso nella bottega di AdS," 164–68).
7 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:323; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 2:299.
8 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:824; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:8.
9 Borsook, "Technical Innovation and the Development of Raphael's Style," 135–36. To the influence of the cartoons done for the paintings of the Palazzo Vecchio, Borsook adds that of those made in Rome by Michelangelo and Raphael for the decor of the Vatican between 1508 and 1511.
10 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:833; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:22.
11 Lost; known through the engraving of Agostino Veneziano.
12 Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 10: no. 122 (141); Shearman, *AdS*, 1:45, 67, 2:229.
13 Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 10: no. 10 (36).
14 Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 10: no. 80 (131). For other references to Dürer in the Chiostro dello Scalzo cycle, the *Story of Joseph* in the Camera nuziale Borgherini, and in the *Last Supper* by San Salvi, see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:66–67, 2:233–34, 257, 300–304 (with bibliography).
15 Andrea del Sarto meticulously uses elements from the engraving *Ecce Homo* (1510; Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 12: no. 71 [378]), from the *Prodigal Son* (1511; Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 12: no. 78 [383]) and from *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh* (ca. 1512; Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 12: no. 23 [350]); Shearman, *AdS*, 1:30, 2:216, 234, 270, 302 (with bibliography).
16 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:56.
17 Chastel, "Théorie du milieu à la Renaissance," 393–404.
18 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:903; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:162.
19 Coste Messelière, "Introduction to the Life of AdS," 6:55–57.
20 See notably the monographs by Freedberg, *AdS*; Monti, *AdS*; Shearman, *AdS*; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna."*
21 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853–54; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:57. Identified by Bottari and then by Wyatt ("Le "Libro dei Disegni" du Vasari," 348), the drawing of the *Tribute to Caesar* is in the Louvre, inv. 1673; Cordellier, *Hommage*, no. 28.
22 Ragghianti Collobi, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari*, 1:114–15, 2:187–95, figs. 352–65.
23 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1724 recto; Cordellier, *Hommage*, no. 63.
24 Ragghianti Collobi, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari*, 1:115, 2: fig. 364, associates his style with that of Francesco Ubertini, called Bachiacca. In 1986, I thought that the sheet came from Andrea del Sarto's studio, but Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, whom I thank for this exchange, suggested that it should be seen as a drawing by Vasari himself in the manner of Andrea del Sarto (oral communication).
25 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:31, 119, fig. 14.
26 For the association of the drawing with the fresco of the *Procession of the Magi*, see Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:19, 23–24, 31. For the identification of the copy from Pollaiuolo, see Byam Shaw, *Italian Drawings*, 3: no. 18, pl. 28–29. Joannides, *Raphael and His Age*, no. 54 verso, also sees a model by Antonio Pollaiuolo (?) behind a drawing of *Water Bearer Seen from the Back* in the Lille Palais des Beaux-Arts, pl. 495, the recto of which we will study later.
27 Drawing by Raphael in Florence, Uffizi, inv. 537 E.
28 Christ Church, 0791; see Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church*, 2: no. 77, pl. 66.
29 Parker, *Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, 2: no. 323.
30 Joannides, *Drawings of Michelangelo and His Followers*, 157–62, no. 28, who opts for the latest date.
31 Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, inv. 494.
32 Joannides, *Raphael and His Age*, no. 54 recto.
33 Petworth House, Lord Egremont Collection. Cecchi, "Spigolature sulla committenza sartesca," 33, has proposed a date of around 1513 from new evidence.
34 Inv. 5586, red chalk, beige paper, 29.3 × 23 cm (11½ × 9 in.). Verso not visible. Entered the collections after 1816 and before 1862. I thank Dr. Martin Sonnabend for facilitating my study of this drawing and for discussing its history and attribution with me and Dr. Joachim Jacoby.
35 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1679.
36 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1714-4.
37 Furthermore, the study of the right arm closely resembles the one in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 20710 (formerly attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio and published as from Andrea del Sarto by Cordellier, "Précisions sur quelques apports des peintres florentins," 298, fig. 191).
38 Paris, Louvre, inv. 714 recto; Joannides, *Michel-Ange*, 69, no. 5.
39 Echinger-Maurach, "Zu Michelangelos Skizze," 301–38.
40 Béguin, "A propos des AdS au Musée du Louvre," 6, assumes, not without reason, that Andrea del Sarto worked not far from Blois, at Amboise in 1518.
41 Drawing for *Saint George* in the Duomo of Pisa, commissioned in 1536, London, British Museum, inv. 1862,2.8.2 verso; Joannides, *Michel-Ange*, 72; and Turner, *Florentine Drawings*, no. 63.
42 The attribution of the ink drawing in Florence, Uffizi, inv. 295 F verso, is debated, some attributing it to Andrea del Sarto (according to Shearman,

Petrioli Tofani, and Falciani in Cecchi and Natali, *L'officina della maniera*, 234, no. 77b) and some to Jacone (according to Forlani Tempesti and also to Angelini, "Recensione alla mostra *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*," 89). On this drawing see Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 187, no. 29.

43 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 187.

44 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:854; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:57; see Lüdemann in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 90ff.

45 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:847; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:45.

46 Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. 111 (103) recto; Lanfranc de Panthou, *Dessins italiens*, no. 42.

47 Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, nos. 52, 54, 202.

48 Today in Paris, Louvre, inv. MA 392. Andrea del Sarto also used the drawing of the *Victory* from the Grifonetti collection as the angel in *Tobias and the Angel*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

49 Rome, Vatican, Belvedere. At the Belvedere, Andrea also certainly drew the famous *Apollo*, as is seen in a figure from his *Parable of the Vineyard: The Calling of the Workers* (once in the garden of the SS. Annunziata).

50 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

51 Natali, "Il nuovo Adamo et l'Antico," 28–30, figs. 18a, 19a, 19b, 20, 21a.

52 Florence, Galleria Palatina.

53 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 12924 recto and verso (cat. 24); Shearman, AdS, 1:87. Fischer, "*AdS* Revived," 561 (with bibliography), insists that the head inspired by Vitellius, which he dates from 1520–22, seems to have been drawn from a living model.

54 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1685 (on this drawing, see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 58–59, no. 36).

55 Florence, Uffizi, inv. 339 F (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, no. 89).

56 The Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. 1890, no. 1486) and the Galleria Palatina (inv. 1912, no. 66), in Florence, hold two versions of the same portrait of the bust of a man that is claimed to be that of Baccio Bandinelli done around 1517. They are generally recognized to be copies of Andrea's work (Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, nos. 31–32).

57 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:833, 2:268; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:22–23, 6:138–39.

58 Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 87.GB.10 (Goldner, Hendrix, and Pask, *European Drawings* 2, no. 2).

59 However, according to Monbeig Goguel, "Bandinelli and his 'desegni bellissimi' were, for Vasari, the opposite of the aesthetic of Andrea del Sarto. Bandinelli's failure as painter was patent proof of this" ("Bandinelli versus Francesco Salviati," 316).

60 Bartsch, *Le peintre-graveur*, 14:25, no. 21. On this engraving, see Oberhuber and Gnann, *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello*, no. 201. Boorsch, "Confusion concerning Marco Dente," 116–20.

61 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:252; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:144–45.

62 Petrioli Tofani, "Postille al 'Primato del Disegno,'" 68.

63 Uffizi, inv. 6919 F, 6911 F, and 6458 F; Petrioli Tofani in AdS: *Dipinti e disegni*, nos. 49, 50, 51; Shearman, "Exhibitions for AdS's Fifth Centenary," 502; Fischer, "AdS Revived," 559.

64 Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 115 and 10923. Attribution by Cordellier (manuscript note on the verso of the montage, 1986; Cordellier, "Précisions sur quelques apports des peintres florentins," 285–87, figs. 185–86) accepted by Viatte et al., *Baccio Bandinelli*, respectively nos. 112 and 113.

65 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:621; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:12.

66 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:844; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:41. The original by Raphael is held in the Galleria Palatina in Florence, the copy by Andrea in Naples, in the Museo di Capodimonte.

67 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:845; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:42.

68 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:845; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:43. The work is lost.

69 Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, inv. 570.

70 Vienna, Albertina, inv. 209 verso, study related to the Bridgewater *Madonna,* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) but also to the Colonna *Madonna*, the great Cowper *Madonna*, the Tempi *Madonna*, and the *Holy Family under a Palm Tree*; Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, inv. 310, study for the Cowper *Madonna*.

71 Oggetti d'Arte, inv. 1154; Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 97, no. 5. Shearman, "Exhibitions for AdS's Fifth Centenary," 501, does not accept the attribution to Andrea del Sarto.

72 Florence, Uffizi, inv. 638 E; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 194–95, no. 2.

73 Bliznukov, "Un dipinto ritrovato di AdS," 43-46.

74 Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 97.

75 London, Wallace Collection, inv. 9.

76 Inv. Pl. 502; Cordellier in Brejon de Lavergnée and Westfehling, *Raffael*, no. 38, and recently Forlani Tempesti in Capretti et al., *Domenico Puligo*, 61, 63, note 30. Joannides, *Raphael and His Age*, no. 53, disassociates the drawing from the Wallace *Madonna*.

77 Shearman (AdS, 2:239) notes similarities between the *Madonna delle nuvole* by Donatello (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) and the Wallace *Madonna*.

78 Cordellier, *Hommage*, 22.

79 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:88.

80 Cod. F., fol. 62. For the *modello*, Paris, Louvre, inv. 1670, see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 81–82, no. 55.

81 Drawing by Raphael in Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. (53)45.

82 Paris, Louvre, inv. 4162; Cordellier and Py, *Raphaël*, no. 95.

83 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1688 (see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 54–56, no. 33); Florence, Uffizi, inv. 634 E (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, no. 38) and, for the painting, private collection (see Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 127, fig. 116).

84 Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi mentioned by Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:82–83, and Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:413. Without doubt it is the plate attributed to Marco Dente da Ravenna (Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 14:61, no. 54).

85 Costamagna ("The Formation of Florentine Draftsmanship," 290, note 29) for this reason connects the *Study of Nude Man with a Separate Study of His Head* by Andrea del Sarto (London, British Museum, inv. 5210-33) and the *Study of a Young Man Leaning on a Pedestal and Five Studies of Heads* by Fra Bartolommeo (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–Van Beuningen, inv. Vol. M. 3).

86 London, British Museum, inv. 1895,0195.785 verso. On this drawing see, recently, Ilaria Rossi in Chapman and Faietti, *Figure, memorie, spazio*, no. 40.

87 Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 1774. On this drawing see Bambach in Viatte, *Léonard de Vinci*, no. 99.

88 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1685. On this drawing see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 58–59, no. 36. The drawing was also used in the Prado *Madonna of the Steps* (fig. 20).

89 On loan from All Saints Church. On the history of this painting, see Welu, "The Worcester AdS," 3–17.

90 Freedberg, "A Recovered Work of AdS," 281–88; Costamagna, "L'influence de Léonard de Vinci," 101.

91 According to the terms of the Gospel of John.

92 On this question, see recently Delieuvin in Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 60, and Beuzelin in Delieuvin, *La Sainte Anne*, no. 115.

93 Many authors, like Costamagna, "L'influence de Léonard de Vinci," 101, assimilate Andrea's attitude to an adoption (or adaptation) of the *sfumato* of Leonardo da Vinci.

94 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:823; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:6.

95 The terms of this analysis have been germinating since the *Discorso sopra l'eccellenza dell'opere d'Andrea del Sarto, pittore Fiorentino, 1567* by Francesco Bocchi (Williams, "A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi in Praise of AdS," 123).

96 Spagnolo, "Vasari allievo e critico di AdS," 118.

97 Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:12.

THE RED-CHALK DRAWINGS OF ANDREA DEL SARTO
LINEAR FORM AND LUMINOUS NATURALISM

MARZIA FAIETTI

IN HIS LIFE OF TITIAN, Giorgio Vasari claimed that Giorgione, Palma, Pordenone, and many others "who never saw Rome or any other works of absolute perfection" hid "beneath the glamour of colouring the painful fruits of [their] ignorance of design."[1] His assertion stems from the famous Cinquecento pitting of Venetian *colore* against Tuscan *disegno*. In reality, Vasari's statement was decidedly too radical. In Florence, draftsmanship coexisted rather well with color, even if the fields of color (*campiture colorate*) often did not conceal the underlying linear design. Leonardo's use of the *sfumato* technique mediated between the linear precision of *disegno* and the soft insubstantiality of *colore*. The *sfumato* softened outlines and filled the voids between figures with a dense atmosphere, rendering the view of the world more acute and, at the same time, suggesting a remoteness beyond perception. Following primarily Leonardo's example, some artists in Florence achieved an unprecedented softness of stroke, especially in the use of black and red chalks, which reflected a new synthesis between line, light, and shadow. Andrea del Sarto attained this synthesis, and indeed achieved much more. He united the Tuscan-Florentine tradition of *disegno lineamentum* (linear design)—a theory that would subsequently be articulated in the 1560s in Florence by Alessandro Allori and Vasari[2]—with the exploration of naturalistic light and chiaroscuro effects that he realized principally in red-chalk drawings. From this standpoint, Andrea must be considered a highly innovative draftsman.[3]

Francesco Bocchi, author of the 1567 *Discorso sopra l'eccellenza delle opere d'Andrea del Sarto, pittore fiorentino* (Discourse on the Excellence of the Works of Andrea del Sarto, Florentine Painter),[4] strongly praises Andrea for having distinguished himself in all five of the areas that make up painting: *disegno* (design, including drawing), *costume* (costume), *rilievo* (relief), *colorito* (color), and *una certa dolcezza et facilità* (a certain tenderness and ease). Of greatest interest is the passage in which Bocchi defines *disegno*: "Drawing we say thus to be those lines that envelop and enclose some body or form, either painted or in relief, which by means of said lines represent to us its quality and perfection."[5] According to Bocchi, Andrea's skill lay in his ability to conceal the linear design within the painted work, in such a way as to approach the representation of *cose naturali* (natural things).[6] We shall see how, in his red-chalk drawings, the artist attains a fascinating synthesis between linear abstraction and naturalistically rendered light.

Andrea's decision to employ red chalk was also influenced, as mentioned above, by the example of Leonardo, whose work he knew directly, more than through Piero di Cosimo, with whom—according to Vasari—he had trained in his youth. Indeed, within the modest body of drawings left by Piero are two sheets now in the Uffizi, in which red chalk is used together with black. These drawings display a light stroke and a soft *sfumato* of remote Leonardesque derivation similar to the graphic work of Fra Bartolommeo from the same years. Both are preparatory drawings for the *Immaculate Conception* altarpiece in the church of San Francesco in Fiesole, dated to the late second decade of the sixteenth century[7]—and therefore postdate Andrea's first red-chalk drawings. If anything, Andrea could have been influenced by Piero's more painterly drawings in chiaroscuro—the *Landscape with Saint Jerome*, for example—executed in the 1490s in black chalk or charcoal, with white-chalk highlights.[8]

The Uffizi *Landscape* (inv. 8 P verso), dated 1473,[9] is the first surviving drawing by Leonardo with red chalk, although featuring only traces of the medium.[10] Not until the start of the 1490s in Milan did Leonardo begin to employ the medium systematically, as, for example, in the drawings for the equestrian monument to Francesco Sforza of 1491–93 (Madrid Codex II, 8936), the nature studies of 1493–94, the studies for the *Last Supper* in Santa Maria delle Grazie, and still other drawings from the same period.[11] When he later undertook the *Battle of Anghiari* in Florence, Leonardo resorted to red chalk both for quick sketches and for more finished drawings. Leonardo's studies of heads from the Milanese period had a strong impact on the style and techniques of Lombard artists. His Florentine colleagues were no less influenced by drawings such as the *Study for the Head of a Soldier* (fig. 11), whose

FIG. 11 | Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452–1519), *Study for the Head of a Soldier in the "Battle of Anghiari,"* ca. 1504. Red chalk on very pale ocher-pink prepared paper, 22.7 × 18.6 cm (8 15/16 × 7 5/16 in.). Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, inv. 1774

tonal transitions originally must have been even subtler than those visible today.[12] Vasari describes Andrea passionately drawing after Leonardo's and Michelangelo's cartoons for the *Battle of Anghiari* and the *Battle of Cascina*, a practice in which he seems to have been unequaled.[13] Michelangelo's and Leonardo's preparatory studies for the cartoons displayed, among other things, foreshortened figures, figures in motion, and strong, expressive heads. It is likely that Andrea lingered over these typologies, allowing himself to be captured by individual details rather than by the vertiginous rhythms and the monumental, heroic aspect of the overall compositions.

Michelangelo's influence on Andrea's red-chalk technique is neither as obvious nor as straightforward as Leonardo's example. Initially, Michelangelo was a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio, in whose workshop a pen-and-ink cross-hatching technique was developed in the early 1480s. By the beginning of the 1500s the artist was admired for his ability to detach his figures from the background by means of such "new delineations," or lines, which were laid down with broad strokes to achieve an unprecedented three-dimensional vigor that was fully in keeping with Alberti's notion of the linear circumscription of form.[14] Although Michelangelo used red chalk in his youthful drawings of the 1490s, such as the Saint Peter copied from Masaccio's fresco in the Brancacci Chapel of the Chiesa del Carmine,[15] it was only in his studies for the Sistine Chapel in Rome (1508–12) that he began to employ this medium more conspicuously and variously. Thus it is likely that Andrea looked to Michelangelo's example as a draftsman in red chalk a little later, when he visited Rome.

The *lapis rosso* (red chalk), as Vasari calls it in his "Introduction […] to the Three Arts of Design" in the *Vite*, is "a stone that comes from the mountains of Germany, which to soften must be sawn and reduced to thin points, so that it can be used to make strokes on the paper as one wishes."[16] Around the same period, Cellini, in *On the Art of Drawing*, remarks: "Otherwise one draws with red or black stone, which comes from the west; this was discovered in our time, and is called *lapis amatita*. This way of drawing is very beautiful and extremely useful, and better than all the others. Good draftsmen use it to make drawings from life." The sculptor goes on to say that in fact one can alter the positions of certain parts of the body and head to "give more grace" to the figures, since "this said *amatita* can be easily erased with the soft part of bread."[17] Cellini must certainly be referring—albeit confusedly—to black chalk only, which is indeed easily erased. However, a certain ambiguity remains in his final words: it is not clear whether the sculptor also had in mind drawings in which black and red chalks are used together (cat. 42, for instance), according to the early Florentine practice, as seen, for example, in Piero Pollaiuolo's *cartonetto* (small cartoon) of *Faith* from about 1470.[18]

From the end of the Quattrocento onward, red chalk became widespread across northern Italy, and its use extended well beyond the Milanese artists who had been catalyzed by Leonardo's example. Nevertheless, one has to wait until the second decade of the 1500s for the unprecedented chiaroscuro tenderness and softly sensual red-chalk figures of Correggio, which Vasari preserved in his *Libro de' disegni*.[19] The first decade of the century remains a time of development, transition, and invention. Two very different, precocious examples illustrate the adoption of the medium in Venice, where Leonardo's presence in March 1500 made an impression above all on Giorgione.[20] The atmospheric landscape of *Castel San Zeno at Montagnana with a Figure Seated in the Foreground* is generally attributed to Giorgione, despite its unique character.[21] The preparatory drawing of *The Triumph of Saint George* for the fresco of the same name in the

FIG. 12 | Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520), *The Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist,* ca. 1506–7. Red chalk (recto), 22.4 × 15.8 cm (8 13/16 × 6 1/4 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1964 inv. 64.47

Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni illustrates Vittore Carpaccio using red chalk in a linear application together with pen and ink.[22] While Andrea was experimenting with this new medium in the first decade of the 1500s, a Marchigian artist of almost the same age sojourned in Florence. I am referring to Raphael and to his studies—including that now in New York (fig. 12)[23]—for the *Madonna of the Meadow* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), which display a delicate sensitivity in their chiaroscuro transitions, without, however, foreshadowing the extraordinary progress Raphael would make shortly thereafter in Rome thanks to the stimulus or the example of Michelangelo.

Around the end of Raphael's Florentine period, Fra Bartolommeo returned from a brief journey to Venice that had reinforced his graphic tendencies toward lyrical, atmospheric suggestiveness. This new attention to light, atmosphere, and color, accompanied by a greater substantiality of his figures, was manifested above all in his black-chalk drawings. Fra Bartolommeo came to use red chalk extensively in the 1510s, reserving it for life studies of anatomical details and facial expressions, as well as for the evocation of textures and color applied over leadpoint underdrawing. The friar only started using red chalk for figure studies after his trip to Rome, in the autumn of 1513 or the spring of 1514, when he came into contact with Michelangelo and Raphael.[24]

Andrea, on the other hand, began drawing with red chalk as early as the second half of the first decade of the sixteenth century, and with a certain mastery, as is seen, for example, in a Louvre drawing (inv. 1689) for a figure in the *Healing of the Possessed Woman* from the fresco cycle of the *Life of San Filippo Benizzi* in the Chiostrino dei Voti of the church of SS. Annunziata (1509–10). Probably a study after a live model, this figure achieves a solid plasticity thanks to its complex cross-hatching alternated with areas of *sfumato*; in some parts the hatching becomes more spare, no longer crossed but parallel, while other areas are left blank. This development occurs right before Andrea's journey to Rome, presumably in 1511, in the company of Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino.[25] Although this was probably not Andrea's only journey to the Eternal City,[26] it played an important part in his formation as a draftsman in red chalk because it gave him an opportunity to measure his technique against the red-chalk drawings that Michelangelo and Raphael had produced in connection with the planning of the Sistine ceiling (fig. 13), the Stanza della Segnatura, and the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace. Also in red chalk were some of the compositions that Raphael entrusted to Marcantonio Raimondi for engraving.

An overview of Andrea's red-chalk drawings throughout the course of his career shows a rather interesting plurality of approaches. Although tempting, explaining this variety in relation to the different purposes for which the drawings were intended does not account for recurrent graphic features. Therefore, a better approach is to single out, in the context of the entire body of work, certain repeated peculiarities or features, independent both of chronology and of purpose, interpreting them as expressive ciphers or signs that the artist used in different periods and circumstances.

We have seen how, at a rather early date, Andrea was able to obtain sculptural effects with a varied system of hatching, shading, and blank areas; at other times he achieved sharp three-dimensional forms thanks to shading and usage of broad color

FIG. 13 | Michelangelo (Italian, 1475–1564), *Seated Male Figure and Studies of Two Right Arms*, ca. 1511. Red chalk, 27.9 × 21.4 cm (11 × 8 7/16 in.). Haarlem, Teylers Museum, inv. A 027 recto

fields in red chalk, as in the Uffizi angel (inv. 273 F) for the San Gallo *Annunciation* at the Galleria Palatina (1512). In less finished drawings, where his objective was to quickly capture the figures' postures, Andrea used parallel hatching in a variety of directions, quite similar to those in prints.

Vasari tells us that Andrea studied Dürer's prints and "made use of them, taking some of the figures and transforming them into his own manner,"[27] and indeed a number of derivations from the German master have been recognized in the Chiostro dello Scalzo.[28] In reality, it is possible that, in addition to iconographic suggestions, Andrea drew inspiration for his *tracciati lineari* (linear strokes) from engravings. He had also studied *bulini* (engravings) in the so-called broad manner advocated by Francesco Rosselli, brother of the more famous Cosimo, in the second half of the fifteenth century.[29]

Other drawings show how Andrea used red chalk with a rapid, darting stroke analogous to that of a pen (which was in turn notably similar to the tool marks in engravings and woodcuts). This method further accentuated the figures' outlines, as in the study—now in Melbourne[30]—for Saint John the Baptist in the *Baptism of the Multitudes* in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, for which Andrea was paid in March 1517. Sometimes the shading surrounding a clearly outlined figure recalls a technique, typical of prints or *nielli* (inlaid enamelwork), that was used to obtain the effect of slight projection similar to that of an embossed surface or of a two-dimensional relief (Uffizi, inv. 314 F recto). At other times diffuse shading modulated in soft chiaroscuro transitions serves to capture a facial expression and state of mind with great sensitivity, as for example in the *Study of a Young Man's Head*[31] for the fresco of *The Tribute to Caesar* at Poggio a Caiano (cat. 23.1). In the *Study of a Woman* (cat. 5)—convincingly identified as his wife, Lucrezia del Fede—Andrea manages to break down the planes of the woman's full dress, in which a play between areas of light and shadow prefigures the refined iridescences of Barocci's painted draperies.

Sometimes different drawing techniques are used on a single sheet. The study (cat. 11) for the *Madonna and Child with Saint John* of the Galleria Borghese travels from loosely sketched areas to those with broad, quick parallel hatching and occasional cross-hatchings with areas of almost pure outline, where the contour is retraced several times (an approach Andrea inherited from Leonardo and Michelangelo, which he later developed and passed on to the artists of his workshop),[32] and to lightly shaded areas along with others in which the chalk, diluted in water, forms layers of shadow. As a result, in this work—unusual because it is neither a preliminary sketch nor a finished cartoon[33]—the three figures seem to be studies both of volume and of light, elements that are sometimes combined but do not yet correspond entirely with solutions arrived at in the completed painting: the Christ Child is sculptural as he projects outward; the Madonna is faintly sketched, with a fine outline and a delicate chiaroscuro; Saint John is for the most part enveloped in shadow, with an alternation of well-contoured elements in relief and others in shade.

A drawing that is now in the Louvre (fig. 14), made in preparation for the painting of *Charity* of 1518 in the same museum, is striking for the naturalism of the profile. Despite the less than optimal state of conservation and the white lead additions—most likely applied later—the combination of strong outlines and skillful use of diluted chalk captures the plasticity, features, and expression of a face that is almost surely drawn from life. Drawings of this sort must certainly have met with the approval of Cellini, whose definition of *disegno* reflects his own experience as a sculptor: "The true drawing is nothing but the shadow of a

FIG. 14 | Andrea del Sarto, *Head of an Infant*, 1518. Red and white chalks, 23.8 × 19 cm (9⅜ × 7½ in.). Paris, Musée de Louvre, inv. 1717

relief, and so it follows that relief is the father of all drawing."[34] It was hardly accidental that Andrea, in his daily habits, preferred to associate with sculptors rather than his fellow painters. Indeed, in addition to his close friendship with Jacopo Sansovino, he formed ties with Giovan Francesco Rustici, Andrea della Robbia, and the latter's sons, Luca and Girolamo.[35]

Andrea's naturalistic approach thus arises from a linear tension. His artistic practice foreshadows theories that were later formulated in Florence. According to these theories, the line constitutes the nucleus of *inventio* and of the process of artistic creation. Andrea's drawing strokes are never decorative; they are always aimed at rendering the effects of light and three-dimensionality in order to imitate nature. In the faces he depicts, naturalistic elements convey an intense psychological penetration through the use of a variegated grid of lines that is not only quite visible but indeed plays a crucial role in the rendering (cat. 31 and 40, for example). Andrea's use of red chalk was certainly influenced by such peculiarities and artistic intentions. Writing about Raphael's use of red and black chalks, after defining the former as "the medium of clarity of form and luminous light," Konrad Oberhuber concludes, "No wonder also that red chalk became in Italy the medium of Florence, of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso and

Pontormo."[36] The observation is of course a generalization, since both kinds of chalk gave rise to a host of different typologies and modes of application; still, taken in broad terms, the proposition is quite accurate.

Andrea remained a master associated with outline, seen as an element of definition and of delimitation of any plastic, three-dimensional mass. Winckelmann explored this idea in his "Trattato preliminare dell'arte del disegno degli popoli" (Preliminary Treatise on the Art of Drawing of the Ancient Peoples), in his *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati* (1767). In the treatise, after noting that "the true method [of drawing] is learned not with wandering or lightly hinted outlines, but with outlines that are firm and precise, without fear of hardness or austerity," he went on to liken Andrea to Leonardo and Raphael. I would like to end with another statement of Winckelmann's. Though we may not agree with it in its entirety, his remark is quite apt in relation to our artist: "Compare a drawing by Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, or Leonardo da Vinci—who are masters of the purity and precision of contour—with some drawings by Correggio, Guido [Reni], or Albano, who are reputed to be masters of grace, and you will quickly realize that there is more to art than just grace."[37]

NOTES

Special thanks to Alice Mussini for her help in my research at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut. I am also grateful to Ludovica Sebregondi and Samuel Vitali.
(Essay translation by Stephen Sartarelli)

1 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:781; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:427–28.
2 Faietti, "Barocci's Drawings," 319–21.
3 Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:95–99; Shearman, *AdS*, 1:149–62. For reasons of space I will not repeat bibliography that can be found elsewhere, but will make only specific relevant citations.
4 For an edition of this text and a commentary, see Williams, "A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi." Concerning the recuperation of the artist's language by painters active in the second half of the Cinquecento, see Spagnolo, "La fortuna di AdS."
5 Quoted (in Italian) in Williams, "A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi," 122. In his commentary Williams notes the difficulty of a translation. The original passage reads: "Il disegno adunque dichiamo esser quelle linee, le quali circondano et racchiuggono qualche corpo et qualche forma che, o dipinta, o di rilievo, ci rappresenta per il mezzo di dette linee la bontà sua et la sua perfettione."
6 Williams, "A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi," 123.
7 Uffizi, inv. 552 E and 555 E. Concerning the connection with the altarpiece, the dating of which has been the subject of controversy, see Capretti in Forlani Tempesti and Capretti, *Piero di Cosimo*, 134–35, no. 42; Fermor, *Piero di Cosimo*, 126, 134; Geronimus, *Piero di Cosimo*, 236–41.
8 Uffizi, inv. 403 P. See Sassi in Chapman and Faietti, *Figure, memorie, spazio*, 202–3, no. 49, with bibliography.
9 See Chapman in Chapman and Faietti, *Figure, memorie, spazio*, 164–65, no. 33, with bibliography.
10 Fischer ("Fra' Bartolomeo disegnatore," 14) also mentions a drawing by Domenico Ghirlandaio now in Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. G. 16693.
11 There are recurrent discussions of media in the vast body of literature on Leonardo, but for lack of space I cite here two contributions centered on the use of red chalk: Tordella, "La matita rossa," and Spagnolo, "La matita rossa." See also Ames-Lewis, "Leonardo da Vinci."
12 Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, inv. 1774. See Bambach, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 500–5, no. 90, with bibliography; on the *Battle of Anghiari* and the preparatory drawings, see Perissa Torrini, "La Battaglia di Anghiari."
13 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:824; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:8.
14 Faietti, "Disegni italiani a penna," 62. The reference is to a passage of Vasari in his life of Michelangelo, revolving around the young master's superior talent compared with that of a companion of his in Ghirlandaio's workshop.
15 Munich, Graphische Sammlung, inv. 2191: Gnann, *Drawings of a Genius*, 33–36, no. 2, with bibliography.
16 Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1:174–75.
17 Quoted in Tordella, *La linea del disegno*, 154.
18 Uffizi, inv. 14506 F. See Chapman and Faietti, *Figure, memorie, spazio*, 164–65, no. 33, with bibliography.
19 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:646; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:113.
20 See Palazzo Grassi, *Leonardo & Venezia*.
21 Rotterdam, Boymans–Van Beuningen Museum, inv. 485. Concerning the uncertainties as to its attribution to Giorgione, see Aikema, "La mano di Giorgione?"
22 Uffizi, inv. 1287 E. See Chapman and Faietti, *Figure, memorie, spazio*, 264–65, no. 79, with bibliography.
23 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1964 (64.47). See Jacoby and Sonnabend, *Raphael: Drawings*, 100–3, no. 7, with bibliography.
24 Fischer, *Disegni di Fra Bartolommeo*, 15–18. The scholar has turned his attentions to the artist several times. For a brief compendium of his studies, see Fischer, "Fra' Bartolomeo disegnatore," 12–17.
25 The hypothesis formulated by Berti, in "Per gli inizi del Rosso Fiorentino," 51, which looks in turn, at least partially, to Waagen (1854), was recently picked up again in Falciani and Natali, *Pontormo e Rosso Fiorentino*; but see also, for a slight postponement of the trip to 1514–15, Monti, *AdS*, 51.
26 Natali, *AdS*, 135.
27 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:833; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:22.
28 Proto Pisani, *Il Chiostro dello Scalzo*.
29 Marini, in Chapman and Faietti, *Figure, memorie, spazio*, 88–107, recently returned to the subject of engraving in Florence in the Quattrocento.
30 National Gallery of Victoria, inv. 351/4 recto.
31 Paris, Louvre, inv. 1684, recto and verso.
32 Costamagna in Falciani and Natali, *Pontormo e Rosso Fiorentino*, 161, and, by the same author, "The Formation of Florentine Draftsmanhip." See also Turner, *Florentine Drawings*; Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo*, 8–36; and Goguel, "Il disegno fiorentino del Cinquecento," 255–75.
33 Petrioli Tofani, *AdS, disegni*, no. xi.
34 Quoted in Tordella, *La linea del disegno*, 154.
35 Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 47, note 73.
36 Oberhuber in Dethloff, *Drawing: Masters and Methods*, 113.
37 Quoted in Tordella, *La linea del disegno*, 37–38.

ANDREA DEL SARTO, DRAFTSMAN PAINTER

CATALOGUE 1–40

All works are by Andrea del Sarto (Italian, 1486–1530)

PORTRAITS

XAVIER F. SALOMON

CATALOGUE 1

HEAD OF LEONARDO DI LORENZO MORELLI

1512

Black chalk

31.5 × 24.5 cm (12⅜ × 9⅝ in.)

Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5085, recto

PROVENANCE Sir Peter Lely, London (L. 2092; mark indistinct, lower right corner); Jonathan Richardson senior, London (L. 2184); Sir Thomas Lawrence, London (see L. 2445); Samuel Woodburn, London (see L. 2584; sale London, Christie's, June 7, 1860, lot 826, to Tiffin at £22.1.0); Walter Benjamin Tiffin, London (see L. 2609), not listed in the sale of the Tiffin collection, London, Christie's, May 8, 1877; M. Boulton (as Raphael); Henry Oppenheimer, London (before 1917) (see L. 1351 and Suppl., sale, London, Christie's, July 10–14, 1936, lot 170, pl. 43, to Lugt); Frits Lugt, Paris (L. 1028)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Colvin 1914–15, no. 5; Popham 1931, 56, fig. 204; Balniel and Clark 1930, vol. 2, 265, fig. 521; Fraenckel 1935, 197; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 292, vol. 2, 12, fig. 129A; Hannema 1938, fig. 444, pl. 235; Shearman 1959, 130, note 35; Freedberg 1961, vol. 1, 242; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 426, vol. 2, 32–33, no. 159A–I*; Lugt 1962, 68, fig. 92; Jaffé 1962, 234; Bacou 1962, 60; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 23–24; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 115–16, 161, vol. 2, 205–6, 230, 382; Monti 1965, 39, 140; Byam Shaw 1977, 848–51; Byam Shaw 1983 (1), vol. 1, 25, fig. 18, vol. 2, 121; Turner 1984, 208, fig. 18; Kent Lydecker 1985, 349–55; Cordellier 1986, 18–19, no. 9; Natali 1998, 56–57, fig. 49; Natali 1999, 56–57, fig. 49

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS of this remarkable drawing link it to the two *Assumptions of the Virgin*, now at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.[1] The study for the head was believed to relate to the figures of Saint John on the left in both Pitti paintings. Only in 1959 did John Shearman—followed by Bernard Berenson in 1961 (who revised his view on Sydney Freedberg's suggestion)—correctly connect the Lugt drawing with the altarpiece representing the Archangel Raphael, Tobias, Saint Leonard, and a donor in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (cat. 1.1).[2]

The surface of the Vienna altarpiece is somewhat damaged, and because of this in the past the painting was wrongly attributed to Domenico Puligo, even though it was acknowledged to have been based on Andrea del Sarto's drawings. The early history of the altarpiece and the identity of its patron have been established with the discovery of documentary sources by John Kent Lydecker in 1985.[3] The panel was painted by Andrea between March and October 1512 for the church of Santa Lucia a Settimello, in the northwestern outskirts of Florence, commissioned by the silk merchant Leonardo di Lorenzo Morelli (1475–1539) for his family chapel in the church. The Morelli family had links with Andrea and were also the patrons for the *Noli me tangere* for San Gallo. The altarpiece for Santa Lucia represents Christ in the sky presiding over the Archangel Raphael, accompanied by Tobias on the right. To the left is Leonardo Morelli kneeling, in profile, with his patron saint, Leonard, standing behind him.

The drawing of Leonardo's head is surely taken from life. Short lines or parallel hatching give volume to the young patron's fetching features. His costume is broadly sketched in below the neck, and presumably Andrea based the body of the patron in the altarpiece on subsequent drawings, from the sitter or from another model. In almost exact profile, Leonardo looks slightly up, toward Raphael and Christ in the final painting. The face is carefully and subtly lit, and the black chalk renders the texture of Leonardo's hair and youthful skin. In the late nineteenth century, when the drawing belonged to M. Boulton, it was attributed to Raphael. It is understandable why the attribution was proposed at the time. In its modeling, this astonishingly commanding drawing is not unlike the heads for Raphael's *Transfiguration*. Andrea must have been looking at portraits by Raphael and Leonardo for inspiration.

In the altarpiece the patron's head was slightly modified and lost some of the freshness and character present in the drawing.

CAT. 1

CAT. 1.1 | *The Archangel Raphael, Tobias, and Saint Leonard*, ca. 1512. Oil on panel, 178 × 153 cm (70 × 60¼ in.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 650

As Shearman aptly noted: "The difference is not only caused by the intervention, in the normal way, of personal tendencies of style between life-study and paintings; the painted head has also been modified so as to partake more fully in the unified and quasi-ecstatic sentiment of the whole picture. Some sacrifice of physiognomic truth must still be made if the head is to be invested with a positive emotion."[4]

On the verso of the sheet Andrea drew a study of a man on horseback in red chalk (cat. 1.2). The main focus of the composition is the movement of the horse's legs. It is possible that this figure is preparatory for the one in the right background of the *Procession of the Magi* at the SS. Annunziata, but Shearman connects it—although this possibility is less likely—with a detail in the background of the *Story of Saint Joseph* in the Palazzo Pitti.[5] According to James Byam Shaw, the figure of the man on horseback is a copy of one of the military figures in the background of Pollaiuolo's *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, then at the SS. Annunziata and now in the National Gallery, London; see also the essay by Dominique Cordellier in this volume.[6]

NOTES

1 Colvin, "AdS, Study for a Head of St. John the Evangelist," no. 5; Popham, *Italian Drawings*, 56, fig. 204; Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 1:292, 2:12, fig. 129A.

2 Shearman, "AdS's Two Paintings of the Assumption," 130, note 35; Berenson, *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini*, 1:426, 2:32–33, fig. 159A–I*.

3 Kent Lydecker, "AdS's Tobias Altar-Piece."

4 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:116.

5 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:115–16, 161, 2:205–6, 230, 382.

6 Byam Shaw, "Study of a Horse by AdS," and Byam Shaw, *Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection*.

CAT. 1.2 | *Study of a Man on Horseback* (verso of cat. 1). Red chalk

CATALOGUE 2

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

ca. 1517–18
Oil on canvas
72.4 × 57.2 cm (28½ × 22½ in.)
London, National Gallery, inv. NG 690

PROVENANCE Palazzo Puccini, Pistoia, by 1821; purchased from Puccini estate by Sir Charles Lock Eastlake for the National Gallery, London, in 1862

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1904, 79–81; Addison 1906, 46; Leman Hare et al. 1909, 70; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 27, 30, 32; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1914, vol. 6, p. 200; Holmes 1923, 114–15; Alazard 1924, 125–29; Venturi 1925, vol. 9:572; Knapp 1928, 114, no. 34; Fraenckel 1935, 156–57; Comandè 1952, 70–73; Freedberg 1961, vol. 1, 462–63; Gould 1962, 169, fig. 690; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 46–47, vol. 2, 79–80, fig. 39; Waterhouse 1963, 888–89; Monti 1965, 68–71, 156–57, no. 111, pl. 116; Shearman 1965, vol. 2, 120–21, 237–38, fig. 47; pl. 63c; Gould 1975, 234–35, fig. 690; Braham 1985, 58, pl. 20; Natali and Cecchi 1989, 78–79, no. 33; Baker and Henry 1995, 614; Natali 1998, 119–20, 203; Natali 1999, 119–20, 203; Dunkerton et al. 1999, 195, 197, fig. 234; Langmuir 2004, 53; Franklin 2005, 146–47, 341, no. 38

A SMALL NUMBER OF PORTRAITS by Andrea del Sarto survive. This signed *Portrait of a Man*, painted around 1517–18, at the time of the *Madonna of the Harpies* and the *Disputa on the Trinity* altarpieces, has long been considered one of the artist's masterpieces in the genre. The canvas was first documented as belonging to the Puccini family in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1821 and 1832 it was recorded in the family palace in Pistoia, while in 1854 it was described in the Villa Puccini at Scornio. In his will, Niccolò Puccini, who died in 1852, stipulated that his belongings were to be sold for the benefit of an educational institution in Pistoia. Ten years later, in September 1862, the National Gallery bought the portrait for 270 pounds and 2 shillings. The gallery's director, Charles Eastlake, listed the portrait in his 1862 notebook as "a portrait of A. del Sarto by himself." In a letter to Ralph Wornum of October 1, 1862, Eastlake reported: "I have today (my last day in Florence) been to Pistoia to see a portrait by Andrea del Sarto of himself—part of the property left by the late Cav. Niccolò Puccini of Pistoia to be sold for the benefit of an educational establishment. . . . One of the hands is merely sketched; but the head and dress are fine, and as genuine work of the master as well as his own portrait, it will be an acquisition when put in order. It is painted on the finest linen and has been badly lined. For the sake of having it carefully lined I think I shall have it sent (if I secure it) to England at once—as the restorations required are not important: the unfinished hand being of course left so."[1] Shipped on the *Fortune* from Livorno, the portrait was hanging at the National Gallery by April 20, 1863, when the Keeper listed it as "his own portrait, by Andrea del Sarto" among the recent acquisitions of the institution.

Throughout the nineteenth century the canvas was considered to be a self-portrait. William Cosmo Monkhouse passionately described it as "a face with a history. It is, moreover, a face which fits in so well with the traditions of Andrea del Sarto, the weak man with the beautiful, willful wife, the perfect artistic temperament, the man of finest impulses cursed by fate."[2] The identification of the sitter, however, has been closely related to the identification of the object held by the man with both hands. The author of the National Gallery catalogue from 1898 was the first to doubt the identification of the sitter as Andrea himself: "If the object in the hands represents, as it well may, a piece of modeling-clay, the subject of the portrait was probably a Florentine sculptor."[3] Variously described as a block of marble,

CAT. 2

a piece of clay, or a brick, the object held and prominently displayed by the sitter has given rise to the identification of the young man as a sculptor. In his life of Andrea, Vasari had listed a series of portraits of sculptors, and del Sarto is known to have been particularly close to contemporary sculptors. He was a friend of Jacopo Sansovino and portrayed him in one of the frescoes at the SS. Annunziata. In another of the scenes from the same cycle he depicted Andrea, Luca, and Girolamo della Robbia among the figures in the crowd.[4] Andrea was also known to have painted a portrait of Baccio Bandinelli.[5] The National Gallery portrait has been tentatively identified as an idealized portrait of Sansovino, or as a representation of Giovan Battista Puccini, one of Andrea's patrons, who had commissioned from him a *Madonna* and a *Pietà*, both lost. Puccini, however, was born in 1463 and would have been in his mid-fifties by 1517.[6] More recently, it has been suggested that the sitter may be another patron of Andrea's, Paolo da Terrarossa, who was a *fornaciaio* (kiln proprietor) and whose family was involved in the production of bricks.[7] He was the patron of the Prado *Sacrifice of Isaac*. As Shearman pointed out in 1965, however, the object held by the young man is a book. The bottom left part of the canvas is somewhat damaged and the area is not well preserved, making the understanding of the object challenging. The two drawings from the Uffizi that probably relate to this portrait (cat. 3 and 4) clearly demonstrate that the man was conceived from the beginning as holding a book.

The sitter's daring pose is particularly original when compared with contemporary works by Franciabigio and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, and it may have been based in part on Venetian prototypes, such as Domenico Capriolo's portrait of a young man in the Hermitage. In its strong chiaroscuro Andrea betrays the direct influence of Leonardo. The preparatory drawings for the painting display the process by which Andrea drastically revised the composition of the portrait more than once. Unfortunately, infrared analysis of the painting reveals little in terms of technique. There are slight pentimenti throughout the painting, demonstrating small adjustments in the composition. The area around the book has undergone some changes, and at the bottom of the chair horizontal lines in black paint show the sketching out of its wooden frame. There are also slight adjustments in the eyes of the sitter and around the sleeve of his right arm. The portrait was believed to have been transferred from panel to canvas, but close analysis shows conclusively that it was painted from the beginning on a very fine canvas.[8]

The left sleeve is a sculptural tour de force providing volume and the anchor around which the composition rotates. Andrea must have based it on a detail drawing from life. The sitter is captured as he turns sharply toward the viewer, interrupted from his reading. The color tones of black, gray, and lilac are particularly subtle and elegant. Robert Browning in his poem on Andrea del Sarto wrote: "All is silver-grey / Placid and perfect with my art. . . ."

NOTES

1 Letter in the National Gallery archives.
2 Monkhouse, *National Gallery*, 127.
3 National Gallery, London, *Catalogue* 1898, 493.
4 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:830; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:16.
5 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:833; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:22.
6 Freedberg, *AdS*, 46.
7 Natali and Cecchi, *AdS: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, 78–79.
8 Shearman, *AdS*, 237.

CATALOGUE 3

STUDY OF A YOUNG MAN

ca. 1517–18

Red chalk

18.8 × 11.6 cm (7⅜ × 4⅝ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 661 E, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, 6, no. 103; Di Pietro 1910 (2), 156–58, nos. 34–35; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 10–11, no. 661; Alazard 1924, 27; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 553, note 1; Fröhlich Bum 1928, 166; Fraenckel 1935, 177; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 8, no. 103; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 8; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 141–42, no. 3-M; Bibliothèque nationale 1950, no. 421A; Comandè 1951, 115; Wagner, 1951, 55, 78–79, note 120; Comandè 1952, 71–72; Marcucci 1954 (1), 17, no. 21; Marcucci 1954 (2), 34–35, no. 31; Becherucci 1955, 7; Freedberg 1961, vol. 1, 463, pl. 568; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 17, no. 103; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 80, under no. 39; Shearman 1965, vol. 2, 350–51; Monti 1965, 68–70, 156, figs. 118, 120; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 1, 290; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 221–22, no. 21

CATALOGUE 4

STUDY OF A YOUNG MAN

ca. 1517–18

Red chalk

13 × 12.6 cm (5⅛ × 4¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 301 F, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, 4, cat. 68; Di Pietro 1910 (2), 156–58, nos. 34–35; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 10, no. 301; Clapp 1914, 87–88, no. 301; Alazard 1924, 127; Fraenckel 1935, 170; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 9, no. 110J; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 8; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 140, no. 3-C; Wagner 1951, 55, 78–79, note 120; Comandè 1952, 71–72; Marcucci 1954 (1), 16–17, no. 20; Marcucci 1954 (2), 34, no. 30; Becherucci 1955, 8; Freedberg 1961, vol. 1, 463, pl. 568; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 20, no. 110J; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 80, under no. 39; Shearman 1965, vol. 2, 332–33; Monti 1965, 68–70, 156, figs. 117, 119; Cox-Rearick 1981, 364, no. A27; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 223, no. 22; Petrioli Tofani 1991, vol. 1, 132–33; Falciani and Natali, 2014, 102

THESE TWO SMALL DRAWINGS—661 E and 301 F—are likely to be related to a male portrait by Andrea del Sarto. The figures are closely comparable in size; it is probable that both sheets of paper were cut down, one (cat. 4) slightly more than the other. They must have been part of a series of sketches drawn in front of the anonymous sitter of the final portrait. Their main purpose was to establish the exact pose in which the young man was to sit in front of the artist and the way in which his head was to compositionally relate to his body.

While one of the two sheets (cat. 3) has been attributed to Andrea since at least the end of the nineteenth century, the other (cat. 4) was catalogued at the same time as the work of an anonymous Florentine artist.[1] Traditionally attributed to Pontormo, the drawing was correctly returned to Andrea by Bernard Berenson in 1903, although he ignored the purpose of the two sheets. Filippo Di Pietro in 1910 was the first scholar to convincingly connect the drawings to the portrait by Andrea acquired in 1862 by the National Gallery in London from the Puccini family in Pistoia (cat. 2). Even though the face of the young man is barely sketched in the two drawings, his angular features and general pose make the link between the Uffizi drawings and the London portrait particularly compelling.

Worked on both recto (cat. 3 and 4) and verso (cat. 3.1 and 4.1), the two drawings are absorbing and forceful studies from nature by the artist, most likely sketched while the sitter was posing. Andrea seems to have been particularly concerned with the twist of the young man's body. In the confident strokes of red chalk it is possible to envisage the young man shifting his position in front of Andrea until a satisfactory and definitive posture was reached for the final painting. The details of the man's

CAT. 3

CAT. 3.1 | Verso of cat. 3

features are left to the basic structure, and the outfit worn by the sitter is barely described; the sketches, no doubt preliminary, are about volumes and contours rather than any further element. As Nicholas Penny noted, "An exploration of structure becomes an explosive hieroglyphic. The challenge to the painter was to preserve something of this force in the finished painting."[2]

The exact order in which the drawings were executed is impossible to establish with any degree of certainty, but Shearman's reading still remains the most persuasive. Cat. 3.1, the verso of 661 E, is likely to have been the first in the series, and was also quickly abandoned. It provides the chance to see Andrea's approach to portraiture in drawings. He started with the oval of the sitter's face and with a few confident lines to establish his shoulder and arm, already capturing volume. A few lines suggest that the sitter was portrayed looking down, but a second drawing above shows him looking upward instead. This composition must have soon been abandoned, and on the recto of the same sheet, cat. 3, Andrea placed the sitter in a three-quarter pose, not dissimilar from that of the previous drawing. The young man holds a closed book under his left arm, but a few parallel lines drawn with a stylus apparently explore a placement on the left side of the sheet. Shadows are boldly sketched to portray the fall of light onto the sitter's body. The right hand holds the top of the book while the left elbow sits above it. This was clearly an unsatisfactory result, with the left arm foreshortened in a problematic way and the elbow projecting into the viewer's space. The head of the man was still Andrea's main concern. He drastically repositioned it to look in the opposite direction from the sitter's body. Suddenly turned to the right, the sitter assumes a more dynamic pose.

CAT. 4

CAT. 4.1 | Verso of cat. 4

While keeping the body in fundamentally the same position—and lowering the left arm slightly and positioning the hand, instead of the elbow, over the book—Andrea returned to a more frontal pose in cat. 4, the recto of 301 F. Here the man looks directly out of the picture, with his head slightly twisted toward the right. In the final of the four sketches—cat. 4.1, the verso of 301 F—the artist seems to have reached the final solution, or at least the one that is closer to the National Gallery painting. The body of the man is substantially shifted to the left, so that his back is visible instead of his chest. The left arm is now in profile, and the head is turned to face the viewer, slightly higher than in the painting.

The sharp swing between body and head in the drawings and in the final portrait is an experiment partly based on Michelangelesque prototypes. John Shearman has noted the similarity between the figures and Buonarroti's prophet Isaiah in the Sistine Chapel. A more direct model, however, may be found in the two statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici by Michelangelo for the monuments in the Sacrestia Nuova at San Lorenzo. Andrea was to use a similar pose around the same time for his figure of Saint Francis in *The Madonna of the Harpies* (cat. 22.1).

NOTES

1 Ferri, *Catalogo dei disegni*, 19, 39, nos. 301, 661; Ferri, *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta*, 133, 135, nos. 301, 661.

2 Penny in Dunkerton, Foister, and Penny, *Dürer to Veronese*, 197.

CATALOGUE 5

STUDY OF A WOMAN

ca. 1517–25

Red chalk

24.2 × 20.1 cm (9½ × 7¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 647 E, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, 6, no. 95; Knapp 1907, 12, 134, no. 647; Di Pietro 1910 (2), 160–61, 230, no. 67; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 11, no. 647; Galleria degli Uffizi 1911, 29, no. 647; Ferri 1912–21, no. 6; Leporini 1925, 58, no. 129; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 598; Knapp 1928, 117, no. 647; Constable et al. 1930, 267, no. 528; Popham 1931, 55, no. 203; Fraenckel 1935, 176; Ricci and Huisman 1935, 268, no. 684; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 7, no. 95; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 10; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 140, no. 3-B; Bibliothèque nationale 1950, no. 421; Berenson 1954, 176, pl. xlv; Comandè 1951, 114; Comandè 1952, 64–65; Becherucci 1955, 6; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 16, no. 95; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 176; Shearman 1965, vol. 2, 348–49; Monti 1965, 113, 180–81; Petrioli Tofani 1973, no. 40; Forlani Tempesti and Petrioli Tofani 1976, 51, no. 17; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 11, 28–29, no. 27; Forlani Tempesti et al. 1980, 63, no. 40; Petrioli Tofani 1985, 2, no. xxv; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, 286–87; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 262–63, no. 52; Natali and Cecchi 1989, 87; Natali 1998, 137–41; Natali 1999, 137–41

IN HIS LIFE OF ANDREA DEL SARTO, Giorgio Vasari directly criticized the painter's choice of wife. The account of Andrea's spouse—worshiped by the artist and reviled by his friends, colleagues, and pupils—remains one of the memorable features of Andrea's biography in the *Lives*. Lucrezia di Baccio del Fede had been married to Carlo di Domenico, a *berrettaio* (capmaker), who died on September 17, 1516, leaving her a widow. She probably married Andrea soon after, in early 1518. According to Vasari, Andrea portrayed his wife on several occasions, depicting her as the Virgin Mary and as the Magdalene. Since he was so accustomed to sketching Lucrezia and using her as a model, Vasari adds, Andrea's female ideal of beauty was often based on his wife's

CATALOGUE 6

HEAD OF A YOUNG WOMAN

ca. 1517

Black chalk

25.7 × 20.5 cm (10⅛ × 8⅛₁₆ in.)

Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5572

PROVENANCE Oscar Fanyau; his son-in-law M. Delacre, Ghent (L. 747a, in red); presented by his widow to Frits Lugt, Paris (L. 1028) in memory of her husband, April 2, 1939

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Lugt 1962, 69, no. 93; Jaffé 1962, 237; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 76–77; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 123, 150, vol. 2, 349, 383; Monti 1965, 65, 68, 154; Petrioli Tofani 1973, under no. 39; Sutton 1976, 8; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 26; Byam Shaw 1983 (1), vol. 1, 27, no. 19; Cordellier 1986, 28, no. 16

CAT. 5.1 | *Portrait of a Woman* (fragment), ca. 1522. Oil on panel, 44 × 37 cm (17⁵⁄₁₆ × 14⁹⁄₁₆ in.). Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 240

CAT. 5

CAT. 6

features.[1] It is true that most of the painter's female figures seem to follow a prototype, which was probably based on Lucrezia.

The Uffizi drawing of a seated woman holding a book (cat. 5) has been identified since the nineteenth century with a portrait of Lucrezia.[2] The Lugt drawing (cat. 6), too, is traditionally described as an image of Andrea's wife.[3] Both works appear to represent the same woman, and the features of the two faces are directly comparable. Sydney Freedberg has described the Uffizi sheet as "one of Andrea's most beautiful drawings."[4] In it Andrea records the composition for a female portrait. Particular attention is paid to the woman's costume, where cross-hatching modulates the volumes and contours. The sleeves of the dress firmly anchor the composition in the same way in which the National Gallery's *Portrait of a Young Man* grows compositionally around the man's prominent sleeve. The sitter's features are less well defined but still recognizable in their essential traits. A series of lines on each side and at the bottom of the drawing suggest that Andrea was thinking carefully about the framing and format of the portrait, establishing its eventual boundaries on the canvas. The drawing has been related to the fragmentary—and possibly unfinished—oil painting by Andrea now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, usually thought to be a portrait of Lucrezia del Fede (cat. 5.1). In 1985 Annamaria Petrioli Tofani suggested that a sketch on the verso of a sheet now in the Uffizi, 6454F (cat. 47.1), might reflect a preliminary stage for these compositions.[5]

The black-chalk drawing in Paris clearly represents the same woman. Shearman also connected the sheet to the Berlin portrait; Freedberg, however, proposed that the Lugt drawing, while being a likeness of Andrea's wife, was used instead for the Uffizi *Madonna of the Harpies* (cat. 22.1).[6] Unlike the Uffizi drawing, which seems to be more concerned with the overall composition of a portrait, this is a life study of a face. It is easy to understand why it has been assumed that in this drawing Andrea was lovingly portraying Lucrezia. The feel of the work is sculptural. A series of short and subtle lines, at times stumped and smudged, render the overall modulation of the sitter's features. It is a natural and tender portrayal of a beautiful woman, her face shaped and described by the dramatic fall of light over it from the right. The drawing must have been well known and admired: a sixteenth-century copy of it exists in the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, and another was on the London and New York art market around 1960.

It seems likely and reasonable that Andrea would have been inspired by his wife's beautiful features and would have sketched her on multiple occasions. The Lugt drawing may have been ultimately intended for a portrait of Lucrezia but could also have served as a model for inspiration for figures in both secular and religious compositions.

NOTES

1 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:836; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:28.
2 Ferri, *Catalogo dei disegni*, 33, no. 647.
3 Lugt, *Le dessin italien*, 69, no. 93.
4 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:176.
5 Petrioli Tofani, *AdS: Disegni*, no. 26.
6 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:123, 150, 2:349, 383; Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:76–77.

CATALOGUE 7

STUDY OF A STANDING MALE FIGURE

ca. 1525

Red and black chalks

25 × 16 cm (9 13/16 × 6 5/16 in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 232, recto

PROVENANCE Ch.-P.-J.-B. de Bourgevin Vialart de Saint-Morys; foreclosure after the owner's flight from Paris during the French Revolution in 1793; returned to the Musée du Louvre in 1796–97

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Knapp 1903, 316, no. 86; Gabelentz 1922, vol. 2, 151, 161, nos. 367, 401; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 15, no. 158A; Bacou 1955, 21, no. 52; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 32, no. 158A; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 170–71; Shearman 1965, vol. 2, 237, 351, 369–70; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. XXVIII; Cordellier 1986, 84–86, no. 57; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 221; Griswold and Wolk-Simon 1994, 25; Nancy, Pagliano, and Lecoq-Ramond 2007, 227, no. 6; Falciani and Natali, 2014, 161–63

CAT. 7.1 | Verso of cat. 7

THE SHEET ENTERED THE COLLECTION of the Louvre as a drawing by Fra Bartolommeo. In 1886, however, Frédéric Reiset correctly attributed it to Andrea del Sarto. The recto presents two drawings executed at different times. The first, in black chalk, is a rapid study of architectural elements, possibly of an arch flanked by pilasters. Andrea then turned the sheet of paper upside down and drew the figure of a young man in red chalk.

The man in the drawing wears contemporary clothes and stands with his back to the viewer, his right arm bent behind his back. He suddenly twists his head to the right and looks behind his shoulder. It is clearly a swift study from life, with a model—possibly a *garzone* from the workshop—captured as he holds the pose. Andrea reworked the contours of the figure multiple times, attempting to record the exact stance and the precise twist of the head and arm.

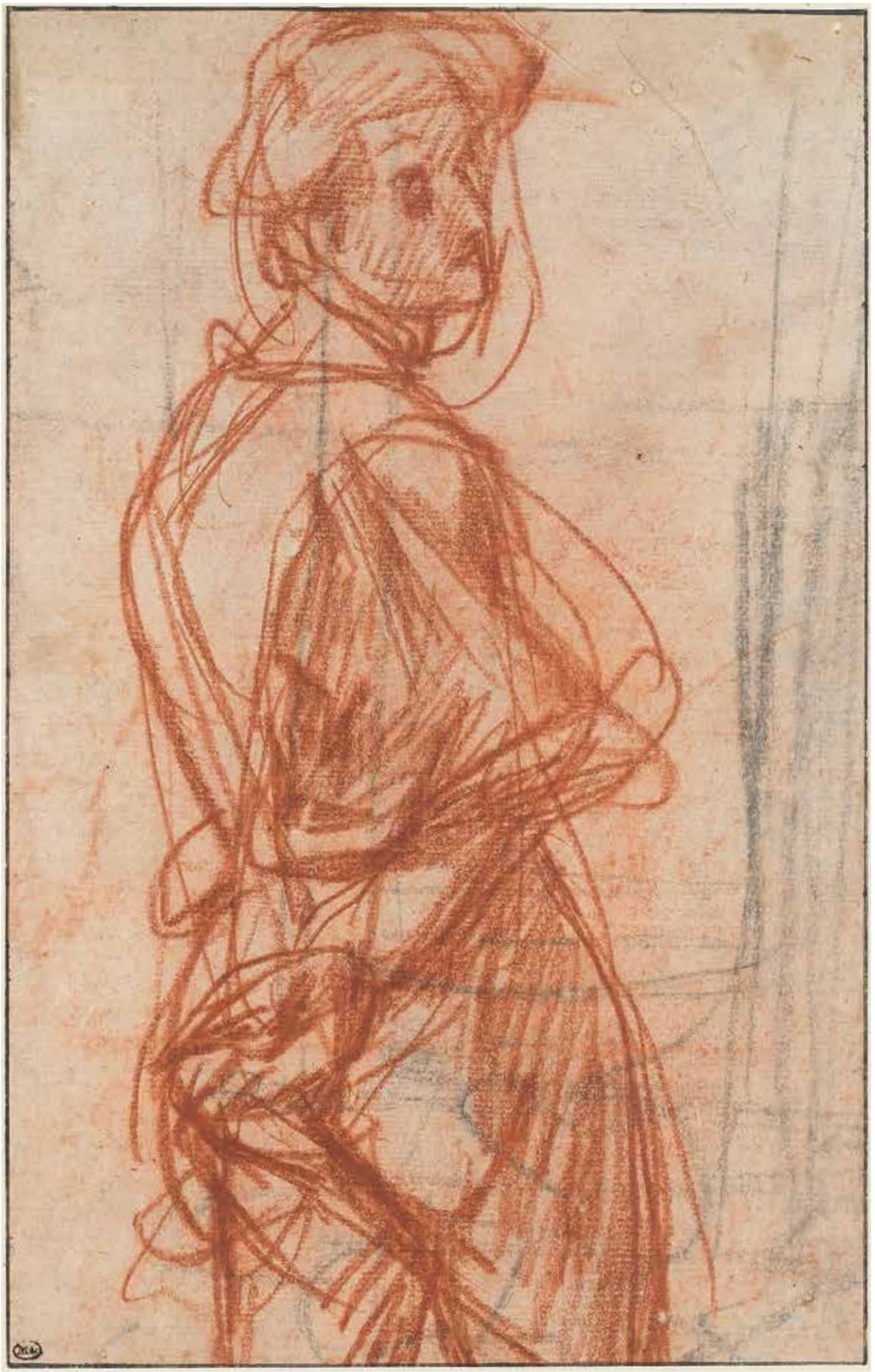
The drawing has been connected with two separate projects by Andrea. It has been considered to be close in date to the National Gallery *Portrait of a Young Man* (cat. 2) and possibly related to it and to the two drawings traditionally linked to the portrait, now at the Uffizi (cat. 3 and 4). For Shearman this drawing may be the first in the series exploring the pose of the anonymous man, which was then followed by the Uffizi sketches.[1] Other scholars have instead proposed that the figure is preparatory for Saint Michael in the Vallombrosa altarpiece (see fig. 19).[2] The posture of the young man is extraordinarily close to the one of the archangel in the altarpiece, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the drawing may indeed be linked to the Vallombrosa project. Andrea would therefore have sketched a model in the workshop in the pose intended for Saint Michael, before changing his costume to the one that would eventually be used in the altarpiece. The sheet's main purpose is to explore the way in which the figure of Saint Michael would work compositionally, trying to define the precise twist of the body.

On the verso of the sheet (cat. 7.1) are further sketches in red and black chalks, of a figure kneeling on a step and facing to the left, of draperies, and possibly of other figures. It is unclear if these relate to the same project as the sketches on the recto or if they are for a distinct scheme.

NOTES

1 Shearman, *AdS*, 369-70.

2 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:170–71; Petrioli Tofani, *AdS, disegni*, no. XXVIII.



CAT. 7

CATALOGUE 8

STUDY OF A STANDING FIGURE

ca. 1529

Black chalk

27.9 × 13 cm (11 × 5⅛ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 326 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, 5, no. 77; Knapp 1907, 133; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 208–9; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 17, no. 326; Knapp 1928, 116, no. 326; Fraenckel 1935, 189; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 11, no. 117B; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 22, no. 117B; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 204; Monti 1965, fig. 365; Shearman 1965, vol. 2, 339–40; Petrioli Tofani 1985, 2, no. XLI; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 306, no. 85; Petrioli Tofani 1991, 144; Cecchi and Natali 1996, 374–75, no. 139

THE SUBJECT OF THE DRAWING has generally been described as a "soldier" by the first scholars who wrote about it.[1] Filippo Di Pietro in 1910 first proposed that the sheet relates to the figure of Saint Michael in the altarpiece painted by Andrea del Sarto and dated 1528 for the church in the *romitorio* of the Abbey of Vallombrosa (fig. 19).[2] The two paintings by Andrea that flanked the tabernacle on the altar at Vallombrosa (currently at the Uffizi) represent four saints: Michael and Giovanni Gualberto on the left, John the Baptist and Bernardo degli Uberti on the right. Even though the pose of the two figures is slightly different and their outfits substantially dissimilar, it is possible to understand why Di Pietro would have connected the Uffizi drawing with the Vallombrosa altarpiece.

Saint Michael in the altarpiece wears a vaguely *all'antica* armor covered by a heavy yellow drapery. With his left hand he holds a broadsword; he looks out toward the viewer, his head dramatically tilted. His right arm bent, he rests his hand on his waist. The young man in the Uffizi drawing is basically represented in the same pose, standing, with his legs apart. The substantial difference is that the pose of the man in the drawing is reversed and that his right arm, holding the sword, is placed higher. The man is also wearing contemporary clothes from the 1520s and not armor. If Di Pietro's theory is right, it seems that Andrea would have sketched the pose from a model in the workshop and then used it for his Saint Michael. It would have been common practice for a painter to do so and to have *garzoni* posing in the studio for compositional figures for paintings.

The drawing, however, displays an interesting feature. Horizontal and vertical lines cut the composition to the right of the figure and at the level of the young man's waist. This seems to suggest a composition that was destined to be cropped. Sydney Freedberg in 1963 suggested that instead of relating to the Vallombrosa Saint Michael, the drawing was preparatory for a full-length portrait possibly painted after the siege of Florence.[3] The format would have been an extraordinary one for Florentine portraiture at that date, but Freedberg drew a parallel with Moretto's full-length portrait of a man in the National Gallery in London from 1526. If the drawing relates to a portrait, it is more likely that Annamaria Petrioli Tofani was correct in interpreting the lines as suggesting that the drawing was meant to be preparatory for only a three-quarters portrait, although Andrea had obviously sketched his sitter full length.[4] The architecture in the

CAT. 8

drawing—a column with the hint of a capital at its top—appears only within the surface of the final painting, as suggested by the lines that cut the composition. In this format the painting would have been similar to portraits such as the Getty *Halberdier* by Pontormo. It is likely, therefore, that this was the initial sketch for a portrait of an anonymous sitter, planned and possibly painted at the time of the siege, when Andrea was in Florence. Titian in his preparatory drawing for the portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere (both in the Uffizi) of 1536–38 also drew a model wearing armor in full length for what must have been intended from the beginning to be a half-length. In that case Titian focused in his drawing specifically on the upper part of his armor, and showed a model wearing a cuirass, but with naked legs. In this way both Andrea and Titian would make sense of a full figure in the round before cutting it in half and focusing on the part that interested them the most.

While the pose of the man does relate to the Vallombrosa Saint Michael—albeit in reverse—the possibility of the Uffizi drawing being preparatory for a portrait is a seductive one. The unknown portrait was probably conceived around the time of the siege and the Vallombrosa altarpiece, and the two must have influenced each other. A drawing from the model by the master could therefore have served the dual purpose of reference for both a portrait and a religious figure.

NOTES

1 Ferri, *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta*, 137, no. 326; Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (1903), 2:5, no. 77.
2 Di Pietro, "I disegni di AdS," 208–9.
3 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:204.
4 Petrioli Tofani, *AdS: Disegni*, 2, no. XLI.

PLANNING ON PAPER

JULIAN BROOKS

CATALOGUE 9

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH FOUR SAINTS

ca. 1509
Brown wash and white heightening over traces of black chalk, on gray-prepared paper
29.2 × 24.8 cm (11½ × 9¾ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 231

PROVENANCE Everhard Jabach (L. 2959 and 2953); Jabach inventory, vol. 2, no. 8 (Raphael); entered the Cabinet du Roi in 1671; Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 2748 (Sogliani); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 2748 (Sogliani); Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 520, no. 1; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 2748 (Sogliani); Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 4, figs. 1–2, vol. 2, 3–6; Passavant 1964, 120; Monti 1965, 23, 124, no. 14, fig. 5; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 17, 21, 153, pl. 4b, vol. 2, 196, 369; Viatte 1977, no. 26; Petrioli Tofani 1985, 4–5, no. II, pl. II, under nos. XI, XXIV; Cordellier 1986, 14–16, no. 6; Natali 1999, 12–13, fig. 2

WITH THE VIRGIN set on a freestanding architectural throne in the midst of a landscape, and flanked by a relatively static, symmetrical arrangement of saints, this composition feels deeply rooted in the modes of the late fifteenth century. It is not surprising, then, that in the nineteenth and early twentieth century the drawing was attributed to artists such as Raphael, Garofalo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Sogliani.[1] Adolfo Venturi was the first to suggest that it was made by Andrea del Sarto, an attribution subsequently universally accepted.[2]

Yet the sheet is full of mysteries. One of them is the question of why it was made. It does not directly relate to any known or documented painting by the artist, but given its high finish several art historians have logically suggested that it must be a *modello* for an altarpiece, now lost.[3] Stylistically it is most comparable to a predella panel now in the Galleria Borghese, featuring a central Pietà scene flanked by four separate saints. Although the painting that the predella accompanied is not known, this drawing could plausibly represent a study for it, even if the iconography does not match perfectly.[4] Another possibility is that the sheet was preparatory for an embroidery or for a painted miniature (later in his career Andrea supplied a drawing to another artist for just such a purpose).[5] Key to the function of the drawing is the fact that the principal lines in the figures of the Virgin, Christ Child, and Saint Peter, and in the architectural throne have been comprehensively pricked, although the pricking is limited to these areas only. A drawing would normally be pricked to transfer the design to another surface—a second sheet of paper, for example—so that a same-size replica could be made. Of course we simply don't know why only a part of the sheet was pricked; one explanation might be that the artist was dissatisfied with the other elements of the composition and looked to start afresh. Alternatively, perhaps he wanted to feature only these figures in another composition. It has always been assumed by previous authors that the pricking was done contemporaneously with the drawing, and this is most likely, but given the retention of del Sarto's drawings in the studio and their use by pupils, this cannot be guaranteed.

The sheet has the feel of a *modello*, a highly finished drawing usually made as the last stage in the creative process before painting, often to show to a patron. Yet although black chalk has been used for the initial planning of the scene, there is no sign of the precise work in pen and brown ink that was often used for *modelli*. Instead, the composition is created relatively freely with a brush and multiple shades of brown wash and white heightening, almost in the manner of a monochrome chiaroscuro painting, a technique in which Andrea was to excel at the Chiostro dello Scalzo. The sense of high finish is given to the drawing by the gray-prepared paper on which it is made, in combination with the extensive use of white highlights. A pentimento in the head and hat of Saint Gregory further undermines the sense of a neat and tidy "final model," and this is reinforced for the modern viewer by the fact that the rubbing of the sheet at top right has revealed the black-chalk construction lines used to create the architectural throne.[6] Along with the "spoiling" of the sheet by pricking, the pentimento, which would always have been visible, perhaps makes it unlikely that the drawing was intended as a work of art in itself.[7]

CAT. 9

NOTES

1 Summarized in Cordellier, *Hommage*, 14, no. 6.

2 Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 9:520, no. 1.

3 Notably Freedberg, *AdS*, 3–4, and Natali, *AdS*, 12–13. Natali dismisses Shearman's contention that at this young age del Sarto was unlikely to have been awarded a major altarpiece commission.

4 As speculated by Cordellier, *Hommage*, 14–16.

5 Louvre inv. 1670 (Cordellier, *Hommage*, 81–83, no. 55); John Shearman favored these possibilities.

6 I think it unlikely, as some authors have suggested, that these indicate a desire or plan to extend the architecture across the right background.

7 As suggested by Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, no. 2, who describes it as a sort of "grande miniature monochroma" (large monochrome miniature). It is possible, though unlikely, that the sheet represents a discarded first attempt at such a work, with only some of the figures transferred to a second version.

CATALOGUE 10

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

ca. 1511

Red chalk

36.6 × 30.9 cm (14 7/16 × 12 3/16 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 667 E

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 107; Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 15 (Umbrian-Tuscan); Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 8; Knapp 1928, 117; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 107; Comandè 1952, 5, 122, note 10; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 107; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, fig. 31, vol. 2, 29–30; Monti 1965, 139, note 59 (Anonymous Umbrian); Forlani Tempesti 1980, no. 31; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. VII; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 1, pt. 1, 292–93; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 199–200, no. 6

GIVEN THE VERY FEW SURVIVING compositional drawings by Andrea and the relative lack of sheets from the earlier part of his career, this particular example is doubly important, since it belongs to both groups. It occupies the entire extent of a large sheet of paper, trimmed slightly at left and bottom margins, and in red chalk it plans a composition of the Adoration of the Magi. It features a foreground "stage" teeming with figures, while in the background a procession winds through a rich landscape. The scene bustles with action and incidental detail as the magi arrive, removing their hats, to pay homage to the infant Christ and the Virgin at right.

While one might expect such a relatively large sheet of paper to be used for a highly worked design or *modello* to be shown to a patron or third party, this is very loosely drawn, as if it were the first attempt of the artist to study this composition. But for such a sketchily drawn sheet it contains, curiously, not a single pentimento; figures are placed in position and in relation to one another without considering alternatives, unusual for Andrea. There is also an unusual hierarchy of emphasis: the hat on the ground at right, for example, is more firmly drawn than the lightly sketched Christ Child perching on the Virgin's knee.

These aspects would presumably be explained if we knew why Andrea drew the sheet and what—if any—painting he was planning. Given the general similarities in format and design with the *Journey of the Magi* fresco (see fig. 2) in the entrance courtyard of SS. Annunziata, there has always been a temptation to link the two. As has been pointed out, however, in terms of subject an Adoration is a very different scene from a Journey, which does not feature the Virgin and Child. The distinction is even more significant in this case, since we know from Vasari that Andrea deliberately painted the *Journey* to complement Alessio Baldovinetti's much older *Adoration* on the same wall.[1] Nevertheless, it is possible that at some stage there were very different iconographical intentions.

Whether or not they are associated, the drawing does seem to date from the same period as the *Adoration*—about 1511—and compares well with a fragmentary study certainly related to that fresco.[2] There is a similarity in the figure types and some of the shorthand abbreviations, particularly in the rendering of faces. All the same, there is a strong late-1400s feel to many of the poses; they seem rooted in the work of artists of a previous generation, in particular Pietro Perugino or Filippino Lippi.[3] The stick figures shown here are also rather similar in their abbreviation to those on the reverse of a sheet in the Uffizi (inv. 6918 F), datable to about 1518.[4] Those characters are copied from a print by Lucas van Leyden; could the drawing here (cat. 10) even be a free copy by Andrea after a composition by another artist?

NOTES

1 See Shearman, *AdS*, 2:207.

2 Uffizi, inv. 334 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 200, no. 7.

3 There is a strong reminder of the *sinopie* (full-scale chalk drawings made on the *imprimitura* prior to painting a fresco) that exist from this period.

4 See Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 224, no. 23 (the verso is not reproduced). It is likely, if not certain, that the verso was drawn by Andrea, and his interest in Lucas van Leyden is witnessed again in the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (see cat. 50).

CAT. 10

CATALOGUE 11

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINT JOHN

ca. 1516–17

Red chalk

31.5 × 23.3 cm (12⅜ × 9³⁄₁₆ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 304 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Di Pietro 1910 (1), 41 (copy); Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 11 (attributed to del Sarto); Fraenckel 1935, 188 (pupil of del Sarto, with corrections by del Sarto); Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 36–37, fig. 71, vol. 2, 69–70, 72; Monti 1965, 60–61; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 41–42, 153, 159, pls. 51b, 49a, vol. 2, 230, 234–36, 333–34; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 25–26, 29, no. 21; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. XI; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 134; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 216–17, no. 17; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege 2009, 92, 96, 220–21, no. 5, fig. 50

WITH A DYNAMISM driven by a startling mix of chalk effects, pentimenti, and dizzying multiple planes of hatched lines, this drawing exudes energy. As a type, there is no sheet to compare with it among the few known composition studies—mainly *primi pensieri* and chalk *modelli*—by Andrea. We cannot know whether it was a type of drawing made to suit specific exigencies or if Andrea often made sheets of this type, the others of which are now lost; the multiple oil stains on this one speak of its active early life in the studio. As has long been recognized, the drawing relates unequivocally to Andrea's *Madonna and Child with Saint John* in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (cat. 11.1).[1] It is likely that this painting was made for Giovanni Gaddi, a very important Medici ally, patron of the arts, and *letterato* of the period who was also a prominent member of some of the same social *compagnie* as Andrea.[2] Given the multiple versions and copies that are known today, it must have been an accessible and well-known picture.[3]

The composition of the drawing is repeated with minor adjustments in the painting, yet some aspects are unresolved, notably the angle of the Virgin's head and the direction of the

CAT. 11.1 | *The Madonna and Child with Saint John,* 1517. Oil on panel, 154 × 101 cm (60⅝ × 39¾ in.). Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 334

CAT. 11

infant Baptist's gaze: pentimenti show him looking out at the viewer, left at the Virgin, and 45 degrees across. There is little interest in the drawing in drapery or detail, and the purpose seems to have been to establish the relative positions of the figures, aspects of their poses, and the lighting. Both the drawing and the painting are marked by dramatic illumination with strong contrasts of light and shade. In the drawing these effects were achieved through vigorous hatching and a bold use of the white of the paper for highlights. The more subtle areas were created by going over chalk with a wetted brush and then adding further hatching or outlines once the paper was dry again, resulting in a stunning mix of soft tonality and sharpness. The firmest lines are in the profile of the infant Christ's back and thigh, carving out a silhouette that is prominent in the painting. In fact, the drawing shows Andrea trying to gain a similarly strong outline along the right arm of the Baptist but being thwarted by the fact that he is in the shadow of the Virgin. Andrea solves this problem in the painting by raising the Baptist's arm toward the viewer so that it catches the light.

Vasari noted that Andrea used models provided by sculptors as the basis for some of his poses (see the Introduction), and this drawing provides a persuasive example of the practice.[4] As was first noted by John Shearman, the pose of the infant Baptist (with the exception of the right arm and head) is the same in the drawing and the painting but is seen from slightly different viewpoints, suggesting a three-dimensional model.[5] The pose is also used for an infant in *The Baptism of the People* in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, with the right arm dropped as in the drawing.[6] This fresco was certainly completed by March 1517, when Andrea was credited for it, and this is approximately the date that most scholars now ascribe to the Borghese *Madonna* and this drawing. The use of a sculptural model gives a certain solid plasticity to the figure of the infant Baptist and is perhaps one of the reasons that early critics noted the Michelangelism of the painting, although other works of this period, including *The Baptism of the People*, exhibit the less nuanced influence of Michelangelo.[7]

The dynamism of the drawing and the wide sockets of the eyes find comparison in the draftsmanship of Andrea's pupil Jacopo Pontormo, and in fact the pose of the Christ Child here was used by Pontormo for his Christ in the San Michele Visdomini altarpiece of 1518.[8] Pontormo most likely knew this very drawing, since one of the two sketches by Andrea on the verso for one of his Borgherini bedchamber decorations seems to have been used by Pontormo in reverse for a hand holding a cap in *Joseph Sold to Potiphar*, one of Pontormo's own Borgherini bedchamber decorations, now in the National Gallery, London.[9]

NOTES

1 For the painting see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:235–36, and Natali and Cecchi, *AdS: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, 68. Although the drawing is now universally recognized as Andrea's, it was in the past thought to be a copy of the Borghese *Madonna* by Naldini (see Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 216, for a detailed account of the history of attribution). The few faint lines that cross the infant Christ's face are the beginnings of the outline of the Virgin's body; they demonstrate the initiation of the composition on the sheet and that the drawing cannot be a copy after the painting.

2 See Wellen, "AdS"; Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 48–50; Natali, *AdS*, 75–79.

3 See Shearman, *AdS*, 2:235.

4 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:804; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:488.

5 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:63, 2:235–36, 2:333–34. In the painting the infant is seen from a more elevated position and the figure is rotated to the right.

6 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:300–301.

7 In particular, Longhi, *Gallerie italiane*, 86; Wilde, *British Museum Italian Drawings*, 12 (cited in Shearman, *AdS*).

8 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:334; for the painting see Costamagna, *Pontormo*, 132–37; Pontormo's intermediary sketch is found on the verso of Uffizi, inv. 6744 F.

9 National Gallery, inv. 6451; see Costamagna, *Pontormo*, 126–28. As noted by Shearman, *AdS*, 2:334. The two studies of details on the verso of Uffizi, inv. 304 F, are for one of Andrea's own paintings for the Borgherini bedchamber of the *Story of Joseph* (Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 105–11), generally dated around 1516.

CATALOGUE 12

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

ca. 1520–22

Red chalk, with traces of black chalk and stylus

29.5 × 24.5 cm (11⅝ × 9⅝ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1688

PROVENANCE Everhard Jabach (L. 2959 and 2953); Jabach inventory, vol. 1, no. 44 (Andrea del Sarto); entered the Cabinet du Roi in 1671; Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 274, vol. 2, no. 1766; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 274, vol. 2, no. 1766; Fraenckel 1935, 185; Ragghianti 1949–50, 118; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 407–8, vol. 2, no. 1766, vol. 3, fig. 791 (Naldini); Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 106–7, fig. 69 (Naldini after del Sarto); Monti 1965, 167–68, no. 186; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 152, 154, pl. 92b, vol. 2, 308, 345–46, 375–76; Viatte 1977, under no. 26; Forlani Tempesti 1980, under no. 36; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXIV; Cordellier 1986, 54–56, no. 33; Bambach 1999, 312–16

ONE OF THE MOST FASCINATING—and perplexingly complex—cases in the study of Andrea's workshop practice is that of *The Adoration of the Magi*. Here we have a compositional drawing in ink (cat. 12.2), an almost identical compositional drawing in red chalk (cat. 12), two figure studies (recto and verso of the same sheet), and an unfinished panel painting (cat. 12.1).[1] All of these elements offer a wealth of technical evidence (squaring, pricking, pouncing) as to what the creative process could have been, and this has been interpreted in diametrically opposite ways.[2] Most likely we will never know what precisely the process was, but possibilities can be considered.

Let us review the evidence. The Uffizi drawing (cat. 12.2) was freely made using different shades of brown wash, often skillfully applied with the point of the brush to define details. This was applied over a preliminary black-chalk sketch of the composition, not always apparent but certainly clear in the architecture, some elements of the drapery, and a few light pentimenti in the heads behind the Christ Child. Parts of that black chalk were not worked up in wash, notably a rock (?) at bottom right, and something in the foreground, perhaps an initial placement of a hat, directly in front of the left-hand kneeling king. There are also black *spolvero* traces under the outlines, particularly visible in the architecture. Later, a second pass of—much more firmly applied—black chalk was used to make some adjustments, including the addition of the scabbard of a sword for the right-hand standing figure, revision of the crowd in the right background, and a major redrawing of the left-hand standing figure. White heightening was also applied with a brush to hide a pentimento in the ointment jar carried in his left hand, moving it closer to the Virgin. The heightening was liberally used at this stage to create highlights (some of which have now oxidized to gray/black) across the drawing. A plumb line, a straight incised line, was scored vertically down the center of the composition, just grazing the left shoulder of the Christ Child, and there is a further incised line along the base. These were presumably used as anchor marks for the relatively large-scale squaring in black chalk that at one point covered the entire sheet, now only faintly visible in the foreground. Finally, a thick line of brown wash was added at the margins of the composition to create a border or frame, which suggests that this was some sort of relatively formal *modello*.

The Louvre drawing of the same composition (cat. 12) is different in handling and effect from the Uffizi sheet we have

CAT. 12

CAT. 12.1 | *The Adoration of the Magi*. Oil on panel, 77.2 × 64.2 cm (30⅜ × 25¼ in.). Private collection

CAT. 12.2 | *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1520–22. Pen and brown ink, brush with brown wash, over traces of black chalk and stylus, white heightening, partially squared in black chalk, 32.6 × 26.5 cm (12 13/16 × 10 7/16 in.). Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 634 E

just been looking at. It is tidily drawn in red chalk, although there are traces of black-chalk underdrawing and exploratory direct construction incisions in the architecture. It is squared with a fine grid of red chalk; the grid follows that of the Uffizi sheet but is twice as populous (that is, each square on the Uffizi sheet is four squares on the Louvre one). Some of the squaring has been gone over twice, and some areas are heavier than others. Occasional junctions, such as those below the Virgin, have been dotted. The entire composition of the Louvre sheet has been finely pricked for transfer to another sheet or surface, and this pricking is apparent even in some cases where the chalk lines have disappeared.

Both drawings are of high quality. The Uffizi sheet has skillful work with the point of the brush, and chiaroscuro effects worthy of Andrea. The Louvre drawing has moments of brilliance, including the vivid shorthand characterization of Joseph, behind the Virgin, but the visual effect of the outlines is hardened by the pricking. The conundrum is: Which drawing came first? New evidence from scaled digital overlay techniques reveal that the two compositions and the painting are all almost exactly the same scale; the figures and the architecture can be placed on top of one another.[3] The exception is the top right section of the Louvre drawing, which has been drawn in a different color chalk; the visible cartoon transfer lines on the painting show that this part was adjusted when painted.

It is difficult to reconcile the dry quality of the Louvre drawing with the feel of a spontaneous creative design. And yet it seems clear that the Uffizi drawing was drawn on *spolveri* taken from it, and worked up freehand by Andrea, perhaps as a *modello* for the patron. It also seems clear that the cartoon from which the painting was derived was scaled up from the Louvre drawing too, even if it also shares a sibling relationship with the Uffizi sheet. The visible cartoon transfer lines show extreme fidelity to the pricking of the Louvre drawing, reflecting details such as the round spurs at the back of the boots of the principal striding figure, and are particularly visible in the Virgin's left hand, where they fuse both the outline of the Christ Child's arm and the top of the hand.[4] The linear quality of the Louvre sheet, perhaps made by Andrea and his studio as a fair copy of another much freer drawing, now lost, made it an easy model from which to work, and from which to base future compositions.[5] Indeed a faint circular line surrounding the Madonna and Child, Joseph, and angels suggests such a use; it has been convincingly interpreted as a preliminary attempt to isolate these figures for potential use in the Passerini altar frontal (for which see cat. 13).[6]

CAT. 12.3 | *Drapery Study for a Kneeling Figure*, ca. 1520. Red chalk, 13.7 × 18 cm (5⅜ × 7⅛ in.). Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 10897 F, recto

The role of a related figure study in Darmstadt is difficult to establish.[7] On one side is a squared study from a model for the figure at right, but reversed. The verso is blackened for transfer but also contains the remains of a study for the leftmost king. Shearman notes that the squaring is similar to that on the Louvre sheet, but the scale is neither that of the drawings nor that of the painting; details of dress suggest that these studies relate more closely to the former.

Why the painting was left unfinished is unknown. Striations in the initial paint surface perhaps suggest problems with adhesion to the *imprimitura*.[8] The composition has been dated on stylistic grounds to about 1520–22, a dating that also tallies with the fact that a study for the drapery of the kneeling magus (cat. 12.3) was reused—or previously used—in *The Tribute to Caesar* at Poggio a Caiano (ca. 1520, for which see cat. 23.1).[9] The Madonna and Child from cat. 12 was used, in reverse, in the initial cartoon transfer of *The Madonna of the Steps* (fig. 20 and 21) and was also used with modified drapery for *The Madonna of the Sack* (cat. 15.1) of 1525.[10] The entire composition of cat. 12 also seems to have been relatively widely known. Andrea's follower Domenico Alfani made a deeply indebted work in reverse, now in Perugia, and there is a drawn copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.[11] A small copper panel inspired by the composition is at Burghley House.[12]

One interesting project for the future would be an analysis of the construction lines for these works. On the Louvre sheet there are two close parallel diagonal lines at bottom left that seem not to relate to perspective, and others are evident on the right; the Uffizi sheet has similar lines in the tails of the striding figure; and the painting has various incised lines at the base.[13]

NOTES

1 The panel painting was sold at Christie's, Old Master Paintings, New York, January 31, 1997, lot 142, and is now in a private collection; it was discussed by Costamagna, *Pontormo*, 330–31 (as del Sarto), endorsed by Shearman at the time of the sale and identified with the Guadagni picture (noted by Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 244–45, and Cordellier, *Hommage*, 54–56), and discussed again in Shearman, *AdS: The Botti Madonna*, 20–21. The figures on the ledge are so Pontormesque that I cannot resist the notion that Pontormo must have been involved in this project along with Andrea; this section of the Louvre drawing was added in a darker chalk, and both artists were at Poggio a Caiano during this period. The painting has a greater elongation of necks than either drawing.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:345–47 (who considered the Louvre drawing a cartoon for the Uffizi sheet); Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 244–45 (who believed the opposite). Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 312–16, uses additional evidence gathered from the sheets to agree with Shearman, while acknowledging Petrioli Tofani's point about the fluid draftsmanship of the Uffizi sheet. None of these authors knew of the painting when writing.

3 There is no disparity in the scale of the Uffizi/Louvre architecture.

4 There is a slight discrepancy in the top left cornice of the architecture between the two drawings; the painting follows the Louvre one.

5 Even making a modern tracing of the outlines of both sheets proves this, with the Uffizi wash lines resulting in many potential ambiguities.

6 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:376; but see also Cordellier, *Hommage*, 56.

7 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:325–26. I have not been able to study the original.

8 I am grateful to Sue Ann Chui for this observation, but neither of us has been able to see the original panel.

9 Uffizi, inv. 10897 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 232, no. 28; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege, *Göttlich gemalt*, 99–100, 226–27, cat. no. 11, fig. 54.

10 As noted by Cordellier, *Hommage*, 56.

11 See Cordellier, *Hommage*, 56. Fitzwilliam, inv. 2839.

12 As noted by Shearman, *AdS*, 1:152. http://www.burghley.co.uk/collections/collection/ventura-salimbeni-called-bevilacqua-the-adoration-of-the-magi/.

13 These are possibly proportional planning lines, as suggested by Timothy Mayhew; I am grateful to Lala Ragimov for her study of them.

CATALOGUE 13

STUDY OF FIGURES BEHIND A BALUSTRADE

ca. 1522

Red chalk

17.5 × 20 cm (6⅞ × 7⅞ in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 92.GB.74, recto

PROVENANCE Private collection, Lugano; art market, Katrin Bellinger, Munich; sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1992

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Bellinger and McCorquodale 1991, no. 2; Walsh 1993, 132, no. 50; Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, 109–11, no. 43; Brooks 2010, 28–29, no. 12

COMPRISING STUDIES of four standing figures, two on the recto (cat. 13) and two on the verso (cat. 13.1), this sheet well exemplifies Andrea's creativity. The artist seems to think aloud on the page, exploring numerous options by modifying his own figures with numerous pentimenti. The flurry of draftsmanship makes the design often difficult to read, yet—as always seems the case with del Sarto's drawings of this type—the brevity still conveys a great deal of information.

Each figure was drawn within a separate hastily sketched architectural space, all seemingly unified by a ledge or balustrade running below the center. The figures are seen from below, and the low viewpoint is most clearly expressed in the recto left-hand sketch in an attempt to show the underside of the ledge. The ledge motif and the hatched backgrounds behind two of the figures give an impression of low relief. The character types are different in each case, and the artist seems to have been considering them as complementary pairs. On the recto the left-hand character, youthful with a large mop of hair, rests his weight through his left arm on the ledge, which also supports the book he holds. He looks at the viewer over his left shoulder as if interrupted from reading, a device reminiscent of the London portrait and its related studies (see cat. 2). Drapery covers his right arm and loops down to dangle over the balustrade; a further swathe seems to fall and link with abundant drapery around his legs, the left one bent at the knee and drawn several times, the right one out straight. A circular line above his head (not elliptical enough to be a halo) and pentimenti in his upper back indicate an abandoned thought that he should stand more upright.

The recto right-hand figure was drawn on a larger scale. His upper body pushes out over the ledge, which once again supports his book, held at the top by his left hand, the position of which was redrawn several times. A quill (?), also to be held in that hand, was crossed out with a single stroke. His head is delightfully blurred by pentimenti, and he looks in four directions: heavenward, ahead at his book, out and down, and out over his left shoulder. Drapery again protrudes over the ledge, but below it the artist has run into trouble with the scale of the legs, which are much too long to fit in the remaining space, and these are left unresolved despite a jumble of lines and hatching.

The figures on the verso were also drawn on this larger scale, but the lower portions were more successfully completed, even if the verso composition was cropped when the sheet was trimmed (presumably at an early date) to frame the recto. The verso left-hand figure is sketched only once, and not modified with the forceful strokes that dominate the other three studies. The only pentimento occurs in the position of the head, clearly intended as an older, balding, bearded, flat-nosed character. It was originally sketched looking out to the left, but redrawn facing instead to the right in a far more focused pose. The figure leans on the ledge, clasping a book to his chest. At right a short pole-like object, perhaps a crucifix (?), rests against the architectural frame. The relatively relaxed pose of this figure is taken even further in his neighbor, a character with minimal drapery, who half-sits on the ledge with his left leg up, a book under his left arm, and an indeterminate object in his right hand (perhaps a quill, although it seems to be held in the palm of his hand and looks more like a stone or knife).

Notwithstanding these uncertainties in attribute, and given their variant facial types and the books held by each of them, it seems fairly likely that these figures represent the four Evangelists, and this has not been doubted by past authors.

The drawing does not link with certainty to any extant or documented work, so ideas as to its purpose can only be speculative. Most likely the sheet contains early ideas for the four Evangelists who were to appear on an embroidered *paliotto* (frontal) that would decorate the high altar of Cortona Cathedral (cat. 13.2).[1] It was commissioned by Silvio Passerini, who was made a cardinal in 1517 by Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) and made Bishop of Cortona

CAT. 13

on November 21, 1521, with an investiture on April 2, 1522,[2] an occasion for which the *paliotto* might have been intended.[3] The *paliotto* features a top band with a central roundel of the Madonna and Child, flanked by further roundels of Saints Mark and John (to the left) and Saints Matthew and Luke (to the right), and additional roundels after designs by Raffaellino del Garbo. The outermost of del Sarto's Evangelists act as bookends within a fictive ledge that unites all of his figures and is a strong point of commonality with the Getty drawing; it is in fact a charming evolution from the Getty ledge with each Evangelist held directly behind.

In the embroidered *paliotto* the Evangelists all look down at their books, giving extra power to the Madonna and Child, who look out at the viewer. While some of the postural and gestural similarities between the Evangelists in the Getty drawing and those on the *paliotto* could be regarded as generic, the device of the figure of Saint Matthew seated on the ledge, reflecting the right-hand verso study on the Getty drawing, seems to stem clearly from the same flow of creative consciousness.[4] The evolution of the spaces into roundels helped to solve the spatial problems Andrea was experiencing with the placement of legs in his original rectangular designs, and likely followed the large circular form of the coat of arms below.[5] A number of small drawings in roundel format show Evangelists almost identical to those embroidered and were most likely used as part of the production process; they give no evidence of a transition from those in the Getty sheet.[6] While two detailed red-chalk drapery studies in the Uffizi might seem to attest to a full preparatory process with large-scale sheets for these relatively tiny Evangelist figures, Andrea's reuse of drawings from other, more important projects for this commission make it probable that those two drapery studies were also made for other projects and reused (see cat. 21 and 41.1).[7]

CAT. 13.1 | Verso of cat. 13

CAT. 13.2 | Designed by Andrea del Sarto, Andrea Feltrini, and others, Passerini Altar Frontal, ca. 1517. (Detail.) Embroidered gold brocade and crimson velvet. Cortona, Museo Diocesano

NOTES

1 Proposed in Bellinger and McCorquodale, *Drawing in Florence*, no. 2, and elaborated in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta, *European Drawings* 3, 109. That the frontal was made for Cortona is specifically stated in the will of December 1526 drawn up by Margherita Passerini, the cardinal's mother (Shearman, *AdS*, 2:249; Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:136). In the same document she also commissioned the large Assumption altarpiece (see cat. 26.3). For a summary of the commission and a resume of previous literature, see Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 118–21. An alternative hypothesis for the Getty drawing (Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta, *European Drawings* 3, 110) is that it relates to ephemeral figures painted for the entry of Leo X into Florence in 1515, in my opinion a date not consonant with the vigor, ambition, and schematic nature of the drawing.

2 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:139, note 1.

3 This provides a likely date around which the *paliotto* was made (see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:249; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 120), and it was certainly completed before December 1526 (see note 1 above). I cannot agree with the dating of 1524–26 that was proposed by Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:137, principally to allow for experience of Raphael's *Transfiguration* in del Sarto's related cope design (see cat. 21).

4 Some other potential similarities are discussed in Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta, *European Drawings* 3, 109.

5 The overall *paliotto* design was probably by Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini, a longtime del Sarto collaborator, and also included work from designs by Raffaellino del Garbo and others; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:249.

6 Uffizi, inv. 14421 F, 14422 F (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 246–47); Farnesina, inv. F.C. 130467 (Beltrame Quatrocchi, *Disegni toscani e umbri*, 56, 141, no. 43); Lille, inv. 253 (Cordellier in Brejon de Lavergnée and Westfehling, *Raffael*, 127–29); Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:138–39; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:249, and a drawing sold at Christie's New York, January 28, 1999, lot 48, now Krugier-Poniatowski (Weniger, *Linie, Licht, und Schatten*, 54, no. 20). See also Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 466, note 104.

7 Uffizi, inv. 6447 F, 6448 F; see Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 247–48, nos. 41, 42, with previous bibliography.

CATALOGUE 14

COMPOSITION STUDY FOR A PIETÀ

ca. 1524

Red chalk over traces of black chalk

17.7 × 15.4 cm (6 15/16 × 6 1/16 in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1677

PROVENANCE Everhard Jabach (L. 2959 and L. 2953); Jabach inventory, vol. 1, no. 39; entered the Cabinet du Roi in 1671; Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, (L. 1899 and 2207)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Di Pietro 1910 (1), 14; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 587; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 1765; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 422–23, vol. 2, no. 1765 (Naldini); Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 125–26, fig. 88; Monti 1965, 83, 159, no. 139, fig. 167 (copy from the end of the 16th century); Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 153–54, pl. 125a, vol. 2, 309, 369, 372–73; Viatte 1977, under no. 26; Shearman and Coffey 1978, under no. 29b; Steinberg 1983, 16, fig. 3; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXIX; Cordellier 1986, 59–61, no. 37

THIS SMALL SHEET packs in a *Pietà* with four doll-like figures, reducing everything to a modest number of extremely descriptive strokes. Faces—with expressions—are formed from a little hatching, odd dots, and quick jabs; note the dramatic face of the dead Christ with a strong, dark dot of red chalk for the open mouth. With such an intense abbreviation of form, the drawing relies on an extreme subtlety to convey minutiae of detail, the artist intuitively knowing what the human visual brain will fill in. Almost every fold of drapery seems to be represented, and there is a deft precision to the chalk strokes. The composition of the main group is unusual: the dead Christ, one hand between his legs, rests on the ground against the Virgin's knee as she begins to lift the shroud around him. Despite the rapidity with which the sheet is drawn, there are few pentimenti, perhaps because, before starting work with red chalk on the sheet, Andrea had sketched the composition in black chalk (traces are visible under all the figures, but particularly noticeable in the Virgin's headdress and on Christ's forehead).

Given the completeness of drawings such as this, John Shearman termed them chalk *modelli*, while noting that they would have preceded detailed figure studies.[1] Although *modelli* are normally the last stage in the creative process, and much more highly wrought than this, the term acknowledges the amount of information provided, conveyed only in the medium of chalk. Very few of these sheets survive, and although they look similar, it would be wrong to assume that they all played the same role in Andrea's creative process or even that they constitute a specific type of drawing. For example, only two correspond directly with known paintings, yet they seem to serve different purposes. One in red chalk in Berlin (cat. 18) is extremely exploratory, with pentimenti in many of the head positions that make it seem as if it were made for Andrea's own benefit. In contrast, a black-chalk and gray-wash drawing of the *Pietà* in the Uffizi (inv. 642 E), clearly preparatory for the work that Andrea painted at Luco in the Mugello (see cat. 31), is much tidier and more resolved.[2] It is set within a neat double-ruled, shaded decorative border, and shows a distinct lack of pentimenti. Although it is lightly squared in black chalk, there are a number of differences with the painting as executed, making it likely that it was a design made for someone else's consideration, perhaps for the approval of the Camaldolese nuns who commissioned the painting.

Some scholars have seen cat. 14 as a first step in the genesis of the *Pietà* of Luco.[3] Certainly the style of the sheet is consonant with a date of 1524, when the altarpiece was painted, and the position of the Virgin is similar even if the figure of Christ is entirely reversed. Such a conclusion assumes that the standing saint at right is Saint Peter, the patron saint of the church at Luco; while he seems to lean on a staff, he holds in his right hand something that could conceivably be keys, though they are not as clearly delineated as in other drawings. It also implies that the altarpiece began as a much more intimate—almost domestic—work with fewer figures. The linchpin for the hypothesis is a compositional drawing of the Pietà in the British Museum with the Virgin and dead Christ accompanied by Saint Peter and Saint John the Baptist,[4] but with the addition of the Magdalene and Saint Sebastian, a plague saint woefully pertinent to the fact that Florence was being ravaged by the plague in those years and that Andrea and his family were in Luco only to seek refuge from it. The British Museum drawing shows an extremely similar compositional layout to the Uffizi final chalk *modello* mentioned above, as well as numerous specific similarities, in particular the pose and position of Christ on his mother's knees and the Magdalene at right. The enclosed architectural setting perhaps marks a staging post between the undefined close background of the Louvre sheet and

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the open landscape featured in the Uffizi drawing and the Luco painting.[5] Yet to see the Louvre sheet as the genesis for the Luco painting implies a sudden shift on the part of Andrea from a composition that was intimate and essentially his own to one that was very substantially derived from Fra Bartolommeo's treatment of the subject at the church of San Gallo of 1511–12 (a remnant now in the Galleria Palatina). The Uffizi and British Museum compositions are strikingly similar to it, and the Luco painting is even more so, yet with a pathos in the figures that is entirely Andrea's.[6]

A twist also comes with the fact that the British Museum drawing relates directly and exactly to a *Pietà* painted for the Duomo of San Miniato al Tedesco by Andrea del Sarto's brother, Ser (or Sir) Spillo, an enigmatic figure.[7] The correspondence has led some scholars to the conclusion that the British Museum drawing must also be by Ser Spillo, deriving his composition from Andrea's Uffizi drawing or the finished Luco painting.[8] Yet the British Museum and Uffizi drawings are absolutely interlinked, not just compositionally but also stylistically, and they are both of a quality that seems far beyond Ser Spillo's reach, at least to judge from his paintings.[9] No doubt future research will clear up the matter, but for the moment it seems most likely that Ser Spillo was just making the most of a rejected design of his brother's.[10]

NOTES

1 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:153–54.

2 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 277–78. This sheet has a watermark, Briquet 7392 (Shearman, *AdS*, 2:371), also found on a Fra Bartolommeo drawing in the Morgan Library, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned*, inv. IV, II.

3 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:126; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:371, sees this as the "most logical conclusion"; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 277–78. Cordellier, *Hommage*, 59–61, acknowledges the possibility, but gives a clear and full account of other possibilities.

4 British Museum, inv. 1895, 0915.546; Turner, *Florentine Drawings*, 84–85, no. 54.

5 It can be noted that the Luco painting shows very little compositional evolution on the panel, given the relatively minor pentimenti visible in the underdrawing discovered in 1986 (*AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 341–47).

6 Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 110.

7 La Porta, "'Sir Spillo,'" 111–16.

8 Natali, *AdS*, 161, who notes, however, that the British Museum drawing is superior in quality to the painting.

9 The style of the British Museum drawing troubled Shearman (*AdS*, 2:348), but he noted that it could not be separated from the Uffizi one.

10 Archival research should illuminate the matter, and might answer questions such as whether there is any reason for Spillo to include the figure of Saint Peter in his altarpiece.

CATALOGUE 15

FIVE STUDIES FOR A LUNETTE WITH THE VIRGIN AND CHILD

ca. 1525
Red chalk
28.9 × 26.1 cm (11⅜ × 10¼ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. 1912,1214.20
Donated by John Postle Heseltine, 1912

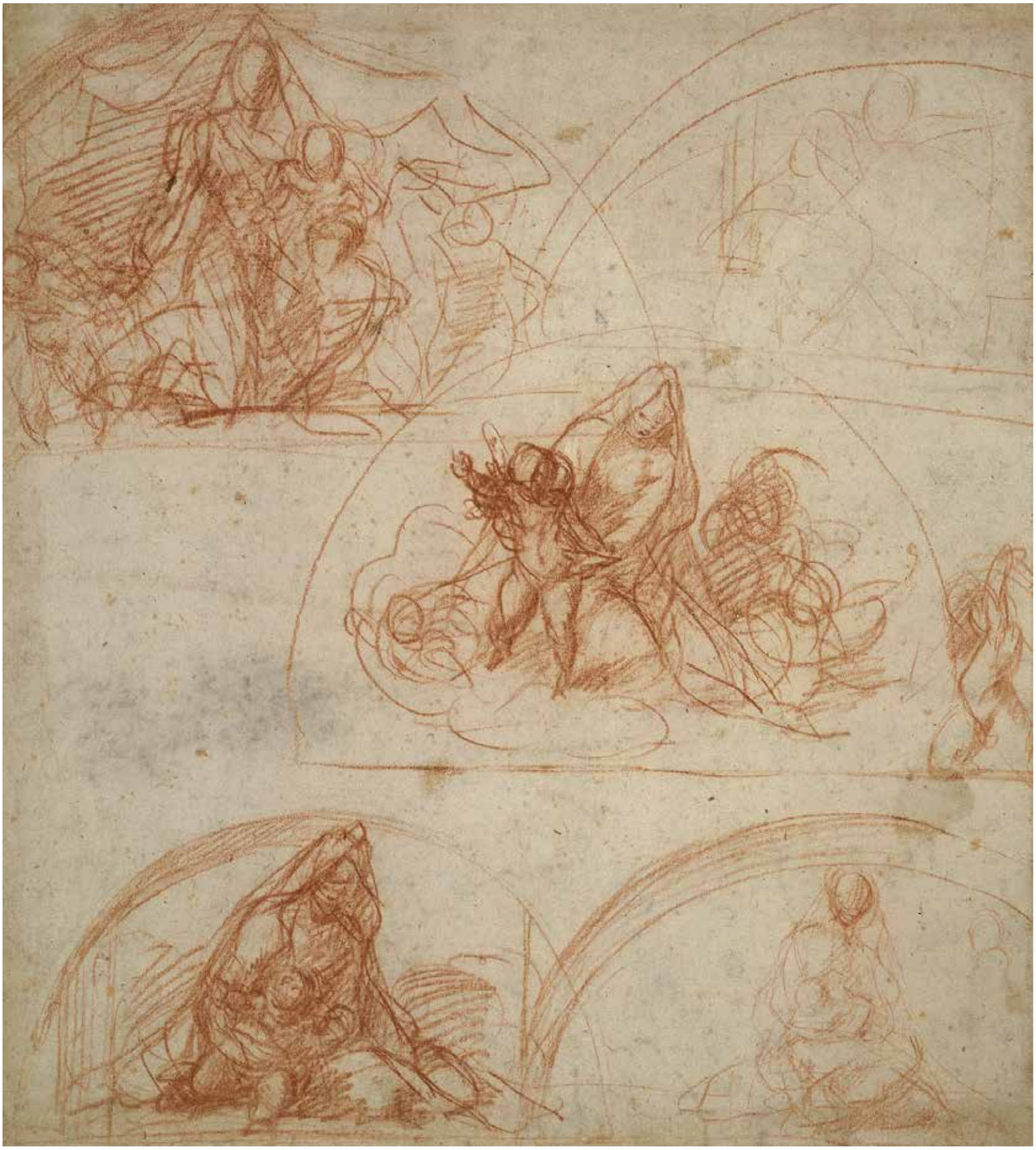
PROVENANCE G. W. Reid (according to Heseltine catalogue); J. P. Heseltine (L. 1507)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 140, no. 873; Knapp 1907, 118; Heseltine 1913, no. 5; Meder 1923, 289; Fraenckel 1935, 180; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 140, no. 873; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 140; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 72, 97, fig. 157, vol. 2, 134–35; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 153, 176–77, pl. 135, vol. 2, 343, 363; Turner 1986, 85, no. 55, pl. 86; Franklin 2005, 134–35, 340, no. 33

THIS DYNAMIC SHEET is a testament to how far Andrea's ideas for a composition can travel in a short time. Taking probably only a matter of minutes and using only a single sheet of paper, Andrea starts with a grand Madonna kneeling on one knee in a lunette heavily decorated with swags, and ends with a Madonna humbly seated directly on the ledge. The fact that we can today see the origins of one of Andrea's most lauded and famous compositions is remarkable in itself, and we should be grateful that this is one of the very few such studies that have come down to us. While a relatively large number of figure studies by del Sarto survive, it seems that this type of sheet—sketchy, rough, and incomplete—was not only most likely to be thrown away rather than preserved for reuse by the artist, but was also least appreciated by early collectors, many of whom were artists, who generally favored more highly finished drawings.[1]

Berenson was the first to link this drawing to Andrea's fresco of *The Madonna of the Sack* (cat. 15.1) in SS. Annunziata, which occupies a high lunette over the door between the Chiostro dei Morti and the church and is dated 1525.[2] In these studies Andrea is already taking account not only of the shape of the space to be frescoed, but also the direction of the lighting from lower left and the viewpoint *di sotto in su* (from below). All of the solutions concern figures seen as if in a shallow relief, and he toys with the protrusion of elements over the ledge, most notably in the bottom

CAT. 15.1 | *Madonna of the Sack*, 1525. Fresco, 191 × 403 cm (75¼ × 158⅝ in.). Florence, SS. Annunziata



CAT. 15

left sketch, in which the infant Christ seems intent on crawling over it. In the fresco as painted the Virgin sits entirely on a ledge, but the peril of her situation is balanced by the solid majesty of her figure; only her left foot, of which we see the underside, protrudes specifically into space above us.

Despite the lack of resolution and the vividly calligraphic nature of the draftsmanship there is a clarity of idea within each individual solution. The first sketch made on the sheet, at top left, shows the Virgin kneeling within a lunette festooned with drapery seemingly held by putti; the Christ Child on her knee reaches either for her breast or to bless the viewer; their heads are reduced to ovals without features. This solution seems to have its seed in Pontormo's *Veronica* of 1515 in the Cappella del Papa, Santa Maria Novella.[3] The sketch in the center, probably the second made on the sheet, instead sits the Virgin on a cloud with putti, holding a standing infant Christ who enthusiastically blesses the viewer. One of the putti, arms raised over his head, is drawn separately at right. The study at bottom left keeps the Madonna in almost exactly the same position, but she struggles to constrain the squirming Christ at the edge of the ledge. Gone are the putti (and clouds?), but the two corners of the lunette now seem to be truncated by simple architectural forms, as in the final fresco. The bottom right solution is the most tranquil, with a Madonna who seems to be suckling; a child watches at right. A very brief sketch inserted at top right sits the Virgin on a step, reaching down, perhaps the most Michelangelesque solution.

Each successive idea is worked up to a level at which Andrea could judge it, and his mind then moved on. While the studies here are clearly progressing in the direction of the final composition, none of them are that close to it, and one wonders how many further studies he made before being satisfied. The introduction of Joseph, calmly reading at left while leaning on a sack,[4] after which the fresco got its name, must have been a crucial moment, allowing a shallow triangular composition. This also echoed iconographic elements of a rest on the flight into Egypt, even if the inscription at left of the fresco suggests an adoration, QUE GENVIT ADORAVIT, an abbreviated form of IPSUM QUEM GENUIT ADORAVIT MARIA (she worships him whom she bore),[5] the first antiphon for the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, February 2. The seated Madonna with the Christ Child straddling her knee, reaching outward, occurs several times in Andrea's work of a few years earlier, albeit in reverse. These figures appear in the first solution transferred by cartoon to *The Madonna of the Steps* (Prado; fig. 20)[6] and in *The Adoration of the Magi* (see cat. 12), and studies for them were likely kept in the studio for reuse.[7]

While we can trace through this drawing the possibilities considered by Andrea, the final composition of the fresco seems extraordinarily effortless. Its combination of dignity, naturalism, and informality made it one of the vital sights of Florence for centuries of visitors and critics, even if today it remains a backwater for the waves and waves of tourists.

NOTES

1 For example, Vasari, one of the earliest major collectors of Florentine drawings, boasts of a *modello* by del Sarto (fig. 8) that he owned (now in the Louvre); see the Introduction to this volume and Cordellier, *Hommage*, 47.

2 Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (1903), 140; see Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:134–35; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:264–65.

3 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:135.

4 The only other drawing relating to this composition is a life study for this figure, seen *di sotto in su*; Louvre, inv. 1675; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 69–70, no. 45; an early copy is in the British Museum, inv. 1895,9.15.547.

5 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:107–8, 2:264, notes other examples of this inscription, which is also discussed at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O111371/the-adoration-of-the-magi-window-guillaume-de-marcillat/.

6 As first noted and demonstrated by Ana Gonzáles Mozo in Finaldi and Garrido, *El trazo oculto*, 165.

7 That this solution was also first considered for the roundel of the Madonna and Child in the Passerini embroidered altar frontal is suggested by a circular line drawn around these figures in red chalk on the Louvre drawing (see cat. 12).

CATALOGUE 16

COMPOSITION STUDY FOR THE BIRTH OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

ca. 1526

Red chalk

16.4 × 22.1 cm (6 7/16 × 8 11/16 in.)

London, British Museum, inv. SL,5226.86

PROVENANCE Sir Hans Sloane Bequest, 1753

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Clapp 1914, 295; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 1763A (Naldini); Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 1763A (Naldini); Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 74–75, fig. 165, vol. 2, 139–40; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 153–54, pl. 138a, vol. 2, 361; Borsook 1980, 129; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. XXXIII; Turner 1986, 85, no. 56

THE FINAL FRESCO that Andrea painted in the Chiostro dello Scalzo was *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 16.1), also called *The Naming of the Baptist*, for which he was fittingly paid on the Feast of San Giovanni, June 24, 1526.[1] In this study of the entire composition, a female attendant in the center carries the infant Baptist to the bed. Pentimenti show Andrea experimenting with her legs in different positions, and with various possibilities for the placement of the baby's head. Elizabeth, reclining in bed, plumps the pillows for the baby's arrival; the drawing shows her looking both up at the attendant and down at the pillows; in the fresco the latter option was painted. Zacharias, her husband, who had previously been struck dumb for his disbelief, sits at the right. According to the Bible he had signaled for a writing tablet, and wrote, "His name is John"; everyone was astonished, and he regained his speech.[2] At the left of the drawing two figures stand close to the doorways. Andrea modified their positions radically in the fresco to keep the narrative attention focused on the bed; he placed one woman, dimly lit, heading to the door with her back turned, while the other becomes a strong pendant figure of a crone seated at the left edge to balance Zacharias at right.

The drawing shows the interior setting with canopied bed and the disposition of figures. They are shown either unclothed or lightly clothed, in contrast to the swathes of drapery accorded them in the finished fresco. This follows Renaissance practice, but tells us that—at least in this drawing—Andrea was considering the interaction between the different figures (and possibly their relative lighting) rather than the formal appearance of the fresco to the viewer. The latter consideration would more likely have been studied in a drawing of the chalk-*modello* type (see cat. 14), which includes drapery. Nor is the composition in the "brainstorm" stage of the *Madonna of the Sack* type of drawing (cat. 15).

A peculiar side effect of the lack of drapery is that the figures seem attenuated. This quality has led commentators in the past to doubt the authorship of the drawing, instead attributing it to Pontormo or to Giovanni Battista Naldini, ideas now firmly laid to rest.[3] These spindly undraped forms of the drawing perhaps also encouraged Andrea to increase their scale compared with the room in the fresco, as well as adding the massive draperies. Vasari, who lauded the individual figures of the fresco, suggested that their monumentality was the summation of the influence on Andrea of Michelangelo's sculptures for the Sacristy in San Lorenzo. There is likely truth in this, and there can be little doubt about the increasing solidity and majesty of Andrea's figures in the 1520s.[4]

No other composition studies relate to Andrea's work in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, making this sheet even more valuable as

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a record of his creative process. Evidence from conservation of the frescoes themselves provides some information as to how they were painted.[5] Most of the scenes required five to eight *giornate* ("days" or sessions of work, so called because plaster would remain fresh for only a day). Colors with indications of the light and dark areas were quickly brushed in, and the cartoon was transferred to the plaster, normally by the *calco* technique, leaving incisions in the plaster that could be followed—or modified—in the painting. For the *Birth of the Baptist* fresco there is a photograph of the *secondo strappo* (residue of color/tone on the wall following removal of the fresco by the *strappo* method). This shows the straight incised lines for the architecture, and cartoon transfer incisions, as well as apparently some of the initial ground colors.[6]

A drawing for the seated figure of Zacharias is in the Louvre; it studies his position and draperies and was faithfully followed in the fresco.[7] A drawing, now lost, reproduced by Jan de Bisschop, seems to be a study for the woman carrying the child made from a posed studio assistant.[8]

NOTES

1 For the fresco see Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:139–40; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:306–7, 400, document 90 (payment). For the Scalzo cycle as a whole see particularly Shearman, *AdS*, 1:52–74, and Borsook, *Mural Painters*, 127–31.

2 Luke 1:62–64.

3 Berenson first made the link between the drawing and Andrea's fresco, but considered the sheet a copy by Naldini (Berenson, *Drawings of Florentine Painters* [1938], no. 1763A; Berenson, *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini* [1961], no. 1763A); the attribution to del Sarto came from Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:139–40, and Shearman, *AdS*, 2:361. Petrioli Tofani, *AdS, disegni*, no. XXXIII, points out that an Alinari photograph of the early 1900s gave an attribution to Pontormo. The pentimenti and fluidity declare that the drawing is not a copy, while the deftly sought-out profiles and graphic language are entirely characteristic of other Andrea drawings (see cat. 15).

4 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:847; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:45; Shearman, *AdS*, 1:73, 2:306; Natali, *AdS*, 173. See also Borsook, *Mural Painters*, 129.

5 Borsook, *Mural Painters*, 129.

6 Photograph reference G.F. 203946; represented in Borsook, *Mural Painters*, lvi.

CAT. 16.1 | *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1526. Fresco, 194 × 110 cm (76⅜ × 43¼ in.). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

The initial ground colors as shown there do not seem to make sense with the fresco as painted, or else have been compromised by the *strappo*. The darkest tone is apparently for the figure in the background and part of the adjacent doorway. The darkest areas of background must have been painted in at a different time, although normal fresco practice would be to work from the top of the composition.

7 Louvre, inv. 1680; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 73–75, no. 48; the head study on the verso is less securely related to Zacharias.

8 Shearman, *AdS*, 1: pl. 139c, 2:306. The study suggests that del Sarto perhaps intended to hold back the bed canopy.

CATALOGUE 17

STUDIES OF FIGURES SEATED AND STANDING BEHIND A TABLE

ca. 1526–27

Red chalk

25.6 × 36.3 cm (10 1/16 × 14 5/16 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 664 E, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collection; Uffizi

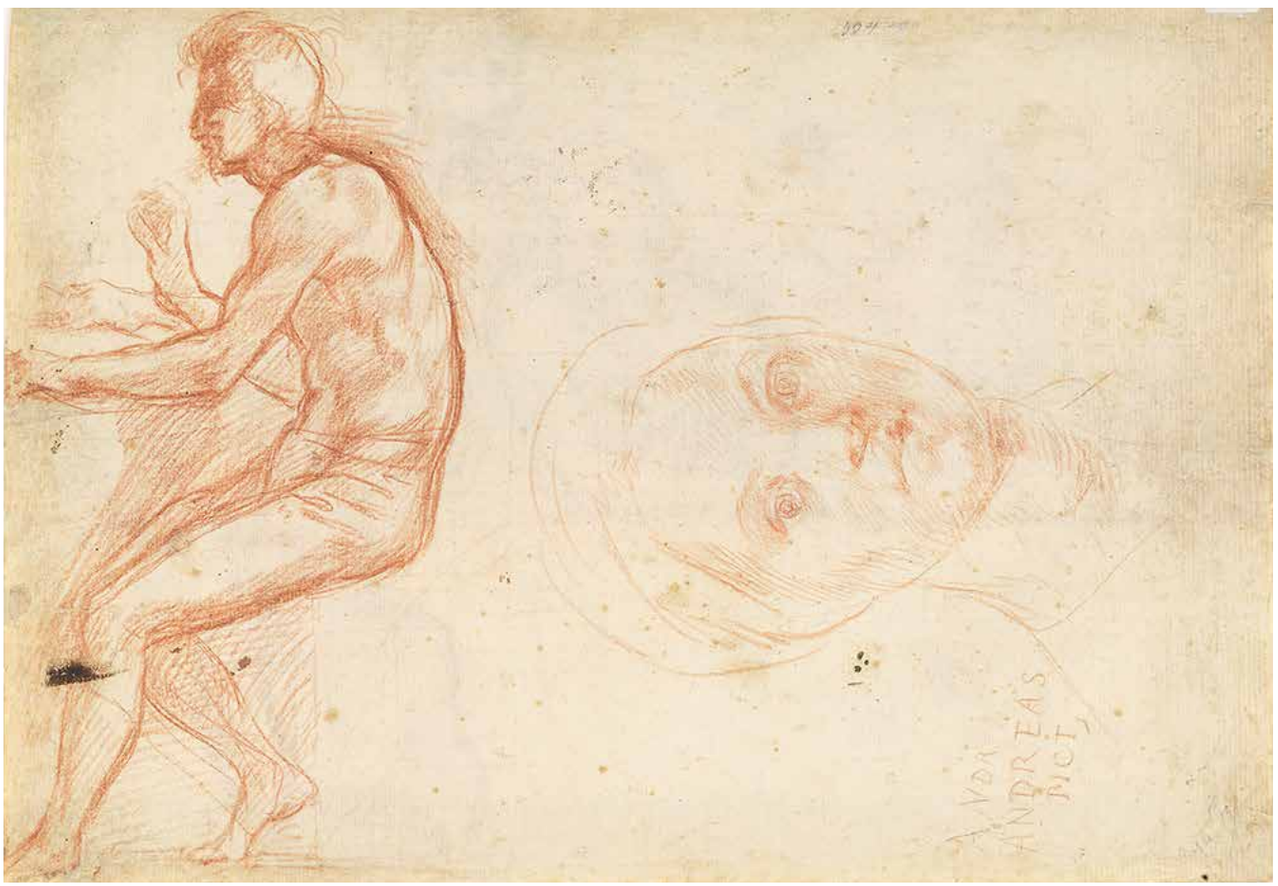
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 106 (del Sarto and another hand); Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 66–67; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 14; Ferri 1912–21, series 4, issue 3, no. 13; Leporini 1925 (1), 58; Knapp 1928, 117; Popham 1930, no. 523; Fraenckel 1935, 178 (del Sarto and collaborator); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 106 (del Sarto and another hand); Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 10; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 142; Wagner 1951, 77, no. 91; Marcucci 1954 (1), under no. 22; Becherucci 1955, no. 22; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, n. 106 (del Sarto and another hand); Forlani et al. 1961, no. 43; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 75–76, fig. 175, vol. 2, 143; Monti 1965, 96; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 94, note 1, pl. 112a, b, vol. 2, 254, 351–52; Forlani Tempesti 1970, no. XXVII; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 30; Forlani Tempesti 1980, no. 39; Petrioli Tofani 1981, 108, no. I; Petrioli Tofani 1985, 2, no. XXXIV; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 1, pt. 1, 291–92; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 283–84, no. 69

GIORGIO VASARI WROTE of Andrea's *Last Supper* at San Salvi (cat. 17.2) that this work "was held to be, and most certainly is, the most spontaneous and the most vivacious in coloring and drawing that he ever made, or that ever could be made. For, amongst other things, he gave infinite grandeur, majesty, and grace to all the figures, insomuch that I cannot do justice to its merits, it being such that whoever sees it is struck with amazement."[1] The last sentence is still true nearly five hundred years later, and the San Salvi *Last Supper* remains the most extraordinary testament to Andrea's skills, and yet one witnessed by very few people.[2] The realistic everyday characters in classical robes are painted life-size at a high table on the end wall of a relatively small refectory, illuminated from the right as if from the existing windows. Their drama is played out in simple gestures and in convincing groups. Typically Andrea applies a thoughtful and highly personal reading of the biblical texts that results in a scene of greater psychological intensity and less overt emotion, contrasting markedly with previous representations.[3] Instead of depicting the seismic moment when Christ declares that "one of you will betray me," triggering surprise and anger, Andrea shows a more nuanced moment from Saint John's Gospel.[4] Here, John, the beloved disciple, asks Christ to identify the betrayer, and Christ does so by handing Judas—seated immediately beside him—the bread. At the same time he turns to John, seated on his other side, and takes his hand. The reaction among the disciples further follows the biblical text: some do not understand, others are plagued by doubt or self-doubt.

As Andrea planned the arrangement of the disciples, who seem to ebb and flow along the table, he must have made numerous composition studies, but this drawing is the only surviving example known today. Drawn on a large piece of paper, it studies a group of three disciples at the right of the composition. Andrea's dedication to rooting all aspects of his preparation in everyday reality becomes clear here. He studies the figures from posed studio assistants, unclothed to capture their anatomy, even though the figures would later be swathed in drapery. Andrea also indicates briefly the legs of the seated characters—hidden by the tablecloth in the fresco—to ascertain the correct fall of their body weight. There is a focus on their relative placement, with a particular emphasis on the central figure, densely worked. Pentimenti in the position of his head show him looking both up and down, and he was initially drawn sitting in a more upright pose, subsequently modified to show him leaning further forward with his weight on his left elbow. A subsidiary study at lower right clarifies this, also turning his head further. Interestingly, in this sketch a few brief lines seem to indicate a shirt or tunic with an open neck, and the (much older) disciple in the fresco in fact wears such a garment; presumably Andrea was already at this stage considering clothing.

A drawing on the verso of the sheet (cat. 17.1) is a nude study for the disciple at the extreme right of the composition, an unused solution for whose left arm appears on the recto.[5] His pose is mimicked faithfully in the fresco. Andrea realized that the initial study for his right hand, placed on the table, would render it invisible when seen from the low viewpoint of the fresco, and he raised it in a pentimento. A hatched area indicates that Andrea already anticipated the limits of the bench on which the figure perches.

CAT. 17



CAT. 17.1 | Verso of cat. 17

CAT. 17.2 | *The Last Supper*, ca. 1526–27. Fresco, 462 × 872 cm (181⅞ × 343⅜ in.). Florence, Museo del Cenacolo di San Salvi

The additional sketch of a head, drawn with the sheet turned 90 degrees, has occasionally been considered the work of a student.[6] Although it initially gives the impression of not being a strong drawing—particularly when contrasted with the spectacular sketches on the rest of the sheet—it is typical of other barely indicated forms. The adjacent inscription is made with the same chalk and is likely also to be autograph.

The thoroughly convincing space and perspective within which the figures are set in the fresco must have involved a good deal of planning, as indeed the whole composition must have. Yet there are no clues as to how this was done except for stylus incisions for the straight construction lines in the *intonaco*. These are visible to the naked eye, as in fact are the incisions from the cartoon transfer.[7] Vasari notes that Andrea completed the project in "pochi mesi" (a few months), and the whole work was executed in sixty-four *giornate*.[8] Most of these *giornate* follow the outlines of figures but occasionally comprise only a head or a larger expanse of background. The work was likely completed in 1527, when Andrea received his final payment.[9]

The historian Benedetto Varchi recounts an incident that occurred during the siege of Florence of 1529–30, when raiding parties went out from the city to enforce a scorched-earth policy on buildings in the environs, intended to deprive the besieging army of potential barracks.[10] "I shall recount an event as unbelievable as it is true: a mob consisting in part of farmers and in part of soldiers . . . having razed to the ground the better part of the church and monastery of San Salvi, when they reached the refectory wherein there was a *Last Supper* by the hand of Andrea del Sarto, they stopped as one and were silent, as if their arms and tongues no longer functioned, and in the fullness of their amaze-

ment they decided to halt their destruction; and for this reason one can still see it there in that place . . . one of the most beautiful paintings in the universe." Ironically enough, the monastery passed shortly afterward to the nuns of San Giovanni Evangelista alla Porta a Faenza and was then impossible to see for centuries as a result of the *clausura* then introduced. Historians such as Bottari, Richa, and Lanzi all comment that it was inaccessible, but by 1845 it was in the care of the Accademia and once again open.[11]

NOTES

1 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:846–47; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:47.

2 Although the Museo del Cenacolo di San Salvi is free of charge and open to the public long hours, its location just outside the *viale* to the east of Florence, now among suburbs, renders it a journey made by few visitors to the city.

3 See the iconic account in Shearman, *AdS*, 1:95–96, which I follow with respect here. Although Andrea most likely knew of Leonardo's famous *Last Supper*, there is less debt to this than to a print of about 1519 by Marcantonio after Raphael; nevertheless Andrea adjusts the subject from both of these, and gives a more realistic architectural setting and scale of figures.

4 John 8:26–27.

5 Andrea instead reverses it and uses a similar pose for the arm of the leftmost figure; see cat. 36.

6 Including by Bernard Berenson. Shearman, *AdS*, 2:352, linked the sketch to the head of the servant in the *Feast of Herod* of 1523 (see cat. 30.1), but it more likely relates to the Scalzo *Faith*.

7 Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 359, reproduces a photograph of the incisions relating to a figure on the balcony, noting with what fluency they were drawn, and similar incisions can also be seen (again, with the naked eye) in the Scalzo frescoes.

8 The conservation photograph G.F. 353456 (copy in the Villa I Tatti fototeca) is marked with the outlines of the *giornate*.

9 This is now the convincing scholarly consensus (see Natali and Cecchi, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 106), pace Shearman's earlier dating to 1522–23 (Shearman, *AdS*, 2:254–57). The contract was initially signed in 1511, but only the decorative arch with the Trinity and four saints was finished at that time; internal troubles among the Vallombrosan monks delayed the completion of the rest.

10 Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 2:189–90, recounted in Natali, *AdS*, 164.

11 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:255.

CATALOGUE 18

COMPOSITION STUDY OF THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

ca. 1528

Red chalk

15.6 × 13.5 cm (6⅛ × 5⁵⁄₁₆ in.)

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 5082, recto

PROVENANCE Adolf von Beckerath collection, Berlin; entered the Kupferstichkabinett in 1902 (L. 1612)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Lippmann 1902, no. 33; Leporini 1925 (2), no. 4; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 1754B; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 410, no. 1754B (under Naldini, attributed to del Sarto); Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 97, fig. 204, vol. 2, 173; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 104–5, 153–55, pl. 158b, vol. 2, 275, 323; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. XXXIX; Damm and Korbacher 2011, 22, 23, no. 5

CAT. 18.1 | *The Madonna and Eight Saints* (Sarzana altarpiece), 1528. Oil on panel, 228 × 185 cm (89¾ × 72⅞ in.). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, destroyed World War II.

AN ALMOST MIRACULOUS COMBINATION of economy and description, this small sheet conveys a huge amount of information. The entire composition of the Madonna with saints is abstracted and the forms are reduced to absolute basics, yet we see not only how the figures should be placed in space, the positions of their limbs and draperies, but also clearly where the light was intended to fall.[1] In contrast to other so-called chalk *modelli*, this drawing seems to have been made purely for Andrea's planning purposes. There are innumerable pentimenti, and the positions of many of the heads remain to be fixed. Notably, those of the Madonna and Christ Child and the immediately surrounding saints are shown in several different positions, charmingly abbreviated, in the manner of cat. 13. Would the Christ Child look out, down, or back? Even the precise number of saints was not yet decided; an additional circular head at the back right and the profile of a kneeling figure truncated at center left are unresolved.

The drawing relates to a painting formerly in Berlin that was destroyed in World War II, *The Madonna and Eight Saints*, also known as the *Pala di Sarzana*, or Sarzana altarpiece (cat. 18.1).[2] Vasari names the saints in the picture as "two half-figures from the knees up, Saint Celsius and Saint Giulia, Saint Onophrius, Saint Catherine, Saint Benedict, Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Peter, and Saint Mark," and tells us that the altarpiece was commissioned for the church at Sarzana (northwest of Florence, near the coast) through the mediation of Florentine grandee Giuliano Scala (1480–1554).[3] A later source names Benedetto Celso (Celsi) (d. 1537) as the original patron, and the truncated figure at lower left in the painting—Saint Celsius—is likely to be a donor portrait; in the drawing this figure is already in contemporary dress rather than the classical drapery of the other figures.[4]

While many of the specific saints in the painting can be identified in the drawing—notably Onophrius at left (standing rather than kneeling), Benedict, Peter, Anthony of Padua, Catherine, resting on her wheel, and Julia—there are major compositional changes between the drawing and the finished painting. The firmly drawn framing lines at the margins of the sheet enclose a self-sufficient composition similar to the slightly earlier Gambassi altarpiece, with the Madonna and Child at center encircled by the saints, an airy background of clouds and light behind.[5] The painting moves the figures to an interior architectural space with the Madonna and Child centered in a niche, flanked by three saints on each side, with the two truncated

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figures at the bottom of wide steps. Although the panel seems to have been cut down on all sides, the high placement of the Madonna and Child results from the fact that the altarpiece was to be crowned by a scene of the *Annunciation*, now in the Galleria Palatina.[6] This was never sent to Sarzana and remained in Florence with Giuliano Scala.

A drawing in the British Museum, evidently made at a later stage than the Berlin sheet since the composition seems already fixed, is a life study made from a young studio assistant of the kneeling pose of Saint Onophrius.[7] It was used for the musculature and arm positions of the saint in the painting, but the youthful head was replaced by one more suitably aged, bearded, and ragged. The pose of Saint Benedict was then briefly sketched from another assistant standing behind.

NOTES

1 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:173, called this "perhaps the finest of Andrea's rare *invenzioni*."

2 For the altarpiece, see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:104–5, 2:275; Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:85–86, 2:171–75. Destroyed in May 1945 and now known only through photographs.

3 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:847; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:46–47; Cecchi's researches on Scala are noted by Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 154, no. 2, and see below.

4 Soprani, *Vite*, 245. For the patron portrait see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:104–5 (who also suggests that the pendant Saint Giulia was probably a portrait of his wife). Cecchi in Natali and Cecchi, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 117–18, noted that the commission was likely for the church of San Francesco in Sarzana, not for San Domenico as claimed by Soprani and subsequent literature. An echo of Soprani may appear here, but clarification is needed: http://old.comune.sarzana.sp.it/citta/Cultura/Personaggi/Celso_Benedetto.htm (accessed January 20, 2014), from *Società, economia, avvenimenti, personaggi di Sarzana*, vol. 2, by Lamioni, Salviati, and Gastardelli, where Celsi's wife is noted as Getina Chiari.

5 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:104, 155, 2:275. As he notes, Saint Onophrius is similar in pose and detail too. Perhaps there was an intent—even also realized—to reuse the cartoon for this figure.

6 Vasari's description of the two lower figures "from the knee up" suggests that the bottom was substantially cut, and there seems to be uncharacteristic compression on each of the other three sides; see also Shearman, *AdS*, 1:104, 2:275. For the Annunciation, see particularly Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 151–54, with previous literature; see also Shearman's photographic montage of the two together (*AdS*, 1: pl. 159).

7 Inv. 1896,11.18.1; see Turner, *Florentine Drawings*, 89–90, no. 58, and Petrioli Tofani, *AdS, disegni*, no. XL (where other studies related to the composition are discussed).

RENDERING REALITY

JULIAN BROOKS

CATALOGUE 19

STUDIES OF A HEAD AND A HAND

1510

Red chalk

14.2 × 20.5 cm (5⁹⁄₁₆ × 8¹⁄₁₆ in.)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1996.12

Rogers Fund, 1996

PROVENANCE Private collection, Europe; David Jones, Paris

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Bambach 1996, 23; Goldner 1998, 29, no. 1

DRAWINGS RELATING TO Andrea's early activity are much rarer than those relating to his full maturity of the 1520s. This is presumably the result of accidents of survival, but it also raises the question of whether, as his workshop became larger and more efficient, Andrea increasingly saw the benefit of deliberately preserving drawings for future inspiration or reuse. The welcome addition of this sheet—discovered in the mid-1990s—to the corpus gives us not only another early-career drawing but also a further pointer as to the question of reuse.

The red-chalk drawing features the head of a child and a separate study of a hand holding a pole or rope. It relates to del Sarto's fresco *Healing of the Relics of San Filippo Benizzi* (1510), the last of the five scenes in the life of that Servite founder painted by Andrea in the entrance cloister of SS. Annunziata in Florence.[1] The sketch of a head was used for that of a child crouching at the left of the composition, his mother kneeling behind, waiting for a healing miracle. There is a strong emphasis in the drawing on the profile of the face, and pentimenti help to fix the forehead, nose, and chin. Most distinctive about the sheet are the long, thick parallel-hatched strokes that reveal the roundness of the forms through varied pressure, coming to a halt in places to leave the white of the paper as a highlight. The hair is summarily indicated by sinuous tufts, with much blank paper left to allow them to stand proud. A dark chalk zigzag to the left of the child's ear, which serves no immediate function in the drawing, seems to be an initial recognition that in the fresco the mother's thumb will be placed there, her hand cradling his neck. A few brief lines indicate the shoulder, but the emphasis is on the face and profile.

The other sketch on the sheet relates to the same fresco, studying the hand of a friar who holds a candle as he kneels at the right of the altar. That is also dominated by contour hatching, the hatched lines sometimes becoming zigzags, but it is also modeled with stumping. The studying of every tiny aspect in such a large fresco shows Andrea's attention to detail, and is reflected in the few other drawings that relate to the San Filippo Benizzi frescoes. These include a sheet with multiple studies of hands and arms in the Uffizi (inv. 298 F), also in red chalk, which shares characteristics of handling, as does a red-chalk sketch (formerly?) in the collection of Tito Rasini, Milan.[2] A further drawing in the Uffizi (inv. 270 F) with the profile of a woman's head is drawn instead in black chalk, although there seems to be no particular explanation for the change of medium.[3]

CAT. 19

The head of a child on this sheet is also very similar to one that Andrea used in reverse for the Giustiniani *Madonna* of 1508–9, for a long time known only through a print by Cornelis Bloemaert[4] and a fragment of the Madonna's head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but now associated with a painting in the Museum of Fine Arts in Perm, eastern Russia.[5] It would have been only natural to repeat a successful drawn head, and reversal was easily achieved through counterproofing or pricking.

Andrea executed the San Filippo Benizzi frescoes at a time when he was sharing a studio with Franciabigio, in a complex known as the Sapienza (see the Introduction). During this period the styles of Andrea and Franciabigio were extremely close, and sheets by the latter also display the long contour-hatched lines found in the New York drawing.[6] Creating form through such hatched lines is very much used in a Michelangelesque drawing in the Louvre, made for another scene in the Benizzi series.[7] In that sheet the hatched lines are not generally so long, and there is some clumsiness in the legs and the distinction between left and right (Andrea has actually made a little subsidiary sketch of these on the right of the sheet for clarification). As time went on, Andrea seemed to develop the long hatched lines into a mix of shorter lines, stumping, and the application of a damp brush to the chalk, and he became adept at using these to create subtle effects. Franciabigio seems instead to have continued with the use of long contour-hatched lines.

NOTES

1 For the frescoes see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:198–202.
2 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 197, no. 4; for the Rasini sheet see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:365.
3 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 196, no. 3.
4 See Cordellier, *Hommage*, 17, no. 8.
5 See http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/437608 for details of literature; the Metropolitan fragment is now thought to be by Franciabigio.
6 For example, see the *Study for Saint James*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. P.II 232; McKillop, *Franciabigio*, fig. 48.
7 Louvre, inv. 1689; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 16, no. 7.

CATALOGUE 20

STUDY OF A STANDING YOUNG MAN HOLDING A BOOK

ca. 1515

Black chalk

37.1 × 16.2 cm (14⅝ × 6⅜ in.)

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 5133

PROVENANCE Carlo Prayer collection, Milan; Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Adolf von Beckerath collection, Berlin; entered the Kupferstichkabinett in 1902 (L. 1612)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Knapp 1907, 135; Knapp 1928, 115; Leporini 1925 (2), no. 8; Fraenckel 1935, 185; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 571, no. 2520 B (Sogliani); Shearman 1961, 226; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 48, fig. 34; Monti 1965, 63; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 44c, vol. 2, 323; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. VIII; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 1986, 209, under no. 13; Cordellier 1986, 39, under no. 25; Shearman 2000; Damm and Korbacher 2011, 18–19, no. 3

TO FIND NATURAL POSES for the saints and characters in his paintings, Andrea followed traditional Renaissance workshop practice and asked studio assistants to play the role. In this case, the role was that of Saint Ambrose to stand adoring the Virgin and Child in an altarpiece (cat. 20.1), and one of the studio assistants, wearing his workshop tunic and with his sleeves rolled up, is posed looking up with a book resting on his left leg. The sketch that Andrea made captured the basic elements of the disposition of body weight and the relevant angles and spatial relationships of the torso and limbs. Although working in black chalk on a relatively large scale, the artist was not concerned with capturing every detail at this stage, and was seeking a basis for further studies. One such study exists: the vital detailed drawing of the head of an older man of a more suitable facial type and age for the saint; this sketch in red chalk is in the Louvre.[1] Andrea must have also made more drawings of the bishop's robes, and of details such as the hands. The fragmentary sketches at the left margin of the Berlin sheet, which has been cut, have been interpreted as the Christ Child's left hand and Virgin's knee,[2] but it would have been unusual for Andrea to start planning the composition on a sheet such as this, and it is more likely that they are the traces of an additional life study, perhaps for Saint John the Baptist, whose finger and drapery are in similar positions. If this was indeed the case, it was rejected, since there is a life study in the Uffizi for that figure, whose pose relates to a statuette by Sansovino.[3]

Stylistically the drawing is still rooted in the long contour-hatched lines found in Andrea's earlier work (see cat. 19), but there are signs of the abstraction of forms that would become crucial for his swift drawings of this type in later years, including the schematic zigzagged fingers of the left hand and the abbreviated foreshortening through the use of variable pressure in the outlines.

The altarpiece was made for the Oratory of the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Neve, behind Sant' Ambrogio, Florence.[4] It was acquired by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1595–1666), who substituted a copy by Jacopo da Empoli; the original recently surfaced in New York.[5] A typological precedent for Andrea's *Madonna of the Harpies*, it was influential for the bouncing chain of gazes between the protagonists and for the shallow space in which the figures are set, reminiscent of relief sculpture.[6]

NOTES

1 Inv. 1726; see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 20.
2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:323.
3 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 209–10, no. 13; Shearman, *AdS*, 1:46, 2:226, Boucher; *Jacopo Sansovino*, 2: fig. 354.
4 See Shearman, *AdS*, 2:225–26.
5 According to Shearman, "A Lost Altarpiece," in the Alana Collection, New York (now Newark, Delaware); the Empoli copy was at Stoke Poges church, England; sold Christie's, London, December 11, 1984, lot 119.
6 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:46, 2:226.

CAT. 20.1 | *The Madonna of Saint Ambrose*, ca. 1515. Oil on panel, 164.5 × 132.5 cm (64¾ × 52³⁄₁₆ in.). Newark, Delaware, Alana Collection

CAT. 20

CATALOGUE 21

DRAPERY STUDY

ca. 1517

Red chalk

27.9 × 15.2 cm (11 × 6 in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 89.GB.53, recto

PROVENANCE Art market, Basel; art market, London

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Bull 1989, 49; Goldner, Hendrix, and Pask 1992, 19–21, no. 1

CAT. 21

THIS BEAUTIFUL LARGE SHEET is a classic example of Andrea del Sarto's reuse of his drawings. As hitherto unnoted, it was first used for the drapery of a figure with his back to the viewer in *The Arrest of the Baptist* (cat. 21.2), one of the monochrome frescoes in Andrea's Chiostro dello Scalzo series. The folds of the drapery and fall of light are almost exactly the same, although the artist has added a knotted stole over the figure's shoulders. Judging by the pentimenti at the bottom left of the study, where an initial indication shows a pool of drapery that was then modified to a light-catching fold, the study was probably made from a studio assistant or lay figure draped with cloth. It shows Andrea's facility in conveying the natural fall of cloth and disposition of light and shade upon it by using a number of red-chalk techniques. The most basic of these is simple parallel hatching, employed across most of the drawing, but it is modified subtly by stumping, rubbing, and most significantly by dampening with a wetted brush. The dampening gives a new capability to modulate tone, and Andrea further capitalized on the tonal range with an additional layer of hatching in dry chalk over the top.

Andrea was paid for *The Arrest of the Baptist* on July 19, 1517, before his departure for France.[1] The fresco, which has suffered damage more than some others in the series, is notable for the number of direct and indirect quotes from the works of other artists that scholars have seen in it, ranging from a compositional debt to Raphael's *Conversion of the Proconsul (Blinding of Elymas)* to works by Michelangelo, Ghiberti, Cranach, and Dürer.[2] The only other drawing that relates to the fresco is a red-chalk study for the soldier with a sword at left,[3] of very similar style to the Getty sheet even if the emphasis is naturally more on the pose and action than on tonality and the fall of light. That sheet has on the verso a study for *The Madonna of the Harpies*, also datable to 1517.

The Getty drawing has been most firmly linked to its second use, for the drapery worn by Moses in a scene of the Transfiguration embroidered on the removable hood of a cope, the gown worn by the officiating minister in ecclesiastical ceremonies.[4] In that instance the figure lacks the knotted stole, and so the whole

CAT. 21.1 | *Study of a Nude Man* (verso of cat. 21)

CAT. 21.2 | *The Arrest of the Baptist*, ca. 1517. Fresco, 191 × 312 cm (75¼ × 122¹³⁄₁₆ in.). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

of the drapery studied in the drawing is visible. The cope was part of the *Paramento Passerini*, a set of vestments and altar decorations commissioned by Cardinal Silvio Passerini for the cathedral at Cortona, now in the Museo Diocesano (cat. 13.2 also probably relates to this set).[5] These have been dated variously between 1515 and 1526, the year in which the set was given to the cathedral, which acts as a *terminus ante quem*.[6] Curiously, but probably not coincidentally, the only other drawing that relates to the Passerini cope specifically, Uffizi, inv. 318 F, also seems to have been used on another occasion, for *The Madonna of the Steps* of about 1522 (see cat. 47). A date of about 1522, prior to Andrea's flight from the plague to the Mugello (see cat. 31), seems the most likely for the cope, even if it means that Andrea kept the Getty study in his studio for five years—and during an absence in France—before reusing it.

That the Getty sheet was indeed specifically reused for the cope is confirmed by a quick sketch on its verso for the figure of Moses without drapery (cat. 21.1).[7] It is a brief and unresolved study, but the hand positions are similar although the angle of the head has been modified. While the lines at right have been interpreted as the rays of light emanating from Christ in the Transfiguration, they also tie in to other vertical strokes behind the figure and some other possible lines considering drapery. The two forceful strokes that connect to the raised left hand remain unaccounted for.

NOTES

1 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:301–2, with previous literature.

2 These are reprised in Shearman, *AdS*, 2:301–2, and most recently by Brugerolles, *Dessin à Florence*, 24–27, no. 2. Shearman claims that the drapery of the back-view figure is also taken from Saint Paul in Raphael's *Conversion of the Proconsul*, but I can see no similarity.

3 École des Beaux-Arts, inv. 365; Brugerolles, *Dessin à Florence*, 24–27, no. 2, with previous literature.

4 George Goldner was the first to make this link; cited in the dealer catalogue Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox, *European Drawings: Recent Acquisitions*, 1988, no. 1.

5 For a summary of the commission and a résumé of previous literature, see Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 1986, 118–21.

6 See Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:137; Shearman 1965, 2:249; Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 120.

7 As first noted by Nicholas Turner; cited in the dealer catalogue Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox, *European Drawings: Recent Acquisitions*, 1988, no. 1.

CAT. 22

CATALOGUE 22

STUDY OF A CHILD

ca. 1517

Red chalk

10.6 × 11.1 cm (4³⁄₁₆ × 4³⁄₈ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 5946

PROVENANCE Cabinet du Roi, inventoried by 1692 (attributed to Santi di Tito), 5949 (after Correggio); Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, (L. 1886a)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Pouncey 1953 (2), 367–68, fig. 33; Bacou 1955, no. 34; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 425, vol. 2, no. 158B; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 77, fig. 48; Monti 1965, 148, no. 110, fig. 109; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 60a, vol. 2, 380; Petrioli Tofani 1973, under no. 39; Shearman and Coffey 1978, under no. 23; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. xiv; Scrase and Stock 1985, no. 2; Cordellier 1986, 33–34, no. 21; Musée du Louvre 1992, 59, under no. 20; Giampaolo 1994, 204–5, fig. 2

TELLINGLY ONCE ATTRIBUTED to Correggio—an artist known for the *sfumato* effect of his drawings—this small but important sheet is charged with atmosphere. It was only in 1952 that Philip Pouncey recognized that it was a study by Andrea for the Christ Child in one of his most famous paintings, the so-called *Madonna of the Harpies* (cat. 22.1) of 1517.[1] Made with a relatively blunt chalk in a painterly manner involving much stumping and rubbing, the drawing models the figure as an extremely plastic sculptural form. Yet the artist seems not to be studying detail and description here; he is examining, rather, the effect that will be created. In contrast to the usual robust emphasis on the silhouette of the profile, the child's left cheek is made with a deliberately tremulous line. Two tones of chalk have been used to effectively model the figure in monochrome, the first more orangey and the latter darker—perhaps wetted—for intensity of shadow or stronger lines; both can be seen in the profile of the shoulder over which the child looks. A few hatched strokes to the left of his outstretched hand set it in space and give a little motion, anchored by the important lines that close the triangle between his chest and arm.

But why is the sheet important? It was this diminutive drawing, in combination with a conservation treatment of *The Madonna of the Harpies*, that provided one of the first inklings of Andrea's use of drawing on paper even after the transfer of the cartoon. In 1984, when the painting was cleaned and a layer of discolored varnish removed, an infrared reflectogram was made which revealed that the original design for the composition—transferred from a cartoon—depicted the Christ Child looking back and down over at his shoulder toward Saint Francis, not out at the viewer.[2] It was clear that Andrea changed his mind about the position of the head of Christ even at that late stage, and returned to paper to render a new pose that he then faithfully followed in his final painted version. The new pose, with the child's mouth hidden by his upraised arm, is of a type that recurs frequently in Andrea's work (most notably in the Wallace *Madonna*) and seems to be a rather more subtle version of the playful putti who hide their faces in the Dresden *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (see fig. 3).

When one considers the dynamics of the gazes within the *Harpies* composition, the new pose was a major change. The two flanking saints both look at the viewer, but the Virgin seems lost in thought, looking out of the picture yet deliberately not at the viewer.[3] The Christ Child's gaze is thus crucial in engaging the onlooker and sets much of the mood of the painting. One

CAT. 22.1 | *The Madonna of the Harpies*, 1517. Oil on panel, 207 × 178 cm (81½ × 70 in.). Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 1890, no. 1577

wonders what other options Andrea might have considered in revisiting the pose of the Christ Child, and whether others might have been drawn next to this study; it was clearly cut from a larger sheet, and traces of another chalk study remain at the top left margin. Would these studies have been made from life? While one can only guess, this Louvre sheet has a very different feel from drawings such as cat. 27 and 28, which seem more fluid. Given the inherent difficulty of drawing children, and in keeping with the role of the Louvre drawing as a late-stage reassessment of a pose, it was more likely studied from the imagination or perhaps even from one of the models supplied by Sansovino or another sculptor friend (see the Introduction).

While there are changes between what was stipulated in the contract of 1515 and the painting supplied two years later—according to the contract, the Virgin was to be crowned by putti, and Saint Bonaventura, rather than Saint Francis, was to be shown—we do not know whether these two changes were a factor in Andrea's decision to alter the pose of Christ.[4] As we have learned from examples such as *The Madonna of the Steps*, Andrea felt quite comfortable making major changes even after transferring the cartoon with the "finished" design to the panel.

NOTES

1 Pouncey, "A Study for the 'Madonna delle Arpie,'" 367–68, fig. 33; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 33, notes the pertinent fact that Adolfo Venturi saw the influence of Correggio in the painted *Harpies'* Christ Child. For the painting, see Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:42–46, figs. 75–79, 2:74–78, no. 37, figs. 75–77; Shearman, *AdS*, 1: pl. 56, 2:236–37, no. 46; Natali in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 112–14, no. 12; Natali, *AdS*, 83–89 (see this in particular for a discussion of the iconography and "harpies").

2 Del Serra and Natali, "Scheda storica per la *Madonna delle Arpie*," 55–58.

3 Cat. 6 is a detailed study for her head.

4 For the contract see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:391–92, and Natali in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 112.

CATALOGUE 23

STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF JULIUS CAESAR

ca. 1520

Red chalk

21.5 × 18.4 cm (8 7/16 × 7 1/4 in.)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2008.367.

Partial and Promised Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David M. Tobey, 2008

PROVENANCE Galerie Koller, March 23, 2007, lot 3413 (Florentine School); Mr. and Mrs. David M. Tobey, 2008

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Alsteens, Bambach, and Stein 2010, 23; Wolk-Simon and Bambach 2010, 10–12, no. 3

BY FAR THE GRANDEST FRESCO PROJECT of the period in Florence or its environs, the decoration of the Salone of the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano, resulted in one of Andrea del Sarto's greatest works. *The Tribute to Caesar* (cat. 23.1) has been characterized as Andrea's answer to Raphael, and the daring diagonal composition with complex perspective, the grandeur, dignity, lifelike rendering of the figures, and the intricate choreography of their groupings have been lauded since its creation.[1]

Numerous drawings survive from the project.[2] While many of the red-chalk studies are drawn with a characteristic rough robustness, some exhibit extraordinary softness and delicacy, as in this study for the head of Julius Caesar, who is seated just right of center.[3] Andrea modeled the precise topography of the facial features in myriad hatched and cross-hatched lines, occasionally stumping them to convey the complex fall of light. The effect of high finish and refinement gives a three-dimensional emphasis reminiscent of sculpture, and this is perhaps no accident; it is likely that Andrea based his Julius Caesar on sculptural precedents.[4] Contrasting with the smooth rendition of the skin, however, are the soft and varied textures of the hair, created by one of Andrea's signature techniques: gently rubbed parallel hatched lines for an underlying base, gone over with a darker (perhaps

CAT. 23.1 | *The Tribute to Caesar*, ca. 1520. Fresco, 502 × 356 cm (197 5/8 × 140 1/8 in.). Poggio a Caiano, Medici Villa

CAT. 23

CAT. 23.2 | Detail of the central section of *The Tribute to Caesar* (cat. 23.1)

wetted), pointed chalk for individual hairs. It is understandable that Andrea would expend particular effort in preparing to paint the most important person in the fresco. Most likely this study was preceded by freer, more exploratory sheets, and despite the "final" nature of the Metropolitan drawing, the head of Caesar in the finished painting is rotated slightly to the right and tilted down.

Commissioned by Pope Leo X through the agency of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and Ottaviano de' Medici, the decoration of the Salone was entrusted to Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, and Pontormo—the "School of the Annunziata"—who made frescoes to follow an iconographic scheme devised by the scholar Paolo Giovio.[5] The cycle was designed to honor the father of Pope Leo X, Lorenzo il Magnifico, and the episode of *The Tribute to Caesar* alluded to an embassy of the Sultan of Egypt to Florence in November 1487 that included the numerous exotic animals featured so prominently in the fresco. The commission was given in 1519–20, after Andrea's return to Florence from France. It is difficult to deny the influence of Raphael on the fresco; indeed Vasari mentions that Andrea made a trip to Rome at this time, and there is no reason to doubt him.[6] An unusually highly worked *modello* (fig. 8) by Andrea for the composition of the fresco, formerly in Vasari's collection and now in the Louvre, has been used as further evidence.[7] Work on the project was interrupted by the death of Pope Leo X on December 1, 1521; the right-hand side of Andrea's fresco was left incomplete and was only finished by Alessandro Allori in 1582.

NOTES

1 See Shearman, *AdS*, 1:78–89, 2:246. Vasari in particular noted the complexity of the semicircular steps, shown on a diagonal axis, leading to Julius Caesar.

2 See Shearman, *AdS*, 2:246; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 45–52; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 231–35. Cat. 12.3 is a drapery study used (reused) for the kneeling figure in front of Caesar.

3 The link between the drawing and the fresco was first made by George Goldner.

4 See Goldner in Wolk-Simon and Bambach, *An Italian Journey*, 12.

5 See Shearman, *AdS*, 2:246, and for the iconography, Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny* (cited in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*), and Kliemann, *AdS: Tributo a Cesare*. Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini did the decorative grotteschi.

6 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:86–87, 2:246; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 47.

7 For the fullest exposition of this proposal, see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:86–89; for a good discussion, see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 45–47.

CATALOGUE 24

STUDY OF THE HEAD OF AN OLD MAN IN PROFILE

ca. 1520

Red chalk

23.9 × 27.7 cm (9 7/16 × 10 7/8 in.)

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 12924, recto

PROVENANCE Paignon Dijonval collection (?); Charles-Gilbert Vicomte Morel de Vindé collection, Paris; art market, Gustav Nebehay; entered the Kupferstichkabinett in 1928

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Frölich Bum 1929; Fraenckel 1935, 169; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 55B; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 11–12, no. 55B; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 54–56, figs. 105, 107, vol. 2, 101–2; Monti 1965, 162; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 84, 87, 160, pl. 79a, d, vol. 2, 323–24; Winner 1967, 108–10, no. 67; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. XIX; Cordellier 1986, 52, 59; Fischer 1987, 561; Damm and Korbacher 2011, 20, no. 4

CAT. 24

TO GIVE AN AUTHENTIC CLASSICAL BENT to his monumental fresco *The Tribute to Caesar* (cat. 23.1), Andrea made studies from Antique portrait busts for use in the project. The powerful head of an old man in profile on the recto of this sheet was drawn after a bust of Homer of which there are numerous copies, including one in the Capitoline Gallery, Rome.[1] Yet without knowledge of this fact one might not guess that the drawing was made after a sculpture rather than a living figure, as indeed Chris Fischer contended. The face is animated and dynamic, and the dense beard with straggling individual strands of hair is naturalistic in the extreme. The emphasis is on the modeling of the face, rendered in fine hatching and stumping, and some areas such as the ear and neck are left relatively unexplored. A couple of lines at the top of the forehead suggest the soft skullcap.

The profile has been linked with that of the figure kneeling directly in front of Caesar in the fresco (cat. 23.1 and 23.2), but many of the features are different; the latter head is younger, with a longer nose and a more prominent chin. Shearman accounted

CAT. 24.1 | Verso of cat. 24 (reproduced here in black-and-white)

for these differences with the suggestion that the head was "modified" and filtered through a life study in the Louvre.[2] Although there are again substantial differences with that profile, the treatment of the neck muscles of the head on that sheet is indeed similar, and its link to the *Tribute* fresco is strengthened by the existence of a drapery study for the seated figure of Caesar on the verso. Fusing Antique studies and life studies may seem odd to the modern mind but was certainly practiced by other Renaissance artists.[3] What is beyond doubt, and also noted by Shearman, is that Andrea made another study of the Homer bust turned three-quarters, and used it directly for the figure standing behind, without any filtering. Further, approximately five years earlier, Andrea had employed a profile view of the Homer bust—without skullcap—for a central figure in one of his panels for the Borgherini bedchamber, *The Infancy of Joseph*, datable to 1515 or shortly thereafter.[4] Although Andrea did often reuse drawings and the lighting of that figure is similar to the bust as studied in the Berlin sheet, the other sketches on this sheet also relate to the *Tribute* fresco, making it unlikely that this drawing was made in 1515 and then reused.

The truncated sketch at the left of the Berlin sheet studies the elegant robe and prominent sleeve of a half-hidden figure directly to the right of the "standing Homer" character. Since the facial features are different from those of the youthful face briefly indicated in the drawing, we can surmise that this must be a study drawn from a studio *garzone*. He holds the drapery to his chest to help hold his pose; in the fresco his hand gestures as if he is intending to speak. Although the sheet has clearly been trimmed at the left edge—some of the hatching is abruptly cut—Andrea seems to have already been aware that the figure would be partly hidden, and the articulation of the drapery and features becomes simple hatching at the left.

The verso of the sheet (cat. 24.1) also contains two studies. The large red-chalk study of a man seen in profile to the left was used for the partially hidden head of a man behind the "standing Homer." It has resemblances to representations of Vitellius,[5] but he is generally depicted with an almost full head of hair, whereas the character in the drawing is shown with precious little. In the fresco a beard was added, perhaps in compensation. The other, smaller study on the verso—the only one on the sheet in black chalk—features a man with his left hand on his chin, in a long tradition of Florentine *pensieroso* figures starting with Donatello and continued after Andrea by Vasari. Andrea used it for a standing figure at the right of his *Feast of Herod* (completed May 1523; cat. 30.1) in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, for which the pose must have been the subject of other, more detailed studies. As suggested by Shearman, it is quite possible that Andrea intended to place such a figure in the unfinished right-hand part of the *Tribute* fresco, and that Alessandro Allori honored this intention when he actually did so in 1582.[6]

The mysterious inscription "turpilio," here written upside down, exists on a number of Andrea's drawings.[7] It is always written in brown ink, hurriedly, and has also been read, less convincingly, as "inv/pilio," "singulari," and "panfilo." The inscription occurs principally on sheets from Andrea's maturity (for example, those for the 1517 *Madonna of the Harpies*) and the final decade of his life (1520–30), although they are not, with a few exceptions, the most impressive or important ones in his surviving oeuvre. While the vast majority of occurrences are on drawings by Andrea, including one sheet (Uffizi, inv. 6458 F) that is probably a copy by del Sarto after Bandinelli, it also appears on a handful of other contemporary sketches, almost all in the Uffizi, including 1340 F (a copy of a Raphael drawing), 14432 F (by Bandinelli after del Sarto's *Madonna of the Steps*), 6202 F, and 14784 F (by Bandinelli). These Bandinelli links are interesting and perhaps offer a useful avenue for further inquiry. The inscription is covered by a Vasari mount on Louvre, inv. 1714,[8] suggesting that it was added at some time between Andrea's death in 1530 and Vasari's in 1564, and it also occurs on a number of del Sarto sheets with a Vasari provenance, so possibly it was on a group of drawings of which the Aretine writer-painter acquired a part. The inscription seems to have been applied hurriedly (often, as here, written upside down), although it is never smudged, and sometimes it was placed in the middle of the sheet.[9] Presumably, as with most such early inscriptions and marks, it was a note made during a division of property. Yet the only information we have on the early provenance of del Sarto drawings is Vasari's account of the theft from the artist's assistant and heir Domenico Conti. Certainly during this period the principal collectors and owners of drawings were artists, but many of those in the orbit of Andrea at the end of his life are—like Conti—almost unknown to us now. So who could Turpilio be, or what could the word signify? It is not a common Italian forename or surname. Turpilius was a left-handed painter recorded by Pliny; could it have been a nickname given to an

artist or studio assistant of the period? One other possible avenue of inquiry, suggested by Dominique Cordellier, is Ser Spillo, Andrea del Sarto's brother, about whom we know little; perhaps the inscription is a corruption or misunderstanding of his name?[10]

NOTES

1 As first observed by Fröhlich Bum, *AdS*, 148; Shearman, *AdS*, 1:87, no. 3; Petrioli Tofani, *AdS, disegni*, no. XIX. A study for the drapery of this figure was reused for the *Adoration of the Magi*; see cat. 12.3 and Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 232.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:87, no. 3, 2:324 (Louvre, inv. 1690 recto), followed by Petrioli Tofani (*AdS, disegni*, no. XXII; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 232); for a full discussion of that sheet, see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 52–53. Given Andrea's links with sculptors, it is likely that he had easy access to busts or plaster casts such as this; they would have been fairly standard props in sculptors' studios.

3 For example, Michelangelo; see Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings*, 67–68.

4 Hitherto unnoted; for a discussion of this series and further literature, see Natali, *AdS*, 109–14; the profile is most clearly visible in the reproduction on page 112.

5 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:87, note 3. This verso study was said by Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:101, to be an early study for the Julius Caesar.

6 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:84; for Allori's contribution see Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori*, 248–50.

7 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:322. Including Louvre, inv. 1679, 1714-4, 1687, 1685, 1680, 1714-2; Uffizi, inv. 15826 F (cat. 33), 336 F, 15789 F, 339 F, 6445 F, 6425 F; Berlin, inv. KdZ 12924 (cat. 24); private collection (cat. 34). Uffizi, inv. 6458 F, a copy of Bandinelli's *Massacre of the Innocents* engraving, has the inscription, and this sheet, along with 6919 F and 6911 F, also copies of the Bandinelli print, are attributed by Petrioli Tofani to del Sarto (see *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 258–61). Professor Louis Waldman is noted in the sale catalogue entry for cat. 34 as confirming that the "turpilio" inscription is not in the handwriting of Bandinelli or any member of his close family.

8 As noted by Shearman; for this drawing see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 76, no. 49.

9 For example, Louvre, inv. 1679 (Cordellier, *Hommage*, 31–32, no. 19). It is also written upside down on Uffizi, inv. 15789 F (*AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 309, no. 87).

10 Cordellier, *Hommage*, 32.

CATALOGUE 25

STUDY OF A NUDE MAN SEEN FROM BEHIND, LEANING ON A SURFACE, AND A SEPARATE STUDY OF HIS HEAD

ca. 1520

Red chalk, with some black chalk

27.9 × 17.7 cm (11 × 6 15/16 in.)

London, British Museum, inv. T,11.33

PROVENANCE Pierre Crozat; W. Fawkener Bequest, 1769

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 283, vol. 2, no. 134; Knapp 1907, 135; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 180; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 282, no. 134; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 134; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 54–56, fig. 102, vol. 2, 102; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 73c, d, vol. 2, 359–60; Turner 1986, 79, 81, no. 51

THIS DRAWING IS A LIFE STUDY for a figure in Andrea's huge fresco *The Tribute to Caesar* at Poggio a Caiano (cat. 23.1 and 23.2), as Berenson first noted, and the complex coiled pose is typical of many of the forms therein.[1] The man is the more prominent of two characters leaning on the balustrade at the center-left of the composition. In the fresco he wears a tightly fitting lavender-and-blue-striped shirt and jaunty lavender and white breeches, all in keeping with the exuberant nature of the decoration. This clothing is anticipated in the drawing by two lines around the waist and some cursory indications at the back of the right knee. While the study of an individual pose both clothed and unclothed was standard practice in the Renaissance workshop to enable an understanding of anatomy, in this case the clinging nature of the outfit made the nude study a particularly vital step. In the fresco, not only would the musculature be directly visible through the fabric, but the lighting would be repeated, and in this drawing Andrea studies them both. His interest is focused particularly on the protrusion of the shoulder blades and upper back muscles in the hunched figure, and he builds up these elements with layers of hatching.

The figure is lit strongly from the left, as in the fresco, and with only a few strong, sweeping lines Andrea renders the clean profile of the left side of the body. The upper right profile is in shadow, and the drawing studies the spatial relationship between the upper torso and right arm, and the delicate lighting of these areas. In contrast, the feet—not visible in the fresco because of the low viewpoint—are left as triangular stumps. The left arm and elbow are also not studied in detail; in the fresco they are behind the lower part of a statue. From these omissions, it seems clear that by the time Andrea came to make this life drawing he had already worked out the composition in enough detail to know the elements he needed to study separately here; most likely he had already made a drawing (of the type of cat. 17) rendering the disposition of this group of figures. An illegible flurry of red-chalk lines at the upper right of the sheet seems to be an indication of the man standing to the right of this figure in the fresco, and the short horizontal strokes show the shadow between them.

A subsidiary study at the left of the sheet is a master class in the use of negative space. In it, the artist ponders the effect on the figure's profile of adding a cap; in the fresco the head is prominently silhouetted against the sky. But Andrea evidently rejected the idea of a cap, and in fact finally showed even less of the facial profile. The black-chalk scribblings that have been appended to this sketch are not coherent in relation to it, and were probably added by a later artist.

On the verso of the sheet is a quickly sketched study of a standing figure apparently drawn from life, much of which is truncated by the trimming of the sheet. Shearman tentatively linked this to the statue of *Abundance* that adorns the end of the balustrade, immediately to the left of the standing figure studied on the recto of the drawing, but the connection is far from certain.[2]

NOTES

1 Berenson, *Drawings of Florentine Painters* (1903), 2: 282, no. 134, fig. 867. For the character of the poses in the fresco, see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:88–89.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:360, emphasizes the putative nature of this link; the idea of making a life study for a statue would be typically Sartesque, but I find it difficult to see the similarities of pose that Shearman refers to, even if the base line and viewpoint seem to link the drawing to the fresco.

CAT. 25

CATALOGUE 26

STUDY OF A KNEELING FIGURE WITH A SKETCH OF A FACE

1522–26

Red and black chalks

30.1 × 19.8 cm ($11^{13}/_{16} \times 7^{13}/_{16}$ in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 84.GB.7, recto

PROVENANCE Art market, Lausanne

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Shearman 1959, 129; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 34, no. 161, A-1; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 118; Monti 1965, 170; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 106a, vol. 2, 386; Walsh 1985, 192, no. 99; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 188, 267, under no. 56; Goldner, Hendrix, and Pask 1988, 19–21, no. 1; Franklin 2005, 132–34, 340, no. 32

DRAWN FROM A POSED STUDIO ASSISTANT whose cap and breeches are indicated, this sheet is a study for the prominent kneeling apostle in the left foreground of the Panciatichi *Assumption*. This was the first of two large Assumptions made by Andrea (cat. 26.2 and 26.3) and was commissioned for export to Lyon by Bartolomeo di Francesco Panciatichi (1469–1533), a wealthy Florentine merchant principally resident in that city.[1] It was probably begun about 1522 but was never entirely finished or delivered, remaining in Andrea's studio at his death, at which time it was finally consigned to the patron's son, also named Bartolomeo.

In the drawing Andrea is particularly concerned with studying the fall of light on the muscles and developing a natural-looking pose; he hardly studies the head, unresolved left hand, or even the right foot, which a pentimento indicates was lowered on the page so that the whole figure would fit. The outlines of the pose are sketched with fine strokes, and the interior light and shade are carefully modeled with hatching and cross-hatching. The apostle in the painting is shown in the same pose, but the head looks at the spectator over his shoulder instead of upward, and he is covered in voluminous drapery. Two separate quick studies of the turning head appear on the verso of the sheet (cat. 26.1), although both were struck out by the artist in the same chalk used for the sketches. A very brief exploratory study of the central standing figure of Saint Thomas also occupies the verso.

CAT. 26.1 | *Figure Study and Face* (verso of cat. 26). Red chalk

CAT. 26

CAT. 26.2 | The Panciatichi *Assumption*, 1522–26. Oil on panel, 362 × 209 cm (142½ × 82¼ in.). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 191

CAT. 26.3 | The Passerini *Assumption*, 1526–28. Oil on panel, 379 × 222 cm (149¼ × 87⅜ in.). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 225

Andrea developed the pose of the kneeling apostle on the recto from a similar one used for Saint Sebastian a few years earlier in the smaller panel of *The Dispute on the Trinity* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; fig. 4); that figure rested his right hand on arrows rather than a book and was studied in a drawing now in the Uffizi.[2] When commissioned four years later to paint the large-scale *Assumption* for the Passerini family (cat. 26.3; see also cat. 13), Andrea relied heavily on his preparatory work for the Panciatichi *Assumption*, reusing cartoons for a number of the figures. For that painting the figure studied here was modified with different drapery and an older physiognomy, but the elements of the pose remain the same. Even though studies such as this often seem to have been carefully retained in the studio for reuse, there is a reminder of their fragility here: this drawing was at some point torn in half across the center and later repaired.

NOTES

1 Shearman, *AdS*, 253–54; see also Waldman, "A Document for AdS's 'Panciatichi Assumption,'" 469–70.

2 Uffizi, inv. 6918 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 224–25, no. 27. An odd sheet that seems to be a schematic study for his head was published by Whitaker and Clayton, *Art of Italy*, 86–87, no. 14.

CATALOGUE 27

STUDIES OF A CHILD

1522–26

Red and black chalks

19.3 × 26.5 cm (7⅝ × 10⁷⁄₁₆ in.)

Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 2537, recto

PROVENANCE François Flameng, Paris (see L. 991; sale, Paris, Georges Petit, May 26–27, 1919, no. 88); Emile Wauters, Paris (L. 911; sale, Amsterdam, Frederick Muller & Cie, June 15–16, 1926, no. 118 to Lugt); Frits Lugt, Paris (L. 1028)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Shearman 1959, 124–34, figs. 4, 6; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, p. 33, 159 A-2, Jaffé 1962, 237; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 60, fig. 122 (verso), vol. 2, 117, fig. 86 (recto); Monti 1965, 169, figs. 187, 188; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 157–58, pl. 103a, c, vol. 2, 253, 381–82; Byam Shaw 1983, vol. 1, 28–29, vol. 3, pl. 25, 26; Hasselt 1984, 14, no. 20

CATALOGUE 28

STUDIES OF CHILDREN

1522–26

Red and black chalks

20 × 25 cm (7⅞ × 9¹³⁄₁₆ in.)

London, British Museum, inv. 1910,0212.37, recto

PROVENANCE G. Salting Bequest, 1910

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 141; Knapp 1907, 135; Colvin 1911–12, no. 5; Knapp 1928, 118; Fraenckel 1935, 179; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, 138A; Shearman 1959, 129; Berenson 1961, 138A; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 97, figs. 118, 123, vol. 2, 116–17; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 157–58, pl. 103d, b, vol. 2, 251, 363, 381–82; Byam Shaw 1983, 28, under no. 20; Turner 1986, 83, no. 53; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege 2009, 91–92, 94, fig. 47

THESE TWO SHEETS study the most prominent putto in the Panciatichi *Assumption* (cat. 26.2) who, flying, supports the Virgin as she ascends. Her right foot rests on his back, and he holds her left foot with his left hand. In these drawings the process of transforming life studies of a child into a believable flying putto are laid bare.[1] The Lugt drawing (cat. 27) was made first, and Andrea at left studied the figure of a boy, who appears to be standing, holding up his right arm. The face was made with a few swift lines, with connected circles for eyes and only the mouth characterized by a little hatching. A pentimento in the arm shows an initial placement at a sharper angle. Probably at this stage Andrea made a subsidiary study at top left of the boy's face, with light catching only the tip of his nose. Then in a sketch to the right of center the artist explored the pose again, tilting the body, raising the right arm higher, and playing with the fact that the legs would be up in the air. While the face in the first sketch was made with just a few lines, this one was made with just a few patches of shadow representing the facial features, giving a ghostly impression that was a staple in the draftsmanship of Andrea's pupils Rosso and Pontormo. Finally in black chalk at top right the artist tried to fix the representation of the extended right arm, struggling to give definition to the form almost entirely in shadow.

At this point he reached for a fresh sheet of paper, now preserved in the British Museum (cat. 28). Continuing to study the same putto, he tilted the body forward even more, giving a glancing shaft of light on the boy's right shoulder and firming up the outlines. At lower left he made a subsidiary sketch of the boy's left arm, angled downward, and at upper right he made a final detailed study of the light on the raised right arm, strong on the shoulder and softly reflected elsewhere, capped by the use of three folded fingers and forefinger pointed to effectively highlight the hand. At a later stage Andrea detailed the hair; a red-chalk drawing for the mop of hair given to this child in the final painting is in Hamburg.[2]

The red-chalk sketch of another child's head in profile at lower right relates to the putto supporting the Virgin at right in the Panciatichi *Assumption*; Andrea at first studied the fall of light, but then made a brief sketch alongside in black chalk to clarify the lost profile and the obscuring of the face by the Virgin's mantle. The most mysterious of all the sketches on this sheet is actually the least resolved: the red-chalk study of a child's torso at upper center, with faint sub-sketch alongside. This has been identified as an initial study for the Christ Child in Andrea's *Madonna of the Steps* (fig. 20).[3] Yet, as noted in the

CAT. 27

discussion of that picture here (see cat. 41–47), such an identification is unlikely; the sketch is more probably an abandoned study related to the Panciatichi *Assumption* that Andrea perhaps later returned to.[4]

Only a few years later, Andrea was commissioned to paint another large-scale *Assumption of the Virgin* for the Passerini family (see cat. 13 and 26.3), and he plundered his designs once more, reusing not only the overall compositional scheme but also many of his cartoons and drawings. He also repeated the motif of the putto holding up the Virgin, using the figure in the British Museum sheet almost more faithfully than he had in the original Panciatichi *Assumption*, and abandoning the revisions he had previously made to the pose and angle of the left arm.

One question comes to mind when looking at these two sheets: Why did Andrea use his preferred red chalk for most of the studies but switch to black chalk for others? The simple answer is that we do not know. The black-chalk studies generally seem to come after the red-chalk ones; where the lines cross, the black chalk is on top. Were the black-chalk studies perhaps made at a slightly later stage, when Andrea was working on black-chalk cartoons or underdrawing for the panel? Or was he simply trying to avoid being distracted by the red-chalk lines when he made further sketches on the sheet, or trying to differentiate the studies for himself or his assistants? In his preparatory process for *The Madonna of the Steps* (see cat. 41–47), he used black chalk when he returned to draw again on the sheet, but in the case of these studies of children the sequence is less clear.

Another mystery, but one to which future generations are perhaps more likely to find an answer, concerns the sketches on the versi of these two drawings (cat. 27.1 and 28.1). These, like the drawings on the recti, firmly link the two sheets, but they are of a wholly different character, featuring drama and dragons. The Lugt sheet features black-chalk studies of draped figures who look up and are clearly experiencing some kind of drama. With the sheet turned 180 degrees is a red-chalk sketch of a dragon (with a wonderfully serpentine tail), along with what is probably

CAT. 27.1 | Verso of cat. 27

CAT. 28

an attacking mounted figure. The British Museum sheet has a few similar figures, and also a dragon drawn with the sheet in the opposite orientation, but features a seemingly separate scene with a nude woman bound (to a tree?). While it is possible that the draped figures are related to the Panciatichi *Assumption* composition (they are enclosed by lines at left and rear), there is no known project by Andrea that involved a dragon; we can except the relatively tame creature in the much earlier Dresden *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (see fig. 3). Nevertheless, given the juxtaposition of the dragon here with the bound female nude on the British Museum sheet, it is tempting to speculate that Andrea planned a scene of Perseus and Andromeda.[5]

NOTES

1 As first brilliantly elucidated by Shearman, "Two Paintings of the Assumption," 130; but particularly *AdS*, 1:158.

2 Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. 21459; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:359.

3 See Shearman, *AdS*, 1:158, 2:363, among others.

4 It is very possible that cat. 28 was used for both the Panciatichi *Assumption* and *The Madonna of the Steps*, but the evolution of the pose of Christ makes it unlikely that he began with a study on an already crowded sheet such as this.

5 For the best discussion of the options for these drawings, see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 57–58.

CAT. 28.1 | Verso of cat. 28

CATALOGUE 29

STUDIES OF CHILDREN, AND OF A LEFT HAND

1522–26

Red chalk

19.8 × 24.7 cm (7 13/16 × 9 3/4 in.)

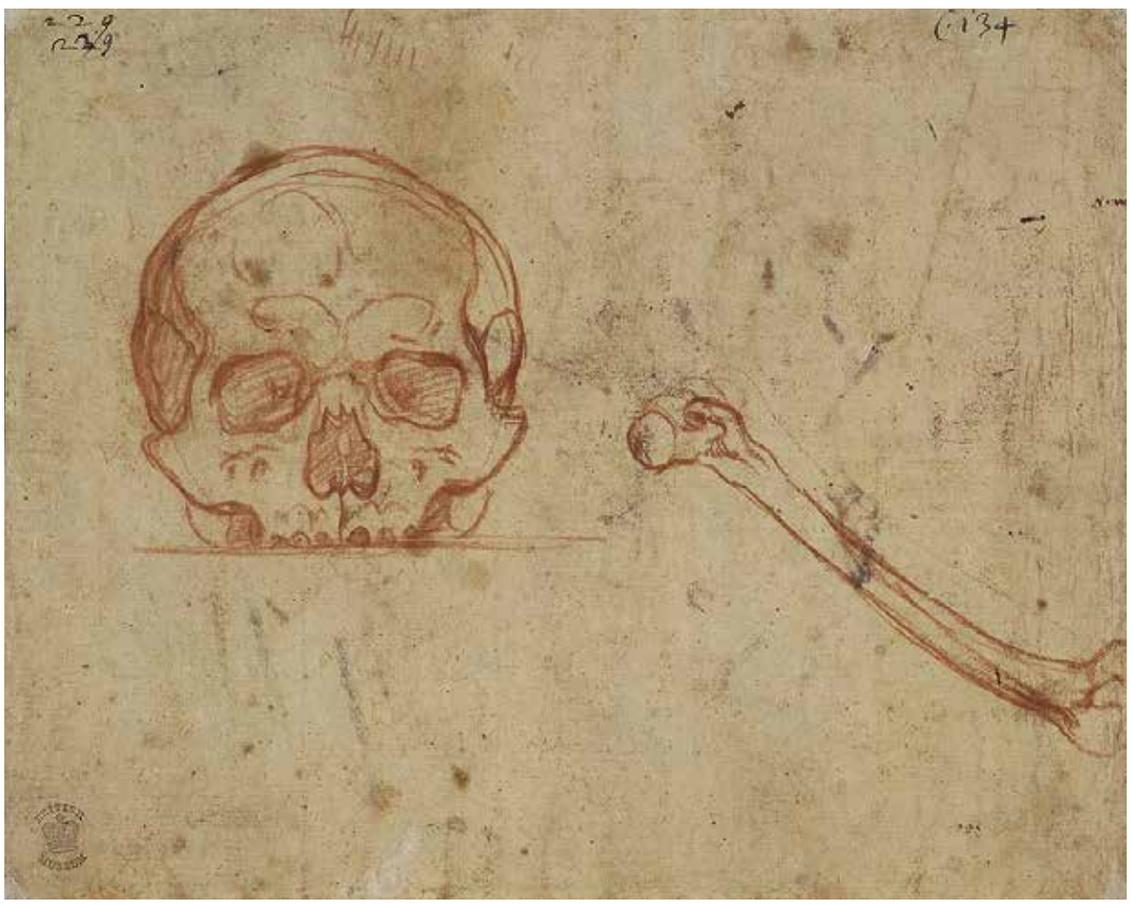
London, British Museum, inv. T,11.63, recto

PROVENANCE W. Fawkener bequest, 1769

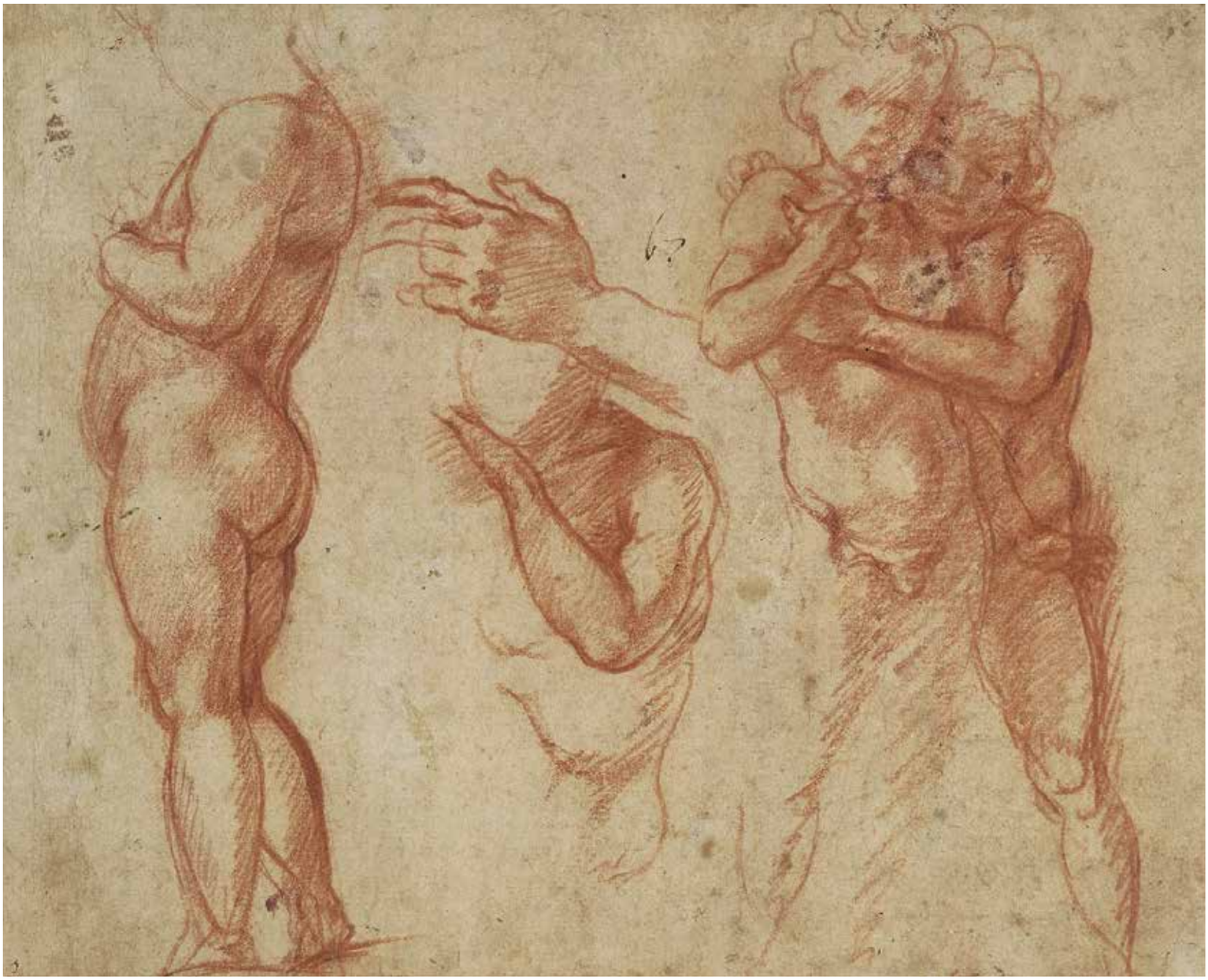
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 132; Knapp 1907, 135; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 83, no. 2; Dodgson 1926, 5; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 179; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 132; Paatz 1953, no. 20; Shearman 1959, 129; Berenson 1961, 132; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, fig. 124, vol. 2, 117; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 105c, 108a, vol. 2, 360; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 1986, 270; Turner 1986, 82, no. 52; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege 2009, 92, 94, 221–22, fig. 48, no. 6

FLANKING THE MADONNA as she ascends to heaven in the grand Panciatichi *Assumption* (cat. 26.2) are a number of animated and lifelike putti, and this drawing is one of several (see also cat. 27 and 28) that enabled Andrea to create such convincing characters. Given the inherent difficulties of drawing children, the speed and sureness with which the sheet was made is impressive. On other occasions Andrea used sculpted *modelli* of infants from which to draw (see cat. 11)—one must then admire the sculptor—but these studies have all the appearance of life drawings. The outlines are sought through multiple strokes, and the interior modeled with hatching, rubbed in places for tone. There is certainly an economy in the choice of what to draw, with the artist logically focusing on only one aspect or pose at a time.

Before making such a sheet, Andrea must have made a planning drawing to work out the rough arrangement of putti, and



CAT. 29.1 | Verso of cat. 29



CAT. 29

how many he wanted and in roughly which poses, although this could have been done to some extent concurrently with these sketches. In the end, all of the poses shown here were used in the final painting with the exception of the hand at center, which seems to be a subsidiary sketch, perhaps from an adult, for the left hand of the right-most child in that group.[1] The pair of children at the right of the sheet appear just to the left of the Virgin, although Andrea makes use of the modification he sketched at the center of the sheet; rather than the second child resting his chin directly on the first child's shoulder, he rests it on his own hand placed on the shoulder. The infant at the left of the sheet, carefully drawn to be seen from below, is found exactly reproduced second from the right in the painting; a separate study must have been made for his head seen in profile. A drawing for the flanking putti holding tablets taken from the same models is in the Uffizi.[2]

The verso (cat. 29.1), also drawn in red chalk, has studies of a skull and a thigh bone. These have long been associated with Andrea's work in the Scalzo, which features decorative motifs with skulls, but in fact they have now been definitively related by Alessandro Cecchi to a marble tomb decoration made for Giovanni di Bernardo Jacopi (ca. 1468–1521) and his family.[3]

NOTES

1 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:360, speculated that this might relate to the Scalzo *Hope*, but Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:117, rightly doubts it.

2 Uffizi, inv. 1486 Orn; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 270, no. 58.

3 Cecchi in Cecchi and Natali, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 90, no. 40; Cecchi, "Spigolature sulla committenza sartesca," 32–41. The drawing of the thigh bone has been reversed and rotated in the marble decoration.

CATALOGUE 30

STUDY OF A YOUNG MAN

1523

Black chalk

14.3 × 9.7 cm (5⅝ × 3¹³⁄₁₆ in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 87.GB.10

PROVENANCE Sagredo collection (?), Venice; de Boisieu collection, Lyons; N. Dhikeos, Lyons; art market, New York

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Walsh 1988, 171, no. 54; Goldner, Hendrix, and Pask 1992, vol. 2, 22–23, no. 2

THIS YOUNG MAN, with his right hand raised, relates to the servant standing behind the dining table in Andrea's monochrome fresco *The Feast of Herod* (cat. 30.1) in the Chiostro dello Scalzo.[1] He recoils in horror as Salome appears at the left of the scene with John the Baptist's severed head on a serving platter. The figure in the drawing is almost identical to that painted in the fresco, which additionally shows the youth open mouthed in shock and adds further detail to the drapery. The fingers of the extended right hand are in a slightly different position, and the shape of the head is elongated in the fresco. The drawing, with fine-lined hatching in black chalk, is of high quality, but it is an unusual type of sheet for Andrea and was presumably made late in the preparatory stages for the fresco, perhaps to study the fall of light on the figure or to identify which parts of the drapery needed further study.[2]

CAT. 30.1 | *The Feast of Herod*, ca. 1523. Fresco, 194 × 203 cm (76⅜ × 79⅞ in.). Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

CAT. 30

On the verso of the drawing (not illustrated here) is an accidental offset, made as a result of the sheet being pressed against another chalk drawing during storage.[3] Although not fully legible, it seems to represent an old bearded man who, looking down, holds or pours from something large held in front of him. The type, pose, and attitude are reasonably specific, but such a figure does not seem to appear in any known work by Andrea, and we must presume that it is an abandoned study.

NOTES

1 The drawing was first published in Goldner, Hendrix, and Pask, *European Drawings 2*, 22–23, no. 2. For the fresco, see, among others, Freedberg, *AdS*, 64–65, and Shearman, *AdS*, 2:303–4. Andrea del Sarto was paid for the completion of this fresco on May 30, 1523.

2 There are no telltale signs that the sheet is a copy made after the fresco, but a few elements could be used to argue for this conclusion if one wished. These are, first, the dark triangle at the bottom left of the tunic, which seems to be interpreted as part of the tunic in silhouette but in the fresco is a shadow inside it (this leads to a spatial ambiguity in the figure's right thigh); second, the "flying" small piece of drapery on the figure's right elbow which seems to misinterpret the slashed sleeve; and, third, the single line above the right wrist that may be said to inadequately render the mouth of the sleeve. It could be argued that Andrea (particularly with his interest in clothing) would not make such mistakes or leave such ambiguities. But it could just as easily be argued that these sorts of details were not the point or focus of this drawing, and if it were a copy these things would be slavishly rendered in any case.

3 An image of this can be seen at http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=203 or in Goldner, Hendrix, and Pask, *European Drawings 2*, 22–23, no. 2.

CATALOGUE 31

STUDY OF THE HEAD OF A YOUNG WOMAN

ca. 1523

Red chalk

21.7 × 17 cm (8 9/16 × 6 11/16 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 644 E

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 290, vol. 2, no. 94; Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 51; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 12; Ferri 1912–21, series IV, issue III, no. 7; Leporini 1925 (2), pl. 3; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 586; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 176; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 288, vol. 2, no. 94; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 11; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 141; Becherucci 1955, no. 15; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 94; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, fig. 148, vol. 2, 125; Monti 1965, 90; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 98a, vol. 2, 348; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 30–31, no. 29b; Petrioli Tofani 1985, no. XXXI; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 1, pt. 1, 286; Mosco 1986, no. 104; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 280, no. 65

WHEN IN 1523 THE PLAGUE TOOK HOLD of Florence, the inhabitants who could, fled. In the autumn of that year Andrea took his family, consisting of his beloved wife, Lucrezia, one of her sisters, Maria, and his stepdaughter, also named Maria, away from the city to the countryside north of Florence. They sought sanctuary at the Camaldolese monastery of San Piero in Luco in the Mugello, and there Andrea painted for the nuns a scene of the Pietà with Saints John, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Peter, and Paul, now in the Galleria Palatina (cat. 31.1).[1]

Arguably one of the most sensitive drawings made in the Renaissance, cat. 31 has long been recognized as a life study for the figure of Mary Magdalene, who kneels to the right of Christ with hands clasped. It reminds us of how Andrea used such drawings from life to inject verisimilitude into his paintings; as Vasari noted, "The figures are so lifelike, they seem truly to have spirit and breath."[2] In this study Andrea captures his model deep in thought, attempting to convey the psychological state of the penitent reformed prostitute Mary Magdalene. Her sensuous hair must have seemed shockingly disheveled for the period, even if it appears natural to modern eyes, and it is given a prominence fitting of the iconography in which the viewer is reminded that Mary washed Christ's feet with it. In the drawing the hair is handled with astonishing naturalism, falling in almost liquid strands, tapering at the ends, to frame the face. The hair on the top of the head is rendered with a combination of delicate, long strokes and hatched lines, conveying the glancing light from upper left; a surprising amount of the paper is left blank for highlights. Several lines applied with different pressures capture the lost profile of the face and the contour of the neck; a key aspect of the success of the draftsmanship here is the understanding of the weight of line.

A subsidiary study at the top of the sheet considers whether one of the strands of hair should fall from above the hairline; in the painting the artist retained his original design. Andrea did, however, slightly change the angle of the head, tilting it upward a little. A 1985 infrared reflectogram of the *Pietà* shows that this

CAT. 31

CAT. 31.1 | The Luco *Pietà*, 1524. Oil on panel, 238.5 × 198.5 cm (93¾ × 78⅛ in.). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 58

change was already made in the cartoon, making it likely that this sheet was made at a prior stage of development.[3] The image also makes clear the distillation that occurred in transferring the cartoon: the Uffizi drawing is reduced so that only the hairline, a few strokes of hair, the outline of the head, the ear, and short lines for the nose and eyes are shown in the cartoon transfer lines. A few aspects, such as the falling strands of hair and the shadows of the eye sockets, nose, and mouth, were painted freehand using monochrome "wash" after the cartoon transfer.

The identity of the sitter is not known, but one can speculate that we are perhaps looking at the features of one of the two Marias who were with Andrea at Luco: either Maria del Fede, Lucrezia's younger sister, for whose dowry Andrea assumed partial responsibility on April 19, 1518, or—as is more often speculated—Maria del Berrettaio, the daughter of Lucrezia from her first husband, Carlo di Domenico (a *berrettaio*, capmaker).[4] She was born on January 1, 1513, which would make her only about ten years old at the time of the Luco *Pietà*, surely too young for this figure. Nevertheless, she was clearly a favorite of his; on September 28, 1530, on his deathbed from (another) outbreak of the plague, Andrea made a codicil to his will in her favor.[5] He was buried the following day.

NOTES

1 See Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 129–31, no. XVII, with previous literature. See also cat. 14.

2 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:842; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:38.

3 Image reproduced in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 344.

4 As speculated by Cecchi in Cecchi and Natali, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 96, and many others. Patrons would often be represented in the guise of their name saints; it would be only a small leap for Maria/Mary to be shown as Mary Magdalene. For the settlement of Maria del Fede's dowry on April 19, 1518, see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:394, doc. 47. I am grateful to Alessandro Cecchi for confirming the date of birth of Maria del Berrettaio, which was recorded in the *Registro delle battezzate femmine* in the Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, 226, c.378: 2 gennaio: "Maria et Romola di Carlo di Domenico berrettaio popolo di San Lorenzo n[acque] adi primo hore 20."

5 See the summary of documents by Cecchi and Natali in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 77–78; for transcriptions see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:394–95, 402–3.

CATALOGUE 32

STUDY OF THE HEAD OF A WOMAN

ca. 1525

Black chalk

13.2 × 10.9 cm (5 3/16 × 4 5/16 in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1716 bis

PROVENANCE Verstegh, Amsterdam; Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445), The Lawrence Gallery Exhibition, 1836, no. 86; William II of Holland, sold at The Hague in 1850, no. 243; acquired in 1850 by the Louvre; Louvre (L. 1886)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Bacou 1955, nos. 50–51 (1716 bis and 1716); Becherucci 1955, pl. 26; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 423–24, vol. 2, no. 156; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, fig. 216, vol. 2, 126–27, 184; Monti 1965, 173, no. 190, fig. 301; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 132 c, vol. 2, 379; Bacou 1981, under no. 8; Cordellier 1986, 80–81, no. 53

THIS SMALL BUT PERFECT STUDY, cut at an early date from a larger sheet, demonstrates Andrea's attentive observation of reality.[1] The carefully conveyed details, such as the eyes and their relationship to the sockets, and the hair tucked into a cap but with strands tumbling down, help to bring a sense of verisimilitude to the sheet, and there can be no doubt that it was drawn from life. As if in a synchronized dance, elements of these renderings converge with the draftsmanship; the lines of dangling hair, for example, transform into vertical strokes of hatching, providing a clarity of outline for the chin and pushing it forward in space. The exposed cheek features extremely subtle handling of the black-chalk medium, and in places it was rubbed or stumped to give a broader area of tone, such as in the thicker line on the end of the nose which pulls together the features.

The identity of the sitter is a mystery, but the drawing has been connected with faces in various of Andrea's works, including Saint Giulia in the Sarzana altarpiece (formerly Berlin; cat. 18.1) and the *Young Woman with a Volume of Petrarch* (Florence, Uffizi).[2] Modern scholarship has, however, settled most convincingly on the idea that this was a study toward the very similar Virgin in the Barberini *Holy Family* (cat. 32.1), datable to 1525 or later.[3] Are the features of this sitter the same as those of cat. 31, making them possibly those of Maria del Fede, younger sister of Andrea's beloved wife, Lucrezia, or those of Maria del Berrettaio, his stepdaughter? Even knowing would hardly increase the sense of familiarity that we already have from looking at this drawing.

CAT. 32

CAT. 32.1 | The Barberini *Holy Family*, ca. 1525. Oil on panel, 138 × 104 cm (54⅜ × 41 in.). Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, inv. 2332

NOTES

1 As noted by Shearman, *AdS*, 2:379, and Cordellier, *Hommage*, 80–81, the cut corner of this sheet fits with that of Louvre, inv. 1716, an incomplete sketch of the same type. Although the sheet is laid down, some sketches—drapery?—are visible on the verso with transmitted light.

2 For the critical history of the sheet, see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 80–81. For the most recent discussion of the latter and Andrea's drawing for it, see Brugerolles, *Dessin à Florence*, 31–34. Although the Sarzana painting is lost, a Jacopino del Conte "extract" of the Saint Giulia from it is indeed very similar to this figure (sold Christie's, New York, January 29, 2014, lot 174).

3 Cordellier, *Hommage*, 80–81, following Shearman. While Shearman (*AdS*, 2:263–64, no. 73) gives good reasons for favoring a date for the painting of about 1525, Cecchi and Natali (*AdS: Catalogo completo*, 124, no. 60) argue for about 1528–29.

CATALOGUE 33

STUDY OF THE HEAD OF A CHILD LOOKING TO THE RIGHT

ca. 1525

Black chalk

19.7 × 18.7 cm (7¾ × 7⅜ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 15826 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Monti 1965, 178, note 175; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 151, pl. 122b, vol. 2, 358–59; Pace 1976, 97; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 283, no. 68

THIS IS THE SORT OF INTERESTING DRAWING that makes one realize just how limited our understanding of Andrea's working practice is, and how little of it we can currently reconstruct. While many of the surviving drawings of putti and infants also include the study of their hair, this one seems intended to focus on it exclusively. The sheet has been blackened on both front and back for transfer to a panel or to another piece of paper, but there is no design on the verso, nor is there any trace of the incised lines that transfer would normally require (although such lines did not have to be forceful and so do not always survive). The shorthand description of the face is absolutely characteristic of Andrea's draftsmanship, and the drawing was traditionally attributed to him; it was then transferred to an attribution to Maso da San Friano, where it remained until John Shearman published it as Andrea.[1] The line of the profile of the face has been modified, and at the top right of the sheet there seem to be indications of a subsidiary study; this has been truncated by the trimming of the sheet at the left, right, and upper margins. The head is lit from the left, and a few hatched lines on the far cheek indicate shadow.

The hair described in the drawing is wavy and unkempt. At the center are several stacked curls, and a few barrels of curls tumble down the temple, just covering the top tip of the ear. A few strands straggle at the rear, while the hair on the top of the head is barely rendered. Did this drawing really provide enough information to be useful in painting hair? If so, for which painting(s) was it used? Was it made from life, or from one of the sculpted putti models supplied to Andrea? Why blacken the recto when there was no design on the verso to transfer?

The only other drawing of a similar type is a red-chalk study of the mop of hair given to the "lead putto" in the Panciatichi *Assumption* (cat. 26.2).[2] That is a far more descriptive sheet than the brief sketch seen here, and it is also repeated fairly faithfully in the painting. The fact that cat. 33 seems to have been transferred encourages one to search for a similarly precise correspondence in one of Andrea's painted works, yet none is forthcoming. John Shearman connected it to the infant Saint John in the Bracci *Holy Family* (cat. 34.1) of about 1526–27,[3] who has a similar type of hair combined with the correct lighting, but the angle of his head and the set of the shoulders are quite different, and none of the details of the hair match up. A follicular survey of the infants and putti in Andrea's painted oeuvre reveals a diverse

CAT. 33

number of styles that quickly becomes bewildering, but the wild hair with barrels of curls featured here is nowhere to be found precisely reproduced. In general the typology of the infant's face is closer to the faces used by Andrea in the 1520s, rounder and chubbier, than to those of the pinch-faced, wide-featured putti with pointy noses of the early 1510s. Yet elements of the hair shown here, with the stacked curl at the front and the tumble of hair down over the top of the ear, are similar to the ginger-haired child in *Leda and the Swan* (ca. 1513–15, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts).[4] The curls are similar in type to those of the Christ Child in *The Madonna of the Steps* (fig. 20) but the hair is tidier there. When reversed, as the blackening indicates it might have been, there is a similarity with the curls of one of the two cherubs at the center of the Vallombrosa altarpiece.[5]

NOTES

1 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:358; see history by Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 283.

2 Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. 21459; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:59. Interestingly, this drawing was not reused in the Passerini *Assumption*, in which the putto was given a protective headband. A potentially similar drawing in the Uffizi (inv. 6460 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e Disegni*, 208, no. 12) was rightly not accepted by Shearman.

3 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:359; noted as "molto probabile" by Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 283.

4 Natali, *AdS*, 106–7.

5 Natali, *AdS*, 168–71.

CATALOGUE 34

STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF SAINT JOSEPH

ca. 1526–27

Red and black chalks

37.3 × 22 cm (14 11/16 × 8 11/16 in.)

Private collection, c/o Jean-Luc Baroni, Ltd.

PROVENANCE Giorgio Vasari, Florence and Arezzo; his nephew Pietro Vasari; Niccolò Gaddi, Florence; Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel; William Howard, Viscount Stafford; possibly Everhard Jabach; probably the Abbé Quesnel; Pierre Crozat, Paris; Pierre-Jean Mariette, Paris; Sir George Donaldson, London and Hove; Julius Böhler, Lucerne; Otto Wertheimer, Paris; sold Christie's, London, July 5, 2004, lot 14

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 151, pl. 122a, vol. 2, 386

THIS LARGE AND IMPRESSIVE SHEET was made by Andrea as a study for the sleeping Saint Joseph in the Bracci *Holy Family* (cat. 34.1), now in the Galleria Palatina, Florence, described by Vasari and commonly known after the name of its patron, Zanobi di Giovambattista Bracci (1488–after 1531).[1] In the drawing, which is rendered on a similar scale to the figure in the painting, Andrea characteristically disregarded the lower part of the face, as it would be obscured when Joseph rested on his left arm. Andrea focused instead on the fall of light on the face and—most spectacularly—on the shadows cast within the shining gray hair, rendered so realistically in the painting as a result of this drawing.[2] Much of the black-chalk work is tied into effects of stumping, with the stump used to make patches of shadow that are then reworked with further strokes of chalk. Contrasts are made with blank reserves of paper as highlights and firmer black-chalk lines create accented shadows. A brief subsidiary study lower on the page, similar in its abbreviation to other such sketches (that of cat. 46, for instance), seems to explore the possibility of raising Joseph's head slightly and showing him awake. A further small-scale sketch in the bottom right corner perhaps studies the detail of a flower, although no flowers are present in the painting. On the verso of the sheet, not illustrated here, are two red-chalk sketches of legs, not securely connectable to any surviving work.[3]

There are two drawings that relate to the Saint Joseph on the recto: a problematic sheet in the Uffizi, and a fragment of a cartoon that has found its way to Regina, Saskatchewan (cat. 34.2).[4] The Uffizi drawing seems to be taken from a model in the pose of Saint Joseph, but its attribution is far from certain.[5] The cartoon fragment is more interesting, since it is one of only two now known (see the Introduction). In perhaps predictably poor condition, given the large scale and use of such works, it shows the head, sleeve, and right hand of Joseph with the salient features sketched out in black chalk, and dense hatching and cross-hatching for shadow. While cat. 34 shows the bare neck of the model posed as Joseph, the cartoon details the drapery that casts the neck in shadow, and is in most aspects closer to the painting; only the hair of cat. 34 is closer to it than the cartoon. Shearman, among others, noted a certain hardness in the handling of the paint in the Bracci *Holy Family*, and pondered whether the existence of cartoon fragments for this panel indicated that Andrea entrusted a greater proportion of the work to pupils.[6]

The most unusual aspect of this drawing is the use of both black and red chalks to model the features of the face. While Andrea relatively frequently made black-chalk studies on a sheet and then made sketches in red chalk next to them, there are only two drawings in which the chalks are combined in a single study: this sheet and cat. 39. Such mixing of chalks was certainly

CAT. 34

CAT. 34.1 The Bracci *Holy Family*, ca. 1526–27. Oil on panel, 129 × 105 cm (50¾ × 41⅜ in.). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 62

CAT. 34.2 | *Saint Joseph*, ca. 1523. Black chalk on paper, 32.7 × 23.6 cm (12⅞ × 9⅝ in.). Regina, MacKenzie Art Gallery, University of Regina Collection, Gift of Mr. Norman MacKenzie, inv. 1935-003

a technique known at the time, even if it was not necessarily widespread; the first evidence of it seems to be in Piero Pollaiuolo's *Faith* of about 1469–70 in the British Museum,[7] and Fra Bartolommeo made a series of powerful portrait drawings using black and red chalks together in 1514–17.[8] Since there can be no doubt that cat. 34 was made by Andrea del Sarto,[9] the question is a complex one, but there seem to be two main possibilities: that the artist found some exceptional, specific reason to use the chalks together on this sheet, or that the red chalk was added by another artist at a later date. Even if it was not his regular practice, Andrea might of course have experimented with mixing chalks. It can be argued that the red chalk is integral to the sheet, and that the sheet was a finished drawing to study the figure, perhaps particularly necessary in this case if Andrea wanted greater workshop intervention in painting. If one wished to argue that the red chalk was added subsequently, perhaps in the late 1500s, one could point out that the black chalk suffices to convey the figure and hair, and that it would be odd not to color the (red) ear if one was making a *modello*. In the end, it is an open question, and not one that mars the extraordinary impact of the sheet.

NOTES

1 Inv. 1912 n. 62; see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 137–39; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:258–59. Bracci (for whom see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 137–38) also commissioned another *Holy Family*, now in the Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Barberini, Rome (Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:177–80, no. 79; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:263–64, no. 73).

2 The treatment of the light and shade in the hair is very similar to that in a drawing such as Louvre, inv. 1684 (Cordellier, *Hommage*, 48–50, no. 29).

3 Illustrated and discussed by Stephen Ongpin in Jean-Luc Baroni, Ltd., *An Exhibition of Master Drawings and Oil Sketches* (New York and London, 2006), under no. 3.

4 Uffizi, inv. 332 F (Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 281–82, no. 67); and http://www.mackenzieartgallery.ca/discover/items/797/st-joseph.

5 See *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* for a discussion. It has been attributed to *Andrea Boscoli* (copying del Sarto) by Di Pietro, "I disegni d'Andrea del Sarto," and Forlani, *Andrea Boscoli*, and noted as a potential copy by Freedberg and Shearman, but Petrioli Tofani argued its authenticity in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*. I do not see the hand of either del Sarto or Boscoli in it, and suspect it is a product of one of del Sarto's pupils. The "studies" of Joseph do not follow del Sarto's normal practice, and the sketch "for" Christ on the ground features a child in underpants, not found in any other del Sarto drawing of children.

6 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:258; see also Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 137–38. A new infrared reflectogram of this painting may elucidate details of process.

7 Chapman and Faietti, *Italian Renaissance Drawings*, 43, 164–65, no. 33.

8 Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, nos. 78, 79, 88, 89.

9 The authenticity has not been doubted by any scholar. Further, aside from the comparisons cited with other works and the high quality of the sheet, there is the inscription "turpilio" on the verso, which appears on numerous other del Sarto sheets, and the fact that the drawing is made on paper watermarked with an acorn (Briquet 7425; Florence 1530), stock used by the artist on other occasions (as noted in the Christie's London auction catalogue when the drawing was sold on July 5, 2005, lot 14).

CATALOGUE 35

STUDY OF A BEARDED MAN IN PROFILE

ca. 1526–27

Black chalk, possibly with gray wash

21.8 × 18.1 cm (8⁹⁄₁₆ × 7⅛ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 289 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 63; Knapp 1907, 133; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 64; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 14; Ferri 1912–21, series iv, issue iii, no. 12; Knapp 1928, 115; Fraenckel 1934, 10; Fraenckel 1935, 169; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 293, vol. 2, no. 110D; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 6; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 141; Wagner 1951, 77, no. 91; Marcucci 1954 (1), no. 32; Marcucci 1954 (2), no. 22; Becherucci 1955, no. 21; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 110D; Forlani et al. 1961, no. 44; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, fig. 176, vol. 2, 143; Monti 1965, 97; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 114a, vol. 2, 329; Shearman and Coffey, 1978, 29–30, no. 29a; Caneva 1982, no. 18; Petrioli Tofani 1985, 2, no. XXXV; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 128; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 292, 294, no. 77

THIS POWERFUL STUDY FROM LIFE was used by Andrea for the head of the disciple standing at left in the San Salvi *Last Supper* (detail, cat. 35.1; see also cat. 17), as has long been noted.[1] The head is seen in profile, and forceful lines on the nose and brow contrast with softer strokes for the less firm outline of the beard; a few dancing lines along the outside of the mustache and beard help to convey their texture. Reserves of white paper are used to show the bold illumination of the face from the right, and these complement the intense modeling of the features. Contour hatching and cross-hatching are accentuated through the use of stumping, but there also seems to have been the addition of a liquid component. Either parts were gone over with a damp brush, a technique that Andrea often used in chalk studies for subtle modulation, or else a light gray wash was sparingly applied. A few involuntary splashes (at upper left, for example, and some in the neck area) seem to reflect the media of the drawing and suggest that in this case—unusually—he applied a wash.

CAT. 35.1 | *The Last Supper*, ca. 1526–27 (detail of left-hand side). Fresco, 462 × 872 cm (181⅞ × 343⁵⁄₁₆ in.). Florence, Museo del Cenacolo di San Salvi

As Berenson first noted, the model that Andrea was drawing here—or at least one with very similar physiognomy—appears in a number of paintings beyond the San Salvi *Last Supper*: the Scalzo *Visitation*, the Gambassi *Madonna*, and the *Madonna and Saints* formerly in Berlin (see cat. 18).[2] In fact there are two other drawings that seem to render the same or similar features: in one the figure is lit from the left, and in the other he actually faces left and is also lit from that direction; in both he is bearded but is shown with smooth shaved pate.[3]

In the fresco the figure drawn here has been given a fuller beard, particularly on the side of his face, and a fuller head of hair. His neck is obscured by the figure seated in front of him, the subject of the only other detailed head study of this type.[4] The subsidiary study at the top right of the sheet seems to be a clarification of the eye socket in relation to the eyebrow; interestingly, the strong lines that emphasize the eyelashes were not used in this figure but were instead used almost exactly for the figure of Judas in the same fresco.

NOTES

1 See the account by Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 292.

2 Berenson, *Drawings of Florentine Painters* (1903), 1:294, 2: no. 63. *The Last Supper* contains the only one of these lit from the right, as in this drawing. This also confirms that Andrea was not simply reusing the same drawing for all of these figures.

3 The first, Louvre, inv. 1690 (Cordellier, *Hommage*, 52–53, no. 31); the second, Louvre, inv. 1680 (Cordellier *Hommage*, 73–75, no. 48). In the case of the second the multiple contours make one wonder if an outline was somehow traced and reversed from the first sheet; although the scale is similar, there is no specific evidence for this. I have not yet been able to make tracings.

4 Uffizi, inv. 292 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 292–93, no. 76.

CAT. 35

CATALOGUE 36

STUDY OF THE ARM OF A FIGURE SEATED IN PROFILE TO THE RIGHT

ca. 1526–27

Red chalk

19.2 × 20.9 cm (7 9/16 × 8 1/4 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 313 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 269, vol. 2, no. 72; Knapp 1907, 133; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 65; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 13; Ferri 1912–21, series iv, issue iii, no. 14; Knapp 1928, 116; Fraenckel 1935, 172; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 282, vol. 2, no. 113B; Wagner 1951, 79, no. 91; Marcucci 1954 (1), under no. 22; Becherucci 1955, no. 24; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, n. 113B; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 143–44, fig. 102; Monti 1965, 97; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 113a, vol. 2, 254, 335; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 30; Petrioli Tofani 1984, no. 8; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXXIV; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 141; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 290–91, no. 75

FEW DRAWINGS DEMONSTRATE the heights of observational draftsmanship that Andrea reached better than this one. At a basic level it is "just" a study for the arm of the disciple seated at far left in the San Salvi *Last Supper* (detail, cat. 36.1) and yet the beautiful lucidity of the sheet makes one marvel at the magical creation of a three-dimensional reality. Part of the strength of the drawing lies in the contrast between the extremely sketchy rendering of the seated model—complete with a hint of humor in the extended male member—and the forceful excavation and dense working brought to bear on the visualization of the arm, clearly the focus of the study. The handling seems more sculptural in conception than linear, with the form created from a mixture of intense hatching and cross-hatching, a little rubbing and stumping, and reinforced darkening around the contours to gain the impression of relief. Some faint lines explore how the fingers would rest if extended, but great care has been taken to render the arm as it is, depicting the loose folds of skin created on the wrist by the bending of the hand and the delicate rounding of the knuckles.

In the fresco the hand rests on drapery rather than directly on the bench, but otherwise the arm is repeated as it is shown in the drawing, with the addition of bunched drapery above the elbow. The sheet is exceptionally well preserved, although the beginnings of a second study can be seen at left, truncated by the later trimming at that margin. This cutting only serves to center the arm on the sheet, providing an unintended revision to the *mise en page*.

CAT. 36.1 | *The Last Supper*, ca. 1526–27 (detail of left-hand side). Fresco, 462 × 872 cm (181 7/8 × 343 5/16 in.). Florence, Museo del Cenacolo di San Salvi

CAT. 36

CATALOGUE 37

STUDIES OF HANDS

ca. 1527

Red chalk

12.2 × 16.3 cm (4 13/16 × 6 7/16 in.)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1972.118.271

PROVENANCE W. Holman Hunt; Walter C. Baker; bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 174a, vol. 2, 363–64; Bean and Turčić 1982, 24, no. 10; Byam Shaw 1983, 410–11

MAKING THE RENDERING OF REALITY look deceptively easy, this sheet displays the unerring nature of Andrea's mature draftsmanship—the *pittore senza errori* indeed. Clearly drawn from a live model, the pair of hands is set perfectly in space; hatching and stumping create the impression of solidity while the contour ebbs and flows with the precise weight needed at that point. The drawing is typical of Andrea's powerfully confident and plasticizing style of the later 1520s, with dense cross-hatching in the shadows and cursory indications of areas of lesser interest. The style can be compared with drawings such as cat. 36, and such a dating has been proposed by other scholars.[1] Only one piece of the puzzle is missing: the drawing has so far eluded any link to a painted work. The hands are clearly intended to be those of a saint with a book in his left hand and an attribute in the right; the pole used by the model to support his hand has been sketchily adjusted to become another object. There is no figure with particularly similar hands in Andrea's painted work, and John Shearman identified the most likely candidate: the figure of Saint Bartholomew in the *Madonna delle Grazie* in the Duomo at Pisa. The painting was left unfinished at del Sarto's death, as Vasari recorded, and was completed by Giovanni Antonio Sogliani; it is now principally attributed to him.[2] Although the left hand of Saint Bartholomew in that painting holds a book, it is held down rather than up; his right hand holds the knife of his flagellation and is similar to the hand in the drawing in many respects. Crucially, however, the lighting comes from the right, and not—as in the drawing—from the left. The lack of a secure link may prevent the tidy "wrapping up" of the drawing but does not diminish its extraordinary impact. This power must have also been apparent to the Pre-Raphaelite painter William Holman Hunt, who owned the sheet at one point.[3]

NOTES

1 See Shearman, *AdS*, 2:364, who notes the "soft handling of light," and Cordellier, *Hommage*, 68. Cordellier compares the drawing to Louvre, inv. 1710, when considering a number of attributional options for that sheet; to my eye it displays a certain fussiness and lack of strength, even if it is well studied. I suspect it is a copy by a del Sarto follower.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:364.

3 Bean and Turčić, *Italian Drawings*, 24.

CAT. 37

CATALOGUE 38

STUDY OF AN INFANT PRAYING

1525–29

Red chalk

18.4 × 13.5 cm (7¼ × 5⁵⁄₁₆ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1692

PROVENANCE Everhard Jabach (L. 2961); Jabach inventory, vol. 1, no. 474; entered the Cabinet du Roi in 1671; Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207);

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 153; Knapp 1907, 135; Knapp 1928, 118; Fraenckel 1935, 182; Rouchès 1939, no. 13; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 292, vol. 2, no. 153; Shearman 1959, 133, fig. 41; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, 131, no. 153; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 165, fig. 123; Monti 1965, 172, no. 183, fig. 289; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 158, pl. 143a, vol. 2, 377; Cordellier 1986, 72–73, no. 47

IT HAS LONG BEEN RECOGNIZED that this drawing is a study for one of the putti at the top left of the Passerini *Assumption of the Virgin* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; cat. 26.3).[1] In the painting the face is identical, but the hands have been raised slightly nearer the chin; the hair and most of the body are obscured. As seen in cat. 27–29, Andrea expended considerable energy on making life drawings of children for the putti he featured in an earlier composition of the *Assumption*. Many of these he reused for the subsequent Passerini *Assumption*, but he also made new studies such as the one here.[2] The sketch is made on a larger scale than other putti studies, and shows the extraordinarily intuitive nature of Andrea's draftsmanship. While most attention is given to the study of the facial features, the curving lines that create the body and set the figure in space are placed with aplomb. Slightly less pressure is used for the outlines of the left arm, setting it perfectly to the rear in a manner that could easily have gone wrong. The hair is particularly spectacular, seemingly random and yet making perfect sense. By raising the hands of the putto in the painting, Andrea avoided having to render the ambiguity of the line of the left shoulder given by the low viewpoint.

Although the drawing is now laid down on another sheet of paper, the verso is visible by transmitted light and contains a study from the same model prepared by tracing the design through from the recto to create a reversed study on the verso. This was then used for another putto at the top right of the Passerini *Assumption*, with hands in fact away from the chin, as in the drawing.[3] Such a reversal, particularly for a relatively minor and duplicable component, was an efficient way of working, and there are a number of drawings in which Andrea traced through the design from one side of the sheet to another in order to test or use the pose in a reversed direction.[4]

Dominique Cordellier has pointed out that the putto drawn here was used precisely by Andrea's follower Domenico Alfani (ca. 1480–1553) for the infant Baptist in a composition otherwise derived from *The Madonna of the Sack*.[5] Since Alfani's picture dates to between 1525 and 1530, we have a sure date period for the drawing. The Passerini *Assumption* was commissioned in 1526 in the will of Margherita Passerini, the mother of Cardinal Silvio Passerini, for the church of Sant' Antonio de' Servi, Cortona (see cat. 13.2 for her commissioned tapestry altar frontal). Completion was most likely in 1528–29. It is now generally agreed to have followed Andrea's panel of a very similar large *Assumption* for Bartolomeo Panciatichi.

NOTES

1 First noted in Berenson, *Drawings of Florentine Painters* (1903), 2: no. 153, with agreement from all subsequent authors. For the painting see *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 140–43, no. 21; Shearman, *AdS*, 1:102–3, 2:268–69; Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:83, 2:162–65.

2 All scholars have broadly followed the reconstruction of events and analysis of related drawings in Shearman, "Two Paintings of the Assumption," 124ff.

3 Information from Cordellier, *Hommage*, 72–73 (also given in Shearman, *AdS*, 2:377).

4 For example, the charming double-sided sheet with studies of dogs, Louvre, inv. 1687; Cordellier, *Hommage*, 50–52, no. 30.

5 Cordellier, *Hommage*, 72–73; the Alfani picture is reproduced in Mancini and Scarpellini, *Pittura in Umbria*, 54.

CAT. 38

CATALOGUE 39

HEAD OF A MAN LOOKING UP

ca. 1527

Black chalk, with later red-chalk additions

24.7 × 17.7 cm (9¾ × 6¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, inv. WA1944.141

PROVENANCE Purchased, 1944

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Parker 1956, vol. 2, no. 694; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 175–76, under no. 33

THIS DRAWING RELATES to one of Andrea del Sarto's most fascinating compositions, a *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist* known through multiple copies, with a high-quality autograph version in St. Petersburg (cat. 39.1).[1] It has a number of motifs that recur in other works by Andrea of the period; the Madonna is featured in the Medici *Holy Family* (cat. 53), and the same head of the infant Baptist is found in the Borgherini *Holy Family* and *Charity* (see cat. 40). The composition must have been designed by 1527, for that is the date placed on a painting clearly derived from it by Ambrosius Benson.[2]

On this sheet Andrea studied the head of Saint Joseph, who sits in the shadows behind the Christ Child and looks up at the infant Baptist. Although Shearman did not accept the attribution to Andrea, and Parker catalogued the sheet as a workshop product,[3] the energy and sureness of the draftsmanship give the work the characteristics of a powerful drawing of Andrea's last years. The unruly hair is rendered as much through the blank of the paper as through black-chalk lines, and every element of the complex angle of the head is perfectly set precisely in space. While the drawing was probably made from life, the similarity of the facial type with the Antique sculpture of the *Laocoön* has been noted.[4] Indeed the head is very close, in reverse, to the head of Abraham in the three paintings of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (see cat. 50), which has other affinities with the *Laocoön*, so the resemblance is most likely intentional. Nevertheless, this drawing when reversed is not specifically similar enough to Abraham's features, or to the cartoon transfer lines, to suggest a reuse of the sheet; the close relationship can probably be explained by the use of the same model, something of a thread in Andrea's work. The scale of the head in the Ashmolean drawing is almost exactly, but not quite, the same as in the St. Petersburg panel.[5]

The traces of red chalk on the nose, forehead, and cheek do not integrate well with the black chalk of the principal drawing and are superfluous to any expressive intent; these were almost certainly added later.[6]

NOTES

1 Shearman (*AdS*, 2:290–91) lists a number of copies. In 1987, in passing, he published the St. Petersburg example as the lost original (Shearman, "AdS's Fifth Centenary," 501: "Its provenance, and a new [unspecified] literary source, seem to prove that it is the Madonna painted for Giovanni Dini"). Natali (*AdS*, 175) accepts this as the original. A copy in the Uffizi, attributed to Carlo Portelli, with an escarpment behind Joseph and the infant Baptist, was published by Natali in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 175–77; this has the interesting detail of the ribbon-tied headcloth worn by the Virgin, which also appears in the Medici *Holy Family* cartoon transfer lines (see cat. 53) but was not painted there. On the Hermitage picture, see Kustodieva, *Museo Statale Ermitage*, 26, 178.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:290–91, with previous literature; see also Natali, *AdS*, 175–76.

3 Shearman noted the correspondence between this head and that (in reverse) in the versions of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (*AdS*, 2:291). Parker (*Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, 2:373) was not aware of the link with the *Holy Family* but dated the sheet to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, thus placing it chronologically close to Andrea, or even within his lifetime.

4 Parker, *Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, 2:373.

5 To judge from tracings of sized reproductions, not perfect for the purpose, the head in the painting appears to be a little larger.

6 Parker, *Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, 2:373, noted the red chalk as "interference."

CAT. 39

CAT. 39.1 | *The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1527. Oil on panel, 129 × 100 cm (50¾ × 39⅜ in.). St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. GE-6680

CATALOGUE 40

HEAD OF AN INFANT IN PROFILE TO THE RIGHT

ca. 1527

Red chalk

24.7 × 17.8 cm (9¾ × 7 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 631 E, recto

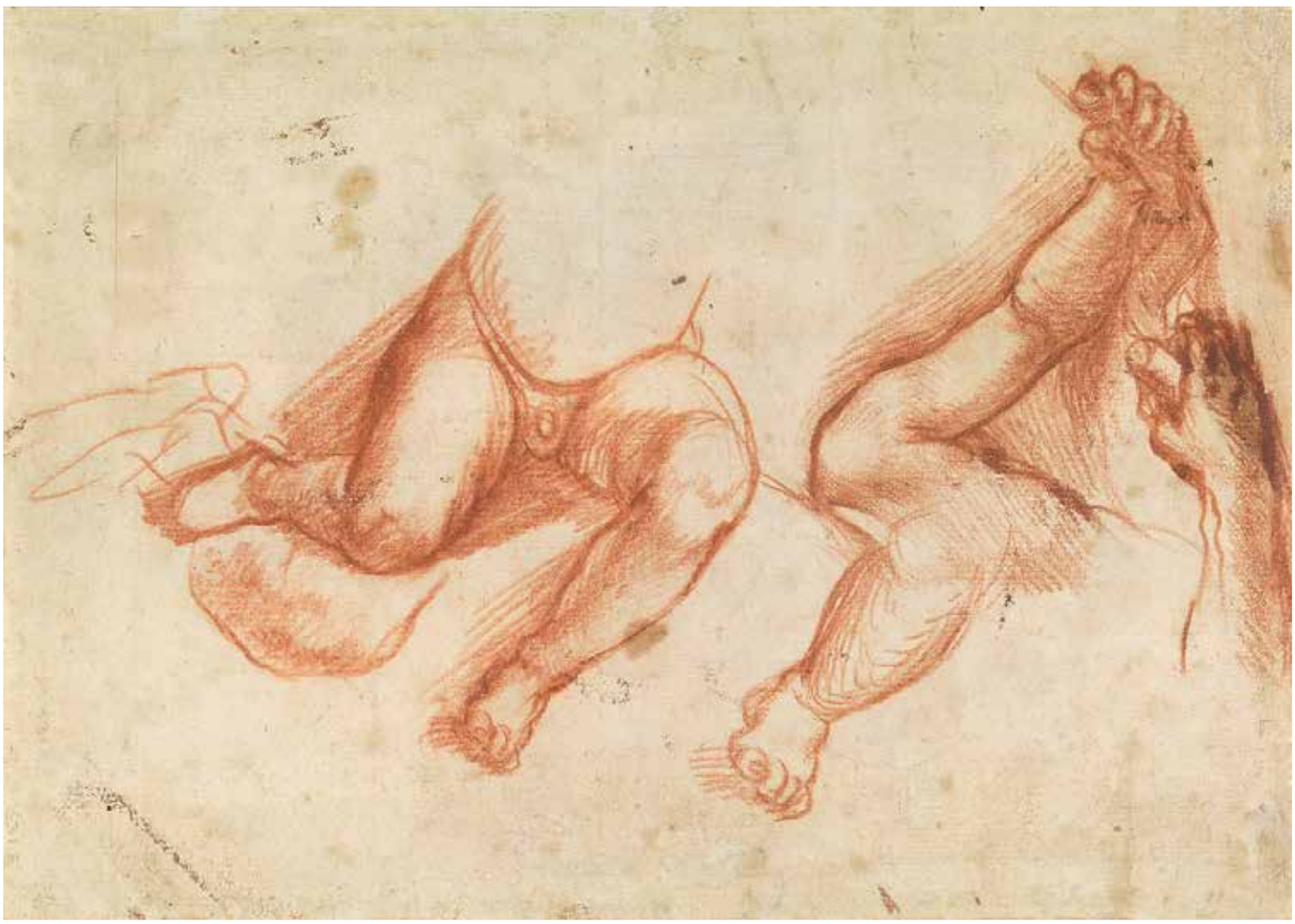
PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 90; Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 60; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 12; Ferri 1912–21, series iv, issue iii, no. 9; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 591, note 1; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 175; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 90; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 6; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 140; Marcucci 1954 (1), no. 23; Marcucci 1954 (2), no. 34; Becherucci 1955, no. 29; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 91; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 155, 158, figs. 107, 113; Monti 1965, 170, note 148; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 155, pl. 149d, c, vol. 2, 344–45; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. xxvi; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 1, pt. 1, 281–82; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 298–99, no. 80; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege 2009, 106, 108, 227–28, fig. 61, no. 12

JUSTLY FAMOUS, this drawing shows Andrea at the height of his powers, not only capturing a child's head in profile with palpable sensitivity but also bringing a full sense of three-dimensional solidity to the representation. He achieved the dual effects of substance and verisimilitude through hatching, rubbing, and wetting of the chalk to yield subtly shifting tones that give texture and roundness to the cheek and neck and by using a tangle of strokes of different densities to reflect the texture and abstracted linearity of the hair. The profile is shown with strong lines that seem to search for the outline of the nose and forehead; the multiple strokes are interpreted by the viewer's eye as confirming the rounding and solidity of the features. The bold illumination from the left catches the back of the head and glances off the cheek and the tip of the nose, leaving the face in shadow but touched by reflected light.

This sheet brings into sharp focus Andrea's reuse of his drawings. The head featured here appears in no fewer than three compositions: as the infant Baptist in *The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist* (St. Petersburg, Hermitage; see cat. 39.1) and the Borgherini *Holy Family* (New York, Metropolitan Museum; cat. 40.2), and also as one of the three children in *Charity* (Washington DC, National Gallery; cat. 40.3).[1] As Shearman noted, the outline of the left shoulder lightly indicated beneath the chin occurs in this position only in *The Holy Family with Saint John*, making it likely that this was the first intended use of the drawing.[2] Confirmation is found on the verso of the sheet, which contains studies of arms and legs from the life that also directly connect with those of the Christ Child in that painting. A Christ Child with legs in an adjacent but different pose appears in the Bracci *Holy Family*; perhaps these were painted from a sketch made in the same session as the verso (cat. 40.1)? The hair of the child in the drawing was not repeated directly in any of the three paintings, and the intervention of another drawing, perhaps one similar to cat. 33, must be suspected.[3]

CAT. 40



CAT. 40.1 | Verso of cat. 40

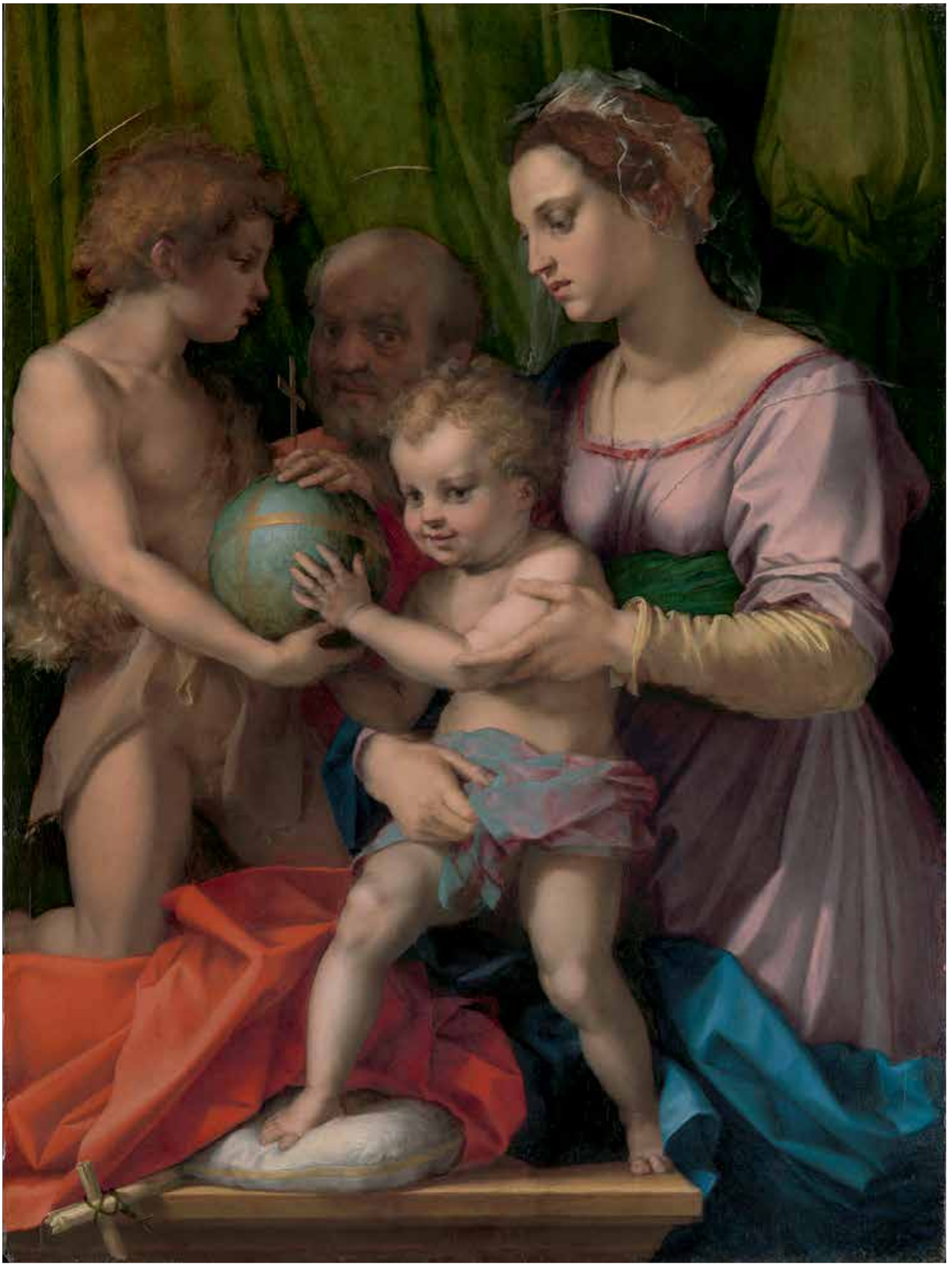
Curiously, the strong lighting from behind the head that appears in the drawing is the opposite of that in the *Holy Family with Saint John*, where the child is lit from the right, but is identical to the lighting found on the infant in the Borgherini *Holy Family* and the *Charity*. Given the evidence above that the drawing was most likely reused for these two paintings, which are normally dated to 1528–29, this must remain just an oddity rather than evidence for a different scenario; Andrea was in any event by this stage adept enough to adjust the lighting as he painted. Tracings of the head made from scaled reproductions indicate that it is a little smaller in scale than the St. Petersburg painting and substantially smaller than the Borgherini *Holy Family* and the *Charity*, suggesting either that it was scaled up or transferred freehand into a cartoon. While these two latter paintings seem to have been made from many of the same cartoon pieces, infrared reflectograms (IRR) reveal that in both cases there were experiments in the placement of this profile, which was resketched in "wash" in several positions prior to painting.

NOTES

1 See Shearman, *AdS*, 1: pl. 164a, 2:276–78, no. 90 (Borgherini *Holy Family*), 1: pl. 164b, 2:278, no. 91 (*Charity*), 1: pl. 149b, 2:290–91, no. 5 (*Holy Family with the Infant Saint John*); Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:84–85, figs. 197–98, 2:154, 165–66, no. 73 (*Charity*), 1:84, fig. 194, 2:153–56, 165–66, no. 68 (Borgherini *Holy Family*); Cecchi and Natali, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 119, 139, nos. 56, 69. For a complete analysis of these paintings, including a full discussion of the new IRR, see Andrea Bayer and Michael Gallagher, forthcoming.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:344.

3 The IRR of the New York and Washington pictures indicate cartoon transfer lines that correspond with the hair as painted.



CAT. 40.2 | The Borgherini *Holy Family*, 1528–29. Oil on panel, 135.9 × 100.6 cm (53½ × 39⅝ in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 22.75, Maria DeWitt Jesup Fund, 1922

CAT. 40.3 | *Charity*, 1528–29. Oil on panel, 119.5 × 92.5 cm (47 1/16 × 36 7/16 in.). Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1957.14.5, Samuel H. Kress Collection

FIORENTINITÀ IN ANDREA DEL SARTO'S LIFE AND DEATH


FIORENZA

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE "PITTORE SENZA ERRORI" ANDREA DEL SARTO IN VASARI'S LIVES

SANNE WELLEN

GIORGIO VASARI'S LIFE of Andrea del Sarto in his *Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* is one of the longest in the series. Most of the biographies occupy only a few pages, but del Sarto's, already forty pages in the 1550 edition, was expanded to fifty-five pages in the 1568 edition. Eloquent, spirited, and complex, the biography is one of the most interesting and best known in Vasari's book. The details of del Sarto's life and death—his unfortunate love for a domineering wife, who, according to Vasari, thwarted his career by pushing him to abandon his appointment as court painter to the French king, and his death at age forty-four in poverty and solitude—caught the imagination of generations of readers and inspired several nineteenth-century literary interpretations.[1]

In the 1550 edition Vasari focused on del Sarto's personality, the course of his life, and his lifestyle, dismissing him as showing "poor spirit in the actions of his life,"[2] but by the second edition Vasari had withdrawn his harsher moral judgments and concentrated on defining del Sarto's artistic character.[3] A deeply unflattering account of the leading sixteenth-century Florentine painter would not have found a receptive audience, because by that time the purity and simplicity of del Sarto's art had become the model for a younger generation of reforming artists who wanted to overcome the artificiality and complexity of the academic style (*bella maniera*) represented by Vasari and his contemporaries.[4] In the 1568 edition del Sarto is portrayed as timid, simple, and modest, qualities that prevented his great innate talent from achieving the summit of sixteenth-century painting as manifested, according to Vasari, by Raphael and his school.

Vasari's initial negative account may be at least partially explained by his own experience as a young pupil in del Sarto's workshop back in 1524. Lucrezia, Andrea's wife, seems to have been overbearing and perhaps even to have struck Vasari, who writes that her presence made the workshop a failure from an instructive point of view.[5] This aspect of the account fitted the didactic and moralistic framework of the *Vite*, in which del Sarto and his workshop served as a negative paradigm. Vasari's goal in writing the book, which was dedicated to the Accademia del Disegno, founded in 1563, was to further the arts and promote the position of the court artist.[6] Del Sarto, however, had based his style firmly on that of his Florentine predecessors, modernizing it with the novelties of Northern European prints, Antique sculpture, a more lively coloring, and *sfumato*.[7] He had kept a traditional *bottega* and had been reluctant to trade it in for a court position. In contrast to Vasari's model courtier-artist Raphael, who "lived not like a painter, but like a prince,"[8] the Florentine *caposcuola* was a disappointment. But if Vasari's life of del Sarto is viewed in its historical context and in the context of the *Vite* as a whole, with an understanding of its biases, the biography proves to be a rich document, yielding much of value on both del Sarto's art and his life.

Notwithstanding the negative slant, Vasari, like other sixteenth-century critics, considered del Sarto one of the greatest artists of his era (fig. 15), and in particular judged his coloring divine. He ranked the artist—with Michelangelo, Leonardo, and Raphael—among the top four painters; in Vasari's description, after Raphael "in the same manner, but sweeter in colouring and not so bold [*gagliardo*], there followed Andrea del Sarto, who may be called a rare painter, for his works are free from errors [*senza errori*]."[9] But the compliment of faultlessness is double-edged: Vasari is hinting at what he considers del Sarto's artistic shortcoming, a lack of stylistic innovation and progress. The terminology and critical train of thought that Vasari applied to del Sarto he used to judge Quattrocento artists as well. "Faultlessness" coincides with what Vasari considered the main accomplishment of the Florentine artists of the Quattrocento, who had obtained greater lifelikeness and better proportions than their predecessors: "Although their works were for the most part well drawn and free from errors, yet there was wanting a certain resolute spirit which was never seen in them."[10]

In Vasari's view, the fifteenth-century artists had opted for greater naturalism and nothing more,[11] and del Sarto, Vasari reported, had the same naturalistic approach.[12] By asserting that

FIG. 15 | Giorgio Vasari (Italian, 1511–1574), *Portrait of Andrea del Sarto*, ca. 1572. Fresco. Florence, Casa Vasari, Sala Grande. After the restoration by prof. Guido Botticelli and Gioia Germani (2012).

del Sarto designed "semplicemente," Vasari was probably making a comparison to the fifteenth-century tradition, which maintained—he thought—that "painting is nothing but the counterfeiting of all the things of nature, vividly and simply, with drawing and with colours, even as she produced them for us."[13] *Senza errori*, therefore, also refers to the sober, quiet, and naturalistic character of del Sarto's works, painted in a style that had come out of the best of the Florentine school, as exemplified in the monumental works of Giotto, Masaccio, and Ghirlandaio.

For sixteenth-century art, however, Vasari took the achievement of lifelikeness for granted. Within reasonable limits, he thought, nature ought to be surpassed and embellished. Del Sarto's figures remained *semplici* and *pure* and were therefore not "refined by draughtsmanship and judgment," as Vasari would have liked them to be.[14] Like del Sarto, the fifteenth-century masters still lacked "a resolute boldness," as well as an "invention abundant in every respect," both of which were among the fundamental stylistic innovations of the sixteenth-century *bella maniera*.[15] As Vasari saw it, del Sarto's art fit better with the style of the Quattrocento than with that of the Cinquecento.

For Vasari, the perfection of sixteenth-century art was due to the confrontation with Antique sculptures as well as the examples of monumentality of the Roman frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael. Only thanks to the study of recently excavated Antique sculptures had it been possible to overcome the crudeness and artificiality of fifteenth-century art, investing art with greater *forza* and a "graziosissima grazia."[16] Del Sarto's figures lacked *finezza* and *forza*, Vasari wrote, because of a lack of Roman experience.[17] In Vasari's account, Andrea did not dare to take on the new artistic challenge when he visited Rome to see its artworks, and returned as fast as he could to Florence: "Some believe that he was deterred from [staying in Rome] by the abundance of works of sculpture and painting, both ancient and modern, that he saw in that city, and by observing the many young men, disciples of Raffaello and of others, resolute in draughtsmanship and working confidently and without

effort, whom, like the timid fellow that he was, he did not feel it in him to excel. And so, not trusting himself, he resolved, as the best course for him, to return to Florence."[18] In Vasari's view, if del Sarto had dared to stay in the Eternal City assimilating the advanced Roman examples, he could have reached the artistic level of Raphael: "Having then from nature a sweet and gracious manner of drawing and great facility and vivacity of colouring, both in fresco-work and in oils, it is believed without a doubt that if he had stayed in Rome, he would have surpassed all the craftsmen of his time."[19]

After the example of Raphael's school, which had executed numerous vast decoration programs, the didactic program of the Accademia del Disegno turned the profession into a smoothly running and highly productive enterprise. As Vasari mentions, also proudly referring to his own productivity: "What most concerns the whole world of art is that they have now brought it to such perfection, and made it so easy for him who possesses draughtsmanship, invention, and colouring, that, whereas those early masters took six years to paint one panel, our modern masters can paint six in one year, as I can testify with the greatest confidence both from seeing and from doing; and our pictures are clearly much more highly finished and perfect than those executed in former times by masters of account."[20]

The ease of the new academic style Vasari contrasted with the laborious work of the old-school Florentine painters epitomized by del Sarto.[21] While focusing on del Sarto's style in the 1568 edition, Vasari provides an interesting reflection on his practice: "He went on always improving from one work to another in such wise that, if he had lived longer, he would have continued to confer benefits on art; for the reason that it is better to go on making progress little by little, advancing with a firm and steady foot through the difficulties of art, than to seek to force one's intellect and nature in a single effort."[22] Vasari thus suggests that the insecure but also meticulous Andrea, horrified by the swift Roman working procedure, had hurried back to Florence, "where, reflecting little by little on what he had seen [in Rome], he made such proficience that his works have been admired and held in [esteem]."[23]

Perhaps to reconcile his negative account with a more positive view of the artist's achievement, Vasari hints that, because of his premature death at age forty-four, del Sarto could not fully incorporate the Roman examples in his style or adopt all the facets of the *bella maniera*. Over time, however, Vasari assures us, "he would have enriched his manner greatly in the composition of scenes, and would one day have given more delicacy and greater force to his figures."[24] But del Sarto's hesitant attitude toward the new style was shared by various of his Florentine contemporaries,[25] and even long after del Sarto's death the Florentine artists continued to be "slow and irresolute," working in a manner that Vasari and the new ducal court considered obsolete.[26]

The Florentine Perspective

As part of Florence's rich humanist and artistic tradition it was an old custom among artists and the public to meet to debate and study art. Which topics were discussed in these gatherings in del Sarto's time is illuminated by a passage in Vasari's life of Perino del Vaga. Born in Florence in 1501, this esteemed painter had been trained mainly in Raphael's workshop in Rome. When in the summer of 1522 the plague broke out in Rome, Perino fled to Florence, where he profited from the occasion to renew his acquaintance with the artistic tradition of that city. Perino and his Florentine colleagues made a sightseeing tour through the city, "according to the ancient custom" critically discussing old and new works of art, and "to learn what difference in practice there might be between the craftsmen of Rome and those of Florence."[27]

In front of Masaccio's frescoes in the Carmine, the Florentine craftsmen praised the modernity of the works, stating that so far no artist had equaled him "in strength of relief, in resoluteness, and in mastery of execution." When it was Perino's turn to speak, he respectfully but resolutely replied, "I know many both more resolute [*più resoluti*] and richer in grace [*più graziati*], whose works are no less lifelike in the painting than these, and even much more beautiful." At that point "a master who was held to be the first painter in Florence" took the floor, inviting Perino to compare his skills with the great Masaccio's by painting a figure of the apostle Andrew in a spot next to a figure of Saint Peter by Masolino.[28] According to Vasari, Perino prepared a cartoon, but the figure was never executed because the painter had in the meantime received a more important commission for a fresco of the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand for the Florentine church of San Salvatore di Camaldoli.[29] (As the plague by that time had reached Florence, Perino did not execute that work either.) Vasari highly praised the now-lost cartoon for its execution, which

FIG. 16 | The "Catena Map" of Florence, ca. 1490. Florence, Museo di Firenze com'era

exhibited all qualities of the *bella maniera*. Connoisseurs judged its design, in its *bellezza e bontà*, to be comparable to Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*.[30]

Although only Perino is mentioned by name in the passage, it is assumed that the expert master who challenged him was Andrea del Sarto.[31] By keeping the Florentine artists anonymous, Vasari could in effect overrule them and keep their stubborn opposition to the stylistic novelties—"the fancy that they had nursed in their minds for so many decades"—in low profile.[32] Had he specified that the authoritarian and determined master was actually del Sarto, Vasari would have undermined the image he had given in his biography of del Sarto as having a "timidity of spirit and a sort of humility and simplicity in his nature" that rendered him afraid to take on any artistic challenge.

For Vasari there was no doubt that this *paragone* in the Carmine would have resulted in a massive conversion to Raphael's school of painting, but at the same time he pointed out that the Florentines were skeptical and firm in their opinion that Perino would never have surpassed the canonical Florentine masters. The Florentines were proud to be the heirs of their illustrious artistic tradition, which thanks to a general critical attitude had reached such artistic heights. As the "foreign" Vasari from Arezzo noted, among Florentines "censure . . . is uttered freely and by many, seeing that the air of that city makes men's intellects so free by nature, that they do not content themselves, like a flock of sheep, with mediocre works."[33]

Fiorentinità in del Sarto's Character and Lifestyle

Vasari's rough description of del Sarto as showing "poor spirit in the actions of his life, looking for contentment (pleasure)" (1550) or "contenting himself with little" (1568) begins to make sense when read in terms of *fiorentinità*. According to Vasari, the misery that befell del Sarto after his premature return from the French court were caused by his adherence to a lively social life: "Thus, then, he arrived in Florence, and for several months blissfully took his joy of his fair lady, his friends, and the city" (fig. 16). In Florence, Vasari writes, the artist spent his time "taking his pleasure, and doing no work."[34] Set in the Florentine cultural and social context, del Sarto's lack of courtly ambitions and his tendency toward conviviality take on a different meaning, demonstrating

an attachment to Florentine communal life with its democratic, republican traditions and to its centuries-old popular culture.[35]

In Vasari's view, del Sarto's "animo basso" implies simple, "uncourtly" manners and a lack of "nobiltà de' costumi."[36] In his biography of del Sarto's close friend Aristotile da Sangallo, Vasari gives a telling sociological account of the Florentine unsophisticated demeanor, of which he as courtier is naturally critical. Introduced in the 1540s at the papal court by his cousin the architect Antonio da Sangallo, Aristotile, instead of using the *voi* pronoun, addressed everyone as *tu*—"as is still done by Florentines used to the ancient fashions . . . as if they were from Norcia, without being able to accommodate themselves to modern ways of life as others do, who march step by step with the times."[37] At the end of the century, Francesco Bocchi, who heralded del Sarto as the preeminent Florentine artist, also commented on his modesty and lack of courtliness: "Hebbe costume poco curante di artifizio esteriore, et [era] inimicissimo di ornamenti isquisiti."[38]

After Andrea del Sarto's death—and after Florence had become a duchy—in 1530, the Florentine (pseudo) republican society in which del Sarto had lived the last two decades of his life was nostalgically remembered as "those peaceful times" and "that peacefulness and that freedom."[39] This tranquil atmosphere, which implied modest professional aspirations and an attachment to the democratic and close-knit social life of Florence, emerges from Vasari's biographies of other early sixteenth-century Florentine artists as well. Many of these artists were close friends of del Sarto's, and many of them, along with del Sarto, were members of the so-called *compagnie di piacere*, the Paiuolo and the Cazzuola. In these festive clubs, which were transformed and institutionalized when Florence became a ducal court, artisans, artists, and members of the Florentine nobility had mingled to participate in pastimes of various kinds.[40] Vasari gives a detailed and evocative description of the spectacular and sophisticated feasts the *compagnie* organized, at which comedies were staged and lavish (and bizarre) thematic dinners produced.[41]

Although Vasari claimed to be sympathetic to these imaginative festive events, he certainly also thought they perpetrated uncouth excesses and encouraged the participants to indulge in pranks. He writes primly, "And whether they had games and merrymaking after supper, it is better to leave that to everyone to imagine than to say anything about it."[42] Vasari perceived that in similar *compagnie* artists behaved badly and wasted their time and money, thus stagnating the progression of the arts and the advancement of the artists' social status. Indeed, in the *Vite* Vasari reprimands several of the artisan members of these clubs, including del Sarto, for their conviviality.[43] Despite the fact that Vasari describes the Cazzuola and Paiuolo as clubs of *galantuomini* (gentlemen), structured according to regulations and rules, clearly some of their recreations resembled those of the *gang* of Vasari's enemy, the painter Jacone. Jacone (1495–1554), who had been del Sarto's pupil as well as his great friend, delighted in a "low" lifestyle and negligent work ethics, according to Vasari. Instead of working, Jacone "always had his mind set more on giving himself a good time and every possible amusement, living in a round of suppers and feasting with his friends," with the result that the level of his artistry dropped.[44]

Jacone and his colleagues would visit artists' workshops and art sites in order to "criticiz[e] maliciously, in their own jargon," the works of modern artists.[45] Vasari himself must have been a target of these critical assessments, but in fact these artisans were doing nothing other than continuing an important Florentine didactic and humanistic tradition, which some years earlier had seen del Sarto as a protagonist in the dispute with Perino del Vaga over style. Vasari's attitude toward these professional confrontations is self-serving and inconsistent. It is interesting to note, for instance, that one of Jacone's "malicious" men was the goldsmith Piloto, who was Perino's great friend and admirer and who kept for years the cartoon Perino had made in Florence that was admired so much by Vasari.[46]

One day when Jacone's troupe met Vasari on the street, Jacone started to make fun of him and to offend him with, Vasari says, his usual *cantafavola* (bombastic nonsense).[47] To Jacone's question regarding his well-being, Vasari arrogantly replied: "Finely, my Jacone. Once I was poor like all of you, and now I find myself with three thousand crowns or more. You thought me a fool, and the priests and friars think me an able master. I used to be your servant, and here is a servant of my own, who serves me and looks after my horse. I used to dress in the clothes that beggarly painters wear, and here I am dressed in velvet. Once I was on foot, and now I go on horseback. So you see, my Jacone, it goes exceedingly well with me. May God be with you."[48] As the victim of Jacone's verbal attack, Vasari got his revenge by describing the benefits of being a court artist.

Jacone, Vasari claims, was left stunned, stewing in his own misery. Significantly, by bringing up their shared past, Vasari was clearly referring to the troubled time he spent in del Sarto's workshop, thereby attempting to set the record straight with his former teacher as well.[49]

The passage reveals a further cultural context for Jacone and his *brigata* that sets them in the tradition of the *compagnie*.[50] Slandering in a lively Florentine slang, "speaking half in jest and half in earnest," as Jacone did with Vasari, had become an art in Florence, and was part of the comic theatrical tradition.[51] Much like Jacone with his *cantafavola* making fun of Vasari, the buffoons of the Compagnia della Cazzuola once staged a mock tirade against the members of the club for overspending the budget and wasting too much time in partying, and "said the hardest things in the world about those who had thrown away their all and spent on suppers and feasts much more than was right."[52] Exactly like Jacone, who "spent the best part of his life in jesting, in going off into cogitations, and in speaking evil of all and sundry," the men of the Cazzuola were famous for their endless defamatory broadsides in a lively local slang.[53]

Jacone stayed an exceptionally long time in del Sarto's workshop, right until the master's death in 1530, when he himself was thirty-five years old. He was not only del Sarto's pupil but also "much his friend," making ample use of the master's artistic guidance even when working independently.[54]

Interestingly, their affinity is evident in the general terms Vasari uses to classify the two friends. Vasari's surprisingly harsh criticism of del Sarto's person makes more sense when considered in the sociocultural context sketched above for Jacone. The denigration of del Sarto as showing "poor spirit in the actions of his life, contenting himself with little" echoes the assessment of Jacone, who "contented himself with the little that his fortune and his idleness allowed him, which was much less than what he required."[55] Neither of the two friends fulfilled the great potential of his artistic talent; neither of the two directed it toward a respectable lifestyle. Andrea, had he "led a more decent and honourable life," could have gained wealth and more respect.[56] It is a familiar refrain: recall the passage quoted above, in which Vasari contrasts Jacone's friends with men like himself who "lived decently and like men of honour."

As much as Vasari considered del Sarto's art and lifestyle mistaken and outdated, his own artistic stance and the courtly Tuscan style of which he himself was the primary proponent had become obsolete by the time he wrote the second edition of the Vite. The young artists of the Accademia now turned increasingly to Andrea del Sarto as their model for his *fiorentinità*. As Vasari himself noted, del Sarto was "imitated more often after his death than during his lifetime."[57] If perhaps the artist's shortcomings subtly glorify Vasari's own successes, del Sarto's posthumous fame is used in a similar way. Vasari celebrates del Sarto and himself at the end of his biography: "The works and the name of Andrea are likely to live a long time, as are these my writings, I hope, to preserve their memory for many ages."[58] But despite its biases and its self-congratulation, Vasari's rich text remains fundamental for the study of the artist.

NOTES

1 For example, Alfred de Musset's theatrical play *André del Sarto* (1833); Robert Browning's dramatic monologue "Andrea del Sarto" (1855); T. A. Trollope's "An Artist's Tragedy" (1870); an opera by Vittorio Baravalle, *Andrea del Sarto* (1890); and Valentino Soldani's *Andrea del Sarto: Dramma in 4 parti* (1910).

2 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:855; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:60.

3 The 1568 edition was instigated by the founding in 1563 of the Accademia del Disegno. On the connection between the book and the Accademia, see Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 212ff. On the *Vite*'s changes in relation to del Sarto, see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:10–11.

4 An expression of the del Sarto revival is Francesco Bocchi's *Discorso sopra l'eccellenza dell'opere d'Andrea del Sarto*, published in 1567. See Williams, "A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi in Praise of AdS."

5 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:831; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:19.

6 On the setup and historiographical structure of Vasari's book, see, for example, Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*.

7 On del Sarto's part in the creation of the Florentine "maniera moderna," see especially Natali, "La Scuola dell'Annunziata," in his *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 37–65.

8 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:747; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:385.

9 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:621; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:12. For further interpretations of *senza errori*, see Sherman, *AdS*, 1:110; Berti in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 23; and Padovani, *AdS*, 66.

10 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:619–20; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:11.

11 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:254; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 2:106.

12 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:854; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:57.

13 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:317; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:6. Compare with Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:823; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:5–6.

14 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:823, 1:618; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:6, 4:9.

15 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:618–19; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:9–10.

16 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:619; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:10.

17 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:55–56. It is generally believed that del Sarto went to Rome more than once, perhaps first in 1511. This thesis is restated by Antonio Natali in "From Andrea's Rib: The Genesis of Two Paths," in Falciani and Natali, *Pontormo e Rosso Fiorentino*, 21–29. David Franklin (*Painting in Renaissance Florence*, 128) argues instead that the artist never visited Rome, as he sees no similarity with Raphael's Stanze in the Poggio a Caiano fresco. Vasari believed, however, that del Sarto's art benefited from his association with sculptors like Sansovino, and that he "added grandeur to his manner" after his study of Michelangelo's New Sacristy (Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:847; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:45). As a drawing after the *Laocoön*

(Uffizi, inv. 339 F; cat. 51) indicates, he did study Hellenistic sculpture.

18 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:56. See Natali's interesting remarks on del Sarto's contemplative and thorough working method as opposed to the swift new Roman method (*AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 49).

19 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:56.

20 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:621; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:13.

21 Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 93; see also 80.

22 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:852–53; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:55.

23 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:56.

24 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:56.

25 For example, Fra Bartolommeo, Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:676; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:187. Franciabigio, Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:923; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:198. Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:479; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:534–35.

26 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:565; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 7:21.

27 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:164; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:604.

28 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:164–65; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:604–5.

29 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:166; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:605–6.

30 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:167; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:607. Of the work only a small drawing survives, which "fu tenuta cosa divina," and is now kept in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. 2933 SL 384.

31 The thesis of del Sarto as the Florentine spokesman was first proposed in a footnote by Shearman (*AdS*, 1:99, no. 2) and further elaborated in Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, 51. The episode, including del Sarto's leading role, has also been discussed in Ciardi and Natali, *Storia delle arti in Toscana*, 20ff.; Cecchi and Natali, *L'officina della maniera*, 45f., and Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 153ff.

32 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:165; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:605.

33 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:584; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 3:567.

34 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:838; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:31–32.

35 Del Sarto's close ties to Florentine social and artistic networks are presented by Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 42–58. In the 1550 edition Vasari gives another (in my view) touching account of del Sarto's adherence to the life of his city, narrating that he was accustomed to going every morning to the *mercato vecchio* to buy groceries, "as most Florentines do" (Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, 4:393).

36 From the 1550 edition: Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, 4:341. These harsh terms for assessing del Sarto's demeanor are contradicted by several episodes that Vasari describes—for example, he nobly kept the Medici *Madonna* for his friend Ottaviano de' Medici when the latter was imprisoned during the siege of 1529 and had advised him to sell it to someone else (Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:851; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:51–52).

37 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:438; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:446. The disparaging reference to Norcia derived from the Norcian trade of making pork sausages and castrating pigs. In *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* 11:548, the entry for *norcino* reads, "Popol. Persona zotica, sgarbata, volgare e sozza."

38 Francesco Bocchi, *L'imagine miracolosa . . .*, 45–46. The passage reflects the idea that the artist's character is reflected in his work, and continues: "Dipinse altresì le figure di semplice condizione, ma in guisa naturali."

39 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:431; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:436; Caro, *Lettere familiari*, ed. Greco, 1:32–33.

40 For a cultural, historical, and intellectual study of the *compagnie*, see Mozzati, *Giovanfrancesco Rustici*. For an assessment of the *fiorentinità* of the *compagnie*, see especially Wellen, "AdS 'pittore senza errori.'"

41 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:526–30; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:614–18.

42 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:526; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:614. There is some posthumous indication of the facetiousness and misbehavior of the Compagnia del Paiuolo. In his biography of the sculptor Antonio Susini (1580–1624), who was Giambologna's pupil and assistant, F. Baldinucci describes a seventeenth-century variant of the Paiuolo, specifically mentioning del Sarto: "Questa conversazione, la quale per lo più fu di professori delle nostre arti, giunse in breve fino al numero di cento persone, e diedergli quasi la forma stessa, che fu data già da'pittori e scultori dei tempi d'Andrea del Sarto a quella che fu detta la compagnia del Paiuolo." Apart from the elaborate thematic *cene* that were presided over by a *capo*, the members of Susini's club also wasted their time in offensive *baie*. Baldinucci talks about the club as a "poco civile conversazione." Unlike Vasari, Baldinucci with clear disgust describes several more of their pranks, although he found them "da non potersi raccontare" (Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, 4:114–17).

43 See, for example, Vasari's complaints about Puligo, Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:771; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 4:467; and Granacci, Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:52; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:344–45.

44 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:442; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:451.

45 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:443; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:452–53.

46 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:168; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:609.

47 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:443; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:453.

48 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:443–44; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:453–54.

49 Elizabeth Pilliod ("Representation, Misrepresentation, and Non-representation," 43) believes that Vasari refers to 1541 when he tried to get employed by Cosimo I but was rebuffed by the majordomo Riccio, who was influenced by Vasari's enemy Tasso Iegnaiuolo. Pilliod therefore assumes that the encounter with Jacone occurred years later, perhaps in the late 1540s or early 1550s. However, as the sculptor and goldsmith Piloto (Giovanni di Baldasarre), who died in 1536, participated in the fight, Vasari must be referring to his apprenticeship with del Sarto. Antonio Pinelli came to the same conclusion ("Vivere 'alla filosofica' o vestire di velluto?" 7).

50 In fact, this group was rather "[in]famous." Several obnoxious pranks by the same brigade are discussed in various *novelle* in Giovan Francesco Grazzini's *Cene*, first published in the eighteenth century but probably written in the 1540s. See Wellen, "AdS 'pittore senza errori,'" especially 125–27.

51 Tartaro, "Burchiello e burchielleschi," 250.

52 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:529; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:617.

53 They are remembered in Benedetto Varchi's comedy *La Suocera* of 1549 (act II, scene vii). Insulting and talking nonsense was also included in the statutes of Macchiavelli's *Capitoli per una compagnia di piacere*, dated ca. 1519–20.

54 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:854, 2:441; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:58, 6:450.

55 "Poor spirit . . .": Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:855; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:60. "Contented himself . . .": Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 2:441; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 6:450.

56 In the 1550 edition only. Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Barocchi and Bettarini, 4:342.

57 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:853; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:56. As Vasari agreed, "He should serve in every place as an example to Tuscan craftsmen" (Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:855; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:60).

58 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:855; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:60.

ANDREA DEL SARTO IN THE MEDICI COLLECTIONS

ALESSANDRO CECCHI

THE MEDICI'S PARTICULAR PREDILECTION for the work of Andrea del Sarto, starting in the Cinquecento,[1] explains the exceptional wealth of paintings by this artist found in the Galleria Palatina (fig. 17) and, more generally, in the State collections in Florence. After all, this *pittore senza errori* was famous in Florence throughout his life and became even more so after his death. Del Sarto had already worked for the Medici family—for Pope Leo X (born Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici)—contributing to the collective effort of decorating the *salone* in the Villa di Poggio a Caiano with his fresco of *The Tribute to Caesar* (cat. 23.1) executed between 1519 and December 1521.[2] On this and other occasions, it was Ottaviano de' Medici (1482–1546), himself a patron and protector of artists, who served as the intermediary between the pope and the painter.[3] Ottaviano, of course, also commissioned the so-called Medici *Holy Family* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; cat. 53).[4] According to Vasari, Ottaviano had been unable to take this work away with him in the fall of 1529 because he "had something else to think about"—that is, he had been put under house arrest at the start of the siege of Florence.[5] In a great display of loyalty and honesty, the artist apparently kept the painting for his patron and delivered it to him only after he and other Medici supporters were rehabilitated following the surrender of republican Florence in August 1530. Ottaviano did not have it in his possession for very long, however. Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574) requested it, probably in 1541, to add to his collection in the Guardaroba di Palazzo Vecchio, where it is documented to have been in 1553 and in 1560. In 1553, *Saint John the Baptist* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; cat. 48) was added to the collection after Cosimo received it as a gift from the banker Giovan Maria Benintendi (1491–after 1560), the patron who had commissioned it.[6] *Saint John the Baptist* was most likely executed in 1523, the date affixed on Franciabigio's panel painting *David Spying on Bathsheba at Her Bath* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), which, together with Bacchiacca's *Legend of the Dead King's Sons* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) and *Baptism of Christ* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) and Pontormo's *Adoration of the Magi* (Florence, Galleria Palatina), constituted the furnishings of "an antechamber and a decorative enclosure with a number of stories made by excellent masters, a rare thing," as celebrated by Vasari.[7] The *Saint John* was, in fact, the centerpiece of the chamber's iconographic plan, which centered on the figure of the Baptist.

Although Cosimo I, the founder of the Florentine grand-ducal state, had these two paintings in his collection,[8] we owe the greatest acquisition of works by del Sarto to his son, Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici (1549–1609). While still a cardinal, he procured three major paintings—by donation or acquisition—between July 1, 1579, and May 12, 1584. These works included the Bracci *Holy Family*, painted in 1526–27 for Zanobi Bracci (cat. 34.1); the Borgherini *Holy Family*, executed in del Sarto's later years, from 1528 to 1530; and the Scala *Annunciation*, painted in 1528, which was originally meant to crown an altarpiece already in Sarzana but instead remained in Florence (the altarpiece, cat. 18.1, would be destroyed in Berlin during World War II).[9] The panels remained with the families that had commissioned them until they were exhibited in the Villa Medici, the princely Roman residence, which boasted a select group of "modern" paintings and sculptures, but was famous mostly for its extremely rich collection of antiquities.

On September 15, 1584, Grand Duke Francesco I (1541–1587), Ferdinando's older brother, acquired four paintings—two by del Sarto and two by Granacci—from Pierfrancesco Borgherini's heirs. Battista della Palla had unsuccessfully attempted to take possession of these paintings, which had been in the family's famous nuptial chamber, in order to send them to France at the time of the siege of Florence. He had had to desist, however, upon the indignant reaction of Pierfrancesco's wife, Margherita Acciaiuoli, whose wedding had been blessed by Pope Leo X in 1515. But Grand Duke Francesco succeeded where della Palla, an ardent republican patriot and agent of François I of France, had failed: he merely expressed his desire—through Niccolò Gaddi—to acquire the paintings from Niccolò di Giovanni Borgherini.[10] The Medici thus acquired del Sarto's two *Stories of Joseph*, which

FIG. 17 | View of the Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, including Andrea del Sarto's Passerini *Assumption*

came with the artist's signature and monogram (Florence, Galleria Palatina), as well as those by Francesco Granacci (Florence, Uffizi). The other works by Pontormo and Bacchiacca remained in the family's possession and, after changing hands several times, ended up in the collections of the National Gallery of London and the Galleria Borghese in Rome. A sign of del Sarto's fame by this time, and of how sought after and appreciated he was by the end of the century, is the fact that his paintings sold for 360 scudi, four times the amount spent for Granacci's works.[11] Another sign of his popularity was the fact that his works were not available on the open market,[12] as Alessandro Allori wrote that same year to Eleonora de' Medici, wife of Vincenzo Gonzaga and duchess of Mantua, who had asked Allori for a work by the master.

In 1589, during the reign of Grand Duke Ferdinando[13]—successor to his brother Francesco, who died in 1587—the Tribuna degli Uffizi already included the *Young Woman with a Volume of Petrarch*, painted around 1528, although the date of its entry into the Medici collections is unknown. Originally attributed to Pontormo, the picture correctly appeared as a work by del Sarto[14] in the Tribuna's 1634 inventory; it may be a portrait of del Sarto's stepdaughter, Maria del Berrettaio (Florence, Uffizi).

In 1602 the works of del Sarto, along with those of seventeen other artists—chosen by the Accademia del Disegno and approved by the grand duke—were placed on a list of works forbidden for export from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.[15] As of 1609, the Medici collections included del Sarto's *Self-Portrait on*

Tile (Florence, Uffizi; see fig. 1), painted in 1528 at Vallombrosa, which remained in the possession of Andrea's widow, Lucrezia del Fede, for a long time. Under Cosimo II de' Medici (1590–1621) it was elevated to exhibition in the Tribuna in 1610; in the second half of the seventeenth century it was added to the many works collected by Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici.[16]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1595–1666) played a defining role in the acquisition of important works by Andrea. A collector in his own right,[17] the cardinal was also a trusted and respected counselor to the Archduchess Christine of Lorraine (1587–1636), widow of Ferdinando I, and to Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria (1565–1631), widow of Cosimo II. From 1621 to 1628, the two women jointly directed the affairs of the state until the heir to the throne, Ferdinando II (1610–1670), was old enough to govern.[18]

By 1619 the cardinal had acquired *The Madonna of Saint Ambrose*, painted around 1515 by Andrea del Sarto. It had belonged to the Compagnia della Madonna della Neve and was kept in the church of Sant' Ambrogio in exchange for a deposit of 200 scudi, the annual income from which would have guaranteed the dowry of two maidens. Long known through a copy by Jacopo da Empoli, the panel is now in a New York collection (cat. 20.1). On November 6, 1627, the cardinal obtained the damaged San Godenzo *Annunciation* from the Compagnia di San Michele Arcangelo in the Badia di San Godenzo, run by the Servite order (Ordine dei Servi di Maria). It was painted around 1528 and can be found today in the Galleria Palatina.[19] Around 1630, he had also tried to acquire the famous Luco *Pietà* (cat. 31.1) that Andrea painted during his sojourn in Mugello, where he had gone to escape the plague of 1523. Though this initial attempt was unsuccessful, del Sarto's *Pietà* would become part of the grand-ducal collections in 1782, bought by Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo of Hapsburg-Lorraine.

In a contract dated August 3, 1622, the cardinal acted as an intermediary in the acquisition of the Baroncelli/Pandolfini villa from the Orsini family on behalf of the Archduchess Maria Maddalena. It became the Villa del Poggio Imperiale in 1624, when Her Most Serene Regent was already residing there as a result of prior negotiations. Along with the villa, Maria Maddalena received the Panciatichi *Assumption* (cat. 26.2) made by Andrea in 1522–25. Because of a defective support, this altarpiece had remained unfinished and had never reached its final destination, the altar of the Panciatichi chapel in the now-destroyed church of the Florentine community of Notre Dame du Confort, in Lyons, France.[20] Nevertheless, Bartolomeo Panciatichi the Younger had acquired the large, arched panel and later ceded it to Piero Salviati, who bought the Baroncelli villa in 1548 and had an adjoining chapel built to house the painting. After 1565, however, Cosimo I de' Medici confiscated the villa and all of its contents from Salviati and in 1565 donated everything to his daughter, Isabella, and her husband, Paolo Giordano Orsini.[21]

Following the cardinal's example and perhaps his advice, on February 16, 1627, the archduchess requested and was granted the right to strip the church of San Jacopo tra' Fossi of its altarpiece of the *Annunciation* painted in 1512 by the young del Sarto.[22] This panel (Florence, Galleria Palatina) had originally been located on the Castiglione family altar in the Augustinian church of San Gallo, but owing to its proximity to the city's defensive walls, the church—together with the neighboring hamlets, villas, and monasteries—was destroyed in 1529, during the siege of Florence. When the *Annunciation* was removed from the altar of San Jacopo tra' Fossi, it was replaced with a copy made by Ottavio Vannini. The original work featured a predella, now lost, with a dead Christ flanked by two cherubs shedding light on him with two torches, as well as two side *tondi* depicting prophets. According to Vasari, the predella was executed by Pontormo when he was eighteen and spent time in del Sarto's workshop.[23] Before the archduchess, the widowed Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine had obtained—thanks to her powerful position—*The Dispute on the Trinity* (Florence, Galleria Palatina; see fig. 4), an altarpiece of lofty dogmatic and religious content. This panel, painted around 1517 and formerly on the Peri family altar, was also found in San Jacopo tra' Fossi.[24]

Perhaps it was also at the behest of the Archduchess Maria Maddalena that the Gambassi altarpiece (Florence, Galleria Palatina; see fig. 18) entered the Pitti collection. This work, executed by del Sarto before the autumn of 1527 for his friend Beccuccio Bicchieraio, is documented as being in the Pitti collection on March 3, 1637.[25] It is possible, however, that this addition to the collection was achieved instead by Grand Duke Ferdinando II, who two years later had the Passerini *Assumption* (cat. 26.3) sent to him.[26] This was an altarpiece commissioned by Margherita Passerini and painted for her by del Sarto sometime in the 1520s. Formerly in Santa Maria dei Servi in Cortona, the panel had been moved, for reasons of military security, to the church of Sant' Antonio within the walls of the town. The Passerini *Assumption*

FIG. 18 | Andrea del Sarto, Gambassi Altarpiece, ca. 1528. Oil on panel, 209 × 176 cm (82¼ × 69¼ in.). Florence, Pitti Palace, Galleria Palatina, inv. 307

was later sold to the grand duke by Cavalier Cosimo Passerini. Correspondence between Passerini and Knight Commander Cioli, the grand duke's first secretary, indicates that the *Assumption* was removed from the church of Sant' Antonio and sent to Florence in September or October 1639, amid cries and intense protest by the citizens of Cortona, who were adamantly against parting with del Sarto's altarpiece.[27] At about this time the Medici also acquired an altarpiece painted around 1512, *The Archangel Raphael, Tobias, and Saint Leonard* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; cat. 1.1). Formerly in the church of Santa Lucia at Settimello, the altarpiece is mentioned as being in the Palazzo Pitti in 1638 in rooms that were inhabited by Maria Maddalena.[28]

The fine Medici collections of Andrea del Sarto's drawings, now in the Uffizi, seem almost entirely to have been part of the extraordinary paper holdings of Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici. Though an inventory at the cardinal's death listed 211 drawings by del Sarto, or at least attributed to him at that stage, more than half of these have since been attributed to other artists.[29] Only a handful—another six—were added to the cardinal's collection by Grand Duke Cosimo III.

The last important additions under the Medici—whose dynasty ended in 1737—were made by Grand Prince Ferdinando (1663–1713),[30] a passionate collector of altarpieces. Ferdinando, whose premature death prevented him from succeeding his father, Cosimo III, had distinguished himself since 1690 for his determination as a collector, which led him to acquire the monumental *Wedding of Saint Catherine* by Fra Bartolommeo (Florence, Galleria Palatina) and the *Pala Dei* by Rosso Fiorentino. This acquisition was followed in the late 1690s by the more problematic securing—for the tidy sum of 10,000 scudi—of Raphael's

FIG. 19 | Andrea del Sarto, Vallombrosa Altarpiece, 1528. Oil on panel, 184 × 86 cm (72½ × 33⅞ in.), panel with saints; 76 × 42 cm (29⅞ × 16½ in.), panel with angels; 23.5 × 89.5 cm (9¼ × 35¼), left predella; 23.5 × 91.5 cm (9¼ × 36 in.), right predella. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 1890, nos. 8394, 8395, 8396

Madonna of the Baldacchino, which had been stolen seven years after its installation in about 1540 in the cathedral of Pescia. In 1704 Ferdinando made his last acquisition, del Sarto's *Madonna of the Harpies* (cat. 22.1), dated 1517, from the Clarisse Nuns of San Francesco de' Macci. This sublime masterpiece cost him a great deal: in addition to the obligation of financing a copy, as was the practice, he also had to take on the considerable expenses for the restoration of the convent and of the church, a project carried out between 1702 and 1704, based on a plan by and under the direction of Giovan Battista Foggini. *The Madonna of the Harpies* was initially exhibited along with the countless other works on display in the picture gallery of Ferdinando's apartments on the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Pitti and was later transferred to the Uffizi in 1795 in exchange for *The Dispute on the Trinity*, as requested by Tommaso Puccini, the director of the Uffizi at the time.[31]

Among the other important works acquired in the late eighteenth century were the Luco *Pietà* in 1782, the *Standard of San Jacopo del Nicchio* in 1784 at the behest of Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and the Poppi altarpiece, added to the collection in 1818 at the behest of Grand Duke Ferdinando III of the same grand-ducal family. The panels of the Vallombrosa altarpiece, now in the Uffizi (fig. 19), were acquired after the French suppression of religious guilds (that is, of monasteries) in 1810.

It is only natural that Andrea's home city should be so well furnished with his works and that there should be no better place to witness the richness of his production. It is also fitting that the Medici, who ruled Florence for so long, should have been so assiduous in collecting the prized works of one of the city's most famous artists. In doing so, they built a collection that stands almost as a monument to the man himself.

NOTES

(Essay translation by Stephen Sartarelli)

1 On the fortunes of Andrea del Sarto, as attested by the many copies made of his paintings, see Trkulja in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 69–76; on his success in the eyes of critics and historians from the Cinquecento to our day, see Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 59–68.

2 Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 132–35.

3 For more on Ottaviano, see Bracciante, *Ottaviano de' Medici*.

4 On the Medici *Holy Family*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 163–65, no. 28; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 178–79, 186.

5 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:850–51; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:51–52.

6 On the Benintendi *Saint John the Baptist*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 126–28, no. 16; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 144–49.

7 Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:352.

8 On the subject of the collection of Cosimo I, see Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, 1:1–26.

9 On the collecting of Cardinal Ferdinando, see Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, 1:27–58, 77–88. On the Bracci *Holy Family*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 137–39, no. 20; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 114–15, 149–51. On the Borgherini *Madonna*, see Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 161–62, no. 27; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 114–15, fig. 106. On the Scala (or Sarzana) *Annunciation*, see Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 151–54, no. 24; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 114–15, fig. 105.

10 On the collection of Francesco I de' Medici, see Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, 1:59–76.

11 On del Sarto's two *Storie di Giuseppe Ebreo*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 105–11, nos. 10, 11; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 109–14.

12 Fumagalli in Briganti and Bonfait, *Geografia del collezionismo*, 249.

13 On Ferdinando's collecting activities as grand duke, see Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, 1:89–144.

14 On the portrait, see Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 157–60, no. 26; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 67–68, fig. 58.

15 The other artists were "Michelagnolo Buonarroti, Raffaello da Urbino … Mecherino [more commonly known as Beccafumi], Rosso Fiorentino, Leonardo da Vinci, Francia Bigio [Franciabigio], Perino del Vaga, Jacopo da Pontormo, Titian, Francesco Salviati, Agnolo Bronzino, Daniello da Volterra, Fra Bartolomeo di San Marco, Fra Bastiano del Piombo, Filippo di Fra Filippo [more commonly known as Filippino Lippi], Antonio Correggio, il Parmigianino" (Ważbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno*, 2:503–5, document 3).

16 Concerning the *Self-Portrait*, see Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 149–50, no. 23; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 132, fig. 122. Cardinal Leopoldo was also a "staunch admirer and passionate collector" of drawings by del Sarto that eventually ended up in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi. See Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 187–91; for the entries, 192–327.

17 On the collecting activities of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici, see Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, vol. 3.

18 See Fumagalli in Briganti and Bonfait, *Geografia del collezionismo*, 249.

19 On the San Godenzo *Annunciation*, see Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 170–72, no. 30; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 182, fig. 177.

20 On September 28, 1519, the Panciatichi *Assumption* was in the chapel of the Villa del Poggio Imperiale, inside a "partly gilded inlaid walnut decoration resting on a wooden *risighinetta* [small wooden frame] with inside the birth of Our Lord with Shepherds and Magi." It is not known who painted this picture enclosed in the frame or if it was created at the same time (Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 122–24, note 5).

21 Moreni, in *Notizie istoriche*, 2:161, gives, no doubt erroneously, 1602 as the year in which the del Sarto altarpiece—obtained only thanks to the acquisition of the villa in 1622—was granted for 1,000 scudi to Maria Maddalena (Panichi, "Villa del Poggio Imperiale," 32–43). The villa, with all its furnishings, was confiscated from Alessandro di Piero di Alamanno, who was guilty of having taken up arms against Cosimo in the defense of Port'Ercole during the war with Siena, and for this reason condemned to death and decapitated in Livorno in 1556. Panichi, for her part, claims that the confiscation took place in 1565, the same year as the donation to Cosimo's son-in-law Paolo Giordano Orsini. Apparently, in a letter addressed to Cardinal Carlo in early 1635, Orsini tried unsuccessfully to claim ownership of the del Sarto altarpiece (Fumagalli in Briganti and Bonfait, *Geografia del collezionismo*, note 63). On the Panciatichi *Assumption*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 122–25, no. 15; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 139–41, 146–47, figs. 135, 136.

22 On the *Annunciation*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*., 43–47; Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 94–96, no. 4; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 36–37, 50–53, 54–55.

23 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:830; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:17.

24 Concerning the *Dispute*, see Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 43–47; Natali in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 115–17, no. 13; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 89–93, figs. 76, 77.

25 On the Gambassi altarpiece, see Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 134–36, no. 19; Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 171–72, 175–76.

26 On the collection activities of Ferdinando II de' Medici, see Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica*, vol. 3.

27 Concerning this work, see Caneva in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 140–43, no. 21, and Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 171–73, 177.

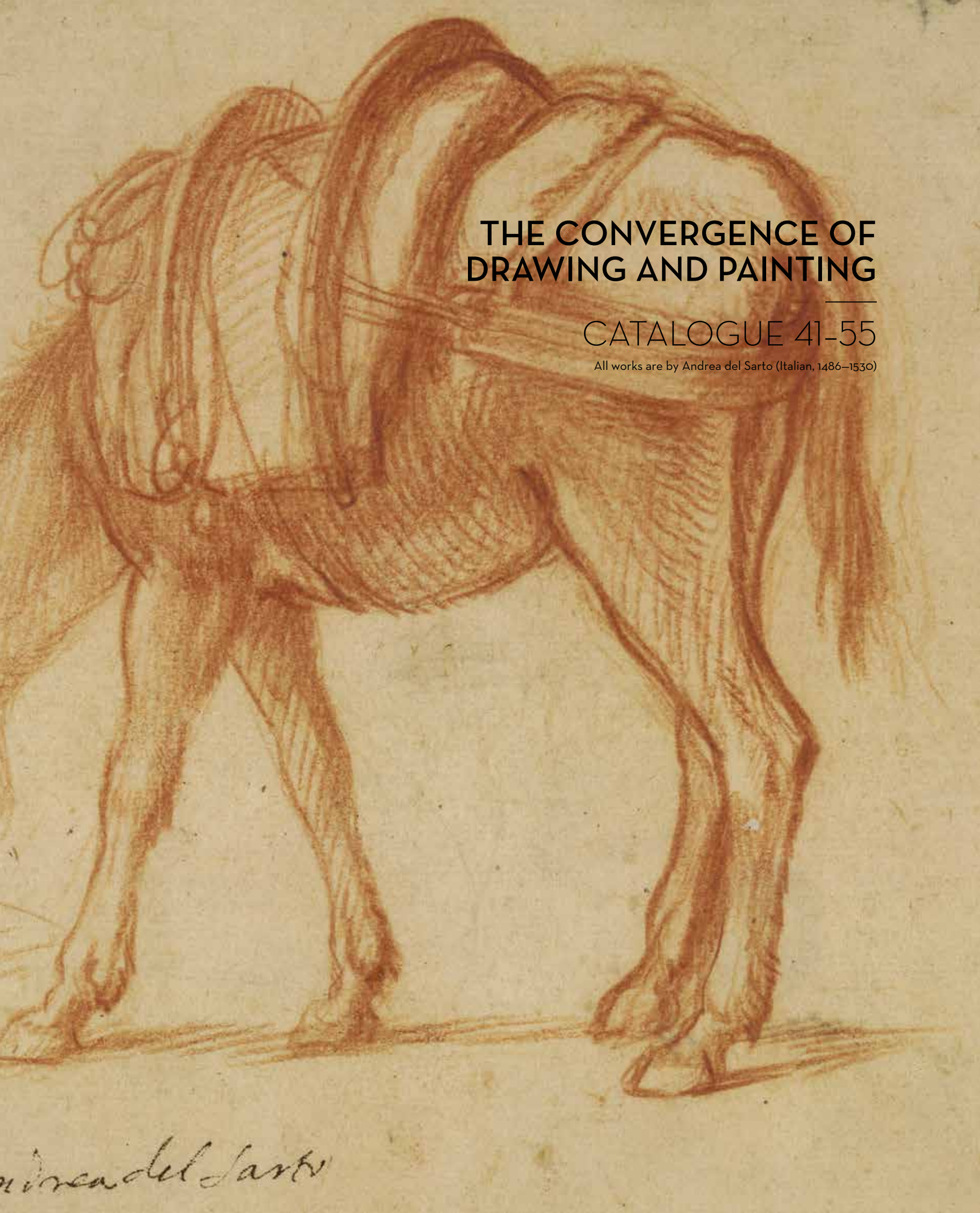
28 Fumagalli in Briganti and Bonfait, *Geografia del collezionismo*, 250–51. The work ended up in Vienna following an exchange of works between dynastic Florentine and Austrian collectors, as wished by the two "sovereign brothers," the Emperor Francesco II and Grand Duke Ferdinando III, in 1792–93. On the work itself, see Natali, *AdS: Maestro della "maniera moderna,"* 32–35, figs. 24, 25.

29 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 188–89.

30 On the collecting activities of Grand Prince Ferdinando, see Spinelli, *Ferdinando de' Medici*, 34–71.

31 On this work, see Spinelli, *Ferdinando de' Medici*, 270–71, no. 53. The date of entry of the small, early *Madonna of Humility* into the Galleria Palatina is unknown. It was documented as being in the Uffizi from the early 1600s (see Padovani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 97–98, no. 5).





THE CONVERGENCE OF DRAWING AND PAINTING

CATALOGUE 41–55

All works are by Andrea del Sarto (Italian, 1486–1530)

THE MADONNA OF THE STEPS

JULIAN BROOKS

IF THERE IS A WORK THAT SHOWS the contrast between Andrea's iconic and serene final result and the rapidly evolving, turbulent creative process through which it was achieved, it is *The Madonna of the Steps* (Madrid, Prado; fig. 20).[1] The painting, with its strong pyramidal composition, symmetry, and simplicity, is a model of Renaissance balance and harmony, but in the infrared reflectogram (IRR) (fig. 22) one can see evidence of substantial changes quickly made, and the numerous surviving preparatory drawings on paper lay bare the intense study behind the panel. They reveal the extent to which Andrea rooted every aspect of his work in the close examination of reality, and through this achieved the extraordinary naturalism that is the hallmark of his output. Further, given the cartoon transfer lines visible on the panel, it becomes clear that a number of the related drawings were made after the transfer of the cartoon; Andrea's creative process continued in tandem on both panel and paper. The moment at which the cartoon was transferred was just a step toward making the painting; by no means was it the end of the design process.

The scene features the Madonna and Child atop stone steps in an open landscape setting. On the right is a kneeling angel holding a book, to whom the Christ Child reaches, while on the left sits a man holding drapery who is looking up at Christ. In the left background a woman leads a child away. The subject of the painting is unclear—even Vasari refers to it only as a Madonna and Child "with two other figures"—and it has been much discussed. The scene has sometimes been given as Tobias and the Angel, which seems unlikely, while in early inventories the figure on the left was described as Saint John the Evangelist. Some scholars have seen him as Joseph, to make the subject a Holy Family with an angel foretelling the Passion, or the ratification of the Book of Revelation.[2] Andrea's representations of Joseph are normally older and more heavily bearded, however, and he would be unlikely to sit beneath the Virgin and Child in such a position. More convincing is the figure's identification as Saint Matthew. This is justified by the profession of the patron of the painting, Lorenzo di Bernardo Jacopi (1476–at least 1549) as a money-changer—Saint Matthew was the patron saint of money-changers and bankers—and in fact in the IRR this figure can be seen to hold a pen, consonant with an identification as Saint Matthew. So the scene could be a Vision of Saint Matthew, potentially including a moment from the apocryphal gospel of Pseudo-Matthew or James (dealing with the childhood of Christ), with the Virgin and Child in the background fleeing the impending massacre of the innocents.[3] The plot thickens when it is noted that the IRR also indicates that the angel was originally holding a lamb rather than a book, and that there are further steps to a temple at left. This could simply be a symbol of Christ's Passion, or might imply an apocalyptic reading, but it has also led to an identification of the entire subject as from the Pseudo-Matthew, depicting a moment when the Virgin and Child rested on the flight into Egypt in Sotinen: the idols in the temple fell to the ground when Christ and Mary entered it.[4]

But back to the evolution of the design and more solid ground. The cartoon transfer lines visible in the IRR (fig. 22 and cat. 45.1) show that many changes were made to the composition even after the cartoon design had been transferred. For the background these involved the introduction of two trees, not further elaborated, an entirely different cityscape at right, and buildings and people at left.[5] But the principal change was in the positions of the Virgin and Christ Child, and Ana Gonzalez has isolated these cartoon transfer lines from the whirl of marks (fig. 21). While Christ now stands next to his kneeling mother, reaching out to the angel, he instead originally struggled across her lap, presumably reaching for the intended lamb held by the angel; in its appreciation of both childhood and symbolism this would have been a typically thoughtful Sartesque touch in its combination of humanity and piety. When reversed, this pose for Christ is extremely similar to the one used for the Christ Child in *The Madonna of the Sack* (see cat. 15) and also in *The Adoration of the Magi* (see cat. 12). The fall of the drapery as it appears in the cartoon transfer lines is also identical (in reverse) to that used in the latter, suggesting the reuse of a preexisting design, although it

FIG. 20 | *The Madonna of the Steps*, ca. 1522. Oil on panel, 177 × 135 cm (69⅝ × 53⅛ in.). Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 314

FIG. 21 | Isolated tracing of black chalk cartoon transfer lines for the Madonna and Child in *The Madonna of the Steps*. In blue, the first abandoned silhouette of the Virgin; in red, the second configuration; in green, the final transfer. Tracing by Ana González Mozo.

is not possible to tell which composition came first. The standing figure of Christ as painted has him reaching toward the angel; the Virgin holds him back and simultaneously moves to pull her mantle over him in a gesture that may well be intentionally suggestive of Niobe protecting one of her children.[6] The upright stance of Christ—in particular his legs—and the associated pose of the Virgin appear again in one of the Passerini tapestry roundels and also in the Gambassi altarpiece (see fig. 18); one has the sense of designs in the studio that were reused directly or with modifications to fit the purpose.

Notable in the IRR is a liquid medium used initially to lay in the darker areas in the composition, working inside or in conjunction with the cartoon transfer lines and presumably applied after them. It is most easily seen in the drapery of Saint Matthew, where it establishes the location of the shadows, often over some hatched marks, both cartoon transfer lines and some reworking in freehand drawing. The difficulty of distinguishing these two types of lines is particularly intense here; the hatching has a calligraphic nature yet has the abrupt start and stop of transfer lines; other strokes clearly seem to have the tapered ends of freehand drawing. While the liquid medium, applied with a brush, seems to have been used like a wash (as brown ink wash is used in ink drawings, for example) and has sometimes been called a wash, it was most likely a thin, oil-based medium with very little pigment (see the essay by Szafran and Chui). This was also employed on its own to make changes to the design (to the profile of Saint Matthew, for instance) or introduce new motifs (such as the tree trunks to the left of the Virgin). A slightly stronger version of the "wash"—that is, with more pigment—was used in zigzag strokes to erase the flurry of initial transfer lines for the profile of the angel, and also to negate the lines from a complex cityscape in the right background, which in the painting was replaced with a simpler walled town.

Beyond the change to the position of the Christ Child, the other principal alteration made between the transfer of the cartoon (as shown in the cartoon transfer lines on the panel) and the painting as Andrea finished it is in the position of the angel at right (fig. 23). He initially faced in toward the Virgin, but his body was shifted to slant outward in a more *contrapposto* pose as he looks up. This change and the one to the pose of the Christ Child allow us to determine which of the related drawings were made in advance of the cartoon and which ones followed it; it is clear that

FIG. 22 | IRR of *The Madonna of the Steps* (fig. 20)

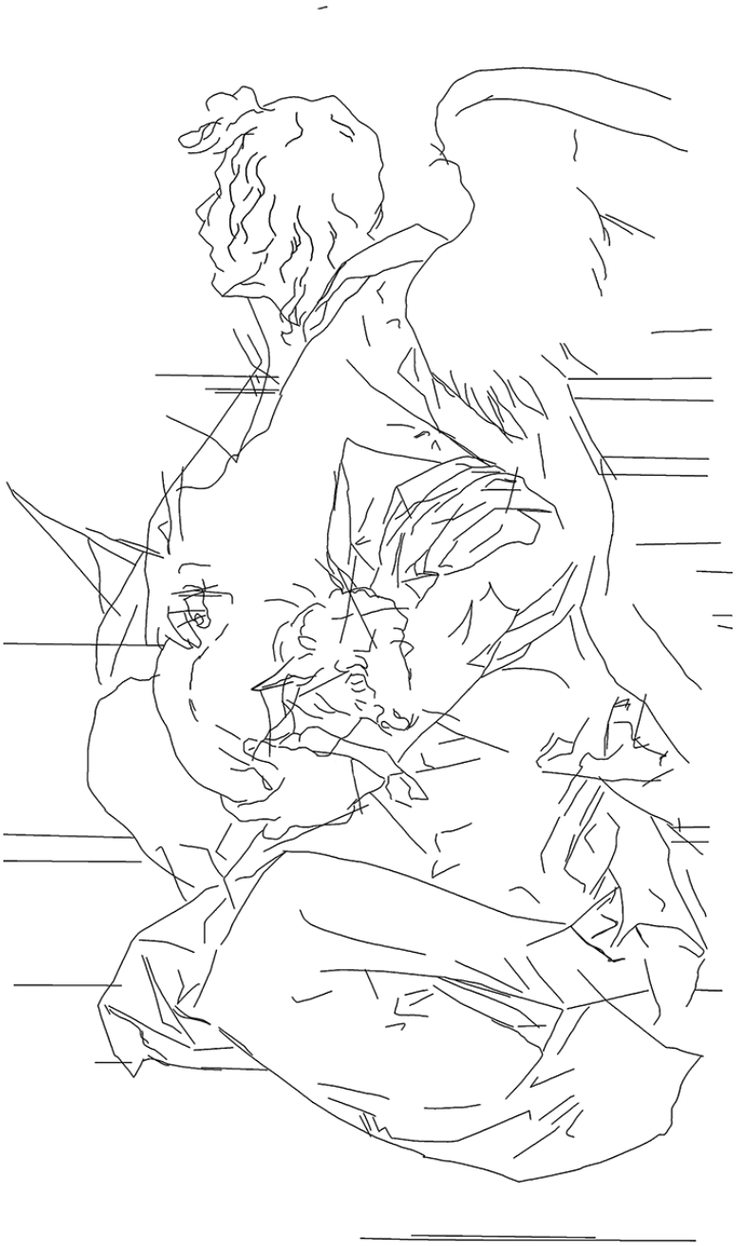


FIG. 23 | Isolated tracing of black chalk cartoon transfer lines for the angel in *The Madonna of the Steps*. Tracing by Ana González Mozo.

Andrea was working during the same period both on the panel and on paper to draw/redraw details. One sheet that certainly preceded the cartoon is a life study, cat. 41, of a studio assistant placed in the angel's initial pose, facing the Virgin. He holds a sack[7] that is used to represent the lamb, and sits on steps rendered simply by horizontal chalk strokes. He seems to be wearing breeches but is otherwise naked, enabling Andrea to study the form of the muscles and the fall of light across his back. There are swift pentimenti in his profile, the left arm, and the outline of his back. The red chalk was wetted, rubbed, and gone over in places (such as the left thigh) to achieve the complex effects of light and solidity that Andrea observed, but other areas—the right hand, for example, which is left as a schematic claw—were barely acknowledged. There is an intense sense of focus; Andrea drew only what was important to him at that moment, knowing that he would be making more drawings. The subsidiary study at upper right seems to test the effect of rotating the wrist on the fall of light, adding an indication of the drapery that he will study separately in cat. 42. On the verso of this sheet (cat. 41.1), with the paper rotated to fit the format of his sketch, is a highly finished study for the drapery of Saint Matthew, whose curving arm and whose feet are summarily indicated. This drawing, spectacular in its rendering of light and texture, is Andrea's answer—but using only red chalk—to the drawings made by the Verrocchio studio of cloth dipped in plaster and placed on lay figures.[8] Andrea modeled the drapery with hatching, stumping, wetting, and a judicious use of blank areas for highlights; it looks so easy and yet is so difficult. Despite all the care and attention lavished on this drawing, Andrea for some reason found the drapery unsuitable; the finished painting and the cartoon transfer lines show broadly similar drapery that is entirely different in form and must have been taken from another drawing, now lost. Notably, however, the drapery of cat. 41.1 shows up in the embroidered Passerini scene of the *Transfiguration*; it was not wasted.

Probably shortly after he drew cat. 41, Andrea made cat. 42. This sheet is spattered with oil stains, a fact that perhaps in itself testifies to the proximity of drawing and painting in Andrea's workshop. He continued studying the left arm of the angel in red chalk, this time with drapery rolled up over the elbow (as in the subsidiary sketch on cat. 41) and with an undershirt beneath. This was the design that was used in the cartoon, as shown by the cartoon transfer lines in the IRR. But something then seems

to have changed Andrea's mind, and beneath in red chalk he pondered turning the angel outward with a quick new study of his legs. Continuing with this theme on the verso (cat. 42.1), he drew a new sketch of drapery in red chalk with the angel's body turned out, also making next to it a study of a studio assistant posed as the Virgin. At what stage Andrea went back to the sheet we don't know, but he wanted to revisit the problem of the angel's drapery and so used black chalk to work on the recto of the same sheet, thus differentiating his new studies from his old ones. To the right of his red-chalk drawing of legs he made a new sketch in black chalk of the angel's arm and drapery, occasionally wetting the chalk to capture texture and having to draw over the red chalk to put the hand and the front of the clothing in position. This was the sketch he used for the drapery in the painting, combining it with the solution for the undershirt in the red-chalk sketch above. These were painted freehand and there is no sign of cartoon transfer lines beneath them, although a few freehand black-chalk strokes stabilize the position. At the same time he made various studies from a model for the hands of Saint Matthew and the angel, either considering them together for aesthetic reasons or for the simple fact of having an assistant at that moment whose hands were available. These hand studies all seem to have still been made before the decision to change the angel's lamb into a book; for neither figure were they used as drawn, but must have been the subject of a further study.[9] As a result of Andrea's decision to turn the body of the angel further toward the viewer, he also chose to show more of his face. He probably intended to reuse a black-chalk study, now in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica (inv. F.C. 124156 r.),[10] that was originally made for Saint Thomas in the Panciatichi *Assumption* of more or less the same date; this drawing shows the head and hair in the same profile as the IRR but slightly more elevated. But he now had to restudy the head, which he probably did in a series of sheets including cat. 43.[11] Although drastically trimmed at the right margin, this drawing studies the form of the profile and the features including the fall of light across the cheek; it differs from the head used in the painting only in the placement of the nostrils and the hair around the ear.

The figure of Saint Matthew in the painting follows the form of the cartoon transfer lines relatively faithfully; the drapery is painted almost exactly as planned, with only a few notable changes. The profile of his face was altered several times freehand in "wash," at first pushed in closer to Christ and then retracted and raised a little, always keeping a clear silhouette of the features. In describing the details Andrea reused another drawing (cat. 45) that he had made for the Panciatichi *Assumption*; as Shearman noted, the set of the shoulders of the model demonstrates that it was first made for the apostle at the left of the *Assumption*, and the angle of the gaze also reflects the more elevated position of the Virgin in that painting.[12] Yet the Saint Matthew not only shows the strong profile of the drawing, starkly portrayed against the white of the sheet, but also the same incredibly subtle effects of light on the cheek, achieved in the drawing by dampening the sheet and rehatching it over and over, and in paint by a veil of lighter tone in the shadow. The drawing is an extraordinary study of a face in shadow, and it is not at all surprising that Andrea wished to use it more than once.

The major changes that Andrea made to the pose of Christ are reflected in several drawings that are thus shown to have been made after the transfer of the cartoon. The first is a study of the Christ Child (cat. 44).[13] In this sheet there is an intense interest in the outlines of the child's form, which have been gone over several times with chalk lines and which in some places are thrown into relief through a darkening of the sheet by hatching. The mother's hand, holding back the child as in the painting, is briefly indicated, but it is not the focus of study here. Despite the swift draftsmanship there is a keen observation of the effects of light and shade, for example in the shadows around the knees and down the thighs; these elements, transmitted to the painting, help give it its convincing naturalism. Yet Andrea also considers a significant change such as the direction of the child's gaze, who looks both at the viewer and out to the right, although perhaps the pentimento in the head comes simply from trying to capture the pose of a moving child.[14] A subsidiary study to the right renders the child's stomach fuller and rounder, and is reproduced almost exactly in the painting. Although the drawing is now laid down on another sheet, traces of writing in ink, perhaps a letter, tantalizingly show through from the verso; this raises the question of whether the drawing was made on the back of the document or vice versa.

The keen, naturalistic observation of a child is the subject of one of Andrea's most famous drawings, cat. 46. A study for the head of the Christ Child in *The Madonna of the Steps*, this drawing was made, like the previous one, after Andrea had changed

FIG. 24 | Andrea del Sarto and Workshop, *The Madonna and Child with Saint John*, ca. 1522. Oil on panel, 61.5 × 63.5 cm (24¼ × 25 in.). Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, inv. 52.9.167. Purchased with funds from the State of North Carolina

the infant's pose following the cartoon transfer. This beautiful sheet—one has to say it—is drawn in a slightly pink-toned chalk and seems deceptively simple. The delicacy and tenderness with which it has been rendered is extraordinary, setting the head firmly in three-dimensional space but according shadows and reflected light their different emphases and using the white of the paper variably for light. To convey these incredibly subtle effects, the chalk has been stumped in places and brushed with water on the forehead and right cheek for nuances of tone. The profile of the left cheek is strongly outlined with firm strokes and the junction with his left shoulder summarily indicated. As he often does, Andrea has used a subsidiary sketch to morph his initial drawing into something closer to what he wants in the painting; in this case he has opened the mouth a little and puckered the lips slightly, raising the head a fraction, and this is exactly the form he uses in *The Madonna of the Steps*. One aspect, however, is totally changed: the tufty, wavy, light-colored hair of the drawing is replaced in the painting by shorter curls. While for hair Andrea sometimes used intermediary sheets similar to cat. 33, in this case the IRR seems to show that the hair of the infant was painted freehand in "wash" and built up from there. The verso of cat. 46 (cat. 46.1) is a closely observed red-chalk study for the Virgin's right hand, raised as she pulls forward her mantle as if to protect her child.[15] This sketch was not used directly in the painting, in which the grip of the hand is tightened, with the fingers closer together.

The last drawing that can be related to the painting is a black-chalk study of the drapery around the Virgin's knee as she kneels at the top of the steps (cat. 47). Once again, this drawing came after the transfer of the cartoon and the decision to aban-

don her initial seated pose; the cartoon transfer lines show that Andrea intended to use the same positions for the Virgin and Child as in *The Adoration of the Magi*, but in reverse (see above, and cat. 12). The change to a kneeling Virgin with standing Christ necessitated a new study of her drapery (cat. 47), with her knee at the crest of a step indicated only with a few horizontal strokes, as in cat. 41. He left a blank of paper where the legs of Christ would stand, but otherwise carefully studied every fold in the fabric around her knee, curling behind Christ, and falling over the step. In the black chalk he achieved an even greater sculptural solidity than in his red-chalk drapery studies, with the benefit of his experience and talent showing in his judgment of wetting and hatching the chalk, and leaving highlights. Some lines are so thick and "wet" that they look as if they were applied with the point of a brush, and it is indeed possible that they were. The effect is of a master in complete control of his media, and this is borne out by the fact that the drapery from this sketch was brushed in freehand on the panel, without the need for any intermediary cartoon or process. As has been noted by other authors, the verso of the sheet (cat. 47.1) has a truncated and extremely cursory sketch, interesting particularly for its brevity, that seems to relate to cat. 5, Andrea's red-chalk portrait of a woman.[16]

Before we leave *The Madonna of the Steps*, we should note a closely related panel now in the North Carolina Museum of Art (fig. 24).[17] This is on a much smaller, domestic scale, about one-sixth the size, and in a horizontal format. It features the Madonna and Christ Child in poses very similar to those in the Prado painting, although in this case the Christ Child leans forward to take a cross from the infant Baptist at right. The scene is in an interior setting, and the Virgin seems to kneel on a ledge or table in front of a curtain. While Shearman pondered whether this might have been painted before the Prado painting, the evolution of that scene as detailed above makes it clear that this is unlikely to be the case. Yet the work is of good quality, and was made by someone with close access to Andrea's drawings, probably even with his involvement. Interestingly, the head of Christ is more similar to cat. 46 than is the Prado painting, and the hand of the Virgin is also more closely derived from the verso of that sheet than is Andrea's painted Prado version. The brief sketch of the body of a child in the center of cat. 28 has also been related to the Raleigh painting but shows the left leg in a very different position and the body further turned; a specific relationship of that sketch with either of the paintings seems elusive. The IRR of the Raleigh painting shows rather tentative freehand underdrawing in the placement of the figures but no cartoon transfer lines, suggesting no formal workshop link between the two paintings.[18]

NOTES

1 For the painting, see Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:59–60, 61, 6, 80, no. 116, Shearman, *AdS*, 1:90–92, pl. 99b, 2:251–53, no. 63, and most recently Ana Gonzalez in Finaldi and Garrido, *El trazo oculto*, 159–73, no. 9. The work is too fragile to travel and so could not be included in the exhibition that this volume accompanies.

2 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:251–52; Natali, *AdS*, 137.

3 Cecchi in Cecchi and Natali, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 88.

4 Ana Gonzalez in Finaldi and Garrido, *El trazo oculto*, 170–71. This seems to me to be overreading the background details, and it is possible that the background figures are simply Elizabeth and the infant Baptist, who have just visited Christ (as per Shearman, *AdS*, 2:252).

5 Some vertical freehand black-chalk strokes at top left perhaps indicate a plan for a curtain or interior setting.

6 See Shearman, *AdS*, 1:91.

7 Perhaps *the* sack. His left hand holds the end at which it is tied. The sack that appears in *The Madonna of the Sack* seems a little larger, however.

8 See Viatte in Bambach, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 111–20.

9 It is notable that Saint Matthew's right arm and hand do not follow the initial cartoon transfer lines but rather were painted in freehand later, in the manner of the angel's drapery.

10 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:384, who notes that the drawing was also reused for the later Passerini *Assumption*.

11 This is a sheet that came to light only in the 1990s. While it is not the strongest drawing, and it lacks an emphasis that Andrea sometimes gives to the silhouette of a profile, it does not have the nature of a copy after the painting. The slight differences suggest a preparatory role.

12 Shearman, "AdS's Two Paintings of the Assumption," 129; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:374; for the attribution history of this drawing see Cordellier, *Hommage*, 58–59, no. 36, where a potential Antique sculptural inspiration is also proposed.

13 Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 252, no. 45.

14 In a copy of this sheet made by Vasari (Uffizi, inv. 4379 F, noted in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 252), the head is fixed looking to the right, as in the painting.

15 This sketch has been lightly framed with black-chalk lines, which Shearman (*AdS*, 2:345) speculates might have been part of a plan to trim the sheet even if this would have ruined the sketch on the recto. This seems deeply improbable. The lines, which also appear on inv. 631 E and 661 E (and no doubt other drawings), probably reflect an intended cropping of the image for early facsimile or photographic reproduction, as suggested by Petrioli Tofani (*AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 253).

16 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:356; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 254.

17 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:250–51, who knew the work only from photographs, accepted it as autograph, along with Natali and Cecchi, *AdS: Catalogo completo*, 144, fig. 133. Shearman based his conclusions on a counterproof in the Farnesina, F.C. 130494, that he regarded as being made from an original drawing by Andrea (*AdS*, 2:384). This rather seems to me a counterproof of the work of Jacopo da Empoli or an artist later in the century. I am very grateful to David Steele and Noelle Ocon at the North Carolina Museum of Art for giving me access to their files and conservation reports.

18 A few lines of underdrawing to the right of the Christ Child go horizontally across the body of the Virgin, as if aware of the drapery in the Prado painting, but these lines are not reflected in what was painted.

CATALOGUE 41

STUDY OF A KNEELING FIGURE IN PROFILE TO THE LEFT

ca. 1522

Red chalk

26.5 × 20 cm (10⁷⁄₁₆ × 7⅞ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 318 F, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 114; Knapp 1907, 133; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 60; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 13; Ferri 1912–21, series IV, issue III, no. 10; Knapp 1928, 116; Fraenckel 1935, 172; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 292, vol. 2, no. 114; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 114; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 109, figs. 73, 74; Monti 1965, 170, note 148; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 100a, c, vol. 2, 251, 336-337; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 29; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXVI; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 141; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 248–49, no. 43; Finaldi and Garrido 2006, 167, fig. 18; Petrioli Tofani 2008, 6–7, no. 3

CAT. 41.1 | *Drapery Study* (verso of cat. 41)

CAT. 41

CATALOGUE 42

STUDIES OF ARMS, LEGS, HANDS, AND DRAPERY

ca. 1522

Red and black chalks

25.8 × 20.2 cm (10 3/16 × 7 15/16 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 324 F, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 117; Knapp 1907, 133; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 58, 60; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 13; Knapp 1928, 116; Fraenckel 1935, 173; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 292, vol. 2, no. 117; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 117; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 109, figs. 75, 76; Monti 1965, 170, note 148; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 100b, d, vol. 2, 251, 338–39; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 11, 29, no. 28b; Petrioli Tofani 1985, 8, no. XXVI; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 143–44; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 250–51, no. 44; Finaldi and Garrido 2006, 166–67, fig. 11

CAT. 42.1 | Verso of cat. 42

CAT. 42

CATALOGUE 43

HEAD OF A YOUTH IN PROFILE

ca. 1522

Red chalk

21 × 13 cm (8¼ × 5⅛ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, inv. WA1995.214

PROVENANCE Henry Scipio Reitlinger; Dr. Alfred Scharf; bequeathed by Dr. Gerhard Weiler, 1995

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Unpublished

CAT. 43

CATALOGUE 44

STUDY OF A CHILD WITH ARMS EXTENDED

ca. 1522

Red chalk

25 × 16.1 cm (9 13⁄16 × 6 5⁄16 in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 291 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 64; Knapp 1907, 133; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 59, 60; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 13; Ferri 1912–21, series IV, issue III, no. 8; Knapp 1928, 115; Popham 1931, no. 530; Fraenckel 1935, 170; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 292, vol. 2, no. 110 E; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 6; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 142; Shearman 1959, 129; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 110 E; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 109, fig. 72; Monti 1965, 170, note 148; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 101a, vol. 2, 251, 329; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 29, no. 28a; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXVI; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 128–29; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 252, no. 45

CAT. 44

CATALOGUE 45

HEAD OF A MAN IN PROFILE, LOOKING UP

ca. 1522

Red chalk

19.5 × 15.5 cm (7 11/16 × 6 1/8 in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1685

PROVENANCE Entered the Cabinet du Roi in the last third of the 17th century, initials of J. Prioult (L. 2953); Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, no. 149; Knapp 1907, 135; Knapp 1928, 118; Fraenckel 1935, 199; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 292, vol. 2, no. 149; Bacou 1955, no. 42; Becherucci 1955, no. 32; Shearman 1959, 129, no. 29; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 427, vol. 2, no. 149, vol. 3, fig. 842; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, fig. 117, vol. 2, 110, 118; Monti 1965, p. 161–62, no. 147; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 158, pl. 102a, vol. 2, 251, 374; Forlani Tempesti 1970, pl. 28; McKillop 1974, 170–231; Bacou and Viatte 1974–75, no. 68; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXVI; Cordellier 1986, 58–59, no. 36

CAT. 45.1 | IRR detail of *The Madonna of the Steps*

CAT. 45

CATALOGUE 46

STUDIES OF THE HEAD OF AN INFANT

ca. 1522

Red chalk

24.8 × 18.4 cm (9¾ × 7¼ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 632 E, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 91; Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 60; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 12; Ferri 1912–21, series IV, issue III, no. 9; Venturi 1925, 591, note 1; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 175; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 91; Galleria degli Uffizi 1939, 6; Palazzo Strozzi 1940, 140; Becherucci 1955, no. 19; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 91; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 109, figs. 70, 71; Monti 1965, 170, note 148; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 101b, d, vol. 2, 345; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 29; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXVI; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 1, pt. 1, 282; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 253, no. 46; Finaldi and Garrido 2006, 166, 168, fig. 14

CAT. 46.1 | Verso of cat. 46

CAT. 46

CATALOGUE 47

DRAPERY STUDY

ca. 1522

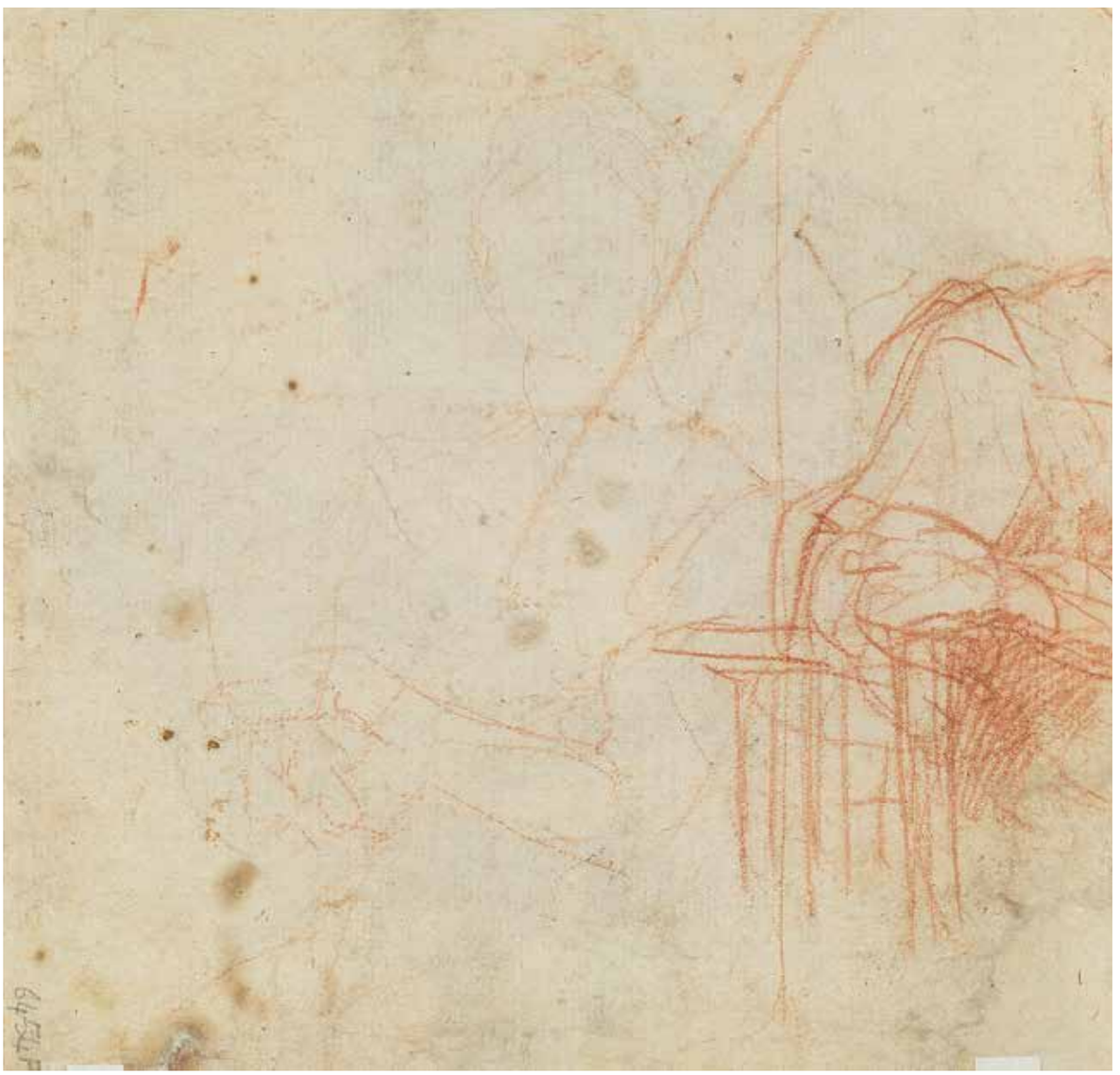
Black chalk

16.5 × 16.2 cm (6½ × 6⅜ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 6454 F, recto

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 58; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 13; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 178; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, 192, vol. 2, no. 128A; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 128A; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 205, fig. 158; Monti 1965, 170, note 148; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 98b, 101c, vol. 2, 356; Shearman and Coffey 1978, 28, 29; Petrioli Tofani 1985, under no. XXVI; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 254–55, no. 47; Finaldi and Garrido 2006, 166, 169, fig. 16



CAT. 47.1 | Verso of cat. 47

CAT. 47

SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

DENISE ALLEN

CATALOGUE 48

SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

ca. 1523
Oil on panel
94 × 68 cm (37 × 26¾ in.)
Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 272

PROVENANCE Painted for Giovan Maria Benintendi (1491–ca. 1560); presented by him to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (the record of its entry in the Medici's *Guardaroba* dated December 30, 1553, G. 30, c.55); *Tribuna* inventory, 1589 (Arch. Sopr. Gallerie, MS. 70, c.28); Palazzo Pitti inventory, 1687 (G. 932, c.138v)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Anon. 1901, 37; Berenson 1904, 98, no. 272; Wölfflin 1904, 163; Knapp 1907, 93–96, 130, fig. 74; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 617–18; Knapp 1928, 64–65, 112, fig. 55; Fraenckel 1935, 143–44, 224; Rusconi 1937, 43–44, no. 272; Marangoni 1938, pl. 22; Francini Ciaranfi 1955, 29; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 86–87, vol. 2, 151, 167–68, fig. 74; Monti 1965, 100–101, 174, fig. 237; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 96–97, 99, pl. 124a, vol. 2, 259, no. 67; Ciatti and Seroni 1986, 72–79; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 126–28, no. 16; Natali and Cecchi 1989, 94–95, no. 43; Chiarini, Piacenti, and Spalletti 1992, 28; Natali 1998, 145–46, 204, fig. 137; Natali 1999, 145–46, 204, fig. 137; Bonfante-Warren 2006, 98, no. 98; Wolf et al. 2013, 146, no. 4

CATALOGUE 49

STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

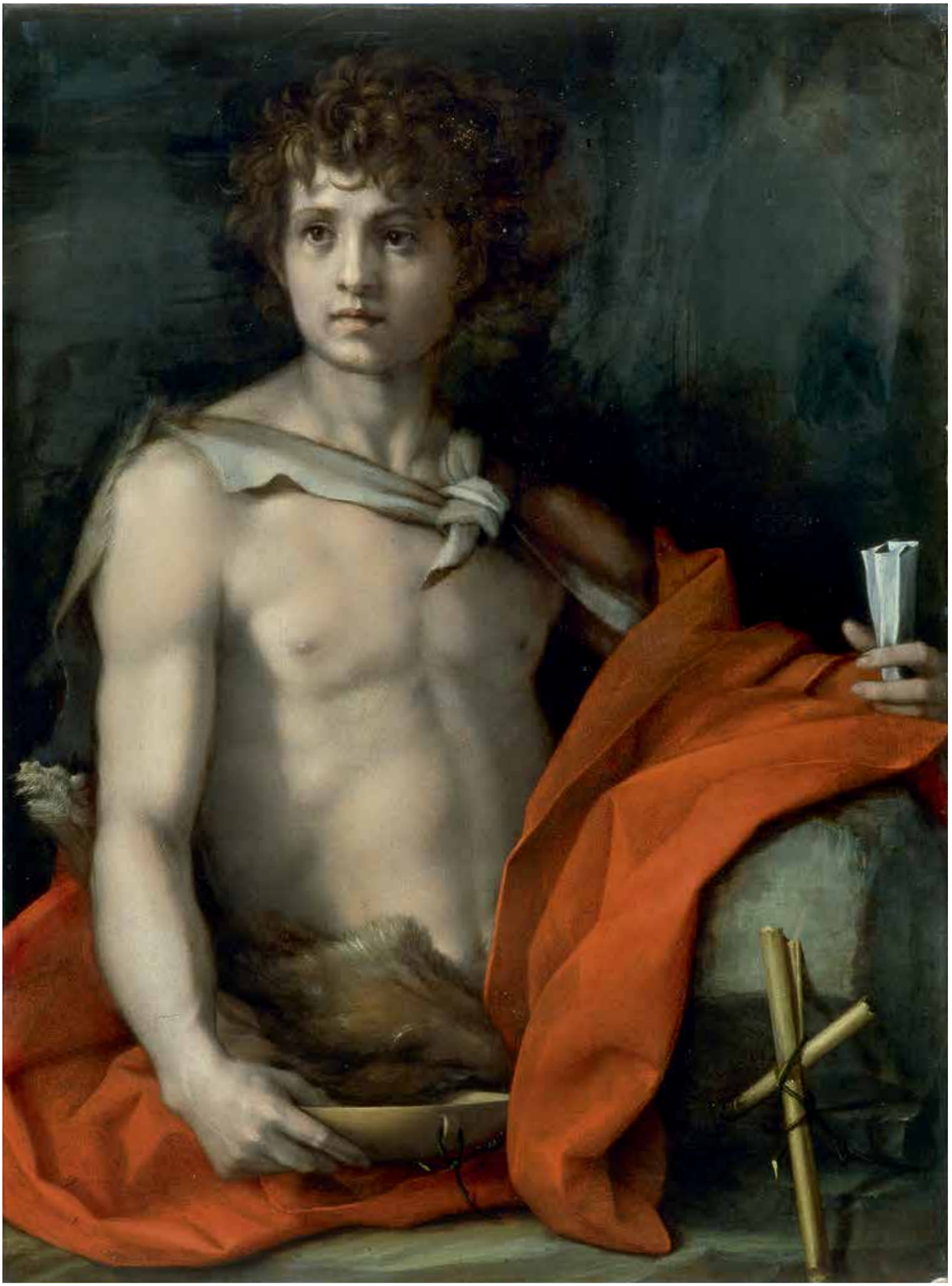
ca. 1523
Black chalk
33 x 23.1 cm (13 × 9⅛ in.)
Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. 1991.182.14

PROVENANCE Guadagni collection, Florence (according to Richter 1901, no. 68); William Drury-Lowe, Locko Park, England, acquired between 1840 and 1865; by descent to Capt. P. J. B. Drury-Lowe, Prestwold Hall, Loughborough, England (sale Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1987, lot 32); purchased by Ian Woodner, New York; The Ian Woodner Family Collection, Inc.; gift to the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1991

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Richter 1901, no. 68; Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 130; Knapp 1907, 135; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 130; Royal Academy of Arts 1953, no. 51; Berenson 1961, no. 130; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 168, fig. 125; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 124b, vol. 2, 359; Nottingham University Art Gallery 1968, no. 10; Vertova 1968, 26–30, fig. 11; Edinburgh Festival Society 1969, no. 1; Forlani Tempesti 1970, 92, fig. 40; Anon. 1987, 142; Lloyd and Turner 1987, 45, no. 13; Byam Shaw 1987, 236; Melikian 1987, 85, 86; Cummings 1988, 106–7; Dumas and Stevens 1990, no. 17; Robison et al. 1992, no. 5; Grasselli 1995, no. 41; Jones 1995, 49–53, fig. 7; National Gallery of Art 2000, 144–45

FINISHED AROUND 1523, *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 48) is the most novel painting that Andrea del Sarto executed in the early years following his return to Florence from France. Taking up an innovation made famous by Leonardo, he creates a devotional image based on the half-length conventions of portraiture.[1] Andrea depicts the Baptist, life-size, as a tender youth standing within a dark, rocky outcropping, his face and body bathed in light. The nude's still pose and idealized clarity evoke the substance and permanence of sculpture. These characteristics have led scholars to suggest that the primary formal sources for the *Baptist* derive from works such as Michelangelo's *David* and Polycleitus's *Canon*.[2] Yet Andrea transcends the limits of sculpture by painting the Baptist's features and flesh with palpable naturalism and by manipulating light to suggest the momentary. Vasari's comment that Andrea's figures seem more "real than painted" might be interpreted in this instance as expressing more than admiration for the artist's Pygmalion-like gifts,[3] for Andrea has captured the Baptist's spiritual transformation, portraying the saint as he encounters the light to witness divinity.

John the Baptist's life-size scale and exquisite rendering indicate that it is entirely by Andrea's hand.[4] The painting's focused intensity is shared by the remarkable black-chalk *Study for the Head of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 49) that is its sole remaining preparatory composition.[5] The drawn head is of equal size to its painted counterpart. This fact, along with the drawing's abraded condition and losses to the hair, right cheek, and throat, which have been retouched, suggests that it was used as a working model.[6] Fashioning large head studies was a consistent aspect of



CAT. 48

CAT. 49

Andrea's preparation.[7] These rarely survive because they were damaged and destroyed by the very process for which they were made.[8] Andrea's handling of the chalk is fluent and exploratory. Swiftly executed curled lines indicate the massed tendrils of tousled hair. Dark, heavily redrawn strokes reinforce the contours of the neck, cheeks, and jawline and establish the turn of the head on the neck. The shoulders and drapery are merely suggested with lightly sketched lines. Modulating the play of light on the Baptist's features is the aspect that most engaged Andrea. Light falls strongly over the forehead, nose, cheek, lower lip, and chin, leaving the brilliant eyes socketed in shadow. He rubbed the hatching on the face to suggest the luminous transparency of shadowed skin, exploiting the black-chalk technique so that it served as an analogue to the tonal effects that he achieved in his monochrome underpainting.[9]

The striking similarities between the Woodner sheet and the Pitti *Baptist* suggest that Andrea created the drawing during a late phase in the picture's planning.[10] Although the subtle mobility of the saint's expression and such anecdotal details as the unkempt hair give the impression that Andrea portrayed the youth from life, it is more probable that this head is a final result in a campaign of life drawing after a posed model. Drawings made for other commissions, such as the quick half-length sketch of a nude youth, give some idea of the artist's starting point.[11] Detailed figure studies—those of a seated boy, for instance, who is depicted from life both nude and clothed—followed.[12] At this stage Andrea probably also produced individual studies of the hands and drapery that survive in large number for other works. He used such study drawings as references while painting. How Andrea physically transferred his drawings onto the panel intended for the *Baptist* remains unknown. The picture's technical examination, published in 1986, revealed that Andrea had painted it over another composition, but showed no evidence of incising or underdrawing for the *Baptist*.[13]

Andrea's reliance on deeply cogitated studies, such as the Woodner sheet, as guides to painting minimized his need for detailed planning on the panel. The technical examination of the picture showed that he made no changes in the paint layers, executing the figure with fluent assurance. His ability to directly translate drawing into oil owed much to his expertise in fresco, a technique that demanded visual consultation of cartoon studies while painting quickly without error.[14] His ease in painting the *Baptist* also probably derived from familiarity. He used the same model, and presumably many of the same lost drawings, for the slouching half-length youth standing behind the table in *The Feast of Herod* (cat. 30.1). One can assume Andrea also drew this costumed figure as a nude. He worked on the grisaille fresco from the Life of the Baptist cycle at the Scalzo during the same time that he painted the Pitti *Baptist*.[15] Like the saint, the youth is strongly illuminated from the left, but in this instance the light punctuates his shock as he witnesses the gruesome presentation. The rigors of executing the Scalzo frescoes in monochrome focused Andrea on the dramatic potential of light.[16] Because it is his forceful and nuanced manipulation of light on which the impact of the Pitti *Baptist* depends, scholars refer to the painting as proto-Caravaggesque. Vasari, however, brings us closer to Andrea's concept. His vivid descriptions of the expressive emotional states of the artist's grouped figures often characterize their reactions to the miraculous. In the Pitti *Baptist* Andrea isolates one such responsive figure and makes his spiritual encounter with divinely charged light the subject of the painting.

The opening of the Gospel of John (1:1–9) was the basis for Andrea's portrayal of the saint: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. . . . In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe. . . . That was the true Light which lighteth every man that comes into the world."[17] Andrea defies precedent by depicting the proto-martyr John—who was both Old Testament prophet and New Testament precursor to Christ—neither announcing the Savior's advent nor baptizing him.[18] Instead, John is portrayed as the beholder who witnesses his revelation of the light for all men.[19] John rests the bowl with which he will baptize Christ on the stone before him. His proclamatory scroll, traditionally inscribed *Ecce Agnus Dei*, is rolled shut in his hand. No other independent Florentine Renaissance image of the saint possesses such still, inward potency. John's youth, his camel-skin cloak, reed cross, and the rocky setting are further attributes that identify him as the penitential wanderer described in the Gospels and in popular legends.[20] Yet his idealized body, Christlike in its perfect beauty, bears no trace of hardship. Andrea's fresco of *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* is the work closest in spirit and devo-

tional intent to *Saint John*.[21] The similarities between the pictures also underscore the saint's role as the forerunner and martyr who was an *alter Christus*. The Baptist stands in the same rocky setting in which Christ reclines; and his attributes, like the instruments of Christ's passion, are displayed on stony platforms evocative of liturgical tables. Like Christ, John is draped in brilliant red. The color symbolized martyrdom, an act recognized by the Church as baptism sanctified by blood. Each painting ritually offers its subject for religious contemplation, one of an incarnate God stilled by death, the other of a saint quieted by revelation.

John the Baptist was commissioned, Vasari tells us, by the merchant banker Giovan Maria Benintendi.[22] The image presided over Benintendi's antechamber, which was embellished also with four *spalliera* paintings by Andrea's students, *David Spying Bathsheba at Her Bath*, *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, and *The Legend of the Dead King's Sons*. The narratives were conceptually linked as pairs to provide visual exegeses on the Baptist's role in the Bible and throughout history. In the first two scenes he is celebrated as the Old and New Testament precursor of Christ, in the latter pair as the herald of Christ's revelation to all peoples.[23] The inclusion of a Davidian scene in the series is meaningful. Like Saint John, David was a patron of Florence, and Benintendi's *anticamera* was his proud ornament to his native city. The significance of Andrea's formal references to Michelangelo's *David* in the *Saint John*—the idealized torso, poised extended arm, and shock of curls that cast shadows on the forehead like undercut marble—would have resonated with the picture's intended audience.

NOTES

1 See, with references to earlier sources, Zwijnenberg, "St. John the Baptist"; Syson and Keith, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 108; and Allen in Bailey and Buck, *Master Drawings from the Courtauld Gallery*, 40–42, no. 2.

2 See Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 128, no. 16. The close formal relationship between the Pitti *Baptist* and an unpublished terracotta bust of a *Giovanni Santo* that is currently dated to about 1505–10 and attributed to the Maestro del Giovannino/Jacopo Sansovino (?) (Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. 537.5) has yet to be explored.

3 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:829; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:15–16.

4 For the technical report on the painting's examination and treatment, see Ciatti and Seroni, "Il San Giovanni Battista di AdS," 72–79. The dirt and overpainting had a negative effect on the scholarly reception of the painting before the treatment published in 1986.

5 Berenson (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters* [1903], 2: no. 130) was the first to connect the drawing with the Pitti painting.

6 No transfer marks are visible on the drawing's surface. It is glued to a backboard, making full examination difficult.

7 See Shearman, *AdS*, 1:155.

8 Some surviving examples by Andrea del Sarto are the two head studies at the Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5085, JBA 18, and 5572, JBS 19 (cat. 1 and 6).

9 See the essay by Szafran and Chui in this volume.

10 For the stages of Andrea's planning process in drawing and painting, see the Introduction.

11 See, for example, Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 250, no. 44 (this is the verso of Uffizi, inv. 324 F; cat. 42.1).

12 Illustrated in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, no. 53–55 (Uffizi, inv. 323 F and 303 F), 264–66.

13 Ciatti and Seroni, "Il San Giovanni Battista di AdS," 72–79.

14 For relationship between fresco and oil techniques see Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence*, 127–32.

15 The Scalzo *Presentation of the Head of Herodias* was finished by May 30, 1523. See Borsook, *Mural Painters of Tuscany*, 127, pls. 154–56.

16 Shearman, *AdS*, 1:72.

17 Zwijnenberg, "St. John the Baptist," 97 and 113, note 8. For Andrea's knowledge and interpretation of biblical and religious texts, see Del Bravo, "AdS," 463–83.

18 For the iconography of Saint John, see Bellesi and Pratesi, *Mostra dedicata all'Effigie di San Giovanni Battista*.

19 For the relationship between the figures in Andrea's paintings and the spectator, see Shearman, AdS, 1:44–45, 50–51, 77–78, 107–8, and Shearman, *Only Connect*, 59–60.

20 For the influences of Florentine hagiographic texts on the imagery of Saint John, see Aronberg Lavin, "Giovanni Battista," 85–101.

21 Andrea del Sarto, *Christ as Man of Sorrows*, fresco, 173 × 112 cm (68⅛ × 44⅛ in.), Florence, Galleria dell' Accademia, inv. 1890.8675.

22 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:841.

23 For the Benintendi commission, see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:259, no. 67; for a summary of the scholarly interpretations of the paintings' interrelated iconographic themes, see La France, *Bachiacca*, 176–80, nos. 32–33, pls. 20–21.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

JULIAN BROOKS

CATALOGUE 50

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

ca. 1528
Oil on panel
178 × 138 cm (70 1/16 × 54 5/16 in.)
Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 1937.577
Delia E. Holden and L. E. Holden Funds

PROVENANCE Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, Florence (1649); Zondadari collection, Florence (1829); William Cave, Bristol (1846, London sale 1848); G. C. Legh, Chester (1882, London sale 1935); S. Samuels, T. Harris, London and Durlacher Brothers, New York; Cleveland Museum of Art (purchased 1937)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Härth 1959, 167–73; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 77–80, 147, figs. 179–84, vol. 2, 146–51, no. 66; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, 110–11, pl. 146, vol. 2, 216, 269–70, 281, 291, 336, 342, 361, 380–81, no. 79; Natali and Cecchi 1989, 126, no. 62; Shearman 1992, 59; Cox-Rearick 1994, 239–58; Cox-Rearick 1996, 83–88, 161–65; Iacono 1996; Natali 1999, 173–76, 183, pl. 179; Keith 2001; De Jong 2002; Franklin 2005, 150, 152, 341, no. 40; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege 2009, 155, 157, fig. 85

WITH ONE OF THE MOST DYNAMIC compositions of the Florentine Renaissance, Andrea treated a moment from the biblical text of Genesis (22:1–14) in which God orders Abraham to sacrifice his beloved only son, Isaac, as a test of faith. As the father raises his blade and pins down his son, holding his hands behind his back, an angel swoops in to tell him that his son is redeemed through Abraham's faith; the act is unnecessary. The scene showcases Andrea del Sarto's famed ability to convey subtle psychological detail through expression and pose: Abraham looks up at the angel in dumbfounded disbelief and relief, while his son, unaware that he is saved, looks out at the viewer with calm resignation, still waiting for the blow.

Andrea treated the subject three times, all with the same approximate composition: a large unfinished version at Cleveland (cat. 50), a small quarter-size replica in the Prado (cat. 50.2), and a full-size finished and signed panel in Dresden (cat. 50.4).[1] It has been established that all three were based on the same cartoon.[2] Given its incomplete state, the Cleveland version is normally regarded as the first of the three. It seems to be an initial abandoned attempt at the commission of 1528 for the picture from Battista della Palla (1489–1532) on behalf of Francis I, the French king obsessed with building a collection of antiquities and the greatest available contemporary paintings and sculpture.[3] Della Palla, a sometime agent and champion of the Florentine republic against the exiled Medici, sought political advantage from the commission and probably French help against besieging pro-Medici troops. The subject of Isaac's deliverance from danger was thus perhaps a fitting one for the commission, although it was also a historic scene in Florence: it had been used for the competition for the bronze doors of the Baptistery years earlier.[4] In any event, when the city was retaken della Palla was thrown into a Medici prison in Pisa, where he died in 1532, probably from poisoning. The Dresden panel was most likely the one Andrea intended to supply, but it never made it to France.[5] Vasari recounts the whole episode and describes one of these two paintings, although it is not clear which one: he mentions Abraham's *calzari* (sandals), which appear only in the Dresden version, but also *servi ignudi* (naked assistants), most consonant with the Cleveland picture.[6]

The unfinished nature of the Cleveland painting has long been used to cast a light on Andrea's working method. Parts of the panel are left totally unpainted, with only the *imprimitura* visible, and the traces of the transfer of the cartoon by the *calco*

CAT. 50

CAT. 50.1 | Infrared reflectogram (IRR) of the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50)

CAT. 50.2 | *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, ca. 1528. Oil on panel, 98 × 69 cm (38⅝ × 27⅛ in.). Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 336

CAT. 50.3 | IRR of the Prado *Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50.2)

CAT. 50.4 | *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, ca. 1528. Oil on panel, 213 × 159 cm (83⅞ × 62⅝ in.). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 77

CAT. 50.5 | IRR detail of the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac*

CAT. 50.6 | IRR detail of the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac*

method are clear for all to see, for example in the donkey at right. One can also establish the order of paint application and the way Andrea built up thin veils of paint to gradually render the scene, using increasing opacity to solidify the forms while retaining subtlety (see the Appendix by Marcia Steele). Changes in the position of the angel are visible to the naked eye in particular.

The IRR (cat. 50.1) of the Cleveland picture allows one to know even more of the story. The calligraphic yet artificial lines created by the transfer from the cartoon for the whole composition are clear, and are found over all parts of the scene, executed with greater liberty in the cityscape background. The lines were then supported, or adjusted, by a first monochrome "wash" of shadows, a very thin, oil-based application with little pigment (see the Szafran and Chui essay), which shows almost no texture in the IRR and is most visible in the background hills. Major changes, made later in the process, are also apparent in the left side (cat. 50.5) and left background, with the trees painted out with blue sky pigment. The original upright position of the angel, visible clearly in the IRR with his right arm overlapping Abraham's shoulder, can be contrasted with the tilted infant who replaces him in the painting. This relatively minor change makes a vast difference to the dynamism of the picture, introducing another active diagonal, one that is parallel to the figures, as well as solving the spatial ambiguity generated by the overlap (it would have been unclear whether the hand was touching the shoulder or floating in the air in front of it). The *servi ignudi* appear in the right background with a donkey drinking from a trough, and a dog; the figure lying on the ground adjacent to the dog has replaced a planned seated man with his head lolling back (cat. 50.6), who was hurriedly painted over on the panel.[7] The principal assistant seated on a rock facing right, posed to echo the Belvedere torso, was the subject of a life drawing in the Uffizi (cat. 50.7) from which the accentuated musculature of the back, as well as the fall of light, is directly taken.[8] The subtle modulation of light and shade on the muscles was reduced to simple schematic lines in the transfer marks evident in the IRR; a dash of dark pink on the back of the neck in the Cleveland painting suggests sunburn, a thoughtful naturalistic detail not indicated on the drawing.

Although some drapery around the waist of the figure is briefly sketched in the Uffizi drawing, it is more firmly rendered in the cartoon transfer marks (and the painting) and was likely the subject of a separate sketch, now lost. Made on a relatively large scale, the Uffizi drawing is tantalizingly close to the actual size of the background figure in the Cleveland painting. However, speculation that it was deliberately made for direct transfer to the cartoon or panel is scotched by making a modern tracing, which reveals that the scale is not identical.[9]

Another drawing made on a similarly sized sheet of paper (cat. 51), probably at the same time, seems clearly to relate to the genesis of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* and shows how Andrea filtered motifs from Classical sculpture. It studies the leg of the right-hand figure in the famed Antique group, the *Laocoön*, although the central rendering omits the snake coil from the thigh. There are separate subsidiary studies of the genitals and big toe. The similarities of the drawing with the right leg and abdomen of Isaac have been noted since at least Berenson in 1903 and are commonly acknowledged. Yet the study was only a point of departure, and Andrea adjusted the viewing angle and straightened the leg to fit with the more upright pose he had in mind, still making enough of a nod to the *Laocoön* to be recognized by King Francis, who had tried to secure the sculpture in 1515.[10] Interestingly, in the three paintings he also narrowed the upper thigh above the knee and introduced a slight depression there to tally with what he knew of human anatomy. While it is possible that Andrea saw and studied the original sculpture in the Vatican (discovered in 1506) on a trip to Rome probably made after his return from France, it seems more likely that this drawing was made from Baccio Bandinelli's full-size marble copy, which arrived in Florence in 1525. Bandinelli was a friend of Andrea's, as were many other sculptors (see the Introduction), and despite the acknowledgment of the *Laocoön* here, the real kernel of Andrea's dramatic two-figure group of father and son seems to derive from other monumental sculptures being made in Florence at the time by Michelangelo, including *Samson and the Philistine*.[11] Less convincingly, the pose of Isaac has been traced to the form of Michelangelo's *Slaves* for the tomb monument of Pope Julius II, especially that of the so-called Rebellious Slave.[12] Nevertheless, the strong sculptural bent to the figures is key, and both Andrea's close involvement with sculptors and his admiration of Michelangelo can be noted here.

The role of the incisions that have come to light on the Cleveland panel (fig. 25; see the Appendix by Marcia Steele, below, and the Szafran and Chui essay) is a mystery that will no doubt be solved by future generations when similar analysis can be made of more panels by Andrea and other contemporary works. But the emergence of the Perugino-related underdrawing on the Dresden panel—see below—urges a little caution given potential panel reuse. Perhaps worth noting here is an additional small possible trace of manufacture: a few numbers jotted on Isaac's right thigh visible in IRR: *29 4*.[13]

If the Cleveland painting was an abandoned first attempt at the composition, and the Dresden version was the one to be supplied, complete with the artist's monogram, where does this leave the smaller-scale version now in the Prado (cat. 50.2)? Vasari seems to provide the answer in his account of how Paolo da Terrarossa, "amico universalmente di tutti i pittori,"[14] saw the *bozza* of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* in Andrea's studio and commissioned a smaller version, now widely identified with the Prado painting. This reproduces most of the motifs from the Cleveland painting, with adjustments to both the left and right background that are also found in the Dresden version. It is generally regarded as the third and last version of the three.[15] But the IRR (cat. 50.3) tells a different story. The underlying cartoon transfer lines show that the cartoon from the Cleveland version was used here wholesale, including for the donkey (unfinished there) in the same pose and the trees at left *prior* to the changes that Andrea made to the Cleveland picture. A number of other changes detailed here make it clear that the final composition used in the Dresden painting was effectively arrived at during the course of working on the Prado version, meaning that the Prado painting can be demonstrated to be the second and not the third in the sequence.

As he worked on the painting now in the Prado, Andrea had already incised the direct construction lines for the stone altar in the same location on the panel as in the Cleveland version (or more likely had them incised by assistants) and had transferred part of the cartoon with the figure of Isaac. But he then decided to move the boy both up and to the right, presumably to make a little more space at the front of the painting. To still connect the boy's left knee with the altar, he was forced to raise the top of it, but he left the base in the original position, necessitating a handy tussock of grass on which Isaac could rest his right foot.

CAT. 50.7 | *Study of a Seated Nude in Profile to the Right*, ca. 1527. Red chalk, 27.1 × 18.6 cm (10 11/16 × 7⅜ in.). Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 317 F

This also resulted in the eventual placement of Isaac's leg at the center of the altar as opposed to left of center in the Cleveland version. There are further changes in the background. At the right, the cartoon transfer lines show the same two attendants, one seated in profile and another behind him. But the legs of the latter were here forced closer to the first figure by the proximity of the right margin of the panel, with the donkey also squashed in and nudging the edge of the panel. Whoever transferred the cartoon also started marking the lines for the recumbent dog at the attendants' feet, even though its head was well off the edge of the panel. Given this pileup, Andrea was forced to make some changes.

Seemingly painting freehand, he conjured up a Titianesque figure at the right with his back to the edge of the panel, turning toward the background—much more satisfactory. In doing this he cleverly used some of the lines from the initially transferred cartoon (for example, the line of the drapery on the thigh of the first seated attendant becomes the outline of the lower part of the raised right leg of the "new" attendant). Andrea converted the initial principal figure in profile into a foreshortened sleeping figure, head resting on his arm, and he obliterated the rear figure with a dark bush. He also introduced a donkey facing inward and seen in profile, for which there is a charming preparatory drawing in the British Museum (cat. 52).[16] On the Prado panel IRR there are carbon-material lines under the painting of this "new" donkey; it is impossible to tell whether they were drawn freehand or if this was a mini-cartoon or tracing made just for the donkey, which is shown at about three-quarters scale of the British Museum sheet. The British Museum drawing, astonishing particularly for its rendering of texture, gives far more descriptive information on the donkey and its fittings than were needed for the animal roughly indicated in oil paint, but Andrea used it not just for the form and the anatomy but also to remind himself of the presence of the reins and harnesses, which he indicated with bravura trailing strokes of white pigment.

Given the significant changes on the right of the Prado panel, it is no surprise that the same sort of evolutionary process seems to have occurred at the left too. In the Cleveland IRR (cat. 50.1; detail cat. 50.5) there is a ram caught in a thicket facing left, with its head raised to look at the viewer. In the painting the ram has become smaller, head down and facing right (with the cartoon transfer marks for the legs reused), and it is this animal that was transferred to the Prado panel (visible on the IRR) but then painted over, with a "new" ram painted freehand closer to the altar.[17] The IRR shows that the trees at upper left began with the same cartoon transfer marks as on the Cleveland panel, and were also initially worked up in thin oil "wash"; Andrea then reconfigured these so that they wouldn't interfere with Abraham's outstretched arm and blade. It has long been noted that these trees derive from a print of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* by Lucas van Leyden, and cartoon transfer marks and early brushwork in the Cleveland and Prado panels also show the intention to include the adjacent gate from this print.[18] Was this a merely whimsical quotation, or was it designed to be understood or recognized by the French king who was the intended recipient? It seems unlikely that we will ever know. Along the same lines, the cityscape in the background of this composition derives from one featured in the background of a painting of the *Pietà* in Berlin, attributed to Jan de Beer (Gemäldegalerie, inv. 630 D).[19] This was

possibly known to Andrea via a drawing in the Uffizi (inv. 16480 F) and presumably represented for him a plausible view of Jerusalem.[20] The drawing has two inscriptions, "Brancadori" and "per amicizia"; while the former perhaps refers to the artist Francesco Brancadori, the latter presumably suggests it was a gift from or to him. The tree that appears to the right of the cityscape in the *Pietà* also occurs in the Prado and Dresden paintings.[21]

All of the changes that Andrea enacted while painting the Prado *Sacrifice of Isaac* are reflected in the Dresden version, making it almost certain that it was the last of the three to be made. We are missing a full high-quality IRR scan of this painting, but images taken just before this book went to press suggest that there were only minor adjustments in the figure of Isaac, and none of the reworking evident in the Cleveland and Prado IRR results.[22] The final Dresden painting is far more decorous, setting the figures farther from the viewer and within a wide landscape that gives more space for them, the cityscape, and for the tree at right. The angel, presumably the subject of a separate cartoon, is proportionally larger than in the Prado painting (in which he was made smaller to accommodate the tree) and seems to be identical but turned slightly more toward Abraham, perhaps suggesting the use of a three-dimensional model supplied by a sculptor.[23] The painting is signed with the artist's monogram at lower right, a statement of completion. The fact that it is on a larger panel than the Cleveland painting (213 × 159 cm versus 175 × 138 cm) leads to a further speculation. In the Prado painting Andrea moved the figures farther from the viewer (as evidenced by the new placement of Isaac). By using a larger panel for the Dresden painting Andrea could reuse his cartoon from the Cleveland version at full scale yet still have space to give them the appearance of being farther away, existing in a more ample setting.

An extraordinary aspect of the Dresden *Sacrifice of Isaac* shown by the preliminary IRR images that became available as this book went to press is the revelation of a set of entirely different cartoon transfer lines. These are not related to the del Sarto composition, but rather to that of a Pietro Perugino painting of nearly thirty years earlier, now at Caen (cat. 50.8– 50.10).[24] The link is definite, since not only is the architecture identical, but also the lines for a number of the figures can be seen. The circumstances leading to this juxtaposition will be fully studied in a future publication, when more information is available, but it is nevertheless tempting to speculate. The strokes do not have

CAT. 50.8 | IRR of the Dresden *Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50.4), upside down and with yellow tracing of the underlying black chalk transfer lines for a Pietro Perugino composition (lines of del Sarto underdrawing are not traced). IRR by Marcia Steele. Tracing by Laurel Garber

the confident appearance of del Sarto studio cartoon transfer lines, and it would seem strange for him to be repeating such a (by then) outdated composition. More likely is that Perugino or his studio started work on a replica of the Caen picture, but that it was left unfinished and the panel found its way into Andrea's hands. Perugino had studios in both Perugia and Florence and died in 1523, not so long before Andrea's use of the panel. The sizes of the Dresden and Caen panels are not dissimilar (213 x 159 cm versus 234 x 185 cm, or 83⅞ x 62⅝ in. versus 92⅛ x 72⅞ in., respectively), and the off-center placement of the Perugino design suggests that Andrea cut down the Dresden panel on one side before use as well as turning it upside down. Future study will bring greater clarity to the situation, but this is potentially an exciting example of panel reuse.

Of course none of this helps to solve the mystery of why Andrea abandoned work on the Cleveland panel. Were the changes so many that he thought it easier to start afresh and reuse the Cleveland panel another time for another composition, a plan interrupted by his death? Did he feel the two huge figures pushed too aggressively out toward the viewer? Yet this is an aspect—along with the animation of the picture as a work in progress with forceful, visible brushstrokes—that appeals to us powerfully today.

CAT. 50.9 | Isolated tracing of Perugino black chalk transfer lines (lines of del Sarto underdrawing not shown). Tracing by Laurel Garber

CAT. 50.10 | Pietro Perugino (1448-1523), *The Marriage of the Virgin*, ca. 1502–1504. Oil on panel, 234 x 185 cm (92⅛ x 72⅞ in.). Caen, Musée des Beaux Art, inv. 28

NOTES

1 For the three versions see Shearman, *AdS*, 1:110–11, pl. 170, 2:280–81, no. 94 (Dresden), 1:110–11, pl. 168b, 2:281–82, no. 95 (Madrid); Freedberg, *AdS*, 1:78–79, fig. 190, 2:147–51, no. 66 (Dresden), 1:79, fig. 191, 2:146–51, no. 66 (Madrid).

2 Keith, "AdS's *The Virgin and Child*," 50–51.

3 For della Palla, see Elam, "Art in the Service of Liberty," and for Francis I in this context, see Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, 83–88, 161–65.

4 Franklin, *Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance in Florence*, 150.

5 It was bought in 1531, after Andrea's death and while della Palla was still in prison, by Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, through the mediation of Filippo Strozzi; see Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:146–51; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:280–81; Elam, "Art in the Service of Liberty," 62–63.

6 Vasari's noting of the contrast between the brown weathered face (Vasari says neck) of Isaac and the white skin of his body also resonates more clearly with the Cleveland version.

7 This figure is reminiscent of one in a drawing, apparently made from the model, sold at Tajan, Paris, on May 7, 2010, lot 1 (pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of red chalk, 20.3 × 11.1 cm), with an attribution to Pontormo.

8 Uffizi, inv. 317 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 310, no. 88. The drawing features a codpiece and left hand omitted from the transfer marks. The verso contains an unused first sketch for the central part of Abraham's drapery, for which the final form already appears in the cartoon transfer lines.

9 The figure in the Cleveland painting is a little larger.

10 For Andrea and Francis I, see Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, 83–88, 161–65.

11 Allen in Iacono, *Masterpieces from the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 26.

12 De Jong, "Three Italian Sacrifices," 160, where the debt to Michelangelo's *Victory* group was also independently noted.

13 This form of writing 4 is contemporary and occurs on the verso of a sheet in the Uffizi, inv. 14430 F; Petrioli Tofani in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 229, no. 26. In the IRR some of the incised lines can be seen to extend a little further. Rocco Sinisgalli has suggested that the lines might have been made with an adjustable *cerchiografo* (in conversation, August 2014).

14 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:851; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 5:52.

15 Per Freedberg and Shearman and scholars thereafter, although Cecchi (*AdS: Catalogo completo*, 128, no. 63) suggests that it could be the second, on the basis of the inclusion of the two assistants. Shearman (*Botti Madonna*, 17, note 7) makes a passing footnote reference to a fourth version of the composition that could be autograph "in Lyons," but I cannot locate this.

16 Turner, *Florentine Drawings*, 88–89, no. 57.

17 One stroke of black chalk seems to anchor the rear left leg; it is difficult to tell if there was further freehand or transfer drawing.

18 Shearman, *AdS*, 2:270; the print of about 1510 is Bartsch VII.383.78 and New Hollstein no. 78 I (LvL); an impression is in the British Museum (inv. 1895,0915.365). Quotations from, or nods to, prints by Dürer and van Leyden occur regularly in the Scalzo frescoes.

19 First noted by Härth, "Zu Andrea del Sartos 'Opfer Abrahams.'" The early provenance of the panel is not known.

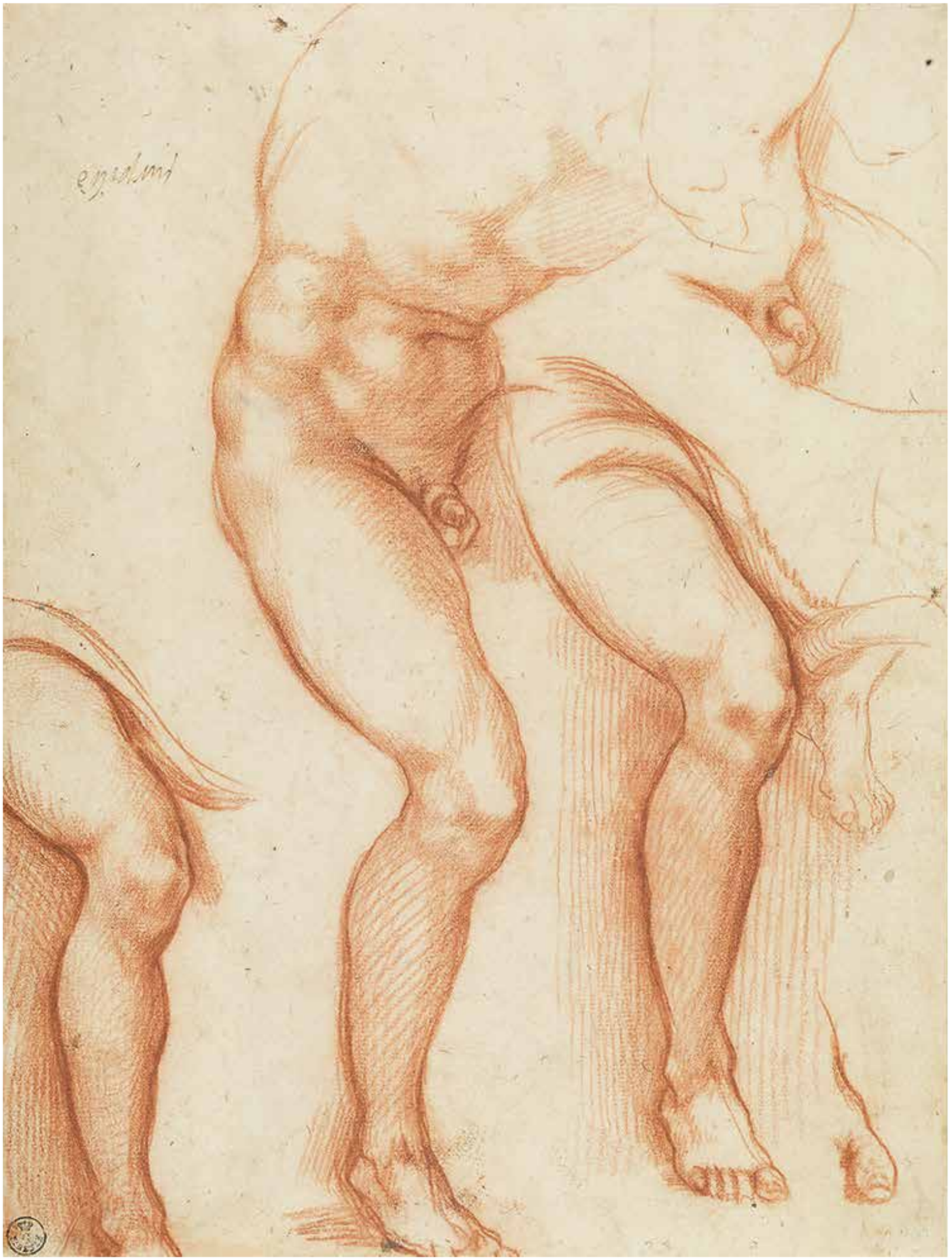
20 The drawing was published by Härth above as possibly by Andrea del Sarto; Shearman postulated an attribution to Jacopo Sansovino. It seems likely to have been drawn by one of del Sarto's many pupils. The inscriptions most probably relate to the provenance of the drawing; the little-known Francesco Brancadori was studied by Matteoli, "Francesco Brancadori." I am grateful to Marta Privitera for her help with this information.

21 Although it appears schematically in the Cleveland cartoon transfer marks (seen in IRR), when Andrea painted that picture there was no room for it; the changes he made to the right of the composition enabled it to appear in the subsequent versions. The angel in the Prado painting also had to be reduced in scale to accommodate the tree.

22 I am extremely grateful to Marcia Steele for sharing images she was just able to capture of the Dresden panel, and to Andreas Henning, firstly for allowing her to make them, and secondly for allowing us to publish this information here. A high-quality IRR image should be available in 2015 and should reveal further information.

23 A struck-through study of a similarly flying putto on the verso of Uffizi, inv. 626 E (*AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 269, no. 57) is intriguingly close too, although there he looks down.

24 Again, I extend thanks to Marcia Steele and Andreas Henning. They will be part of a team that will fully discuss these findings and their implications in a future article, with the aid of high-quality IRR images.



CAT. 51

CATALOGUE 51

STUDIES AFTER THE LAOCOÖN

ca. 1528

Red chalk

28.3 × 21.7 cm (11⅛ × 8⅝ in.)

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 339 F

PROVENANCE Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici (d. 1675); inventoried by 1687; Medici Collections; Uffizi

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 84; Knapp 1907, 134; Di Pietro 1910 (1), 39; Galleria degli Uffizi 1910, 16; Ferri 1912–21, series IV, issue III, no. 20; Knapp 1928, 116; Fraenckel 1935, 190 (copy); Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 119C; Becherucci 1955, no. 10; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 119C; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 149–50; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 73b, vol. 2, 342; Petrioli Tofani 1986, vol. 2, pt. 1, 150; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 312, no. 89; Natali 1999, 50–51, 56, pl. 48

CATALOGUE 52

STUDY OF A DONKEY IN PROFILE TO THE LEFT, GRAZING

ca. 1528

Red chalk

16.9 × 19.3 cm (6⅝ × 7⅝ in.)

London, British Museum, inv. T,12.19

PROVENANCE W. Fawkener Bequest, 1769

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Berenson 1903, vol. 2, no. 135; Knapp 1907, 135; Colvin 1909–10, no. 2; Knapp 1928, 117; Fraenckel 1935, 180; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 135; Berenson 1961, vol. 2, no. 135; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 150, fig. 106; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 172a, vol. 2, 281, 360–61; Turner 1986, 89

CAT. 52

APPENDIX

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC, CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART: OBSERVATIONS ON THE INFRARED IMAGE AND THE PAINTING

MARCIA STEELE

THE UNFINISHED STATE of Cleveland's version of Andrea del Sarto's *Sacrifice of Isaac* has long fascinated viewers, as it clearly shows the early stages of his creative process. Recent infrared imaging and microscopic examination give further insight into the underdrawing, initial paint layers, and compositional changes made in the early stages.[1] The new IRR reveals details masked by paint, including positions of figures and animals, and placement of trees, landscape, and buildings. While some of the alterations in positions of figures are evident on the unfinished surface, others can now be analyzed. The most significant is the lowering of Isaac's head and eyes, where the original upward pleading expression was changed to a more direct gaze.

In general, areas that were most drastically reworked were not successfully resolved in the early stages of painting and left unfinished. The most noteworthy of these include:

— The change in the position of the angel approaching Abraham, who is ready to sacrifice his son, allowing more space between the two figures.
— The attempt to alter the trees at left to buildings and sky.
— The position of the ram at left, originally conceived and underdrawn in a position matching the later two versions, but left incomplete in this version. The underdrawn rear legs connected to Isaac's bound hand, making the composition hard to decipher.
— The three attendants at right, originally drawn as two seated on the rocks.
— The shifting of Isaac's leg and foot toward the center of the painting, with the second toe now where the big toe was originally placed. The calf and knee now line up more correctly with the thigh and torso.

FIG. 25 | Incised lines on the Cleveland *Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. 50)

— The invention of the yellow and pink drapery in the lower left early on, covering initial paint layers of the purple cloth and corner of the altar base. All other drapery follows the underdrawn contours.

While some of these changes were repeated and finalized in the other versions, they reflect important choices made in the artistic process of depicting this subject. For example, Andrea began to alter the left background, originally conceived as trees, with a hint of an arch in the underdrawing, by starting to add buildings that have no clear relationship to the landscape. Blue sky was blocked in over the smaller tree trunk, resulting in a lack of contrast with the silvery blade of Abraham's raised knife. In the later versions, this area is simplified and becomes more dynamic as the trees are shifted to the left, and the cool gray of the blade stands out against the dark tree trunk.

Construction/Technique

The wooden panel consists of four vertical members prepared with a white gypsum ground layer.[2] Ruled incisions outline the edges of the altar. Other lines, including straight lines and precisely drawn partial arcs (fig. 25), were scored into the ground layer for placement of figures and other compositional elements. For example, two intersecting lines mark the position and

direction of Abraham's head. The longest and most prominent arc connects Abraham's and Isaac's heads and reflects the form of the opposite shoulder. The incisions do not follow the underdrawing and are seen on the surface as well as in the IRR and some areas of the X-radiograph.[3] They vary in length and often have a small, sharp indentation or hook at one end. These characteristics, along with closely placed parallel lines in some areas, support the use of mechanical means for scribing the lines.

The composition was transferred to this surface with dry medium.[4] The underdrawing for the leaves is very schematic and abbreviated, unlike the more definitive contours of the figures and their features, the tree trunks, right cityscape, rocks, hills, and drapery. The surface was toned over the drawing with a thin wash of brown *imprimitura*, apparent to the naked eye in the donkey at right.[5] One-centimeter-wide brushes were used to apply the initial thin layers of background and foreground up to and around the outlines of the composition. The sky was worked from the top to the horizon line in long, thin, deep green/blue strokes, adding white and finally some red to obtain a more opaque pink at the horizon line. The first layer of green for the distant hills and thin brown brushwork for the tree trunks and limbs followed. Likewise, the lower right foreground and middle left were roughed in with thin transparent brushwork of green and brown. The shadows of the figures were blocked in with thin areas of gray and brown, countered by the more opaque brushwork used for the brightest highlights.[6] Next, Andrea repositioned the figures where necessary, and then began modeling the drapery and working up flesh tones.

The painting of the drapery closely followed the angled folds of the underdrawing, defining placement of shadows and light. An extremely dilute midtone was brushed in first for most of the drapery, leaving the highlights in reserve. The purple drapery at lower left exemplifies the astonishing thinness of the initial colors used to set out the values. The midtone was followed by more opaque brushwork of the same color, only darker for shadow (where no underdrawn hatching is found as a guide). Next, the lightest highlights were placed, all still allowing the underdrawing to be visible. The red robe of Abraham demonstrates the same process in a more finished state. In this case, vermilion and charcoal were mixed for the shadows, and the highlights were added with denser paint of the same red color. These were then blended with more opaque midtones, shadows, and finally thicker highlights.

The face of Abraham reveals how Andrea began the flesh tones. Starting with thin gray/brown, the brushwork echoes the contours of the underdrawn features as well as the curls of hair and beard. (Highlighted areas remained in reserve, with little or no undercoat of brown/gray.) The lightest areas of the beard and hair were then laid in, followed by thin and thicker patches of pink at the side of the nose and forehead. Thin dark orange/brown was added to further define the cheek and area above the lips. Applications of paint quickly covered the underdrawn lines. Frown lines above his eyes, for example, were hidden by a few transparent layers and one thin opaque pink brushstroke. In the finished versions, additional paint layers blend midtones with shadows and highlights, resulting in the soft modeling seen in Abraham's face.

The unfinished state of this painting provides unique insight into the beginning stages of the artistic process: the transferred cartoons, the *imprimitura*, and the first paint layers. Additionally, it clarifies Andrea's need to adjust and fine-tune the composition. Further examination and comparison of all three versions of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* will certainly reveal additional intriguing aspects of the artist's creativity.

NOTES

1 The image was captured with an Osiris infrared camera with a Linos lens. Camera sensitivity range is 900 to 1700 nm.

2 In many areas, small holes are seen in the ground, created by air bubbles in the ground layer.

3 A few similar lines are seen in the IRR of the Prado painting.

4 Ground and underdrawing pigments were identified through polarized light microscopy by the conservator Ross Merrill in 1976. Charcoal black, gypsum, and brown ocher were found in a sample of the underdrawing. Andrea's use of cartoons for transfer has been extensively published.

5 Bits of underdrawing were swept into the *imprimitura* as it was applied over the drawing.

6 Use of chiaroscuro in preliminary stages may relate to mural painting technique. See, for example, Borsook, *Mural Paintings of Tuscany*, 129.

THE MEDICI HOLY FAMILY

JULIAN BROOKS

CATALOGUE 53

THE MEDICI *HOLY FAMILY*

1529

Oil on panel

140 × 104 cm (55⅛ × 40¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)

Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 81

PROVENANCE Painted for Ottaviano de' Medici; Donna Francesca Salviati; Tribuna inventory 1589 (Arch. Sopr. Gallerie, MS. 70, c.28); Pitti inventories, 1627 (A.S.F., G. 525, c.43v), 1687 (G. 932, c.62r), and 1723 (G. 1304³, c.10v)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Knapp 1907, 115; Venturi 1925, vol. 9, 614; Fraenckel 1935, 85, 143, 232; Wagner 1951, 58; Freedberg 1963, vol. 1, 92, fig. 218, vol. 2, 185–87, no. 83; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 168a, vol. 2, 279–80, no. 93; *AdS: Dipinti e disegni* 1986, 163–65, no. 28; Natali 1999, 178–79, 186, fig. 184; Capretti et al. 2002, no. 21; Syre, Schmidt, and Stege 2009, 43, 44, fig. 24

THE ARRESTING MIX OF MAJESTY, detailed observation, and tenderness in the so-called Medici *Holy Family* (cat. 53) is the culmination of these aspects within a series of Holy Family scenes—the Bracci *Holy Family* (cat. 34.1), St. Petersburg *Holy Family* (cat. 39.1), Borgherini *Holy Family* (cat. 40.2), and Barberini *Holy Family* (cat. 32.1)—and it is this subject matter for which Andrea is still most famous today.[1] In the Medici *Holy Family* the monumental figures and the pyramidal composition, set in the open under a tempestuous sky, pull upon devices used previously by Andrea—the Madonna in profile, for example, and Christ turning to the pointing Saint John. Yet they are concentrated within an even more taut framework. The multiple diagonals of the two pairs of heads are encircled at the bottom by a frieze of hands, while the mobility of the children is in stark contrast to the solidity of the adults. Christ occupies the focal point of the composition, and indeed his turning head is at the very center of the panel. Color is muted, and relies on a complementary range of shining reds, grays, and browns.

Neither the attribution nor the dating of the Medici *Holy Family* has ever been challenged, principally as a result of a story, to all appearances true, told by Giorgio Vasari.[2] The artist-historian recounts that the work was commissioned by Ottaviano de' Medici (1482–1546), who had been involved with the commissioning of the frescoes at Poggio a Caiano (see cat. 23) and

CAT. 53

whom Vasari himself later knew well (he painted his portrait at least twice).[3] When the painting was ready, del Sarto took it to Ottaviano, but Ottaviano said that he could not take delivery and had other things to think about; the artist should instead sell it. One might well imagine that Ottaviano had other things to think about, with the anti-Medici republicans in charge in the city and the troops of Charles V encircling it; Ottaviano was imprisoned on October 13, 1529, and was freed on August 10, 1530.[4] Against Ottaviano's instructions, del Sarto had kept the painting, and took it to him again; Ottaviano was delighted and paid him double. The picture must have been completed and shown to him earlier in 1529, and finally delivered to him between his release in August 1930 and Andrea's death from the plague the following month.

Even to the naked eye, it is clear that Andrea made adjustments to the composition of the Medici *Holy Family* as he painted; some of the pigments have become transparent over time, and pentimenti in Christ's left leg and the Madonna's right hand are now clearly visible. To re-create Andrea's working process we have the evidence of the painting itself, a recent infrared reflectogram (IRR) (cat. 53.1), and three drawings on paper. These sheets all study heads: those of the aged Saint Elizabeth (cat. 54), the infant Saint John the Baptist (cat. 55), and the infant Christ.[5]

Cat. 54 is a life study for the haunting figure of Saint Elizabeth, lost in thought at the back of the composition. It is a wonderful study of character and age, with the dense topography of the features explored with honesty and sympathy, testing all the effects of red chalk that Andrea could muster. The drawing was made at about half scale to the figure in the painting, and it details not just the face but also the neck. Given that Andrea was generally fastidious in drawing only what he needed, this presumably means that the Ashmolean sheet was drawn before he had precisely fixed the full composition with the head of Saint John just below her; in the painting the child's head covers most of her neck. In the IRR (cat. 53.1; detail cat. 54.1) the cartoon transfer lines are clearly recognizable—indicative and stilted, but then gone over with freehand underdrawing and monochrome "wash." The mouth becomes a simple slot, with two strokes for the patch of shade underneath, and the nose and age lines are shown. The eyes, heavy-lidded in the drawing, are transformed into circles for the sockets, filled with a curious sequence of horizontal lines; these eventually yield eyes that are more open in the final painting. The lines on the brow were not transferred, and there is only a single long stroke to show where the white headband was to be. In the final painting the headband was placed higher, but the age lines on the forehead were not reinstated; along with the more open eyes, this resulted in an Elizabeth younger in the painting than the model in the drawing. Along with the very firm cartoon transfer lines, we can see in the IRR a number of fainter strokes that seem to be freehand. These strengthen and add to the age lines at left and right of the mouth, and also add in, with a single hooked stroke, the depression between the nostrils and the mouth.

Cat. 55, for the head of the infant Saint John, is a much smaller sheet but was reproduced almost exactly in the painting.[6] It gives the impression of having been made more swiftly than the Ashmolean sheet and is less descriptive, although it conveys the features with a keen intuition. Hatching (relatively little rubbed) is used extensively, giving a sense of clarity, in contrast to a sheet such as cat. 22. There is an understanding of the importance of details such as eyelashes, shown on both eyes, for naturalism. Yet the focus is on studying the difficult angle of the head and the relative placement of features such as the ear, eyelids, mouth, and chin; the ruled lines on the left seem have been intended to help with this. There is some attention given to the effects of light on the head, rendered with particular sensitivity on the ear and lower lip. No indication of the hair is given; that would presumably have been studied in a different drawing of the same type as cat. 33, although Andrea does here give an indication of the bow above the forehead with a couple of lines. The IRR reveals cartoon transfer lines that include hair, and also the band that shepherds it. It also shows a freehand drawn line that marks the placement of the profile; it was slightly shifted back. In the drawing, the outlines of the front and back of the neck are firmly drawn, and Andrea seems to have struggled with the latter; in the underdrawing of the panel he altered the profile of the infant's back several times too.

Two lines beneath the chin seem to indicate the Baptist's own left arm, showing that Andrea—ever conscious of giving a clear silhouette to a face seen in profile—was already considering where this might interrupt the face. In the end the left arm was moved farther back to avoid any such disruption. A truncated stroke at the top right of the sheet could be an indication of where the white garment of Elizabeth would meet the profile, but could just as easily be the tail end of a line used for another study,

CAT. 53.1 | IRR of the Medici *Holy Family* (cat. 53). An image of the isolated transfer lines appears opposite the title page.

CATALOGUE 54

STUDY OF THE HEAD OF AN OLD WOMAN

ca. 1529

Red chalk

25 × 18.6 cm (9 13/16 × 7 5/16 in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, inv. WA1846.302

PROVENANCE Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Wicar; Sir Thomas Lawrence Samuel Woodburn; The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Knapp 1907, 135; Knapp 1928, 118; Fraenckel 1935, 181; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, no. 141G; Pouncey 1953 (1), 97; Parker 1956, vol. 2, 372, no. 692, pl. CLV; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 169a, vol. 2, 279, 367; Macandrew 1980, appendix 2, 692

since the Louvre sheet was clearly cut at an early stage from a larger sheet. The third drawing, now in the Albertina, could even have been cut from the same sheet.[7] Studying the head of Christ turning upward, it is of the same type as the Louvre drawing, being a brief study of the head, and seems to focus on the placing of the left eye. The IRR shows that Andrea altered the placement of this head several times, moving it slightly higher in the composition. There are a number of such alterations that make it clear that Andrea reconsidered the whole composition once the full design was sketched out in full scale on the panel. The profile of the Madonna was considered in several different placements in "wash." John's right hand was lowered and straightened, perhaps to create more of a link with the joined hands of Christ and the Madonna and to avoid pointing directly at Christ's face; this change was also made in "wash." Christ's right leg, initially shown standing on the ground, was hidden by extending the Madonna's drapery to cover it.[8] Beyond questions of composition, the IRR reveals other aspects: Christ was originally to be shown naked, but drapery was sketched in with "wash" after the transfer of the cartoon and was then painted freehand over his figure.[9] While most of these changes were made in "wash," there is clear evidence of freehand black-chalk lines sketching revisions, sometimes adopted and sometimes rejected; these can be seen in many places including the shift in Christ's left leg. Most radically

CAT. 54.1 | IRR detail of the Medici *Holy Family*

CAT. 54

for the appearance of the painting, it seems as if Andrea might originally have intended to set the whole composition within an interior architectural space, as suggested by incised direct construction lines visible in the background in raking light.[10]

Yet all of these adjustments and modifications pale into insignificance when one considers the biggest "secret" of the painting: that the entire figure of the Madonna has been cannibalized from two cartoons from other compositions. Her head and hair come from a cartoon previously used for Saint Margaret in the Pisa Saint Agnes altarpiece, as demonstrated by cartoon transfer lines that show the same cap and ribbon-tie, as well as a line for her hair, which came across her ear but was revised in the Medici *Holy Family* to show her entire ear. That the cartoon was used first for the Pisa altarpiece is demonstrated by adjustments made to the eye and profile of the Madonna. While Saint Margaret looks down, as the eye in the cartoon transfer lines show, the Madonna looks straight ahead; freehand black-chalk lines make this revision, which was cemented in "wash" along with those that bring her profile forward. Meanwhile, the Virgin's drapery comes from the so-called "Studio" *Holy Family* of about 1527, a version of which is in St. Petersburg (cat. 39.1; see also cat. 39 and 40).[11] This painting was certainly made by 1527, when Ambrosius Benson dated a composition influenced by it. It features the Madonna in the same pose and with the same drapery as later used in the Medici *Holy Family*, which has only minor adjustments in the position of her left hand. Andrea adds several folds in the drapery to take account of the introduction of the weight of the Christ Child's left leg across it in the Medici *Holy Family* (the cartoon transfer lines show these folds too). A further twist is that this same cartoon of drapery seems to have been used in the Barberini *Holy Family* (cat. 32.1; variously dated between 1525 and 1529) as well.[12] From the evidence of the Medici *Holy Family* IRR, these two disparate cartoon designs were unified in a single new cartoon that was transferred as one to the Medici panel; there is no evidence of joining or "cannibalization" directly on the Medici panel.

CATALOGUE 55

HEAD OF A CHILD LOOKING DOWN TO THE RIGHT

ca. 1529

Red chalk

14.1 × 11.9 cm (5 9/16 × 4 11/16 in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 10959

PROVENANCE Cabinet du Roi; with the initials of A. Coypel (L. 478) and R. de Cotte (L. 1963); Inventory 4631 (Frederico Zuccaro); Louvre (L. 1899 and L. 2207)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY Pouncey 1953 (1), 97, fig. 79; Bacou 1955, no. 48; Parker 1956, vol. 2, under no. 692; Berenson 1961, vol. 1, 429, vol. 2, no. 158C; Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, 186, fig. 139; Monti 1965, 173–74, no. 191, fig. 302; Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pl. 169c, vol. 2, 380–81; Bacou 1978, no. 13; Scrase and Stock 1985, no. 3; Cordellier 1986, 89, no. 61; Musée du Louvre 1992, 59, no. 20; Giampaolo 1994, 199–201, fig. 3

NOTES

1 As has been noted (for example by Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 163), the absence of Saint Joseph means this is not technically a Holy Family but rather a Madonna and Christ Child with Saint Elizabeth and the infant Saint John.

2 Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Ekserdjian, 1:850–51; Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi 5:51–52.

3 For Ottaviano de' Medici and del Sarto/Vasari, see in the first instance Cecchi in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 163. See also Bracciante, *Ottaviano de' Medici e gli artisti*.

4 Freedberg, *AdS*, 2:185.

5 It is perhaps more than a coincidence that only drawings of heads survive. Could this be because the heads were the principal focus of study while other parts were rendered from reused cartoons, or just that a drawing of a head was less likely to be discarded than a study of drapery or hair?

6 This drawing was attributed to Federico Zuccaro before it was recognized and connected with the Medici *Holy Family* by Philip Pouncey (see Scrase and Stock, *Achievement of a Connoisseur*, under no. 3).

7 Vienna, Albertina, inv. 17627; Shearman, *AdS*, 2:384. Recognized by Philip Pouncey while under an old attribution to Correggio.

8 It has been suggested that some of these modifications were the result of an adjustment in the size of the panel (Buzzegoli and Kunzelman et al. in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 345).

9 There are no signs in the IRR of a cartoon being used for this, but it is of course possible that one transferred in red chalk (which would not show up in IRR) was used. Why the change was made we do not know; other such pictures showed Christ naked (the "Studio" *Holy Family*, for example).

10 Noted by Buzzegoli and Kunzelman et al. in *AdS: Dipinti e disegni*, 345. Such a modification was not as unusual as it might sound; a similar one seems to have been considered in the Luco *Pietà* (cat. 31.1; see also cat. 14).

11 As discussed by Shearman, *AdS*, 2:290–91.

12 As noted by Shearman, *AdS*, 2:291. For the Barberini *Holy Family*, see Shearman, *AdS*, 2:263–64, where it is dated to about 1525; scholarly consensus now dates it on stylistic reasons closer to 1528–29.

CAT. 55

CHECKLIST OF WORKS IN THE EXHIBITION

All works appearing in the exhibition at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, from June 23 to September 13, 2015, and at The Frick Collection, New York, from October 7, 2015, to January 10, 2016, are by Andrea del Sarto (Italian, 1486–1530). An asterisk (*) indicates a work shown only at the J. Paul Getty Museum; a dagger (†) indicates a work shown only at The Frick Collection. Works listed without either symbol are shown at both.

CAT. 1
Head of Leonardo di Lorenzo Morelli, 1512
Black chalk, 31.5 × 24.5 cm (12⅜ × 9⅝ in.)
Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5085, recto

CAT. 2
Portrait of a Young Man, ca. 1517–18
Oil on canvas, 72.4 × 57.2 cm (28½ × 22½ in.)
London, National Gallery, inv. 690

CAT. 3
Study of a Young Man, ca. 1517–18
Red chalk, 18.8 × 11.6 cm (7⅜ × 4⅝ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 661 E, recto

CAT. 4
Study of a Young Man, ca. 1517–18
Red chalk, 13 × 12.6 cm (5⅛ × 4¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 301 F, recto

CAT. 5
Study of a Woman, ca. 1517–25
Red chalk, 24.2 × 20.1 cm (9½ × 7¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 647 E, recto

CAT. 6
Head of a Young Woman, ca. 1517
Black chalk, 25.7 × 20.5 cm (10⅛ × 8⅛ in.)
Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5572

CAT. 7*
Study of a Standing Male Figure, ca. 1525
Red and black chalks, 25 × 16 cm (9¹³⁄₁₆ × 6⅝ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 232, recto

CAT. 8
Study of a Standing Figure, ca. 1529
Black chalk, 27.9 × 13 cm (11 × 5⅛ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 326 F

CAT. 9†
The Madonna and Child with Four Saints, ca. 1509
Brown wash and white heightening over traces of black chalk, on gray-prepared paper. 29.2 × 24.8 cm (11½ × 9¾ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 231

CAT. 10
The Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1511
Red chalk, 36.6 × 30.9 cm (14⁷⁄₁₆ × 12³⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 667 E

CAT. 11
The Madonna and Child with Saint John, ca. 1516–17
Red chalk, 31.5 × 23.3 cm (12⅜ × 9³⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 304 F

CAT. 12*
The Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1520–22
Red chalk, with traces of black chalk and stylus, 29.5 × 24.5 cm (11⅝ × 9⅝ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1688

CAT. 13
Study of Figures behind a Balustrade, ca. 1522
Red chalk, 17.5 × 20 cm (6⅞ × 7⅞ in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 92.GB.74, recto

CAT. 14†
Composition Study for a Pietà, ca. 1524
Red chalk over traces of black chalk, 17.7 × 15.4 cm (6¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 6⅛ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1677

CAT. 15
Five Studies for a Lunette with the Virgin and Child, ca. 1525
Red chalk, 28.9 × 26.1 cm (11⅜ × 10¼ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. 1912,1214.20
Donated by John Postle Heseltine, 1912

CAT. 16
Composition Study for the Birth of Saint John the Baptist, ca. 1526
Red chalk, 16.4 × 22.1 cm (6⁷⁄₁₆ × 8¹¹⁄₁₆ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. SL,5226.86
Bequeathed by Sir Hans Sloane, 1753

CAT. 17
Studies of Figures Seated and Standing behind a Table, ca. 1526–27
Red chalk, 25.6 × 36.3 cm (10¹⁄₁₆ × 14⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 664 E, recto

CAT. 18
Composition Study of the Madonna and Child with Saints, ca. 1528
Red chalk, 15.6 × 13.5 cm (6⅛ × 5⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 5082, recto

CAT. 19
Studies of a Head and a Hand, 1510
Red chalk, 14.2 × 20.5 cm (5⁹⁄₁₆ × 8¹⁄₁₆ in.)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1996.12
Rogers Fund, 1996

CAT. 20
Study of a Standing Young Man Holding a Book, ca. 1515
Black chalk, 37.1 × 16.2 cm (14⅝ × 6⅜ in.)
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 5133

CAT. 21
Drapery Study, ca. 1517
Red chalk, 27.9 × 15.2 cm (11 × 6 in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 89.GB.53, recto

CAT. 22*
Study of a Child, ca. 1517
Red chalk, 10.6 × 11.1 cm (4³⁄₁₆ × 4⅜ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 5946

CAT. 23
Study for the Head of Julius Caesar, ca. 1520
Red chalk, 21.5 × 18.4 cm (8⁷⁄₁₆ × 7¼ in.)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2008.367, Partial and Promised Gift of Mr. and Mrs. David M. Tobey, 2008

CAT. 24
Study of the Head of an Old Man in Profile, ca. 1520
Red chalk, 23.9 × 27.7 cm (9⁷⁄₁₆ × 10⅞ in.)
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 12924, recto

CAT. 25
Study of a Nude Man Seen from Behind, Leaning on a Surface, and a Separate Study of His Head, ca. 1520
Red chalk, with some black chalk, 27.9 × 17.7 cm (11 × 6¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. T,11.33
Bequeathed by William Fawkener, 1769

CAT. 26
Study of a Kneeling Figure with a Sketch of a Face, 1522–26
Red and black chalks, 30.1 × 19.8 cm (11¹³⁄₁₆ × 7¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.GB.7, recto

CAT. 27
Studies of a Child, 1522–26
Red and black chalks, 19.3 × 26.5 cm (7⅝ × 10⅞ in.)
Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 2537, recto

CAT. 28
Studies of Children, 1522–26
Red and black chalks, 20 × 25 cm (7⅞ × 9¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. 1910,0212.37, recto
Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910

CAT. 29
Studies of Children and of a Left Hand, 1522–26
Red chalk, 19.8 × 24.7 cm (7¹³⁄₁₆ × 9¾ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. T,11.63, recto
Bequeathed by William Fawkener, 1769

CAT. 30
Study of a Young Man, 1523
Black chalk, 14.3 × 9.7 cm (5⅝ × 3¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 87.GB.10

CAT. 31
Study of the Head of a Young Woman, ca. 1523
Red chalk, 21.7 × 17 cm (8⁹⁄₁₆ × 6¹¹⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 644 E

CAT. 32†
Study of the Head of a Woman, ca. 1525
Black chalk, 13.2 × 10.9 cm (5³⁄₁₆ × 4⅝ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1716 bis

CAT. 33
Study of the Head of a Child Looking to the Right, ca. 1525
Black chalk, 19.7 × 18.7 cm (7¾ × 7⅜ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 15826 F

CAT. 34
Study for the Head of Saint Joseph, ca. 1526–27
Red and black chalks, 37.3 × 22 cm (14¹¹⁄₁₆ × 8¹¹⁄₁₆ in.)
Private collection

CAT. 35
Study of a Bearded Man in Profile, ca. 1526–27
Black chalk, possibly with gray wash, 21.8 × 18.1 cm (8⁹⁄₁₆ × 7⅛ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 289 F

CAT. 36
Study of the Arm of a Figure Seated in Profile to the Right, ca. 1526–27
Red chalk, 19.2 × 20.9 cm (7⁹⁄₁₆ × 8¼ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 313 F

CAT. 37
Studies of Hands, ca. 1527
Red chalk, 12.2 × 16.3 cm (4¹³⁄₁₆ × 6⁷⁄₁₆ in.)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1972.118.271
Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971

CAT. 38*
Study of an Infant Praying, 1525–29
Red chalk, 18.4 × 13.5 cm (7¼ × 5⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1692

CAT. 39
Head of a Man Looking Up, ca. 1527
Black chalk, with later red-chalk additions, 24.7 × 17.7 cm (9¾ × 6¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, inv. WA1944.141
Purchased, 1944

CAT. 40
Head of an Infant in Profile to the Right, ca. 1527
Red chalk, 24.7 × 17.8 cm (9¾ × 7 in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 631 E, recto

CAT. 41
Study of a Kneeling Figure in Profile to the Left, ca. 1522
Red chalk, 26.5 × 20 cm (10⁷⁄₁₆ × 7⅞ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 318 F, recto

CAT. 42
Studies of Arms, Legs, Hands, and Drapery, ca. 1522
Red and black chalks, 25.8 × 20.2 cm (10³⁄₁₆ × 7¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 324 F, recto

CAT. 43
Head of a Youth in Profile, ca. 1522
Red chalk, 21 × 13 cm (8¼ × 5⅛ in.)
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, inv. WA1995.214
Bequeathed by Dr Gerhard Weiler, 1995

CAT. 44
Study of a Child with Arms Extended, ca. 1522
Red chalk, 25 × 16.1 cm (9¹³⁄₁₆ × 6⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 291 F

CAT. 45*
Head of a Man in Profile, Looking Up, ca. 1522
Red chalk, 19.5 × 15.5 cm (7¹¹⁄₁₆ × 6⅛ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 1685

CAT. 46
Studies of the Head of an Infant, ca. 1522
Red chalk, 24.8 × 18.4 cm (9¾ × 7¼ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 632 E, recto

CAT. 47
Drapery Study, ca. 1522
Black chalk, 16.5 × 16.2 cm (6½ × 6⅜ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 6454 F

CAT. 48
Saint John the Baptist, ca. 1523
Oil on panel, 94 × 68 cm (37 × 26¾ in.)
Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 272

CAT. 49
Study for the Head of Saint John the Baptist, ca. 1523
Black chalk, 33 × 23.1 cm (13 × 9⅛ in.)
Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. 1991.182.14

CAT. 50*
The Sacrifice of Isaac, ca. 1528
Oil on panel, 178 × 138 cm (70⅛ × 54⅝ in.)
Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 1937.577
Delia E. Holden and L. E. Holden Funds

CAT. 51
Studies after the Laocoön, ca. 1528
Red chalk, 28.3 × 21.7 cm (11⅛ × 8⁹⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 339 F

CAT. 52
Study of a Donkey in Profile to the Left, Grazing, ca. 1528
Red chalk, 16.9 × 19.3 cm (6⅝ × 7⅝ in.)
London, British Museum, inv. T,12.19
Bequeathed by William Fawkener, 1769

CAT. 53
The Medici *Holy Family*, 1529
Oil on panel, 140 × 104 cm (55⅛ × 40¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 81

CAT. 54
Study of the Head of an Old Woman, ca. 1529
Red chalk, 25 × 18.6 cm (9¹³⁄₁₆ × 7⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, inv. WA1846.302
Presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846

CAT. 55*
Head of a Child Looking Down to the Right, ca. 1529
Red chalk, 14.1 × 11.9 cm (5⁹⁄₁₆ × 4¹¹⁄₁₆ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 10959

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THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Andrea del Sarto: The Renaissance Workshop in Action celebrates the transformation of the art of drawing by one of the greatest Florentine Renaissance artists. Moving beyond the graceful harmony and elegance of his elders and peers, such as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Fra Bartolommeo, del Sarto brought unprecedented naturalism and immediacy to draftsmanship through the rough and rustic use of chalk and the creation of powerfully rendered life and composition studies.

Dramatically influential even in their own time, Andrea del Sarto's drawings laid the foundations of sixteenth-century Florentine draftsmanship. Among his pupils were Jacopo Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino, Francesco Salviati, and Giorgio Vasari. With an intensity that would resonate through five centuries, the drawings appealed greatly to nineteenth-century artists such as Degas and Redon and provided the basis for much of modern drawing technique. By presenting more than fifty core drawings on paper together with a handful of paintings, this lavishly illustrated book fully illuminates Andrea del Sarto's dazzling inventiveness and creative process.

This book also represents an important contribution to the study of Florentine Renaissance workshop practice. It is the first publication to look at del Sarto's working sequence of studies and cartoons, with a close examination of paintings and drawings from across the world's major collections and an analysis in which new material from recent studies of panel underdrawing is investigated alongside the related surviving drawings.

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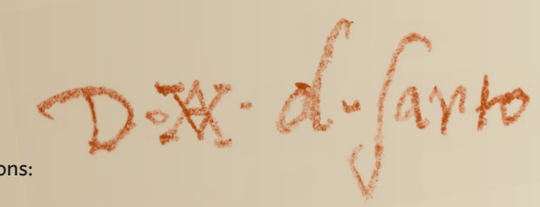

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