







FOGG

ART MUSEUM

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

April 7, 1982

RECEIVED

Dr. Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Co., Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

APR 1 2 1982

ALDRICH CHEMICAL L.

Dear Dr. Bader:

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd and the accompanying material. I am afraid I did not find the black and white photograph satisfactory, and have taken the liberty of having a new one made by our very expert Fogg photographer. I have also commissioned a 5 x 7 inch color transparency (which I wish to send to Janet Cox-Rearick for her study) and some infrared scanner photographs.

You will be delighted to know that the infrared evidence seems almost absolutely conclusive of its indication of Pontormo's draftsmanship, and this is not just my own opinion but that of the conservators and scholars who were looking at the scanner with me.

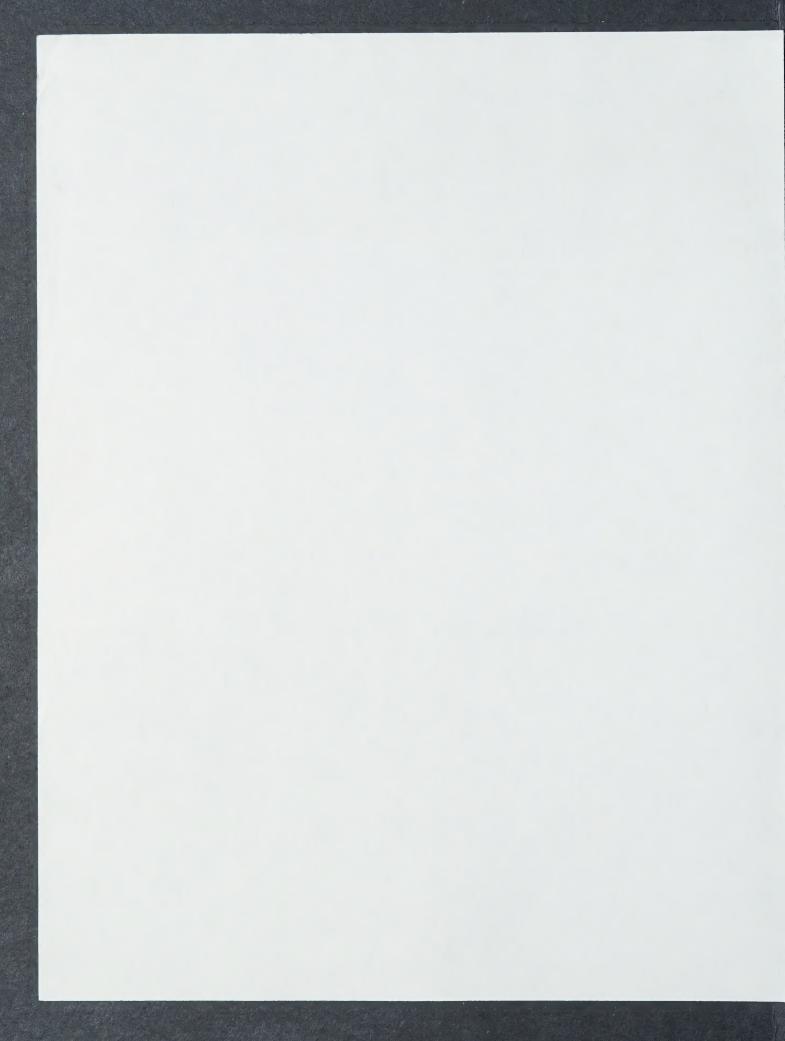
I have compared your picture with the Boston Museum's very good copy of the lost Pontormo, and there is no question of the total superiority of your painting. Sir John Pope-Hennessy was here on a visit yesterday and I showed him the panel and gave him my supposition about its being a fragment of the lost original. He most enthusiastically agrees. By the way, Prof. Cox-Rearick tells me she has no memory of having seen the picture in the original, and has no clear opinion about the photograph, which she does have.

There is a very simple answer to your question about the architectural background. If you project the line of the wall behind the Madonna's head in the copy you will find that it would appear in the fragment precisely in the corner that has been cut out at the right, and replaced by the new gesso and gilding. It would seem to me that the reason for the cutting of the corners was precisely to eliminate the evidence of the architectural background and thus disguise the fact the picture was a fragment of a larger work.

I hope to be able to persuade Prof. Cox-Rearick to collaborate on the publication of the picture. My very best regards.

Sincerely,

·Sydney J. Freedberg Professor of Fine Arts SJF/gr



202 Pontormo

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No. 211 is a version of one of Pontormo's most successful compositions, to judge from the altogether exceptional number of copies now known. It is not clear for whom the original was painted; it may be one of the three untraced Madonnas mentioned without further description by Vasari: the first painted c. 1534 6 for his builder, Rossino, which later came into the hands of Ottaviano de' Medici and (by 1568) of his son Alessandro, the second by implication painted in the early 1540s and sent by Duke Cosimo to Spain, and the third, which could have been painted at any date, found in Pontormo's house at his death (1556), then acquired by Piero Salviati (Vasari (1568, ed. Milanesi), vol. vt, pp. 280, 284, 288); it is also possible that it was none of these.

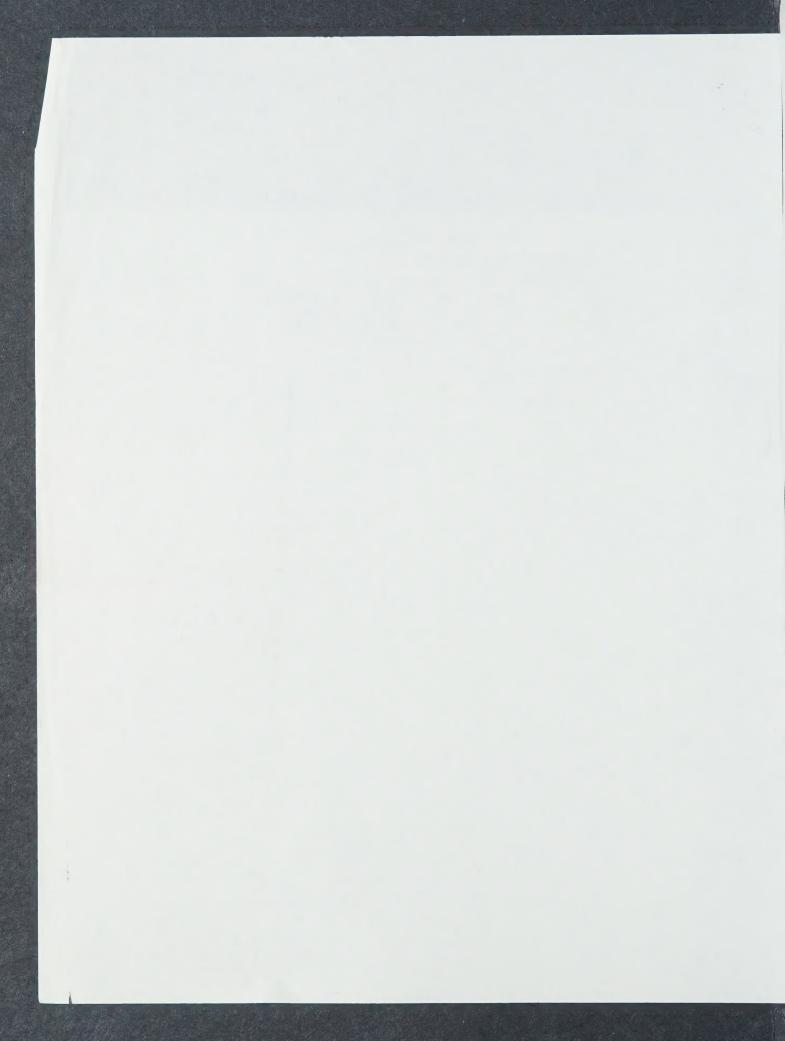
The following list of versions or copies could probably be extended: (i) Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto di disegni, 6629 F; black chalk, 30.8 × 24.2 cm, inscribed on the back, Jacopo da Pontormo il quadro è in mano di Cardinale Carlo de' Medici [d. 1666] nel Casino di San Marco. probably referring to (ii) Florence, Uffizi (in store), formerly Poggio Imperiale; panel, 120 × 102 cm; probably the 'tavola...Pontormo....Madonna, uno Christo in grembo et altre figurine . . $2\frac{1}{4}$ br. [c. 130 cm]' in the 1588 inventory of Don Antonio de' Medici at La Magia (A.S.F., G. 136, fol. 154 r.), later in the inventory of the Casino at Don Antonio's death, 1621 (P. F. Covoni, Don Antonio al Casino di San Marco (Florence, 1892), p. 233), which picture entered the Grand Ducal Guardaroba in 1621 (G. 373, fol: 282), and was sent to Palazzo Pitti in 1627 (G. 435, fol. 269 d.); the same picture was probably lent to Cardinal Carlo, recorded in the 1667 inventory of the Casino after his death, then returned to Palazzo Pitti (g. 758, fol. 17 v.), still in the Pitti inventories of 1687 (G. 932, fol. 81 v.) and 1723 (G. 1304 ter, fol. 39 r.); exh. Florence, 1956 (65). (iii) Berlin, private collection (formerly); panel, 124 × 104 cm, dated 1571. (iv) Private collection, York; panel, 116.8×97.2 cm. (v) Munich, Alte Pinakothek (1090); panel, 120 × 101 cm; Pontormo's name on the book; exh. Florence, 1956 (with 65, not in catalogue). (vi) Formerly Florence, Ferroni Collection. (vii) Formerly with Frascione, Florence, and on the New York market; panel, 125×105 cm; exh. Naples, Fontainebleau e la maniera italiana, 1952 (11), Florence, 1956 (65 bis), and Indiana, The Age of Vasari, 1970 (P. 6). (viii) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (90. 165); panel, 118.7 × 102.8 cm; exh. Baltimore, Bacchiacca

and His Friends, 1961 (65). (ix) Formerly Vernon Watney Collection, Cornbury; panel, 119.4 × 100.3 cm; Christie's, 23 June 1967 (20). (x) Florence, Palazzo Pitti (in store), formerly Villa di Castello; panel, c. 120 × 102 cm. (xi) Formerly Florence, Bardi-Serzelli Collection; panel, c. 120 × 102 cm. (xii) Formerly Milan, Lurati Collection (Sale, Galleria Pesaro, Milan, 18-21 March 1926 (106)); panel, 119×102 cm. (xiii) Sesto Fiorentino, Villa Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati. (xiv) Formerly Richmond, Cook Collection; panel, 128.3 × 101.6 cm; Emmott Sale, Christie's, 2 April 1948 (157). (xv) Florence, R. Ravà Collection. (xv) Leningrad, Hermitage (in store). (xvii) With Wildenstein, 1951. (xviii) Cracow, Castle of Wawel (21); panel, 74.5 × 60 cm. (xix) Douai, Musée (in store). (xx) Anderson Collection, Fetcham. (xxi) Formerly London, Schapiro Collection, the Virgin's head only; panel, 41.9 × 29.2 cm; exh. Manchester, 1965 (187)

In addition there is a variant, with a Baptist added, in San Martino a Maiano, attributed to Naldini.

Of the versions listed above none has proved convincing as an autograph work by Pontormo. No. (v) was accepted as Pontormo's by Morelli (1890, 1893 edn), p. 101, and F. Goldschmidt, Pontormo, Rosso und Bronzino (Leipzig, 1911), p. 47, and Clapp (loc. cit.) thought it the best, but it is probably not by an Italian artist; C. Gamba, Il Pontormo (Florence, 1921), p. 13, accepted (ii) but Pittaluga rightly saw in it the characteristics of a good copy, in her opinion the best; (xii) was given to Pontormo by G. Nicodemi (in the sale catalogue), and Roberto Longhi, quoted in the Naples catalogue, favoured (vii), but that version has marked weakness of drawing and technique. L. Berti, L'Opera completa del Pontormo (Milan, 1973), p. 109, still regards all known versions as copies of a lost picture.

The version at Hampton Court was cleaned and restored in 1974–5. The extremely solid panel is composed of three almost flawless poplar planks of about equal width joined vertically, and the slightly tapering channels on the back, for horizontal braces driven from opposite sides, are characteristic of the best Florentine panels c. 1510–50. Before 1974 No. 211 was much repainted, and disfigured; it emerged from cleaning as a rather seriously damaged picture of very beautiful quality. The principal damage is the result of a marked craquelure associated with the vertical grain,



7 BRYANSTON SQUARE, LONDON WIH 7FF

01-262 8697

July 8, 1979

Dr Alfred R. Bader Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc. 940 West St. Paul Ave Milwaukee Wisconsin 53233 USA

Dear Dr Bader,

Concerning the pictures from the Collection of Dr Schapiro in which you have expressed an interest, as I told you recently, the situation is as follows:-

Jacob Pynas: Abraham and Isaac. This picture seems to have been lost

Snyders: Squirrels on a branch. This picture is not for sale

Jacob Pynas: Stoning of St. Stephen. As you know, this picture was valued by Christie's at £8.000, and this figure was increased to £15.000 by the Estate Duty Office. It is also on the Preferential List of the Hermitage. We are not therefore at the moment free to enter into any negotiations.

P. Claes: Vanitas Still Life. Valued by Christie's at £1.500, and we would be willing to sell it for this price.

The same applies to the three following pictures:

C. Moyaert:Cattle and Shepherds in an Italianate Landscape.£ 2.000J. Pontormo:The Madonna, head only.£ 4.000Gandolfi:Christ blessing (St. John preaching)£ 450

As I might be away after you make your decision, please address your reply to:

Mrs Susanne Lepsius 36c Linden Gardens London, W.2

(with a photostat copy to me, please).

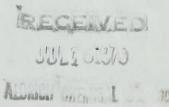
I very much enjoyed meeting you and Mrs Bader and want to thank you, once again, for the beautiful catalogue THE BIBLE THROUGH DUTCH EYES.

With best wishes from Mrs Lepsius and myself,

Yours very sincerely,

Stefanie Maison

(Mrs) Stefanie Maison



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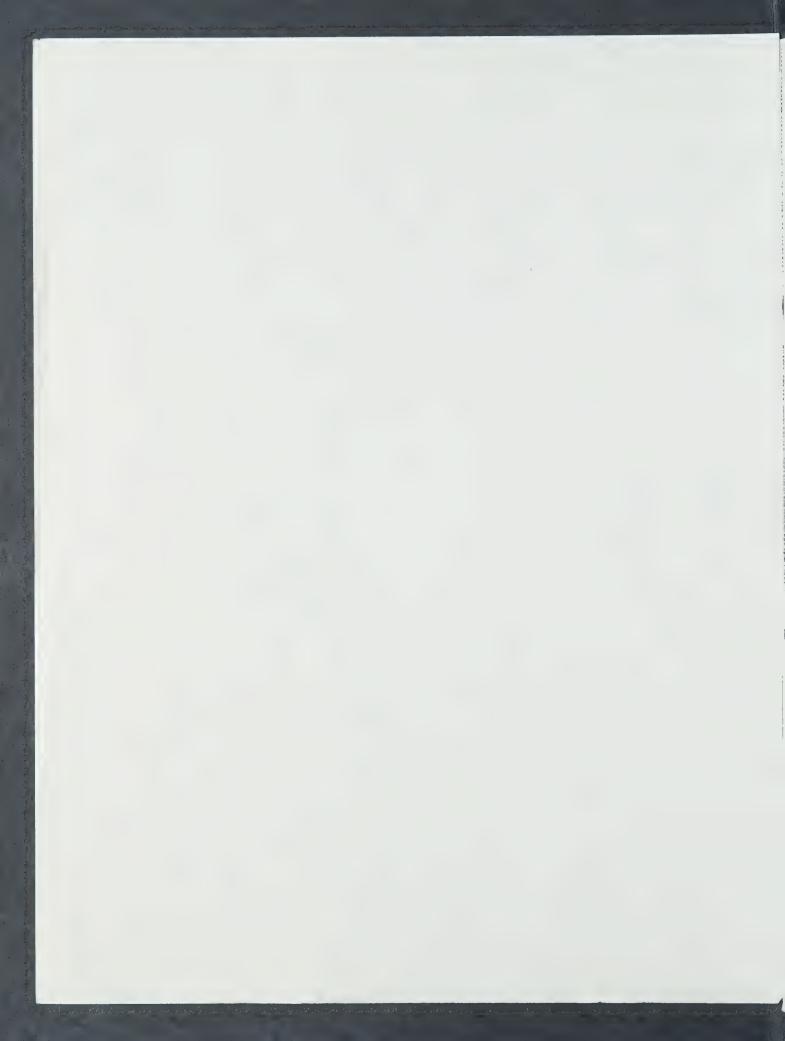
Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

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Chemists Helping Chemists in Research and Industry

aldrich chemical company, inc.

Dr. Alfred Bader Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

April 2, 1982

Professor Sydney Freedberg The Fogg Museum Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Professor Freedberg:

I was so happy to learn your opinion of my panel depicting the Madonna.

Enclosed please find a good black and white photograph after cleaning, copy of the description on the painting when it was exhibited in Manchester, and copy of my restorer's report.

I purchased the painting from executors of the estate of Dr. Efim Schapiro in London, and I have written to Christie's to try to ascertain who the seller was in Christie's sale in October of 1942.

If this painting is, indeed, a fragment of the original Pontormo, can you think of any explanation why the architectural details present in all the copies are absent here?

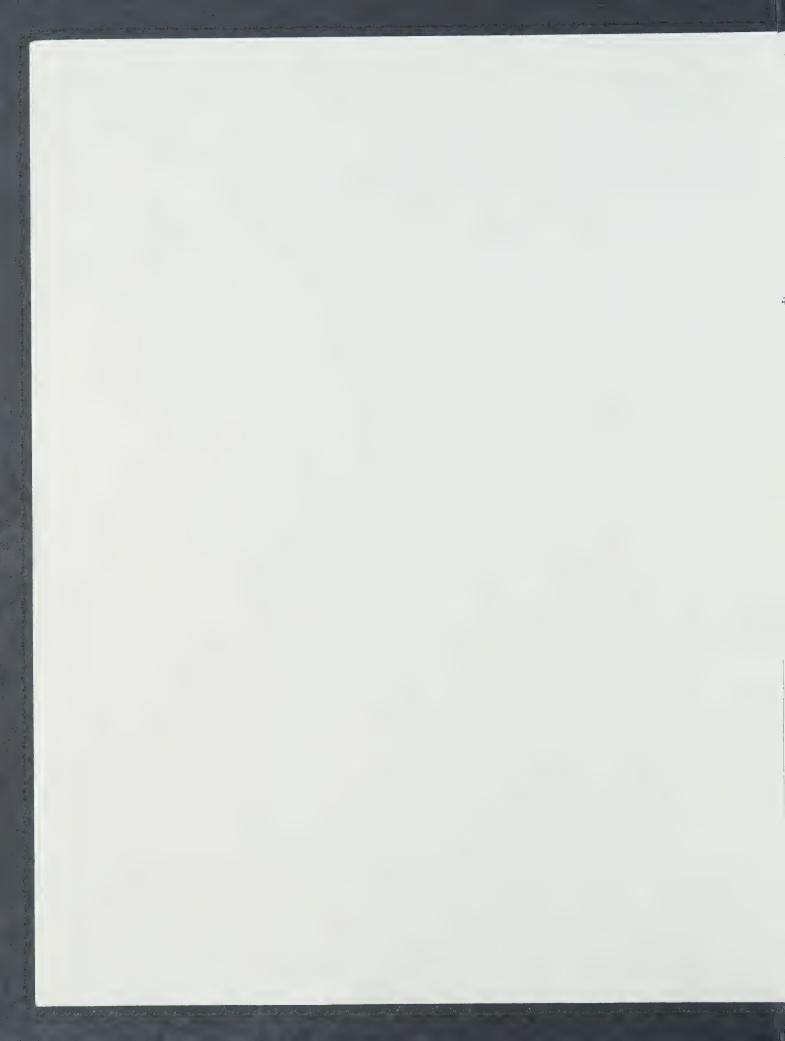
Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Alfred Bader

AB:mmh

Enclosures



Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Near Konsad: I hope that any over sale is kerping you from stitues, and the my liter of Occubic & dia not ye lost. Un fortunation I couldn't attend the Birnice of Orlegeers Committee timeting on I have to be - burge percloped an ghotos of a few use requipetions: (1) A study of an old man (vi. Press .), very fiert, an gager - grobably 17th century Million, but I don't Know who. (2) A Massacce of the Democenter, weld a solar, lasker, more Venetion 18th century Rom of contrary Jutch but I am pure hat it is by fan drue Noordet, a dery

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Decembre D 1979.



ALFRED BADER CORPORATION

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FINE

2961 NORTH SHEPARD AVENUE

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53211

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November 19, 1980

Mr. Christophe P. Janet 37 East 64th Street New York, New York 10021

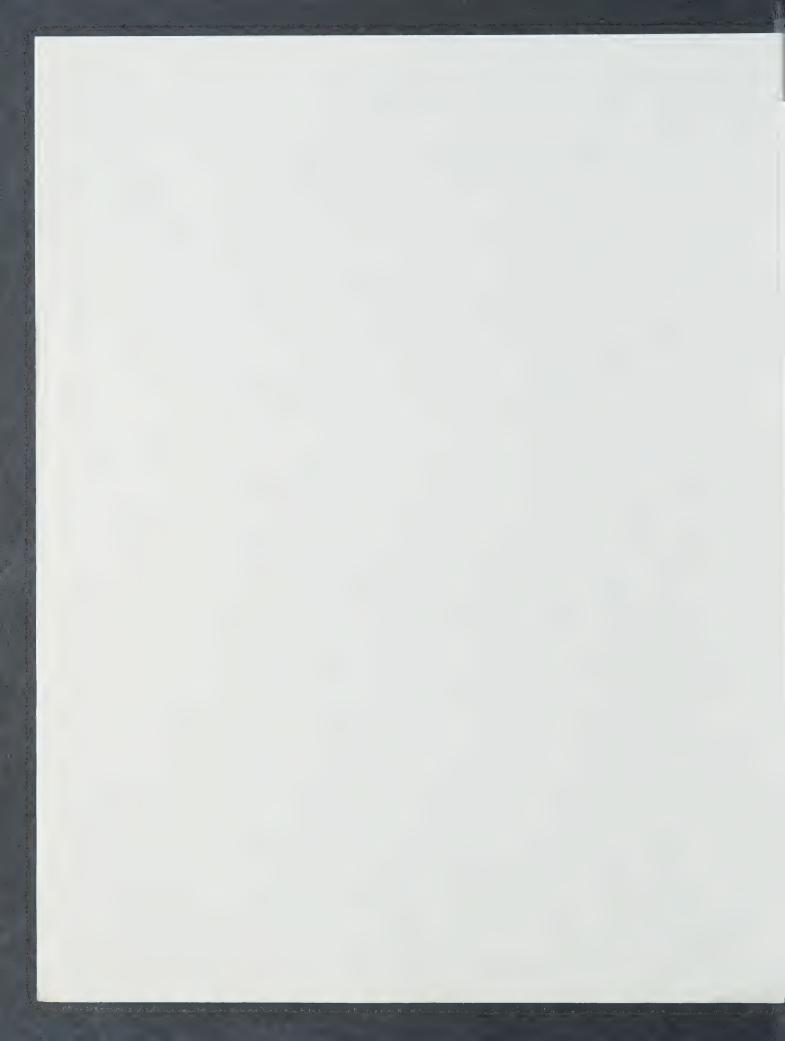
Dear Christophe:

It is great to know that Sir John Pope-Hennessy and Mrs. Hitchcock consider the Head of the Madonna to be the original Pontormo. Hopefully, you will now have a chance to sell it.

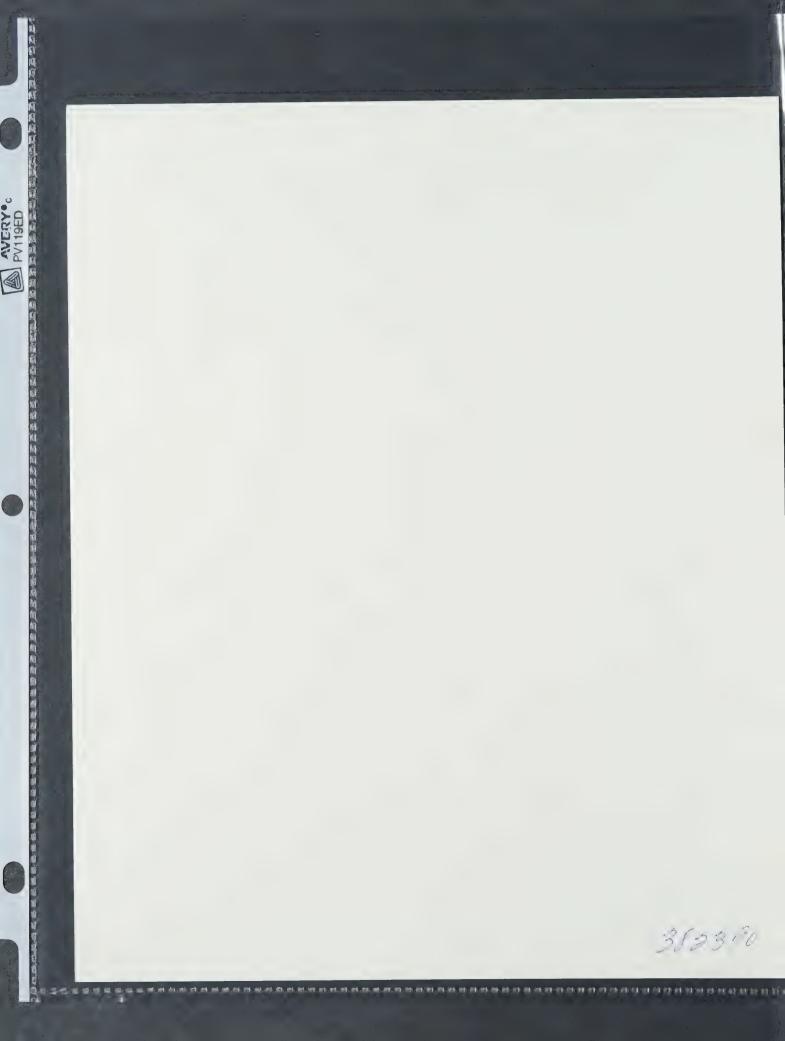
I enclose two more good black and white photographs that you might like to send to potential customers, also a copy of the Manchester exhibition catalog that first suggested that this might be the original, and the detailed report of my restorer. Also enclosed are six of his color slides showing the painting in its original state and completely cleaned. You will note that the painting is basically in excellent condition.

I wish you the best of luck.

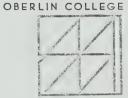
Best regards, Ps fave your peur fir folm's letter to be last issue of Uma Alfred Bader Apollo ? AB:mmh * Please return Reve pir tome, I have no officer Enclosures







ALLEN MEMORIAL ART MUSEUM



OBERLIN, OHIO 44074 (216) 775-8665

December 4, 1979

Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Dear Alfred:

How nice to hear from you--in fact, I was going to write this week. It has been an extraordinarily busy autumn, partly because I have had more museum traveling to do than ordinarily and also took the opportunity to act as courier for a loan to Berlin, which allowed me to go on for a week in Leningrad. It was quite an experience to see the incredible holdings of the Hermitage, both Southern and Northern. Have you been there? It would be a delight for you and two of the nicest curators are both specialists in Northern Baroque (Mr. Kuznetsov and his wife, Mrs. Linnik). Scores and scores of Rembrandt, Rubens, etc., both on view and in their extensive reserves...

It's always a pleasure to be kept abreast of some of your new purchases. The "Vouet" looks lovely and is very close to the master himself. The "Pontormo" also seems charming, though the hair, to judge from the color photo, makes me uneasy in believing that it is the original. Your "<u>St. Peter</u>" is a problem. I frankly am unsure where to place it! I really must find time to visit you and see your growing collection.

I've wanted to give a mini report on the use of your generous Discretionary Fund this year. Among other projects, I've been able to support a faculty member's trip to professional meetings where she gave a highly successful paper; you will be responsible for underwriting our curators' participation in the annual College Art Association meetings; and perhaps most importantly, I have initiated a program, which would have been impossible without your gift, of building up a small but essential reference library in the Wolfgang Stechow Print Study Room. In the past, visiting scholars and our own staff have had to work in the Library or bring books back to the Study Room when researching prints. While we will avoid extensive duplication, it is highly desirable to have some fundamental works right there in that room. I know that it will be enormously appreciated by many people and is something that Wolf himself would have been delighted to know is being done. So, I can report that we have used your gift well, both for professional "growth" and research purposes. It would be lovely, if you will allow me to add, to know that you might continue to keep the Fund alive.

Dr. Alfred R. Bader December 4, 1979 Page 2

Since you receive our <u>Bulletin</u> and news releases, I believe you are abreast of our recent activities. Do let me know if you will be in our area and I, in turn, shall look for every opportunity to come to Milwaukee. Meanwhile, our renewed thanks for your support of the Museum, and a very Happy Hanukah.

As ever, <

Richard E. Spear Director and Professor of Art

RES:jf





FOGG

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

April 7, 1982

RECEIVED

Dr. Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Co., Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

APR 1 2 1982

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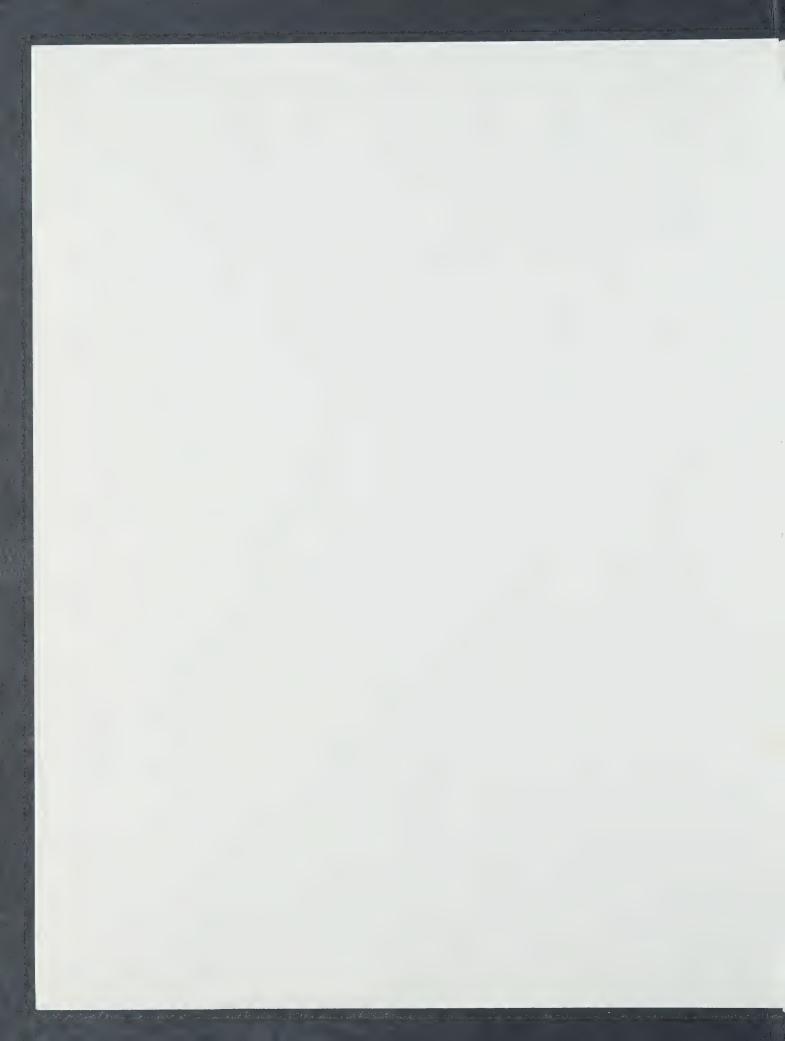
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There is a very simple answer to your question about the architectural background. If you project the line of the wall behind the Madonna's head in the copy you will find that it would appear in the fragment precisely in the corner that has been cut out at the right, and replaced by the new gesso and gilding. It would seem to me that the reason for the cutting of the corners was precisely to eliminate the evidence of the architectural background and thus disguise the fact the picture was a fragment of a larger work.

I hope to be able to persuade Prof. Cox-Rearick to collaborate on the publication of the picture. My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Sydney J. Freedberg Professor of Fine Arts SJF/gr



Wednesday, 16th July, 1980

(alla by

The Property of Mrs. J. West-Taylor

34 Circle of JACOPO PONTORMO

THE MADONNA AND CHILD

The Madonna, in scarlet with a violet kerchief over her head, the Child beside her reaching across for a book, in the right background St. Joseph with the young Christ (?) and, beyond, a woman with a book and another on a staircase *On panel*

 $45\frac{1}{2} \times 38$ in. (116 \times 96.5 cm.)

The composition was, until recently, known only from later Italian and Flemish copies. A very damaged version in the Royal collection at Hampton Court (Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the pictures at Hampton Court*, 1929, p. 117, no. 249) is now thought to be Pontormo's original



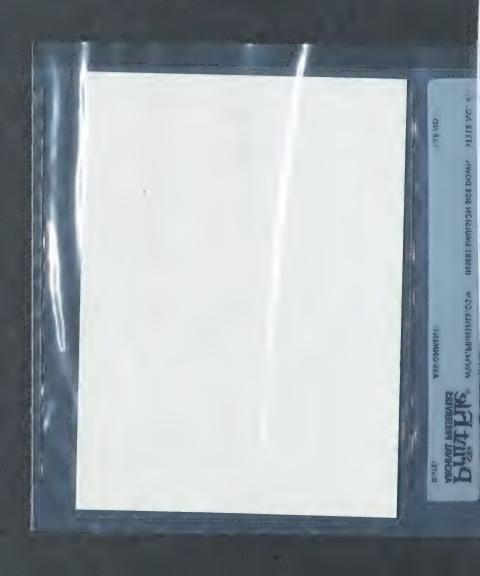
her head, the Child ckground St. Joseph a book and another

rom later Italian and ollection at Hamptass in Court, 1929, P. 117,



34







South Kensington

85 Old Brompton Road London SW7 3JS Tel: 01-581 2231 Telex 922061

Ref:DHR/DM

16th June, 1982

Dr. Alfred Bader, Aldrich Chemical Co. Inc., P.O. Box 355, Milwaukee, WISCONSIN 53201, U.S.A.

JUN 22 10 .

Dear Alfred,

I have finally got through to our records department!

Your picture was sold as lot 114, on 30th October, 1942, for l6gns. to Shapiro. The Vendor was the Spanish Art Gallery, Ltd., about whom little appears to be now known. I fear this line of enquiry is a dead end, as nobody has ever heard of this company which must have disappeared many years ago.

I look forward to seeing you when you are next over.

Sorry this report is not more interesting.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Registered in England No. 1153835

Christie's South Kensington Ltd.

W.F. Brooks F.S.V.A. (*Managing Director*) C.J. Elwes J.W. Collingridge, F.G.A. Secretary: G.F. Brennan-Jesson Associate Directors: J.H.C. Proudfoot, Susan Mayor, J.F. Hudson

Telegrams: Viewing London S.W.7.

A.A. Fraser

D.H. Collins





Chemists Helping Chemists in Research and Industry

aldrich chemical company, inc.

Dr. Alfred Bader Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

October 5, 1982

Professor Sydney J. Freedberg The Fogg Museum Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Professor Freedberg:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of September 28.

Please consider this problem. I have only published one article in <u>The Burlington</u> <u>Magazine</u> with a color photograph, enclosed. I then sent a big 8 x 10 color transparency, and yet the actual reproduction is much too red. I fear that most printers have great difficulties unless they actually have the painting in front of them, and with the Pontormo, where color is so important, the problem may be even worse. At the time of the publication of my article, I almost wished that I had asked only for a black and white photograph. I leave it entirely to your judgment and would, of course, be happy to reimburse Harvard for the out-of-pocket expenses charged by the Burlington.

I don't know just when the <u>Burlington</u> plans to publish your article. I go to England several times each year, and if you felt it essential, I could take the painting with me and leave it with the editor of the <u>Burlington</u> for a few months so that he could arrange for the printer to see it at press time.

There is a slight chance that we will find out more about the provenance of the painting. You will recall that David Reid at Christie's had written to me in June, saying that "The vendor was the Spanish Art Gallery Ltd. about whom little appears to be now known." Then, however, I saw Professor Blunt's comments about Tomas Harris of the Spanish Art Gallery in the August issue of the <u>Burlington</u>, and _{copy} of Professor Blunt's reply to my query is enclosed. It isn't clear to me whether Tomas Harris's sister, Enriqueta, married a man by the name of Frankfurt or lives in Frankfurt, but, in any case, Professor Blunt's inquiry might bear fruit.

Best personal regards.

Sinderely, und Braan

Alfred Bader AB:mmh Enclosures

* what inflation. Ine 1972 le colour reproduction cost my £ 100 !





Chemists Helping Chemists in Research and Industry

aldrich chemical company.inc.

Dr. Alfred Bader Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

October 5, 1982

Professor Sydney J. Freedberg The Fogg Museum Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

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Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Alfred Bader AB:mmh Enclosures

P.O. Box 355, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 USA, Telephone (414) 273-3850, Cable Aldrichem TWX 910-262-3052, Telex 26-843



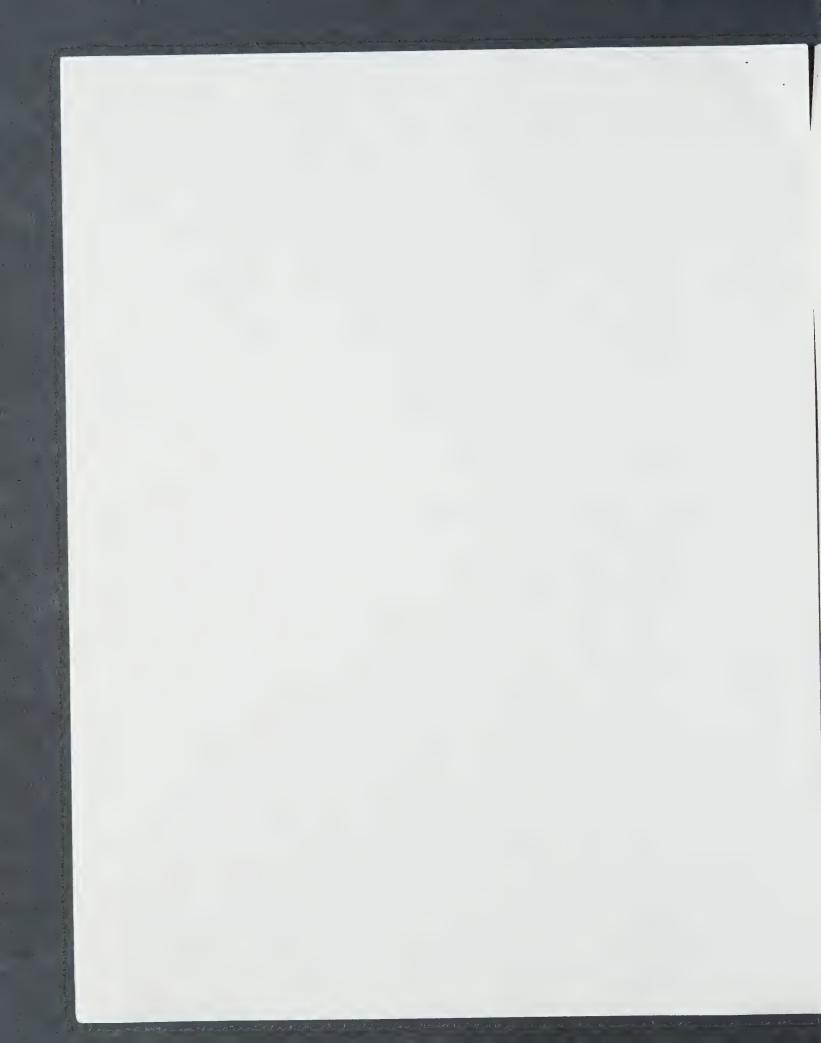


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"A Pontormo (Partly) Recovered"

· ·

Janet Cox-Rearick and S. J. Freedberg



Time has treated no other great painter so harshly as Jacopo Pontormo. From the whole last quarter-century of his career only two works in painting remain to us, both in portraiture, which was for him a secondary genre.¹ His loggia frescoes at the Medicean villas of Careggi (1535-1536) and Castello (1538-1543), as well as the great fresco cycle in the choir of S. Lorenzo (1546-1556), have vanished altogether,² leaving only Pontormo's ideas in drawing for them--considerable in number and remarkable in quality, but no evidence for his powers as a painter; the two tapestries made ca. 1545-1546 from his design for the series meant to hang in the Sala dei Dugento of the Palazzo Vecchio obviously contain no trace of his hand.³ The reappearance of a painting from these late years is thus a matter of some significance, even if what has reappeared is only a fragment of a larger work. The whole painting from which the present fragment, a Head of the Madonna (fig. 1), 4 comes has long been known from at least a dozen copies, most of them of sixteenth-century date and some of them of high quality.⁵ It has in the past been claimed for two of these that they were not copies but Pontormo's original, but neither proposal has received serious assent. The first of these is the version in Munich (Alte Pinakothek, fig. 2), in which the inscription IACOPO DAPUNNO appears on the Madonna's book; this was claimed by Morelli (though not quite explicitly) and by Goldschmidt as Pontormo's.⁶ The second is a version now in New York, which was considered to be the original by Longhi (fig. 3).

Attempts have been made to associate this famous composition with one of the thus far unidentified Madonna paintings mentioned by Vasari in his vita of Pontormo. Pittaluga, who in 1933 reviewed all the versions then known, followed Gamba⁸ in connecting the work with the "bellissimo quadro di Nostra Donna" that Vasari says Pontormo gave to Rossino the mason for finishing his house, and which afterwards was bought by Ottaviano de' Médici.⁹ Pittaluga dated the composition just after 1540. Longhi also associated the work with the Rossino picture (but the description of the Pontormo composition which he gives as if quoted from Vasari occurs nowhere in Vasari's text), dating it to 1520-1525.¹⁰ Becherucci and Berti also made this connection, dating the Rossino picture to about 1530; Gamba in 1956 repeated his earlier opinion.¹¹ However, work on Pontormo's house was in progress only from the mid 1530s; ¹² thus, if the association of this Madonna painting with the gift made to Rossino is correct, the early datings are excluded, while that suggested by Pittaluga becomes most probable -- provided (as we shall demonstrate) that the style of the work accords.

Another Madonna mentioned by Vasari and so far unconnected was the "Nostra Donna" which was found in Pontormo's house after his death in 1556 and sold by his heirs-to Piero Salviati.¹³
Berti suggested that this citation also might perhaps be associated with our picture. However, Vasari adds that the work sold to
Salviati had been painted "molti anni innanzi," and it seems unlikely that he would have applied this phrase to a picture which

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so patently belongs, as our Madonna does, to Pontormo's later years. A last possibility of identification that remains to be considered is a "quadro di Nostra Donna" mentioned by Vasari after his notice of Pontormo's participation in the <u>Joseph</u> tapestry project, which he says Duke Cosimo gave to a Spanish nobleman, who took it then to Spain.¹⁴ However, this picture, too, makes a less than ideal candidate to which to relate our Madonna, since it would not have been available in Florence to serve as basis for the numerous copies.¹⁵

We are left, then, with the Rossino gift, and the approximate dating that is reasonably derived from it, as the best identification for the Madonna we are here considering; we must now confirm that the style of the picture and this dating are compatible. Since the two surviving portraits from the later years cannot afford useful comparisons of style, and the unhappy state of survival of Pontormo's other late painted works creates a further limitation, the only comparison we can offer, which though not in painting is at least on the scale of one, is in the Joseph tapestries of 1545-1546, in the Lamentation of Jacob and even more precisely in the Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh (fig. 4). The monumental Madonna of our picture, with her curving, puffy draperies and accentuated grazia, is a creation of the Florentine Maniera that much resembles the court style that Pontormo, Bronzino, and Salviati developed in their designs for the Joseph Tapestries. Moreover, the serpentine composition of the background vignette (fig. 5, from the Munich version) is

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analogous to the elongated, rising compositions of Pontormo's tapestries. In particular, the Joseph in the background of our picture suggests, in the quality of his movement and in his manner of connection with the young Christ below him, the garland-like arrangement of the figures in the <u>Benjamin</u> design.

We must look to Pontormo's drawings for further evidence, where a number of instances appear of figure style and manner of design like those in our painting. In addition to these shared indices of late style, at least two conspicuous resemblances in type of countenance appear among the later drawings: one, a study for a head in the Benjamin Tapestry (fig. 6); the other, about a decade earlier (c. 1535-1536), the head of the figure to the left from the great Three Graces of the Uffizi (fig. 7).¹⁶ Except for these two details the evidence for comparison with our picture is of generic style more than it is specific, but it is sufficient to confirm our presumption of a dating into Pontormo's later career. However, it is quite impossible to fix precisely a moment in this later time from which the picture would have come. At best we can propose a scant decade's span, from the decoration at Careggi (1535-36) to the early 1540s, but before the beginning of the work in S. Lorenzo (1546). Such a span increases the likelihood_of the sole_identification in-Vasari's account that we found ____plausible, the gift made by Pontormo to the mason Rossino after the completion in the late 1530s of Pontormo's house. There is no need to assume that the gift-was-promptly made: - Pontormo's

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customary work habits make that unlikely. Moreover, the painting was one of three that he gave to Rossino on this occasion.¹⁷ We thus have license to suppose an interval of some extent--perhaps a few years after the house was finished, perhaps longer. The fact that the design of the background episode in our picture tends, as we have pointed out, toward the mode of composition of the Tapestries suggests that this work should not be too much separated in time from them. An absolute <u>terminus ante</u> is defined by the death in May, 1546, of Ottaviano de' Medici, the purchaser from Rossino of his Madonna picture. Weighing our various evidence a date c. 1540, more likely after than before, appears appropriate.¹⁸

Little is known of the subsequent history of the Rossino-Ottaviano de' Medici <u>Madonna</u> except for Vasari's statement that when he wrote the <u>vite</u> it was in the collection of Ottaviano's son Alessandro.¹⁹ There is no further notice of the picture, which may have remained in Florence or, perhaps, have passed to Rome when Alessandro became Pope Leo XI in 1605. Nor is the history of any of the extant copies certain. A "quadro di Nostra Donna con ornamento dorato di mano del Pontolmo" listed in the 1553 inventory of Duke Cosimo's pictures may of may not have been a version of our painting;²⁰ however, in the seventeenth century a version was in the Medici collections in Florence. A drawing in the Uffizi after this last picture (showing, like some of the painted copies, only the Madonna and Child) is inscribed on the verso: "Di Jacopo da Pontormo e in mano del Ill^{mo} Cardinale Carlo - de' Medici nel casino di San Marco."²¹

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When our head of the Madonna from this once so famous composition of Pontormo's was shown publicly for the first time, in the exhibition Between Renaissance and Baroque at Manchester in 1965, it was stated in the catalogue, correctly: "The new _fragment seems to be superior to the known copies, and in view of its high quality it should be seriously considered whether it is not part of the original picture."²² The fragment has since been cleaned, and that it is an autograph by Pontormo is now certain. This recognition carries an unhappy corollary: that we accept that the rest of Pontormo's original picture from which the Madonna's head has come must be considered lost. The surviving head has most obviously been sawn out of a larger panel. Unlike the normal case of a complete panel picture, where the sawed edges have been sanded smooth and the saw marks obliterated or barely visible, the marks here have been left rough and are at once discernible on most of the two long sides and on all the bottom edge; only on the top edge of the picture are no clear saw marks visible. The paint comes to the very edges of the panel, and there is no evidence of a beard. However, the upper edges of the panel on both long sides (for a length from the top of 14 cm) and also the outer edges of the top (for a distance inward of 10 cm) have been gessoed over. This is the consequence of an exaggerated effort, possibly by the restorer who first vandalized the panel, to make the fragment seem an independent image. By cutting out a spandrel-shaped

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segment of the original paint together with its underlying gesso at both upper corners, and replacing these areas with a new material, simulating gold leaf,²³ the restorer made the semblance of an arched background, niche-like, for the Madonna's head.²⁴

No reasonable speculation accounts guite satisfactorily for the removal from its context of the present fragment. The best assumption we could make is that some disastrous accident befell the picture. The least unlikely supposition is that of damage in a flood, since that could have destroyed the original panel's lower part and left the uppermost area, with the Madonna's head, virtually intact. The removal of the Madonna's head from its background would in this case have been a salvage operation, not (as might first appear) an act of vandalism. Whatever the nature of such a presumed old accident, the fragment has survived in respectable, though somewhat uneven, condition. In best state are the lighted parts of the Virgin's face and neck, where the paint is built on a stronger body of white lead: the nose and the proper right cheek and forehead; in addition, the ear and hair rather erratically: the velature that defined the epidermis are now thinned, unevenly translucent to the shadowed modeling below. The lips seem somewhat paled, diminished by a slight abrasion. The color of the Virgin's dress, modulating through a cherry hue, unripe in the bright light at our left, rich and darkened in the shadow at our right, was thinly painted to begin with, and still is almost altogether sound; its color echoes the dress the Virgin in

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Pontormo's <u>St. Anne</u> altar (Paris, Louvre) wears. The head-scarf, however, has suffered several losses, and the shadowed space it encloses to the proper right side of the Virgin's neck especially is thinned to its dark under-tone. The color of the scarf is a changeant blue-into-violet, which recalls, in a darker key, the headdress of the Virgin in the <u>Annunciation</u> of the Capponi chapel.

Nothing in the present state of the fragment obscures its legibility or interferes with our perception of what the artist intended to describe. Wear and time have in fact combined to let underdrawing on the panel become more visible than it originally would have been: the draughtsman's sign is explicit in the eyes, the nose, the parallel strokings that underline the modeling of the cheeks, and in the marking of the folds of drapery. This preparation in drawing, mostly not meant to be confessed, conveys in every part its speed, its deftness and its flexibility, indicating an image not laboriously transferred from another painting but one generated surely here. Then, using the infra-red devices that permit our searching out the further preparation, below what the naked eve can see, what is revealed is absolute in its evidence of originality and in its attestation of Pontormo's hand (fig. 8). We have earlier indicated instances of convincingly comparable heads in drawing by Pontormo, but such resemblances are less important to our determination of Pontormo's autograph than the revelation in this underdrawing of the unmistakable ductus of the artist, which in some passages works as bold, rounding and resilient (as in the drawing of the eyes), while elsewhere (as in the lips, the ear and the contour of the face)/proceeds as if with

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the finest, most complex, exasperated sensibility.²⁵ Where the painted <u>velature</u> have survived intact or nearly so the modeling of the form works with the same fusion between power and fineness that is in the drawing. The forehead and the lighted cheek are soft-shining bosses, making delicate equivocation between skin and sculpture; the modeling around the eyes is the reciprocal in its resilience of the drawing that defines them; on the nose the fall of light is described with exquisite transparency and fineness.

That the contemporaries of Pontormo's later years as well as the succeeding generation found his original painting for Rossino of exceptional interest is attested by the unusual number of copies of it that survive to us from that time--the Boston version, for example, is dated 1561. What that audience may have found so compelling in this image may have been a meaning in it that seemed in keeping with the temper of the Catholic Reform and the subsequent assertive Counter-Reformation.

Pontormo's <u>Madonna</u> combines in a highly original way a number of traditional motifs with other, more novel elements which anticipate a new taste in late Cinquecento painting for the celebration of the domestic virtues of the Hely Family. The Madonna herself is a descendant of the by then old-fashioned Madonna of Humility, in which the Virgin, seated on the ground, typically holds the suckling child.²⁶ In Pontormo's work, not only has the intimacy of the older type been abandoned but the

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motif has been subsumed into the larger theme of the contemplation of the Passion, a theme which is signaled by the Child's agitated pose and ecstatic gaze out of the picture (recalling the Christ of Pontormo's own earlier Visdomini altar), the meditative expression of the Virgin, her book (which in the original most have been open to an appropriate text),²⁷ and her unusual pose--less that of a Madonna than of a sibyl or prophetess of Michelangelesque dimension.

Juxtaposed with this heroic Madonna of Humility is the background vignette of Joseph as carpenter, who is assisted by the boy Christ and accompanied by a female figure (Anna?) who holds a book.²⁸ Joseph's saw, his footstool, and the beam placed on it have the symbolic function that his carpenter's tools are given in analogous scenes in Flemish paintings;²⁹ however, in Pontormo's scene of the carpenter's shop it is the foreshadowing of the Passion that is signaled with particular poignance as Joseph turns to take the nails carried to him by his young helper.³⁰ It is not the mere presence of the scene with Joseph that is unusual in this picture, but the fact that he is portrayed as an athletic, youthful man, at work at his trade; traditionally in Italian Holy Families Joseph had played a passive role, as an old, inactive man. In the fifteenth century Joseph's image had undergone something of a rehabilitation in northern painting, in which, as a carpenter, he was presented as an exemplum of humility and industry.³¹ However, in Italian

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art such ideas became influential only after the Council of Trent when, for example, the reformer Molanus recommended that Joseph no longer be represented as a weak and aged man but as a robust, youthful worker, and the Jesuits popularized "Jesus, Joseph, and Mary" as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly Trinity.³² The prominence given to Joseph the carpenter in Pontormo's work, then, emphasizes its theme of humility: as the Virgin takes her lowly seat, so Joseph labors at his humble craft. And in the motif of the nails the young Jesus brings to Joseph the picture also bears the favored Counter-Reformation theme of the contemplation of the Passion.

Because Pontormo's <u>Madonna</u> dates well before the codification and popularization of such Tridentine notions of Joseph's role, we may be justified in asking if this uncommon theme in it was introduced in reference to the recipient of the painting--Rossino, the builder of Pontormo's house. While Rossino was not primarily a carpenter, the building trades were overlapping occupations at the time, and in the very decade in which this <u>Madonna</u> was painted the five building guilds (including the Maestri di Pietra e di Legname to which Rossino must have -belonged) were consolidated in the Arte-dei Fabbricanti, the =statutes of which were drawn up in 1542.³³

If the unusual subject of Joseph as carpenter in Pontormo's <u>Madonna indeed alluded to Rossino</u>, then the unusual background of the painting may also relate to the circumstances

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of its creation. The Madonna is seated in front of a Florentine cityscape consisting of a jagged row of rooftops punctuated by three towers; to the right, the archway that frames the vignette of Joseph at work is evidently unfinished at its top -- could it allude to the entrance of a house in course of building?

Thus, Pontormo's many copyists may have found more of interest in his Madonna than its--characteristically for the late Pontormo--singular and aberrant beauty. Its urban, manifestly Florentine setting, together with the vernacular piety of its domestic, familial Trinity could well explain the appeal of the picture to the younger painters who so frequently copied it during the Counter-Reformation years.

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Notes

- <u>Alessandro de' Medici</u> (1535; Philadelphia, Museum) and <u>Niccolò</u> <u>Ardinghelli</u> (ca. 1540-1543; Washington, National Gallery). The <u>Maria Salviati</u> (Florence, Uffizi) can no longer be regarded as an autograph work by Pontormo.
- 2. Probes have been made in the choir of S. Lorenzo to ascertain if traces remain beneath the present visible surface but no affirmative result has been announced. See ELENA CILETTI, 'On the Destruction of Pontormo's Frescoes at S. Lorenzo and the possibility that parts remain,' <u>The Burlington Magazine</u> CXXI [1979], p. 770, n. 34.
- 3. For the cycle, now divided between the Palazzo Vecchio and the Palazzo del Quirinale, see CANDACE ADELSON, in PAOLA BAROCCHI, <u>Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo medicei, Firenze</u> <u>e la Toscana dei Medici nell' Europa del Cinquecento</u>, Florence [1980], pp. 52-63, cat. 80-99. For Pontormo's <u>Lamentation of</u> <u>Jacob</u> and <u>Benjamin at the Court of the Pharaoh</u> (both Quirinale) and the studies for them, see JANET COX-REARICK, <u>The Drawings</u> <u>of Pontormo</u>, Cambridge, Mass. [1964]; expanded ed. New York [1981], pp. 315-18; and ADELSON, cat. 83 and 93. The <u>Temptation</u> of Joseph (cat. 84) is also assigned by some critics to Pontormo.
- 4. Panel; 45 x 30 cm.; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Dr. Alfred Bader ______collection (since 1979). The work_was_previously in the collection of Dr. E. Shapiro, London (from the Christie's sale of 30

October 1942, with a provenance from the Spanish Art Gallery, Ltd. [Tomás Harris]).

5. MARY PITTALUGA, 'Per un quadro smarrito del Pontormo,' <u>L'Arte</u> IV [1933], pp. 354-66, lists and briefly comments on twelve of these copies. Her list is repeated here (with updated locations, if known).

The following belong to public collections: Florence, Villa Poggio Imperiale (now Florence, Gallerie, Depositi inv. 425); Florence, Galleria Pitti (from Villa Castello, where it was seen by FREDERICK M. CLAPP, Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo, His Life and Work, New Haven [1916], p. 217); Munich, Alte Pinakothek (inv. WAF 776); Hampton Court, Collection of Her Majesty the Queen (partial copy); and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 90.165; dated 1561 in the background episode). To Pittaluga's list may be added: Florence, Uffizi, Depositi (see LUCIANO BERTI, <u>Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale</u>, Florence [1979], Pl261; from the Ferroni collection inv. 117, listed at the Cenacolo di Foligno by CLAPP, op. cit., p. 201); and Florence, _ Uffizi, Depositi (partial copy; see BERTI, op. cit., Pl253, _ from the Vaj Geppy collection).

The following versions were listed by Pittaluga as in private hands: Florence, Galleria Ferroni [sic] (see above, Florence, Uffizi); Florence, Bardi-Serzelli collection; Sesto Fiorentino, Villa <u>Giucciardini</u>-Corsi-Salviati (passed to Florence, R. Ravà collection, exhibited <u>Mostra dell'Antiquariato</u>, Palazzo Grassi, Venice, 1962, pl. XXXV); Milan, Galleria Pesaro (Augusto Lurati collection sale, April 18-21, 1928, pl. 16); Berlin, private collection; Richmond, Cook collection (partial copy); and Oxford, Vernon Watney collection (sold Christie's, 23 June 1967, lot 20). To this list may be added: New York, Nicholas M. Acquavella (from the Ferrari and Frascione collections; exhibited at Naples and Florence [but there wrongly indicated as having come from the Ferroni collection], see below, n. 7, passed to the Acquavella Galleries, New York, in 1967. We are grateful to Dott.essa Silvia Meloni Trkulja for assistance in clarifying the histories of the versions in the Florence Galleries.

6. Panel; 120 x 102 cm. This version was exhibited at the <u>Mostra</u> <u>del Pontormo</u>, Florence, Palazzo Strozzi [1956], no. 67, pl. LX; and is the most frequently reproduced of the copies. It was referred to by Morelli, in a slightly equivocal phrase [I. LERMOLIEFF, <u>Die Werke Italienische Meister . .</u>, Leipzig, 1880, 85: " . . . Jacopo da Pontormo, ist in einem Madonnenbild (No. 4490 . . . ebenfalls gut vertreten."] which has been taken as an indication of Morelli's belief in its originality. It was also considered original ("signiertes spätwerk") by FRITZ GOLDSCHMIDT, <u>Pontormo, Rosso und Bronzino</u>, Leipzig [1911], p. 47. The Munich picture seems in fact to be superior to almost all the other copies, but it is harsh and insensitive by comparison with the present fragment. 7. Panel; 125,8 x 102,9 cm. Longhi's opinion was cited when this version (then in the Frascione collection, Florence) was exhibited, <u>Fontainebleau e la Maniera italiana</u>, Naples [1952], no. 11, pl. 11; and at the Mostra del Pontormo, no. 68, pl. 61. In a letter dated 29 September 1951 to the owners of the picture, Longhi declared:

Firenze, 28 Sett. 1951

Gent. Signore,

Questa sua tavola (cm. 119 1/2 x 40 1/2) di "Madonna col Bambino" e nello sfondo, sulla destra, sui gradini di una porta, San Guiseppe con San Giovannino e altre figure, ci rivela finalmente l'originale di una composizione nota per numerose derivazioni e talvolta ritenuta anche del Bronzino.

L'original ora riapparso non lascia alcun dubbio sull'artista che lo eseguì; trattasi certamente del <u>Pontormo</u>, in una delle sue creazioni piu personali e affascinanti.

(new paragraph)

Il dipinto e dunque databile con grande verosimiglianza nel quinquennio 1520-1525.

Mi creda

Roberto Longhi

Longhi's judgement is so patently implausible that it must be one of those intentional extravagances which the great man occasionally allowed himself, and of which it is difficult to believe that he was not indulging in a leg-pull.

- 8. See CARLO GAMBA, <u>Il Pontormo</u>, Florence [1921], pp. 13-14; PITTALUGA, op. cit., p. 358. Gamba gives no date, but says that the picture "corresponds to the style of the maturity of Jacopo".
- 9. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 279-80: "Onde il Rossino muratore . . . ebbe da lui, per pagamento d'avergli mattonato alcune stanze e fatto altri muramenti, un bellissimo quadro di Nostra Donna, il quale facendo Jacopo, tanto sollecitava e lavorava in esso, quanto il muratore faceva nel murare." Vasari goes on to relate that the picture was bought by Ottaviano de' Medici.
- 10. LONGHI, in <u>Fontainebleau e la Maniera italiana</u>, no. 11. The "quotation" from Vasari is actually Gamba's description of the Madonna picture with which we are concerned (op. cit., pp. 13-14).

Longhi gives the date 1520-1525 in the letter cited above in n. 7.

- 11. LUISA BECHERUCCI, <u>Manieristi toscani</u>, Bergamo [1944], p. 20 (implied dating of this work in a "gusto michelangiolesco"); LUCIANO BERTI, in <u>Mostra del Pontormo</u>, no. 67; and CARLO GAMBA, Contributo alla conoscenza del Pontormo, Florence [1956], p. 13.
- 12. Although Pontormo bought the lot for his house in via Laura in 1529 (CLAPP, op. cit., p. 57, App. II, Doc. 21), he began to build only in 1534 (Doc. 23). Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 279, states that it was the money he received from the <u>Venus and</u> <u>Cupid</u> for Bettini and for the portrait of Alessandro de' Medici (datable 1535) that he used for his house. The story of Rossino's help and the gift of the <u>Madonna</u> follows. The Catasto of 1545 (mentioned by Clapp, p. 68, n. 58) indicates that the house was finished in 1536 (see ASF, Catasto, Libro a Parte, no. 11, f. 448 sinistra); however, Rossino may well have continued work after this date.
- 13. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 288: "Furono dopo la costui morte trovati in casa sua molti disegni, cartoni e modelli di terra bellissimi; ed un quadro di Nostra Donna stato da lui molto ben condotto, per quello si vide, e con bella maniera, molti anni innanzi; il quale fu venduto poi dagli eredi suoi a Piero Salviati."

- 14. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 284: "Ma tornando a'suoi soliti lavori [after the tapestry cartoons of ca. 1545-46], fece un quadro di Nostra Donna, che fu dal duca donato al signor don . . . [blank], che lo portò in Ispagna." Vasari then begins his discussion of the San Lorenzo fresco cycle, begun in 1546.
- 15. It is of course not impossible that Cosimo gave the Spaniard a copy, retaining the original in Florence. The question must remain moot for lack of evidence, but there were other instances when copies were sent to Spain by the Duke, such as the copy of a Leonardo <u>Madonna</u> by Bronzino given to the Duke of Altimira by Eleonora da Toledo.
- 16. Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe 6593F recto and 6748F (COX-REARICK, op. cit., cat. 347 and 321. For general stylistic similarities, see also, among others, the Careggi studies, COX-REARICK, cat. 314, 316; study for a Venus(?) figure, cat. 327; and several of the studies for S. Lorenzo, cat. 350ff.
- 17. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 280. The others were a copy of the Cardinal Guilio from Raphael's Leo X and the Cardinals and a Crucifixion.
- 18. Besides PITTALUGA (see n. 8), others have advanced a date after 1540 for the work: see GOLDSCHMIDT, op. cit., p. 47; CLAPP, pp. 217, 223 (1540-1550); K. W. FORSTER, <u>Pontormo</u>, Munich [1966], cat. 34 (1540-1543); and, in a reversal of opinion, LUCIANO

BERTI, Pontormo, Florence [1964], p. CLXX (1543-1545); and <u>idem</u>, <u>L'Opera completa del Pontormo</u>, Milan [1973], cat. 129 (ca. 1545, suggesting that our Madonna should be identified with the "Salviati" picture mentioned by Vasari (quoted n. 13 above).

- 19. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 280.
- See COSIMO CONTI, <u>La prima Reggia di Cosimo de' Medici</u> . . , Florence [1893], p. 34.
- 21. Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe 6629F; see COX-REARICK, op. cit., cat. 107A. The picture referred to is listed in the inventory of the collection of Cardinal Carlo (1596-1666, son of Ferdinando I, grandson of Cosimo I): ASF, Guardaroba 758, f. 27, no. 463 ("Uno quadro in asse alto b^{ra} 2 1/2 Largo b^{ra} 2 1/2 entrovi una Madonna con Giesù bambino et altre figure dicesi mano o copia di Jacopo da Puntormo con adornamento di noce e profilo d'oro").
- 22. Between Renaissance and Baroque, European Art 1520-1600, no. 187.
- But only inadequately; the material used appears to be an ochre paint.
- 24. These gilded corners were at some later time found inappropriate, and were painted out in a dark color matching the original back-

ground. The painting was in this state when it was exhibited at Manchester. The carpentry involved in the substitution of the original corners is elaborate, and includes what appears to be a curious piece of mortise-work, of which the diagonal cut is visible in both the simulated gold areas and on the rear of the panel behind them. It may be speculated that the reason for this complicated surgery was to eliminate, more than mere overpaint would have done, the trace that would have appeared (in the upper right corner of the sawed-out fragment) of the descending line of the wall behind the Madonna's head. The cutting out of the fragment and the accompanying alterations could be, from visual inspection, of considerable age, likely of the seventeenth century. It appears that the fragmentary panel may have been thinned down at the time of its extraction, very roughly (as if with an adze), to an average depth of 1.5 centimeters; this is less than the expected thickness of a panel of the dimensions of the lost original.

- 26. See MILLARD MEISS, "The Madonna of Humility," Art Bulletin L
 [1936], pp. 435, 448, who points out that in late Madonnas
 of Humility the child is rarely shown suckling and that the

fact that the Madonna is seated on the ground no longer had the specific and special meaning that it had earlier. Pontormo's Madonna is akin to two previous Cinquecento Florentine Madonnas of this type, both part of Holy Family groups--Andrea del Sarto's Borgherini <u>Holy Family</u>, a rare sixteenth-century example of the typical nursing motif, and Michelangelo's Doni tondo, the derivation of Pontormo's work from which is made quite clear by the adaptation of the Madonna's arm as that of the child in the later work.

- 27. The book is blank in the copies except in the Munich version in which one reads in the midst of indecipherable lines IACOPO / DAPON / NO; and, in the left margin, the capitals Q / N / O.
- 28. When this group has been mentioned the child has invariably been identified as the little St. John the Baptist and (except by BERTI, op. cit., 1973, cat. 129) the woman as St. Elizabeth.
- 29. The most notable example is the Mérode Altarpiece. For the symbolism of Joseph's tools in relation to the theme of Joseph's role in the incarnation by his deception of the devil, see MEYER SHAPIRO, "'Muscipula Diaboli,' The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece," Art Bulletin XXVII [1945], pp. 182-87; and CHARLES I. MINOTT, "The Theme of the Mérode Altarpiece," Art Bulletin LI [1969], pp. 267-71.

- 30. The nails in the pail are clearly delineated in most copies of Pontormo's work; however, in some of the versions they have been rendered as flowers! In this connection it is of interest that St. Joseph was occasionally paired with Joseph of Arimathea in the theme of the "Two Josephs," as in Gian Francesco Maineri's <u>Madonna with Sts. Joseph and Joseph of Arimathea</u> (Cranford Manor), in which Joseph holds his carpenter's square and Joseph of Arimathea the three nails of the Crucifixion.
- 31. See above, n. 29. The most fervent advocate of a Joseph cult was Jean Gerson (1363-1429), chancellor of the University of Paris, who emphasized the moral, familial virtues of the saint, his humble trade, his role as the "guardian of the mystery of the incarnation," and his youth (see SHAPIRO, op. cit., pp. 184-85). For Joseph the carpenter as an exemplum of humility, see also the <u>Meditations on the Life of Christ</u>, ed. I. RAGUSA and R.B. GREEN, Princeton [1961], pp. 69, 76.
- 32. MOLANUS, <u>De picturis et imaginibus sacris</u>, Louvain [1570], ch. LXII. For Joseph's glorification in the period of the Counter-Reformation, see L. REAU, <u>Iconographie de l'Art Chretien</u>, Paris [1956], III, pp. 754ff.
- 33. See RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE, The Building of Renaissance Florence, Baltimore and London [1980], pp. 249-72. The patron saints of the Maestri di Pietra e di Legname were, of course, the Quattro Coronati, but the carpenter's guild founded a Compagnia di San

Giuseppe.

Caption copy

- Fig. 1 Here attributed to Jacopo Pontormo. <u>Head of the</u> Madonna. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Dr. Alfred Bader.
- Fig. 2 Copy after Pontormo. Holy Family. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.
- Fig. 3 Copy after Pontormo. New York, N. M. Acquavella Galleries, from the Frascioni Collection.
- Fig. 4 After Pontormo. <u>Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh</u>. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale.
- Fig. 5 Joseph as Carpenter, detail of fig. 2.
- Fig. 6 Pontormo, study for the tapestry of <u>Benjamin at the</u> <u>Court of Pharaoh</u>, detail (enlarged). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 6593Fr.
- Fig. 7 Pontormo, <u>Three Graces</u>, detail (enlarged). Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stamper-6748F.
- Fig. 8 Pontormo, <u>Head of the Madonna</u>, infra-red photograph. Milwaukee, Bader Collection.



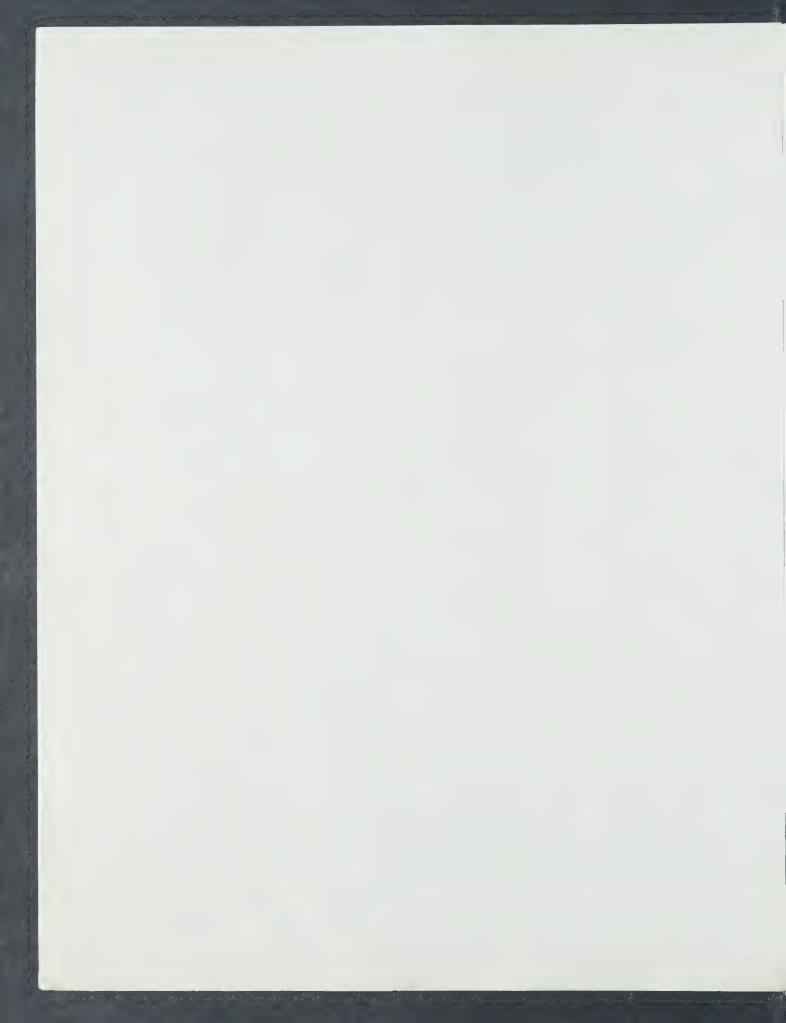


Pontormo Page 2

the paint nor the gesso drip or sag off the front plane onto the sides except at the upper left and right where there are recent additions.

The paint surface is generally in good condition. Best preserved are the halo, hair, ear, and the light sides of the Virgin's face and neck where there are only a few tiny, discrete losses. The shaded side of her face, originally painted very thinly, has been rubbed even thinner, leaving the uppermost glazes somewnat spotty and uneven. The red robe and greenish background each have numerous, fairly discrete losses. The changeant blue-purple mantle is in worst condition with numerous losses plus large areas (dark areas, like left of Virgin's neck) where a cooler layer of color is almost entirely gone, leaving brown underpaint exposed.

The cleaned painting was varnished with Talens Kembrandt Retouching Varnish. A few small losses or indentations were filled with beeswax. Inpainting was executed with dry pigments in a polyvinyl acetate medium and fixed with polyvinyl acetate spray varnish. Talens Rembrandt Picture Varnish was brushed on as the final coating.



INDIANA UNIVERSITY



SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS Fine Arts Building Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Oct. 8, 1984

Dr. Alfred Bader, Chairman Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Dear Dr. Bader:

I just returned from Minneapolis to find your letter waiting for me.

I reported our general reflectography findings to your wife, and I will send copies of our comments along with the contact sheets of the photographs we took as soon as they are ready (within several weeks, I presume). It was possible to detect underdrawing in the Pontormo: there is quite a bit of shading in the face (some visible to the naked eye, in fact). Our results seem to be more detailed than the infrared photograph which was published in the <u>Burlington Magazine</u>. I trained the camera only for a moment on the Fetti and the Terbrugghen, but long enough to realize that we were not penetrating the surface paint (either too thick, or painted on a dark background). I also examined the little Master I.S. and found that the figures were painted on top of the finished architectural background, and I took a reflectogram to document this.

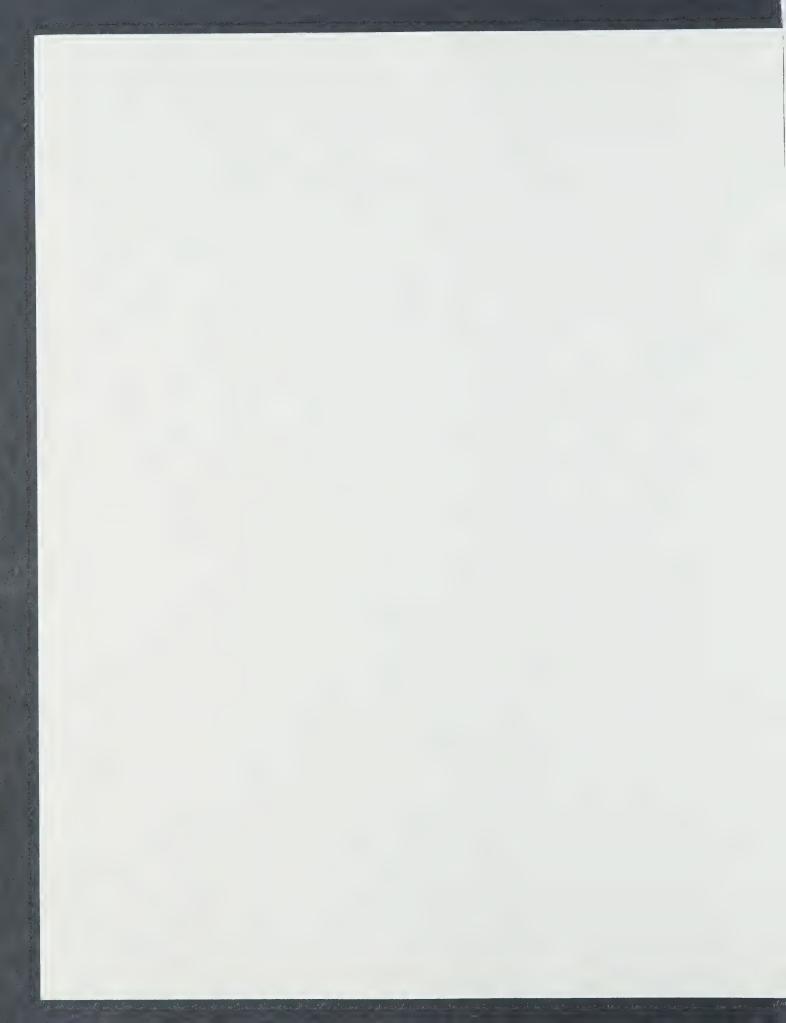
Our visit to Milwaukee was made so much more pleasant by the time you took with Cathleen Hoeniger and myself, not only by inviting us to dinner but also by your obvious interest in acquiring more information about your paintings.

I have given Professor Bruce Cole and Heidi Gealt, our museum curator, Mrs. Middeldorf's comments. Heidi Gealt may contact you about your Fetti, in fact. They would welcome you in Bloomington as much as I; we will see what's possible to arrange in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

molly Farins

Molly Faries, Associate Professor



Christie's

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REGISTERED IN ENGLAND NO. 1128160 Please quote in all correspondence Ref. JH/Spr

10th September 1984

Dear Mr. Bader,

I am so sorry that you were sent constant reminders regarding the payment for the sale July 25th 1984. As you rightly mention, your letter containing the cheque remained unopened on my desk until my return on August 27th. My Dyson, who is in charge of the accounts section, also sends his personal apologies and confirms that all is in order.

As regards to the painting "Pontormo", I think I have managed to trace it. We sold a collection of paintings etc. on July 21, 1950 described as follows :

The Collection of Alan G. Fenwick, Esq. removed from Thurlestone House, Cheltenham. Lot 121 SARTO The Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John On Panel, 37 x 30 From the Collection of W. Hope Northwick 1657 (you stated 1557) sold for 35 Guineas to David Koetzer.

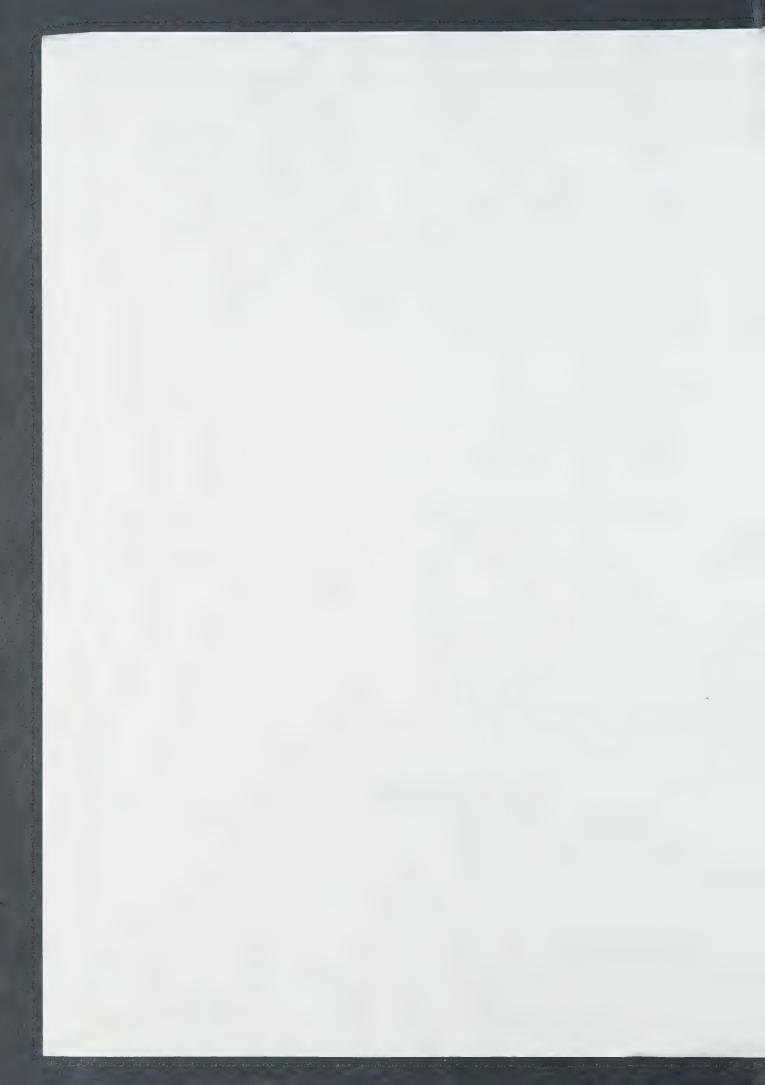
Hope this helps with your researches.

My regards to you both.

Yours sincerely,

am Hancol.

J. Hancock



MATTHIESEN GALLERY

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Alfred Bader Esq. Aldrick Chemical Company Inc. P. O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 USA

20 August 1984

Dear Mr. Bader,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 13th of August. Beautiful though the small 'Head' attributed to Pontormo is, the fact that it is a fragment creates a certain problem. Your Bronzino sounds interesting, especially as we have an outstanding early work by the artist at the moment.

We look forward to receiving your photograph of the picture.

Yours sincerely,

atrich beth

Patrick Matthiesen, Director

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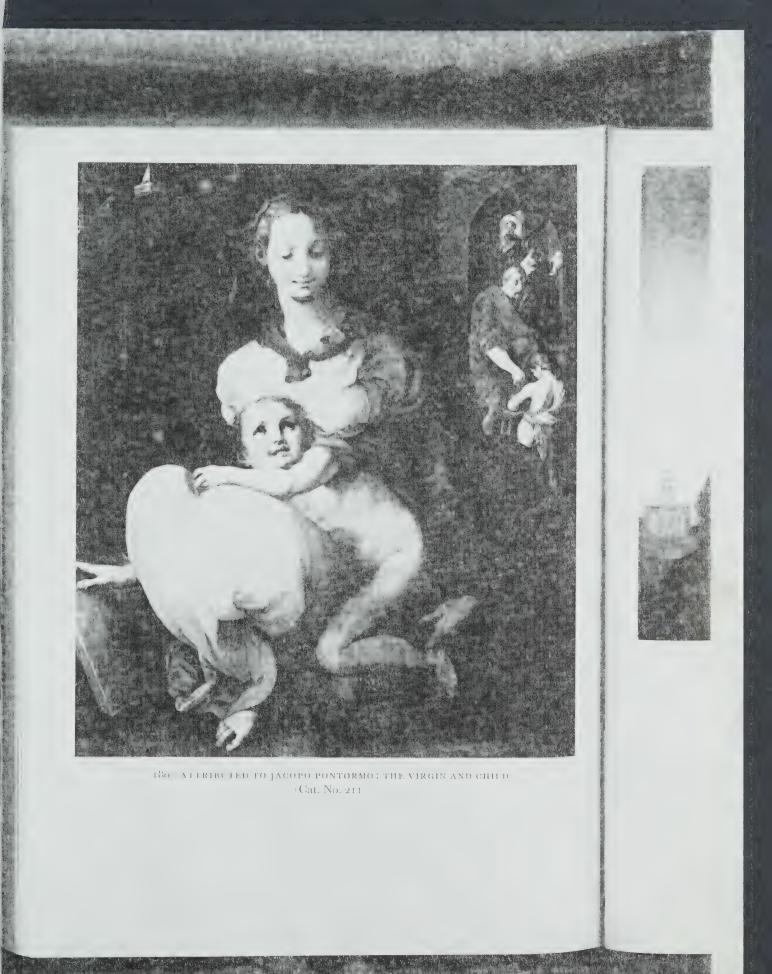
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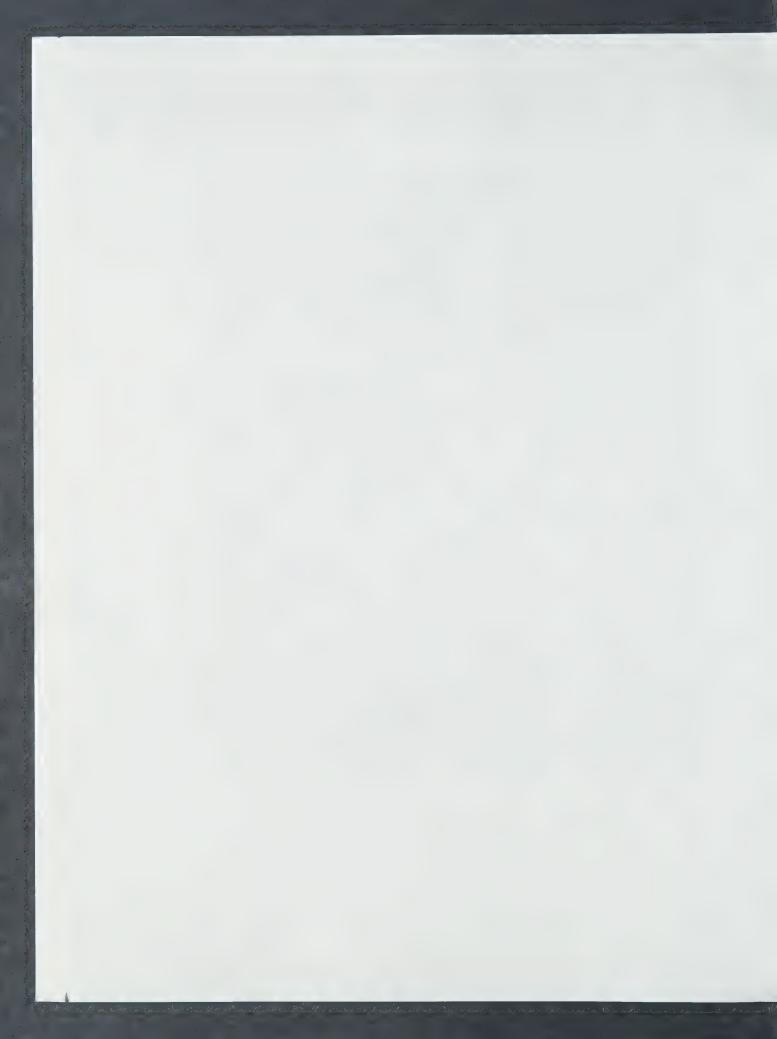
Aldrich Chemical Co., Inc.

VALUE AND STRUCTURE AV 22

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ix) Formerly nbury; panel, 3 June 1967 tti (in store IL. C. 120 X 102 li-Serzelli Col-(xii) Formerly ale. Galleria [1926 (106)); io Fiorentino. ti. (xiv) Forction; panel, Christie's, 2 R. Ravà Colage (in store). wiii) Cracow, 74.5 × 60 cm. **kx**) Anderson erly London, 's head only; chester, 1965

with a Baptist

ie has proved by Pontormo. 's by Morelli foldschmidt, zig, 1911), p. the best, but alian artist; 1921), p. 13, saw in it the her opinion ontormo by logue), and Naples cataversion has I technique. ormo (Milan, own versions

was cleaned remely solid tost flawless vidth joined ng channels driven from of the best ore 1974 No. isfigured; it ter seriously quality. The f a marked tical grain, almost throughout, and of the surface wear of a delicate and vulnerable technique. The Virgin and Child is in most parts very thinly painted, and the transparency is such that underdrawing is clearly visible (most obviously in the Christ Child's arm and the Virgin's head). The blue middle-tones of the Virgin's veil and robe, and of Joseph's coat, have suffered a breakdown of the medium which produces an effect like ultramarine sickness: these half-tones are glazed over now-transparent brownish shadows. The Virgin's darkgreen sleeve is very thinly glazed, partly hatched, over a pale-brown ground. In contrast the Virgin's dress is a denser, almost enamel-like, cinnabar. Some old repainting remains over the much-damaged skyline, obscuring details of towers and roofs.

Some *pentimenti* visible to the naked eye are clarified by a radiograph and infra-red photography (Courtauld Institute, XA 1355, RA 298). There are adjustments to several profiles, the more important ones occurring in the dress on the Virgin's right shoulder, in the Child's left shoulder (a very sharp accentuation of the muscles, followed in all other versions and in the position of His foot (initially more inclined); there are changes in the level of Joseph's stool, in the position of a small window in the lower wall by the left margin, and the paper in the Child's hand is painted over the Virgin's dress. Most significantly there is a change in the Virgin's expression: the eyes were first painted looking more forward than down. The break in the left profile of the doorframe, to be found in almost all versions, was made at a late stage in this one.

No. 211 has hitherto always been regarded as a copy; Clapp, and following him Collins Baker, placed it in the workshop of Alessandro Allori, whose technique it in no way resembles. Law, who accepted with scepticism the earlier attribution to Bronzino, was perhaps the first to recognize that the design was Pontormo's but followed Morelli's identification of (v) above, as the original. The recent cleaning and laboratory examination of the picture have made it less easily dismissed as a copy, without producing conclusive evidence that it must be the lost original; the *pentimenti* apparently make a strong point in favour of its being the original but in the case of an artist trained in the workshop of Andrea del Sarto, as Pontormo was, such changes must be interpreted with caution. As with Andrea's paintings (compare No. 5, above) the issue must be

Catalogue no. 211 203

resolved vin the absence of documents and complete provenance) principally by a judgement of technique and quality. In my view No. 211 now appears, after its condition is taken into account, of convincingly Pontormesque technique, resembling in this respect especially the Saint Jerome in Hanover (c. 1530) and the Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (1534-5), two pictures generally accepted as autograph and in similarly worn condition. It is expressively effective where the other versions are not, particularly in the better-preserved head of the Christ Child; and the group in the background comes well out of a comparison with figures on a similar scale in the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand (Palazzo Pitti) and in the background of the Visitation at Carmignano, both 1529-30.

At first sight it would seem that a careful analysis of such a large number of versions should produce a definitive specification, based on consistently-recorded detail, for the original; unfortunately this approach is also inconclusive. There is, for example, no writing visible now on the book in No. 211, whereas a few other versions have some ((iv), (v), (xv)). (xvii)); but in each it is different. In any case the repctition of identical detail may only show that some pictures are copies of copies. This kind of examination produces, however, one point which may stand against No. 211 being the prime original: that in this version the dark framing of the round arch has a reverse curve. at the apex, like an ogee, which is very characteristic of Florentine doors and windows, and this detail (which is not a restorer's distortion) is followed in only one other version (ix). On the other hand the details of buildings in the background may come closest of all to actuality (the next most convincing in this respect is probably (iii)). Law remarked that "The Bargello, Duomo and other buildings in Florence are in the background', and it seems that in principle he was right, although the detail in no version has the topographical accuracy of, for example, the veduta in Vasari's Alessandro de' Medici (Uffizi). It can hardly be doubted that the campanile with spire-like top against the left margin is that of the Badia, the dome with lantern, bell and cross is presumably that of the Duomo seen from a low viewpoint, but summarily described, and the tower between is in that case in the position of that of the Bargello, with, however, a capping like that of Palazzo Vecchio. This central complex



likely period of its execution. correct; the first half of the 1530s is the most stylistic character of No. 211 and the comto indicate that the earlier date is more nearly parative material it suggests seem consistently difficult and controversial; nevertheless the from the late 1520s to his death in 1556 is Berti (in exh. cat., Florence (1956), p. 39) put it c. 1530. The chronology of Pontormo's works toscani (Bergamo, 1944), p. 20) and Luciano (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 317) and Forster, whereas Luisa Becherucci (Manieristi Janet Cox Rearick (The Drawings of Pontormo a divergence of opinion as to the date of the lost other known version. In the past there has been 1540, and was followed by Mary Pittaluga, picture: Clapp placed it in the decade after grounds of quality are better than those of any revealed that it may be, and that its claims on would be unjustified; but the cleaning has lost original of Pontormo's most copied picture

Passion. given to Him a moment earlier by the Baptist; ally Ecce Agnus Dei) on the paper in His hand, the latter's grapes must also symbolize the but also of His reading a message (conventionis the result not only of her reading the book current of thought between Virgin and Child Gatta, c. 1590-8). Thus it would seem that the subject of Federico Barocci's Madonna della interrupted at his carpentry, is explicitly the Baptist's to Christ's, with Saint Joseph paid by one Holy Family to the other (the and in that case the moment is during a visit book, is probably his mother Saint Elizabeth. then the older woman in the arch, reading a grapes, is properly recognized as the Baptist, turned, offering Saint Joseph a basket of particular occasion; if the young boy with back hand the group in the background suggests a followed by Andrea del Sarto. On the other seated on the ground; the type had also been the one hand this is a late survival of the little or no comment, yet it is very unusual. On Madonna of Humility' type with the Virgin The subject in this composition has received

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18.8 1

Giulio Cesare Procaccini

Son of a Bolognese painter Ercole Procaccini, or Percaccini (1520-95), born in Bologna in

> mythologies and a landscape. humous inventory of his studio lists portraits, works, much influenced by Camillo and by a He is best known for large-scale religious personal study of Parmigianino; but a postfor Carlo Doria in Genoa, but made his will in Milan in 1625 and died there the same year, Duomo. From 1618 he worked for some years paint six Miracles of San Carlo Borromeo for the Sforzesco). In 1610 he was commissioned to of a chapel in the Broletto, Milan, in 1605 (three paintings are now in the Castello known commission is for part of the decoration Federico Zuccaro's, 1603-4, but his first as a painter is already attested by a letter of recorded as sculptor in 1616). His reputation marble in the Duomo, in 1591-9 (he is still and is first recorded in Milan, working in Giulio Cesare began his career in sculpture, outer sons settled there in 1585-6

212. THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ANGELS (Plate 182

Hampton Court (1198). Panel: 116.5 \times 71.2 \times 1.2 cm, 45 $_8^7 \times 28 \times \frac{1}{2}$ in. (excluding modern protective strips on all sides.)

The Virgin kneeling, looking down to the Christ Child, whom she supports with her left hand while holding a bunch of roses in her right; He is seen from the back, standing on His left foot, twisting to look up to the left; Saint Joseph, in shadow over the Virgin's right shoulder, offers Him an apple; two heads of angels upper right; dark background.

Provenance: From the Melzi Collection, Milan; on the back a large 53 in black paint and the green wax scal of the Ufficio esportazione di Milano; acquired by Prince Albert through Gruner in 1845 and placed in the Waiting-Room in the Household Wing at Osborne (*Calalogue* (1876), No. 632); removed to Buckingham Palace in April 1902 (1920 catalogue (91)); to Hampton Court in 1947.

Literature: Cust (1909), p. 58; H. Brigstocke, in Burl. Mag., vol. cxv1 (1974), p. 692.

There are two paintings with a closely-related but not identical composition, one in the Gallery at Dresden (643), panel, 162 × 107 cm, the other a small canvas in the National Museum in Poznań (830) which is probably a copy; a third, a small panel, in the Art

> and crystallized varnish, and its condition is not easily defined. The darkest parts are generally subject to the kind of breakdown associated with bituminous paint-films; the most obvious paint-loss is associated with a split in the lower left corner of the panel. All the edges are damaged and restored; those to right and left have the appearance of being cut, and the versions at Dresden and Poznań confirm the impression that the composition would most naturally be wider. The roses seem alien in technique to the rest of the picture, but they are more likely to be the contribution of a specialist regularly employed in the workshop than a later addition.

The traditional attribution is quite clearly correct, and No. 212 is qualitatively among the best of Giulio Cesare Procaccini's works, sharper in handling than most because it is a panel-painting. The artist's Emilian sources, especially in Correggio and Parmigianino, are especially evident, and this is presumably a rather early painting, c_1 1610; it seems closer to the canvases in the Chapel of the Virgin in Sant'Antonio Abate in Milan (c_1 1612), especially the *Visitation*, than the more brittle and linear later style.

The symbols of apple and roses recur frequently in *Madonnas* and *Holy Families* by Procaccini – for example, in two in Munich: the apple usually refers to Christ's rôle as the Second Adam, or in other words as Redeemer, while the roses are either symbols of the Passion or the proper attributes of the Virgin herself.

Domenico Puligo

Domenico di Bartolomeo degli Ubaldini, known as Puligo, born 1492, died in Florence 1527; trained principally by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, but subsequently much influenced by the early style (c. 1512-14) of Andrea del Sarto, with whose works his have been confused; there is some confusion also, less easily explained, between Domenico's works and those of the Sienese Andrea del Brescianino. Domenico's style is probably variable over a limited range, distinguished by a strongly atmospheric interpretation of Andrea del Sarto's giumato; but it must be recognized that very little is known of his own earliest works, and

September , i. and is certails & Red Sleves (195 - as Andra inventory, 1bg and that Henrietta Ma up at Colomic about her ned was probably others on 23 0. London; No.s Cosnac (188, Somerset Haus September 16 was among England in ; essere mano incirca largo portrait may b to have been che porta in described as Indrea agl Wittkower present to (Cardinal Fin removed from stimato sc. 10 Sarto, alto p. d una giovas Cardinal di rose-pink s berrettino, e ground. and black dark-brow Bust-lengti 344): Laviturban-like grain), 1.5 with old b trescoed ta Florence, Zanobi. and Saints Hampton Co PON pice E



204 Pontormo · Giulio Cesare Procaccini · Domenico Puligo

is seen at some distance from the south-east, over the roof-tops among which is an *altana*, supported on a column, towards the right.

It is clear that to assert that No. 211 is the lost original of Pontormo's most copied picture would be unjustified; but the cleaning has revealed that it may be, and that its claims on grounds of quality are better than those of any other known version. In the past there has been a divergence of opinion as to the date of the lost picture: Clapp placed it in the decade after 1540, and was followed by Mary Pittaluga, Janet Cox Rearick (The Drawings of Pontormo (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 317) and Forster, whereas Luisa Becherucci (Manieristi toscani (Bergamo, 1944), p. 20) and Luciano Berti (in exh. cat., Florence (1956), p. 39) put it c. 1530. The chronology of Pontormo's works from the late 1520s to his death in 1556 is difficult and controversial; nevertheless the stylistic character of No. 211 and the comparative material it suggests seem consistently to indicate that the earlier date is more nearly correct; the first half of the 1530s is the most likely period of its execution.

The subject in this composition has received little or no comment, yet it is very unusual. On the one hand this is a late survival of the 'Madonna of Humility' type with the Virgin seated on the ground; the type had also been followed by Andrea del Sarto. On the other hand the group in the background suggests a particular occasion; if the young boy with back turned, offering Saint Joseph a basket of grapes, is properly recognized as the Baptist, then the older woman in the arch, reading a book, is probably his mother Saint Elizabeth; and in that case the moment is during a visit paid by one Holy Family to the other (the Baptist's to Christ's, with Saint Joseph interrupted at his carpentry, is explicitly the subject of Federico Barocci's Madonna della Gatta, c. 1590-8). Thus it would seem that the current of thought between Virgin and Child is the result not only of her reading the book but also of His reading a message (conventionally Ecce Agnus Dei) on the paper in His hand, given to Him a moment earlier by the Baptist; the latter's grapes must also symbolize the Passion.

Giulio Cesare Procaccini

Son of a Bolognese painter Ercole Procaccini, or Percaccini (1520-95), born in Bologna in

1574, died in Milan 1625; his elder brothers Camillo and Carlo Antonio were also painters. Camillo was the first to move to Milan; Ercole and his other sons settled there in 1585-6. Giulio Cesare began his career in sculpture, and is first recorded in Milan, working in marble in the Duomo, in 1591-9 (he is still recorded as sculptor in 1616). His reputation as a painter is already attested by a letter of Federico Zuccaro's, 1603 4, but his first known commission is for part of the decoration of a chapel in the Broletto, Milan, in 1605 (three paintings are now in the Castello Sforzesco). In 1610 he was commissioned to paint six Miracles of San Carlo Borromeo for the Duomo. From 1618 he worked for some years for Carlo Doria in Genoa, but made his will in Milan in 1625 and died there the same year. He is best known for large-scale religious works, much influenced by Camillo and by a personal study of Parmigianino; but a posthumous inventory of his studio lists portraits, mythologies and a landscape.

212. THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ANGELS (*Plate 182*)

Hampton Court (1198). Panel: 116.5 \times 71.2 \times 1.2 cm, $45_8^7 \times 28 \times \frac{1}{2}$ in. (excluding modern protective strips on all sides).

The Virgin kneeling, looking down to the Christ Child, whom she supports with her left hand while holding a bunch of roses in her right; He is seen from the back, standing on His left foot, twisting to look up to the left; Saint Joseph, in shadow over the Virgin's right shoulder, offers Him an apple; two heads of angels upper right; dark background.

Provenance: From the Melzi Collection, Milan; on the back a large 53 in black paint and the green wax seal of the Ufficio esportazione di Milano; acquired by Prince Albert through Gruner in 1845 and placed in the Waiting-Room in the Household Wing at Osborne (*Catalogue* (1876), No. 632); removed to Buckingham Palace in April 1902 (1920 catalogue (91)); to Hampton Court in 1947.

Literature: Cust (1909), p. 58; H. Brigstocke, in Burl. Mag., vol. cxvt (1974), p. 692

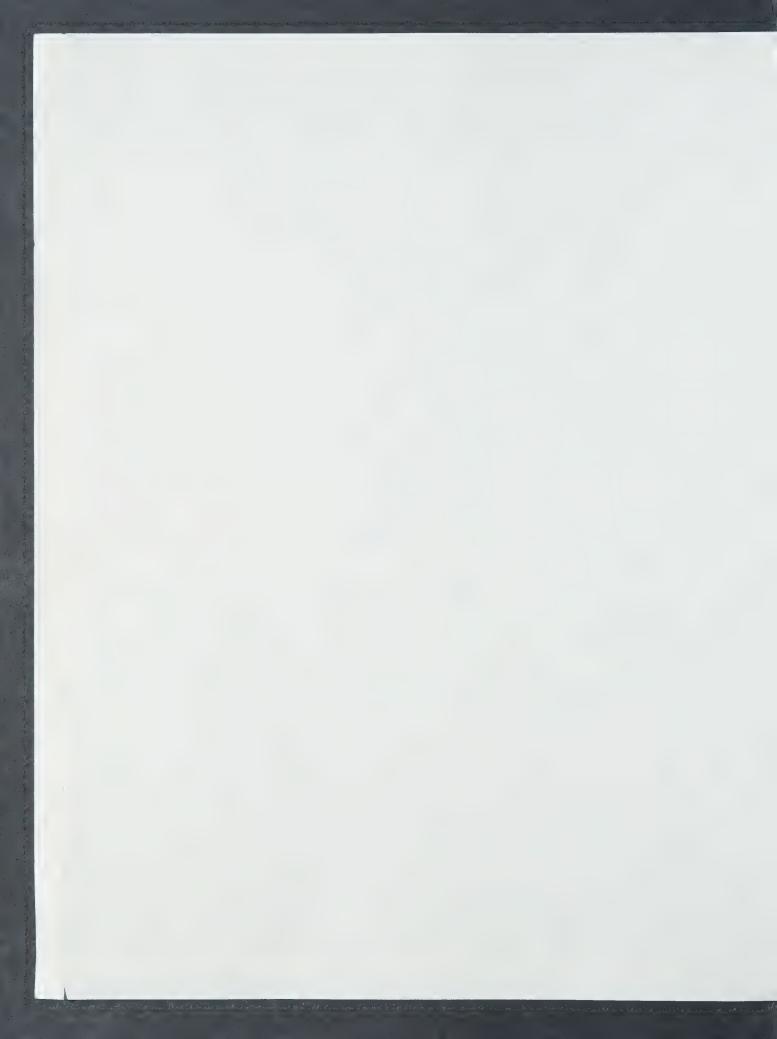
There are two paintings with a closely-related but not identical composition, one in the Gallery at Dresden (643), panel, 162×107 cm, the other a small canvas in the National Museum in Poznań (830) which is probably a copy; a third, a small panel, in the Art Institute, C and is prob No. 212 i and crystal not easily generally st associated most obvio split in the the edges a right and le and the v confirm the would most alien in tecl they are mi a specialist ! than a late

The trac¹ correct, and best of G sharper in panel-paint especially i rather early to the cany Sant'Antor especially t and linear The syst frequently Procaccini the apple i

the apple a Second Ad while the Passion or herself.

Domenia

Domenico known as I 1527; trai landaio, bu the early Sarto, with fused; thei explained, those of th. Domenico' limited rar mospheric *sfumato*; bu little is known



Catalogue nos. 198-211 201

209. A NYMPH, SATYRS AND PUTTI

Hampton Court (1191). Canvas (relined): 41.6×133.7 cm, $16\frac{8}{8} \times 52\frac{8}{5}$ in.

A copy of No. 203, above.

210. PUTTI WITH GOATS

Hampton Court (1193) Canvas (relined): 41.3×131.1 cm, $16\frac{1}{4} \times 51\frac{5}{8}$ in.

A copy of No. 204, above.

Provenance: Probably from the private collection of George V or Queen Mary; transferred from York House to Buckingham Palace on 21 October 1924 Jabels on back), and to Hampton Court in 1947.

This set of copies has a distinctly rococo quality and was apparently made in the eighteenth century, in England. The enlarged area, with respect to the originals, is made up by broad black edges.

Pontormo

Jacopo Carrucci da Pontorme, near Empoli, born 1494; he arrived in Florence, an orphan, c. 1507, and there received (if early sources are correct) a remarkably comprehensive training: with Leonardo (briefly), Piero di Cosimo, Albertinelli and finally Andrea del Sarto. whose style c. 1512-13 was certainly the principal inspiration for the earliest works of Pontormo known now (carnival decorations of 1513 and frescoes at SS. Annunziata of 1513-14). Although gifted with technical facility and such excellent training, Pontormo never found production easy, impeded in part at least by a fertile and restless invention. He was fortunate to be a favourite of the Medici, for whom he painted portraits and frescoes, notably the lunette Vertumnus and Pomona of 1520-1 in their villa at Poggio a Caiano, and whose patience he stretched in repeated decorative commissions thereafter, culminating in the frescoes of the choir of S. Lorenzo, unfinished at his death in 1556. He appears to have been in Rome briefly in 1520 or 1521, and left Florence again for the Certosa di Galluzzo 1523-5, principally to paint a fresco-cycle of the Passion in the cloister (unfinished); in these the admiration he shared with other Florentines

for Dürer's prints exercised an overwhelming influence. The next turning-point in his career came in 1531 2 when he was selected by Michelangelo to paint from his cartoons a *Noli me tangere* and a *Venus* (see below, No. 302), both of which survive. But from that point until his death the loss of almost all datable works makes Pontormo's career difficult to follow and chronology controversial. A diary of the period 1554-6 is a remarkably personal document which testifies to his idiosyncrasy and the loyal friendship of his former pupil Bronzino (see above, No. 55).

Attributed to Pontormo

211. THE VIRGIN AND CHILD (Plate 180)

Hampton Court (77). Panel (poplar : 122 × 102.5 × 3.5 cm, $48 \times 40^3_8 \times 1^3_8$ in.

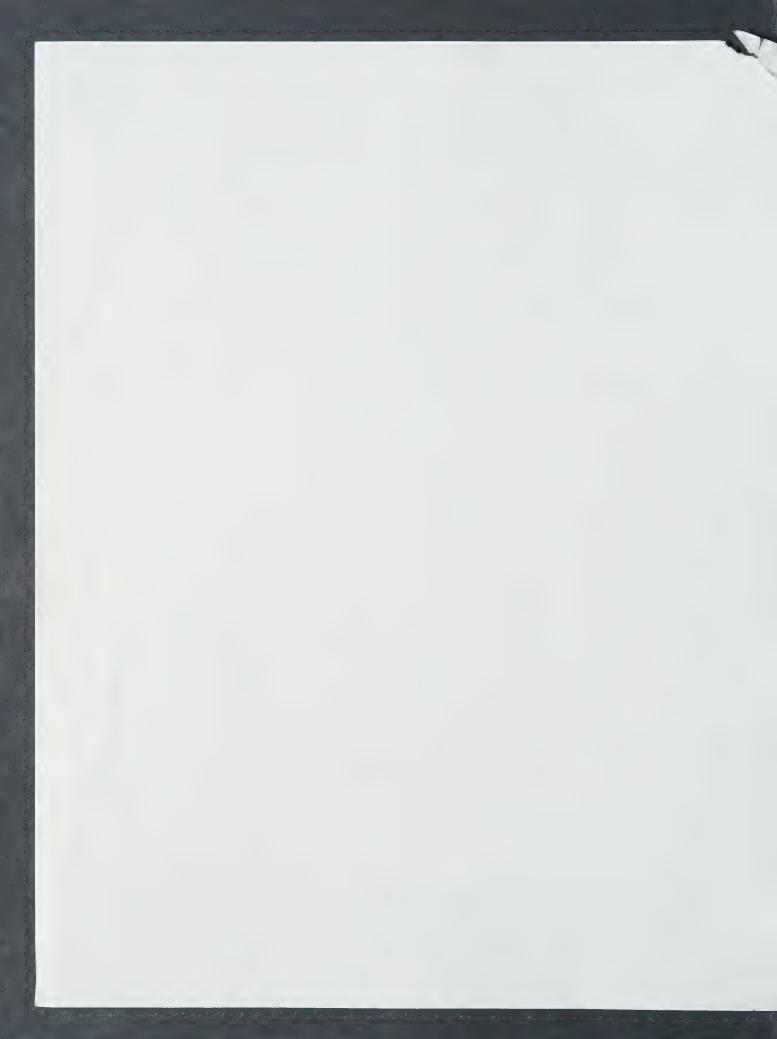
Full-length, the Virgin seated on the ground, her shoulders nearly frontal, her knees swung to the left; she supports with her right hand an open book resting on the ground, her left hand holds part of her robe and supports the naked Christ Child from beneath; He kneels on her robe to the right, leans across her knees and turns to look up to His left, His left hand holding a paper(?) on her knees; she wears an orange-red dress with dark-green sleeves, a dark-blue and brown veil and robe; the background is of houses and towers against a night-sky, with a gate in a wall to the right, in front of which is Joseph in a blue coat engaged in carpentry assisted by a boy (the Baptist? ; beyond and up three steps an old woman standing in the arch, reading a book, and in the distance a young girl ascending a stairway.

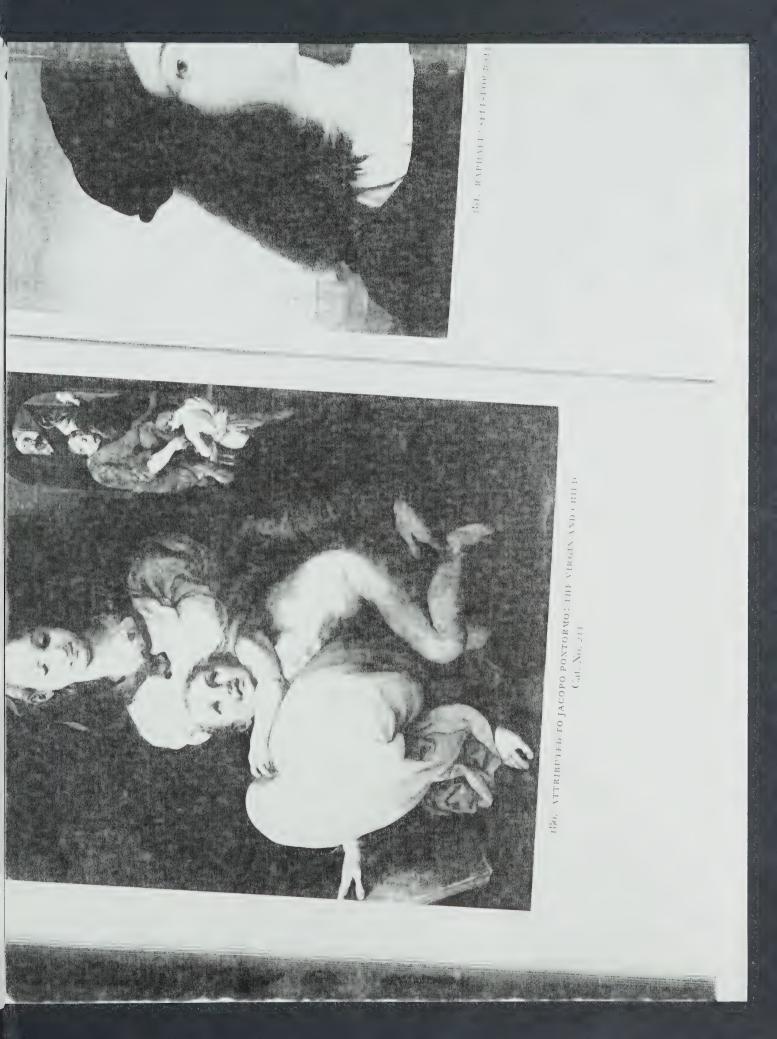
14

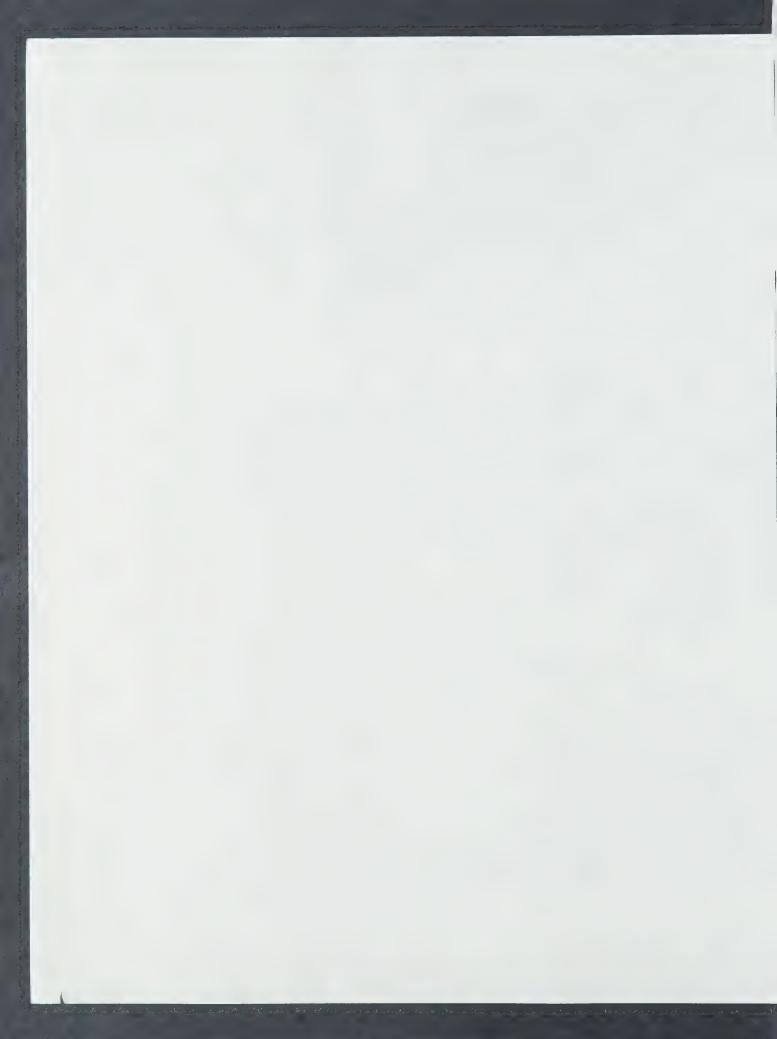
1

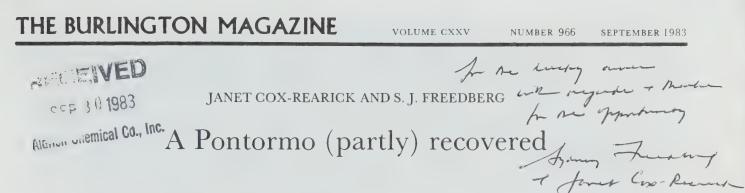
Provenance: Probably acquired either by Frederick, Prince of Wales, or by George III; first securely identifiable in the Kensington 1818 inventory (439), as by Andrea del Sarto, 48×40^{1} in.; at Hampton Court by 1835 (66), as by Bronzino, hung in the Second Presence Chamber; Redgrave's V.R. inventory, 31 December 1866, as by Bronzino. There are fragments of a seal bottom right which will never be intelligible.

Literature: Jamcson (1842), vol. 11, p. 306; Law (1881 and 1898), No. 249 [and addenda]; F. M. Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo* (New Haven, Conn., 1910), pp. 212, 217; Collins Baker (1929), p. 117; M. Pittaluga, in *L'Arte*, N.S. vol. IV (1933), p. 363; K. W. Forster, *Pontormo* (Munich, 1966), p. 153









TIME has treated no other great painter so harshly as Jacopo Pontormo. From the whole last guarter-century of his career only two works in painting remain to us, both in portraiture, which was for him a secondary genre.¹ His loggia frescoes at the Medicean villas of Careggi (1535-36) and Castello (1538-43), as well as the great fresco cycle in the choir of S. Lorenzo (1546-56), have vanished altogether,² leaving only Pontormo's ideas in drawing for them - considerable in number and remarkable in quality, but no evidence for his powers as a painter; the two tapestries made c.1545-46 from his design for the series meant to hang in the Sala dei Dugento of the Palazzo Vecchio obviously contain no trace of his hand.³ The reappearance of a painting from these late years is thus a matter of some significance, even if what has reappeared is only a fragment of a larger work. The whole painting from which the present fragment, a *Head of the Madonna* (Fig.1),⁴ comes has long been known from a large number of copies, most of them of sixteenth-century date and some of them of high quality.⁵ It has in the past been claimed for two of these that

³ For the cycle, now divided between the Palazzo Vecchio and the Palazzo del Quirinale, see CANDACE ADELSON, in PAOLA BAROCCHI: Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo medicei, Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell' Europa del Cinquecento, Florence [1980], pp.52-63, cat.80-99. For Pontormo's Lamentation of Jacob and Benjamin at the court of the Pharaoh (both Quirinale) and the studies for them, see JANET COX-REARICK: The Drawings of Pontormo, Cambridge, Mass. [1964], expanded ed. New York [1981], pp.315-18; and ADELSON, loc. cit., cat.83 and 93. The Temptation of Joseph (cat.84) is also assigned by some critics to Pontormo.

⁴ Panel; 45 by 30 cm; Dr Alfred Bader collection, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (since 1979). The work was previously in the collection of Dr E. Schapiro, London, from the Christie's sale of 30th October 1942, with a provenance from the Spanish Art Gallery, Ltd. (Tomás Harris).

⁵ MARY PITTALUGA: 'Per un quadro smarrito del Pontormo', L'Arte, IV [1933], pp.354-66, lists and briefly comments on twelve of these copies. Her list is repeated here (with updated locations, if known).

repeated here (with updated locations, if known). The following belong to public collections: Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence (now Gallerie, Florence, Depositi inv.425); Galleria Pitti, Florence, (from Villa Castello, where it was seen by FREDERICK M. CLAPP: Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo, His Life and Work, New Haven [1916], p.217); Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv.WAF 776); Hampton Court, Collection of Her Majesty the Queen (inv.77); and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (inv.90.165) dated 1561 in the background episode). To Pittaluga's list may be added: Uffizi, Florence, Depositi (see LUCIANO BERTI: Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale, Florence [1979], P1261; from the Ferroni collection inv.117; listed at the Cenacolo di Foligno by CLAPP, of. cit., p.201); and Uffizi, Florence, Depositi (partial copy; see BERTI, op. cit., P1253, from the Vaj Geppy collection).

The following versions were listed by Pittaluga as in private hands: Galleria Ferroni, Florence, (see above, Uffizi, Florence); Bardi-Serzelli collection, Florence; Villa Giucciardini-Corsi-Salviati, Sesto Fiorentino, (passed to R. Ravà collection, Florence, exhibited Mostra dell'Antiquariato, Palazzo Grassi, Venice [1962], PI.XXXV); Galleria Pesaro, Milan (Augusto Lurati collection sale, 18th-21st April 1928, Pl.16); private collection, Berlin; Cook collection, Rich-

they were not copies but Pontormo's original, but neither proposal has received serious assent. The first of these is the version in Munich (Alte Pinakothek, Fig.2), in which the inscription *IACOPO/DAPUN/NO* appears on the Madonna's book; this was claimed by Morelli (though not quite explicitly) and by Goldschmidt as Pontormo's.⁶ The second is a version now in New York, which was considered to be the original by Longhi (Fig.3).⁷

mond, (partial copy; sold Christie's, 2nd April 1948, I of 157); and Vernon Watney collection, Oxford, (sold Christie's, 23rd June 1967, lot 20). To this list may be added: Nicholas M. Acquavella, New York (from the Ferrari and Frascione collections; exhibited at Naples and Florence — but there wrongly indicated as having come from the Ferroni collection, see below, n.7 — passed to the Acquavella Galleries, New York in 1967). We are grateful to Dott.essa Silvia Meloni Trkulja for assistance in clarifying the histories of the versions in the Florence Galleries.

As this article goes to press, the authors have received a copy of the entry in John Shearman's new book The Pictures in the collection of Her Majesty The Queen: *The Early Italian Pictures* (see p. 557 for Ellis Waterhouse's review of this vol-ume) on the version of this design in that collection (No. 211, pp.201–04). Shearman there raises, very cautiously, the possibility that the Hampton Court Picture, always previously thought a copy, might instead be Pontormo's original. It appears that at the time of writing his catalogue entry Shearman knew the fragment we present only in an older photograph taken before cleaning. Shearman's entry contains eight additional items. One of these (vi) is actually Uffizi Cat. P1261 listed under its former location; another (xiii) is the same picture as the one now in the Ravà collection (xv); the remaining six (some of which may be identical with untraceable items in Pittaluga's list) are described as follows: (iv) Private collection, York; panel 116.8 by 97.2 cm; (xv, recte xvi) Leningrad, Hermitage (in store); (xvii) with Wildenstein, 1951; (xviii) Cracow, Castle of Wawel (21); panel, 74.5 by 60 cm; (xix) Douai, Musée (in store); (xx) Anderson Collection, Fetchan. It may be added that his (vii) listed as New York market is identified as with Acquavella in our list and that the version here under discussion is listed under its former owner (xxi). Uffizi Cat. P1253 does not appear in Shearman's list. Shearman makes numerous interesting observations in his entry, which should be read in conjunction with our article

⁶ Panel; 120 by 102 cm. This version was exhibited at the Mostra del Pontormo, Florence, Palazzo Strozzi [1956], No.67, Pl.LX; and is the most frequently reproduced of the copies. It was referred to by Morelli, in a slightly equivocal phrase (I. LERMOLIEFF: Die Werke Italienischer Meister..., Leipzig [1880], p.85: ^{(...} Jacopo da Pontormo, ist in einem Madonnenbild (No. 4490 ebenfalls gut

vertreten.'), which has been taken as an indication of Morelli's belief in its originality. It was also considered original ('signiertes Spätuerk') by FRITZ GOLDSCHMIDT: Pontormo, Ross und Bronzino, Leipzig [1911], p.47. The Munich picture seems in fact to be superior to almost all the other copies, but it is harsh and insensitive by comparison with the present fragment.

⁷ Panel; 125.8 by 102.9 cm. Longhi's opinion was cited when this version (then in the Frascione collection, Florence) was exhibited, *Fontainebleau e la Maniera italiana*, Naples [1952], No.11, Pl.11; and at the *Mostra del Pontormo*, No.68, Pl.61. In a letter to the owners of the picture, Longhi declared:

Firenze, 28 Sett. 1951

Gent. Signore,

Questa sua tavola (cm. 119½ × 40½) di 'Madonna col Bambino' e nello sfondo, sulla destra, sui gradini di una porta, San Giuseppe con San Giovannino e altre figure, ci rivela finalmente l'originale di una composizione nota per numerose derivazioni e talvolta ritenuta anche del Bronzino.

L'original ora riapparso non lascia alcun dubbio sull'artista che lo eseguì; trattasi certamente del Pontormo, in una delle sue creazioni più personali e affascinanti.

La immaginazione del borgo toscano che sormonta il gruppo, creando ad esso quasi un coronamento gotico tricuspidato; l'episodio famigliare nello sfondo a destra; lo sviluppo gigantesco delle braccia della Vergine, di un 'michelangiolismo' tutto personale nella sua bizzarria, ci fanno credere che quest'opera appartenga all'epoca delle invenzioni più

 ¹ Alessandro de' Medici (1535; Museum of Art, Philadelphia) and Niccolò Ardinghelli (c.1540-43; National Gallery, Washington). The Maria Salviati (Uffizi, Florence), can no longer be regarded as an autograph work by Pontormo.
 ² On the projected investigation to determine if traces may remain of the frescoes in S. Lorenzo see ELENA CILETTI: 'On the Destruction of Pontormo's Frescoes at S. Lorenzo and the possibility that parts remain', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, Vol.CXXI [1979], p.770, n.34.
 ³ For the cycle, now divided between the Palazzo Vecchio and the Palazzo del

Attempts have been made to associate this famous composition with one of the thus far unidentified Madonna paintings mentioned by Vasari in his vita of Pontormo. Pittaluga, who in 1933 reviewed all the versions then known, followed Gamba⁸ in connecting the work with the 'bellissimo quadro di Nostra Donna' that Vasari says Pontormo gave to Rossino the mason for finishing his house, and which afterwards was bought by Ottaviano de' Medici.⁹ Pittaluga dated the composition just after 1540. Longhi also associated the work with the Rossino picture (but the description of the Pontormo composition, which he gives as if quoted from Vasari, occurs nowhere in Vasari's text), dating it to 1520-25.10 Becherucci and Berti also made this connection, dating the Rossino picture to about 1530; Gamba in 1956 repeated his earlier opinion.¹¹ However, work on Pontormo's house was in progress only from the mid-1530s;¹² thus, if the association of this Madonna painting with the gift made to Rossino is correct, the early datings are excluded, while that suggested by Pittaluga becomes most probable - provided (as we shall demonstrate) that the style of the work accords.

Another *Madonna* mentioned by Vasari and so far unconnected was the '*Nostra Donna*' found in Pontormo's house after his death in 1556 and sold by his heirs to Piero Salviati.¹³ Berti suggested that this citation also might perhaps be associated with our picture. However, Vasari adds that the work sold to Salviati had been painted '*molti anni innanzi*', clearly meaning thereby many

Il dipinto e dunque databile con grande verosimiglianza nel quinquennio 1520-1525. Mi creda

Robert Longhi Longhi's judgment is so patently implausible that it must be one of those intentional extravagances which the great man occasionally allowed himself, and of which it is difficult to believe that he was not indulging in a leg-pull. ⁸ See CARLO GAMBA: Il Pontormo, Florence [1921], pp.13-14; PTTALUGA, ob. cit.,

p.358. Gamba gives no date, but says that the picture 'corresponds to the style of the maturity of Jacopo.' ⁹ VASARI-MILANESI, VI, pp.279-80: 'Onde il Rossino muratore ... ebbe da lui, per

pagamento d'avergli mattonalo alcune stanze e fatto altri muramenti, un bellissimo quadro di Nostra Donna, il quale facendo Jacopo, tanto sollecitava e lavorava in esso, quanto il muratore faceva nel murare.' Vasari goes on to relate that the picture was bought by Ottaviano de' Medici.

¹⁰ LONGHI, in *Fontainebleau e la Maniera italiana*, No.11. The 'quotation' from Vasari is actually Gamba's description of the *Madonna* picture with which we are concerned (*op. cit.*, pp.13-14). Longhi gives the date 1520-25 in the letter cited above in n.7.

¹¹ LUISA BECHERUCCI: Manieristi toscani, Bergamo [1944], p.20 (implied dating of this work in a 'gusto michelangiolesco'); LUCIANO BERTI, in Mostra del Pontormo, No.67 and CARLO GAMBA: Contributo alla conoscenza del Pontormo, Florence [1956], p.13.

p.13. ¹² Although Pontormo bought the lot for his house in via Laura in 1529 (CLAPP, op. cit., App.II, Doc.20), he began to build only in 1534 (Doc.21, Cittadini a Parte, 1534). VASARI-MILANESI, VI, p.279, states that it was the money Pontormo received from the Venus and Cupid for Bettini and for the portrait of Alessandro de' Medici (datable 1535) that he used for his house; the account of Rossino's help and Pontormo's gift to him of the Madonna painting follows. There is no indication in the documents of when the house was finished. A document of 1549 is cited by CLAPP (Doc.23) as authority for the statement he makes (p.68) that the house 'was built sometime before 1536'; implying completion, but this document gives no such indication. It contains only the description of the location of the property, repeated almost exactly from Doc.21 of 1534, to which it explicitly refers back. As Clapp transcribes Doc.23, the number 36 is mistakenly assigned to the Libro a parte of 1534; could this mistaken number in some way have generated Clapp's confusion? Clapp refers to these documents (Nos.21 and 23) as 'Catasto', but they are not so labelled and at this date would be from the Decima.

¹³ VASARI-MILANESI, VI, p.288: 'Furono dopo la costui morte trovati in casa sua molti disegni, cartoni e modelli di terra bellissimi; ed un quadro di Nostra Donna stato da lui molto ben condotto, per quello si vide, e con bella maniera, molti anni innanzi; il quale fu venduto poi dagli eredi suoi a Piero Salviati.' years before Pontormo's death, to which he has just referred. It seems unlikely that he would have applied this phrase to a picture which so patently belongs, as our *Madonna* does, to Pontormo's later years.

3

A last possibility of identification that remains to be considered is a 'quadro di Nostra Donna' mentioned by Vasari after his notice of Pontormo's participation in the Joseph tapestry project, and which he says Duke Cosimo gave to a Spanish nobleman, who took it then to Spain.¹⁴ However, this picture, too, makes a less than ideal candidate to which to relate our Madonna, since it would not have been available in Florence to serve as basis for the numerous copies.¹⁵

We are left, then, with the Rossino gift, and the approximate dating that is reasonably derived from it, as the best identification for the Madonna we are here considering; we must now confirm that the style of the picture and this dating are compatible. Since the two surviving portraits from the later years cannot afford useful comparisons of style, and the unhappy state of survival of Pontormo's other late painted works creates a further limitation, the only comparison we can offer, which, though not a painting is at least on the scale of one, is in the Joseph tapestries of 1545-46, in the Lamentation of Jacob and even more precisely in the Benjamin at the court of Pharaoh (Fig.4). The monumental Madonna of our picture, with her curving, puffy draperies and accentuated grazia, is a creation of the Florentine maniera that much resembles the court style that Pontormo, Bronzino, and Salviati developed in their designs for the Joseph tapestries. Moreover, the serpentine composition of the background vignette (Fig.5, from the New York version) is analogous to the elongated, rising compositions of Pontormo's tapestries. In particular, the Joseph in the background of our picture suggests, in the quality of his movement and in his manner of connection with the young Christ below him, the garland-like arrangement of the figures in the Benjamin design.

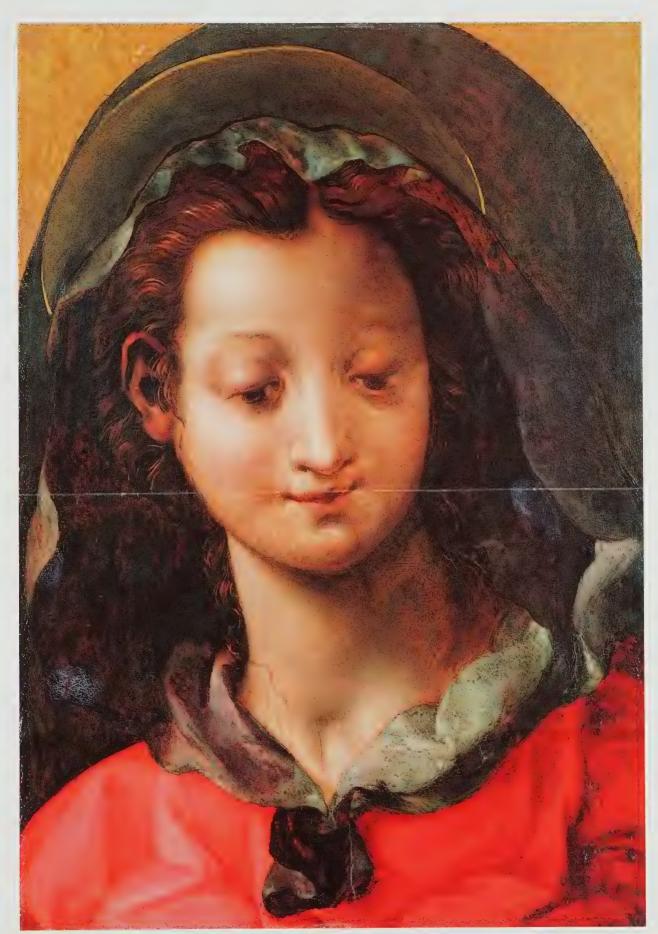
We must look to Pontormo's drawings for further evidence, where a number of instances appear of figure style and manner of design like those in our painting. In addition to these shared indices of late style, at least two conspicuous resemblances in type of countenance appear among the later drawings: one, a study for a head in the *Benjamin* tapestry (Fig.8); the other, about a decade earlier (c.1535-36), the head of the figure to the left from the great *Three Graces* of the Uffizi (Fig.7).¹⁶ Except for these two details the evidence for comparison with our picture is of generic style more than it is specific, but it is sufficient to confirm our presumption of a dating into Pontormo's later career. However, it is quite impossible

eccentriche del Pontormo; gli affreschi della Certosa di Val d'Ema.

¹⁴ VASARI-MILANESI, VI, p.284: 'Ma lornando a' suoi soliti lavori [after the tapestry cartoons of c.1545-46], fece un quadro di Nostra Donna, che fu dal duca donato al signor don . . . [blank], che lo portò in Ispagna.' Vasari then begins his discussion of the S. Lorenzo fresco cycle, begun in 1546.

¹⁵ It is of course not impossible that Cosimo gave the Spaniard a copy, retaining the original in Florence. The question must remain moot for lack of evidence, but there were other instances when copies were sent to Spain by the Duke, such as the copy of a Leonardo *Madonna* by Bronzino given to the Duke of Altamira by Eleonora da Toledo.

¹⁶ Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe 6593F recto and 6748F (COX-REARICK, op. cit., cat.347 and 321. For general stylistic similarities, see also, among others, the Careggi studies, cox-REARICK, cat.314, 316; study for a Venus(?) figure, cat.327; and several of the studies for S. Lorenzo, cat.350ff.



1. Head of the Madonna, here attributed to Jacopo Pontormo. 45 by 30 cm. (Collection Dr Alfred Bader, Milwaukee, Wisconsin).

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Peter Lasko writes about the future of the Courtauld Institute at Somerset House. There are articles on Holman Hunt's patron, Sir Thomas Fairbairn, and on Lord Leighton's use of Greek vases. Shorter Notices discuss Juan de la Cuesta, Jacques-Louis David, Turner and Sickert.

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2. Holy Family. Copy after Pontormo. 120 by 102 cm. (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).



3. Holy Family. Copy after Pontormo. 125.8 by 102.9 cm. (N.M. Acquavella Galleries, New York).



4. Benjamin at the court of Pharoah. After Pontormo. Tapestry, 552 by 259 cm. (Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome).



5. Detail of Fig. 3.

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6. Infra-red photograph of Fig.1.



7. Detail from *Three graces*, by Pontormo. Red chalk. (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence).



8. Detail from a study for the tapestry of *Benjamin at the court of Pharaoh*, by Pontormo. Black chalk on pink prepared paper. (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence).

A PONTORMO (PARTLY) RECOVERED

to fix precisely a moment in this later time from which the picture would have come. At best we can propose a scant decade's span, from the decoration at Careggi (1535-36) to the early 1540s, but before the beginning of the work in S. Lorenzo (1546). Such a span increases the likelihood of the sole identification in Vasari's account that we found plausible, the gift made by Pontormo to the mason Rossino after the completion of Pontormo's house. There is no need to assume that the gift was promptly made: Pontormo's customary work habits make that unlikely. Moreover, the painting was one of three that he gave to Rossino on this occasion.¹⁷ We thus have licence to suppose an interval of some extent perhaps a few years after the house was finished, perhaps longer. The fact that the design of the background episode in our picture tends, as we have pointed out, toward the mode of composition of the tapestries suggests that this work should not be too much separated in time from them. If we may in fact assume that our painting is the Madonna for Rossino, an absolute terminus ante for it is defined by the death in May 1546 of Ottaviano de' Medici, the purchaser from Rossino of this picture. Weighing our various evidence a date c.1540, more likely after than before, appears appropriate.¹⁸

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Little is known of the subsequent history of the Rossino-Ottaviano de' Medici Madonna except for Vasari's statement that when he wrote the Vite it was in the collection of Ottaviano's son Alessandro.¹⁹ There is no further notice of the picture, which may have remained in Florence or, perhaps, have passed to Rome when Alessandro became Pope Leo XI in 1605. Nor is the history of any of the extant copies certain. A 'quadro di Nostra Donna con ornamento dorato di mano del Pontolmo' listed in the 1553 inventory of Duke Cosimo's pictures may or may not have been a version of our painting;²⁰ however, in the seventeenth century a version was in the Medici collections in Florence. A drawing in the Uffizi after this last picture (showing, like some of the painted copies, only the Madonna and Child) is inscribed on the verso: 'Di Jacopo da Pontormo il quadro è in mano dell Ill^{mo} Cardinale Carlo de' Medici nel casino di San Marco'.²¹

When our *Head of the Madonna* from this once so famous composition of Pontormo's was shown publicly for the first time, in the exhibition *Between Renaissance and Baroque* at Manchester in 1965, it was stated in the catalogue, correctly: 'The new fragment seems to be superior to the known copies and in view of its high quality it should be seriously considered whether it is not a part of the original picture'.²² The fragment has since been cleaned, and that it is an autograph by Pontormo is now certain. This recognition carries an unhappy corollary: that we accept that the rest of Pontormo's original picture from which the Madonna's head has come must be considered lost. The surviving head has most obviously been sawn out of a larger panel. Unlike the normal case of a complete panel picture, where the sawed edges have been sanded smooth and the saw marks obliterated or barely visible, the marks here have been left rough and are at once discernible on most of the two long sides and on all the bottom edge; only on the top edge of the picture are no clear saw marks visible. The paint comes to the very edges of the panel, and there is no evidence of a beard. However, the upper edges of the panel on both long sides (for a length from the top of 14 cm) and also the outer edges of the top (for a distance inward of 10 cm) have been gessoed over. This is the consequence of an exaggerated effort, possibly by the restorer who first vandalised the panel, to make the fragment seem an independent image. By cutting out a spandrel-shaped segment of the original paint together with its underlying gesso at both upper corners, and replacing these areas with a new material, simulating gold leaf.²³ the restorer made the semblance of an arched background, niche-like, for the Madonna's head.24

No reasonable speculation accounts quite satisfactorily for the removal from its context of the present fragment. The best assumption we could make is that some disastrous accident befell the picture. The least unlikely supposition is that of damage in a flood, since that could have destroyed the original panel's lower part and left the uppermost area, with the Madonna's head, virtually intact. The removal of the Madonna's head from its background would in this case have been a salvage operation, not (as might first appear) an act of vandalism, though the motives of the old restorer are called most strongly in question by his attempts, described above, to camouflage the fact that the image was a fragment.

¹⁷ VASARI-MILANESI, VI, p.280. The others were a copy of the Cardinal Giulio from Raphael's *Leo X and the Cardinals* and a *Crucifixion*.

¹⁸ Besides PITTALUGA (see n.8), others have advanced a date after 1540 for the work: see GOLDSCHMIDT, op. cit., p.47; CLAPP, op. cit., pp.217, 223 (1540-50); K. W. FORSTER: Pontormo, Munich [1966], cat.34 (1540-43); and, in a reversal of opinion, LUCIANO BERTI: Pontormo, Florence [1964], p.clxx (1543-45); and *idem:* L'Opera completa del Pontormo, Milan [1973], cat.129 (c.1545) suggesting that our Madonna should be identified with the 'Salviati' picture mentioned by Vasari (quoted n.13 above).

 ¹⁹ VASARI-MILANESI, VI, p.280.
 ²⁰ See COSIMO CONTI: La prima Reggia di Cosimo de' Medici . . ., Florence [1893], p.34.

p.34. ²¹ Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe 6629F; see COX-REARICK, op. cit., cat.107A. The picture referred to is listed in the inventory of the collection of Cardinal Carlo (1596-1666, son of Ferdinando I, grandson of Cosimo I): ASF, Guardaroba 758, f.27, No.463 ('Uno quadro in asse alto bra 2½ Largo bra 2½ entrovi una Madonna con Giesù bambino et altre figure dicesi mano o copia di Jacopo da Puntormo con adornamento di noce e profilo d'oro').

²² Between Renaissance and Baroque, European Art 1520-1600, No.187.

²³ But only inadequately; the material used appears to be an ochre paint. ²⁴ These gilded corners were at some later time found inappropriate, and were painted out in a dark colour matching the original background. The painting was in this state when it was exhibited at Manchester. The carpentry involved in the substitution of the original corners is elaborate, and includes what appears to be a curious piece of mortise-work, of which the diagonal cut is visible in both the simulated gold areas and on the rear of the panel behind them. It may be speculated that the reason for this complicated surgery was to eliminate, more than mere overpaint would have done, as much as possible of the trace that would have appeared (in the upper right of the sawed-out fragment) of the descending line of the wall behind the Madonna's head. The effort to eradicate the tell-tale background architecture went even beyond this, however. The background area to our right of the Virgin's head has been rubbed and unevenly reglazed, quite eliminating the former trace of the top line of the wall, and just above her head and inside the outline of her halo a similar elimination of the line of the wall (which is visible in this place in most of the copies) has been almost altogether successfully achieved. Here the original surface seems to have been taken down and then (with a rather smearing brushwork) spread over with another film, which approximates the new-made spandrels in its texture. Despite this manipulation, a faintest trace of the former line of the architecture may still be discerned within the halo. The cutting out of the fragment and the accompanying alterations could be, from visual inspection, of considerable age, probably of the seventeenth century. Since the reglazing to which we have just referred was done at this time, it has acquired a crackle pattern about uniform with that of the original paint; however, its different character of surface and handling is apparent. It would seem that the fragmentary panel may have been thinned down at the time of its extraction, very roughly (as if with an adze), to an average depth of 1.5 cm.

A PONTORMO (PARTLY) RECOVERED

Whatever the nature of the hypothetical accident from which Pontormo's picture suffered, and despite the consequences of the ancient efforts to disguise its nature as a fragment, the surviving piece is now in respectable, though somewhat uneven, condition. In best state are the lighted parts of the Virgin's face and neck, where the paint is built on a stronger body of white lead: the nose and the proper right cheek and forehead; in addition, the ear and hair seem undisturbed. All the more shadowed areas have been rubbed, rather erratically; in particular the velature that defined the epidermis are now thinned, unevenly translucent to the shadowed modelling below. The lips seem somewhat paled, diminished by a slight abrasion. The colour of the Virgin's dress, modulating through a cherry hue, unripe in the bright light at our left, rich and darkened in the shadow at our right, was thinly painted to begin with, and still is almost altogether sound; its colour echoes the dress the Virgin in Pontormo's St Anne altar (Paris, Louvre) wears. The headscarf, however, has suffered several losses, and the shadowed space it encloses to the proper right side of the Virgin's neck especially is thinned to its dark under-tone. The colour of the scarf is a *changeant* blue-into-violet, which recalls, in a darker key, the headdress of the Virgin in the Annunciation of the Capponi chapel.

Nothing in the present state of the fragment obscures its legibility or interferes with our perception of what the artist intended to describe. Wear and time have in fact combined to let underdrawing on the panel become more visible than it originally would have been: the draughtsman's sign is explicit in the eyes, the nose, the parallel strokings that underline the modelling of the cheeks, and in the marking of the folds of drapery. This preparation in drawing, mostly not meant to be confessed, conveys in every part its speed, its deftness and its flexibility, indicating an image not laboriously transferred from another painting but one generated surely here. Then, using the infra-red devices that permit our searching out the further preparation, below what the naked eye can see, what is revealed is absolute in its evidence of originality and in its attestation of Pontormo's hand (Fig.6).

We have earlier indicated instances of convincingly comparable heads in drawing by Pontormo, but such resemblances are less important to our determination of Pontormo's autograph than the revelation in this underdrawing of the unmistakable ductus of the artist, which in some passages works as bold, rounding and resilient (as in the drawing of the eyes), while elsewhere (as in the lips, the ear and the contour of the face) it proceeds as if with the finest, most complex, exasperated sensibility.²⁵ Where the painted *velature* have survived intact, or nearly so, the modelling of the form works with the same fusion between power and fineness that is in the drawing. The forehead and the lighted cheek are soft-shining bosses, making delicate equivocation between skin and sculpture; the modelling around the eyes is the reciprocal in its resilience of the drawing that defines them; on the nose the fall of light is described with exquisite transparency and fineness.

That the contemporaries of Pontormo's later years as well as the succeeding generation found his original painting for Rossino of exceptional interest is attested by the unusual number of copies of it that survive to us from that time – the Boston version, for example, is dated 1561. What that audience may have found so compelling in this image may have been a meaning in it that seemed in keeping with the temper of the Catholic Reform and the subsequent assertive Counter-Reformation.

Pontormo's Madonna combines in a highly original way a number of traditional motifs with other, more novel elements which anticipate a new taste in late cinquecento painting for the celebration of the domestic virtues of the Holy Family. The Madonna herself is a descendant of the by then old-fashioned Madonna of Humility, in which the Virgin, seated on the ground, typically holds the suckling child.²⁶ In Pontormo's work, not only has the intimacy of the older type been abandoned, but the motif has been subsumed into the larger theme of the contemplation of the Passion, a theme which is signalled by the Child's agitated pose and ecstatic gaze out of the picture (recalling the Christ of Pontormo's own earlier Visdomini altar), the meditative expression of the Virgin, her book (which in the original must have been open to an appropriate text),²⁷ and her unusual pose – less that of a Madonna than of a sibyl or prophetess of Michelangelesque dimension.

Juxtaposed with this heroic Madonna of Humility is the background vignette of Joseph as carpenter, who is assisted by the boy Christ and accompanied by a female figure (Anna?) who holds a book.²⁸ Joseph's saw, his footstool, and the beam placed on it have the symbolic function that his carpenter's tools are given in analogous scenes in Flemish paintings;²⁹ however, in Pontormo's scene of the carpenter's shop it is the foreshadowing of the Passion that is signalled with particular poignancy as Joseph turns to take the nails carried to him by his young helper.³⁰ It is not the mere presence of the scene with

²⁵ It seems unnecessary to labour the further evidence of originality that is supplied by the *pentimenti* in the contours of the face and neck; they are not in any case major divergences from the final surface.

²⁶ See MILLARD MEISS: 'The Madonna of Humility', Art Bulletin, Vol.L [1936], pp.435, 448, who points out that in late Madonnas of Humility the Child is rarely shown suckling and that the fact that the Madonna is seated on the ground no longer had the specific and special meaning that it had earlier. Pontormo's Madonna is akin to two previous cinquecento Florentine Madonnas of this type, both part of Holy Family groups – Andrea del Sarto's Borgherini Holy Family, a rare sixteenth-century example of the typical nursing motif, and Michelangelo's Doni tondo, the relation to which of Pontormo's work is made quite clear by the adaptation of the Doni Madonna's arm as that of the Child in the later work.

 $^{^{27}}$ The book is blank in most of the copies; in the Munich version, one reads in the midst of indecipherable lines IACOPO/DAPUN/NO; and, in the left margin, the capitals Q/N/O.

²⁸ When this group has been mentioned the child has invariably been identified as the little St John the Baptist and (except by BERTI, op. cit., [1973], cat.129) the woman as St Elizabeth.

²⁹ The most notable example is the *Mérode altar-piece*. For the symbolism of Joseph's tools in relation to the theme of Joseph's rôle in the Incarnation by his deception of the devil, see MEYER SHAPIRO: ""Muscipula Diaboli", The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece', *Art Bulletin*, Vol.XXVII [1945], pp.182-87; and CHARLES I. MINOTT: 'The Theme of the Mérode Altarpiece', *Art Bulletin*, Vol.LI [1969], pp.267-71.

³⁰ The nails in the pail are clearly delineated in most copies of Pontormo's work; however, in some of the versions they have been rendered as flowers, or, according to Shearman's description of the Hampton Court version (see n.5), as grapes. In this connection it is of interest that St Joseph was occasionally paired with Joseph of Arimathea in the theme of the 'Two Josephs', as in Gian Francesco Maineri's Madonna with Saints Joseph and Joseph of Arimathea (Cranford Manor), in which Joseph holds his carpenter's square and Joseph of Arimathea the three nails of the Crucifixion.

A PONTORMO (PARTLY) RECOVERED · BRONZINO'S PORTRAIT OF COSIMOI

Joseph that is unusual in this picture, but the fact that he is portrayed as an athletic, youthful man, at work at his trade; traditionally in Italian Holy Families Joseph had played a passive rôle, as an old, inactive man. In the fifteenth century Joseph's image had undergone something of a rehabilitation in northern painting, in which, as a carpenter, he was presented as an exemplum of humility and industry.³¹ However, in Italian art such ideas became influential only after the Council of Trent when, for example, the reformer Molanus recommended that Joseph no longer be represented as a weak and aged man but as a robust, youthful worker, and the Jesuits popularised 'Jesus, Joseph, and Mary' as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly Trinity.³² The prominence given to Joseph the carpenter in Pontormo's work, then, emphasises its theme of humility: as the Virgin takes her lowly seat, so Joseph labours at his humble craft.

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Because Pontormo's *Madonna* dates well before the codification and popularisation of such Tridentine notions of Joseph's rôle, we may be justified in asking if this uncommon theme in it was introduced in reference to the recipient of the painting – Rossino, the builder of

Pontormo's house. While Rossino was not primarily a carpenter, the building trades were overlapping occupations at the time, and in the very decade in which this *Madonna* was painted the five building guilds (including the Maestri di Pietra e Legname to which Rossino must have belonged) were consolidated in the Arte dei Fabbricanti, the statutes of which were drawn up in 1542.³³

If the unusual subject of Joseph as carpenter in Pontormo's *Madonna* indeed alluded to Rossino, then the unusual background of the painting may also relate to the circumstances of its creation. The Madonna is seated in front of a Florentine cityscape consisting of a jagged row of rooftops punctuated by three towers; to the right, the archway that frames the vignette of Joseph at work is evidently unfinished at its top – could it allude to the entrance of a house in course of building?³⁴

Pontormo's many copyists may thus have found more of interest in his *Madonna* than its – characteristically for the late Pontormo – singular and aberrant beauty. Its urban, manifestly Florentine setting, together with the vernacular piety of its domestic Trinity could well explain the appeal of the picture to the younger painters who so frequently copied it during the Counter-Reformation years.

ROBERT B. SIMON

Bronzino's portrait of Cosimo I in armour*

THE commission for Bronzino's portrait of *Cosimo I in armour* is mentioned by Vasari immediately following his description of the frescoes in the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio, works datable to 1540-43:

Il signor duca, veduta in queste ed altre opere l'eccellenza di questo pittore, e particolarmente che era suo proprio ritrarre dal naturale quanto con più diligenzia si può imaginare, fece ritrarre sè, che allora era giovane, armato tutto d'arme bianche e con una mano sopra l'elmo.¹

There has been considerable confusion (and little consensus) among critics and historians concerning the identity of the picture referred to, its size, the number of replicas made of it, and the authorship of those paintings. Over twenty-five versions, differing only slightly in composition, are known of the portrait; nearly all of these have been considered, at one time or another, to be from the hand of Bronzino, and many have been specifically identified as the primary work cited by Vasari.² The

³¹ See above, n.29. The most fervent advocate of a Joseph cult was Jean Gerson (1363-1429), chancellor of the University of Paris, who emphasised the moral, familial virtues of the saint, his humble trade, his rôle as the 'guardian of the mystery of the incarnation', and his youth (see SHAPIRO, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85). For Joseph the carpenter as an *exemplum* of humility, see also the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ed. I. RAGUSA and R. B. GREEN, Princeton [1961], pp.69, 76.

³² MOLANUS: De picturis et imaginibus sacris, Louvain [1570], Ch.LXII. For Joseph's glorification in the period of the Counter-Reformation, see L. REAU: Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, Paris [1956], Vol.III, pp.754ff.

³³ See RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE: *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore and London [1980], pp.249-72. The patron saints of the Maestri di Pietra e di Legname were, of course, the Quattro Coronati, but the carpenters' guild founded a Compagnia di San Giuseppe.

³⁴ Caroline Elam has made the interesting suggestion that the church spire to the far left may be the destroyed spire of S. Piero Maggiore, Pontormo's parish church, and that the other buildings behind the Virgin may also be topographical of his neighbourhood.

^{*}This article is in part derived from my doctoral thesis, 'Bronzino's Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici' (Columbia University, 1982). Space does not permit my thanking the many people who kindly assisted me in the course of my research, but I would here like to acknowledge the many helpful suggestions of R. J. Berman, David Rosand, and Gustav Jospé.

¹ VASARI-MILANESI, Vol. VII, pp.597-98. For the dating of the Chapel of Eleonora, see J. COX REARICK: 'Les dessins de Bronzino pour la Chapelle d'Eleonora au Palazzo Vecchio', *Revue de l'Art*, 14 [1971], p.11.

² Appendix II contains a check list giving basic information, provenance, and references for each version; individual pictures are noted in the text by their check list number in parentheses. With the exception of the coolly erotic (if slightly preposterous) *Cosimo I as Orpheus* now in Philadelphia, Bronzino's portraits of the Duke (and their copies) are of three basic types. The first of these is the subject of the present article and shows the young Duke in armour. A second type, portraying the Duke wearing a doublet, replaced the *Cosimo in armour* as the approved image around 1560. Nearly forty versions of this portrait, which may be called *Cosimo at the age of forty* are known – the most frequently cited being the fine (but not autograph) portraits in the Galleria Borghese in Rome (Inv. 94) and the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (No.123); cf. K. LANGEDIJK: *The Portraits of the Medici*, I, Florence [1981], Nos 27-36. The last portrait, which in turn became the preferred representation, presents Cosimo in final years, seen frontally and often wearing the regalia of his 1569 title of Grand Duke; cf. LANGEDIJK, *op. cit.*, PD.79-120, 407-530; K. FORSTER: 'Metaphors of Rule; Political Ideology and History in the Portraits, X, 1 [1971], pp.65-104; and P. RIGHELSON: 'Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I de' Medici', unpub. Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1973.

recent recovery of another Cosimo I in armour (Fig.9; Appendix II, No.19) – this the only autograph full-sized (three-quarter length) version known - has, however, not only brought to light a lost masterpiece, but has led to the resolution of several of the problems associated with the entire group of images.

The 'new' portrait appeared at auction in 1971 as a copy after Bronzino; subsequent cleaning has revealed not only that the picture is in extremely fine condition but that it is unquestionably a work by Bronzino himself.³ The Duke stands in a shallow space before a curtain backdrop of intense ultramarine. His steel-grey suit of parade armour is embellished and articulated by etched surface decorations, golden rivets and hinges, brilliant crimson linings and trimmings, and gleaming reflections of cool, white light. He holds his helmet beneath his right hand, atop a severed tree-trunk that bears the inscription COSMVS MEDICES · DVX FLOR. As in all versions of the portrait Cosimo is turned threequarters to the right as he gazes intently to the left. But unlike most of the other portraits, especially the other three-quarter length versions, this picture is painted with a virtuosity that makes the subtler details of the armour and its reflections wholly convincing; the figure of the Duke - rendered with manifest suavity, clarity, and intensity – creates a vibrant and unforgettable presence.

Although unknown to modern scholars, this is not, in a literal sense, an unpublished work; it has claims in fact to being the first published version of the portrait, having appeared in engraved form in the 1575 illustrated edition of Paolo Giovio's Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium (Fig.11).⁴ The presence of the portrait in Giovio's book, which functioned in part as a catalogue of the author's renowned collection, points to the unusual circumstance of the picture's provenance being traceable without break from the time of Giovio, who died in 1552, to the present.⁵ The panel remained with Giovio's family until 1860, when a descendant sold it to Prince Napoleon; at his sale at Christie's in 1872 the picture was acquired for Alfred Morrison, whose grandson, Lord Margadale, sold the portrait through the same house in 1971.6

⁴ PAOLO GIOVIO: Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium ..., Basel [1575], pp.390-91; see note 28 below. A bust-length derivation appears as an illustration to SAMUEL FUCHS: Metaposcopia & Opthalmoscopia, Strassburg [1615], p.78. See as well K. LANGEDIJK, op. cit., No.27-19a.

⁵ The picture is first referred to in the unillustrated first edition of GIOVIO's Elogia, Florence [1551], pp.338-39.

Vasari's mention gives no indication that the portrait was intended as an official representation of the Duke or that more than one version of it had been painted. Yet the number of extant replicas attest both to the work's de facto official status and to its currency over a period of several years. Among modern critics the quest for a single 'original', sometimes to the exclusion of the possibility of autograph replicas, seems to have begun with Milanesi; he identified as such the three-quarter length portrait rediscovered in the Florentine Guardaroba in the nineteenth century and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Lucca (No.26).7 Other critics cited the half-length example in the Pitti (No.16) as autograph, while in their respective monographs on Bronzino Schulze considered the version at Kassel (Fig.12; No.20) primary and McComb held the variant in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig.10; No.21) to be the most likely archetype.⁸ Gamba, in 1925, had meanwhile introduced as 'prototipo originale' the half-length version now exhibited in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (Fig.13; No.8), that had recently been recovered from the Medici villa at Castello.9

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The list of candidates has since grown with the recognition of other versions, as well as through confusion caused by the similarity in appearance of many of these pictures.¹⁰ In the broadest survey so far, Karla Langedijk's The Portraits of the Medici, thirteen versions of the portrait are listed, of which three (Nos. 12, 16, and 20) are considered autograph; surprisingly, the Tribuna portrait (No.8), which had become the only version generally attributed to Bronzino himself, is there given to the court copyist Luigi Fiammingo.¹¹

Part of the difficulty in understanding the problem of the portrait has to do with the varied sizes and formats of the known versions. The smallest seven, beginning with the tin miniature in the Uffizi (No.1; 15.8 by 12.2 cm), are head-and-shoulders portraits; nine are half-length (Nos. 8-16); and the rest, extending to the larger-than-life panel at Lucca (No.26; 181 by 103 cm), are three-quarter length in format. In considering which of these formats was primary, logic might suggest that the largest was created first, the half-length and bust compositions being subsequent excerpted derivations. The three-quarter

MILANESI, in VASARI, op. cit., Vol. VII, p.598, n.1.

⁸ H. SCHULZE: Die Werke Angelo Bronzinos, Strassburg [1911], p.vi. A. MCCOMB: Agnolo Bronzino; His Life and Works, Cambridge, Mass. [1928], pp.13, 72-73.

For those favouring the version in the Pitti see check list No.16 ⁹ C. GAMBA: 'Il ritratto di Cosimo I del Bronzino', Bollettino d'arte, V, 1 [1925],

27-25, 27-27, 27-29, 27-31, 27-35, 27-44.

³ I am grateful to the owner for permission to study and publish this work. The picture was cleaned by Herbert Lank. The poplar panel has been neither thinned nor cradled; two transverse battens are present. There are no obvious indications of sawing on the edges, although the panel may have been reduced slightly over the years.

⁶ See the check list for the provenance. The sale of the picture by Giorgio Raimondi Orchi to Prince Napoleon is recorded in G. GIOVIO: Lari artistici; collezioni, Como [1881], p.81. (Stefano Della Torre kindly brought this reference to my attention.) The same information is given in the studies on Giovio's collection by N. PONCE DE LEÓN: The Columbus Gallery, New York [1893], p.15; E. MUNTZ: 'Le Musée de Portraits de Paul Jove', Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXVI, 2 [1900-01], pp.273, 331; and L. ROVELLI: L'opera storica di Paolo Giorio . . . , Como [1928], p.143, No.143. What is in all likelihood the Bronzino portrait, described as 'un Cosimo de' Medici d'eccellente pennello', is recorded in the collection of Count Paolo Giovio in 1795 (G. B. GIOVIO: Como e il Lario; commentario, Como [1795], p.33; Linda Klinger, whose forthcoming dissertation at Princeton University treats Giovio's portrait collection, kindly passed this reference on to me). At the Christie's sale of 1872 the picture was purchased by a certain Holloway, probably not the collector Thomas Holloway, but the firm Holloway & Sons which, at least from 1864 to 1870, operated at Bedford Street, Covent Garden (I am grateful to Jeannie Chapel for

this suggestion). Holloway appears to have been acting as agent for Alfred Morrison; other pictures purchased by Holloway later appeared in the Morrison collection. A label on the back of the panel records the 'Portrait of Cosmo di Medici by Bronzino' being on the 'No.1 Drawing Room Landing' at Fonthill House on 28th December, 1887. Lord Margadale has kindly confirmed the provenance, noting that the picture appeared in the house inventory as follows: 'Portrait of Giovanni della Bande Neri [sic] father of Cosimo de' Medici, First Grand Duke of Tuscany. Three-quarter length, facing the spectator, in damascened armour, holding his helmet. On Panel. From the collection of Prince Napoleon, 1872. 33" × 25"

pp. 145-47. ¹⁰ For example, the same picture (our No.24) is listed twice (and with slightly ¹⁰ For example, the same picture (our No.24) is listed twice (and with slightly differing descriptions) in B. BERENSON: Italian Pictures of the Renaissance; Florentine Schools, London [1963], I, p.41, as No.1613 (the old exhibition number) and No.8739 (of the 1890 inventory). A. EMILIANI: Il Bronzino, Busto Arsizio [1960], pl.90, mistakenly illustrated his claim for the priority of the Uffizi portrait (No.8) with a colour plate of the version in the Pitti (No.16). ¹¹ LANGEDIJK, op. cit., Nos 27-19, 27-19f, 27-19j, 27-19k, 27-21, 27-22, 27-22a,



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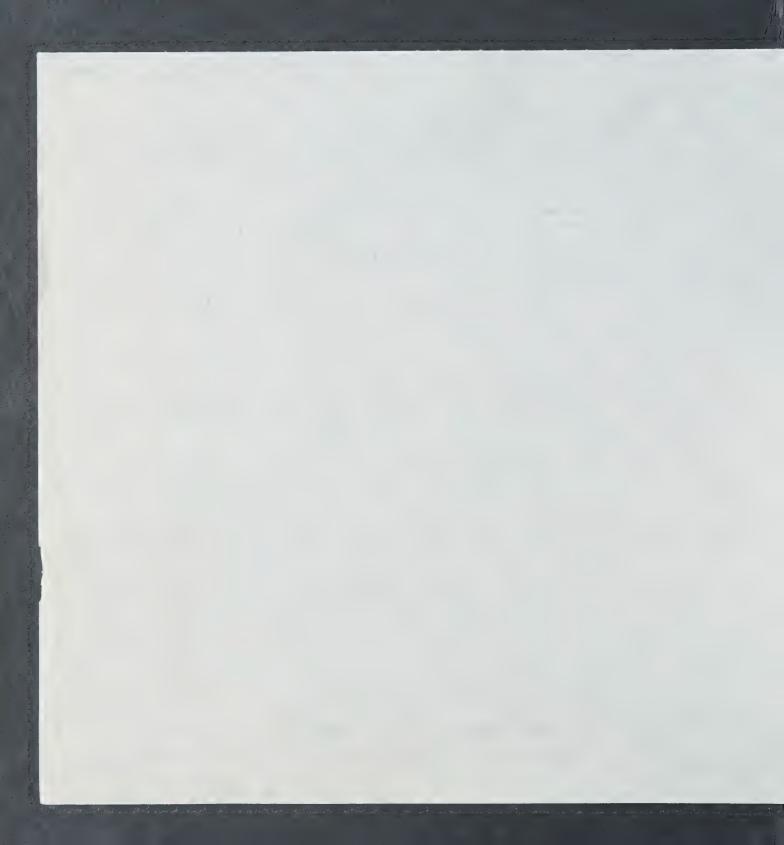
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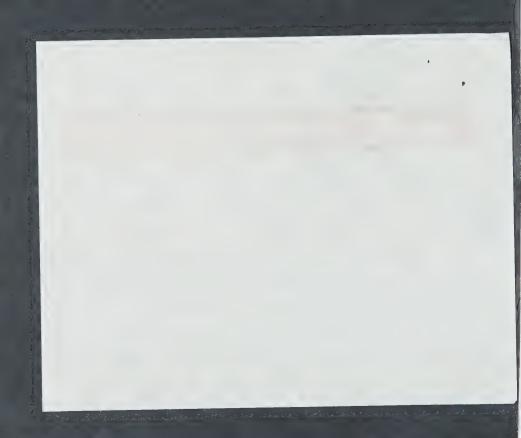
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Line Quan.	Description of Items	Dept.	Reserve	Provisional Proposed Estimate Sale/Lot
1 1	Jacopo Pontormo. Head of the Virgin.	OMP IK	350000 Agreed	300000 JAN89 500000
	Special Terms, Refer IK			
Consigned By: CORK AVENUE YORK, N.Y. 10022 12) 546-1000 Telex: 62 07 12) 980-8163	And Proces Je Aid Jine A. 15 Oct 3 1576	Received E	3y: 5/I. Kenna	edy 219 EAST 67th STREET NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 Tel.: (212) 606-0400 Telex: 680 13 38 Fax: (212) 737-6076



FOF AM 2. -+ DATE TIME PM WHILE YOU WERE OUT М OF PHONE TELEPHONED CALLED TO SEE YOU WANTS TO SEE YOU PLEASE RETURN CALL WILL CALL AGAIN LIRGENT and derender 1 · · p. · · · , the - be in SIGNED TOPS 😁 FORM 3335 Litho in U.S.A.

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ALFRED BADER CORPORATION

FINEA

2961 NORTH SHEPARD AVENUE

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53211

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September 23, 1988

Mr. Ian Kennedy Senior Vice President Old Master Paintings Christie's 502 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022-1199

Dear Ian:

Isabel and I look forward to being with you on Monday, October 3rd, to deliver the Pontormo by hand.

When I was in New York in January, I left an American drawing, done by Peter Balling, in the office of Abraham Lincoln, with your American Department, Miss Helen Papoulias. Receipt is enclosed.

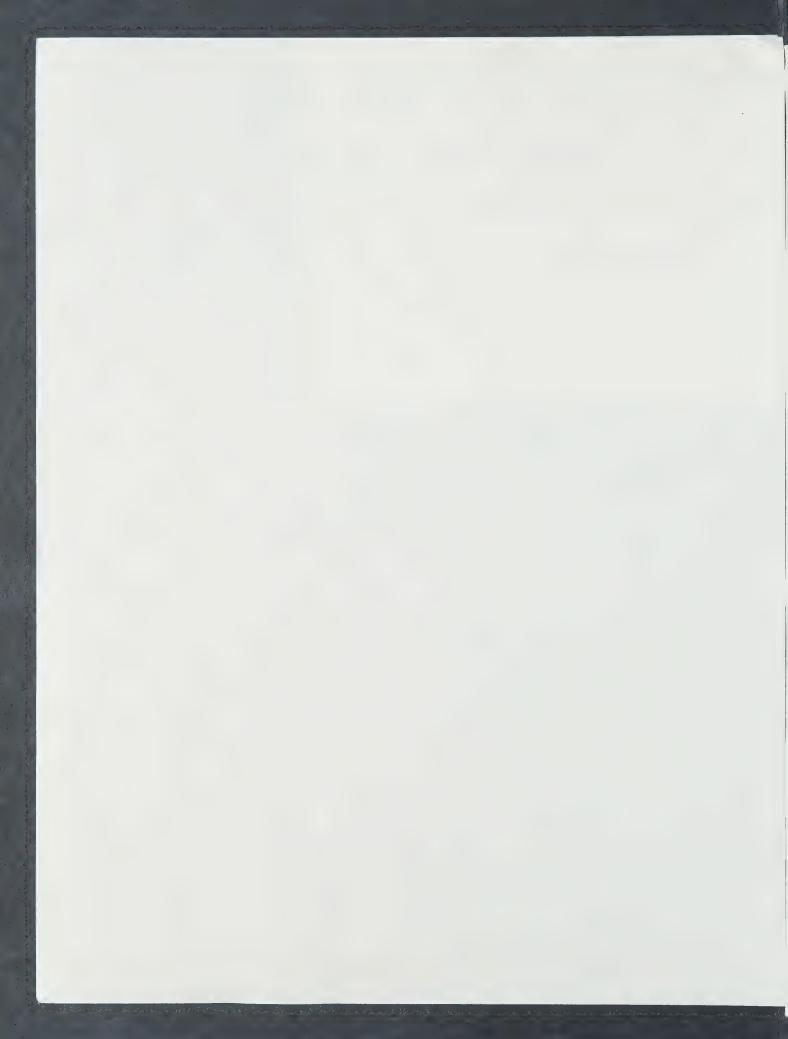
However, Jay Cantor decided that this was not really suitable for sale by auction, and I would like to pick up the drawing when I visit you on October 3rd.

At that time, could you please also show me whatever Rembrandt school paintings you may have coming up in your next auction. As you know, I prefer buying to selling.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Alfred Bader AB:mmh cc: Miss Helen Papoulias

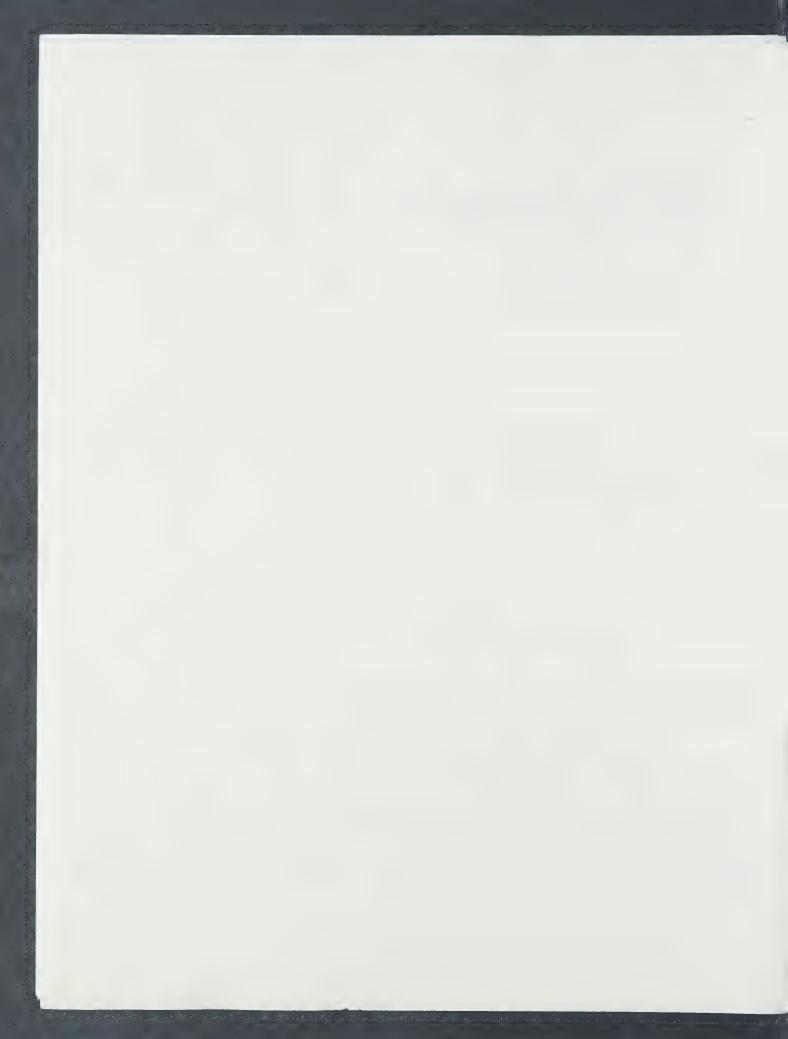


Christie's
CHRISTIE, MANSON & WOODS INTERNATIONAL INC.
DR ALFRED BADER 2961 NORTH SHEPHARD AVE MILWAUKEE, WIS 53211
L

		PROPERTY	RECEIPT
Date	14JAN88	3	FCP
New York Prop	erty #	NYCDV606	
Regional Prope	erty #		
Insurance Terms	Christ Trade	ie's	
Telephone	414-27	3-3850	
I.D. #	335	4	

This property receipt supersedes any temporary receipt which may have been previously issued.

Line	Quan.	Description of Items	Dept. Seen by	Reserve	Provisional Estimate	Proposed Sale/Lot
1	1	PETER HAUSEN BALLING,PENCIL DWG,UNFRM	AMP DF		10000	
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Special Instructions:						
		NO CONTRACT SIGNED TO BE SEEN BY J. CANTOR LINE 1: STUDY FOR THE HEROES OF THE REPUBLIC	212	546	1179	
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NEW YOF	(AVENUE RK, N.Y. 10 546-1000	0022 Telex: 62 07 21		011011/11	219 EAS	ST 67th STREET DRK, N.Y. 10021 Telex: 680 13 38



FOGG

ART MUSEUM

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

July 28, 1982

Dr. Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Co., Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Dear Dr. Bader,

I am very disappointed that we were unable to trace the Pontormo fragment before 1942. Imagine buying the picture for 16 guineas! It leaves me numb and violently envious.

I indeed intend to publish the painting, in collaboration with Janet Cox-Rearick. I have already finished my part of the article, and she has promised to get to hers in the early autumn at the latest, as soon as she has finished the preparation of a major book that is going to Princeton University Press.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Sydney J. Freedberg Professor of Fine Arts

SJF/gr

AUG 02 1982





Chemists Helping Chemists in Research and Industry

aldrich chemical company, inc.

Dr. Alfred Bader Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

April 2, 1982

Mr. David Reid Christie's South Kensington Ltd. 85 Old Brompton Road London SW7 3JS England

Dear David:

May I again ask you for a favor about the provenance of a painting.

You will recall that in the summer of 1979 you showed me many of the paintings owned by the estate of Dr. Schapiro which were then on the top floor of your warehouse near Victoria, and I bought four of the paintings which you showed me.

One of these was a head of the Madonna which we both liked so very much and which was exhibited in the great Manchester exhibition in 1965 as No. 187. In that catalog it is described as having been sold at Christie's on October 30, 1942, and this is confirmed by the usual chalk writing on the back of the panel, "Oct. 30-42". It also bears the Christie's number 832HC and in chalk the number 576. Thus I wonder whether it might have been No. 576 in a very large miscellaneous sale at Christie's on October 30, 1942.

I would very much like to trace the provenance of the painting and would very much appreciate whatever help you can give me. I realize that 40 years have passed, but miracles still happen, and the seller might still be alive.

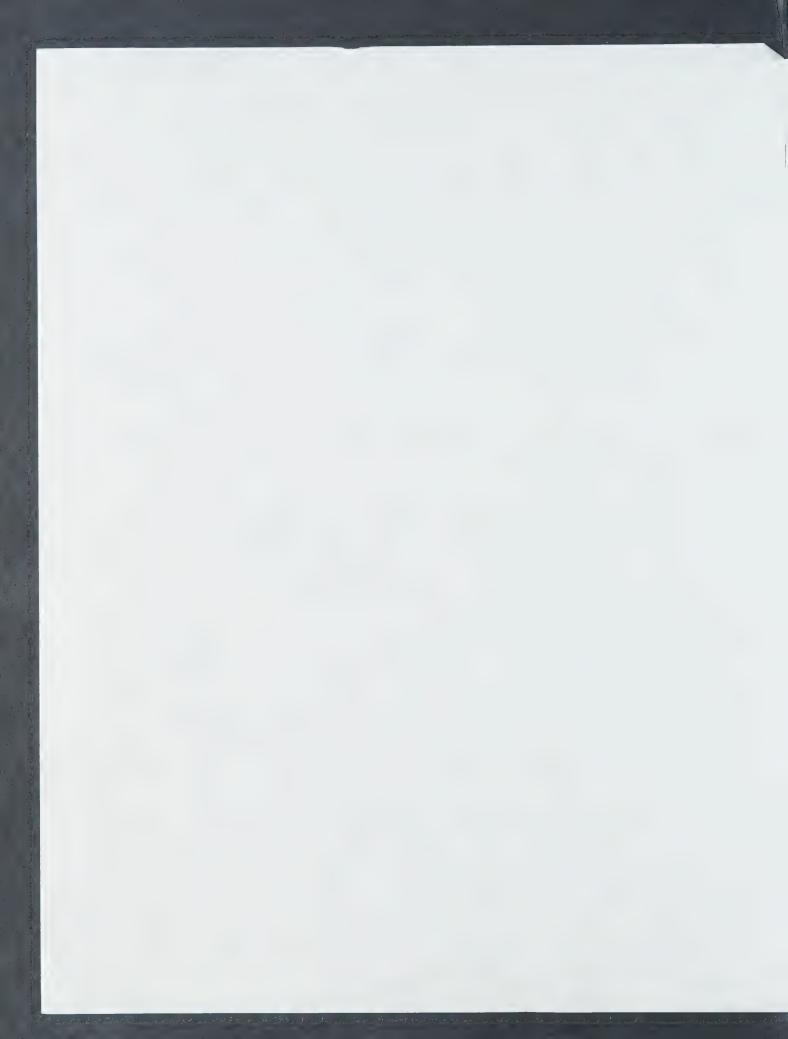
Many thanks for all your help, and best personal regards.

Sincerely,

ma

Alfred Bader AB:mmh

P.O. Box 355, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 USA, Telephone (414) 273-3850, Cable Aldrichem TWX 910-262-3052, Telex 26-843



FOGG ART MUSEUM

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

October 12, 1982

Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, WI 53201

Dear Dr. Bader,

Thank you so much for your very considerate letter of October 5th. I do understand your problem about the quality of color reproductions in the <u>Burlington</u>; I, too, am not altogether happy with it but remain convinced that a color reproduction, even of less than impeccable quality is better by far than none at all. I do think we should go ahead with a color plate, and I shall exercise all possible pressure on the Burlington to assure its quality.

There is no need at all for taking the picture to England. This will not help the accuracy of the reproduction. The transparency can be made here in the Fogg, with the picture right at hand to check its accuracy. If the transparency is checked precisely against the original, the rest is up to the techniques of the printer; he need only match what the transparency tells him is the case.

I am of course aware, as is Professor Cox-Rearick, that the Spanish Art Gallery was Tomas Harris', and this information has also been included in our article. I had thought, however, that Enriqueta Harris was deceased. I am happy that this does not seem to be the case. I hope she can supply us with some additional information, but we can only include it in the article providing that we receive it quite soon; Professor Cox-Rearick is returning from Italy this week and will bring with her the final paragraphs, written during her sojourn in Florence, which concern iconography in which she specializes more than I. She has found out very interesting things. The manuscript should be in London before the end of this month, but when the editors of the <u>Burlington</u> have scheduled its printing is another matter about which at this moment I have no information.

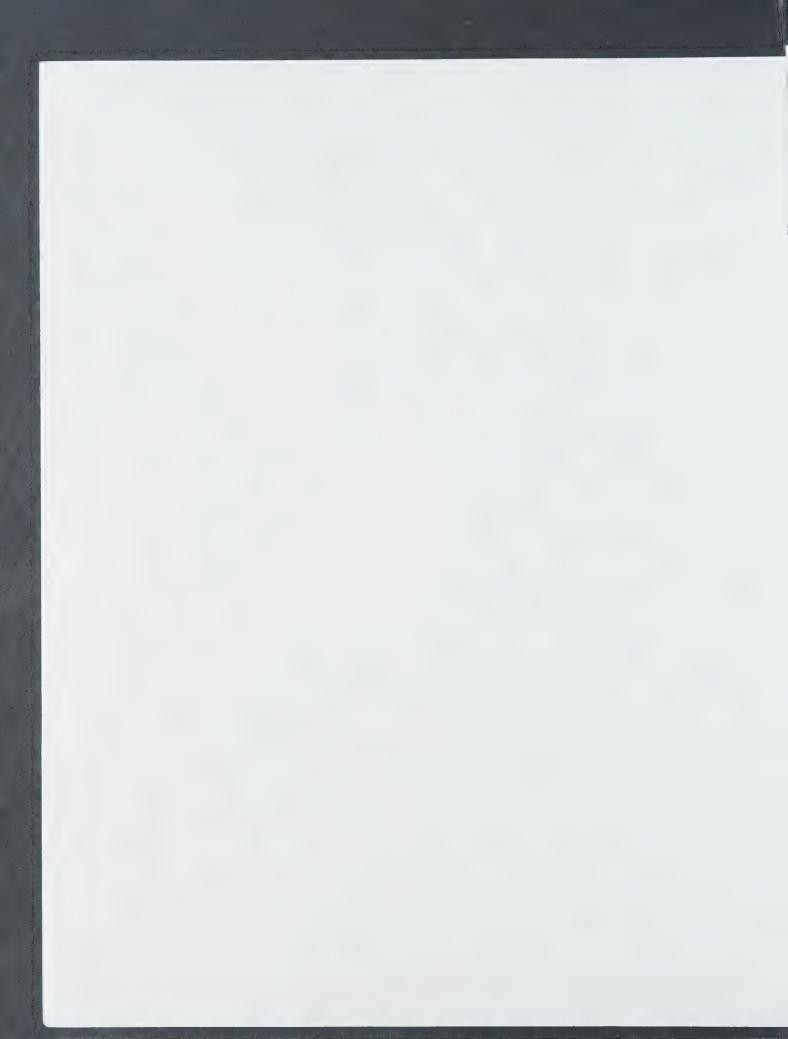
I acutely sympathize with your alarm at the inflated preparation costs of the color plate, but this is about the rate of inflation of all costs of printing.

My very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sydney J. Freedberg

Sydney J. Freedberg / Professor of Fine Arts SJF/gr



HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

December 6, 1979

Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Dear Alfred,

I hope you have meanwhile received my other letter. In Dutch matters I have to consult with collegues and therefore it always takes a little while.

I am presently off to Japan (this Sunday) and can therefore not study the new works immediately. I am impressed by the Pontormo and I will show the photograph to Professor Freedberg for his opinion. I am sure that the <u>Massacre of the Innocents</u> is a Northern work, probably Dutch, in spite of its Italianate qualities. I will send the photograph to Bill Robinson. The head of an apostle is in some ways inspired by Parmigianino but surely later, but just how late is hard for me to judge, and I will also consult with Professor Freedberg, the Parmigianino expert, about it.

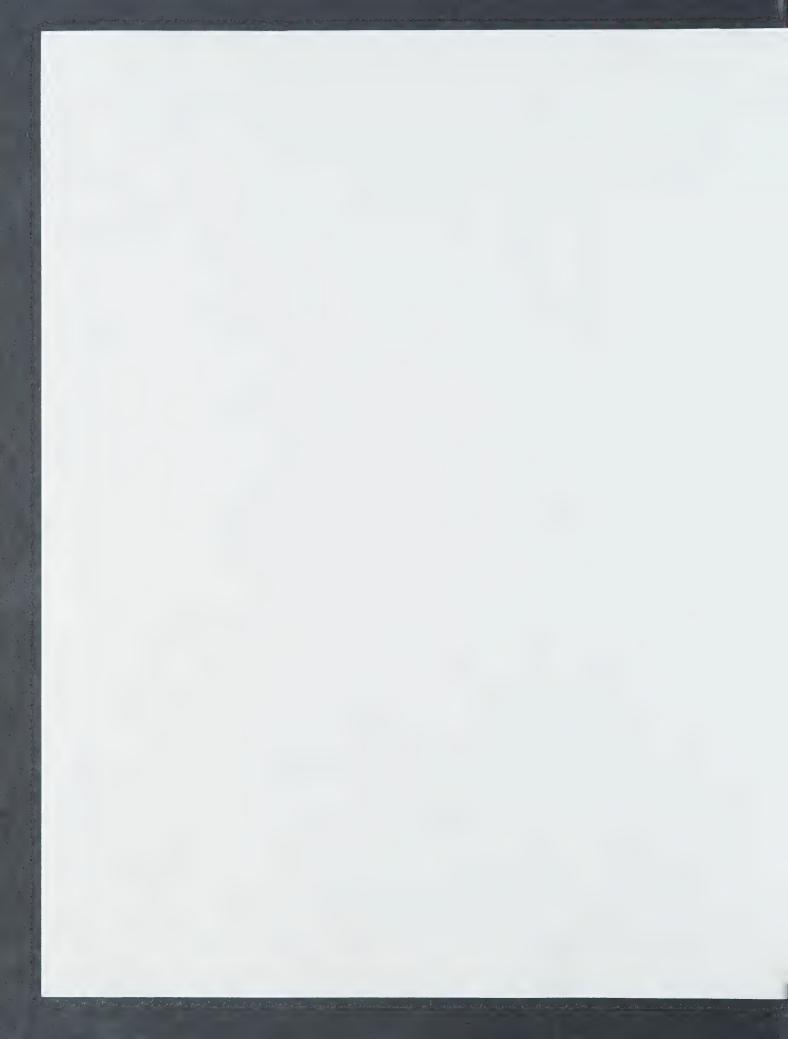
I will be in touch after Christmas when I am back from Japan.

All my best,

Sincerely,

Konrad Oberhuber

KO/nv



FOGG

ART MUSEUM

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

November 23, 1982

Dr. Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, WI 53201

Dear Dr. Bader,

Many thanks for your kind words about the Pontormo article, for which my collaborator Janet Cox-Rearick should receive at least an equal part of the credit. I am taking the liberty of telling her how pleased you are.

I am sorry that there is no possibility of further information on the provenance of the painting. However, I was not optimistic on this score, in any case.

Your "few nit-picking comments", which are extremely welcome, will be forwarded to Neil MacGregor at the Burlington.

I am afraid that there is no way in which we can footnote the authors of the restoration. Such a mention would be appropriate only if there were exceptional technical problems involved, which was not the case here.

I am still waiting to hear from MacGregor about his plans for publication.

My very best wishes,

Sincerely, Ayoung -furing

Sydney J. Freedberg Professor of Fine Arts

SJF/gr





FOGG

ART MUSEUM

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

January 14, 1983

Dr. Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, WI 53201

Dear Dr. Bader:

I note with regret that you would like to take your Pontormo back from the Fogg. I certainly understand that you would want to have it once again in your possession -- it is a marvelous and satisfying picture.

Bill Robinson is unhappily out sick and may still be so when you come by on January 21, but I shall see that the picture is made ready for you and available in the Registrar's Office in the museum.

If you have a moment and I am in the museum on that day, please let us try to say hello to each other.

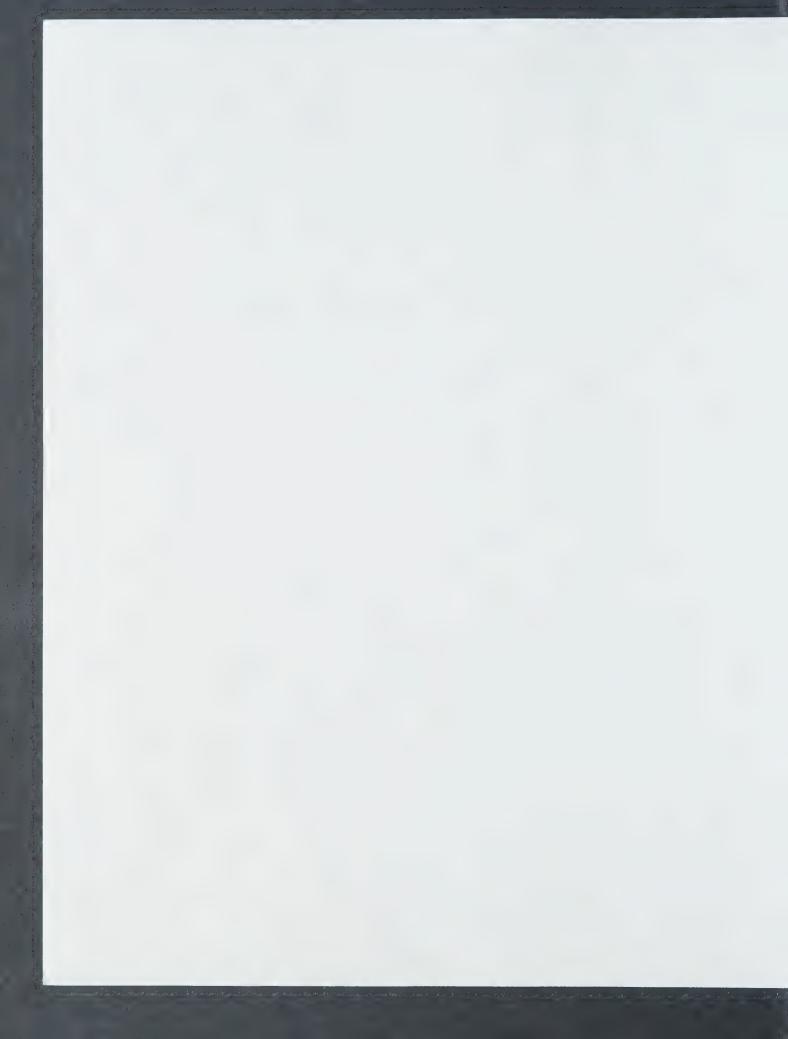
My very best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Sydney J. Freedberg Professor of Fine Arts

SJF/gr

DAN 1977



INDIANA UNIVERSITY



SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS Fine Arts Building Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Mr. Alfred Bader Aldrich Chemical Co., Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 Da Dear Mr. Bader,

Enclosed are: 1) contact sheets recording the infrared reflectography documentation (termed reflectograms) of paintings in your collection, and 2) copies of our examination notes, which should be regarded as provisional, that is, assumptions based on the first scannings of the paintings. The contact sheets are numbered on the back, referring to my film numbers. The camera used to take the reflectograms was a Canon A-1 with Kodak Plus X black and white film, and the specifications of the infrared reflectography equipment are given on the report form.

As I believe I mentioned, I would like to exchange the contacts for several black and white photographs of your paintings. These will help me a great deal as I continue to assemble the material. I would therefore be most grateful if you could send me black and white photos of:

No requests.

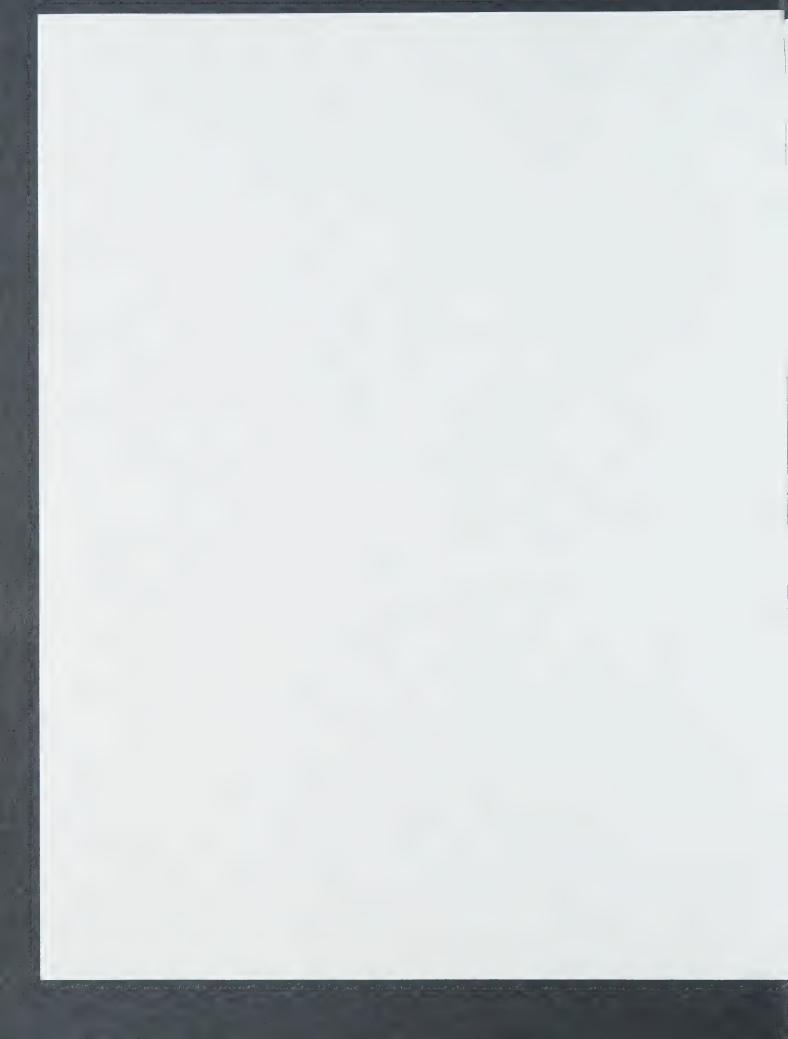
The National Endownment for the Humanities Basic Research Grant which is supporting this research pays for this first developing and printing of the contact sheets. Any further printing must be arranged with my photographic assistant. The cost of printing the reflectograms is \$1.25 per negative; the time involved in the assembly will run from \$10.00 to \$20.00, and the photograph of the completed reflectogram mosaic will be from \$2.50 to \$5.00 (this step will be done by I.U.'s Audio Visual Department). You can estimate the entire cost by counting the negatives and adding --at the most-- \$25.00. Please let me know as soon as possible if you want this additional photographic work for any of your paintings; my assistant will be leaving at the end of this semester.

I would like to thank you again for your interest in this project and for your kind assistance. With your help and that of other museums, I have been able to examine more than 250 paintings with infrared reflectography during the autumn of 1984.

Sincerely yours,

Mully Faries, Professor of Fine Arts

ttas your Buldung avrived? I wore to be in Milwauke again sometime This spring -those find time turching is keeping no busy here at home. I il be a farch.



Pontormo Page 2

the paint nor the gesso drip or sag off the front plane onto the sides except at the upper left and right where there are recent additions.

The paint surface is generally in good condition. Best preserved are the halo, hair, ear, and the light sides of the Virgin's face and neck where there are only a few tiny, discrete losses. The shaded side of her face, originally painted very thinly, has been rubbed even thinner, leaving the uppermost glazes somewhat spotty and uneven. The red robe and greenish background each have numerous, fairly discrete losses. The changeant blue-purple mantle is in worst condition with numerous losses plus large areas (dark areas, like left of Virgin's neck) where a cooler layer of color is almost entirely gone, leaving brown underpaint exposed.

The cleaned painting was varnished with Talens Kembrandt Retouching Varnish. A few small losses or indentations were filled with beeswax. Inpainting was executed with dry pigments in a polyvinyl acetate medium and fixed with polyvinyl acetate spray varnish. Talens Rembrandt Picture Varnish was brushed on as the final coating.

GALLERY MANCHESTER CITY ART "Cathan - - 10-Exhibition of European Art (1520 - 1600) 9th March to 6th April 1965 Cat. 18.7 Artist _ Artist Pontormo, Title Head of the Virgin, Owner Doctor E. . Schapiro.



CHARLES MUNCH & IANE FURCHGOTT ART RESTORERS RT. 5, STURGEON BAY WISCONSIN 54235 TEL. 414 · 743 9679 Jacopo Pontormo (?) Head & Shoulders of the Virgin Oil on wood, 17" x 12" Dr. Alfred Bader November 24, 1979

Condition when Received: The panel varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 5/8" in thickness. It is slightly convex from side to side (viewed from the front). The wood is very rough on the back, with several gouges and wormholes. The panel has no bevel. There are various papers and markings on the back of the panel: brown paper glued along margins; label "Manchester City Art Gallery, Ex. of Eur. Art (1520-1600), 9th Mar. to 6th Apr. 1905, Cat. 187, Pontormo, Head of Virgin, Dr. E. Schapiro;" tiny sticker at top "I 1-7(?);" stencilled letters in black paint "832'HC;" in chalk at top "576;" and in chalk, lower "Oct 30-42(?)."

The paint surface was covered with dirty varnish, very matte and dried in. There was some blistering and cleavage of paint from ground, especially in the lower right, where it looked as if it might have been caused by heat damage. There were also some very small areas of blistering in the lower left, on the right side of the hair, and in the dark blue on the right side of the Virgin's mantle. Blistering had caused a few paint losses at the bottom of the picture. Some retouching was evident, particularly in the two upper corners which seemed to be all newer paint. The penstrokes of the underdrawing were visible through the paint, especially in the face.

Treatment: The blistering paint was reattached with glue size.

The painting was cleaned with an ethanol & toluene mixture, and with acetone. Dirty yellow varnish and old retouching were removed. Some small amounts of old retoucning were left intact, especially in the red garment, where the original paint was more sensitive to the solvents.

Cleaning the upper corners of the picture, which had been overpainted, revealed that the original paint ended in an arcned shape at the top of the picture. The spandrels left at the sides of the arch were found to be filled with new gesso and new (ochre) paint. Because the gesso itself had been replaced, it was difficult to say whether the painting was originally arcned at the top or not. A long narrow excavation through the new gesso on the right revealed nothing but gesso and wood panel. The diagonal brushstrokes (upper right to lower left) in the right background near the arch suggest the area may haveonce been larger. However there is no trace in this area of the architectural elements shown in full copies of Pontormo's Madonna & Child. There is no evidence to show that this was necessarily the original size of the panel. Neither



May 13, 1980

Professor Ludovico Borgo Department of Fine Arts Brandeis University Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

Dear Professor Borgo:

Your kind letter of May 6 reminded me of the delightful hours which I spent with you at Brandeis.

My painting was exhibited some years ago at an exhibition of Mannerist paintings at Manchester, and I enclose a copy of the entry.

Apriori, there are three possibilities: (a) the painting is a study for the original, (b) the painting is a fragment of the original, or (c) it is a period copy.

Your question about the presence of architecture behind the Madonna's head is a very important one and I have had my restorer who cleaned the painting recently look at that question very carefully, and I enclose his report. You will note that there is no such architecture behind the head. On the other hand, there is very delicate and clearly visible underpainting. The underpainting speaks against: its being a copy; the lack of architecture against its being a fragment of an original which contained the architecture.

The painting is now with a good friend of mine, Mr. Christophe Janet at 37 East 64th Street, New York, telephone 212-734-0734, and Christophe plans to show the painting to Sir John Pope Hennesy at the Metropolitan for his opinion. If you are in New York in the near future, I am sure that Christophe would be happy to show you the original.

Professor Ludovico Borgo May 13, 1980 Page Two

My main collection contains very few Italian but a good many Dutch 17th century works, particularly of Biblical subjects, and it would be a great pleasure if I could show you them at your convenience.

Best personal regards,

Alfred Bader

AB:mmh

Enclosures

cc: Mr. Christophe Janet.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS 02154

DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS

No voi no May 6 1989 1980

ALER L'H CHELICOL 30., 196.

Dr. Alfred Bader, President Aldrich Chemical Company, Inc. P.O. Box 355 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Dear Dr. Bader,

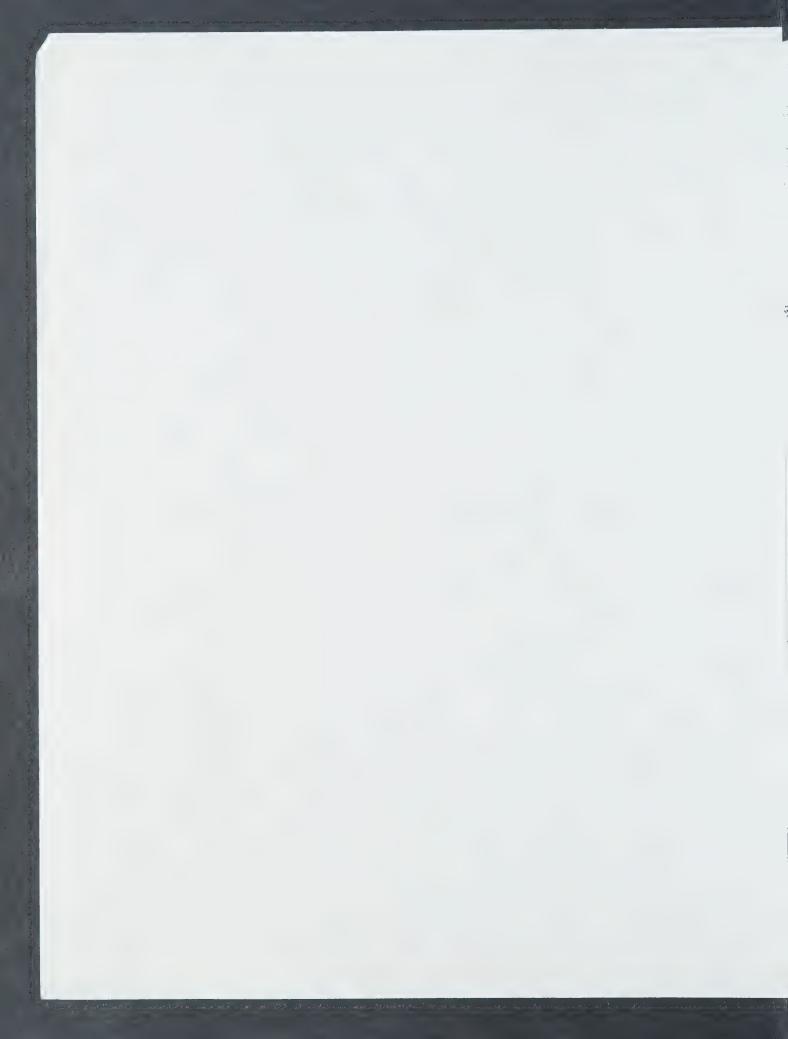
Thank you for your letter and the snapshot of the painting which is most interesting. You may already Know this but in case you don't, here is the story. There are eleven Holy Families in museums around the world all known to be replicas of a famous original by Pontormo which is lost. Your <u>Madonna</u> fits with this group. As far as we know, it may be a fragment of the original version or another derivation from it. The first thing to do in order to find out something about this is to make some tests around the Madonna's head. Behind it there should be architecture or, more precisely roofs or gables. I do not have with me a complete list of all the replicas but I can remember that one is in Munich at the Alte Pinakothek and another right here in Boston attributed to Naldini. Should you want a photo of the latter, please, let me know and I will be glad to order it for you. Keep in mind, however, that I leave for Italy on May 27th and come back at the end of June. Your piece definetely needs accurate study. Once more, my congratulations!

It was really a delight meeting you and having the opportunity to listen to your discussion of your paintings. As I told you before, please, remember that the art historians at Brandeis are serious scholars and that what goes on at the museum here cannot be blamed on us.

Sincerely,

Judan's Borgo

Ludovico Borgo



Dr. Alfred R. Bader 2961 North Shepard Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211 and an arrest of

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My dear Professor Midalda- f: I still remember with puck gleaning my visit with you in June - hank you for your and Mr. Miadelao-f's Fire horpitality, and all your help with gainting. If anen Horace werent quite no for ; I would boken you more often. fencloped an Bholographi of a few recent acquiritions.

As alway, I phase much appreciate your comments. (1) A Andry of an old man, grobably St. Peru, ail on Bager que down on courser, Stalion, MA. concurry, but S

don't Know who. (r) A portrait of an old soman, by Max Lichamanne.) hope you won't longhe about my bunging puch modern painting, but I really like firs. Jo you know any experte on M.L. who could date for you we . (3) A wild (in colour and composition) Manaccu op the Sunocentra' by a care Jutich 17.2. centing as hist,

Jan Jan Noorde. (4) A Jeorentine 16th century Madouna. The made colour ghoto & enclose doonne do ite colon, justice - the red is deeger and the contract with the emerald really beautiful. The gainting had been exhibited in Manchester and I enclope hear of the antry. New tat the garning has been

deand you can pre le delicate undergant de Mancherter te gainting was day dirty. I with I know more about Poulormo. (5) A purall angel which I bought in his beck where it had been called fiers di Cosimo! It is related to an angel by Vouet at Capodimonte, but I don't Know what the relation is. Anyway, I like it, because it's in puch beautifie coudition.

> As you can pre, I am a commutating quite a fais Ilalian gaintings - and even a modern gainting & hos! Is there any chance have you might be coming to Visit your por, and her also Milwanker .

Dest gespenal regards to bak of you, Yeu eed friend,

Cep.a.

December H 1979.

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And the second s

the second second second second

Hello my love, I am astonished at Christii's Ignorance. The Spanish Art Gallery, run by Tomas Harris (+ his father before him) were The greatest importers of works fast from spans are a period of more Than 50 years, including paintings by El Greco + Velagging and tapestris, oriental carpets ett. The firm was closed down soon after The war because Tomas wanted to paint. Don't know what happened to the firm; records, best I will pass your letter on to Enriqueta Frank just who is Tome's "sister and will know of anything services dove and kinses Tony Hunt

participated in the Moose Factory p

The clinical experiences for s in-patient and ambulatory care oppo health nursing activities in Moose of students in the past two years ha units in communities such as Atawapis the Ontario Ministry of Health is sub for nursing students currently in Moos

Instructional Resources: As in m of the curriculum is "bedside" teachin first-hand experience and practice in labour-intensive mode of instruction being experienced in Ontario Univers effective alternatives has become a School of Nursing has consolidated a assisted and self-instructional reso from the Principal's Development Funto develop self-directed learning pa Condition when Received: The panel varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 5/8" in thickness. It is slightly convex from side to side (viewed from the front). The wood is very rough on the back, with several gouges and wormholes. The panel has no bevel. There are various papers and markings on the back of the panel: brown paper glued along margins; label "Manchester City Art Gallery, kx. of Eur. Art (1520-1600), 9th Mar. to 6th Apr. 1965, Cat. 187, Pontormo, Head of Virgin, Dr. E. Schapiro;" tiny sticker at top "I 1-7(?);" stencilled letters in black paint "832'HC;" in chalk at top "576;" and in chalk, lower "Oct 30-42(?)."

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Photo Polemon 382390

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DR. Josuen Goldyne 1 MAPLE ST. San Francisco, Ch. JACON DOUK REMARANOT DRAWINGS LARSE COLLECTION of works of ANT ON PAPER.

