

The Art of
PAOLO VERONESE
1528–1588





29. *Saints Geminianus and Severus*, 1560, oil on canvas,
341 × 240 (133 × 93 1/3). Galleria Estense, Modena

Only after the recent restoration of Veronese's *Saints Geminianus and Severus* has its full dignity and elegance been rediscovered. It is now clear that Veronese's simplified figures were painted with a restrained but brilliant palette of red, gold, white, and black. The removal of earlier overpaint has revealed two reclining figures in the spandrels, which were known previously only from an early eighteenth-century engraving after Veronese's composition. This restoration, still in progress at the time the photograph was made, was made possible by a generous grant from the Samuel H. Kress/World Monuments Fund European Preservation Program.

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W. R. Rearick

with an introductory essay by Terisio Pignatti

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Foreword

No other artist was better able to evoke the visual splendor of sixteenth-century Venetian life than Paolo Veronese. His work provides a feast for the eyes, conjuring up visions that are stately, luxurious, and ripe with opulent beauty. Veronese's work still speaks to us of the perennial pleasures associated with Venice's "Golden Age," and it is little wonder that his paintings and drawings have been eagerly sought by collectors for more than four centuries.

Veronese was a consummate colorist. The plasticity of his powerful forms is asserted through his concentrated but judicious use of strong light and strong color. The resulting combination of legibility and luminosity was perfectly suited to Paolo's large-scale decorative cycles, where religious or allegorical narrative needed to be projected across a considerable distance. No other Venetian painter quite equaled Veronese's inventiveness in composing and staging groups of figures or his ability to manipulate color and light so that the exquisite beauty of brocaded fabric was simulated in pigment. As a draftsman, Veronese stands, among the Venetians, second only to Titian for brilliant virtuosity, range and variety of approach, and depth and intensity of expression.

The National Gallery of Art is proud to bring Veronese's vision to Washington as part of the worldwide celebrations commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of his death. There have been two exhibitions in Venice, another in Paolo's home town of Verona, and international symposia and scholarly seminars. But this final tribute is the largest and most comprehensive undertaking of them all, for it is the only exhibition to present the entire spectrum of Veronese's work as a painter and draftsman. Not since Rodolfo Pallucchini's historic *Mostra di Paolo Veronese* of 1939 in Venice has such a comprehensive collection of the artist's work been brought together, and never has it been seen on this scale in America.

The moving force behind this exhibition was W. R. Rearick. He proposed sister exhibitions, one to be held at Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice and one at the National Gallery in Washington. The Cini exhibition consisted of paintings and drawings chosen because they related to the master's work still in Venice, frescoes in San Sebastiano, and ceilings in the Palazzo Ducale, or for their connections with pictures once in Venetian private collections. For the National Gallery's exhibition the ambition was to illustrate every aspect of Veronese's career and demonstrate the evolution of his style. Save for the National Gallery's own recent acquisition, the *Martyrdom and Last Communion of Saint Lucy*, no works were duplicated in these two exhibitions.

The scholarly catalogue is the work of Professor Rearick and includes an introductory essay by the noted Veronese expert, Terisio Pignatti. Together they have worked with the international advisory committee in shaping this exhibition. We are extremely grateful to all the members for giving so generously of their time and expertise, but two in particular have actually made this exhibition possible. Sydney J. Freedberg has with skill and deftness negotiated many of the loans, while the job of coordinating the exhibition has fallen to Beverly Louise Brown, who has done so admirably.

The National Gallery is profoundly grateful to the lenders from around the world who join us in commemorating Paolo Veronese's artistic achievement. We acknowledge the contribution toward the restoration of works made by the World Monuments Fund and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. The exhibition has also been supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. Above all, however, we express our sincere gratitude to Ford Motor Company, whose generous grant has made it possible to share in Veronese's majestic and magical vision of Venice.

J. CARTER BROWN
Director

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Acknowledgments

Veronese could and often did paint on a vast scale. The magnificent spectacle of his banquet scenes, the rhetorical eloquence of his martyrdoms, and the undeniable grace of his allegorical narratives are intrinsically linked to our image of Paolo as a decorative painter. So much so, in fact, that we often forget that he also painted on a smaller scale with the same chromatic brilliance and fluid brushwork, or that toward the end of his life he imbued his canvases with a deeply felt psychological penetration. The selection of works in *The Art of Paolo Veronese: 1528–1588* should instantly remind or perhaps even introduce us to a better-rounded view of Veronese's oeuvre. Since we were restricted in our choice of works by what could conveniently and safely be transported, there will be no monumental banquet scenes in this exhibition. We would have had to move heaven and earth to get them here. What we do have is the most magnificent assemblage possible of Veronese's paintings and drawings.

The members of the advisory committee and the lenders to the exhibition, whose names are listed on these pages, have lent their time and support in the most extraordinary way. The success of this exhibition owes much to their generosity. Special thanks are due to Robert Bergman, Marco Chiarini, Donald Garstang, George Goldner, Neil MacGregor, Fabrizio Mancinelli, Giovanna Nepi Scirè, Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, Wolfgang Prohaska, Pierre Rosenberg, David Steadman, George Szabo, Alain Tapié, and Francesco Valcanover for helping to secure loans. In addition, many scholars, dealers, colleagues, and collectors shared their knowledge of Veronese and Venetian art, made their collections available, and graciously provided unpublished material. Mention should be made of Maurizio Armaroli, Piergiuseppe Bozzetti, Harry Brooks, Bonnie Burnham, Jean Cadogan, Keith Christiansen, Andrea Emiliani, Roberto Fontinari, Michael Halsten, John Herring, Paul Herring, Mark Leonard, Elizabeth Llewellyn, Ottorino Nonfarmale, Marilyn Perry, Joyce Plesters, Peter Powers, Andrea Rothe, Lawrence Rubin, Francis Russell, Scott Schaefer, Eric Schleier, Janet Smith, Julien Stock, Paolo Viti, and Fulvio Zuliani.

Many members of the National Gallery's staff have contributed to the success of the exhibition, but three in particular have worked on it day in and day out and deserve special thanks: Sydney J. Freedberg, Janice Collins, and Sarah Tanguy. Others who have helped in myriad ways are Gordon Anson, David Bull, Cameran Castiel, Frances Feldman, Sarah Fisher, Genevra Higginson, Ruth Kaplan, Mark Leithauser, Sarah McStravick, Maria Mallus, John Olson, Hugh Phibbs, Gaillard Ravenel, Mervin Richard, Mary Suzor, Dodge Thompson, Chris Vogel, Elizabeth Weil, Mary Yakush, and Katie Ziglar.

The production of the catalogue was overseen by Frances Smyth and Jane Sweeney, who respectively designed and edited it. Elia Bordignon-Favaro provided help with transcribing the inscriptions on the drawings and Robert Erich Wolf translated Terisio Pignatti's essay. To all of them, our heartfelt thanks for a job well done.

Finally, a very particular debt of gratitude is owed W. R. Rearick: first, for wanting to commemorate Veronese in 1988, second for his intelligence and insight in writing this catalogue, and third for the primary role he played in selecting the works in the exhibition.

BEVERLY LOUISE BROWN

Paolo Veronese: His Life and Art

TERISIO PIGNATTI

It is widely held that the sixteenth century—the cinquecento—marks the golden age of Venetian painting. From its first years to its last, one genius followed another, and at times their careers overlapped. Yet they all had in common one typically Venetian trait, color. True, it differed from one artist to the next, and the way each put it to use is the key by which we distinguish their individual languages: melodious and delicately nuanced with Giorgione, impetuous and resonant with Titian, brilliant like fireworks with Bassano, dramatic and visionary with Tintoretto. But in the opinion of the time, one artist stood out above all others in this respect, and truly deserved to be named the sixteenth century’s “prince of the palette”: Paolo Caliari, called Veronese.

The present exhibition commemorates the four-hundredth anniversary of Veronese’s death in 1588. It is my task to summarize his career, and it seems best to follow the path traced by the artist’s own brushes. The landmarks are to be found in his use of color. That aspect of his art was his greatest asset, and for artists, critics, patrons, and the public of his time as well as ours, it was and is the key to his success. In 1648 the historian and critic Carlo Ridolfi recounted the popular reaction to the first sight of Veronese’s pictures in the Venetian church of San Sebastiano: “When the pictures were unveiled . . . there was a great concourse of people come to admire them, heaping immortal praises on their author.”¹

Before retracing the details of his biography and artistic production, we need to locate him briefly within the artistic world of his time and to see what made that time and place unique. If the first decades of the sixteenth century saw the flowering of the High Renaissance in the wake of Giorgione and Titian, during the years our artist was active—between the 1540s and 1580s—the aesthetic credo of faithful representation of nature was toppled from its high pedestal and replaced by a more artificial, more contrived antinaturalistic approach that can be summed up in the Italian word *maniera*, a term of complex significance that will become clearer as we proceed. But the revolution involved more than form as such. In the domain of the spirit, the fifteenth century had been characterized by the rather ingenuous humanist thought by which the ideas and ideals of the classical past were salvaged and set alongside and equal to the doctrines of the Fathers of the Church. In the new century those values gave way to ideological differences and tensions that arose with the Protestant Reformation and the harsh and reactionary reply it received from the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The ferment of formal and moral crises that ensued had an impact on a tumultuously developing political, economic, and social scene that was setting the pattern for modern Europe. Venice, in that world of change, stood out as something special. In the sixteenth century the city on the lagoon was still at the height of its glory. It could assert itself victoriously against the great modern states that were rising, and the chroniclers of the time did not exaggerate in hailing it as the wealthiest, happiest, most beautiful city in the Western world.

That judgment was a due reflection of the real situation of the Serenissima Repubblica di San Marco, Venice’s resonant official name. Its political stability was embodied in an orderly succession of doges and in the powerful mercantile oligarchy at its helm. Its merchant ships still ruled the waves despite a growing threat from the Turks, and despite the discovery of America and the new routes to the Indies. Its financial power ensured it the prime place among those states with wealth to invest abroad. To all intents and purposes Venice was the bank of and for Europe.²

detail, cat. 74



Above all, however, it was the beauty and uniqueness of the place itself that dazzled whoever had the good fortune to visit. Quietly poised above water and protected by an easily defended lagoon, the city would reach its full development during the sixteenth century. Jacopo de' Barbari's verifiably faithful bird's-eye view documents the extraordinary urbanistic extension of Venice in those years (fig. 1). The population of some 150,000 inhabitants was most dense in the central quarters of San Marco overlooking the port, in Castello with its grandiose arsenal, and in Dorsoduro and San Polo, which included the Grand Canal and the Rialto. San Marco represented the political center of the city, and the Rialto was the commercial center, with financial offices and markets.

But the great innovation of the sixteenth century was the attention the government and the citizenry gave to beautifying their already extraordinary city. That enterprise was stimulated by a natural and decidedly efficacious program of exalting it in thought and word, and which aimed to give visible form to what would be called the "myth of Venice." Thus the Piazza San Marco was given a new grandeur when the Libreria and the Procuratie Nuove were built and the Campanile was completed. The venerable drawbridge at the Rialto was majestically reconstructed in stone. The Grand Canal was embellished with dozens of magnificent new palaces.

The new style in art that triumphed in the latter half of the century drew its projects and artists not only from the Veneto, but also from Tuscany and Rome and other art centers inspired by them: thus we find artists such as Sansovino, Sanmicheli, Palladio, Vasari, Salviati. The Venetian artistic scene that had taken shape in the transition between the Gothic and Renaissance periods now came to be extraordinarily enriched. Modern currents with Raphael and Michelangelo as points of departure, which were superimposed on Tuscan classicism and the inspiration of antiquity, were now establishing the new aesthetic we call mannerism. At the base of that new style were no longer the models handed down in a continuous line from school to school but, instead, the innovations of individual artists, each with his personal sense of poetry. For critics like Vasari in the 1550 and 1568 versions of his *Vite*, the most beautiful artistic creation would be one that gathered together the best aspects of different "manners," from the classical to the modern and, in particular, those of Tuscany and Rome.

The new cultural situation that was taking shape through fusion of or disparity between various schools gave rise to a phase of bitter polemic, one of particular interest to us because of the special effect it had on Venice. Writers of Tuscan or Roman inspiration like Aretino (1537), Pino (1548), and Vasari (1550 and 1568) extolled the art of their native places and above all that of Michelangelo. That great painter and sculptor was held up as a model because of his fidelity to forms that were essentially sculptural or founded on graphic principles: what the mannerist aesthetic would define as *buon disegno*, a term transcending "good drawing" and involving the perfection of conceptual design. His champions, however, did not go unopposed. Other writers—Dolce in 1557 for one—upheld the supremacy of Venice as embodied in Titian. In their view, the highest artistic forms must have their basis in *colore* (color).³

The controversy between *disegno* and *colore* had its effect on the increasing spread of the new mannerist approach. It reached Venice between the 1530s and 1540s with the arrival on the local scene of Tuscan and Roman painters such as Salviati and Vasari, but also with the propagation of the style through the less-distant example of Giulio Romano's work in Mantua at the Palazzo del Te and that of Correggio and Parmigianino in Parma. Substantially, though in different ways, that style promoted the idea of *buon disegno* against the Venetians' *colore*. According to the major critic of the time, the Tuscan Giorgio Vasari, Michelangelo condemned Titian's stupendous *Danaë* (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples) in categorical terms: "What a shame that these Venetians are not instructed from the start in good drawing."⁴

Thus the artistic situation there was neither simple nor clearly defined around mid-century when Paolo, the young artist from Verona, decided to seek his fortune in Venice. One would expect the ambitious young man to have modeled



fig. 1. Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, c. 1500. Woodcut

fig. 2. *Madonna Enthroned with Saints and Donors* (the Bevilacqua-Lazise altarpiece). Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona



himself after the most highly reputed Venetian painters, in particular Titian, the supreme custodian of the tradition. Not so, however. Paolo, who was born in 1528, had received a notable artistic education in his home city even before his earliest adolescence. His father, a modest workman more artisan than sculptor, had put him to study at the age of ten in the workshop of Antonio Badile, a capable painter but no genius. But Paolo preferred to make his own choices, and before the age of twenty was opting for the more modern and certainly more difficult approach of the *maniera*.⁵ Very likely it was a move to assert his independence that at that time he assumed the surname of Caliari, that of a noble patron perhaps. Only years later would it be replaced by the name with which he entered history: Veronese.

Recent studies have made clear what a decisive role the years immediately preceding his departure for Venice, roughly 1545–1550,⁶ played in the shaping of Paolo's artistic personality. The mark made by that experience would never entirely leave him: it would equip him with the aesthetic base for a way of painting that, however much Venetian, was above all uniquely his.

Verona in those years was a lively melting pot of artistic currents. There were established masters still working along the traditional line from Mantegna to Bellini and Giorgione, one represented by Paolo's first teacher Badile and by Giovanni Francesco Caroto. But alongside those conservatives there were others, young men such as Brusasorzi, Del Moro, Zelotti, and Farinati, who were winning attention for the way they were assimilating the artifices of the new style, the *maniera*, that flourished in Mantua and Parma. It was in that group of interpreters of the new style that the adolescent Paolo began to shape his own language, preparing to develop certain tendencies that, while never fully adhering to the aesthetic of the Tuscan-Roman *maniera*, would often come close to it in various respects.⁷

Traces of this new mannerist element can be made out, I think, in a small group of works Paolo produced in his pre-Venetian years, some of which are shown in the first rooms of our exhibition. Datable to the late 1540s, they include *Christ Revives the Daughter of Jairus* (cat. 2), the Bevilacqua-Lazise altarpiece (fig. 2), and a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* commissioned by the Hieronymite monastery in Verona.⁸ Certain stylistic traits found in all these paintings can be taken as exemplary of a particular formative moment in Paolo's career when he was around twenty years of age. Besides the emphatic linear quality they owe to mannerist inspiration, they strike us immediately by their color, whose pronounced tonal accents are based on the counterposition of light tints: rose and blue, green and yellow, red and pale green. Often there is an acidulous tang to

the tones, and if the silvery colors recall those of Pisanello and Mantegna—well known in Verona—they were developed further within the highly contrived and antinaturalistic range a mannerist approach would suggest.

To see just how individual Paolo's first style was, we need only compare it with what Giorgione's heirs and Titian himself were developing in Venice. Their art involved a rich impasto of color permeated with natural light, while Paolo's color was essentially chromatic and artificial, relying chiefly on its graphic underpinning, and maintaining its distance from a simple representation of nature.

Here we need to emphasize our artist's exceptional virtuosity in drawing. It was based not only on direct acquaintance with the paintings to be seen in Mantua and Parma, but also familiarity with drawings and engravings by or after Parmigianino and his Venetian followers such as Schiavone. Indeed, the early writers were well aware of his graphic skill, and stressed it as an essential aspect of an artist they viewed almost as repudiating the reigning principle in Venice, color. On the basis of Paolo's *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 16), Vasari could suggest with some satisfaction that his work was superior by far to that of his companions in that decorative undertaking, the Veronese artists Brusasorzi, Del Moro, and Farinati.⁹ And in 1556 Francisco Sansovino, the first critic to describe the paintings in the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale, affirmed that "Paolo is beginning to make himself known as something rare in his profession" and that his work proves "truly possessed of *disegno* and delicacy."¹⁰ Sansovino deliberately intended to single out Paolo's personal language as something very much his own and to assign it to a category of highly refined and antinaturalistic art that in many respects was parallel to the mannerist aesthetic.

Just how the very young Paolo's art differed from that of his contemporaries is plain to see in such early works as the *Allegories* in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome (cats. 12, 13, 14), the Giustinian altarpiece (cat. 15), and the allegories he painted between 1553 and 1556 for the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci. Nor should we forget that the well-informed critic Ridolfi, writing almost a century later, confirmed Paolo's extraordinary interest in the art of drawing by recounting how the artist-in-the-making used to train his hand by copying Dürer's engravings and prints, and perhaps as well certain drawings by Parmigianino that he found in an album owned by the Muselli family in Verona.¹¹ Thus from his early years Paolo showed particular interest in graphic techniques, and in this he distinguished himself from the Venetians who, as a matter of principle, made drawings that had characteristics of paintings. No wonder that he left an impressive corpus of about 150 autograph sheets. These include lightning-swift first ideas, terse pen sketches to work out compositions and details, and highly finished chiaroscuro drawings intended either for sale or perhaps as mementos of completed works. Conspicuous in all of these is a language that was extremely concise, suggesting more than it described, that at times attained the highest level of academic preciseness in certain thoroughly worked-out details, and that often was executed in a soft medium or was highlighted with the brush, as close as the means permitted to the fluidity of his painting.¹²

Paolo's earliest efforts express with clarity all the various influences that were working to form his personal style. If, as is probable, *Christ Revives the Daughter of Jairus* can be dated near 1546, it is significant that the modeling is traditional in the draperies, with full-bodied and strongly marked folds, whereas the muscular robustness of the figures has more in common with the emphatic poses used by Giulio Romano, and the characteristic foreshortening of a female head, with an almost undirected gaze in an oval face, brings to mind instead Parmigianino's refined elegance. A similar model underlies the Bevilacqua altarpiece as well (fig. 2), especially in its long-lined physical types and in the saints' highly sophisticated poses. The latter, moreover, have their match in the pose of Saint Catherine in the Giustinian altarpiece, which is equally unnatural in the contortion of the body, but gives full value to the spread and flow of the remarkably refined golden-green mantle. Then too, these first works are colored in contrasting tones of pale and rather acid hues (green and red, white and yellow, gray and rose) chosen with no attempt to appear natural, but only to be decorative. Often

a touch of light underscores the ridges of the drapery folds and makes them look less weighty, almost as if Paolo was already preparing what would be his ultimate evolution: a synthesis of color and light, “*disegno in colore*, where the substance of design is wrought out of color.”¹³

Paolo’s name was inscribed for the last time in the Verona registers in 1553, so we can suppose that soon afterward he moved to Venice. By 1555, we find him renting a studio near Santi Apostoli. But as early as 1553 he was already at work decorating the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale. In those pictures a new sculptural tendency comes to the fore that would prove essential in his further stylistic development, the influence of Giulio Romano’s work in Mantua. No doubt Paolo had been deeply affected by that new model during a sojourn in Mantua, documented between 1552 and 1553, when he painted the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Giulio’s figures and, even more, the sculptures of Michelangelo seem the predominant inspiration in that painting, notably in the demon’s muscular torso and the powerful foreshortening of the saint. Such images can be understood as the result of the young artist’s adoption of a style that we might call “Romanism,” because it was imbued with a certain return to the antique and took the so-called *Belvedere Torso* as a model.

One may ask if this new turn marked the end of Parmigianino’s influence on Paolo and the renunciation of whatever he had derived from the concept of the *maniera*. Perhaps not yet, because the transition to his own language was to be much more gradual, and he would hesitate long before discarding the studied subtleties of his early approach and its emphasis on drawing. Their traces are still apparent in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, where the blond enchantress is softly modeled by chromatic nuances and effervesces with light, and in typology is still linked to the model of the older master from Parma. For further proof, in x-radiographic examination, the underlying preparatory drawing confirms the impression that the painting is essentially mannerist in concept, with characteristic linear developments and broken yet fluid touch.

Nonetheless, Paolo would adhere thereafter to a broader, solemn Romanism seemingly fostered by an instinctive need for something more classical. Surely in this phase there must have been no small influence from the great architect Sanmicheli, who considered him as his son and employed him in those early Venetian years to paint frescoes in the villa La Soranza at Castelfranco and perhaps also in that of the Da Porto family at Thiene where, unfortunately, whatever he did has been destroyed or dispersed.

There are already unforgettable masterworks of this new Romanist phase in the canvases for the Sale dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale along with quite similar examples now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, and the Vatican (fig. 3, cats. 14, 12, 13). In the Palazzo Ducale, Paolo was faced with the special problem of compensating purely through pictorial effect for the relatively low ceilings, where heavy-appearing paintings would have seemed to crush the figures down over the viewers. Not at a loss, he was inspired to make his chromatic effects appear fleeter, with a more rapid tempo, by means of an explosion of light, a butterfly-fluttering of iridescent reflections that make solid forms appear almost weightless. By that device his figures seem to soar in the pallid space and to vibrate as if a cascade of jewels were falling over the tawny gold of their nude flesh and over the color glazes of their sumptuous draperies. Here perhaps we are witnessing Paolo’s discovery of the decorative language that he would base on the synthesis of color and light and that would finally become the secret of all his art.

The later 1550s found him engaged in other tasks as well, chiefly decorative undertakings, and especially for the church of San Sebastiano and the Libreria Marciana. In medieval times the small Hieronymite order had erected their monastery and a modest church near the quay along the Zattere, in a neighborhood inhabited by mariners and fisherman. The church, which was probably under the patronage of the wealthy Cornaro family, was later reconstructed in grand manner by the building contractor Scarpagnino and completed in 1548. Meanwhile, a recent arrival in Venice was Bernardo Torlioni, the order’s new prior, who probably had been Paolo’s friend ever since the young artist had painted the *Lamenta-*



fig. 3. *Youth and Old Age*. Sale dei Dieci, Palazzo Ducale, Venice

tion over the Dead Christ (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona) for the monastery in Verona, a work markedly influenced by Parmigianino and certainly among Paolo's earliest efforts.

Thus the two friends, friar and painter, began an extraordinary project of decorating San Sebastiano, which would occupy the artist off and on for almost two decades. By December 1555, the sacristy ceiling was completed with a *Coronation of the Virgin* still marked by Paolo's youthful propensity toward a linear treatment and the use of cold and silvery colors. But already in the next year, 1556, a new and grandly decorative approach to color would triumph in the ceiling of the church itself, with episodes from the life of Esther symbolizing the Madonna's glorious career. The Virgin would be the protagonist of the silvery *Annunciation* frescoed on the triumphal arch as well as of the altarpiece of 1559–1561 completed shortly before it, the latter woven through with coloristic resonances like musical harmonies.

In the ceiling paintings for San Sebastiano, the artist undoubtedly profited from the experience acquired in the Palazzo Ducale. It was with a surprising naturalness that he laid out the compositions illustrating the *Repudiation of Vasti*, the *Coronation of Esther*, and the *Triumph of Mordecai* (fig. 4): a crescendo of powerful foreshortening in the new Roman manner, but gentled and made less vibrant in a pictorial treatment in which drawing is softer and secondary to jubilant warm color. The palette nonetheless retained the Olympian detachment that goes with mannerist artifice, and no great effort was made to have it reflect the natural passions of the subjects. Technically the painting has a refined character that is far from nature, with brushwork that lets the pigments pour out like the molten glass used by Murano's virtuoso glassblowers. The critic Marco Boschini would write in 1660: "One can say that the Painter, to achieve such effects, had melted together gold, pearls, and rubies, emeralds and sapphires finer than fine, and the purest and most perfect diamonds."¹⁴

An important new element entered Veronese's vocabulary in San Sebastiano: the use of painted architecture that was no longer limited to framing or supports, but was integrated into the composition as an active element, including flights of stairs in perspective, foreshortened colonnades, temple fronts, and palace façades. Paolo, in short, had become a consummate scenic designer, no longer open only to the direct suggestions of a Sanmicheli, but probably also to the theoretical precepts of Sebastiano Serlio, whose treatise on architecture Paolo must have known, in particular the volume on theatrical décor published in Paris in 1545.¹⁵ It is against just such Serlian architecture that Paolo foreshortened his figures.

Paolo also exploited ingenious artifices to elicit iridescent effects almost as if charging color with its own internal luminescence. That this technical discovery would soon constitute the basis for his further stylistic development is evident also in the decoration of the Libreria Marciana off Piazza San Marco.¹⁶ This was another major commission awarded the Veronese painter who was not yet thirty, and it greatly enhanced his fame in Venice. The early writers reported that, when the work was finished, Titian wished to bestow a gold chain on Veronese, who was judged the most excellent of a team of collaborators that included, significantly, members of the group that had brought the mannerist modes from Verona to Venice: Franco, Del Moro, Licinio, Zelotti, and De Mio, as well as the Venetian Andrea Schiavone and the Tuscan Giuseppe Porta (Salviati). In Veronese's three roundels for the ceiling there is an ever more constructive feeling for the synthesis of color and light that would culminate in the fluid and luminescent brushwork of the two stupendous *Philosophers* he painted later for the library walls. Here there is a certain increased density in the palette and a greater concern for naturalness in the poses, to such an extent that Paolo was drawing closer to the major Venetian pictorial tradition represented by Titian and Tintoretto.

Writers have stressed the importance of the scenographic element that began to take a leading place in Veronese's inventions and that contributed materially to his quest for an ever more sumptuous and decorative coloring.¹⁷ It is conspicuous in the frescoes of the upper zone in San Sebastiano, where an illusionistic colonnaded portico with niches and windows serves as a backdrop for the narratives,



fig. 4. *The Triumph of Mordecai*. San Sebastiano, Venice

which are acted out almost as in a theater. This interest in painted architecture is found also in a series of large canvases that includes the *Anointing of David* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), and, notably, the large *Christ among the Doctors in the Temple* (fig. 5), the latter a painting which, despite the unlikely date of 1548 inscribed on it, in my opinion dates from around 1558. In these pictures the architectural support helped the painter in calculating the color and light to be directed onto figures posed in distinctly theatrical fashion within large spaces.

Certainly Veronese was affected by other influences that would round out his scenographic-decorative pictorial vocabulary, and it was perhaps in those same years that he was touched by one that would be the most persuasive because it was most akin to him spiritually: that of the architect Andrea Palladio. In 1558 Palladio had finished building a villa in the hills at Maser near Asolo for the Barbaro brothers, patrons noted for their wealth and their culture. Daniele, bishop-elect of Aquileia, was an extraordinary humanist, musical theorist, and astronomer who in 1556 had published the ancient architectural treatise of Vitruvius. Marcantonio was a diplomat and merchant, man of letters, and amateur sculptor. Probably Veronese was commissioned to fresco their villa (now Villa Volpi-Luling Buschetti) during a pause in his work for San Sebastiano, and there are valid reasons for dating this undertaking between 1559 and 1560.¹⁸



fig. 5. *Christ among the Doctors in the Temple*. Museo del Prado, Madrid

We can well imagine the artist's emotional reaction, enchanted by the view of the splendid Palladian construction lying in the foothills of the Alps and by the pristine beauty of its intimate and sun-drenched rooms with their unprecedented rhythmic harmony. Here his decorative penchant, then at the highpoint of its classicistic phase, could easily be adapted to this measured interplay of spaces and light and produce its own masterpiece (fig. 6). There seems little sense in some critics' insinuation that Palladio was not pleased by the intrusion of Veronese's paintings, and that it is why he did not mention them when describing the Villa Maser in the treatise he published in 1570, *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*. To our mind this was no more than an oversight, however unpardonable to modern thinking.¹⁹

The frescoes are concentrated in the central area of the main floor, which is laid out on a T-plan. The axis is constituted by a long gallery, which links the façade and the two rooms toward the south with the large square salon opening on the inner courtyard at the north, while bedrooms overlooking the courtyard open out from the square salon. The paintings in these spaces are fully unified in

fig. 6. View of Stanza di Bacco, Villa Barbaro, Maser



theme, following a program, no doubt devised by the Barbaro brothers themselves, that exalts the universal harmony of the cosmos governed by divine power expressing itself through Love, Peace, and Fortune. Recent discoveries show that this complex scheme was derived from texts of the Greek philosophers, Empedocles in particular, from descriptions of classical sanctuaries such as in Pausanias, and from sixteenth-century iconographic manuals such as Cartari's.²⁰ This compound of humanistic culture and Christian spirituality could be expected from such patrons.²¹ Yet Veronese could find his way easily through the spiderwebs of erudition and create a figurative poetry that stands on its own. His images convey his personal inspiration dictated by a solar sentiment, a feeling for sunlight ablaze with luminescence and warmed by the most vivid color. It is significant that he should return to the medium he had favored in his youth, fresco, almost as if, with its subtly rough surfaces and the possibility of great effects of iridescence, it was the ideal medium for this highest synthesis of color and light.

He began with the square salon as the core of the iconographic program. There on the ceiling, Paolo painted the divinities of Olympus rotating around the figure representing divine power against a blaze of celestial light. At four corners of the central octagon, personifications of the four elements float on silvery clouds. Below are two lunettes with figures exemplifying the four seasons, unforgettable in the opulent fullness of their forms. They are the fruit of an incomparable Raphaellesque ideal of beauty conjoined with Michelangelesque drawing and perhaps revealing the ultimate secret of Paolo's Romanist formation, which here attains the highest level of classical idealism.²²

Here and there the intellectual decorative program of the rooms is infused with intimate elements of a more direct and vital realism. In that same Hall of Olympus we find the delicate portrait in green and gold brocade of the mistress of the house, Marcantonio's wife Giustiniana Giustinian with her children and a nurse. On the walls there are landscapes painted from life, with sudden glimpses of the richly green meadows of the Veneto dotted with white sheep, or elsewhere rivers where barges ply. Alongside these are imaginary views of ports and classical cities, echoes perhaps of a mysterious though not unlikely voyage Veronese may have made to Rome in those years in the company of his friend, the Venetian legate Gerolamo Grimani.

From the square salon (begun perhaps in 1559), the painter moved on to the gallery, which is briefly interrupted by a cross-hall where he painted within niches, like statues, eight young and very beautiful female musicians with their instruments: one more allusion to the harmony and felicity writ large in the Barbaro family's destiny. Similar ideas are expressed in the two rooms toward the south. One has an *Allegory of Bacchus* in which the god offers the fruits of the vine to the Lares, protectors of the Barbaro family, the other an *Allegory of Conjugal Love* where a happily wedded couple (perhaps suggesting Giustiniana and Marcantonio Barbaro) place themselves under the protection of Hymen, Juno, and Venus, while a trio of women with stringed instruments plays sweet harmonies and a florid Felicity displays the family's lavish wealth.

The decoration of the two rooms overlooking the courtyard is rather more measured, because here a Christian iconography extols the Virtues and because the pictorial style is somewhat more nuanced and delicate. In one room Faith and Charity guide the Christian Soul, in the other Fortune tempers Ambition and thwarts Fraud, motifs well in accord with a program that exalts divine power and symbolizes the triumph of Christian humanism. The principle is carried over into the decoration of the grotto in the nyphaeum below, with its *Allegory of Peace* in the guise of Venice.

Maser marks a moment of exceptional commitment in Veronese's career. There he was able to give pictorial form to the complex ideology of his patrons' program without surrendering any of the gains of his personal artistic development. Yet he also went well beyond his youthful mannerist artifices, developing the Romanist suggestions with unprecedented freedom. It is almost as if, within the limpid clarity of Palladio's architectural setting, he had set out to attain a rarefied Olympian classicism of drawing and color in a synthesis we can take as a paradigm of his full maturity. Something like ten years had passed since his first youthful realizations, and now, in the early 1560s, he was girding himself to create a new decorative language that could embody the triumphal myth of Venice in definitive pictorial form.

After the achievement at Maser, Paolo painted a series of pictures of such extraordinarily large dimensions that they seem to go back to the tradition of the fifteenth-century Venetian *telari*: sumptuous feasts in costume which, like *sacre rappresentazioni*—the Italian version of miracle or mystery plays but on a grandiose scale—are inserted into natural perspectives of the city itself. This, one may well say, was the veritable triumph of the classicism Veronese has matured through the Romanist experiments. In these pictures he drew closer to a typically Venetian realism by depicting a way of living where the native magnificence was raised to new heights in a splendor of costume and setting.

This was the beginning of the theme of the banquet, which seems to have monopolized the artist's creative fantasy from 1560 to slightly beyond 1570. If the subject was new for him, he could profit from the experience of Tintoretto, who was one of the first to exploit it. In the latter's *Last Suppers* for the churches of San Marcuola (1547) and San Trovaso (1560) and in the *Washing of the Feet* now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (1547), the space had been thrown open in theatrical manner, with sacred or profane settings transformed into something beheld as on a stage. However, unlike Veronese, who would use a full range of colors, Tintoretto always emphasized the dramatic intensity of the sentiments associated with his subjects, and his more limited palette underscores the expressive tension



fig. 7. *Marriage Feast at Cana*. Musée du Louvre, Paris

with abrupt shifts of light, which only here and there permit a true chromatic effect to shimmer through. But Paolo came to the idea of decorative stage settings after the experience at Maser. He could scarcely put out of mind the more gratifyingly festive color he had deployed there now that he was setting out to exalt the wealth and power of Venice triumphing in her golden age.

And so his banquets mirrored the feasts and festivities so much a part of Venetian life in his time. The first was the immense *Marriage Feast at Cana* of 1562–1563 (fig. 7), which was commissioned as the finishing touch to Palladio’s refectory in San Giorgio Maggiore. On a grandiose stage, the subject itself, the banquet, is circled by the balustrade of a terrace reached by stairs to either side just as in theaters of the time. The guests number a hundred or more and many are recognizable, among them Veronese himself playing the *viola da braccio* in a concert whose other members can be identified as Titian with a *viola da gamba*, Tintoretto with a viol, and perhaps also Bassano. A tinge of irony in the prominence of these figures from real life elevates them from the realm of plain portraiture to the almost abstract plane of the *maniera*. The background scenery comprises two flights of colonnades in Roman style, though the view is closed off pictorially by a sky that seems spun from subtlest glass threads and looms over a kaleidoscope of costumes in Paolo’s most typical colors: salmon pink, malachite green, silver and gold, yellow and deep blue, magenta and carmine. The whole makes a grandiose choral effect, a resounding polyphonic organism like the music of Paolo’s Venetian contemporary Andrea Gabrieli.

In the masterpieces that followed the banquet picture for San Giorgio Maggiore, the artist attained unequaled heights of scenic grandiosity and choral resonance. Now he could deal with historical as well as religious episodes. For the Palazzo Pisani Moretta he produced the *Presentation of the Family of Darius before Alexander* around 1565 (National Gallery, London), and for the sanctuary of the church of San Sebastiano, two scenes of martyrdom painted between 1565 and 1570 (fig. 8). Their solemn subjects notwithstanding, these pictures accord little



fig. 8. *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*. San Sebastiano, Venice

place to the dramatic representation of emotions (as a Titian or a Tintoretto would have done), but exalt above all a love of liquid and incandescent color. Even in altarpieces Paolo would give rein to his delight in painting with the most splendid effects of color and light commingled, as in the three he painted in 1562 for San Benedetto Po near Mantua (cat. 39), or the triumphal *Holy Family and Saints* now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, which is one of his most classical masterworks.

Nor is evidence of this extraordinary creative felicity lacking in works on other subjects that I date to this decade: for example, the two figures of the so-called *Astronomers* in Los Angeles (cats. 22, 23) with their perfectly preserved fluent colors, or a series of mythological pictures extending from the London *Death of Procris* (cat. 85) to the Augsburg *Venus and Adonis*. These latter offer an exceptionally pertinent illustration of Veronese's nonreligious style around the mid-1560s: richly grand and irresistibly winning, with a subtle but intense music like flutes heard in the silent groves of Arcadia. These are traits of a serene felicity that may more than coincide with an important event in our artist's life: in 1565, at age thirty-seven, he married Elena Badile, the twenty-four-year-old daughter of his first master. She would bear him four sons and a daughter.

Around 1570 Paolo returned to the theme of the banquet: first with a *Feast in the House of Simon* for San Sebastiano (Museo di Brera, Milan) and one for the Servites (now in Versailles), then in 1572 with the *Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* for the sanctuary of Monte Berico, Vicenza, and finally in 1573 with the *Feast in the House of Levi* (fig. 9). In the latter in particular, one senses that the artist has carried to the limit the exploration of theme and language that had occupied him during the preceding decade. The huge canvas created grave problems for Veronese. Not only did he not paint the subject assigned him, a Last Supper, but he transformed it once again into a grand Venetian festivity, with a swarm of banqueters, servants, soldiers, buffoons, dogs, even exotic animals. The Inquisition, however, detected in it signs of outright heresy, and ordered that the picture be greatly modified or destroyed. But Paolo remained calm and true to his character, explaining "The canvas was large and called for numerous figures." And at the end he excused himself with a smile: "We painters are all a little mad. . . ."²³ The painting was saved from the flames by a new title: the Last Supper became a *Feast in the House of Levi*.



fig. 9. *Feast in the House of Levi*. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

One label or another, what matters is that in this banqueting picture Veronese refined his virtuosity even further. The scene is viewed from directly in front with all the personages close to the foreground plane and with the protagonist, Jesus, serving as centralized vanishing point. Around him, some fifty major figures and supernumeraries are disposed in such a way as to create an effect of contrapuntal chorality, with multiple secondary foci that drop progressively lower as they begin to involve the foreshortened elements of the architectural décor. Against the clear light of the background—revealed in the recent restoration to be in the grayish azure tones of approaching evening—the banqueters and accessory figures stand out with an alternation of high points and low as if traced by the moving marker of a seismograph. Their colors are among the most intense, refined, and scintillating that the Venetian palette ever conjured up: reds blazing against yellows and deep blues, greens against crimsons, ochers against browns and violets, and each color another splash of light.

We can imagine the impression that this great canvas made against the rear wall of the refectory in San Zanipolo (Venetian dialect for Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the monastery for which it was commissioned). It loomed high above the black-and-white-habited friars intent on their frugal supper, all differences canceled out in their humble anonymity. And we can imagine, too, that from time to time one or another raised his eyes toward the blaze of color on the wall. And that he thought to himself, as Ridolfi would put it more baroquely in 1648, how great the painter was who in no picture better than this *Feast* “gave rein to joy, made beauty majestic, made laughter itself more festive.”²⁴

And yet, over and beyond the triumph of color, one senses in the *Feast in the House of Levi* a growing dignity of expression deriving from the analysis of the perspective and the measured poses of the personages. A new approach, this, common to many other pictures from the early 1570s. Now as never before Veronese gave attention to the eloquence of the narrative. And while exerting greater control over the relation to reality, he put no constraints on the extraordinary primacy of the pictorial values themselves. Instead he incorporated them into an overall context of enhanced spiritual awareness. At the same time he accorded more value to human sentiments as well as to factors more precisely social or having to do with the story represented.

It is in that context that one should view certain canvases of the early 1570s that count among the most resplendent and lustrous the artist ever produced. Works like the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* of the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice knit together the religious aspect and the splendor of social life, rendering the sacred scene living and actual by dramatizing it in modern garb and transplanting the setting from the Alexandria of early Christian times to a Venetian



fig. 10. *The Presentation of the Cuccina Family to the Virgin*. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

palace. Similarly, a series of large canvases painted for the Palazzo Cuccina around 1570 (fig. 10) presents traditional scenes from the life of Christ in a context of unexpected liveliness, where the figures in modern costume move like actors on a stage. A number of these personages prove to be likenesses of the Cuccina family themselves taking part in the sacred event, and here once again Paolo gave proof of his rare skill as a portraitist.

Another very particular type of portrait, where the sitter is presented in the guise of some mythological, historical, or religious personage, belongs probably to the years between the latter part of that decade and the early 1580s. These works include the stupendous *Venus* that once belonged to the Colonna family, the *Judith* (cat. 77) and *Lucretia* in Vienna, the *Sophonisba* (Scarpa collection, Venice), the *Portrait of a Lady as Saint Agnes* (cat. 65): a series of likenesses in which the artist skillfully preserved all the fascination attached to the character represented without sacrificing an acute and ever more insightful humanity appropriate to the real person portrayed. Sometimes in these canvases one senses also an expression of passionate intensity that renders them even more moving. The color tends toward dense and luministic toning often mingling a touch of opaque body color in the iridescent paint film that is supported by rather tense drawing.²⁵

Another group of images from this time is oriented on a subtly psychological plane. These are inspired by profane or erotic subjects, and include the marriage pictures with four allegories in London (cats. 63, 64), the Turin *Venus and Mars Surprised by Cupid* (cat. 38), the Omaha *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror* (cat. 87) as well as the four so-called allegories for Emperor Rudolf II now divided between the Frick Collection and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (cat. 68) and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. These were obviously produced at the insistent demand of certain collectors, especially after the death of Titian had removed a major source of such erotic subjects. A number of these canvases have what seems a significant connection with the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, which, in the later sixteenth century, gave rise to an aristocratic culture centering often on profane and even outright licentious themes, perhaps in consequence of a particular anti-Catholic ideology that was a reaction to the rigid morality imposed by the Counter-Reformation.

There are many such seductive images: *Venus and Adonis* and *Susanna and the Elders* (Museo del Prado, Madrid), *Venus and Mars* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh), the *Rape of Europa* (Palazzo Ducale, Venice). The latter, painted around 1575, minimizes the drama of the episode by transforming it into a kind of wedding party with handmaidens and flights of cupids in an Arcadian landscape. Europa offers generous glimpses of her milky flesh amid garlands of roses, resplendent garments, jewels, an ensemble of elegant refinements marked out in the oil sketch recently rediscovered and now in the art market in New York.²⁶

Such profane themes seem to have considerably influenced Veronese's palette in

the 1570s and 1580s, rendering it even more joyously free and decorative. Certainly the major result of this development is to be found in the canvases painted to replace those lost in the fires of 1574 and 1577 in the Palazzo Ducale. The first fire, which destroyed the halls of the Senato and the Collegio, afforded Veronese the finest occasion to put his decorative rhetoric into play. In this state commission, where he was more than ever the “painter of Venice,” he had to try his powers with allegorical and historical subjects of quite diverse character. On all of them he lavished the same resplendent and triumphal art.

In the Collegio—the most important hall in the palace because it was the seat of the doge and the *signoria* on solemn occasions—the ceiling painting begun in 1575 extols the symbols and virtues of the Republic’s government in a system of geometrical frames much like what Veronese had used earlier in San Sebastiano. Three large compartments carry the principal allegories: *Mars and Neptune* as guarantors of Venetian power, *Christian Faith*, and *Venice Triumphant with the Aid of Justice and Peace* (fig. 11). Around these, eight irregularly shaped geometrical compartments present the virtues in the guise of women splendidly garbed in silks and brocades. The color flows across the surface with vivid iridescent effects, sometimes shadowed by soft pastel tones, at other times intensified to white heat where touched by sunlight. The famous *Dialectic* weaves her spiderweb against a light background, and her massy corpulence is made less weighty by her exquisite attire. *Meekness* caresses a soft lamb whose milky wool contrasts with the brilliance of the woman’s golden hair and roseate flesh. But it is above all the *Venice Triumphant*, with her golden crown and gown set contre-jour against the crimson hangings over her throne, who seems to palpitate in a veiled harmony of soft rose and cream.

After completing the ceiling between 1576 and 1577, Paolo went on to the other masterpiece in the hall, the votive picture with *Doge Sebastiano Venier Thanking the Savior for the Victory at Lepanto* (fig. 36), which was probably commissioned by the doge himself. That huge canvas, however, was not created without considerable and curious difficulties. When Venier died in 1578 the original composition, as seen in the oil sketch in the British Museum, London, was modified and the doge’s figure made less important, demoted from the leading personage crowned by Venice herself to an accessory kneeling in adoration before Saint Justina.²⁷ But despite the radical change, the canvas, like the entire hall recently restored to its original splendor, lost nothing of the decorative fascination exerted by its radiant feminine figures dressed like Venetian noblewomen in damasks, velvets, and silks, and by the bearded and armed doge mantled in fulgurant crimson.

Mere triumphal rhetoric? Certainly, but the painters the Serenissima engaged to work in its seat of government had precisely that task. The state wanted images that not only embodied the myth of Venice, but also were of a beauty that could be relied on to enchant and impress the foreign ambassadors and legates and the illustrious visitors the *signoria* received there.

The same philosophy of state inspired Paolo’s final picture in the palace after the fire of 1577, the *Triumph of Venice*, which was set directly above the doge’s throne in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio. The immense oval canvas, finished before 1587, puts onstage a majestic figure of Venice in a dramatic perspective of a great balcony flanked by columns. Seated on clouds floating aloft, she is attended by the protecting divinities but also, fittingly, by Venetian nobles in modern costume: a mélange of imperatives of state, pagan classicism, and descriptive realism that found its insuperable spokesman in Paolo Veronese.

Yet it was in the same period that our artist’s imagination turned to very different themes. In a style anticipated in the phase of commissions from Rudolf II, these pictures present religious subjects in forms that are often somber and elaborate. And a new aspect comes to the fore in this late period: an interest in landscape. This no doubt arose from Paolo’s awareness of the work of Bassano, to whom, in fact, he consigned his young son Carletto for training. What seems to have fascinated him most is the idea of setting his figures in a dense, ponderous, vaporous, often nocturnal landscape, which communicates its



fig. 11. *Venice Triumphant with the Aid of Justice and Peace*. Sala del Collegio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice

own expressive tension to the figures and their emotional message. The *Baptism and Temptations of Christ*, painted in 1580–1581 for the now-destroyed church of San Niccolò della Lattuga near the Frari (now in the Museo di Brera, Milan) can be taken as typical. Christ appears in a vapor of lights in the midst of a dense enclosure of foliage shot through with rays falling from above and creating luministic effects on the principal figures' bodies and garments. In the background a nebulous density conveys the sensation of a humid atmosphere unstirred by the wind that shakes the branches. The scene seems oppressed by an existential anxiety within which each figure expresses his own emotional burden.

In a series of other works of much the same type, figures likewise move within a landscape. Among them are various versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, including examples in Sarasota (cat. 56), National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, the Borletti collection in Milan, and the Spink collection, London, and the *Jacob and Rachel* in New York.²⁸ An ultimate masterpiece of great expressive tension is the very dramatic *Agony in the Garden* painted around 1585 (cat. 91). The divine light descends like a consoling rain to make Christ's suffering even more vivid, and its blinding rays seem to mute the linear aspect and colors, shifting them out of focus like something seen through a veil of tears.

In substance, then, one can say that Veronese made use of naturalistic representation primarily to accentuate the spiritual presence of his personages. Nonetheless, he maintains the physical credibility—the solid reality—of his images in a kind of limbo, a neither-nor world, in order to charge them with purely existential values. That approach constitutes a fundamental element for understanding the aesthetic of his late years, and this is confirmed by his *Crucifixion* of 1581 in San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, Venice, where Christ is surrounded by a purplish choir of angels against a sky impossibly colored with grayish blue and green, against which the figures of the Virgin and Saint John at the foot of the cross stand out with heart-rending poignancy.

Recent studies tend to reevaluate this emotion-laden period and the intellectualistic change in Veronese's palette that it entailed, considering it a return of mannerist impulses which, in this phase, would be connected with the very special cultural climate of the court of Rudolf II.²⁹ Indeed, here Paolo's decorative facility seems almost to have failed him, especially where certain unexpected, clashing, and emphatic colors are juxtaposed: acid greens, steel grays, magenta reds so drained of all softness as finally to die out into gilded threads seeking the mystery of shadow rather than, as in the past, bright sunlight. The overall intonation tends to green and gray, deep blue and silver, with chromatic values that cut into each other almost with a shudder. The Washington *Martyrdom and Last Communion of Saint Lucy* (cat. 97) is a masterwork typical of this moment. There is singular emotional distress in the figure of the saint who, as her life ebbs, turns to the priest with a gesture that speaks of an immediate and profound bond. A kind of shadowy dense veil lies over the colors, with delicately iridescent pastel tones on the surface: a music that penetrates deeply into the realm of feeling.

Does this imply that the works of Paolo's last years are evidence of an increasing religious emotionality? If so, one would like to know what part was played by the Council of Trent's demands that artists must themselves participate fully in the religious themes they paint. Those new principles, it is thought, had already deeply affected Tintoretto and Bassano in those same years, and it can be argued that the tendency to represent dramatic scenes or sentiments now prevailed in Veronese's art as well. It may even be that there is some relation with events we know little of but which may have left their mark on his personal sensibility, such as the death of his son Camillo or even the awareness of his own mortality. He died, in fact, in the parish of San Samuele on 19 April 1588 from "chest pain and fever," which suggests a pulmonary infection.

However it be, themes connected with death did predominate in Veronese's last years, that of the *Pietà* or the *Dead Christ* in particular. From examples in San Giuliano, Venice, and in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, the former from around 1584, he went on to realize a number of other paintings on a smaller scale that may have been commissioned by private persons, since some include

specific likenesses. In general the dead Christ is shown seated, supported by angels against dark backgrounds of deep green or dark red silk hangings. The prime work among these is the *Dead Christ* (cat. 72), harmonious in its forms, at once gentle and tragic, with a very particular expressiveness that derives from the chromatic contrast between the dark zone, emblematic of death, and the bright greenish blue of the Madonna against the orange-red and gold of the angel. A similar composition is found in Houston (cat. 100), but perhaps there is something more emotionally stirring in the recently rediscovered *Dead Christ* (fig. 12). This Berlin work has, in common with the *Pietà* now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, a penetrating effect that recalls the work of Bassano in its cold coloring that is dense yet soft, emitting a shower of unreal light. The work is laid out in summary drawing done in rapid touches that are almost wrenching and sharply painful.³⁰

With these last two works we reach the furthest point in Veronese's emotional synthesis, an impression confirmed by comparing the San Francisco *Pietà* with its model that was beyond doubt one of Titian's final works, the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. But Titian's painting remained classically monumental, while this very late work of Paolo's breathes a touching simplicity and is so reduced to essentials as even to seem discontinuous in drawing and composition. Here the painter strove to achieve emotional expression free of any academic restriction, virtually disdaining the traditional plastic form that drawing gives in order to bring out the visible fact, the color and the light of the setting, in an existential simultaneity of vision that grasps, intellectually, the deep feeling that inheres in things themselves.

And still at times Paolo set aside this intimate, inward style, reserved perhaps for the secret devotions of a patron's private chapel, for a style more appropriate to his last official commissions and in which he would conform much more to the traditional rules. But it is precisely in those more public works that one senses him losing interest, and for these, in fact, he called on the services of his workshop, which included his brother Benedetto, his sons Gabriele and Carletto, and pupils like Alvise dal Friso and Montemezzano. Evidence for their participation is found in numerous paintings in large dimensions done for Venice and the provinces, and even in the notable series of Old and New Testament stories once owned by the duke of Buckingham and now divided between the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Národní Galerie, Prague, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

More representative perhaps of Veronese's very last style are certain works that are less ambitious, but conceived more intimately and realized with fewer constraints. In the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon* of 1587 (cat. 103), he seems almost to have left behind his own time and pushed forward into a sensibility that is already baroque in the different and very personal way each figure expresses his feelings and in the striking weighing of color against color in both quantity and quality. This is also true of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in San Giuseppe di Castello, Venice, which has recently been restored to something like its original condition. In the pensive likeness of the donor, Gerolamo Marcello, and in the limpid Madonna and the shepherds whose garments are lightly brushed in with a dewlike freshness, we would like to read our artist's melancholy farewell to a brilliant career. Paolo had reached the heights of pictorial expression in what was, as we can see with the perspective of four centuries, the most extraordinary moment in the golden age of Venice.

TRANSLATED BY ROBERT ERICH WOLF

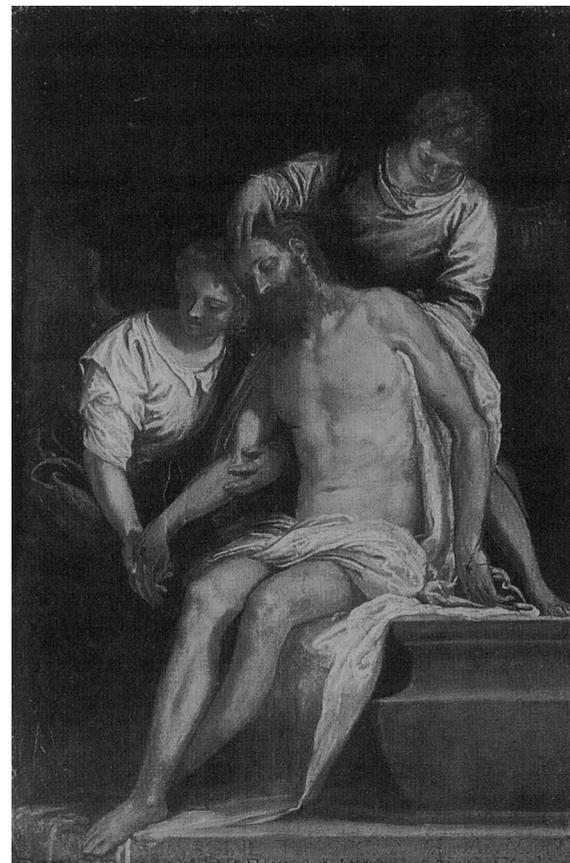


fig. 12. *Dead Christ*. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Notes

1. Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:301.
2. Lane 1973.
3. Venice 1981; Pallucchini 1984.
4. Vasari-Milanesi 1906, 7:417. For further discussion, see Freedberg 1980, 309–322.
5. Pignatti 1981b, 151–166.
6. Gisolfi-Pechukas 1982, 389–413.
7. Freedberg 1983, 550–560.
8. Pignatti 1986, 73–84.
9. Vasari-Milanesi 1906, 6:489.
10. Sansovino 1556, c. A IV^v: “opere veramente di disegno, et gentili.”
11. Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:345 and 2:85.
12. Cocke 1984, 18–28.
13. Freedberg 1980, 321.
14. Boschini 1966, 364.
15. Serlio 1545.
16. Valcanover 1986.
17. Rosand 1982, 145–181.
18. Pignatti 1976, 1:56.
19. Pignatti 1976, 1:60.
20. Guthrie 1969, 122–265 (Empedocles); Pausanias 1935, 298–301; Cartari 1556, 31.
21. Lewis 1987, 289–307. Dr. Lewis offers a summary of all the literature on the disputed matter of the Maser iconography (subsequent to Pignatti 1976, 1:56–68). He mostly agrees with Crosato 1982, 211–225, and in part with Reist 1985, 614–635.
22. Freedberg 1980, 554.
23. For the Inquisition trial, see Fehl 1961, 325–354.
24. Pignatti 1986a, 30.
25. Pignatti 1984, 445–448.
26. New York 1986, 44.
27. Sinding-Larsen 1974, 5:95–98; Wolters 1983, 126.
28. Pignatti and Crombie 1982, 140–145; Pignatti 1987, 235–237.
29. Ballarin 1965, 59–82.
30. Pignatti 1984a.

I *Youth and Early Maturity in Verona* 1545–1553

Verona, in 1550 a city of about forty-three thousand inhabitants, could boast of a history of more than two millennia: from Etruscan beginnings, through Roman power (it has the greatest classical monuments north of the Apennines) and Romanesque substance, to the luxuriant late Gothic realm of the Scaligeri. Since 1405 it had been under Venetian rule without losing its pivotal role as the dominant city of north-central Italy; it was a prosperous commercial station in a bend of the Adige river at the foot of the Alps. Its artistic traditions are characterized by a delicate taste for rich decorative effect based on a loving rapport with the natural look of the real world. Altichiero was the chief exponent of this naturalist current in the trecento, and in the quattrocento it assumed florid form in the late Gothic works of Stefano da Verona and Antonio Pisanello in painting and drawing. Liberale was the last master of International Gothic in Verona, and his successors such as Girolamo dai Libri, Niccolò Giolfino, Paolo Cavazzola, and Gianfrancesco Caroto failed to absorb the heroic aspect of High Renaissance form and lapsed into naturalistic routine. Only in architecture did Verona assume preeminence through the subtle but commanding originality of Michele Sanmicheli, who returned from Rome in 1528 to dominate artistic life in the city for the next thirty years.

In the spring of 1529 the census in Verona recorded a stonecutter named Piero, his wife Lussia, their son Gabriele and his wife Catharina, and their five children, of whom Paolo was the youngest at age one, proof that he was born sometime during 1528. The family seems to have fostered solid artisan traditions, since by 1541 grandfather Piero's death had left his son Gabriele, also a stonecutter, as head of the family, with his sons Francesco in the same trade, Antonio a weaver, and Paolo, mistakenly called ten years old, already referred to as a painter. Less than a month later, Paolo, now correctly listed as fourteen, was recorded as a resident in the house of the master painter Antonio Badile and was called his pupil and shop assistant. Beginning an apprenticeship at that age, though normal, assumes some professional standing on the part of the family, and the critic Carlo Ridolfi's later report that Paolo had learned to model in clay from his father (Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:298), information too specific to have been invented from thin air, supports the assumption. If Paolo pursued the normal three to four years of training, he would have matriculated as an independent master by 1544, and in fact he is not listed as residing with Badile in the census of 1544. Indeed, in one of Badile's otherwise placid altars, the *Madonna in Glory with Saints* (Santi Nazaro e Celso, Verona) of 1543, the secondary passages of vestment embroideries, damasks, and such show a strikingly animated and colorful touch that must be that of his precocious pupil Paolo. It is clear from this that the youth had already expanded his pictorial range well beyond the boundaries of Badile's workshop. Confirmation of this precocious start may be found in what is probably the boy's earliest known painting, a clumsy but energetic *Portrait of a Young Man in Black* (fig. 13). It is signed "P. Caliarì F.," the first known instance in which he used this surname, which he seems to have adopted, since his parents appear not to have had one. This painting, impulsive and rough but filled with a naive warmth, is equally original in the context of Badile's stiff portraits.

Sanmicheli, who may have known Paolo's father professionally, must have provided the boy with a perspective onto a sophisticated and cultivated world beyond Badile's confines. It would seem that he promoted Paolo's nascent career by procuring for him a major commission, the two frescoed ceilings done in collaboration with Sanmicheli's preferred stuccoist Bartolommeo Ridolfi in two rooms



of the main floor of the Palazzo Canossa. The architect's first major Veronese palace was begun in 1530, but rendered habitable in only the front part of the south wing by 1537 and ready for decoration probably in 1543. There were two small, long, rectangular rooms, each with stucco framing fourteen fresco fields in the flattened vault. The frescoes in the front chamber were dedicated to the *Rape of Ganymede* at the top and to personifications of the four great rivers of the world in landscapes along the curved sides (fig. 14). A remarkably specific view of Verona in one tondo (fig. 15), with the personification of Verona reclining in the foreground, was a proclamation that Paolo had been to Venice to see the brand-new frescoes by Francesco Salviati in the Palazzo Grimani, an architectural project in which Sanmicheli had played at least a secondary role. The other chamber shows *Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law* above, and a range of Old Testament subjects around the sides. These rooms, perhaps library and study as the jointly Neoplatonic and Old Testament programs suggest, may be dated to about 1545. They show at once the remarkable grasp of dramatic but natural landscape already at Paolo's command. Together with the *Conversion of the Magdalene* (National Gallery, London) and three small furniture paintings of the story of Esther (Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona), they constitute Paolo's striking debut in Verona. Already at seventeen he was the most original of its painters.

They provide, as well, the context for his beginnings as a draftsman. For one of the frescoes in the Ganymede chamber he drew a pair of nature divinities in a landscape (cat. 1), in which an allegorical river god is paired with a terrestrial divinity, later dropped from the fresco, in an evocative if slightly incoherent vision of nature. His technique, an experimental mixture of media on prepared paper, confirms the essential role played by Niccolò dell'Abbate in his formation.

The following year, in 1546, his teacher Badile signed and dated the *Raising of Lazarus* (San Bernardino, Verona), which was one of the last two murals in the Avanzi Chapel. Here the elder painter's figures are smaller, more finely drawn, his color touched with a mannerist taste for lemon, rust, apple green, and pale blue, and his setting a breezily expansive landscape. However, the hesitant and uncomfortable use of these novel elements clearly suggests that the master was struggling to keep pace with his pupil. This is confirmed by Paolo's *Christ Revives the Daughter of Jairus*, the pendant to Badile's mural and probably painted in the same year. The original was stolen and lost in 1696, but the *modello* (cat. 2) survives. Painted in a thinned oil medium on paper, as was Paolo's usual practice, its firm mastery of the diagonal composition, sharply dissonant juxtapositions of color, and exquisitely drawn detail show a decided maturation in just a year. Sanmicheli's influence is evident not just in the handsome arcade, but in the masterful control of pictorial space through the interaction of chiaroscuro and mass. Early sources are unanimous in describing it as one of his first masterpieces, and one can easily imagine the impact it had not only on Paolo's contemporaries, but on his established elders as well.

Vertiginous experiment characterizes Paolo's earliest work, not always fully disciplined or balanced, but invariably exhilarating in its sense of discovery. In few others of his paintings does the young artist dash with such headlong abandon into new territory as in *Moses and the Burning Bush* (cat. 3), a diagonal composition evidently to be approached from the right as if it hung on the right wall of a chapel. Clumsy and fervent, Moses kneels with his back to the spectator. The eye rushes on to the flaming vision of God, the dizzy angel, and the wild and undulating landscape, a magnified version of the Palazzo Canossa landscapes of two years before. Paolo, always affectionate in his treatment of animals, here deftly suggested the devotion of the sheepdog as well as the uncomprehending wonderment of the goats. His confidence was not, however, without moments of uncertainty. His inspiration flagged in the face of rigidly traditional patrons and intransigent themes such as the *Madonna and Child with Saints and Donors* (fig. 2) of 1548. Damaged though it is, in its unbalanced and timid composition it seems more querulous than innovative, as do several other pictures of that year.

Drawing once again afforded him the challenge and manageable scale for simultaneous consolidation and experiment. In his 1548 study (Devonshire Collec-



fig. 13. *Portrait of a Young Man in Black*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



fig. 14. View of ceiling, Stanza del Giove e Ganimede, Palazzo Canossa, Verona

fig. 15. *View of Verona*. Ceiling fresco, Stanza del Giove e Ganimede, Palazzo Canossa, Verona



tion, Chatsworth, no. 937) for the Bevilacqua-Lazise altar, he remained closely influenced by Niccolò dell'Abbate, but the wiry line suggests a study of the pen drawings of Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli as well. From his beginnings, the pictorial possibilities of chiaroscuro held a particular fascination for him, and he must have practiced its demanding technical requirements in many lost examples. By 1549, he had made the technique his own in one of his most masterful sheets, the *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. 5). For it he first sketched the principal figures (cat. 4) with an energy that is often rough and approximate. He then turned to a large sheet of paper, which he washed with a blue-green tempera that hardened into a smooth surface ideal for bister wash modeling, pen contour and detail, and a nervously glistening pattern of white highlights. The result is a painting in all but the color, a complete image of delicate and assured finish that is distinct in handling and intention from his preliminary work either in sketch or *modello* form. This is clearly a finished work of art in itself, neither a preparation for a painting nor a model for a chiaroscuro woodcutter. As such, it follows a well-established Emilian tradition as well as infusing new life into the placid formula practiced in Verona by Paolo's predecessors such as Caroto. Its figure style, rhetorical and aggressive in the mannerist repertory of gesture but delicate in wiry, linear detail, its diagonal yet planar recession, and its classical allusions (such as the chatty satyr herms) all proclaim its early date.

As in drawing, paintings of an intimate format allowed the young artist to order and harmonize his tumultuous ideas. The tender understatement of the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (cat. 6) and the sparkling passages of bronzed, golden color seem far removed from its source, the dark and moody Holy Family, "La Perla" (Museo del Prado, Madrid), by Giulio Romano, a picture that Paolo is reported to have copied in the Palazzo Canossa at the beginning of his career. Large-scale projects continued to prove troublesome, as in the case of his drawings (cats. 8, 9) for an altar picture of Saint George and the Dragon with the Virgin and Saints Peter and Paul in Glory, a project never realized, although it has

been preserved in a sheet derived from it (fig. 17) by Paolo Farinati at a somewhat later date. We would suggest that such a grandiose scheme might have been the first idea for the high altar of the Benedictine church of San Giorgio in Braida, a complex erected over a long period (the apse was completed before 1540 and the work on the dome was in the hands of Sanmicheli after about 1536). Since Paolo would take up this altar again in the 1560s with two changes of subject, his association with the project is well established. The *Madonna in Glory* is richly and freely worked out in a chiaroscuro technique distinct from what he used for finished presentation drawings, while the battle with the dragon finds him striving—the effort shows—to control a wiry, continuous pen line that owes much to contemporary engraving style. One is hardly surprised that the conservative Benedictine friars were less than enthusiastic, although Farinati seems to have tried to rescue this composition after Paolo's departure for Venice in 1553. The young master himself may have had second thoughts about it, since his mature concept is quite different and better suited to its Sanmichelian setting.

We know little about Veronese's patrons during his first years as an independent master, but they seem to have been much like those who employed him later, noble families such as the Canossa and Bevilacqua-Lazise, abbots of monasteries such as San Bernardino, Santa Maria della Vittoria, and perhaps San Giorgio in Braida, and doubtless lesser private clients of varied status and wealth. His own native curiosity clearly made him restless within the narrow artistic horizons of Verona, and even as a youth he had traveled to Venice, to Mantua, to Parma, and perhaps even farther afield in search of new sources and lessons to absorb. Although there are some hints of it in his paintings and drawings, we have no documentation for an early trip to Rome and central Italy. Sanmicheli must have played a crucial role not only in his education, but also as a sponsor, introducing him into cultivated humanist circles and procuring commissions even outside of Verona. Around 1551 the rich and influential Vicentine nobleman, Giuseppe Da Porto, began to recruit several stuccoists and painters from Verona to decorate his new palace, which Andrea Palladio was then bringing to completion. Paolo painted some small frescoes, now lost, but his most challenging commission was to paint paired full-length portraits of Da Porto with his son Adriano (fig. 18) and *Livia Da Porto Thiene with Her Daughter Porzia* (cat. 11). Though full-length portraits were a specialty of nearby Brescia, and their finest practitioner, Moretto, had worked in Verona around 1540, we do not know of any Vicentine prototypes for such a conjugal pair before Paolo's solemn but amiable couple. It was on this occasion that we find the painter in touch for the first time with Palladio, whose pristine geometric space is clearly echoed in the illusionistic settings for Paolo's portraits. Paolo's sketch for Giuseppe's portrait (cat. 10) shows another aspect of his working process, since he posed a studio model in Giuseppe's clothes to spare the busy gentleman the boredom of posing while the artist studied his apparel. It is also indicative of the subtle formal and psychological relations Paolo sought to communicate that in the drawing the child looks admiringly at his father, but in the paintings the wife gazes at her husband, and the boy now casts a playful look toward his sister, thus tying the pair of pictures together in a charming personal interaction.

Ceiling paintings that open into illusionistic space were not a primary concern for the placid painters of Verona, the major example there being the imported Giulio Romano design for the cathedral choir vault of 1534. Paolo's older contemporaries such as Battista Del Moro had, however, begun to experiment with it in secular interiors. Paolo surely knew Giulio Romano's doctrinaire illusionism in the Sala di Psyche of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua and its tricky literal view, in which soles of feet and buttocks are prominent and seem clumsy, illegible, and vaguely absurd. It is emblematic of Paolo's own soundly empirical approach that in his earliest ceilings in Palazzo Canossa (figs. 14–16) he used a straight-up view à la Giulio for Ganymede, but an angled approach to Moses. When he was commissioned around 1551 to paint at least five round and oval allegorical ceiling canvases (cats. 12, 13, 14) to fit into a coffered wooden structure, Paolo chose at once what would be his constant approach to such illusionism: with a strip of rocky

ground and ruins to establish firmly the bottom and top of his composition, he placed his figures at a moderately foreshortened angle. This compromise allows the eye to accommodate to the effect of figures in space above our heads without abandoning a normative relationship to them in a more familiar view. For this reason these ceilings remain comprehensible even when hung on the wall at eye level. They constitute an early and very restrained personal allegory for a private patron, a type that would be seminal for ceilings in his mature style.

Sanmicheli continued to promote the young artist's career, assigning him, along with Battista Zelotti and Anselmo Canera, his greatest challenge to date, the cycle of frescoes that covered the loggia and interior of the villa La Soranza, which the architect had built for powerful Venetian patrons beginning in 1536. Although the work seems to have been divided equally among the three fresco painters, Paolo took the lead in conceiving the fictive architectural settings in which monumental allegorical figures were disposed with restrained illusionism. When La Soranza was razed in 1817, many of the frescoes were detached from its walls, and some of the best by Paolo survive (cathedral, Castelfranco, sacristy).

Late in 1551, probably directly following the summer's work on La Soranza, Paolo received what may have been his first significant public commission in Venice, the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* (cat. 15) altar for the Giustinian chapel in San Francesco della Vigna. Were it not for the date inscribed on two commemorative tablets in the chapel, this might well pass for a later work, so well did Veronese once again acclimatize his style to a new setting. Titian is here his model, not the elderly Titian of midcentury but the classical master of the Pesaro altar (Frari, Venice) a quarter century before. This conscious choice on Paolo's part might reflect the conservative taste of the Giustinian patrons, but it more probably represents a polemical challenge to the hegemony of Tintoretto in Venice. Compared with Robusti's flickeringly turbulent *Madonna and Saints* (Galleria Estense, Modena) painted a year or so earlier, Paolo's picture is a model of serene order. It is also uncharacteristically timid, a disjunctive accumulation of Titianesque references, each lovely in itself but together suggesting a collage of quotations. Once again, as in 1548, a conventional altar format triggered a crisis of confidence. It was, however, the last time that Paolo faltered.

Like many princely patrons, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in Mantua took a cavalier attitude about paying bills. In 1553, four painters from Verona, the well-established Battista Del Moro and Domenico Brusasorzi and the younger Paolo Farinati and Paolo Caliari, wrote a joint letter dunning the cardinal for the money due for the four altars painted one year earlier for Mantua cathedral. Three of the paintings are still in situ, but Paolo's *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 16) was admired at once, and finally fell prey to Napoleon and was carried away as booty. This is understandable if one compares the other three altars, each in different ways already inspired by and imitative of Paolo's precocious genius, but none grasping that Paolo himself had made a radical shift in approach, one that wrenched his Saint Anthony out of context in a startlingly dramatic way. In part this tense and claustrophobic picture takes the oppressive atmosphere of Giulio Romano's new cathedral into consideration in its dark setting and harshly spotlit figures. Yet it is not Giulio's paintings that Veronese discovered, but rather those of Correggio, whose mythologies were the jewels of the Palazzo del Te. The Hellenistic sensuality of the satyr, the voluptuous beauty of the temptress, and the patriarchal Anthony himself all reflect Correggesque types, as do the acrobatic foreshortening and plummy color. A *pièce d'occasion*, this powerful and disturbing altar poses a question: how would Veronese's art have evolved had he remained in the Mantua/Parma context? Because he did not it remains unique, although its echoes were perceptible in the following year when he burst upon the Venetian scene, not as a novice but as a striking twenty-five-year-old master.

I

Nature Divinities in a Landscape

1545

pen and brown ink, bister wash heightened with white body color over black chalk, on gray-brown prepared paper
42.1 x 56.4 (16½ x 22)

all margins are torn and irregularly cut, the breaks reinforced with backing. Inscribed in pen in a later hand (verso): 8

Private collection

This large and impressive drawing came to light only a year ago with a tentative attribution to Paolo Veronese, which this author was able to confirm through its association with one of Paolo's earliest known works. The artist had completed his apprenticeship with Antonio Badile by 1544 when he was sixteen years old, and it was, we believe, in the following year that the architect Michele Sanmicheli suggested he be engaged to fresco the vaults of two small rooms on the main floor of the partly completed Palazzo Canossa in Verona. For the first of these chambers, dedicated to the Neoplatonic theme of the Rape of Ganymede, the principal horizontal fields on the lateral curved surfaces were filled with landscapes, in each of which a symbolic figure of one of the four great rivers of the world reclines. In the segment (fig. 16) flanking the tondo view of Verona toward the southwest, the river god is nearly identical to the figure at left in this drawing, differing only in slight adjustments of detail and the substitution of a jar in the fresco for the rudder in the drawing. The classical urn with a relief mask is identical in both. The other figure rests on a broken branch, a motif that Paolo repeated eight years later in the terrestrial allegory (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci). His hand in his beard is a gesture derived from Michelangelo's *Moses* (San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome), and his wildly primal gaze is directed toward the left. Since he carries no attribute directly suggestive of water, it is probable that he represents a forest or mountain deity who balances the aqueous forces of nature. In the fresco he has disappeared, but the river god's gaze toward his lake at left carries beyond to forests and a jagged peak that might at first have been the focus of his bucolic com-

fig. 16. *River Deity in a Landscape*. Detail, ceiling fresco, Stanza del Giove e Ganimede, Palazzo Canossa, Verona





panion. The landscape environment of the drawing has been radically revised in the fresco, but the tree rising behind the figures retains elements of the study although it is shifted to the right, and many elements of the precipitous hillside with its shaggy pines are still to be found in the more distant fresco setting. They have, in fact, been used in closer form in the fresco in the northeast corner of the room. The three other frescoed river deities resemble the central figure in the drawing without being identical in any detail. Since each is alone in his landscape, we would suggest that Paolo's first project would have combined a river and a forest or mountain deity in each of the four fresco landscapes, and that as he moved from the study to the painting he decided to simplify the program to water symbols and to eliminate their terrestrial companions.

The frescoes in the Ganymede room of the Palazzo Canossa, with stucco framing by Bartolommeo Ridolfi, are identical in format to those in the adja-

cent Moses room. The complementary iconography, pagan with Neoplatonic overtones balancing Old Testament law, links the frescoes in theme and format. In style they are equally related, the Moses cycle marginally more sophisticated and the Ganymede series richly imaginative in its vigorously naturalistic vision of landscape, with inspiration of classical sculpture in its powerful little figures. Magagnato's attribution of the Moses room paintings to Paolo Veronese was accepted by Palucchini (1984, 9), but the Ganymede room remained under the quite unconvincing name of Domenico Brusasorzi despite its manifest community of hand with the companion cycle. When I first attributed the Ganymede frescoes to Veronese, Magagnato verbally expressed his agreement, but they remain essentially unknown, in part because they were detached shortly after World War II and are today scattered elsewhere in the palace.

In style, this study for the Palazzo Canossa fresco is clearly a juvenile ex-

periment of great creative imagination, but an effort that is not yet technically mature. First, the large sheet was prepared with an exotic grayish brown wash to establish not only a hard ground for the drawing, but also to create a coloristic middle tone that could be used as atmospheric space. It not only serves this function, but is, indeed, stretched to the limit of continuity in the right side of the landscape, where the viewer is required to read the rise in the hillside exclusively by what Paolo has suggested but not actually described. Daring in the extreme, the use of the preparation to represent space would be a constant in the artist's subsequent chiaroscuro drawings. It would be more secure later, and would never take such visual risks as here. Particularly evocative is the shaggy pine copse in the upper right, a free mixture of black chalk, bistre wash, and white body color that suggests a romantic view of nature. This continues in the eddying clouds and the tree toward the left, where the deft application of high-

light permits a certain ambiguity in organic structure. Typical of Paolo is the delicate use of pure pen to define leaves along the shadowed side of this tree. More delicate and analytical are the herbage and rushes along the foreground, passages that demonstrate a careful study of analogous drawings by Parmigianino. The figures are, of course, generically descended from Michelangelo by way of mannerist examples such as Francesco Salviati's river gods in the ceiling fresco of Palazzo Grimani, Venice, a work of little more than five years earlier, but they are not copied directly from any model. Such figures had, indeed, become familiar in Venice ever since Vasari crowded his decorations for Aretino's 1541 production of his play *La Talanta* with river gods. Instead, the Emilian element, distantly Parmigianinesque but more immediately inspired by Niccolò dell'Abbate, is already absorbed into a charmingly personal image of physically majestic but gently humorous forest creatures that have lost some of their noble ideality but have gained a human dimension of warmth and subtlety.

The chiaroscuro medium used here was not new to Verona, and a few draftsmen, Battista Del Moro in particular, had developed a skillful facility in adapting it to mannerist formulas. His drawings of an analogous fluidity seem, however, to date from slightly later, and show a distinct awareness of Paolo's more sophisticated Emilian handling. The same observation may be made about Brusasorzi's drawing style, not to mention that of Paolo's contemporaries such as Zelotti and Farinati. What is most surprising is that, as nearly as our fragmentary knowledge of Antonio Badile's drawing style permits, Paolo's master seems to have played virtually no role in the apprentice's formulation as a draftsman. It is, instead, toward the south that Paolo searched for worthy models. His interest in Parmigianino, whose drawings were already collected in Verona, is evident here, but a more significant font lay in both the paintings and drawings of Niccolò dell'Abbate, who had been active at Scandiano, south of Verona, in 1540–1541. Niccolò's drawings in a vivacious and improvisational chiaroscuro technique, such as the *Allegory on the Death of a Cavalier* (Uffizi, Florence) or the *Vision of Saint Gregory the Great* (Louvre, Paris) are the clearest influence on Paolo's beginnings as a draftsman.

The attribution of this rare study to

Paolo finds confirmation in innumerable paintings, such as the *Baptism of Christ* (Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig), the *Allegory of the Liberal Arts* (cat. 12), the detached frescoes from La Soranza (cathedral, Casertefranco, sacristy), the chiaroscuro allegorical figures from the ceiling of the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci (Palazzo Ducale, Venice), the chiaroscuro interstices of the sacristy ceiling (San Sebastiano, Venice), and even the frescoes of Villa Barbaro, Maser, where the grotesque masks such as that over the garden portal echo the picturesque leer of the earth deity in this drawing. Much more significantly, it fits perfectly its position as a first step toward more mature drawings such as the *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. 5), where the white highlights model form with analogous if more secure luminosity. Slightly later, the Saint George altar studies (cats. 8, 9) blend media with a more impetuous but related virtuosity, and show innumerable formal similarities such as the sinewy structure of hands. At about the same time the sketch (cat. 10) for Giuseppe Da Porto's portrait projects much the same rapport between the prepared paper and the pictorial aspirations of the mixed media. We would, in conclusion, propose that this study of *Nature Divinities in a Landscape* is Paolo's preparatory study for the Palazzo Canossa fresco and, like it, should be dated to 1545.

2

Christ Revives the Daughter of Jairus

1546
oil on paper, laid down on canvas
42 x 37 (16³/₈ x 14³/₈)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

Christ raises the dead girl by lifting her limp hand while her father, the priest Jairus, watches in astonishment and the hired mourners on the terrace anticipate the miracle by lowering their trumpets. At the foot of the bed, Peter looks enquiringly toward John the Evangelist, a detail that might have caused the use of the incorrect title "Christ Heals Saint Peter's Mother-in-Law" despite the picture's exact illustration of the biblical text (Mark 5:21). It was first recorded in the collection of Count Brienne in 1662 as by Veronese, and by 1683 it had been acquired by King Louis XIV; not until 1927 was it recognized as Paolo's *modello* for the lost mural from San Bernardino in Verona. Until Gisolfi-Pechukas confirmed this relationship, the Veronese literature has shown reluctance in accepting it as the *modello* or even as an early work by Paolo.

The Avanzi chapel, also called della Croce or degli Aranci, was built beside the church of San Bernardino in Verona in the last years of the quattrocento. In the period 1498–1500, it was embellished with murals by Cavazzola, Morone, and Giolfino. After a hiatus, Francesco Caroto continued the cycle, which concluded with Badile's *Raising of Lazarus* in 1546 and Paolo Caliari's *Christ Revives the Daughter of Jairus*, which has correctly been seen as the pendant to the teacher's canvas and with which it shares the date 1546. Paolo's original, praised by Carlo Ridolfi (1648, 1:285) as his first masterpiece, was so famous that the Viennese art dealer Pietro Strudem bribed the Franciscan monks to allow him to replace it with a copy by Giovanni Cagnoto in 1697. The substitute, still there, was immediately detected, but the original had already crossed the border toward Vienna and has never since been seen. Its copy corresponds closely with the details of the Louvre *modello*, varying in a few shifts of heads and hands and in the area above the baldachino frame, which has been described as a later addition in the *modello* but in fact is continuous in surface and facture

with the rest of the paper on which it was painted. One must conclude that, since this tall format would not have fit the allotted space in the chapel, Paolo began his formulation of his ideas here, and then adjusted it by the simple expedient of reducing the unnecessary upper segment to fit the wall.

Early in his career the complex illusionistic problems of the spectators' relation to the pictorial space in works that would be situated in any but an eye-level position were of great interest to Paolo. Indeed, this concern was constant throughout his career, but his early solutions were more aggressively virtuosic. In the case of the San Bernardino canvas, it was to occupy the last and least desirable position in the cycle, slightly above eye level but obliquely to the viewer's right on entering the chapel. A further problem was presented by the window just above and to the left of the picture, which would have made that quadrant harder to see. Paolo solved his problem ingeniously without ever exceeding the bounds of probability; he led the eye diagonally from the monumental figure of John, whose strong and brightly lit back and whose movement forward introduce us into the space, and, with an interplay of inward and outward gesture, across a room to its opposite corner where a door opens onto the sunny terrace, the mourners, and the noble arcade with distant landscape and pale, radiant sky. By this diagonal sequence the brightest part of the picture is in direct eye alignment with the natural light source, and the low horizon and topheavy figures emphasize the spectators' view from below without being dogmatic in its illusionism. In this, Paolo shows that he was aware of but rejected Giulio Romano's doctrinaire use of low-angle perspective. Equally, the artfully mannerist types such as Jairus and the distantly Raphaellesque John are perceptibly Mantuan in source, but it is the Parmesan influence of Parmigianino and Bedoli that is dominant. This is most evident in the acid dissonance of the high-key local color. Apple-green, lavender, rose, and ice-blue are applied in silvery rivulets of impasto, which suggests oil in a translucent binder.

The *Daughter of Jairus*, already more assured than the Palazzo Canossa frescoes (figs. 14–16) and the London *Conversion of the Magdalene* of a year earlier, betrays almost no debt to Paolo's master Badile. It suggests a prodigious originality for an eighteen-year-old,



who had already reversed the direction of inspiration and was becoming the magnetic source for his elders as well as his contemporaries. Although it is not documented, this project is unanimously considered to be coeval with Badile's pendant *Lazarus*, which is signed and dated December 1546.

Literature

Lepicie 1754, 110–111, no. 14; Jacobsen 1902, 185; Hortieq 1905, 1:245; Hauteceur 1926, 42, no. 1191-A; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 2:212–216; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 1045; Fiocco 1934, 117–118; Suida 1938, 1:179–180; Brenzoni 1953, 8; Mousalli 1955, 285–288; Béguin 1957, 165–169; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 11; Marini 1968, 86, 115, no. 173; Pignatti 1976, 1:200, no. A 238; Marinelli 1980, 212–213, no. viii, 13; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1982, 389–413; Pallucchini 1984, 9; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1987, 68, 69; Rearick 1988, 15, 91, 92



Moses and the Burning Bush

1547

oil on canvas

141 x 226 (55 x 88¹/₈)

Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Moses, withdrawn to the Egyptian wilderness with his flocks, kneels in prayerful astonishment before the flaming bush with its apparition of God and a flying angel. This Old Testament subject, rare in the Veneto, had been etched by Schiavone in a print that may well date later than Veronese's painting. In any case, Paolo's concept seems essentially his own.

The early provenance of this picture is unrecorded. It was among the remnants of the Medici collections at the Villa Medici, Poggio ai Caiano, under Veronese's name when Marco Chiarini rediscovered it, had it cleaned, and brought it to the attention of Pignatti, who inserted it among the wrongly attributed works although he called it an autograph late painting. At Poggio ai Caiano it was paired with a *Moses Striking the Rock* that was also given to Paolo, but is, instead, by Battista Zelotti.

Audacious but rather clumsy, this Moses was clearly conceived to be seen from the right, the foreshortened protagonist in rust-bronze tones set against the deep green bush and the peach-apricot of the conflagration. Around him the shaggy dog and mystified goats provide a transition to the shadowed landscape, traversed by flashes of silvery light that pick out ominous passers-by and the serene and overgrown Roman ruins. This visionary environment that vaporizes into the sea at the distant left develops on a monumental scale the richly atmospheric landscape frescoes in Palazzo Canossa, Verona, of around 1545. The figures, rustic and fervent in Moses and animated in the angel, whose aerodynamics are as yet but poorly understood by comparison with flying figures painted in the artist's maturity, recall those of the *Conversion of the Magdalene* (National Gallery, London) and look forward to the more suavely ordered forms of slightly later

works. Like the *Baptism of Christ* (Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig), this composition must have occupied the side wall of a chapel so that the spectator approached from an oblique angle, the Baptism from the left, Moses from the right. Since their dimensions are almost equal, it is tempting to see them as pendants, but the Baptism seems to date about a year later and is more aggressively monumental. The style of the present painting confirms a date of about 1547.

Literature

Pignatti 1976, 181, no. A 86; Rearick 1988, 15, 92

Supper at Emmaus

1549

pen and dark brown ink with bister wash heightened with white body color over black chalk on faded gray-blue paper

27.3 x 35.8 (10⁵/₈ x 14)

inscribed at lower left in pen in a later hand: *tintoretto*

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kdz 5127

The artist's first idea for this scene in which the pilgrim apostles recognize Christ at the inn of Emmaus was sketched lightly in black chalk with a skittish and uncertain touch that is, nonetheless, intensely expressive. This is particularly visible in the hands and feet of the apostle at right and in the drapery around Christ's feet, which was at first sketched lower. There are pentimenti throughout that show, at a few points, as many as four alternative placements of forms, in itself clear proof that this is not a copy after another drawing or painting. Once satisfied with the composition, Paolo went over the figures with a fine pen to create a pattern of spidery lines that is almost as evanescent as the chalk, and then added a pallid wash and a few touches of white to hint at the desired pictorial effect. Despite the insistence by the Tietzes that the Berlin study is a copy of the chiaroscuro sheet at Chatsworth (cat. 5) or Cocke's unlikely theory that Carletto did the chalk and someone else added the pen and wash after the Chatsworth drawing, its volatile refinement and exploration of multiple solutions to compositional problems confirm that this must be Paolo's own working study for the finished sheet. In fact, when he proceeded to the finished work, a few unresolved pentimenti such as the left arm and sleeve of the apostle at left, the relation of Christ's left foot to his body, and others would remain unclear or were given makeshift resolutions.

It is the experimental character of this drawing that allows us to place it, together with its final version at Chatsworth, very early in Paolo's career. Its closest stylistic parallel may be found in the 1548 compositional study (Duke of Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, no. 937) for the Bevilac-



5

Supper at Emmaus

1549

pen and black ink with bister wash heightened with white body color over black chalk on blue-green prepared paper

42.1 x 57.6 (16³/₈ x 22¹/₂)

creased from folding at center; laid down

from the Lely, and 2d duke of Devonshire collections, and by descent to the present owner

The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, no. 277

qua-Lazise altar (Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona). Both are rhetorically mannered and attenuated in pose and type with small, heart-shaped heads and outsize hands, and both adopt a wiry, tensile, but elegantly decorative line of Parmigianinesque inspiration. Comparison of the slack-jawed, tousle-haired type of the apostle at left with the 1548 donor, or the head of Christ with that of the Baptist, confirms a common authorship. Such unconscious shorthand devices as the scalloped strokes on the backs of hands in both drawings clearly indicate a community of hand and date. In the case of the Berlin *Emmaus*, this is perhaps marginally later than the altar, close to 1549.

Literature

Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 340, no. A 2035; Ballarin 1971, 101; Rearick [1980] 1976, 40; Cocke 1984, no. 160, 336–337; Coumts 1986, 403

Sequential narrative episodes begin with a pair of apostle-pilgrims in the landscapes at right, continue with their unknowing encounter with Christ farther to the right, and conclude as Christ reveals his identity at a table in the Emmaus inn at the left. This archaic simultaneity suggests the provincial environment in which the drawing was done. The elaborate chiaroscuro technique has a long tradition in Verona, but this seems to be one of the earliest examples by Paolo Veronese to survive. Unlike its rather coarse local predecessors, however, the clear inspiration of Parmigianino and, especially, Niccolò dell'Abbate is evident here not only in



Paolo's elaborately stylized figures, but also in the volatile fluidity with which the various media are brought into play almost simultaneously to create a richly pictorial interaction of form, space, and light. Developing the primary group that he had studied in the nervously experimental Berlin sketch (cat. 4), Paolo here expanded its environment to include details such as the inn hostess at left, the charming satyr herms who seem to comment with amusement on the events below, and especially the shimmering evocation of sunny nature with crisp, perfectly Parmigianino-like verdure at lower right. Although there are many evident similarities between this sheet and the earlier Palazzo Canossa study (cat. 1) as well as the Bevilacqua-Lazise altar study (Duke of Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, no. 937) of 1548, what is striking is that here Paolo was so superbly in command of his complex media, freshly rapid and evocative of a pictorial luminosity not found previously in such chiaroscuro drawings, not even those of his Emilian models. The purpose of such a challenging project remains mysterious, since

no painting survives of this subject earlier than the version (Musée du Louvre, Paris) of about six years later, a composition echoing the principal group here but otherwise unrelated to the present drawing. Instead, like his Emilian predecessors, Paolo seems to have taken up the challenge of the presentation drawing, a surrogate painting intended for a sophisticated clientele that had only recently begun to collect drawings. This field was well suited to their limited financial scope and subtly discriminating taste. Of these connoisseurs Verona could boast a lively number, and it was doubtless for one of them that Paolo produced this, a precocious but triumphant foray into the genre he would practice with sovereign perfection for almost forty years. The Chatsworth *Supper at Emmaus* should be dated between 1548 and 1550, most probably in 1549.

Literature

Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 342, no. 2055; Rosand 1966, 422; Byam-Shaw 1969, 71; Rearick 1976, 157; Cocke 1977a, 266–267; Rearick [1980] 1976, 40; Cocke 1984, 104–105, no. 35; Coutts 1986, 401



6

Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine

1549
oil on canvas
57.68 x 91.44 (22³/₄ x 36)

Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Lent by the Barker Welfare Foundation

This intimate devotional picture represents Saint Catherine kneeling to receive the ring of betrothal to a life of religious dedication from the Christ Child, while Saints Anne and Joseph comment in the background. Once in the Liechtenstein collection in Vienna, its traditional attribution to Paolo Veronese has been accepted in all of the modern literature. The recent tendency has been to date it toward 1560.

Ridolfi (1648, 1:286) reported that as a youth Paolo admired and copied the famous Holy Family called “La Perla” (Museo del Prado, Madrid). At that time it was regarded as a masterpiece by Raphael, though its execution may be by Giulio Romano, and was the centerpiece of Palazzo Canossa in Verona, where it probably hung near Veronese’s own early frescoes. The present painting simultaneously confirms this tradition and suggests the limits of its influence. Late in 1548 Paolo painted a *Mystic*

Marriage of Saint Catherine (State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad) in which he betrayed a rare moment of uncertainty, borrowing a few motifs from the Raphael picture and adding others from his own Bevilacqua-Lazise altar of earlier the same year to create an episodic jumble of motifs. Soon after, he painted or more probably drew a Holy Family that was engraved by Battista Del Moro, a design only slightly more comfortable in relation to the Romanist inspiration. However, by about 1549, when he undertook the present picture, his confidence was fully restored. There are still perceptible references to “La Perla” in the Saint Anne, the crisp drapery, and, to a lesser degree, the Virgin and Child, but the artist was once again fully in command of his idiom. First, although he evidently admired the classical precision of its drawing, he rejected out of hand the sooty, Leonardo-inspired shadows that shroud the Prado painting in gloom. Equally, the haunted architecture and landscape of “La Perla” had little to offer Veronese, whose vision of nature was limpid and serenely harmonious. His color is lustrously fruity, in a key far removed from the austere gunmetal and chrome of the model, and the accentuated weave of the canvas dispels the hard enamel gloss of the late Raphael work.

Destined surely for a private patron, this precious painting was not without an immediate resonance among Paolo’s contemporaries in Verona. It would seem that his costudent Zelotti, a fervent admirer and collaborator, studied it with great care, painting an equally intimate version (private collection, New York) of such quality that the Virgin and Child might easily pass as Paolo’s, while the Catherine betrays Zelotti’s more mundane hand. A few years later Zelotti would repeat this experiment on a more monumental scale (private collection, England), but his inspiration had flagged and the result is quite obviously more ponderous and labored. Paolo’s original is quite obviously more delicate and accomplished than the works that preceded it in 1548, and looks forward to the majestic order of the *Anointing of David* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) of around 1549. We would, therefore, suggest a date of 1549 for this *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*.

Literature

Fanti 1767, 89; Caliarì 1888, 269; Berenson 1907, 30; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 2:221; Fiocco 1928, 23–24; Fiocco 1934, 124; Coletti 1941, 85, 121; Pallucchini 1943, 17; Vertova 1952, unpaginated; Berenson 1957, 1:134; Ballarin 1968, 40; Marini 1968, 96, no. 56; Pignatti 1976, 1:122–123, no. 113; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1982, 409; Pallucchini 1984, 170, no. 48; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1987, 69

Portrait of a Man

1549–1550
oil on canvas
140 x 107 (54 5/8 x 41 3/4)

Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Mentioned as by Veronese by Boschini when it was in the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, the attribution has remained constant in the literature. Its date has variously been given between 1560 and 1570. The traditional identification of the sitter as Daniele Barbaro was abandoned with the discovery of Paolo's portrait of him as the patriarch of Aquileia (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) painted about 1566. The restoration in 1987–1988 of the Florence picture showed the paint surface to be in generally good condition but slightly abraded in the head.

This is one of Paolo's most grandly conceived portraits, a commanding format enhanced by the austere setting of a shadowed marble interior, with a fluted column and a window that admits a grayed light from the right. The grizzled patrician stands erect and pivotal, his left hand nervously grasping a handkerchief, his right arm resting against the plinth of the column to display a luxuriant expanse of snow-leopard fur that lines his black coat. This is the key pictorial element of the painting, a subtle modulation of brilliant white and velvety black. The subject's pale face and hands are virtually the only note of color in a display of chiaroscuro virtuosity that recalls Titian's analogous experiments of a quarter-century earlier, such as *Man with a Glove* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). In both cases, master colorists evoked atmospheric space with little color. Always attentive to an equilibrium between formal abstraction and the expressive vitality of free brushstroke, Paolo energized his surface and added dash to the characterization by spattering the fur with black paint so fresh and so spontaneously applied that it seems quite modern in its loose daubs, but is perfectly convincing as an optical evocation of the soft-textured fur.

Despite an echo in the pose and a similarly somber color range, Paolo had matured impressively since the youthful 1544–1545 *Young Man in Black* (fig. 13). On the other hand, the *Youth in a Fur-Lined Coat* (Szépművészeti Museum,



Budapest), datable to around 1548, has much in common with the present picture, particularly the treatment of the fur, the restrained color, the conscious use of the canvas texture in evoking atmosphere, and the rhetorical pose. It differs primarily in the gently diffident characterization of the youth, a poetic introspection as opposed to this aggressive confrontation. Just as the Budapest picture seems coeval with the *Anointing of David* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), the Pitti portrait is closest in handling to the *Presentation in the Temple* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), which we would date to 1550. Within a year *Giuseppe Da Porto with His Son Adriano* (fig. 18) of 1551 signals further development in the direction of dense impasto and sumptuous chromaticism.

Literature

Boschini 1660, 400; Chiavacci 1881, 105; Caliarì 1888, 78, 356; Berenson 1894, 128; Meissner 1897, 875; Perkins 1905, 132; Hadeln 1911, 5:396; Hadeln 1924, 209; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 2:223; Osmond 1927, 28, 113; Fiocco 1928, 125; Nicodemi 1928, 338; A. Venturi 1928, 86–98; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 826–832; Berenson 1932, 421; Fiocco 1934, 112; Rusconi 1937, 179–180; Pallucchini 1939, 126–127, no. 50; Coletti 1941, 233–234; Pallucchini 1943, 31; Chiarelli 1956, 13, 61; Berenson 1957, 1:131; Rossi 1957, no. 93; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 75; Pallucchini 1966, 729; Marini 1968, 108, no. 113; Pignatti 1976, 1:129, no. 142; Badt 1981, 178; Pallucchini 1984, 90, 178, no. 111



8

*The Madonna and Child in Glory
with Saints Peter and Paul*

1550
pen and black ink with gray wash
heightened with white body color over
black chalk on faded blue-gray paper
37.4 x 51.4 (14½ x 20)
laid down, with an illegible pen
inscription (verso)
from the Jabach collection

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département
des arts graphiques, no. 4816

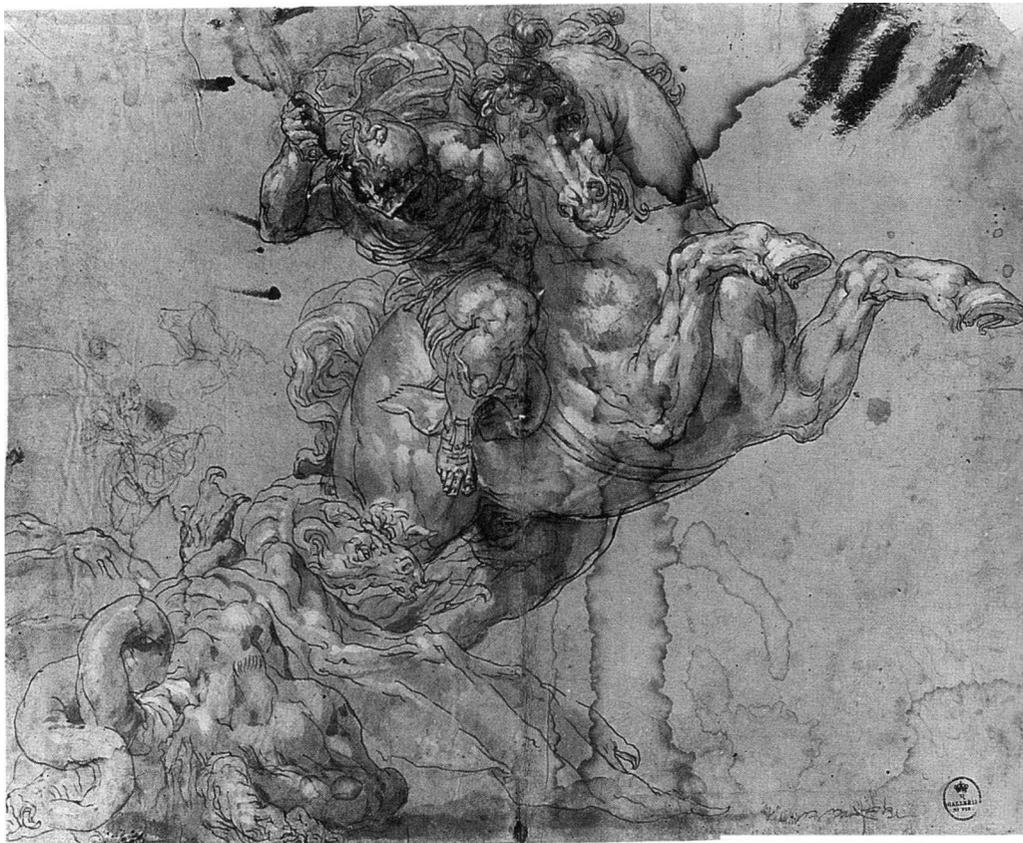
Although this sheet was attributed to Veronese as no. 72 in Jabach's list of drawings ceded to the French royal collection in 1671, it was subsequently given to Farinati until Ballarin returned it to Paolo, a view confirmed by Coutts and the present writer, but contested by Cocke who thought it to be a later work inspired by Paolo's chiaroscuro drawings.

Saint Peter with his key and Saint Paul with his sword flank the Virgin and gaze downward from their cloud-bank in which athletic angels and putti whirl. Clearly related to something below, this group was identified by Ballarin as a *modello* for the upper part of a lost altar of which a smaller copy (fig. 17) by Paolo Caliari's contemporary Paolo Farinati is also in the Louvre (no.

4839). The present writer has recognized another sheet (cat. 9) in the Uffizi as Paolo's study for *Saint George and the Dragon*, noting that a fragment at the left with the princess is now lost. Since the present sheet is evidently trimmed somewhat all around and a strip is missing between it and the Uffizi drawing, one would have to posit a size of about 810 by 550 millimeters (31½ x 21½ inches) for the original paper, larger by at least 200 millimeters (8 inches) in height than any known Veronese drawing. The view previously put forward by the present writer that the Louvre and Uffizi drawings were once part of a single sheet must be abandoned on stylistic grounds as well, as the top part is more finished and includes the cloudy environment, whereas the Uffizi sheet has no setting except for a strip of shadow in the foreground. Nonetheless, the two studies are preparations for the same monumental project recorded in the reduced copy, which is certainly a derivation from a drawing rather than a painting, since it reproduces with comparative accuracy the character of Paolo's chiaroscuro drawings. Paolo Farinati's close association with Veronese and dependence on his drawing style in the years around 1550 is clear. No painting of this subject is recorded, and it may be assumed that it was never executed be-

cause a project of such ambitious scale and format would not have escaped notice. One might wonder if the project was the high altar in the recently completed apse of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona, a commission that Paolo would indeed return to carry out about fifteen years later. This must remain a speculation, although since artists in Verona such as Farinati were so profoundly influenced by it, it must have been an invention planned for his home city.

Figure types, poses, and numerous details in the Louvre drawing relate to Paolo's early works: the Virgin and Child to the Bevilacqua-Lazise altar study at Chatsworth, the saints to the *Supper at Emmaus* studies (cats. 4, 5), and the large angels to the Soranza *Fame* of 1551 and its study (Kunsthalle, Hamburg, no. 1922/175), which develops directly from the angel at lower right. The handling of the chiaroscuro medium is energetic and expansive to the point of coarseness in some passages, and the pen line is sometimes stretched perilously close to vagueness; pentimenti are numerous and impetuous, as in the putto at upper left where the arm is restudied as raised, a solution retained in the Farinati copy that otherwise differs in many details from its model, even to the reversal of the attendant saints. Certainly more emphatic and heavier in touch than the



9

Saint George and the Dragon

1550
pen and dark brown ink with bister wash heightened with white body color over black chalk on pale blue paper (recto), pen and dark brown ink (verso)
41.0 x 50.5 (16 x 19 5/8)
watermark similar to B. 6276

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, no. 12845 F

Despite a traditional attribution to Veronese that goes back at least to the 1793 inventory (Universali, vol. 12, no. 16), this large sheet was shifted to the Zelotti file from which it was rescued only in 1976 by the present writer, who returned it to Veronese. It is related to the Louvre *Virgin in Glory with Saints Peter and Paul* (cat. 8), which Ballarin had previously recognized as Paolo's original after which a copy, also in the Louvre, reproduced the entire composition including this *Saint George* (fig. 17). Although Pignatti accepted the attribution to Veronese, Cocke argued that the Louvre and Uffizi sheets were by different hands, neither being Veronese's, and that the small copy of the

entire format might be after a lost work of Paolo's for which a tiny Saint George sketch (private collection, Paris) is an autograph preparation. Although this last study seems indeed to be a doodle by Paolo himself (as the characteristic crossed lines to indicate the facial axes confirm), it but vaguely recalls the Uffizi drawing and must date later in his career.

The Uffizi sheet is an ambitious experiment to coordinate form through a continuous contour line almost beyond its secure limits, especially in the collapsed wings of the dragon, where some attentive study is required to "read" their structure. Once understood, however, the organic coherence of every form in the drawing is lucidly integrated. Nonetheless, an element of the artist's conscious effort to control modeling, order spatial relationships, and balance linear pattern lends the handling of this drawing a slightly academic rigidity at odds with the dynamism of the concept. This might, in part, account for the impression that it is a copy, a view clearly contradicted by the sequential development of ideas beginning with three rapid black chalk studies of alternate positions for horse and rider just to the left of center. The last and lowest of these proved the most promising, and the artist moved di-

delicate *Emmaus* chiaroscuro, the Louvre sheet is a slightly later working drawing, more energetic and altogether more oriented toward a dramatic mannerist figure type than are Paolo's works before 1549. In fact, 1550 is the date we would suggest for the Louvre and Uffizi drawings.

Literature

Ballarin 1971, 98-99; Rearick 1976, 157; Pignatti 1976, 1:104; Cocke 1977, 268; Rearick [1980] 1976, 40; Cocke 1984, 378, no. 210; Coutts 1986, 401, 403



fig. 17. Paolo Farinati, after Veronese, *Saint George and the Dragon*. Musée du Louvre, Paris

rectly to a light indication of the large final design in black chalk, a quickly spontaneous sketch that he would cover with the more controlled pen line and wash. Even here there are significant pentimenti, as in the lower contour of the horse. This sequence of evolution would have been neither desirable nor possible for a copyist, nor would he have bothered to turn the sheet over to experiment with a pen idea for the saint's head.

I do not believe, as I did in 1976, that this sheet was once part of the same oversize paper as the Louvre study for the upper part of the altar; indeed, their technique and handling are markedly different, ambitiously extended below and more heavily finished above. That the Uffizi drawing was part of Paolo's progress toward a painting is confirmed by the casual daubs of oil paint brushed in at top right. Although a painted altar of this subject may never have been completed, Paolo's early paintings abound with horses and riders of comparable daring and energy, most particularly the startling *Marcus Curtius* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), where many details as well as the basic concept seem to have been developed directly from this drawing. Within a year, around 1550–1551, he would adapt this *Saint George* for the mounted soldier at right in the *Conversion of Saul* (State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), perhaps to salvage a motif from an already abandoned altar project. Its echo persists through the next decade in the Palazzo Trevisan *Marcus Curtius* fresco, the San Sebastiano *Triumph of Mordecai*, and other paintings and drawings related to them. In range and handling his drawings and his paintings underscore the integral position of the *Saint George* in Paolo's development in the year 1550. Moreover, it must be added that its importance for drawing in Verona and for Paolo's contemporaries extended far into the future.

Paolo Farinati in particular studied this and similar drawings of Veronese's with such care and attention that they came to form the foundation of his drawing style for the rest of his long career. The hint of academic calculation in Veronese's study would become doctrine in Farinati's subsequent drawings.

Literature

Rearick 1976, 157–159, no. 114; Pignatti 1976, 104; Cocke 1977, 268; Rearick [1980] 1976, 40; Cocke 1984, 348, no. 172; Crosato 1986, 252



IO

Giuseppe Da Porto and His Son Adriano

1551

pen and dark brown ink with bister wash heightened with white body color over black chalk on beige paper

34.2 x 18.1 (13¹/₄ x 7)

inscribed at upper right in chalk in Veronese's own hand *P. . .*, and in pen in a later hand *Paul Veronese* (recto), and in pen in a different sixteenth-century hand a series of notations, largely canceled, and in pen in a later hand *Paolo Veronese* (verso)

formerly in the Jabach collection

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 4678

Listed as by Veronese in Jabach's catalogue (Venetian school, vol. 3, no. 362), this drawing is universally recognized

as Paolo's preparation for the portrait of the same name (fig. 18), except by the Tietzes who thought that both painting and drawing were the work of Giovanni Antonio Fasolo (see cat. 11). As he had on earlier occasions such as the compositional study (Duke of Devonshire collection, Chatsworth) and the *modello* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) for the Bevilacqua-Lazise altar (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona) of 1548, Paolo was here concerned with the general compositional order of the figures. He used studio models rather than Da Porto and his son, dressing them in clothing similar to what would appear in the painting. For this reason the man in the drawing is not Da Porto and the boy is so generic as to suggest that Paolo did not even bother with a live model. In the Louvre study he explored the general disposition of the figures, the direction of the light, and the



cat. II

plastic values created through the wash and highlight, taking less care with the man's head and therefore loosening his touch there to a fresher, more expressive play of line and light. Style and handling of the complex mixture of media are firmer and more decisive than the delicate tracery of his earliest chiaroscuro drawings (cat. 5), and closely resemble the more monumentally abstract

forms of the Saint George altar studies (cats. 8, 9) of perhaps less than a year earlier. This sheet has not achieved the effortless tonal unity found in the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (cat. 17) of a year or so later.

As in the painting, one can see here the influence of Moretto da Brescia, not simply in the full-length format but also in the chiaroscuro medium.

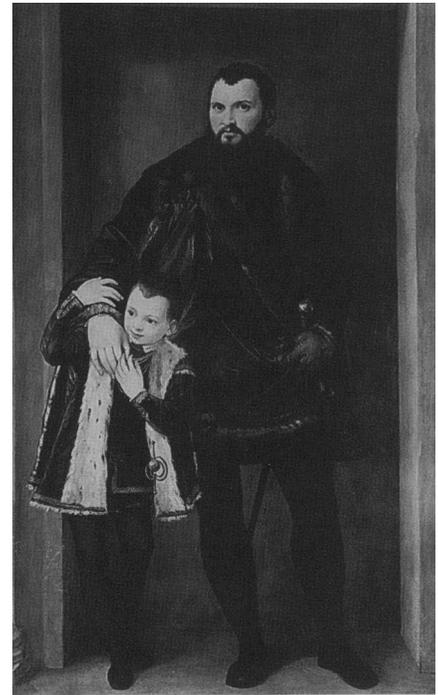


fig. 18. *Giuseppe Da Porto and His Son Adriano*. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Moretto seems to have used this combination largely, if not exclusively, for drawings that preserve paintings already executed for workshop reference, a function Paolo assigned it but rarely, and certainly not here where the positions of heads, hands, feet, and details of costume and setting differ between preliminary study and painting. We do not know which, if any, of Moretto's full-length portraits were in Verona in 1551, and we certainly do not know if his drawings were known there. There is, in any case, a hint of the Brescian painter's solid and sensuous apprehension of material textures in the surfaces of this drawing. The long and partially canceled and cut pen notations on the verso of the Louvre sheet are not in Veronese's hand and seem to precede the use of the sheet for the drawing; Veronese was conservative about using whatever scraps of paper came to hand when he wanted to draw. These notes seem to provide no useful information relative to the drawing, which we would, for external as well as stylistic reasons, date to about 1551.

Literature

Meissner 1897, 2; Fiocco 1934, 130; Pallucchini 1939, 73; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 350, no. A 2138; Pignatti 1976, 1:106; Rearick [1980] 1976, 40; Cocke 1984, 43–45, no. 4; Pallucchini 1984, 24; Crosato 1986, 251

*Livia Da Porto Thiene
and Her Daughter Porzia*

1551

oil on canvas

208 x 121 (81¹/₄ x 47¹/₈)

The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

Livia Thiene, daughter of one of Vicenza's most distinguished families, married Giuseppe Da Porto in 1545, and by 1550 had two surviving children, Adriano, about five years old, and Porzia, four. Five more babies would follow in the next decade or so. Giuseppe, called Iseppo, was a knight of the Holy Roman Empire and one of the richest and most influential men in Vicenza. He was also accused of Protestant sympathies and of being a heretic, but his position seems to have kept him safe from the Inquisition. He commissioned the young local architect Andrea Palladio to design a new palace next to the old family residence, a masterpiece that bears the date 1552 on its facade, doubtless as a sign of its completion. For decoration he imported artists in fresco and stucco from Verona, where he had family contacts and was an honorary citizen. Among them was Paolo Caliari, whose work for the Palazzo Da Porto has not survived.

It was probably for this setting that Paolo painted the pendant portraits of the couple, each with one of their children. The pictures were separated at an early date, and *Giuseppe Da Porto and His Son Adriano* (fig. 18) is represented in this exhibition by Paolo's preliminary study (cat. 10). *Livia Da Porto Thiene and Her Daughter Porzia* was acquired by Henry Walters with the Paolini collection in Rome and was first published with its pendant by Hadeln, who ascribed both to Veronese with a date close to 1556. Except for the Walters Art Gallery's temporary retention of the traditional attribution to Zelotti and Arslan's eccentric suggestion that they are by the Master of the Pala Marcello, in reality Battista Del Moro, the subsequent literature has accepted them as by Paolo. Pignatti opted for a date closer to 1551.

Full-length portraits of men had been a Brescian specialty for a quarter-century, and it is probable that examples by Moretto or Moroni were known to Paolo by about 1550. However, such a grand format was seldom accorded a

woman's portrait. Nonetheless, by 1552 there was a sudden proliferation of pendant full-length images of married couples in Verona, most notably Domenico Brusaporzi's *Francesco Franceschini* (The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota), a work that bears the date 1551 and until recently an attribution to Paolo Veronese, and Franceschini's wife (art market, London). This pair is, in format, pose, setting, and pictorial treatment, clearly based directly on the inspiration of Paolo's Da Porto couple. We would suggest that Veronese painted Da Porto and his wife in 1551. A date prior to that would be unlikely in view of the children's ages.

Livia Thiene's portrait has suffered more severe damage than that of her husband. It has been trimmed by at least eight centimeters (three inches) along each side, with the loss of what was probably a column at right, an element still partly preserved in its companion. The loss of about fifteen centimeters (six inches) along the bottom has been pieced out with a crude floor design and a mistaken placement of the door frame at right. This austere, undecorated setting is in harmony with the Palladian interior of their palace, and it seems likely that the portraits were intended to assume an illusionistic role, each standing in a doorlike niche with an intervening window, since the light enters the paintings from a source between them. Although the literature often suggests the reverse, it is evident that Livia Thiene was at left, that she gazes toward her husband at right, and that little Adriano reverses that direction to look playfully toward his sister. Such a subtle and characterful interplay is entirely typical of Paolo's restrained and intuitive early portraits. The watercolor delicacy of the 1548 *Young Man* (Szépművészeti Museum, Budapest) and the almost monochromatic severity of the Florentine gentleman (cat. 7) here give place to a much more sumptuous color and texture, rich harmonies of rust, creamy rose, and mossy green. Although even the snow-leopard lining of

her coat is warmer in tonality than before, the color range is still restrained and carefully modulated. The plasticity is emphatic, an understated but gentle allusion to Livia's substantial girth. These pictorial characteristics accord well with Paolo's style in the ceiling canvases (cats. 13, 14), which we have dated to about 1551. As far as we know, Paolo did not again assay a full-length portrait of a standing woman.

Literature

Hadeln 1924, 209; Hadeln 1927, 238, 242–251; Fiocco 1928, 92, 120; Nicodemi 1928, 338; A. Venturi 1928, 92, 209; Fiocco 1929, 297–299; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 832; Walters catalogue 1929, no. 541; Balniel-Clark 1930, 155; Fiocco 1934, 43, 113, 126; Tietze 1935, 331; Falke 1936, 346; Pallucchini 1939, 73; Coletti 1941, 141; Richter 1942, 39; Pallucchini 1943, 19; Arslan 1946–1947, 14–16; Arslan 1948, 232; Berenson 1957, 1:133; Vertova 1959, 16, 19; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 29; Pallucchini 1966, 725; Pignatti 1966, 24; Pope-Hennessy 1966, 326; Crosato 1968, 221; Marini 1968, 92, no. 34; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 38; Puppi 1973, 279; Zeri 1976, 406; Pignatti 1976, 1:2, 23, 106–107, no. 21; Marinelli 1980, 220; Badt 1981, 176; Pallucchini 1984, 24, 166, no. 17; Zafran 1988, 62, no. 22



I2

Allegory of the Liberal Arts

1551
oil on canvas
105 x 105 (41 x 41)

Musei Vaticani, Pinacoteca

A winged female genius descends from the hilltop to grasp the wrist of the laurel-crowned Poetry, to whom she offers a golden casket. Between them Painting holds a canvas, at right Architecture proffers a ground plan, and below, sharply foreshortened, a river god holds a rudder and leans into a mountain freshet. Once round, as the beveled angles confirm, this was the central canvas of a ceiling of which two lateral parts (cats. 13, 14) also survive. Although it doubtless was meant to convey a specific iconography relative to the humanist patron who commis-

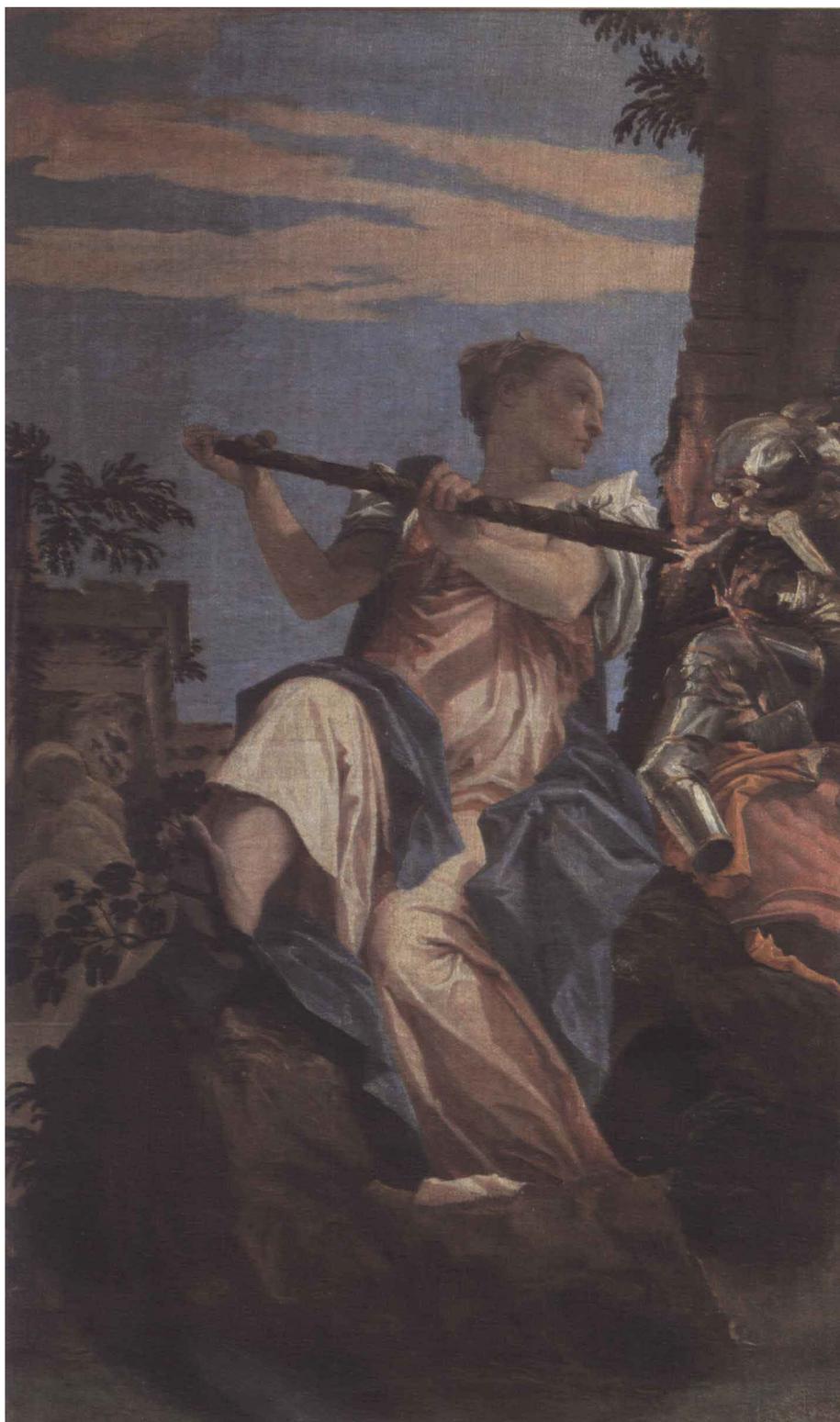
sioned it, its subject seems generally an allegory of the Liberal Arts, who receive the patronage of the female genius under the radiance of divine inspiration. The complex mannerist figure of the river god recalls closely Paolo's river gods in the Sala di Ganimede (fig. 14) at Palazzo Canossa, Verona, of 1545, and in this instance it probably alludes to the river Adige, which flows through Verona. Together with the allegorical figures of Peace and Economy and perhaps another pair now lost, the ensemble seems an encomium to the artistic patronage that peace, prosperity, and wise administration permitted the patron to exercise. All three canvases seem to have been in Rome at least from the eighteenth century, when the central panel was first noted as by Vero-

nese in the Palazzo Sacchetti, but their earlier history is unrecorded. Although all scholars (Berenson later dropped his first attribution to Zelotti) are in agreement about Veronese's authorship, there is considerable breadth in their suggested dating, recent opinion favoring an early placement at the beginning of the sixth decade.

The suggestion that these canvases once decorated a barrel-vaulted ceiling in the Palazzo Da Porto, Vicenza, must be abandoned, since the three compartments with stucco surrounds by Bartolommeo Ridolfi are substantially larger than these paintings. Those works must have been frescoes, given the curve of the ceiling, and in any case, Paolo's upward view would not have been functional in that context, as

Tiepolo's replacements clearly indicate. In the eighteenth century Paolo's surviving works in the palace were described as fresco friezes and overmantels. The present ceiling must have been of the coffered wooden type, with the present tondo in the center and ovals in the four corners allowing the figures to look toward the center (see cats. 63, 64). In this context it might be noted that Veronese's format closely resembles that of the ceiling for which Michele Sanmicheli procured the commission for Vasari in Palazzo Corner on the Grand Canal of Venice in 1542. If Sanmicheli designed that ceiling, as we believe probable, he might also have provided the design in this instance as well. It is notable that the clear ground plan held by Architecture at the right edge shows what seems to be a villa with a courtyard opening at top to a loggia with paired descending stairs behind a face of double imposed columns. Although it would be characteristic of Veronese to make visual allusion to the building for which this ceiling was destined, none of Sanmicheli's surviving villas has precisely this plan. However, its style bears his clear imprint.

Like Vasari, Paolo here observed a modified up-angled illusionism, including an area of rocky ground at the bottom of each picture so that the figures are seen on an oblique angle rather than from directly below. Except for *Jupiter Expelling the Vices* (fig. 19) of 1553, Paolo would remain throughout his career a staunch promulgator of this intelligent spatial compromise. In style, these three canvases are clearly transitional, Peace and the river god still angular and complex in a mannerist formula, but Economy and the genius and Poetry more robustly three-dimensional and opulent in form. His early and often eccentric experiments with pallid, high-key color in dissonant juxtapositions are still present in the remarkable rose and ice-blue of Peace's gown, but the celestial radiance in the central canvas warms the tonality to a more golden harmony. This is also evident in the richer impasto and denser application of glazes in the tondo. Although there are clear echoes of such earlier works as the *Baptism of Christ* (Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig) of around 1548–1549, and a close similarity with contemporary paintings such as the Da Porto pendants (cats. 10, 11) of around 1551, this ceiling fits best in the context of 1551.



Literature

Fiocco 1934, 115; Hadeln 1934, 112–116; Berenson 1936, 521; Pallucchini 1939, 61; Pallucchini 1943, 19; Arslan 1948, 241; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Francia 1960, 59; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 25; Pallucchini 1966, 725; Pignatti 1966, 37; Marini 1968, 101, no. 29-C; Schulz 1968, 127; Pietrangeli 1970, 144; Pignatti 1976, 1:109, no. 34; Marinelli 1980, 220; Pignatti 1981, 185; Pallucchini 1984, 167, no. 21; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1987, 69

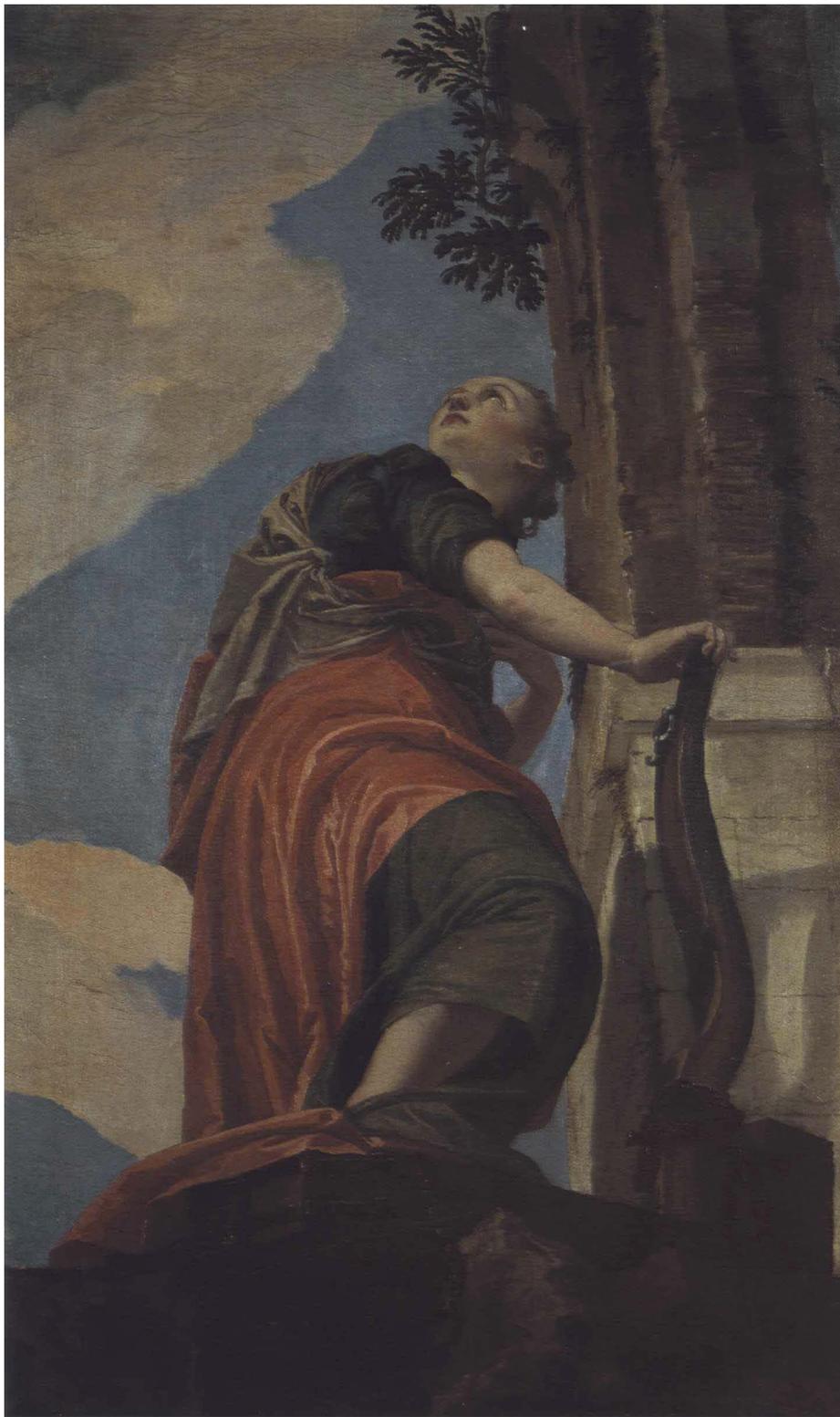
13

Allegory of Peace

1551

oil on canvas
105 x 64 (41 x 25)

Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome



14

Allegory of Constancy

1551
oil on canvas
105 x 65 (41 x 25 3/8)

Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome

Although they were bequeathed to the Pinacoteca Capitolina with the Pio da Carpi collection, it is likely that these two canvases were together with the *Allegory of the Liberal Arts* in Palazzo Sacchetti, Rome, in the eighteenth century. Together, they constitute the surviving parts of a dismembered ceiling whose original format is discussed in relation to its central tondo in cat. 12. Like the tondo, these paintings were once oval, their outside dimensions having been trimmed by about seven centi-

meters top and bottom and a bit less at the sides. The neutral corners have been inpainted to give them a rectangular format.

The first allegory is clearly Peace, who sets fire to the pile of military gear at right. The other figure is more difficult to identify, since her attribute, a ship's rudder, was described by Ripa (1709, *Moral Emblem* no. 104) as appropriate to Economy, but appears often in Venetian civic decorations of the middle of the cinquecento as a sign of Constancy or Sage Administration. In the context of the humanist iconography of the rest of the program, it might refer simultaneously to the wealth amassed by the patron through economy and wise stewardship, a well-being fostered by Peace and dispensed through artistic patronage. Along the right side of each canvas is a massive brick-and-stone classical ruin of a type familiar in Verona. Peace has at left a charming marble ruin that closely recalls the satyr herms in Paolo's early *Supper at Emmaus* chiaroscuro drawing (cat. 4). The brick ruins suggest that this motif was consistent in all four satellite ovals. The upward gaze of Economy places it to the lower right of the central tondo, while the more neutral attention of Peace fits best at upper left. The source of illumination in relation to the divine light in the tondo tends to confirm these positions. Pictorially, there are notable internal distinctions among these three canvases, the most striking being the watercolorlike thinness and transparency of the paint in the Peace, where the glinting lights of the armor assume an almost surreal intensity. There the pallid dissonance of color recalls Paolo's earlier experiments. The Economy is more subdued, but its iridescent green and pale brick are striking. Reunited in this exhibition for the first time in centuries, these three ceiling paintings of about 1551 constitute a remarkable document for Paolo's growing control of a pictorial type in which he would become the preeminent master of his time.

Literature

Fiocco 1934, 115; Hadeln 1934, 112–116; Berenson 1936, 521; Pallucchini 1939, 60–61, nos. 19, 20; Pallucchini 1943, 19; Arslan 1948, 241; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Francia 1960, 59; Levey 1960, 111; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 25; Pallucchini 1966, 725; Pignatti 1966, 37; Marini 1968, 91, nos. 29–A, 29–B; Schulz 1968, 127; Pietrangeli 1970, 144; Pignatti 1976, 1:108–109, nos. 32, 33; Marinelli 1980, 220; Pignatti 1981, 185–186, nos. 62, 63; Pallucchini 1984, 167, nos. 22, 23; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1987, 69



Holy Family with Saints Catherine and Anthony Abbot

1551

oil on canvas

313 x 190 (122 x 74)

San Francesco della Vigna, Venice

This altar painting is still in the place for which it was painted, the fifth chapel to the left, erected in 1543 by the Giustinian family in Sansovino's new church that had been begun in 1534. As Humfrey has pointed out, the brothers Lorenzo (d. 1553) and Antonio (d. 1565) Giustinian each placed marble plaques with inscriptions and the date 1551 on either side of the altar, a date reasonably assumed to commemorate the conclusion of the chapel's decoration although it was not, in fact, consecrated until 1582, the year in which Agostino Carracci engraved the altar picture. The literature has usually assigned the date 1551 to Veronese's painting as well. From Sansovino in 1581 on, it has been recognized as by Paolo.

Despite the fact that he was recorded in the census of 1553 as living at home in Verona, it is clear that Paolo's contacts with Venice had begun by 1549, when he showed a clear response to Tintoretto's *Saint Mark Rescuing the Slave* (Accademia, Venice), painted in 1548 for the Scuola di San Marco. We have no firm record that he received commissions from Venetian patrons until 1553. He had worked at Sanmicheli's behest at La Soranza in 1551, and the architect was, in turn, involved with such Venetian patrons as the Cornaro for their palazzo at San Polo in Venice from 1547 on. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Paolo had by 1551 been introduced to influential Venetians, perhaps including the Giustinian brothers, who might have welcomed the chance to get the altar for their modest chapel interior at a bargain from an unknown young painter.

It is, finally, the style of this painting that must determine its date. It is insistently, naively Venetian in character, its format being a reduced variation on Titian's Pesaro altar (Frari, Venice) of a quarter-century before. Even its relaxed informality seems to be a misguided effort to adapt a homely Venetian *Sacra Conversazione* to an altar format. The architecture has a generic resemblance

to that of Sansovino, and its emphatically unfinished facade may refer to that of the church itself, incomplete in 1551 and only finished after 1568 when Palladio took over the facade's design. The gentle Virgin, the unstable child, the playful Baptist who vainly tries to control the recalcitrant lamb create a domestic group whose simplicity is underscored by the sewing basket on the windowsill, but it is the quizzical stare of the rustic Saint Joseph that captures our attention. The only figure who recognizes our presence, it is not surprising to find that the chapel is, indeed, dedicated to him. Saint Anthony's robed back seems calculated to avoid anatomical definition, and Saint Catherine, the most graceful of the participants and the most richly decorative in pictorial treatment, is upstaged by Anthony's long-snouted pig. The mood of quiet meditation risks falling into a collage of painterly fragments, some, such as the brocade above, beautiful in themselves; but the ensemble is lacking in psychological and pictorial focus. It shares figure type, broken patterns of loose brushstroke, and a distinctly Titianesque if cool color harmony with several small devotional pictures such as the *Holy Family with the Baptist* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and the slightly later painting of the same subject (San Barnaba, Venice). An early date for the former is suggested by its probable provenance from the Muselli collection in Verona. The *Madonna with Two Saints* (Museo Civico, Vicenza) develops this type, but in a more aggressive and assured pictorial key characteristic of his work in 1553–1554. Its evident influence on Battista Zelotti's *Holy Family with the Baptist and Saint George* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) confirms that they all originate in the

years close to the two artists' collaboration in the Soranza frescoes of 1551. In fact, the Giustinian Saint Catherine closely resembles some of the figures there.

This phase of willfully assumed Venetian style seems, in all probability, to coincide with a new and temporary foray onto the highly competitive Venetian scene, one which we would be inclined to place directly after the summer's effort at the villa La Soranza in the autumn and winter of 1551–1552. In any case, Paolo's sojourn in Venice cannot have been long-lived, since by mid-1552 his attention was redirected to Mantua and the commission of a work (cat. 16) that elicited a sharp shift of style away from Venetian sources.

Literature

Sansovino 1581, 14; Ridolfi 1648, 1:324; Boschini 1664, 199; Boschini 1674, Castello, 41; Dal Pozzo 1718, 96; Zanetti 1733, 232; Zanetti 1771, 189, 548; Moschini 1815, 1:46; Caliani 1888, 51, 343; Berenson 1894, 128; Hadeln 1911, 5:395; Hadeln 1914, 1:181; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:324; Brizio 1926, 234; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 220; Lorenzetti 1927, 367; Osmond 1927, 24–25; Fiocco 1928, 22–23; Nicodemus 1928, 2:331; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 171–174; Berenson 1932, 426; Fiocco 1934, 42, 107; Brizio 1939, 127; Marchiori 1939, 50; Pallucchini 1939, 44–45, no. 10; Coletti 1941, 112–115; Pallucchini 1943, 14; Arslan 1946–1947, 1:90; Arslan 1948, 243–244; Lorenzetti 1956, 372; Berenson 1957, 1:141; Levey 1960, 108; Lorenzetti 1961, 381; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 18; Pignatti 1966, 19–20; Pallucchini 1966, 724; Marini 1968, 90, no. 22; Cocke 1971, 729; Howard 1975, 66–72; Ticozzi 1975, no. 6; Pignatti 1976, 1:13–14, 20, 104, no. 5; Cocke 1980, 24; Paolucci 1980, 285; Cocke 1983, 233–234, no. 133; Pallucchini 1984, 24–26, 165, no. 10; Gisolfi-Pechukas 1987, 68; Humfrey 1988, in press; Sponza 1988, 43–53



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

1552

oil on canvas

198 x 151 (77¹/₄ x 58⁷/₈)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen

The new cathedral of Mantua, constructed after designs by Giulio Romano, was ready for interior embellishment by 1552 when Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga commissioned four altar paintings. It is symptomatic of the barren state of painting in Mantua, as well as the newly won attention to Verona as an artistic center, that all four paintings were assigned to Veronese artists. Thirteen years later Vasari did not hesitate to proclaim Paolo's *Temptation of Saint Anthony* the best by far of the four altars, an enthusiastic opinion endorsed by Borghini, Ridolfi, and other early commentators. In 1797 Napoleon sent it off to Paris, and in 1803 it was assigned to the new museum in Caen, where it remains today. It has been trimmed slightly at left and below, but it is essentially in good condition, as the recent restoration has confirmed.

Much has been made of Paolo's debt to the Mantuan works of Giulio Romano, but in fact his earliest paintings (cats. 2, 3) betray a discriminating interest in Emilian masters such as Bedoli and Niccolò dell'Abbate but virtually no enthusiasm either for Giulio's Mantuan works or his Holy Family, "La Perla" (Museo del Prado, Madrid), even though he had studiously copied the Prado painting in Verona. Indeed, the authors of the other three pictures, Del Moro, Brusasorzi, and Farinati, also seemed more oriented toward Parma in their altars, acknowledging the leadership of their younger colleague. Paolo's sources for this altar, in which the hermit saint is beaten cruelly by a satyr as a seductress—her evil revealed by her clawed fingers—pulls his protective hand away from his face, are characteristically hidden. The Belvedere torso (Vatican Museums, Vatican City) played no role in its genesis, nor do Caraglio's engravings of the *Labors of Hercules* provide direct models, although Paolo clearly knew them and may have developed his concept of the splendidly malevolent satyr in part from those muscular figures. Indeed, all attempts to discover direct imitation in the Saint Anthony altar miss the essen-

tial point that Paolo never, early or late, followed a process of imitation in which his sources are discernible unless, as in the case of the later *Dream of Saint Helen* (National Gallery, London), which is directly modeled on a chiaroscuro print by Girolamo da Carpi, he intended a frank homage to an admired prototype. Instead, the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* is a carefully studied adaptation to the site and circumstances of its commission.

The cathedral of Mantua is a strange and distressing interior, archaeological in its five aisles, classical in its massive accumulation of Corinthian columns and barrel vaults, and darkly solemn in its distant illumination. Paolo clearly has gauged his pictorial ensemble to this setting. The menacing cave entrance barely suggested by the few illuminated vines and leaves above is a direct response to the mysterious nature in Correggio's mythologies in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua. In fact, Correggio more than any other predecessor seems to have inspired Paolo in his figure form as well as his pictorial approach to light and color in this altar. It is as though the Parmesan master's *Jupiter and Antiope* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) had been metamorphosed into a sinister nightmare. This claustrophobic, unbalanced, darkly menacing tone is perfectly attuned to as well as influenced by Giulio's oppressive architecture. The painting style of Raphael's premier pupil remains pointedly extraneous. Instead, Paolo here explored a suffocatingly dense atmosphere in which dark wine, plum, bronze, and gold domi-

nate, and the only light seems to intrude on the hectic events from the church itself. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* remains an unrepeatable masterpiece, a work conceived with sovereign intelligence for one place and one time. The artist's attention was distracted soon thereafter to a more fertile ground, Venice.

Literature

Borghini 1584, 561; Ridolfi 1648, 1:285; Scaramuccia 1674, 117; Dal Pozzo 1718, 78; Cochin 1758, 3:210; Cadioli 1763, 17; Bernasconi 1864, 326; Siret 1866, 417; Vasari-Milanesi 6:367, 488–489; Caliarì 1888, 16–17, 18, 22, 276–277, 370; Molmenti 1900, 34; Menegoz 1907, 189; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:298–299, 307; Hadeln 1914, 194, 198; Brizio 1926, 222, 234; Osmond 1927, 17, 110; Ingersoll-Smouise 1927, 2:212, 226; Fiocco 1928, 21–22, 31, 179, 194; Golzio 1928, 271; Nicodemi 1928, 2:330; A. Venturi 1928, 26, 209; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 766, 949; Berenson 1932, 420; Fiocco 1934, 27–28, 115; Berenson 1936, 361; Wilde 1937, 140–153; Brizio 1939, 128; Pallucchini 1939, 12; Pallucchini 1940, 8–9; Trecca 1940, 47; Coletti 1941, 102–103; Pallucchini 1943, 14; Arslan 1948, 241; Pallucchini 1949–1950, 59; Rouches 1954, 1; Berenson 1957, 1:130; Gould 1959, 137–138; Brizio 1960, 2:21; Levey 1960, 108; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 16; Rosenberg 1965, 250, no. 309; Pallucchini 1966, 724; Rosand 1966, 422; Marini 1968, 89, no. 16; Morassi 1968, 34; Ballarin 1971, 96; Magagnato 1974, 46; Pallucchini 1974, 133; Schweikhart 1974, 246; Pignatti 1976, 26, 52, 47, 107, no. 22; Cocke 1980, 25; Marinelli 1980, 189; Sgarbi 1980, 16; Pignatti 1981, 184, no. 61; Cocke 1983, 234, no. 134; Badt 1981, 39, 40, 63, 93, 193; Rearick 1988, 16



17

The Temptation of Saint Anthony

1552

pen and brown ink with bister wash
heightened with white body color em-
phasized in some passages in black ink
over black chalk on slightly faded blue
prepared paper

41.4 x 35.6 (16 x 13 7/8)

laid down

formerly Jabach collection

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département
des arts graphiques, no. 4842

In the Jabach inventory (Venetian
school, vol. 3, no. 65), this sheet bore
an attribution to Veronese, later
changed to Farinati. Bacou exhibited it
under the latter name but, in her cata-
logue entry, suggested that it might be

Veronese's *modello* for the *Temptation of
Saint Anthony* (cat. 16). Rosand devel-
oped this idea, confirming Paolo's au-
thorship and the connection with the
1552 painting, but suggesting that the
marked differences between them
should suggest that the drawing was a
slightly subsequent reworking of the
1552 composition. Cocke at first dated
it several years earlier than the Caen al-
tar, but then agreed that it is later.

Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga commis-
sioned the painting from Veronese in
1552. There is no mention of *modelli*,
nor do any exist by Paolo's three col-
leagues who signed their March letter
requesting payment for their altars for
Mantua cathedral. Instead, Paolo seems
regularly to have used oils on paper in
preparing *modelli* (cat. 2). His earlier

chiaroscuro drawings are not *modelli*,
but are rather preliminary studies (cats.
8, 9, 10) or works of art in their own
right (cat. 5). Given that the Louvre
drawing is not simply a variant of the
Caen painting, but differs from it in ev-
ery element save its subject (and even
that is conceived in the drawing as a se-
duction rather than an assault), this
sheet cannot have been submitted to the
cardinal for his approval unless, of
course, the patron so disliked it that he
required major changes. Because the
painted solution is on every count more
daring and unpredictable, this last pos-
sibility is remote indeed. It seems, in-
stead, to be an alternative solution, one
in which gentle demons seem intent on
tugging the mildly resistant hermit
away from his cave, a hospitable refuge

in the midst of a particularly luminous evocation of natural beauty. In this bucolic setting the figures are smaller than those in the claustrophobic compression of the painting. The grim menace of the altar has been transformed into pastoral poetry recalling Paolo's first frescoes in Palazzo Canossa seven years before. One source in particular contributes to this contrast in interpretation: the clear derivation from Parmigianino of the figure of Saint Anthony with sausagelike, swollen thighs, ribbonlike flow of drapery, and serpentine pose, all elements suggestive of that master's *Conversion of Saul* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), here in reverse. We must assume that Paolo had already seen it or knew a drawing by Parmigianino; in view of his attentive study of Parmigianino's drawings, the latter is perhaps more likely. In any case, the conscious reference to Giulio Romano and Mantuan mannerism so redolent in the altar is here quite absent, as is the picture's Correggesque pictorial handling.

Its drawing style is a natural development of the chiaroscuro studies that precede it. Although there are still clear links with the Palazzo Canossa study (cat. 1), it shows a more assured and masterful handling of the medium, no longer delicately pointed as in the *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. 4) or emphatic and dense as the Louvre and Uffizi altar studies (cats. 8, 9), but effortlessly transparent in suggesting light-filled space and coherent physical form. As Coutts has suggested in attributing this drawing to Farinati, it does, indeed, relate to the work of Caliarì's youthful friend. However, Farinati's drawings, such as the derivation (fig. 17) from the Saint George project, are such attentive imitations of Veronese's graphic mode that they suggest fine distinctions between the two draftsmen. The assured mastery of physical form and the evanescent delicacy with which the landscape is evoked achieve a classical harmony to which Farinati aspired, but which he never achieved with the effortless grace of this sheet.

Probably a project parallel to the altar, this drawing might be marginally subsequent to it and represent Paolo's withdrawal from the extreme statement of the painting toward a reestablishment of his personal idiom. The development of various of its motifs in the 1553 ceiling of the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, as well as the 1555 *Transfiguration* (duomo,

Montagnana) tends to confirm this sequence. We encounter chiaroscuro drawings by Paolo relatively infrequently in the two decades that follow his transfer to Venice shortly after producing this drawing, and it would seem that he practiced the medium infrequently until around 1574, when it proliferated into one of his major creative channels in his last decade.

Literature

Jabach inventory; Coulanges-Rosenberg 1965, no. 113; Rosand 1966, 421–422; Ballarin 1971, 96; Rearick 1976, 157–158; Pignatti 1976, 1:107; Cocke 1977, 267; Rearick [1980] 1976, 39–41, no. 18; Fryszman 1978, 699; Cocke 1983, 234; Cocke 1984, 106–107, no. 36; Coutts 1986, 401, 403

II *Establishment in Venice 1553–1560*

Venice presented a fearsome challenge for a young painter from the mainland. Its churches were either mosaic-lined or graced by altars of Bellini, Cima, or Carpaccio, its lacy palaces were already brimming with blond beauties by Palma Vecchio or Giorgione, and its Ducal Palace was resplendent with the grandest cycle of historical murals in all of the Western world. Titian, for decades its greatest master and its only challenge to the classical High Renaissance in Rome, was devoting his old age increasingly to foreign princes. If this surcease were not discouraging enough, recent years had seen the explosion of Tintoretto upon the scene, capturing the attention of that arbiter of taste Pietro Aretino in 1545 and astonishing everyone with his *Saint Mark Rescuing the Slave* (Accademia, Venice) of 1548, a slashing display of virtuosity that made him the center of controversy but also won him a wide range of new commissions. But this success had also won him enemies, most notably among patrician humanists; they could no longer, however, keep him out of the Palazzo Ducale, where in December 1553, he was paid for a historical mural in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio.

It was exactly at this moment that Paolo made his official debut there with *Jupiter Expelling the Vices* (fig. 19). Daniele Barbaro, recently returned from ambassadorial duty in London and patriarch-elect of Aquileia, was invited to provide the allegorical program for this room. As director of the project he proposed a priest, G. B. Ponchino, doubtless favored because of his Roman contacts and knowledge of Michelangelo, but a rank amateur as a painter. It was, therefore, necessary to limit Ponchino's contribution and to call in Veronese and Zelotti, whose work was surely already known to Barbaro by way of the Soranzo family. Paolo received the lion's share with the great central oval, in which he took advantage of the subject's figures flying across the sky to create, for the first and only time in his career, a perfect Giulio-Romano-style illusionistic ceiling. But, just as with the *Saint Anthony* (cat. 16) of less than a year before, he filtered his formal and pictorial language through the optic of Correggio, softening academic foreshortening, transforming the Vices into handsome humans, and lightening the tonality to a harmony of radiant flesh, gold, pale ice blue, and creamy white. Perhaps most striking, however, is his secure mastery of a Michelangelesque monumentality in the individual figures (fig. 3) and the conviction with which their physical substance is made to seem both solid and mobile. With this, the most brilliant ceiling painted in Venice since Pordenone's multipaneled cycle in the Libreria of the Palazzo Ducale twenty years before, Paolo at once provided Venetians with an alternative to Tintoretto.

Bernardo Torlioni, a native of Verona and prior of the Hieronymite monastery of San Sebastiano in Venice, imported modest talent from home to paint murals in the sacristy of his church, but he wisely assigned the sacristy ceiling to Paolo, whose success there prompted the commission for the great church ceiling as well (fig. 4). Paolo finished the first project in 1555 and the second the following year, and produced a giant *Transfiguration* altar (cathedral, Montagnana) in the time between. In addition to these public works, private commissions began to pour in from Barbaro's circle of friends and associates, among them portraits such as the one traditionally but unreliably called "La Bella Nani" (cat. 21), in which the elaborate mannerist goldsmith's embellishments purposely contrast with the fragile loveliness of the subject. Its exquisitely cool harmony of blue velvet, silver veil, and accents of golden hair and jewels achieves a diaphanous image seemingly effortless in its assurance, but in fact the mature product of a perfectly coordinated hand and eye.



Jacopo Sansovino's Libreria Marciana, projected since 1537 but plagued with misfortunes, was finally far enough advanced in 1556 to allow its main hall to be covered with an elaborate ceiling made up of twenty-one round canvases for which seven artists signed contracts on 19 August 1556. The architect was charged with the primary responsibility for their selection, but his friend Titian seems to have had a say from the beginning. The painters were without exception representative of the mannerist formulae that dominated taste in Venice since 1540, and most were destined to disappear from the scene within a year or two. The exceptions were Zelotti and Veronese, once again considered a team and representative of recent developments in Verona. Titian had never felt himself part of the circle of artists inspired by the rhetoric of the Roman followers of Michelangelo, but in 1556 that circle provided the only alternative to Tintoretto, whom the old man was determined to exclude from the Libreria come what may. The tondi were painted in September and October and a final payment was made in February 1557. Sometime around that date Titian came to review the results and, looking upward at what was mostly a routine accumulation of clichés, he cannot have hesitated in assigning a prize, a golden chain, to Veronese, whose balanced and sunny allegories (fig. 20) bring a refreshing breath of air to the ensemble.

It is in the context of this signal victory that we are able to reconstruct a phase of Paolo's career until now hardly guessed at. With the ceiling completed, attention doubtless turned to the still-empty walls—not to be redecorated as we see them today until the refurbishment of 1929—and to the commissioning of a cycle of allegorical figures now known as “philosophers,” but in truth emblematic depictions of the humanistic arts and sciences in the books the library was intended to house. What would be more natural than that some of these canvases be assigned to the painter who had just triumphed in the ceiling above them? Paolo did, in fact, undertake at once to paint at least four allegorical figures (cats. 22, 23, and figs. 20, 23) probably representing Ptolemy, Averroës, Zoroaster, and the Art of Sculpture. A nervously complex study (cat. 24) of still another analogous figure suggests that still more were planned. It must, however, have become clear that the canvases as commissioned were too small for the interstices between the windows, and that their environment of ruins did not accord well with the architecture of the room. After being shifted around, first to the antechamber for which Titian painted the *Sapienza* ceiling in 1560 and later to other parts of the building, Paolo's Libreria allegories were reproduced in at least two sets of painted copies and finally sold off and forgotten until recently. Giuseppe Porta Salviati participated in this first phase of the Libreria walls with a so-called *Pro-metheus* that, pieced out, still remains in situ, but the program was amended to figures in niches in 1560, and Veronese eventually provided two of these canvases before Tintoretto took over the last phase of their production around 1570.

Veronese did not want for commissions in 1556, as the first of his great refectory banquets, the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin), for which he received an advance payment in January, attests. Its fiercely expressive but rigorously drawn form and clear, strong color is exactly analogous to that of the Libreria figures.

Drawings came to have an even more central role in Paolo's creative process during these early years in Venice. Black chalk, Titian's preferred medium, does not seem to have played a very large role in his earlier drawings, functioning primarily as rough undersketching (cat. 4) to be covered by wash. Now that he was in effect Titian's protégé he began to use the medium, first in an unfocused and tentative evocation of chiaroscuro in a sketch (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38 930) for the Turin *Feast*, but almost at the same time in a faceted, sharply pointed handling (cat. 24) and the elegantly if tensely controlled linearism of a life sketch for the 1558 *Eritrean Sibyl* mural (cat. 25). Although a head study (cat. 27) shows that Paolo experimented with the Venetian use of chalk, in the Sibyl it is as though by sharpening the chalk to a fine point he could use it like pen and ink, hardly the principle followed by Titian in his luminously smudged evocations of atmosphere. Pen and ink with bister wash would, in fact, remain Paolo's direct instrument for capturing his tumultuous



fig. 19. *Jupiter Expelling the Vices*. Musée du Louvre, Paris

rush of ideas in multiple variants, which vividly reflect his energetic but analytical exploration of a formal balance. This is perhaps best documented in the case of his fresco cycle in the Palazzo Trevisan, Murano, in about 1557 (figs. 21, 22). Almost all of his known studies (cats. 18, 19, 20) for these vaults are brought together for the first time in this exhibition, and a vivid testimony to his vital creative process they are! Chiaroscuro drawings also enter a new and freer phase in Paolo's Venetian years, most striking in the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 26), where pen plays almost no role, giving way to the purely pictorial interplay of the brush and the white highlight. The exotic colors of the prepared papers came to have a greater role in these precious surrogate paintings.

Music always played a significant and honored role in the ceremonies for which the Serenissima was famous, and early sources report that Veronese was an enthusiastic amateur musician. For San Sebastiano he designed the entire organ complex with painted shutters (fig. 24), and simultaneously in late 1558 plans were made for the new organ in Sansovino's church of San Geminiano on Piazza San Marco. For the latter Paolo provided the organ shutters with the stately and luxuriant *Saints Geminianus and Severus* (cat. 29) on the closed faces, and, when the doors were open, a languid *Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 30) with his inquisitive lamb on the left side. On the right *Saint Menna* (cat. 31) afforded the artist an opportunity for one of his most memorably ideal images, that of the heroic warrior whose dashing confidence suggests the self-image of the thirty-two-year-old painter, by 1560 an established figure on the Venetian scene.



fig. 20. *Arithmetic and Geometry*. Libreria Marciana, Venice



18

Bacchus and Apollo

1556–1557

pen and brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

17.4 x 15.4 (6³/₄ x 6)

inscribed in ink in the artist's own hand *zustare*, and 88 in what might be a later hand

from the Reynolds and Fairfax Murray collections

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. 1.90

This sheet was traditionally attributed to Veronese when it was in the collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds. It was almost certainly he who identified it as a preparation for the frescoes in Palazzo Trevisan, Murano. This study has been regularly accepted as his, and associated, in the figures of Bacchus and Apollo, with the vault of the upper loggia of the palace (fig. 21).

The Trevisan family purchased the

land on which their residence would be built in 1554, but a payment of 1557 to Alessandro Vittoria, an assistant for elements of its interior decoration, suggests that the fresco cycle might reasonably be dated to about the same year. The design of the Palazzo Trevisan is still a matter of discussion, and although the attribution to Michele Sanmicheli has correctly been abandoned, its forms show a clear awareness of the works of the Verona architect. Ridolfi's reference to Daniele Barbaro as its designer (Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:322) is fascinating and may have a grain of truth, given Barbaro's status as an amateur architect and translator of Vitruvius in an edition of 1556, but it is more reasonable to assume that the Patriarch of Aquileia was privy to its plans and may have made significant suggestions. Barbaro's association with Paolo went back at least three years to the Palazzo Ducale program; both seem to have been at least constructive observers of the Trevisan building plans. The fresco cycle must once have been more exten-

sive, since in addition to the upper loggia vault, still in situ, landscape vistas in architectural frames have recently been discovered on the walls, and a larger vaulted ceiling showing the gods of Mount Olympus (Musée du Louvre, Paris) was at an early date detached from a ground-floor salon. Thus, some of the unexplained figures in the related drawings might have been preparations for other parts of the cycle, since lost or as yet uncovered.

There are three rapid sketches for the upper loggia complex: this drawing, cat. 19, and a small sheet of studies (formerly Turner collection, London, location no longer known) on which Paolo explored ideas for the Eros and Anteros theme in the half-domes at the ends of the loggia. Cat. 19 and the Eros and Anteros sketch may have been cut from the same sheet. Of the three, the present drawing is the largest and most complex. Beginning at lower left, Paolo rapidly explored two major and other minor ideas for the seated pair of Bacchus and Apollo, even adapting a female nude from Raphael's *Loggia di Psyche* in the Villa Farnesina in Rome for a Bacchus seen from behind. After a slightly larger Apollo at the bottom right, he moved to top left to settle the Bacchus with added wash, dropping lower to place the two figures together in a balance very much like that in the fresco, but he still needed more detail for Apollo's lyre, developing its herm sculpture on both sides of the figures. Finally, he filled the remaining space with the largest figure, an imposing seated female holding what might be a bowl and wand. This figure does not appear in the loggia vault, but in pose and angle it corresponds with the deities above the cornice there. Since she cannot be an early idea for this part of the decoration, she might be a project for an adjacent space or simply a prodigal expansion of Veronese's fervent imagination. In any case, he took sufficient interest to explore her sleeve with transparent wash modeling at left and a freer pen revision of her knee drapery above. In handling, this freely improvisational study illustrates the rapidity of Veronese's development as a draftsman in these, his euphoric first years of success in Venice. By comparison with the studies (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 26357; Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38926) for the San Sebastiano ceiling of only about two years before, this drawing moves with an impetuous



rapidity, gathering and abandoning ideas as fast as his hand can move and shifting from a crudely abrupt suggestion of pose to a sinuously graceful elegance, and in turn to such pictorial refinements as the sleeve. Even facial expression is evoked in the female figure through a quick movement of the pen. With this sheet one finds Paolo's mature handling of pen that will remain constant for thirty years.

Literature

Borenlius 1921, 59; Hadeln 1926, 27; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 348, no. 2122; Cocke 1974, 31; Cocke 1984, 56-57, no. 10; Crosato 1986, 252

19

Jupiter (recto), Juno (verso)

1556-1557

pen and brown ink (recto and verso)
on ivory paper

14.8 x 8.7 (5³/₄ x 3³/₈)

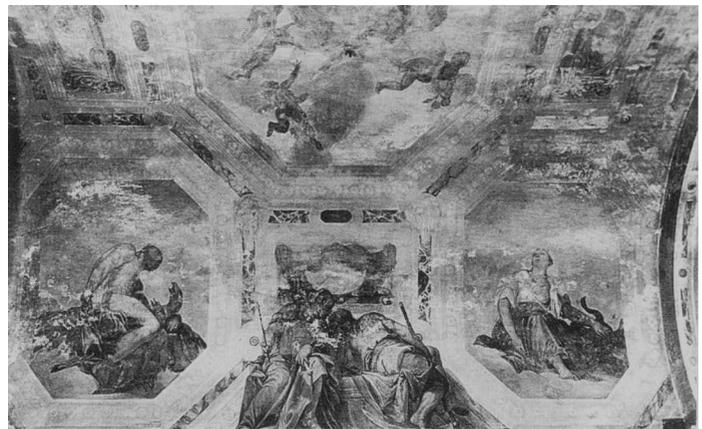
inscribed in pen in a later hand on the verso: 34 B no 127

formerly Fairfax Murray collection

The Pierpont Morgan Library,
New York, no. 90 A

Like several other drawings by Veronese, this one contains the inventory number of a very early unknown collector. Despite some confusion about its subject and destination, this sketch has always been accepted as by Veronese. A fragment of a larger sheet, it contains ideas for the frescoes on the vault of the upper loggia of the Palazzo Trevisan, Murano, on both sides (fig. 22). On the

figs. 21, 22. Neptune, Bacchus and Apollo, Cybele; and Jupiter, Janus and Saturn, Juno. Palazzo Trevisan, Murano



recto Paolo began at the top with a fairly clear pen and wash study of Jupiter riding his eagle, dropped to the left for a variant of the eagle head, then down to the center of the sheet for a more complex but uncertain change in which Jupiter is more vertical, and finally at the bottom, retaining this pose, shifted the eagle to the left side with its head now pointing down as in the second idea. Changing the theme to Neptune at right, he used mostly wash to evoke the sea god leaning backward and concluded with an even fainter suggestion of his sea horse. In the finished frescoes his Jupiter would be a synthesis of the sketched forms but rather different from any of them, while Neptune would retain the backward-leaning pose and his horse would make use of the second idea for Jupiter's eagle. The much slighter sketch for Juno on the verso began with a nude study at lower left to establish the pose, moved upward to right for a very quick repetition of the figure, which he abruptly abandoned, and, shifting higher to the left, drew over it a nervous final version that is very much like the fresco. Further up to the left is a jotted notation of the figure, again nude. Like the larger, more ambitious sheet for the same project (cat. 18), this drawing shows Veronese in a particularly volatile and imaginative moment. What seems a jumble of ideas scattered in confusion over the paper is in fact a striking document for the fertile but lucid process of his pen and brush toward a formal solution. That he could and did keep such casual sketches for future reference is borne out by the fact that the upper, discarded idea for Jupiter astride his eagle would be taken up about two years later for the Jupiter in a canvas ceiling (formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, destroyed in 1945) done for Palazzo Pisani, Venice.



Literature

Hadeln 1926, 27; Osmond 1927, 100; Fiocco 1928, 209; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 348–349, no. 2123; Cocke 1974, 31; Pignatti 1976, 1:128; Cocke 1984, 54–55, no. 9; Crosato 1986, 252

Olympus

1556–1557

pen and brown ink with touches of
bister wash on ivory paper30.4 x 20.0 (11⁷/₈ x 7³/₄)

inscribed in pen in a later hand: 74.

Laid down

formerly Reynolds collection

Private collection, United Kingdom

This is the last of the drawings for Palazzo Trevisan in Murano that were once owned by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who recognized Veronese's authorship of them (cat. 18 and formerly Turner collection, London). The modern literature is unanimous in accepting this, although the Tietzes expressed some doubts, and more recently Cocke has clarified both the relationship to the Olympus fresco (Musée du Louvre, Paris) from the ground floor salon of Palazzo Trevisan and the use of the lower figure for the David fresco on the upper wall of San Sebastiano, Venice. The Palazzo Trevisan fresco cycle came at a particularly busy moment in Paolo's still-new Venetian career. Although the finished fresco ceiling shows some haste in its rather jumbled conjunction of figures, this study is exceptionally fresh, lucid, and flexible in exploring a wide range of alternative figure types. Most of the deities may be identified, beginning with Venus who was first sketched in an approximate form at top left, descending through variants of Cupid seated on his mother's lap, to the more fully realized Venus disarming Cupid at the center of the sheet and a briefer suggestion of the same motif lower and to the left. Paolo then began the figure of Mars, the center of the top three standing figures, who was given a fuller description below and to the right, with experiments in pose and head direction added to flank the first figure. Mercury with his caduceus flanks the finished Mars, with a quick repetition of the profile form farther up at left; and Saturn with his scythe is started twice below Mars, the more complete form drawn over the first. The male figure with snakes coiled around his ankles at lower right is probably Serapis, although this figure would not participate in the Olympus fresco. The bottom center triangle is devoted to a male figure that conflates or elides through several themes begin-

ning with a seminude Apollo, dropping to a dressed patriarchal figure who is probably Jupiter with his clasped hands restudied at left and his vividly characterized head at right, and returning to the lyre in the most finished portion of the sheet. There a fine wash was added to the side of the drapery restudied at right and to the lyre alone at bottom right. Finally, the swaggering figure with the hint of a niche at bottom left might be Hercules leaning on his club or Neptune with an anchor. Casually, Paolo brushed touches of wash at several points, which may or may not relate to the drawn forms, but the most remarkable graphic idiosyncrasy is the way he used quick parallel modeling to cancel a previous position of the legs in the top center Mars, a gesture economical yet completely efficacious.

The Tietzes recognized a sculptor's mentality at work in the present drawing, and in an essential way this is true, since Paolo's very first training as a modeler in clay instilled in him the grasp of plastic form. These figure studies show constantly shifting angles of view of a model himself repeatedly in motion. It is probable, however, that while Paolo undoubtedly used live models on occasion, he more often depended on his interior vision when

imagining modifications in a figure's position. This is borne out by the *Olympus* sheet, where engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael and Roman antiquities inspired pose and form for several of the figures such as the nude Apollo and Venus and Cupid, a "classical" point of departure that Paolo could then adjust to a more natural, less rhetorical order. There would be a still-greater metamorphosis as he approached the painting where, in fact, not a single pose or detail of this drawing would be retained intact. The constantly evolving vitality of these images was not limited to the Palazzo Trevisan, since they remained constantly at his disposition, literally in his ample portfolios of drawings and metaphorically in his memory. They reemerged later in the figure of the Prophet David at San Sebastiano or the cameo chiaroscuro embellishments in the architectural dado at Villa Barbaro, Maser, works of three and five years later respectively.

Literature

Hadeln 1926, 31; Osmond 1927, 101; Fiocco 1928, 209; Pallucchini 1939, 213, no. 1; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 346, no. 2104; Cocke 1974, 31; Pignatti 1976, 1:114; Rearick [1980] 1976, 41, no. 19; Cocke 1984, 59, no. 11; Crosato 1986, 252



Portrait of a Lady

1555

oil on canvas

119 x 103 (46³/₈ x 40¹/₈)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

There is no foundation for the identification of this portrait as the one seen by Boschini (1660, 212) in Palazzo Nani in Venice, but its traditional appellation “La Bella Nani” has persisted. Its provenance can be traced only to the abbot Celotti in the early nineteenth century. Aside from Molmenti’s doubts about the attribution and Ingersoll-Smouse’s suggestion that it is by Montemezzano, the literature is otherwise unanimous in considering it one of Paolo’s masterpieces in the field of portraiture and his finest portrait of a woman. There is less agreement about its date, which has been placed from around 1556 to about 1561. The fresco image of Giustiniana Giustinian at Maser has been cited often as analogous in style.

Paolo Veronese’s celebrity as one of the supreme painters of beautiful women cannot stem from his portraits, since only about six others are in existence today, and half of those hardly qualify as comely. His earliest and perhaps most innovative was the full-length *Livia Da Porto Thiene and Her Daughter Porzia* (cat. 11), but his change to a more subtly sophisticated approach was signaled by the coquettish lady (Musée Municipal, Douai) painted just after his arrival in Venice in 1553. The present portrait is more mature and complex in both technique and characterization. Paolo often selected canvas that would play a specific role in his pictorial effect, rough-textured in certain aggressive early paintings, but here delicate in weave yet with a clear grain at the surface. Equally, the paint consistency is calibrated to that surface, here a thinned medium whose effect is one of evanescent mobility of light and dark, evoked with feather-light strokes of the pointed brush. Color is an exquisitely cool harmony of velvety blue and silver-white, accents of gold in the jewelry and hair, as well as the memory of Moretto in the Turkey carpet, all set against a palpably atmospheric dark interior environment. Monumental mannerist golden jewelry of a type favored by Paolo in the 1550s is used here as a foil to the fragile beauty of the sitter. It

is, indeed, her tender vulnerability that the artist underscored by contrasting her diffident stance and the nervous toying with her veil with the trappings of wealth and status. Married, as her rings suggest, her reticent gaze avoids ours, and the discreet aura of sadness suggests depths of feeling that she and the painter keep to themselves. Few late Renaissance portraits of women keep so subtle a balance between technique and insight.

The date of “La Bella Nani” is clear if one begins by discounting the superficial resemblance to Giustiniana Giustinian, the worldly mistress of Maser. Instead, it is in paintings of about 1555 such as the *Coronation of the Virgin* (San Sebastiano, Venice, sacristy) with its rarified contrasts of blue and gold, or the diaphanous tonality of the *Transfiguration* (cathedral, Montagnana) that one finds this degree of transparency and understatement in texture, drawing, and color. Even the San Sebastiano nave ceiling suggests a shift to a warmer, more robust harmony by 1556. We would, therefore, place this remarkable portrait close to 1555.

Literature

Galichon 1870, 111; Caliarì 1888, 226; Perkins 1914, no. 25; Guiffrey 1920, 394; Molmenti 1921–1922, 308–312; Hadeln 1924, 209; Haute-coeur 1926, 42, no. 1199–A; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 2:225–226; Osmond 1927, 64, 110; Fiocco 1928, 25; A. Venturi 1928, 106; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 846; Berenson 1932, 25; L. Venturi 1933, 46; Fiocco 1934, 117; Pallucchini 1939, 103, no. 40; Richter 1942, 39; Pallucchini 1943, 19; Arslan 1948, 241; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 30; Pallucchini 1966, 725; Marini 1968, 105–106, no. 92; Pallucchini 1969–1970, 150; Pignatti 1976, 1:121, no. 104; Pallucchini 1984, 67–71, 171, no. 53

22

Ptolemy (?)

1557

oil on canvas

206 x 117 (80³/₈ x 45⁵/₈)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art,
Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation

23

Averroës (?)

1557

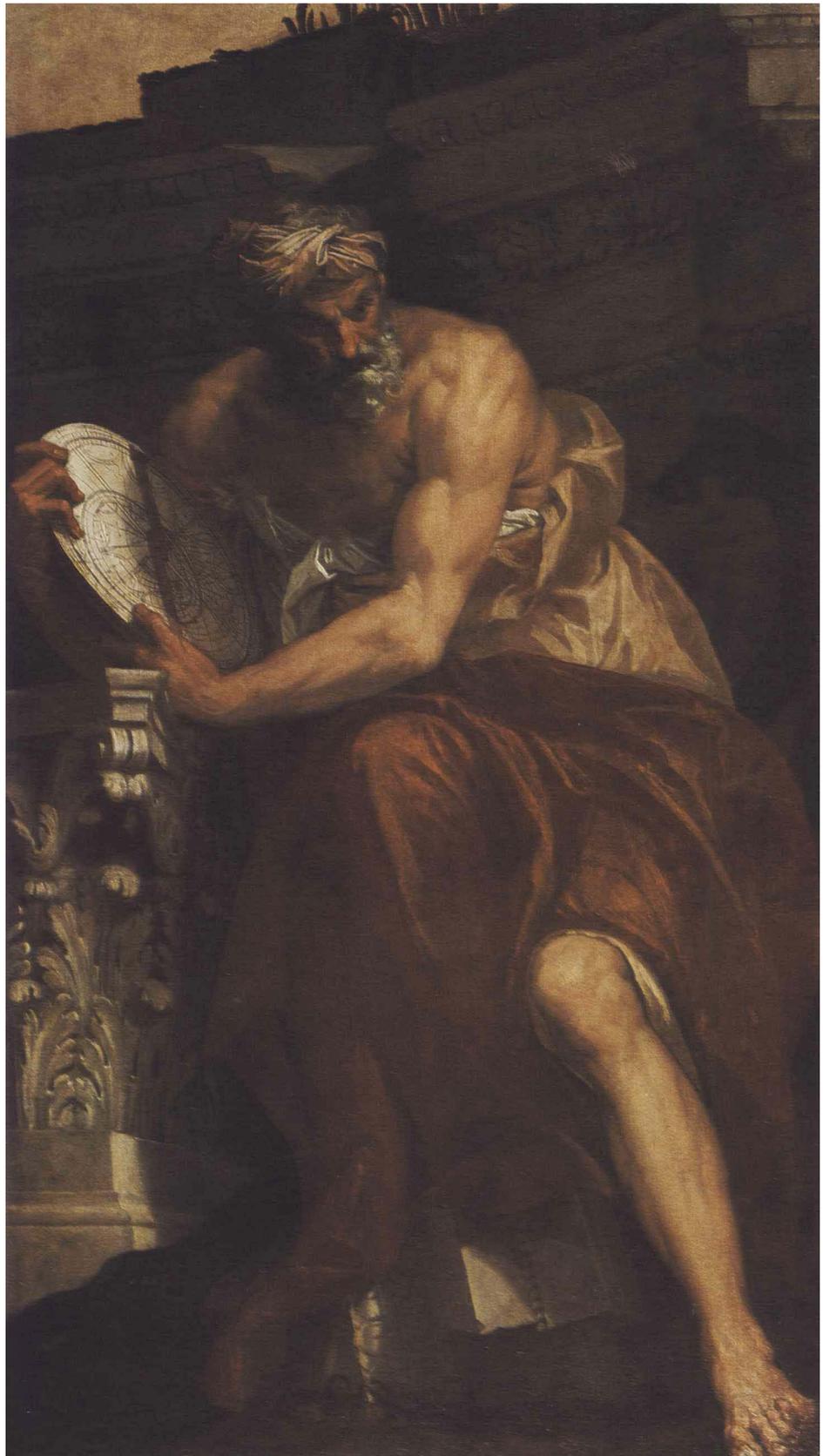
oil on canvas

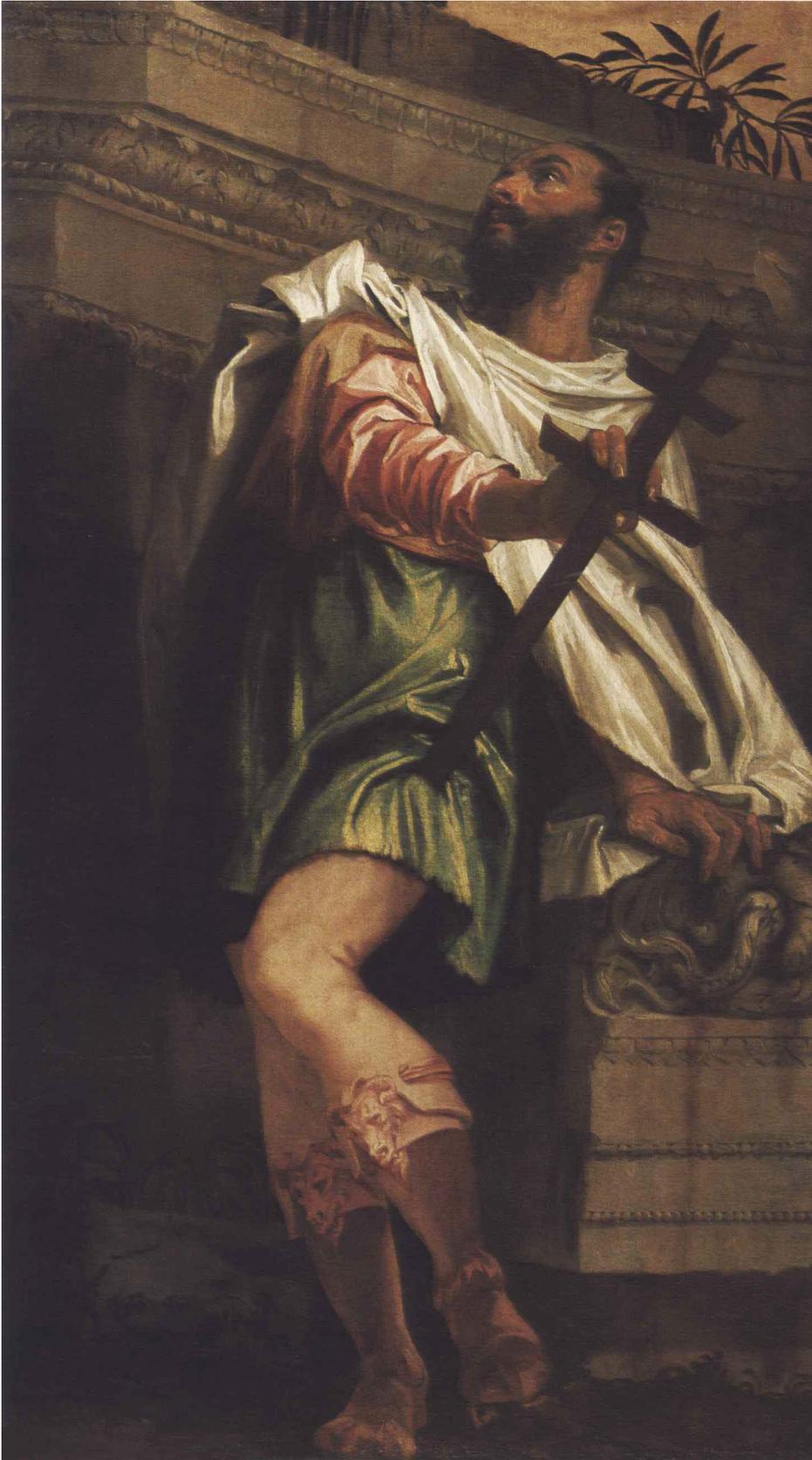
206 x 117 (80³/₈ x 45⁵/₈)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art,
Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation

These pendant canvases seem to have been acquired in Italy by the Marquess of Breadalbane for the Baillie-Hamilton collection of Langton, Berwickshire, Scotland, close to the middle of the nineteenth century. They were lent to the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in 1881, and admired in a comment from the critic of the *Athenaeum*. Sold in 1911 to Robert Goelet, they passed with his Newport, Rhode Island, property to the Roman Catholic Church in 1947. Then part of Salve Regina College, the paintings' attribution was lost sight of, and they were thought to be by Fragonard. When they reappeared at auction in 1973, Veronese's name was proposed again and they were acquired by the Los Angeles museum the following year. Pignatti emphasized their high quality and identified them, on the suggestion of Clovis Whitfield, as "Allegories of Navigation with a Linear Astrolabe and a Flat Astrolabe," and dated them between 1565 and 1570. Pallucchini narrowed the span to 1565–1567.

These pictures were once part of a set of four canvases, a suite reproduced in at least two partial sets of early copies. One set of four (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres), each slightly larger than its model at 224 x 144 centimeters (87³/₈ x 56¹/₈ inches), includes, in addition to the present pair of motifs, a turbaned *Astronomer with a Astrolabe Globe*, and an *Allegory of Sculpture*. Another set of copies (The Late Major Stephen Courtauld collection, Umtali, Zimbabwe), which was cut from about 210 x 118 to 145 x 107 centimeters (56¹/₂ x 41³/₄ inches), rendering the figures three-





quarter-length, survives only in the figure with the global astrolabe and the figure here identified as Averroës. Most recently an *Allegory of Sculpture* (fig. 23) has emerged in a slightly cut version, 186 x 116 centimeters (72 1/2 x 45 1/4 inches), which gives every indication of being the third of Paolo's original suite. It alone is of a quality associable with the Los Angeles figures; the Chartres copies are faithful to them in all details and seem to date from the last decade of the cinquecento. We may, therefore, conclude that Paolo painted at least four allegorical figures that were once together as part of a larger complex. Ivanoff (1967, 46), on the suggestion of Béguin, tentatively associated the Chartres copies with four works by Veronese once in the Libreria, and Zorzi added the Courtauld pair as well as the Los Angeles pictures to that list. The present writer had arrived independently at that conclusion for the pictures in this exhibition.

Seven artists signed contracts for three each of the tondi for the Libreria ceiling on 19 August 1556. The twenty-one pictures seem to have been painted during the autumn, because in February 1557, Titian awarded Veronese a gold chain as the best of the participants, and a final payment was made. At that point the walls of the main hall and the antechamber remained empty (the present mural scheme with its so-called philosophers and panels of grotesque framing dates from 1929, when remnants of the early philosophers were

fig. 23. *Allegory of Sculpture*. Private collection, Geneva



pieced out with extraneous canvases from various sources and the ensemble made to match the ceiling by copying the grotesque surrounds). The fenestration of the hall was then as it is now (blind windows were part of Jacopo Sansovino's plan), but the antechamber's perspectival ceiling was still without Titian's *Sapienza* or the architectural walls designed in 1597 by Scamozzi. It is unthinkable that the elaborate allegorical program of the ceiling of the main hall should not have been developed at the same time as decoration of the walls. In early 1557, what could have been more natural than to invite the prize-winning painter to assume responsibility for the next phase of the Libreria's decor?

It is at this juncture that I believe Paolo was invited to start a series of allegorical canvases destined at first for the great hall. Their subject would have continued the scholarly program of the ceiling, with a mixture of allegorical figures of ancient philosophers and scientists and allegorical figures of the humanistic arts. This follows in principle library programs of previous times, most particularly that of the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican, where Raphael's *School of Athens* provides prototypes for at least part of the Libreria's iconography. However, with four of the canvases by Paolo ready in the spring of 1557, another planned in the Windsor drawing (cat. 24), and a fifth painting by Giuseppe Porta Salviati, the so-called *Prometheus*, commissioned, it must have become obvious that the scale established for these murals was too small, each bay being about 250 centimeters (97½ inches) wide, and that the settings of antique ruins with sky above did not harmonize with Sansovino's architecture. At a date close to 1559 the decision was taken to abandon the first mural project, to substitute larger canvases, and to require that the allegorical figures stand in architectural niches designed by Sansovino himself. Battista Franco (d. 1561) and Schiavone (d. 1563) provided several of these, but eventually it was Tintoretto who was called in around 1570–1571 to advance the series with twelve canvases that are not all preserved today. Paolo himself added two figures during the years 1569–1570, one of which he delegated to his brother Benedetto, perhaps a sign of his discouragement with the project.

What, in the meantime, had happened to Paolo's four first paintings? Here Ivanoff (1968, 78) is surely correct

in picking up Lorenzetti's suggestion (1943–1944, 451) that the four canvases mentioned by Boschini as hung in the antechamber of the Libreria are related to the Chartres pictures. In fact, the four Chartres copies were left by the Marquis d'Aligre to the museum with a provenance from the Libreria in Venice. Indeed this is possible, since they may have been commissioned when it had become evident that the originals were now extraneous to the Libreria program and could be sold off at a profit yet still retained if need be in the copies. This may have taken place in 1597 when Scamozzi was assigned the remodeling of the vestibule. At that time the rather extensive accumulation of paintings displayed below the Titian ceiling was distributed elsewhere in the Libreria or dispersed.

The exact identification of these as well as the subsequent figures in the Libreria cycle is rendered difficult by the general absence of attributes. It is clear, however, that they are not strictly philosophers as the literature has termed them from an early date. In the case of Paolo's first four canvases, the sole female figure is an allegory of sculpture, since she is accompanied by a putto who carries her attributes of a clay statue and modeling tools. Female allegories of the arts already inhabited the ceiling tondi, and in the sixteenth century Bernardo Strozzi would reinstate the by-then-missing *Sculpture* when he replaced Licinio's damaged tondo above. Paolo's remaining three male figures are clearly historical or mythical figures associated with ancient astronomers, since each carries a scientific instrument for astronomical calculation. In the mid-cinquecento, a number of elaborate volumes on ancient oriental science were printed by Marcolini and others, illustrated by woodcut illustrations of figures much like those represented by Paolo, by Tintoretto, and other artists of the subsequent cycle. In fact, the large woodcut in Marcolini's 1556 publication of Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius contains all of the scientific attributes of Paolo's three male figures. The turbaned Persian with the astrolabe globe seems to match representations of Zoroaster, the exotic priestly figure seated on a serpent throne with a flat circular astrolabe might be Ptolemy, and the younger man with the linear astrolabe might be Averroës. At least one, Zoroaster, would be depicted by Tintoretto in the 1571 reprise of the cycle, a sign that Paolo's pictures had already

been transferred to the antechamber. Giuseppe Porta Salviati's sole addition to the first set, improbably titled *Prometheus*, shares dimensions and setting with Paolo's pictures, and seems also to have been displaced several times, only to be returned to the cycle in 1929.

Identification of Paolo's four allegorical figures for the walls of the Libreria is confirmed by the paintings' style. Seen from slightly below with the viewer's eye level just below the figures' knees, Zoroaster leans out and down to confront the spectator, while Averroës directs our gaze toward the ceiling (one guesses originally toward Paolo's own tondi above). Figure form is still complex, with mannerist contrapposto and top-heavy proportions, and color retains elements of the highly individual contrasts of the artist's youth—the bronze and taupe in the elder figure and chalk white, emerald green, and dusty rose in the younger. The opulent female in the *Allegory of Sculpture* is an equally remarkable harmony of burnt orange, moss green, and gold. The picturesque classical ruins are rich in allusions to architectural motifs remembered from Verona, or more likely studied there during his 1556 trip home. Their sculptural details also recall Bartolommeo Ridolfi's Verona stuccos, as do those of the tondi above, where the satyr head in *Music* is the same as that in *Sculpture*. Particularly characteristic of this moment are the wedges of sky with fronds in silhouette, the fragile blue having been lost early to reveal a gray-green preparation just as in the 1553 *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice). Many elements of type, drawing, and particularly the virtuosic application of the thinned pigment recall the San Sebastiano ceilings of 1556, but the Libreria tondi present equally close analogies, dimmed by a pervasive restoration. Closest of all is the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin), a picture started in January, 1556, for Verona and probably finished about the time the artist began these canvases for the Libreria walls in early 1557.

Literature

Boschini 1674, 69; Anonymous 1881, 61; Donahue 1975, 174; Pignatti 1976, 1:75, 127–128, nos. 136, 137; Pignatti 1979, 118–121, 168, nos. 41, 42; Pallucchini 1984, 87, 177, nos. 96, 97; Zorzi 1987, 156; Rearick 1988, 17

Philosopher

1557–1558

black chalk on blue paper

41.1 x 25.4 (16 x 9⁷/₈)inscribed in pen in an eighteenth-century hand: *Paolo Calliari VE*

laid down

Lent by gracious permission of
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Although the early history of this unusual sheet remains unknown, an English collector had already given the attribution to Veronese by the eighteenth century. Popham cautiously accepted it, observing that the drawing might equally be by a contemporary from Verona. It has received but scant attention since, being dismissed by Cocke. The present writer returned it to Paolo, and Coutts dated it to 1550–1555. The medium of black chalk on blue paper is quintessentially Venetian and owes its primacy there to the powerful example set by Titian from the time of his first drawings. In his youth Paolo seems not to have used it, and it may have been under the aegis of the elderly master that he made his first experimental studies in black chalk shortly after Titian had awarded him the prized gold chain as the best of the seven artists who participated in the decoration of the Libreria Marciana ceiling in 1556. Simultaneously, in January 1556, he began the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin), his first great feast painting, and for it he sketched two figures (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38 930), a drawing that may be his earliest known black chalk study. It is hesitant, irregular in touch and definition, and given to the use of chalk pointed as though it were a pen, but tentative though it may be it is undoubtedly by Paolo and evidently consciously Titianesque in intent. Within a year the ambitious young artist had undertaken a new project that was the direct result of Titian's approbation, the four allegorical figures for the walls of the Libreria, a group of which three survive in the original (cats. 22, 23, fig. 23) and one in a copy. As Cocke has noted, there is a strong resemblance between the figure in this drawing and those pictures, but he drew the conclusion that it was by a contemporary rather than Veronese himself. Indeed,



the pose, with its tense contrapposto, suggests that of the younger philosopher (cat. 23), while the grizzled type of the other philosopher (cat. 22) is very close to that in the drawing. The exotic combination of oriental and classical detail in their costumes is common to the paintings and this drawing, and all develop elements first seen in the ceiling of the 1553 Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Similar associations may be found with the prophets at San Sebastiano, particularly the David, the prophet with a book, and the Saint Peter, although none of the fictive statues in the upper range of frescoes there is identical in

form or pose. Not only does the Windsor sheet find its formal associations with these paintings, but its drawing style as well belongs to this transitional moment. The awkward conjunction of sharply linear detail and flaccid pictorialism in the 1556 Louvre study here gives way to a rational clarity of faceted geometric shapes, crystalline in the broken surfaces but attentive to light and modeling as well. A distinct tendency to ribbony decorative pattern is evident in details such as the enlarged study of the foot. Spirited in touch and vivid in characterization, this drawing seems to have been realized through concentrated discipline aimed at mastering an

unfamiliar medium. Its exuberant delight would soon be developed in more restrained terms in another of Paolo's early chalk studies (cat. 25). Since we would date Paolo's effort at providing philosophers for the Libreria to the autumn and winter of 1557–1558, and the beginning of his project for frescoes at San Sebastiano to March 1558, it seems probable that this drawing, which combines elements of both projects without being directly related to either, was made as a trial for the philosophers, was so revised as to be unrecognizable in those canvases, but served later as a point of departure for the San Sebastiano prophets. Its date would, thus, fall late in 1557 or early 1558.

Literature

Popham 1949, 346, no. 1006; Rearick [1980] 1976, 54; Cocke 1984, 387, no. 224; Coutts 1986, 400, 404



25

Eritrean Sibyl

1558
black chalk on ivory paper
41.5 x 32.7 (16¹/₈ x 12¹/₄)
bottom right corner missing and
pieced out
formerly Wauters and Pforzheimer
collections

Harvard University Art Museums
(Fogg Art Museum), Cambridge,
Mass., Gift of Carl H. Pforzheimer,
no. 1927.59

Although this drawing entered the collection of the Fogg Museum with a traditional attribution to Veronese, it was questioned by Mongan and Sachs and excluded categorically by the Tietzes, who thought it might be by Mattia Preti. It has been ignored entirely in the

most recent literature except by the present writer, who recognized it as Paolo's life study in preparation for the *Eritrean Sibyl* mural in San Sebastiano, Venice. Paolo had, in fact, used the device of a female figure seen from the back in strong contrapposto since the early years of his career, as in the *Anointing of David* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), returning to it in a more heroic form in both the *Honor* and *Arithmetic with Geometry* (fig. 20) of 1556, as well as the *Crowning of Esther* (San Sebastiano, Venice) of the same year. He returned to it again shortly after he received the commission to execute the mural decorations in San Sebastiano on 31 March 1558. For the figure of the *Eritrean Sibyl*, which he would

soon paint in tempera on the dry wall above the left side of the arch leading to the chapel to the left of the choir, he took up a light-toned, pointed chalk and sketched the live model. He began with a faint indication of the profile, canceling it and beginning again to change scale, and completed the ensemble in a candidly relaxed vein that nonetheless demonstrates a masterful understanding of anatomy and a delicate sensibility to light and texture. In the fresco the costume would be given a theatrical elaboration and her position shifted more to the right, but the essentials of pose and form remain the same.

We do not know that Paolo avoided black chalk during his early years in Verona, where it was not a favored medium. But no drawings in this medium survive until well after his transfer to Venice in 1553 and his exposure to Titian's tradition of black chalk as the primary approach to pictorial draftsmanship. Although Paolo shows an unmistakable debt to Titian in his softly atmospheric sketches in black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, such as the sketch (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38 930) for the 1556–1557 *Feast in the House of Simon*, his purpose in this drawing was different. Here he sharpened the chalk to use it as a surrogate for pen and ink, obtaining a tensile contour with restrained indications of light and shadow through parallel lines and a few well-calculated rubbings with his fingertip, the equivalent of bister wash modeling in contemporary pen studies (cats. 18, 19, 20). It is perhaps this ambiguous handling, neither linear nor quite Venetian, that has perplexed scholars and led to the neglect of this drawing, so ineluctably Veronese's in character and quality. Its closest parallel may be found in the equally little-known study (cat. 24), which is slightly earlier than this 1558 life sketch and which is analogous in its tightly controlled effort to master the unfamiliar medium.

Literature

Osmond 1927, 104; Pope 1927, 25–28; Parker 1930, 37; Mongan and Sachs 1940, 110–111, no. 206; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 342, no. A 2053; Rearick [1980] 1976, 53–54



26

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

1557–1558
brush and bister wash heightened with white body color on light blue-gray prepared paper
40.8 x 41.8 (15⁷/₈ x 16³/₈)
trimmed at left and along the bottom, laid down
from the Llewellyn-Palmer collection, London, and the Spector collection, New York

Private collection, New York

This unusual and important drawing has appeared in the Veronese literature only recently. It is evident that the scholarly response has been one of puzzlement, as witness Cocke who disassociated it from the other chiaroscuro drawings of the subject (cats. 46, 47, and British Museum, London, no. 1854-6-28-4) and dated it with the late finished chiaroscuro sheets, finally adding defensively that he knew this drawing only from a photograph. In fact, I have heard a distinguished specialist mention the name of Fragonard while

standing in front of it. Some perplexity is understandable, since it is neither exactly like any other Veronese drawing in technique nor does it find its place easily in his stylistic evolution. Unlike his earliest chiaroscuro drawings (cats. 1, 5) or those of his mature years (cats. 48, 53), Paolo here adopted pure wash without using his preferred medium, pen. In only one other instance, the *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and Angels* (formerly Mooney collection, New York), which may be dated close to 1584, did he use this purely pictorial medium. The present sheet cannot, however, be an early work, since its stylistic associations are entirely with Veronese's works of the years around 1553–1556. The remarkable landscape with its undulating flow of palm fronds is patently inspired by a Parmigianino-like stylization, although no exact model is evident; in any case, only in his early landscapes (cats. 1, 3 and Palazzo Canossa, Verona) does one find anything approaching this degree of fanciful manipulation of natural form. The Virgin finds parallels in the Palazzo Ducale ceilings of 1553–1554, the Giusti-

nian altar (cat. 15), and the two ceilings for San Sebastiano of 1555 and 1556, but perhaps most revealing is comparison with the tondi and allegories (cats. 22, 23, 24 and fig. 23) done for the Libreria in 1556–1557. The abrupt contortions of Joseph are like those in the San Sebastiano sacristy ceiling, and his head is like Janus in the Libreria *Arithmetic with Geography* (fig. 20). Outsize oxen abound in these early works and in analogous form in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice) of about 1553. Only the donkey suggests contact with Paolo's later works, the *Rest on the Flight* (cat. 49) of 1570, but here it should be remembered that for the most part Paolo kept his chiaroscuro drawings in the shop for future reference. Paolo's use of the wash shows a wider variety of touch than was his wont, brushed in broad and loosely pictorial veils of shadow in the trees and a vaporous suggestion of landscape at right. This loose wash encourages a few passages of spatial ambiguity, such as the position of the ox, which ought to stand on a descending slope but seems, improbably, to be higher than the Virgin and Saint Joseph. The hands and leg of Joseph are at best approximate in definition; by contrast, the Virgin, the rustic still life, and the surrounding foliage are concise and detailed in touch, a treatment that emphasizes the charming clumsiness of the pose of the Virgin, with her feet together. Stylistically, there is but one chiaroscuro that is very close to this one, the *David and Moses* (Uffizi, Florence, no. 12894 F) which, while not a direct preparation for the frescoes of 1558 in San Sebastiano, Venice, is closely related to them and should be dated to about the same moment. There as well as here the ductile, variable patterns of highlight have a similarly emotional vibrancy, the preparation of the paper is unusual in color, the types are rustic in face and pose, and, perhaps most important, the medium, brush without any added pen work, is common to both drawings and rare elsewhere in Paolo's oeuvre. Unusual in many aspects, this *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* is a rare and important document for Paolo's evolution as the foremost Venetian master of the chiaroscuro; no other draftsman working in the years 1555–1557 could possibly have done it.

Literature

Rosand 1972, 49; Cocke 1977, 266; Cocke 1984, 97, no. 30; Rearick 1988, 52



27

Man Looking Upward

1558–1560

black chalk on beige paper

20.0 x 17.5 (7³/₄ x 6⁷/₈)

inscribed in black chalk in a nineteenth-century hand: *Paolo Veronese*

from the Cosway, Fairfax Murray, Russell, and Lehman collections

Private collection

NOT EXHIBITED

Traditionally assigned to Veronese, this fine sheet was accepted with various and unconvincing associations to paintings until the Tietzes rejected it as a later, presumably baroque work. Although Paolo's authorship has since been confirmed, again without a clear connection with a painting, Ballarin argued strenuously for an attribution to Jacopo Bassano. This is evidently a life study, though probably not, as the literature has repeatedly insisted, of a negro model. It served as a study for the head of the man who looks upward with an astonished expression in the distance of the left side of *Christ at the Pool of Bethesda*, which Paolo painted on the inside faces of the San Sebastiano organ shutters (fig. 24). Paolo had designed the entire organ complex before 26 October 1558, and its gilding was begun on 4 September 1559, with a final payment to Paolo dated 1 April 1560. It is probable that the beginning of work on the paintings may be placed late in 1558 or during the first half of 1559, also the span to which we would date this study.

If Paolo's drawings in black chalk prior to this sheet seem to vacillate be-

tween a linear approach (cats. 24, 25) and a delicately atmospheric touch (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38 930), this study is firmly and impressively within a Venetian context, recalling mature studies by Titian as well as his epigones such as Paris Bordone, Jacopo Bassano, and others. And yet, the anatomical integrity of the contour, the granular sensitivity to diverse textures, and the candor with which the homely features are seen and set down is characteristic of Veronese.

Literature

Borenius 1924, 10; Hadeln 1926, 31, no. 52; Osmond 1927, 104; Fiocco 1928, 142; Popham 1931, 310, no. 285; Pallucchini 1939, 215, dwg. no. III; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 347, no. A 2108; Ballarin 1964, 61–62; Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 131; Cocke 1984, 165, no. 68



fig. 24. Organ with shutters open, San Sebastiano, Venice

The Adoration of the Shepherds

1559

oil on panel

47.3 x 29.8 (18¹/₂ x 11⁵/₈)

Private collection, New York

The Virgin shows the child to Saint Joseph and a reverent trio of shepherds in this small panel painting, clearly an intimate devotional picture. Only recently introduced into the literature by Zeri, it has been accepted by Pallucchini with a dating of about 1555–1556.

Paolo seems to have used a wood panel only rarely and in general for small segments of ceiling as in the San Sebastiano sacristy, for furniture paintings (cat. 85), or for private devotional pictures of miniature scale as in the present case. For this *Adoration of the Shepherds* he drew on elements of the monumental canvas (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, Capella del Rosario) painted for the Crociferi in about 1553–1554. Joseph and the shepherd above develop the figures at left in the earlier canvas and other details derive from the same source, but the more mundane Virgin indicates a later date. In fact, it seems close but perhaps anterior to the Adoration panel in the San Sebastiano organ loft where still other details resemble those in the present picture. That the little San Sebastiano canvas is the work of Benedetto Caliari tends to confirm that this version preceded it. Stylistically, this picture seems close to, but technically distinct from because of its scale, the San Sebastiano high altar. Passages such as the heads of the winged cherubim are nearly identical in touch and color to those to the right of the Virgin in the San Sebastiano altar. The organ loft was commissioned in October 1558, and paid for 1 April 1560, with the parapet Adoration surely part of its later stage of execution. The design of the high altar was submitted 29 January 1559. Therefore, a date of c. 1559 seems probable for this fresh and spontaneous Adoration. A certain casual disregard for form in the outside shepherds and the irrational architecture is probably due to the rapidity with which it was tossed off.

Literature

Pignatti 1978, 218; Zeri 1978, 107–109; Pallucchini 1984, 168, no. 32





29

Saints Geminianus and Severus

1560
oil on canvas
341 x 240 (133 x 93¹/₂)
Galleria Estense, Modena

30

Saint John the Baptist

1560
oil on canvas
247 x 122 (96³/₈ x 47¹/₂)
Galleria Estense, Modena

31

Saint Menna

1560
oil on canvas
247 x 122 (96³/₈ x 47¹/₂)
Galleria Estense, Modena

Jacopo Sansovino's project for restructuring the church of San Geminiano fronting on the square opposite San Marco in Venice was begun in 1557, and progressed so rapidly that late in 1558 the parish priest offered to pay for a new organ. The instrument seems to have been built by 1560, the date circumstantially assigned to Veronese's organ shutters, which depicted Saints Geminianus and Severus with an acolyte on paired canvases, now united within a single architectural niche. This was its unified aspect when the shutters were closed. When the organ was in use the shutters were opened to show Saint John the Baptist to the left of the bank of pipes, and Saint Menna to the right. By the eighteenth century these paintings had been detached from the organ, probably when the instrument was enlarged, and were fastened to the walls above it. Shortly after Napoleon ordered the demolition of San Geminiano to make way for the Ala Napoleonica, these pictures became part of the Austrian imperial collections. *Saints Geminianus and Severus* was sent to Vienna, from which it was returned in 1919; *Saint John the Baptist* went to the Villa Imperiale at Stra, thence to San Gottardo in Milan, and finally in 1924 to the Galleria Estense, Modena, where

Saint Menna had been since 1811. All three paintings were restored on the occasion of the present exhibition. The lateral saints originally measured about 350 x 125 centimeters (136¹/₂ x 48³/₄ inches); their upper third doubtless contained fictive architecture and sculptural decoration to match those of the niche on the exterior. The bishop saints have also been trimmed slightly above and along the sides, with the partial loss of pendentive figures only recently uncovered in a restoration.

Almost simultaneously with the commission from Bernardo Torlioni to design an organ and paint its shutters for San Sebastiano, Paolo was asked to do shutters for the new organ at San Geminiano. Their execution, however, proceeded subsequent to the first project, and the differences are an illuminating example of Paolo's capacity for integrating pictorial ideas with their environment. In the delicate and understated Scarpagnino interior of San Sebastiano, with its general lack of plastic emphasis, Paolo dared to introduce classical architectural perspectives of heroic proportions as well as multfigured narrative scenes, which its dimensions—more than 150 centimeters (5 feet) taller than the present central panel—encouraged. For San Geminiano, by contrast, the organ was higher, smaller in scale, and less well illuminated. Since Sansovino had designed a characteristically rigid and rectilinear interior and was still present to approve Paolo's contribution, the painter simplified the scheme to monumental figures in an austere setting perfectly attuned to the architecture of the church and embellished with welcome decorative touches in the fictive stucco. Its emphatic illumination from the upper left not only follows the actual source of light, but also brightens it to compensate for the relative dimness of the interior. Once again, one is impressed by the care with which the artist considered the totality of its relation to the original ensemble.

In style the San Geminiano organ shutters take an understated but sharply defined characterization of each figure as the point of departure, a device to lend variety to what might have been a monotonous set of standing figures. Geminianus, grave and patriarchal, bends slightly to compare the book he holds open with a text raised solicitously by the anxious acolyte whose gaze turns to Severus, thus binding the three figures into a unit. The color is a granular range of sand, beige, rust, ivory, gold, red, and a few dark color accents, backed by the even narrower range of tone in the architecture. Combined with the grain of the intentionally rough canvas, the ensemble is one of Paolo's most refined and harmonious tonal experiments. Open, the shutters present two contrasted pictorial effects; the Baptist in warm and natural mossy greens, lavender, and brown, with his characterful lamb poking his head out of the picture space to greet the spectator below. *Saint Menna* is one of Paolo's happiest inspirations. The warrior martyr, assured and proud, stands guard over the ensemble, his gaze penetrating the future with a dawning realization of his mission. Seldom did a Renaissance master trace a transient psychological state of mind with such penetration as in the virile intelligence of this handsome figure. Its self-possession is equally conveyed by the painterly dash with which polished steel and crimson cape are evoked with a secure and rapid movement of the brush. Not only does this warrior seem to convey an abstract self-image of Paolo triumphant in his professional achievement, but the head does, in fact, closely resemble the artist at the age of about thirty-two.





Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:312; Boschini 1664, 101; Boschini 1674, San Marco, 77; Dal Pozzo 1718, 97; Lovisa 1720, nos. 101-103; Zanetti 1733, 164; Gradenigo 1756 (ed. Livan 1942), 44; Cochin 1758, 3:30; Zanetti 1777, 185, 547; Viero 1786, plates 51-53; A. Venturi 1882, 478-480; Caliari 1888, 138; Fogolari 1908, 161-162; Hadeln 1911, 5:392; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:326; Brizio 1926, 233; Osmond 1927, 31, 114; Golzio 1928, 272; Nicodemi 1928, 2:336; A. Venturi 1928, 63, 132-138; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 872-878; Berenson 1932, 423; Fiocco 1934, 114; Aslan 1936, 4, 5-8, nos. 1-2; Gallo 1939, 199-204; Gallo 1939, 145-146; Marchiori 1939, 2:50; Pallucchini 1939, 104-109, nos. 41-43; Piacentini 1941, 11; Pallucchini 1943, 22, 27; Pallucchini 1945, 3, 177-178; Arslan 1946-1947, 1:100-101; Arslan 1948, 242; Gamulin 1955, 92; Salvini 1955, 6, 11, 59; Berenson 1957, 1:134; Gallo 1957, 98; Ghidiglia-Quintavalle 1959, 15, 88; Pallucchini 1963-1964, 55; Pallucchini 1966, 727; Pignatti 1966, 45; Marini 1968, 98, no. 66 a-c; Ticozzi 1975, nos. 59, 62, 63; Pignatti 1976, 75, 124, nos. 120-122; Pallucchini 1984, 50-51, 175, nos. 66 a-c; Rearick 1988, 97

III *Fame, Fortune, Family: Maser, Venice, Verona* 1561–1570

The decoration of villas was not a new venture for Paolo Veronese; he had begun at Sanmicheli's La Soranza a decade earlier in collaboration with Zelotti and Canera. By 1561 he had an even more splendid project all to himself, the spacious and elegant villa that Andrea Palladio had just erected for the brothers Daniele and Marcantonio Barbaro at Maser. He started the project in the square, vaulted main salon, then did the adjacent two rooms, proceeded to the cruciform concourse toward the front (fig. 25), and concluded with the forward chambers flanking the facade (fig. 6), his program doubtless provided by Daniele Barbaro himself. In addition to a complex astrological and theological evocation of the patrons' interests and aspirations in the vaults, the walls effect an idealized rapport between life inside the villa and the environment outside, evoking the seasons, the elements, the agrarian function of the property, portraits of the Barbaro family, and even witty touches such as the cat and dog and the maid's abandoned brush. Its landscape vistas, in part embellished with architectural motifs taken from Giovanni Battista Pittoni's 1561 classical landscape engravings, summon up an Arcadian bliss that far surpasses that of nature seen through the real windows. Until recently it was thought that none of Paolo's drawings for Maser had survived. However, we are able to bring together no fewer than six sheets (cats. 32–37), one of them a unique full-scale study for the head of Melos. They not only document the somewhat extemporizing list of possible themes, but even suggest that the stucco statues in the nymphaeum and the handsomely austere fireplaces were designed by Paolo. It was perhaps this enterprising foray from illusionistic architecture of powerfully inventive stamp to the actual design of such three-dimensional elements that, tradition says, made Palladio uneasy, and perhaps slightly offended him; a decade later in his *I quattro libri dell'architettura* he avoided any mention of Paolo's contribution to the Villa Barbaro.

Despite continued discussion, circumstantial evidence suggests that this splendid cycle was carried out with the faithful assistance of Benedetto between about April and October 1561, a dating borne out by Paolo's characteristic investment of most of his final payment in valuable farmland not far from Maser. In addition to these multiple activities at Villa Barbaro, he painted a small, lost portrait of Daniele prepared by a sensitive life study (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, no. 12893), a lovely chiaroscuro *Allegory of Fraternal Concord* (Albertina, Vienna, no. 1636), and the spirited and amusing little *Venus and Mars Surprised by Cupid* (cat. 38), a delightful example of the natural humanity with which Paolo could transform mannerist pornography into gently ironic eroticism. I believe that a monumental full-length portrait of a seated man (fig. 26) that has recently come to light is datable to just after the Maser period, and that its subject might be identified as Marcantonio Barbaro. Majestic in its format, the painting subtly contrasts assurance with tenseness and volatility in the hands and face. Its flickering evocation of the man's suffering expression and piercing stare make it one of the most profoundly vivid Venetian portraits of its time. Still one more masterpiece seems to follow the Villa Barbaro project directly. I would suggest that the small but highly original altar, the *Preaching of the Baptist* (cat. 40), which was first recorded when the patriarch of Aquileia, Francesco Barbaro, nephew of Daniele, presented it to Scipione Borghese in 1607, had been commissioned almost fifty years before by Daniele Barbaro, and that its light and virtuosic touch and its luminous veils of color reflect Paolo's euphoria on the completion of the intensive work on the frescoes at Maser. A similarly masterful control of his me-

fig. 25. View of main hall, Villa Barbaro, Maser



dium is evident in the more modest but perfectly harmonious *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 39). It is a familiar Venetian phenomenon that extended work in fresco, in which decisive speed is crucial, left the artist with a liberated capacity for spontaneous execution; yet by Christmas 1561, Paolo Veronese needed all the technique he could command.

On 27 December 1561, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Benedetto Po, near Mantua, commissioned Paolo to paint three monumental altars for the abbey church. One suspects that the clerical-humanist network that had procured for him the Mantua cathedral altar a decade earlier was again at work and that Daniele Barbaro, who had received Paolo on the recommendation of the Gonzagas on the previous occasion, now returned the favor. The *Madonna in Glory with Saints Anthony Abbot and Paul* (cat. 41) is a dramatized expansion of previous altars, the *Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (fig. 29) a sumptuous ecclesiastical pageant, and the lost *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness with the Madonna in Glory* a moving interior monologue known to us by a copy (fig. 30). They must all have been expeditiously dispatched, since only twelve days after they were ordered Paolo received an even more monumental project, the great mural of Federico Barbarossa receiving the Anti-Pope Ottaviano for the Sale del Maggior Consiglio of the Palazzo Ducale. Measuring about 580 by 560 centimeters (19 x 18 feet), it was doubtless Paolo's largest painting to date and certainly the most prestigious. Although it was burned only fifteen years later, the echoes of its success are clear among early critics and admirers such as the Roman visitor, Federico Zuccaro, who copied it (fig. 27) the year it was completed. Then, on 6 June 1562, came a project that left all others behind, the commission to fill the entire end wall, almost ten meters (33 feet) wide, of Palladio's new refectory at San Giorgio Maggiore with a giant mural of the *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 7). Finally, he provided two altars for the Benedictine abbey at Praglia (abbey, Praglia; Museo Civico, Padua) before the year was out. When Paolo signed the receipt for the final payment for the San Giorgio mural on 6 October 1563, he could take justifiable pride in a biennium of astonishing creative vitality rivaled perhaps only by Michelangelo in the Sistine ceiling.

The next year would awaken the still-young artist to the harsher realities of competitive strategies among Venetian painters. On 31 May 1564, he appeared, along with Giuseppe Porta Salviati and Federico Zuccaro, to present his *modello* drawing for the *Apotheosis of Saint Roch* (fig. 28) projected for the ceiling of the Scuola di San Rocco, only to discover that Tintoretto had surreptitiously had his finished canvas put in place. Thus cheated out of any role in that substantial program, Paolo turned elsewhere for commissions and perhaps solace. For the tribune of San Sebastiano he frescoed the dome and painted mural canvases as well as designed the choir stalls and floor inlay, but by 1566 his attention was once again directed to his native Verona. This homecoming was surely not occasioned by any sense of failure in Venice, but rather by a reflective accounting of his personal situation. His teacher, Antonio Badile, had died in 1560, leaving a daughter, Elena, whom Paolo had known when she was a mere child. Now the painter was established and could afford to think of starting a family, and on 27 April 1566 he married Elena in Verona, attended by such old friends and colleagues as Paolo Farinati. This sojourn was not only sentimental but, again typically, professional, since the plan for a high altar for San Giorgio in Braida, which he had undertaken around 1550, had fallen into neglect and was overdue for revival. His earlier design (cats. 8, 9) had been revived by his friend Farinati (fig. 17), but now the subject was modified to a more subdued Apotheosis of Saint George. On a sheet (formerly Koenigs collection, Haarlem) with studies for the *Visitation* altar (Barber Institute, Birmingham) for San Giacomo in Murano of 1568–1569, Paolo also sketched ideas for Saint George carried heavenward with musical angels, random notations that he developed into a vigorous *modello* (fig. 31) of which Benedetto made a tame revision (art market, Venice). That concept, heroic and spacious in format and well adapted to the concave Sanmicheli frame it was to fill, was in turn abandoned and the Martyrdom of Saint George substituted. Here again drawings permit us to trace the sequence of work, since elements of the Apotheo-



fig. 26. *Portrait of a Seated Man*. Private collection, New York



fig. 27. Federico Zuccaro, after Veronese, *Frederick Barbarossa Receives the Antipope Octavian*. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York



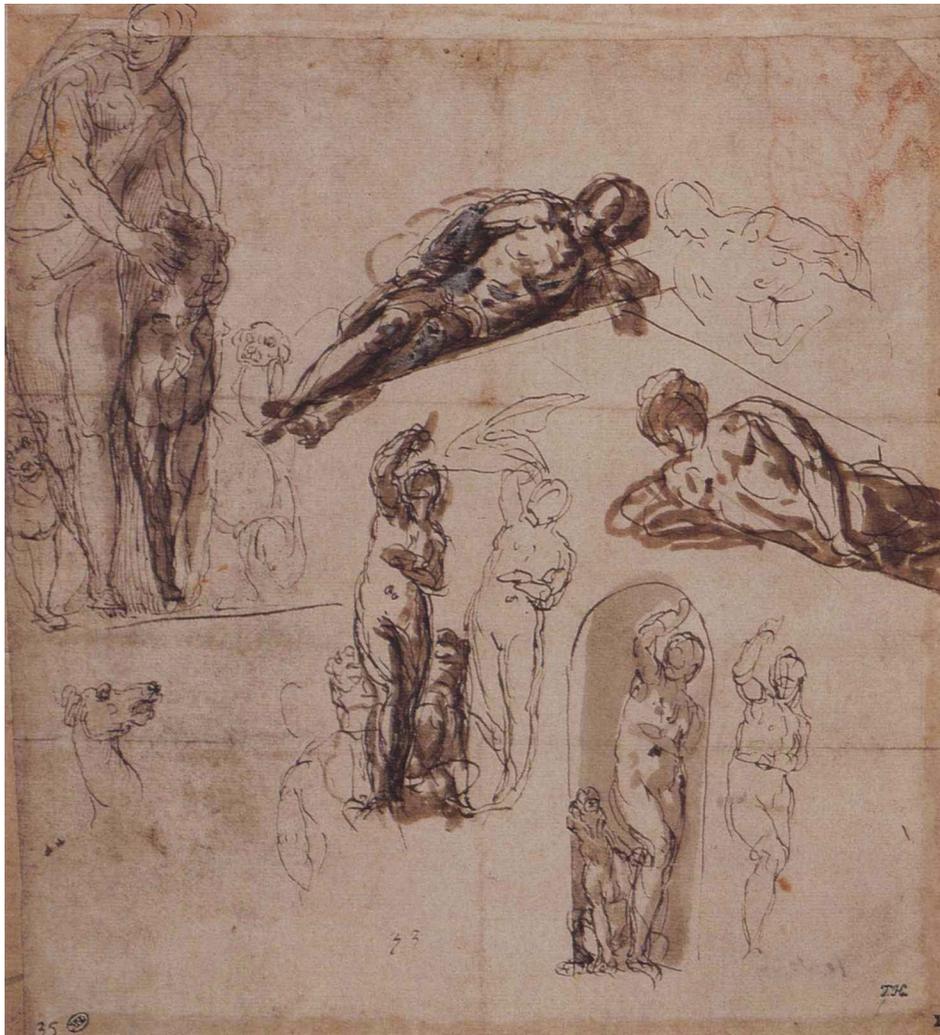
fig. 28. *The Apotheosis of Saint Roch*. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

sis would be retained in a particularly buoyant pen study for the martyrdom (cat. 42) which, with other sketches (formerly Koenigs collection, Haarlem), shows the metamorphosis of subject and format in Paolo's most fluent and economical vein.

The conjunction of Apotheosis and Visitation studies on a single sheet leads us to the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* sketches (cat. 43) for the San Giacomo organ shutters (fig. 32), and in turn to the *Saint James* and *Saint Augustine* (cats. 44, 45) that were the inside faces of that organ complex. The sizable San Giacomo scheme included not only the organ, but also the high altar, one of the two side altars (the second being added at a later phase of the project); and perhaps adjunct works. In style and format these paintings suggest Paolo's subtle awareness of his public, since the modest Gothic church of San Giacomo served primarily a parish of workers in the glass-blowing factories. The paintings are, therefore, simpler in setting, rich but not luxuriant in color and texture, pointedly naturalistic in figure type, and gently pathetic in emotional tenor. The date of both the *Martyrdom of Saint George* and the San Giacomo suite may be located in 1568–1569.

The same clear, somewhat cool naturalism of these paintings is the most significant stylistic shift of the later years of the seventh decade of the century, one that is first strongly stated in the *Saint Jerome* (San Pietro Martire, Murano) of 1566 and continued in the other Murano and Verona altars of 1568–1569. Paolo's drawings for these works remain widely various and experimental in the quick pen sketches (cats. 42, 43), but his chalk studies (cats. 50, 51) from life for the Saint Barnabas altar (fig. 35) equally show clear signs of the tendency to a more prosaic directness of observation and a naturalistic descriptiveness of form and surface. Symptomatic of a thematic parallel is the artist's sudden interest in the humble subject of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, sketching (cat. 46) improvisational variations on the theme, which in turn he developed into chiaroscuro drawings (cats. 47, 48, and fig. 33) that remained in the shop to be used by his assistants for further variations. Paolo himself painted freshly cheerful little pictures (cat. 49) of the subject and less successful monumental versions (fig. 34), realizing an entirely satisfactory altarpiece (cat. 56) of the theme only in the next decade, when heroically theatrical compositions again interested him.

The quiet conclusion of the decade is emphasized by the third of his refectory murals, the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Brera, Milan), painted in 1570 for San Sebastiano. Its unsatisfactory impression is due not only to its damaged state, but also to a scattered, episodic jumble of figures lacking in focus and energy and to a lethargic brushstroke. After such intense creativity during the first half of the decade, the artist was certainly due a domestic respite, and he seems to have taken full advantage of it to enrich his private life, first by his marriage in 1566, and then with the birth of his sons Gabriele in 1568 and Carletto in 1570, both destined to join the family workshop about twelve years later. But if 1570 concluded on a relaxed note for Paolo, he would soon be caught up in outside events of historic force.



32

Diana with Her Hounds

1561

pen and dark brown ink with bister wash heightened with white body color, partly oxidized, and with a slight red chalk repetition of nude at upper right, on ivory paper

23.0 x 20.4 (9 x 8)

inscribed in pen in a seventeenth-century(?) hand: 35, 33. Laid down. Cut, pieced out, and redrawn at top left from the Mariette, Hudson, and Saint-Morys collections

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 1105

The mount of this drawing is inscribed, perhaps by Mariette, *Domenico Passignani, Ecole florentine*. The drawing was later filed with Veronese studio material, although Van Regteren-Altena recognized Paolo's authorship in a note on the verso of the mount, as does Cocke who associates it with the facade frescoes for Palazzo Erizzo, Venice, which he dated to the second half of the

1550s. Although Diana figures in several Venetian facade programs, all lost, this drawing is more directly related to the latter phases of the decoration of Villa Barbaro, Maser.

Paolo began the sheet with the partly trimmed figure of Diana with two hunting hounds at upper left, sketching two variations of the dog at right before moving to lower center for a summary indication of the figure from the back. He then proceeded to a Diana with her right arm raised and to its variant, a bit of blowing drapery that was quickly abandoned in the third experiment at lower right, where the first try includes the niche. Finally, at lower left, the head of the dog at left in the last sketch was given a more detailed treatment. This sequence suggests the use of a model who changed poses quickly, following the artist's instructions. Doubtless in direct sequence, he took up another sheet (cat. 33) and developed this Diana, now clothed, with the raised-arm pose and one dog at right, its head identical to the last detailed study. Never wasting ideas, Paolo

drew two more Maser-related figures (cats. 34, 35) in which he made use of elements of the central nude sketch on the Louvre sheet. This Diana served a dual purpose at Maser, where the fictive bronze statue of Diana in the Stanza di Bacco conflates the first and third ideas for this Diana, and the fictive bronze Venus in the Stanza del Amore Coniugale recalls the first Diana pose. More significant, however, is its reappearance in the nymphaeum, where no fewer than six of the stucco figures in niches have direct sources in one or another of the motifs on the four sheets. These stucco sculptures, usually wrongly attributed to Alessandro Vittoria (Cessi 1961, 36–39), were clearly based on designs by Paolo, lost drawings or perhaps figures modeled in clay for which he evoked ideas from his own earlier sketches. The Diana motif would be put to use by Benedetto for a tiny canvas (State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), one of a set of furniture inserts that might have been done for the Barbari during the sojourn at Maser. Finally, the Louvre sheet served, in its upper right, still-blank quarter, for a sequence of rapid experiments for fictive overdoor sculptures begun in wiry outline above, developed with changes as the wash and white highlighting were added to the left figure, and then, the right figure being judged less interesting, completed in the same wash to show the right figure seen from the back. Like the Diana sketches, these served at several places in the Maser frescoes, the closest to the left figure being the west overdoor of the Stanza della Lucerna, and for the right figure the east overdoor of the Stanza del Cane. Other of the overdoor figures retain details from this drawing. The Louvre study is, with the other drawings in Prague, a significant document for Paolo's working method in 1561, the date generally agreed upon for the Villa Barbaro frescoes.

Literature

Cocke 1984, 322, no. 148



33

Pomona (recto), *Diana* (verso)

1561

pen and brown ink with bister wash over black chalk slightly heightened with white chalk on tan paper (recto and verso)

27.5 x 12.5 (10³/₄ x 4⁷/₈)

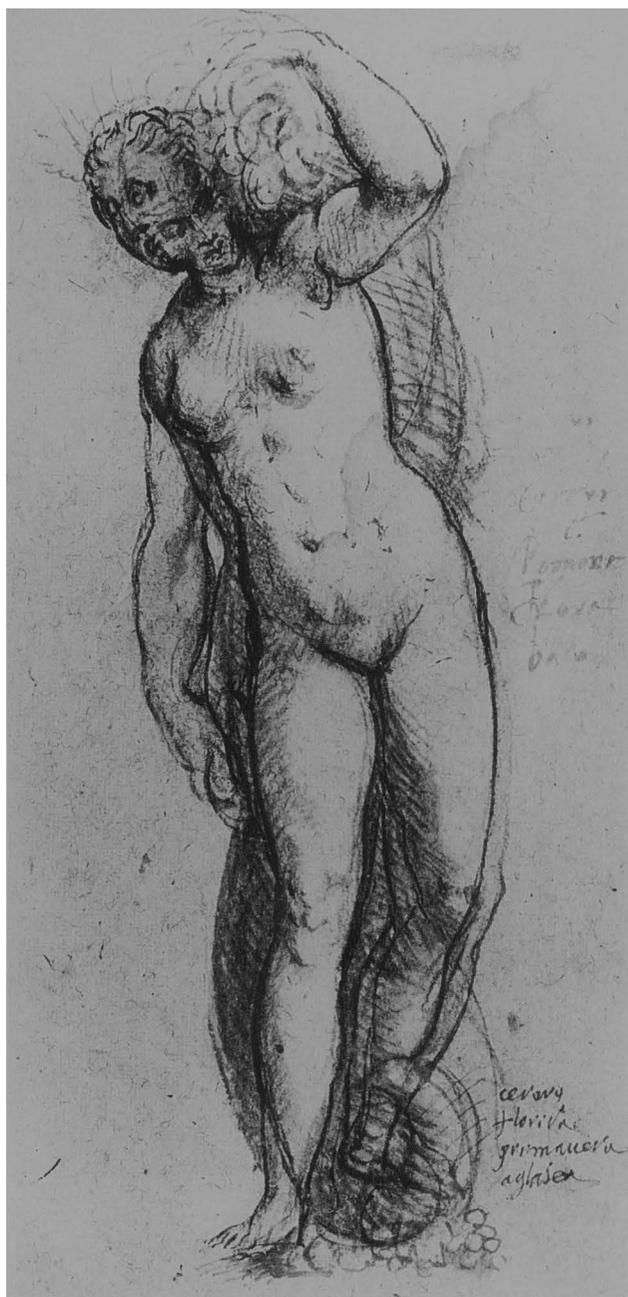
inscribed in brush in a sixteenth-century hand (recto): [. . .]io, and in black chalk in the same hand: fra[. . .]/ verde; and again in brush in the same hand (verso): *Diana*/ 4. Cut irregularly along the right side

Národní Galerie, Prague, no. K-12. 355

This and two related sheets (cats. 34, 36) are attributed by the museum in Prague to an anonymous Italian draftsman of the sixteenth century, and appear never to have been discussed in the literature. The inscriptions are in a cinquecento hand, but not that of Paolo, a problem

discussed more extensively in cat. 36. This allegorical female carrying roses in her apron might answer to several names, but Pomona seems most appropriate, especially since a first idea in wash alone included the cornucopia that also appears in the companion sheet (cat. 34) inscribed with the name of Pomona, among others. She had appeared in a different pose among the summer deities in the north lunette of the main hall, a portion of the Villa Barbaro fresco cycle that seems immediately to precede these drawings, and it may be that she, like the first study for a Melos (cat. 36), was intended for one of the concourse niches, since a very similar figure appears in the south wing of that room. There the pose and facial type depend on this drawing; although the roses are replaced by a musical instrument, the nature symbolism still clings to the image through the vine leaves in her hair. Here the medium is more complex, more confused, and therefore more dependent on the corrective role

of the pen that replaced the rather faint chalks, which had in turn replaced an unusual first hint in pure wash. The pen is for the most part decisive and graceful as it assumes dominance, especially in the refined head and hair. Haste must account for the singular clumsiness of the hands, however. The figure of Diana on the verso is also a rapid mixture of media, although here the chalk and even the pen take a secondary role to the bister wash. This Diana shares with the principal figure in another Maser sheet (cat. 32) a number of ideas that would be adapted in the Stanza di Bacco, for sculptures in the nymphaeum, and elsewhere in the latter stages of the cycle, as well as in Paolo's brother Benedetto's small canvas (State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad). Although the process of adaptation and metamorphosis is here complex, it seems that this sketch precedes, if only by a minute span, the better-developed Louvre studies.



34
Ceres

1561
pen and brown ink over black chalk
heightened with white chalk on tan
paper
30.0 x 14.5 (11³/₄ x 5⁵/₈)
inscribed in brush at right in a six-
teenth-century hand: *Cerere/ Pomona/
Flora/ baco*, and in pen, probably in the
artist's own hand, at bottom: *cerere/
floredda/ premavera/ aglaia*. Inscribed in
pen in a later hand (verso): 589

Národní Galerie, Prague, no. K-12. 354

Like its companion sheets (cats. 33, 36),
this drawing has not been discussed in

the Veronese literature. It was inscribed
with a pointed brush just to the right of
the figure with a series of titles, most of
them appropriate to a female allegorical
figure with a giant cornucopia that
curls upward from between her feet to
rest on her left shoulder. A second list,
at bottom right and in pen, contains
other possible titles, but since it also be-
gins with *Ceres*, goddess of the harvest
and abundance, that is the title we have
given her. As suggested in relation to
the similar text on the companion sheet
(cat. 36), the list in brush is clearly con-
temporary with the drawing, but does
not seem to be in Paolo's own hand. It
might instead have been written by his
brother Benedetto. The pen list, how-
ever, is closer to Paolo's script, and may

be a correction appended to Benedetto's
list of possible themes for the drawing,
part of a broader range of allegorical
figures that Barbaro's program for his
new villa at Maser might have permit-
ted. In style and medium the *Ceres* is
closely related to but slightly distinct
from the first study, first in the firm
and highly developed use of black chalk
with a pictorially subtle application of
white to emphasize plasticity, but also
in the analogous but more restrained
use of pen to reinforce contour and to
clarify three major changes—her left leg
more flexed, her right arm brought fur-
ther out from the body, and her head
shifted upward and to our left. Al-
though Paolo habitually made faint in-
dications of composition in black chalk
before turning to other media that
nearly covered them, there are only a
few drawings like this one in black
chalk heightened with white from the
years prior to about 1570, one of which
is the large-scale study (cat. 37) for the
Melos figure in the concourse at Maser.
Although the purpose of the present
rapid study is quite distinct from that of
the latter drawing, the handling of the
black chalk in the two is very close in
its orderly pattern of parallel lines, its
rhythmic suggestion of surface contour,
and the restrained addition of the white
chalk highlights. As we have noted in
the case of the last Prague sheet, the
possibility remains that Paolo's brother
played a much larger role at Maser than
has been recognized and that he is the
author of all of the related drawings as
well as many of the frescoes. This
seems, in view of the general qualitative
level of both drawings and frescoes, un-
likely, and particularly unacceptable in
the case of this handsome drawing. *Ce-
res* does not seem to appear in precisely
this guise, nude and with cornucopia,
at Villa Barbaro, but closely related dei-
ties are to be found in the Four Seasons
lunettes in the central hall. As types and
in concept, several figures are very close
to the woman in this drawing, as are
the fictive statues below. Since we
would date the Prague drawings to 1561
at a point in the fresco cycle when the
main hall had already been completed,
we would suggest that Paolo remem-
bered especially those recently painted
details, and that in the case of this
drawing he finally discarded it as too
close to the already finished images.
This did not preclude this figure's reap-
pearance in certain aspects of the figures
and cameos still to be painted in the Sala
di Bacco at the end of the suite.

Syrinx

1561

pen and brown ink with bister wash
over black chalk heightened with white
chalk on tan paper

31.3 x 20.1 (12³/₄ x 7³/₄)

inscribed in brush in a sixteenth-century hand: *Siringa/ 8/ fortuna/ venere/ persefone*, this last crossed out from the Wauters (pre-1926) and Larue (pre-1973) collections

John Winter, Milan

Although it had been sold (Müller, Amsterdam, 15–16 June 1926, no. 31; Sotheby's London, 13 December 1973, no. 9) and exhibited by Stock with an attribution to Paolo Veronese, this sheet was demoted to Carletto by Cocke, an idea doubted by Crosato. It is evident that this is an untrimmed page from the series now in Prague (cats. 33, 34, 36), identical in medium and with annotations written in the same sixteenth-century hand that we have tentatively identified as that of Benedetto Caliari. The alternative names in the lower list are all possible subjects, but since the nude female seems to flee from us and raises her arms in an imploring gesture, it is probable that the prominent upper title is the intended one. *Syrinx* was the mythological naiad who, pursued by Pan, prayed to be transformed into a reed. Her wish granted, the sylvan god made his pipes from the reed, thus making *Syrinx* a musical image appropriate to the series of female figures in niches of the Villa Barbaro concourse, even though she does not appear there. Another draped musician retains her pose, however, and the nude cameo figure in a corner of the Stanza di Baccho is even more directly based on this sketch.

The nude female seen from the back was drawn first in black chalk and very slightly highlighted in white before the artist changed the angle of the head and the lower legs; there he abandoned the flexed position of her left leg and moved both legs somewhat to our left, a singularly awkward solution that must have contributed to the abandonment of the motif. The pentimenti were, as in the other sketches, made with pure pen and reinforced in a few spots with wash. The figure holds up drapery in which an object is visible, perhaps the reed she was about to be-



come. Among the musicians in the concourse of the villa, one is seen partly from the back and holding a portable organ, her head in semiprofile and her hair braided as in the sketch. She is, to be sure, elaborately dressed, but there is reason to believe that nude allegories were considered early on for these niches. The object in the drawing more closely resembles the trombone held by another Muse, and the pose seems to derive from that of *Ceres* in the main hall lunette and anticipates slightly that of *Abundance* in the Stanza del Cane. In short, like other figure studies in this group, the Milan sheet abounds with indirect references to Maser without being firmly related to any single passage

of the frescoes. I view them all as part of Paolo's random jottings done at midpoint in the fresco cycle, after the main hall and just before the concourse Muses: drawings to which Benedetto, like an orderly chief of staff, added lists of possible subjects in a vain effort to bring order to Paolo's multitude of inspirations.

Literature

Stock 1980, no. 33; Cocke 1984, 352, no. 181; Crosato 1986, 256



36

Melos

1561

pen and brown ink over black chalk heightened with white chalk on tan paper

28.8 x 18.5 (11¹/₄ x 7¹/₄)

inscribed in pen on the recto in a sixteenth-century hand: *questa* at top right, *Melos* at left, and *astrologia/ musica/ popo-sagrafia/ geografia/ Mensura/ [. . .]* all crossed out. Inscribed in pen in a later hand on the verso 594, and other illegible notes

Národní Galerie, Prague, no. K-12. 353

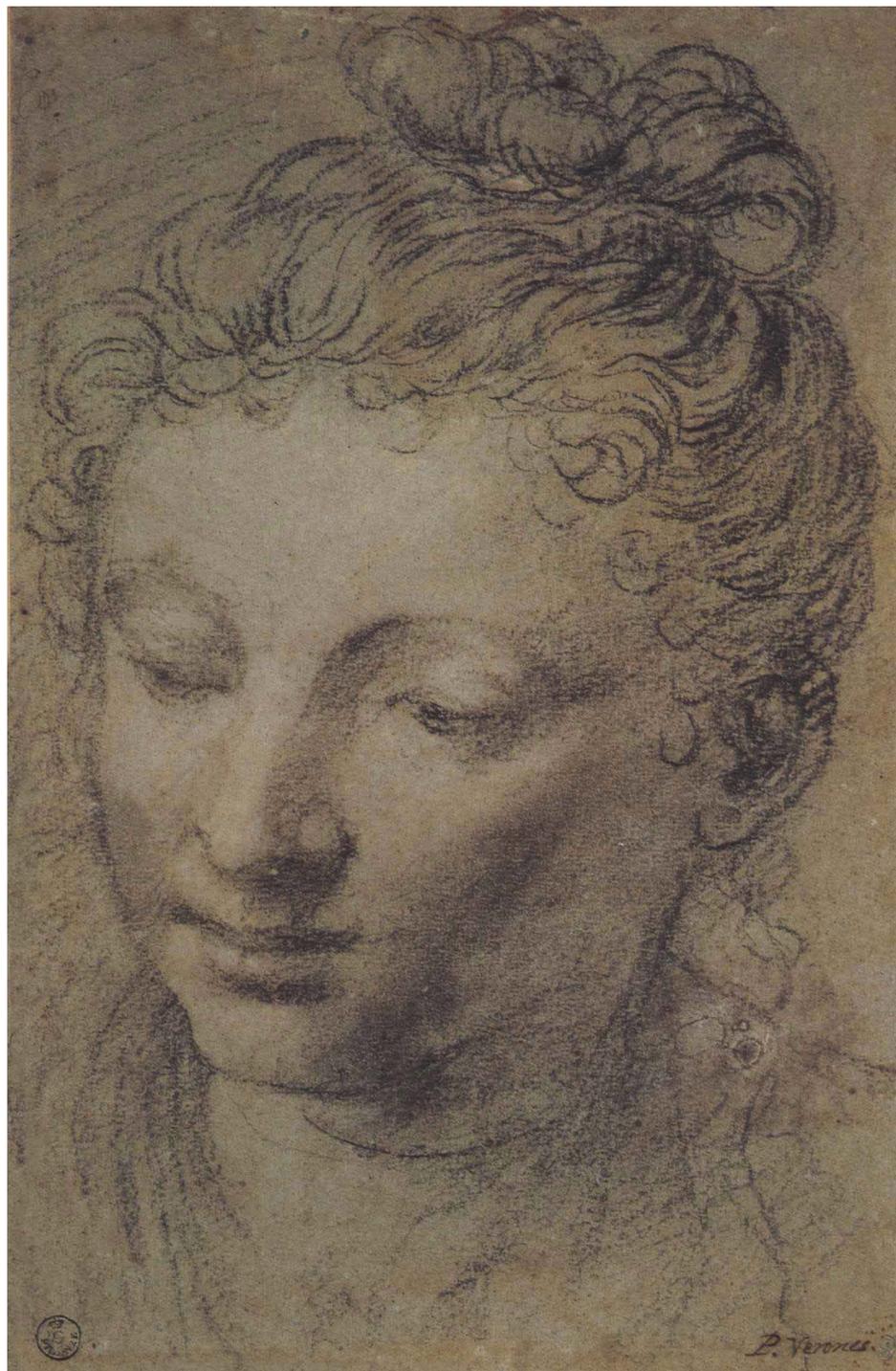
The inscriptions on this drawing, its companion sheets (cats. 33, 34), and another separated sheet (cat. 35) are undoubtedly in a Venetian cinquecento hand, but with one exception they do not seem to be in Paolo's own, the orthography being nearly identical for

some letters but rather different for others. They were added around, and therefore subsequent to, the drawings—in some cases with pen, but more often with a fine-tipped brush and pale bistre. In three instances they are lists of allegorical subjects, and in one of these all but the last is canceled as though to indicate that they had been done. In the present instance the most significant annotation is probably the word *Melos*, to identify the figure as an allegory of music who holds a violin in her left hand and a bow in the right. Together with the word *questa* above, Paolo's standard mode for indicating which of various alternatives he selected, this is in pen and seems to be in Paolo's own hand. The lower list, made with a pointed brush, is in the other hand. Its cancellations suggest that it was added by an associate who was tabulating the written program with a sheaf of sketches. I would suggest that this was Benedetto

Caliari, who helped his brother in minor functions at Maser. Despite the fact that the use of the Greek *Melos* on Paolo's part bespeaks a certain level of cultural attainment that suggests the intervention of the patron, the rough character of the script is Paolo's rather than Daniele Barbaro's, which was elegantly cultivated.

The study was begun in black chalk to indicate a draped female figure standing with her left foot on a disk or globe, holding an object higher in her left hand and raising her right hand behind her head, which looks upward to our left. Bunched drapery is near her left knee and a blowing shawl falls from both shoulders. Here the artist added white chalk highlighting to explore the plastic effect of light. At once he switched to pen, drawing the contour and inner detail of the lower half. He changed his mind above, redrawing the head lower to our right and looking down, her right arm roughly indicated as lowered and extended with a bow in hand, and her left in a lower position but now holding a violin. These changes are so brusque and improvisational that the form is approximate to the point of deformation and the anatomy is at some points illegible. The odd technique is that of rapid notations in chalk that are given linear order by the addition of pen line. This was certainly not Paolo's usual medium, but one that does find a parallel in his preparatory sketch (cat. 4) for the early chiaroscuro *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. 5), a similarly impetuous and energetic working of two chalks rendered legible by the application of pen line, here graceful and classical rather than Emilian in form. It is, in any case, clear that the present study must date more than a decade later than the Emmaus sketch. Its formal relationships, and they are multiple, are all with Paolo's fresco cycle done for the Villa Barbaro at Maser. The closest is with the allegorical female with a violin in the west wing of the concourse of the villa (fig. 25), a similarity of pose in which her lowered hand is the only major difference, although there are other minor adjustments as well. In addition, the fictive statue with a downturned torch in the central hall is developed in its lower part from this sketch, other statues make use of some of its details, and the hand of Apollo with a scepter in the main hall vault is nearly identical with the hand with a bow here. This suggests that this latter motif was rejected

because it was too similar to the nearby model. If the drawing formed a part of the preparation for the frescoes in the concourse of Villa Barbaro, its inscriptions become significant in the much-discussed iconography of that cycle. Often described as Muses although there are eight rather than nine, an anomaly forced by the eight balanced niches, these females all hold musical instruments, hardly appropriate to the diversity of their arts. In this drawing, however, the inscription of the word *Melos* clearly suggests that this is the primary, if not the exclusive significance of the figure with the violin. Why then was a list including music, astrology, language, not to mention the other non-arts, added and canceled? I believe that the answer lies in the stage of preparation at which this drawing was done, a moment in which Daniele Barbaro had outlined his program for the decoration, including a list of allegorical figures that might be appropriate if Palladio's architecture and Paolo's distribution of fictive setting permitted their inclusion. Paolo's rapidly improvised drawings often provided a repertory of forms and motifs that could be freely applied to various parts of the project as the subjects called for them; in this and the companion studies for Maser I am inclined to identify Benedetto as the orderly note taker who, in struggling to make sense of his brother's inventions, scribbled not only identifications on these sheets but also an accounting of subjects that might be or had already been covered by a drawn figure, hence the cancellations on the present list. One must, in addition, consider the possibility that these drawings are also the work of Benedetto, already at the age of about twenty-three trained to imitate Paolo's style in drawing as well as painting. In fact, these Maser-related studies find a strong reflection in Benedetto's well-established later drawings, which is precisely what one would expect, since Benedetto was schooled on such works. Because an attribution of this sketch to Paolo's younger brother would perforce carry along the other drawings in preparation for this part of the fresco cycle as well as the frescoes themselves, I prefer to see them as by Paolo in a particularly pressured moment near the midpoint in the Villa Barbaro frescoes, during the summer of 1561.



37

Melos

1561
black chalk heightened with white
chalk on gray-blue paper, pricked for
transfer
43.7 x 23.1 (17 x 9)
inscribed in pen in a nineteenth-century
hand: *P. Verones*
laid down
from the Santarelli collection

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli
Uffizi, Florence, no. S 7431

When it entered the Uffizi with the Santarelli collection, this unusual sheet bore a traditional attribution to Paolo. Fiocco's association of it with Benedetto's *Birth of the Virgin* (Municipio, Venice) of 1577 tended to reduce interest, despite the Tietzes' acceptance of it as by Paolo, until Cocke observed that it seems, despite such differences as the closed eyes, to be Paolo's cartoon for the head of a musician holding a violin at the corridor crossing of Villa Barbaro, Maser. Because the early sketch (cat. 36) for this figure is inscribed *Melos* in what is probably Paolo's own

hand, we have extended that title to the present drawing as well.

The measurements of the head in this drawing are virtually identical to those of the fresco. If changes such as the eyes and the drapery over the shoulders were made between the transfer from the cartoon to the wet plaster and the painting of the image, one might conclude that this is Paolo's only surviving cartoon drawing, pricked for pouncing directly onto the wet plaster and as such a major document for his technical procedure in fresco. However, there are major problems with this theory, since there is no evidence that the drawing was ever transferred with charcoal pounced onto its recto or verso. This indicates either that it was never used as a cartoon, or that it is a preliminary study that was pounced so that it could be reversed. The latter is probable, since this head corresponds closely in its contours and details such as the hair with the Melos fresco, but is also nearly identical in general configuration with the head of the allegorical woman who carries a tambourine in the east wing of the course, a head that is in reverse of the study. We would, therefore, suggest that Paolo drew this handsome head for the first fresco, and then decided to prick it so that he could reverse it and use that repetition for the second fresco. This finds confirmation in the fact that at Maser there seems to be no evidence that cartoons were used, Paolo instead incising his design into the wet plaster with a sharp instrument, probably a nail.

The handling of the two chinks in this drawing is masterful in its strength of plastic modeling, its almost Leonardesque sense of smoky atmosphere, and the rhythmic harmony of features and pattern as in the freshly evoked hair. Although the possibility that this as well as the other studies related to Maser are all by Benedetto, the quality of this sheet in particular seems to confirm Paolo's authorship of them all.

Literature

Hadeln 1911, 397; Hadeln 1926, no. 49; Osmond 1927, 105; Fiocco 1928, 142; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 343, no. 2064; Joachim and McCullagh 1979, 35; Cocks 1984, 64–65, no. 14; Coutts 1986, 403; Crosato 1986, 252

38

Venus and Mars Surprised by Cupid

1561

oil on canvas

47 x 47 (18 x 18)

Galleria Sabauda, Turin

Venus and her lover Mars look with surprise toward the outdoor stairs, where Cupid interrupts their amorous encounter by leading Mars' warhorse into the bedroom. In this small work for a private connoisseur, Paolo cast in a fresh form the Renaissance tradition of the erotic mythology, drawing on the seductive canvases by Correggio that Paolo had seen at Palazzo del Te in Mantua and had used as a source of inspiration in 1552 (cat. 16). He knew equally the widely disseminated set of Caraglio engravings of 1527, but their overtly pornographic import was at odds with his whimsical humanity, and he avoided both detailed quotation and the leering tone of these prints. Despite the explicit sexuality of Mars' gesture in tipping Venus backward onto the bed, the convoluted artificiality of the engravings' mannerist acrobats is tempered here by a healthy naturalism, most evident in the emphasis on Venus' shift in balance and details such as Mars' clumsy foot. In a rare and witty example of cinquecento humor, Paolo dissipated tension through the childish but knowing intrusion of Cupid with the inquisitive, long-lashed horse. For pointed understatement, the artist rarely matched the perplexed toleration of Venus' look or the subtlety with which Mars' reaction is conveyed by the angle of his head.

Almost certainly the painting Ridolfi described as “. . . Marte che si trastulla con Venere, et Amore gli tiene la briglia el cauallo . . .” in the Venetian house of Cristoforo Orsetti in 1648, this *Mars and Venus* migrated by way of the Lechi collection in Brescia to the London collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and later to that of Mrs. Potter Palmer in Chicago before it was finally given with the Gualino collection to the Galleria Sabauda. Although most of the literature has understandably associated it with the monumental mythologies (cat. 68) of the last decade of Paolo's career, it is in scale, style, and concept distinct from those grand works. Its rich play



of textures, brilliant highlight, and jewellike depth of saturated color create a palpably dense and natural atmosphere, an environment lent a noble stasis by the square shape of the canvas. There are many analogies to be found in type and handling in the 1561 frescoes of the Villa Barbaro at Maser, and its color, texture, and pictorial range closely resemble those of works of 1562 such as the *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 7) and the altars from San Benedetto Po (cat. 41, figs. 29, 30) and Praglia (*Martyrdom of Saints Primo and Feliciano*, Museo Civico, Padua, and *Angels in Glory*, abbey, Praglia). Mythologies are rare from this moment of Paolo's busy career, but we would nonetheless suggest that this *Mars and Venus* be dated to 1561–1562.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:325; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:340; Brizio 1926, 213–242; L. Venturi 1926, pl. XLII; A. Venturi 1926, 93; Fiocco 1928, 101; Nicodemi 1928, 2:343; A. Venturi 1928, 200; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 940; Berenson 1932, 425; Fiocco 1934, 75, 115; Pallucchini 1939, 200–201, no. 87; Coletti 1941, 230–231; Pallucchini 1943, 37; Vertova 1952, 38; Pignatti 1957, 84–87; Berenson 1957, 1:136; Pallucchini 1962–1963, 95; Grate 1962, 109, no. 116; Pallucchini 1966, 730; Lechi 1968, 150, no. 385; Marini 1968, 121, no. 207; Tea 1968, 2:703; Gabrielli 1971, 255–256; Cocke 1974, 24; Pignatti 1976, 1:91, 146, no. 237; Pignatti 1981, 193, no. 68; Pallucchini 1984, 97, 180, no. 145



39

The Baptism of Christ

1561
oil on canvas
85.7 x 116.8 (33³/₈ x 45¹/₂)

North Carolina Museum of Art,
Raleigh, Gift of the Samuel H.
Kress Foundation

First recorded in Palazzo Stigliano at Naples early in the nineteenth century, this *Baptism of Christ* passed with the Kress gift to the North Carolina Museum of Art in 1960. Waagen and most subsequent authors accepted the attribution to Paolo until Shapley, followed by Cocke, demoted it to school status. Recently Marini and Pignatti have shifted the standard dating in the early 1560s to an early position close to 1550 in relation to Paolo's first treatment of the theme (Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig).

The relationship of this picture to the 1548–1549 Braunschweig painting is limited to a general reversal of the composition, a variation in Christ's pose, and a resemblance between the angel and that second from left in the earlier painting. A closer source is the altar of

the same subject (fig. 60) painted for the chapel of San Giovanni Battista on the Giudecca, a structure dedicated in 1561, a terminus ante quem for Paolo's picture. There a certain *maniera* torsion and rhetoric persists in the Baptist's pose and the balletic interaction of the figures, and an exotic, visionary range of color lends the Redentore altar a rarified stylization. The smaller Raleigh picture, of a scale Paolo used often for private chapels or sacristy decor, is perceptibly indebted to the Redentore altar, but its entire concept suggests a shift to a serenely classical order. Christ is nearly centered, his pose more stable and equilibrated than before, and the Baptist moves to fulfill the anointing with grave tenderness but no artifice save the spontaneous raising of his mantle. The angel, unusual without a companion, is a variant of that at left in the Redentore altar filtered through several figures in the frescoes at Villa Barbaro, Maser. Its delicate color range of tones of rose is accented by a glittering play of iridescent ice-blue in the upper sleeve. The pictorial character of this resplendent painting is perfectly attuned to its stately harmony. The pigment was diluted to a watercolor consistency, which allowed the artist to apply it in delicate glazes of near translucence that

intensify the sunny radiance of local color. Over this Paolo applied darker tones for modeling, achieving a finely drawn definition particularly strong but refined in the Baptist's head. A light-filled, high-key radiance suffuses the color and texture with no exaggeration or stressful expressive effect. In 1566 Paolo would remember this gently monumental picture in preparing the giant Baptism altar (parish church, Latisana), but despite quotations such as the Christ figure, the extensive participation of Alvise dal Friso in its execution renders the later version an illuminating confirmation that the Raleigh picture is entirely by Paolo himself. Evidently painted with the quickened buoyancy conditioned by working in fresco at Maser, it belongs to a particularly felicitous moment of effortless productivity that followed directly on his return to Venice in the autumn of 1561.

Literature

Waagen 1857, 4:386; Hadeln 1926, 104–106; Osmond 1927, 56, 112; Fiocco 1934, 122; Berenson 1957, 1:139; Rearick 1967, no. 29; Crosato 1968, 221; Marini 1968, 87, no. 5; Morassi 1968, 31, 37; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 40; Rosand 1972, 19; Shapley 1973, 43; Pignatti 1976, 1:15, 103–104, no. 4; Cocke 1977, 786–787; Goldner 1981, 116; Cocke 1984, 294; Pallucchini 1984, 51, 165, no. 12; Rearick 1988, 102



40

The Preaching of the Baptist

1561

oil on canvas

208 x 140 (81¹/₈ x 54⁵/₈)

Galleria Borghese, Rome

John the Baptist addresses a delegation of priests and Levites, indicating the approaching Christ at lower left with the words: “Behold the Lamb of God”

(John 1. 29). Depictions of this theme were rare in northern Italy. In size and format this painting is clearly an altarpiece, larger than an analogous early altar (cat. 16) but not as grandly scaled as some (cat. 56) that immediately follow. Paolo made skillful use of what must have been a rather high installation to lower the horizon line and to dramatize the narrative action by bringing the foreground figures up to looming scale. The diagonal, rising from the kneeling

woman at lower right through the stylized Oriental interlocutors to the pivotal Baptist, is deflected by his extended arm and foreshortened hand to the vulnerably diminutive Christ, who diffidently makes his way forward under the expectant gaze of a trio of female observers. This skillful manipulation of form and dramatic exchange makes the *Preaching of the Baptist* one of Paolo’s most innovative compositions, still sophisticated in its *maniera* contrapposto,

but pictorially so fresh and brilliant as to establish it at once as an entirely original creation.

Generally well preserved except for Christ's mantle, which has lost its strong lapis lazuli blue glaze that would have provided the magnetic visual cold accent to throw the roseate tonality of the foreground figures into higher relief, the Borghese *Preaching of the Baptist* is now somewhat muted by a yellow varnish. Still, its free and improvisational touch, assured, pointedly drawn, and magniloquent in the powerful foreground figures, becomes buoyantly loose and atmospheric at left, where a liquid translucency of glaze is so sketchily applied as to suggest to some critics that the painting is unfinished. This is to miss the essential modernity of Paolo's handling of the paint, a fresh and vibrant expression achieved without regard to the exigencies of description.

What unusual circumstances prompted this strikingly original invention? This picture's early history provides a clue. It was sent to Rome as a present to the powerful papal aspirant Scipione Borghese in 1607, a gift from the patriarch of Aquileia. The see of Aquileia, ancient and prestigious if financially unrewarding, was normally a sinecure reserved for Venetian humanists willing to assume Holy Orders but disinclined to spend time in that solitary basilica. Daniele Barbaro, Veronese's constant patron before he died in 1570, had refused even to set foot in Aquileia, since it was then occupied by the Austrian military. In the decades following 1570 the patriarchate was largely shared alternately by the Grimani and Barbaro families, with Daniele's nephew Francesco assuming the post in 1593 and holding it until his death in 1616. Francesco took the first step toward personal direction of his see by building a residence in Udine, the first such venture into the Friuli on the part of this clerical official in more than a century. Francesco may be assumed to have inherited a substantial part of his uncle's picture collection, and in 1607 this accumulation must have suggested to Francesco that the *Preaching of the Baptist* by Paolo Veronese would curry favor with the avid Borghese collector without being much missed among the Barbaro treasures. It is probable that the original patron was Daniele Barbaro, who commissioned the cycle of frescoes for the villa at Maser. In the autumn of 1561, Paolo had just put the

finishing touches to the frescoes and was ready to turn to other projects. It was, we believe, at this juncture that Patriarch Daniele decided that it would be appropriate to devote some attention to a religious altar picture. Was it intended for his private chapel, for the palazzo in Venice, or simply as a fine painting? We have no secure record, but what seems clear is that it was never envisioned for the baptistry at Aquileia, but rather arrived as the gift to Borghese out of the trove that Francesco inherited from Daniele.

In style, the Borghese altar finds its context almost at once after the Villa Barbaro frescoes that we believe were finished in the early autumn of 1561. However, its secure but vibrant delicacy of touch and its transparent luminosity are less dense in impasto and saturated color than the San Benedetto Po altars (cat. 41 and fig. 29), which were commissioned at the end of 1561. Pictorially, the Raleigh *Baptism* (cat. 39) seems almost coeval with the *Preaching of the Baptist*, which we would also date to the autumn of 1561.

Literature

Francucci 1613, 269; Ridolfi 1648, 1:321; Dal Pozzo 1718, 104; Caliarì 1888, 364; A. Venturi 1893, 137; Morelli 1897, 240; Rusconi 1906, 69–70; Berenson 1907, 300; Hadeln 1911, 396; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:336; Osmond 1927, 58–59; Fiocco 1928, 193; Nicodemi 1928, 333; A. Venturi 1928, 200; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 940; Berenson 1932, 425; Fiocco 1934, 114; Arslan 1936, 3, nos. 1, 2; Marchiori 1939, 50; Pallucchini 1939, 113–115, no. 45; Hetzer 1940, 54; Coletti 1941, 219–220; Pallucchini 1943, 30; Suida 1945, 186; Arslan 1948, 241; De Rinaldis 1948, 189; Pallucchini 1948, 72–73, 175, no. 71; Della Pergola 1950, 11; Della Pergola 1955, 135, no. 242; Gamulin 1955, 93; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Pignatti 1957, 80; Fehl 1961, 326–327; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 57; Pallucchini 1966, 727; Marini 1968, 103, no. 74; Pignatti 1976, 1:75, 123, no. 115

41

The Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints Anthony Abbot and Paul

1562
oil on canvas
285 x 170 (111¹/₈ x 66¹/₄)

The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia; Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

On 27 December 1561, Veronese received the commission to paint three altars for chapels in Giulio Romano's abbey church of San Benedetto Po. The final payment was made on 30 March 1562, by which time the paintings may be assumed to have been delivered. For the chapel of San Niccolò, he painted the *Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (fig. 29), and for that of San Gerolamo *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness with the Madonna in Glory*, an altar burned in London in 1836 but recorded by a shop drawing (fig. 30) probably executed by Benedetto, a reduced autograph variant (private collection, Baltimore), and a late eighteenth-century copy still in situ. For the chapel of Sant'Antonio Abbate, Paolo painted the present picture, mentioned by Vasari and other sources together with the other two altars. During the Napoleonic spoliation, the abbey of San Benedetto lost parts of its pictorial treasure. It was probably slightly later that copies were made, and the first two pictures migrated to England and the third to France. The *Madonna and Child in Glory* was rediscovered by L. Venturi in a château in 1950. It passed in 1954 by way of Jean Neger in Paris to the Chrysler collection, with which it entered the Norfolk museum in 1971. From Venturi on, this painting has been unanimously accepted as Veronese's San Benedetto Po altar.

Faced with the problem of integrating the homely episode, in which the two hermit saints engage in a colloquy in the wilderness, with the rather pompous architectural setting created almost a quarter-century earlier by Giulio Romano, Paolo ingeniously chose to insert the miraculous apparition of the Madonna and Child, whose majestically slow descent on an angelic cloudbank evokes an astonished but reverent response from the rustic pair. By setting the warmly hazy horizon so low and allowing the spatial relationships to re-





fig. 29. *The Consecration of Saint Nicholas*. National Gallery, London



fig. 30. Benedetto Caliari, after Veronese, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness with the Madonna in Glory*. Private collection, Florence

main ambiguous—is the cloud above or behind Saint Anthony?—Paolo directed the emphasis to the looming saints seen from below to establish a quietly dramatic buoyancy. Pictorially, his contrast of a restrained, closely harmonized range of browns, gold, and green in the lower half of the painting against the more emphatic cobalt, white, chrome yellow, and emerald of the celestial apparition works in perfect counterpoint with the spatial order. Rarely did Paolo evoke the interaction of light and space with such subtlety as in the silvery play of luminescence over the clouds, simultaneously distinct from the warm summer sky in the distance and part of the same reality.

After the monumental *Transfiguration* (cathedral, Montagnana) of 1555, the high altar of San Sebastiano of 1559 constituted a major step in Paolo's emergence from a mannerist formula for altar design. A bit more than two years later, this painting shows him even more expansively eloquent and pictorially magisterial in creating a new type of altar picture, one of the most remarkable achievements of his middle years.

Literature

Vasari 1568, 1:490–491; Borghini 1584, 561; Cadioli 1763, 128; Waagen 1838, 1:206; Waagen 1854, 335; Caliari 1888, 51–52; Biadego 1890, 30; Zannandreis 1891, 176; Hadeln 1911, 393; Osmond 1927, 47, 112; Fiocco 1928, 180, 199; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 950; Fiocco 1934, 122; Pallucchini 1943, 28; L. Venturi 1950, 39–40; Suida-Manning 1956, 27, no. 26; Berenson 1957, 1:134, 138; Gould 1959, 139–141; Suida-Manning 1962, 52; R. Manning 1963, no. 30; Pallucchini 1964, 58–59; Richardson 1964, 355; Pallucchini 1966, 727–728; Marini 1968, 104, no. 77; Safarik 1968, 94; Pallucchini 1969–1970, 156; Rosand 1972, 20; Gould 1975, 317; Pignatti 1976, 1:73, 74, 124, no. 124; Pignatti 1979, 116, 167–168, no. 40; Cocke 1983, 234–235, no. 135; Pallucchini 1984, 73–74, 176, no. 73



fig. 31. *The Apotheosis of Saint George*. Private collection, Rome

The Martyrdom of Saint George

1567–1568

pen and brown ink with bistre wash (recto), pen and brown ink (verso)

28.9 x 21.7 (11³/₈ x 8¹/₂)

inscribed in pen in the artist's own hand (recto): [. . .] in V[.]te Et Vtas in tri[.]te/ trinitas in Unitate/ moro; and accounts and sums, probably in the artist's own hand (verso)

from the Heyl, Wauters (pre-1926), and Hirsch (pre-1978) collections

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, no. 83.GA.258

Paolo had been commissioned as early as 1549–1550 to paint the high altar for the newly completed apse of the church of San Giorgio in Braida, Verona, a project postponed by his departure for Venice in 1553. It was probably taken up again in 1566 when the artist is recorded as back in his native city, although its actual execution seems not to have been concluded until about 1568. It has long been recognized that this vivid sheet formed part of the preparation for the painting that is still in Sanmicheli's monumental frame in the church in Verona.

Although Paolo had drawn early, fairly finished preparations for this altar and Farinati had undertaken to adapt them and carry on after Paolo's emigration to Venice, the 1566 revival of the project modified its subject to the Apotheosis of Saint George, a composition that Paolo sketched, together with a Visitation altar destined for San Giacomo, Murano, in 1568, on an important sheet (formerly Koenigs collection, Haarlem) in which several compositional ideas intersect. These ideas were combined in a monumental drawing that served as a *modello* (fig. 31), in which Saints Peter and Paul, with Charity and Saint George's horse, are disposed on a colonnaded terrace from which Saint George is carried by angels and is accompanied by Faith and Hope toward the celestial vision of the Virgin and Child in a glory of musical angels. Although this dramatic and austere scene accords well with the high position of Sanmicheli's concave, column-flanked frame, it seems not to have met with the approval of the commissioners, and was abandoned at least in part along with its subject in favor of the Martyrdom of Saint George.



With the change of subject, Paolo began developing his new concept on the present sheet. At top left he wrote a couple of lines about the unity of the Trinity that seem irrelevant. Then he sketched in pen several figures derived from the *modello*, including a Saint Paul that absorbs the pose of the Saint Peter, below him at left a rough suggestion of musical angels, at right the prayerful figure of Faith, and above, her more elegant variation. Then he seems to have changed course, stopping the angels abruptly to go to the lower edge of the sheet where he set forth the martyrdom ensemble itself mostly as it would appear in the painting, but with an alternative pose at right for the saint with which he had begun this group. Almost every detail of this quick inspiration would receive major adjustments in the final work, even the black man he indicated with the word *moro* who would evolve into two assistants to the executioner. The very rough ideas for the fig-

ures at the extreme sides were destined to be abandoned. At this point he inserted the angel flying downward with the martyr's laurel crown, but rejected this as too ponderous and sketched further to the right a putto doing the same, just as in the painting. Here three separate ideas overlap, rendering the sequence visually complex. Returning to the upper left where he had begun his circular track around the sheet, Paolo made a confused effort to insert Charity with two children just as they had appeared in the *modello*, and above redrew Saint Paul with wash; but this grouping was clearly unsatisfactory and he reversed Hope, now transformed into Faith, and repeated Saint Paul's head twice before he arrived at the final position of the Virgin flanked by Paul and Peter, just as they were conceived twenty years before in the early drawing (cat. 8) for this project. Finally, he applied the defining wash to this last group and added a charming scalloped



shorthand indication of the singing putti who would surround them in the altar painting. One more drawing (formerly Koenigs collection, Haarlem) comes into play at this stage, a light study that has been associated with the *Martyrdom of Saint Julien* (San Giuliano, Rimini), but is in reality Paolo's subsequent preparation for the Verona altar. It contains a series of ideas destined for further modification in the painting, but which would serve about a decade later as a starting point for the Rimini picture.

When the present sheet was acquired by the Getty Museum in 1983, it was removed from its backing, allowing a full view of the verso that is partly visible on the recto. There one finds casual and random jottings, some of them arithmetical calculations, and two very approximate sketches for a stucco or wood surround that might relate to a border between the canvas and the altar frame. In addition, one finds a direct sketch of a still life, which the Getty Museum has interpreted as an artist's working tools, but which looks more like lunch brought to the artist in his studio: a tray with a bowl of soup, a spoon, and a knife as well as a roll in front. Next is a series of three heads be-

gun with a simple profile, repeated with an added beard, and finally seen in a low-angle three-quarter view that resembles the head of the horseman at right in the altar painting. Finally, the artist drew a pretty landscape detail with a rustic house, a surprising evocation of Titian's similar pen landscapes of more than a half-century earlier, per-



fig. 32. *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

haps with the intermediary recollection of Domenico Campagnola's more recent and ubiquitous landscape drawings. These rough and casual sketches, almost doodles, might well be dismissed as the work of a juvenile shop apprentice except for the fact that the particular charm of the landscape convinces us that, after evident concentrated effort on the front of this page, Paolo allowed his imagination to wander. Circumstances and the close relation with drawings securely datable to 1568 suggest a similar dating for this sheet.

Literature

Borenus 1921, 54; Hadeln 1926, 32, no. 24; Osmond 1927, 100; Fiocco 1928, 190, 210; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 339, no. 2029; Cocke 1973, 138-139; Pignatti 1976, 1:131; Rearick [1980] 1976, 42-43; Cocke 1984, 132-133, no. 52; Goldner 1988, 128

Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine and other studies

1568–1569

pen and brown ink with bister wash,
touches of red and yellow paint at right
center, on ivory paper

30.4 x 20.0 (11⁷/₈ x 7⁷/₈)

inscribed in pen in the artist's own
hand (recto): *Sposi di Santa [. . .]/ con
S. Zuani/ con una Santa/ Mada[.].a*, and
in pen by Francesco Sadinello (verso):
*Messer compare carissimo, a hore dui di
note/ molto travagliato, come dirà mio/
fiolo/ Scrivo come l'è buona oppinion man-
dar maestro Thomio et/ potrà vegnir con li
filoni dominica. Ho compra' il/ vino il mig-
liori che mai habiate havuto, buono et/
sanno. Et vi aviso che l'anno futuro sarà
carestia de/ vino, che fa bisogno proveder a
buona hora./ Ho fatto intendere a tuti li af-
fittuali il bisogno vostro/ de farin./ Il for-
mento val lire II il staro, et ne ha dato via
de/ mio compar Loredan stara cinquanta ali
pistor[i]/ per tal pretio./ Idio vi conservi
sanno et alegro con la comar[e]/ et compare
et la mia vedireta, la qual per sua/ bontà
preg[h]erà la maestà de Idio che, si è per il
meagl[i]or/ me lasi veseto. Purtroppo travag-
liato, non scrivo pi[ù]/ oltra./ XI. auosto
1568 di Castelfranco/ compare et quanto
fratello/ Francesco Sadinello*, and in pen in
an eighteenth-century hand: *P. Vse*
from the Koenigs collection, Haarlem,
and the Van Beuningen collection,
Rotterdam

Museum Boymans-van Beuningen,
Rotterdam, no. 140

This sheet of paper was first used by
Francesco Sadinello for a letter written
on 11 August 1568 from Castelfranco,
presumably to Paolo Veronese though
the address is not preserved. In it Sa-
dinello, who seems to have provided
Veronese with provisions of various
types from Castelfranco, asked how
Paolo liked the wine recently sent to
him in Venice.

Paolo used the verso for a series of
important compositional studies that
have always been recognized as by the
master, although there has been confu-
sion about their subjects and purpose.
On the reverse of the letter, now the
drawing's recto, Paolo began at upper
left center with a rough sketch of the
seated Madonna with the child whose
foot Saint Catherine kisses while two
figures, probably saints Mary Magda-
lene and Joseph, look on. He then



sketched the Magdalene again at the
Virgin's left, and dropped to right cen-
ter for a new arrangement with just the
two female saints in a clarified setting
of platform, column, and curtain as
well as a quick indication of the pic-
ture's margins. Still inclined to experi-
ment, Paolo dropped to the bottom
right corner, now partly cut, where he
exchanged the saints' identities, adding
Catherine further to the right and an
infant Baptist who plays with the
Christ Child's feet. Although several
later paintings executed in large mea-
sure by the workshop (Musée Fabre,
Montpellier; Delgado Museum, New
Orleans; art market, New York) show
reflections of these compositions, one
painting seems to be a direct result of
its ideas, the *Mystic Marriage of Saint
Catherine* (fig. 32). The basic setting of
platform, column, and drapery remain

as in the second study, with Catherine
kneeling but in the pose of the lower
sketch, which also provided the model
for the child (reversed) and the Baptist.
Saint Elizabeth has replaced the Magda-
lene, but Saint Joseph has returned.
This painting, dirty, overpainted, and
pieced out though it is, is a superb origi-
nal by Paolo. It was once the outside of
the organ shutters at San Giacomo,
Murano, and was backed by *Saints
James and Augustine* (cats. 44, 45). The
subject of the broad sketch at the top of
the page is an early idea for *Christ and
the Mother of the Sons of Zebedee* (The
Burghley House Collection, Stamford,
England), which Paolo painted for the
high altar of the same church, San
Giacomo at Murano. The major figures
are indicated at top center and the
mother and a son are revised at top
right. Another painting developed from

details of this drawing was a *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, lost but engraved by Barri and duplicated in a shop version (Timken Art Gallery, San Diego) and a signed variant (art market, Paris). There one finds the motif of the major figures in the last study of the *Mystic Marriage* together with Saint Elizabeth based on the sketch at bottom left. In addition, there is another connection with a painting, more generic but still pertinent: the Saint Elizabeth was metamorphosed just above to a female with a candle that in turn was restudied at bottom center largely in wash, since its major concern is nocturnal illumination. This precocious experiment with candlelight relates in concept as well as aspects of form to *Saint Agatha in Prison Visited by Saint Peter* (San Pietro Martire, Murano), a painting engraved by Battista Fontana in 1569. Still one figure in this drawing remains to be explained: the standing female at left center with a crossed globe over her head. Paolo labeled her the Magdalene, and much later his son Carletto used her as such in the *Madonna in Glory with Saints* (Uffizi, Florence), still later converting the motif for his *Hagar in the Desert* (John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota). Although this wash evocation does not seem directly related to the *Mystic Marriage*, we may speculate that simultaneously Paolo was thinking of a Magdalene with the Angel in the Wilderness, perhaps an early stage in the preparation of his nearly contemporary painting (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa), and that Carletto made use of it later. In any case, the date of the present sheet may be placed after August 1568, and probably before the middle of 1569 when the *Saint Agatha* was engraved. In style it is close to the studies (cat. 42) for the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (San Giorgio in Braida, Verona) also of about 1568, and the preparatory drawing (formerly Koenigs collection, Haarlem) for the *Visitation* (Barber Institute, Birmingham) that was also part of the program for San Giacomo, Murano.

Literature

Hadeln 1926, 30; Osmond 1927, 102; Fiocco 1928, 208; Hadeln 1932, no. 13; Pallucchini 1939, 217, no. 5; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 344, no. 2073; Crosato-Larcher 1967, 113; Rearick [1980] 1976, 13, 43–44, no. 21; Cocke 1984, 140–141, no. 56





44

Saint James

1568–1569
oil on canvas
200 x 85 (78 x 33¹/₈)

The Burghley House Collection,
Stamford, England

45

Saint Augustine

1568–1569
oil on canvas
200 x 85 (78 x 33¹/₈)

The Burghley House Collection,
Stamford, England

The late-Gothic church of San Giacomo at Murano, demolished early in the nineteenth century, contained a notable cycle of paintings by Paolo Veronese and his shop, including the high altar, *Christ Calling the Sons of Zebedee* (Burghley House, Stamford), lateral altars of the *Visitation* (Barber Institute, Birmingham) and the *Resurrection* (Westminster Hospital, London), and an organ complex of which the closed faces represented the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (fig. 32) and the lateral panels when open showed the present *Saint James* and *Saint Augustine*. Ridolfi, Boschini, and other early sources made enthusiastic note of these canvases, which were purchased by the marquess of Exeter in 1769 and remain at Burghley House. The modern literature considered them works by Paolo until 1968 when it was suggested that most or perhaps all the execution was due to Benedetto. Since then they have all but disappeared from the literature.

Saint James flanked the organ pipes at left so that he gazed toward the source of the sound, whereas *Saint Augustine* at right seems transported by the music and casts his eyes upward to the outside source of light, a window high at left. This basic format follows one that Paolo established for the San Geminiano organ shutters around 1560 (cats. 29, 30, 31). The closed faces formed a unified picture of Saint Catherine and the Holy Family in an outdoor setting with architecture and a red curtain on the right. All of these canvases were trimmed somewhat after they were removed from the church, the saints from about 216 x 106 centimeters (84¹/₄ x

41³/₈ inches), losing in the process part of their architectural settings, the edge of the cope, and James' staff. The *Mystic Marriage*, subsequently pieced out extensively on all sides, seems like the *Saints* to have been flat across the top rather than arched, as was Paolo's more familiar scheme for such shutters. By comparison with his decoratively festive organ at San Sebastiano and the heroically monumental shutters at San Geminiano, the San Giacomo complex was smaller, more restrained in mood, and pictorially darker and richer, as was appropriate to its more modest Muranese setting.

It is a mistake to see the simplicity of these saints as a sign of shop execution, and in particular that of Benedetto, whose hand is detectable, if at all, only in peripheral passages such as the architecture. It is, instead, Paolo's hand in a subtly understated vein. Augustine is solemnly patriarchal and immobile, but his deep emotion suggests a pathos new to Paolo's expressive range, and the tonal mastery with which the cast shadow on the book establishes space and atmosphere is expertly controlled. Perhaps its finest passage of color is the silvery luster of the rose-pale raspberry silk brocade of the cope, with its vivid accents of local color in the border embroideries, an especially evocative harmony not found in Benedetto's torpid brushstroke. James strikes a slightly more athletic stance, but his gentle mood is established by the handsomely soulful head and the remarkably subtle range of color in his robe.

The date for a substantial part of the San Giacomo cycle can be established with some precision on the basis of several drawings. Central is the sheet (cat. 43) on which Paolo made multiple sketches for the Brussels *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* together with ideas for *Saint Peter Visiting Saint Agatha in Prison* (San Pietro Martire, Murano) as well as other themes. This drawing was done on the back of a letter dated 11 August 1568, and *Saint Agatha in Prison* was engraved by Battista Fontana in a print dated 1569. Assuming that the *Saint James* and *Saint Augustine* were painted at the same time as the *Mystic Marriage* on the other side of the organ shutters, we may posit their date as the autumn of 1568 or the first part of 1569. This fits well with the stylistic character of paintings of a similar date such as the Saint Barnabas altar (fig. 35) commissioned around 1566, but painted closer to 1569. The Saint Jerome altar

(San Pietro Martire, Murano) of 1566 seems to have introduced a remarkable triennium of activity for Murano, including most of the San Giacomo series and concluding with the Saint Anthony Abbot altar (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) that followed in 1569–1570.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:316; Boschini 1664, 543; Boschini 1674, Santa Croce, 36; Zanetti 1733, 456; Cochin 1758, 3:128; Calari 1888, 75; Ingersoll-Smouse 1924, 1:96–100; Osmond 1927, 30, III; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 951; Fiocco 1934, 122; Nicolson 1949, 333–334; Crosato-Larcher 1968, 223; Marini 1968, 109, nos. 125a, 125b; Crosato-Larcher 1969, 125; Pignatti 1976, I:208, nos. A 290, A 291; Rearick [1980] 1976, 43–44

46

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

1569

pen and dark brown ink with bister wash (recto and verso) on gray-green paper

20.5 x 23.4 (8 x 9¹/₈)

inscribed in pen in a seventeenth-century hand (verso): 246

numerous holes caused by gall burn of the ink, especially in the lower half; laid down

from the Huebsche collection, Cleveland

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Robert Hays Gries

This unusual drawing was attributed to Palma il Giovane until Rosand recognized its relationship to several compositions, both drawn and painted, by Paolo Veronese. The subsequent literature has accepted this, with Cocke suggesting a date in the later 1550s. The medium used here is unusual in the concentrated application of a dark bister wash for strong chiaroscuro effect and for the relegation of the pen to a supporting function, which is the reverse of Paolo's normal custom.

The subjects represented are eight variants of the seated Madonna and Child, alone in the lower range but accompanied above by the infant Baptist at left and by Saint Joseph in the remaining two groups. Two insertions of a donkey at upper center create the Rest on the Flight into Egypt theme. These upper sketches were the first to be executed, and are the ones that relate most closely to other works by Paolo.



fig. 33. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. British Museum, London



The left trio served as preparation for the Berlin chiaroscuro drawing (cat. 48), where numerous adjustments have been made, particularly in the Baptist who here seems to derive from a fountain statue by Perino da Vinci (Musée du Louvre, Paris). This scheme would, in turn, become a familiar motif in the later work of the shop. The central *Rest on the Flight* was a direct study for the beautiful chiaroscuro sheet (fig. 33), where the poses would be adjusted somewhat and the donkey moved to the left. The *Rest on the Flight* at right is a general impression that would be developed into another chiaroscuro (cat. 47) slightly later. This Madonna seems to have pleased Paolo, since he repeated the type at lower center and would reuse it around 1579 for the *Madonna with Saints Catherine and Anthony of Padua* (San Sebastiano, Venice).

The entire lower range of figures is made up of variations on the ideas sketched above, the left one a conflation of the top-left and center Madonnas; the topsy-turvy child was at once judged indecorous and canceled with a touch of wash. Those that flank the central Virgin explore a sprightly arrangement for a Madonna in Glory car-

rying an orb, a vivacious idea repeated at far right but apparently not used for a painting except by the late shop.

The only figure on the recto that remains enigmatic is the female in profile at top right, clearly a reversed variant of the Madonna just below but with a different subject, since her arms are raised in an expository gesture. This pose had been used earlier, for example in an acolyte in the *Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (fig. 29) of 1562, and is developed as a Virtue in the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (San Giorgio in Braida, Verona) of about 1568, but its closest association is with the Saint Catherine in the lower sketch on the sheet of studies (cat. 43) for the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (fig. 32). Since the present pose more closely resembles the finished picture than its drawing, a date of slightly later seems probable for this sheet.

Although the paper has been laid down to reduce further losses where the gall in the ink has caused holes in the paper, a set of architectural studies on the verso shows through, particularly near this figure on the recto. There one clearly sees a pier with each rusticated face outset from the core and topped by a wide cornice. A tondo is set into the

visible surface, and the pedestal is surmounted by a column that seems to have been modified into a more complex form. It is a surprise to discover that this motif is an early idea for the structure at the center of the *Family of Darius before Alexander* (National Gallery, London) for which another study has recently been discovered (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38 932). In the painting the pedestal remains almost unchanged, but the column was replaced by a pier supported by half-pyramids and the tondo has been extended below to form a niche. For the dating of the Cleveland drawing we refer to the various other treatments of the *Rest on the Flight* here exhibited, with the added observation that the connection with the *Mystic Marriage* suggests a date of 1569 for this sheet.

Literature

Rosand 1971, 203-210; Rosand 1972, 44; Pignatti 1976, 1:169; Cocke 1977a, 263; Cocke 1984, 102-103, no. 34



47

Rest on the Flight into Egypt

1570

pen and brown ink with slight bister wash, heightened with white body color over traces of black chalk on blue prepared paper

24.8 x 19.8 (9⁵/₈ x 7³/₄)

from the Lawrence, Woodburn (pre-1860), Clement, Arozarena, Heseltine, Bellingham-Smith (pre-1927), Nebehay, and Sachs collections

Harvard University Art Museums (Fogg Art Museum), Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of Meta and Paul S. Sachs, no. 1928.681

A sketch at right center of another sheet (cat. 46) is directly preparatory to this finished chiaroscuro, one of Paolo's most serenely masterful drawings from his middle years. The subject must have

been much on his mind at this moment, since from the same sketch he developed another chiaroscuro treatment (fig. 33), a variant (cat. 48), and several paintings (cat. 49) not based on the present drawing. There is, in any case, no evidence that chiaroscuro drawings of such finished character prepared anything. They were instead finished works of art in themselves. Here, the rustic but gravely monumental family group avoids the playful charm of an earlier treatment (cat. 26), taking instead an even earlier *Holy Family* (San Barnaba, Venice) as a point of departure for the compact triangular format. A musical female in the overdoor of the Stanza dell'Amore Coniugale (Villa Barbaro, Maser) of about 1561 provided the semi-back view of the Virgin. Sources, however, cannot explain the pictorial refinement with which the mature Paolo manipulated this mixture

of media that had become uniquely his own. Its luminous surfaces and gentle sentiment create a harmonious equilibrium of particular refinement. Its execution may have followed the more enameled and virtuosic British Museum *Rest* that was sketched on the same preparatory sheet, but only by a brief span. We would, therefore, suggest a date of about 1570 for the Harvard University sheet. That it remained in Paolo's possession is confirmed by a shop copy (Albertina, Vienna), probably the work of Benedetto, and by the use of the Joseph as a model for Saint Peter in the *Madonna in Glory with Saints* (Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon) of 1586.

Literature

Mongan and Sachs 1940, 108, no. 204; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 341, no. 2051; Rosand 1971, 204-220; Rosand 1972, 50; Pignatti 1974, no. 24; Pignatti 1976, 1:163; Cocke 1977a, 266; Cocke 1984, 96, no. 29



48

*The Madonna and Child
with the Baptist*

1570

pen and dark brown ink with slight bistre wash over traces of black chalk heightened with white body color on blue-green prepared paper
22.0 x 16.9 (8½ x 6½)
laid down

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. kdz 1549

Traditionally attributed to Veronese and accepted by all authors except Fiocco and the Tietzes, who inexplicably gave it to Benedetto, and Coutts who assigned it generically to the shop, this chiaroscuro is one of three finished sheets prepared by the drawing at the Cleveland Museum (cat. 46) that was identified by Rosand. Yet he remained

uncertain about the attribution of the Berlin drawing to Benedetto. In the Cleveland study the Madonna and Child are suggested in what, with minor adjustments in the angles of the heads, would be that of the finished version, but the Baptist there, closer to Perino da Vinci than to Michelangelo (as Cocke has suggested), would be given a new, playful relation to the Christ Child who grasps the banderole attached to the cross/staff. Even though this sheet has evidently been very slightly trimmed, its small size suggests that it was intended as a private devotional image, a finished work of art in itself. Only early in his career did Paolo himself paint intimate Sacra Conversazione paintings (cat. 6; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Royal Collections, Hampton Court) of this type, and in the present composition he was evidently reminiscing about those lyric evocations, most particularly the Gius-

tinian altar (cat. 15), where all three figures had appeared in reverse. This retrospective tone has led some scholars to date the Berlin drawing early as well. Its place is more correctly in the context of the various treatments of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt (cats. 46, 47, 49) that were in progress simultaneously in the Cleveland sketch. This is borne out by the copy of this chiaroscuro (Biblioteca Reale, Turin) made by Benedetto very soon after Paolo had completed the original, a reproduction that served Benedetto as a point of departure for his *Holy Family with Saint Dorothy* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux), where the Madonna and Child are nearly identical to those in the chiaroscuro.

Literature

Hadeln 1926, 26, no. 56; Fiocco 1928, 142; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 357, no. 2192; Rosand 1971, 204; Cocke 1977a, 267; Cocke 1984, 110-111, no. 38; Coutts 1986, 403



49

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

1570
oil on canvas
44.5 x 76.2 (17³/₈ x 29³/₄)

Private collection, courtesy of
Colnaghi, London

The subject of the Holy Family at rest near an oasis during their journey to Egypt to escape Herod's massacre seems to have fascinated Veronese, in particular in the years around 1570. From a rapid pen sketch (cat. 46) he developed a finished chiaroscuro (cat. 47) as well as other drawn variants of these motifs, evolving these ideas finally into a monumental altar picture (cat. 56). His shop associates continued to make use of these works over the next decade, but perhaps the most refined and original treatment is the present small painting. In this instance its purpose is not clear, since the theme does not lend itself to private devotional function nor would it be likely to appear as an insert in a larger ecclesiastical complex. Perhaps it was simply a precious work of art that happened to have a biblical theme. It was not recorded before it passed from the Lallmon collection in Bruges to that of the duke of Northumberland at Syon House in 1754. It was first published in

1957 and has been accepted in the recent literature with a dating between 1582 and 1586.

Although Paolo admired and learned from Jacopo Bassano's rustic treatments of biblical themes earlier in the decade, here he seems specifically to avoid their naturalism in favor of a gracefully idealized view of nature. The tone is set by the diminutive travelers resting under a palm tree with the donkey and the rather illogical cow, their quiet vulnerability comforted by an expansive environment of limpid serenity. The color range is coolly luminous, with the deeper tones of rose, deep blue, and rust in the figures set against a particularly delicate harmony of green, fawn, azure, and white in the setting. Detail is drawn with a pointed brush, precise and expressive in the Madonna and the child whose dark eyes focus the specta-

tor's attention, and firmly three-dimensional in Joseph's robe.

Since none of Paolo's representations of the Rest on the Flight can be precisely located in time, the place of this picture in his chronology must depend on internal evidence. Since the Cleveland sketch seems datable to about 1569 and the Harvard University chiaroscuro only slightly later, we would suggest that this small picture is a first variation on those sources. It led directly to another chiaroscuro (fig. 33) and thence to the large horizontal painting (fig. 34) of about 1570–1571. We would suggest that this *Rest on the Flight* be dated to 1570.

Literature

Berenson 1957, 1:140; Marini 1968, 136, no. 397; Pignatti 1976, 1:164–165, no. 328; Pallucchini 1984, 186, no. 225



fig. 34. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Seated Male Nude

1569

black chalk heightened with white
chalk on beige paper, probably once
blue

40.2 x 29.6 (15⁵/₈ x 11¹/₂)

inscribed in pen in a sixteenth/seven-
teenth-century hand (verso): *ope giov.*,
and *giovane* [. . .]. Laid down, folded
horizontally at lower center, and with
very slight losses along the bottom.
Unidentified collectors mark

Muriel and Philip Berman, Allentown

When this fine drawing was sold (Sotheby's, London, 15 June 1983, lot 26) it was identified by E. Llewellyn as Paolo's study for *Saint Barnabas Healing* (fig. 35) that was painted for San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. The early and not clearly legible inscriptions showing through from the verso seem to refer to the subject, a *giovane* or young man, rather than the period of Veronese's life in which it was done. Paolo was perhaps commissioned to paint this altar when he visited his native Verona to marry in April 1566. The painting need not have been executed in Verona or even soon after Paolo's return to Venice by July of that year; indeed, its style suggests a date close to 1569. As he began experimenting with ideas for his subject, Saint Barnabas at Cyprus using the manuscript of the Gospel of Matthew to cure the sick, he first thought of a diagonal composition that moved from right from a kneeling child, the saint who holds the book over the seated, forward-inclined sick youth, an assistant who supports that figure, and through spectators to a monumental classical arch. This phase has a distinct echo of his earliest major public work in Verona, the *Christ Revives the Daughter of Jairus* (cat. 2) of 1546, a similarity that might have contributed to its abandonment, leaving only a vivid pen sketch (Stadelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, no. 4461) as a record. Instead, Paolo began again with a round temple, Bramantesque by way of Sanmicheli, as a setting and shifted the diagonal by placing the saint as the monumental central pivot, the kneeling child now a *repoussoir* figure at right front, and the man sustaining the nude youth who leans backward. It is at this stage that Paolo turned to black and white chalk, his preferred medium for



individual figure studies, to sketch the nude youth on the present sheet. Momentarily retaining the plinth on which he sits, a motif in the pen sketch destined to disappear in the painting, he studied the model in a pose almost exactly as he would transfer it to the picture except for the head, which would be downcast, much as in the pen sketch. As an afterthought, at top right he added a quick study of legs for the emaciated sick man in the distance at right in the altar, a figure he must already have invented in another lost drawing. Finally, there is still another sheet (cat. 51) for the Saint Barnabas altar, one of the rare instances in which three drawings for a single altar survive, the other instances being the complex pen drawings (cat. 42, fig. 31, and two sheets formerly (Koenigs collection, Haarlem) for the *Martyrdom of Saint George*, which slightly precedes the present project. The head of the negro boy at lower left in the Rouen picture was accorded a highly elaborated and controlled study that was calibrated to capture the pictorial character Paolo

fig. 35. *Saint Barnabas Healing the Sick*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen



envisioned for the painting. In style, the Berman study of the nude youth is more classically contained than the chalk drawings of the seventies (cats. 59, 60, 62), a formal order that lends seeming substance to the drawings alleged debt to one of Michelangelo's nudes on the Sistine ceiling, but a derivation that is nonexistent. The only other chalk drawing by Paolo that is directly related in handling and approach is the verso of the chalk drawing (formerly art market, London) for *Christ among the Doctors in the Temple* (fig. 5), sometimes claimed to be an early work, but instead datable to about 1572, just after the Saint Barnabas altar.

Literature

Cocke 1984, 138–139, no. 55; Crosato 1986, 253

51

Head of a Young Negro

1570

black chalk, with red chalk and a touch of white on tan paper
27.8 x 20.4 (10⁷/₈ x 8)
formerly Abbé du Camps, Crozat, Mariette, and Conti collections
laid down twice

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 4679

In Mariette's sale of 1775, this sheet was ascribed to Veronese and related to his *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Santa Giustina, Padua) by Saint-Morys. Hadeln and most successive scholars attributed it to Veronese. Pallucchini was the first to point out that it is a study for the kneeling black youth at lower left in the *Saint Barnabas Healing* (fig. 35), which Paolo painted for San Giorgio in Braida, Verona, probably shortly after 1569. The Tietzes, however, were doubtful about the attribution.

Even though circumstances suggest that Veronese had renewed ties with Verona in 1565 and 1566, the tendency to date all of his middle-period altars in Verona to 1566 is unfounded. The San Giorgio high altar might have been commissioned in that year, but its execution is more likely to have been close to 1568, and the Saint Barnabas altar is likely to have followed, if only by a short span, that commission. It probably was painted during 1570, and this preliminary study should be assigned the same date.

With the exception of the very different, attentively descriptive life study of Daniele Barbaro (*Graphische Sammlung*, Munich, no. 12893) of c. 1559–1560, the only precedent for the Louvre *Head of a Young Negro* is the study (cat. 27) for the San Sebastiano organ shutters of 1558–1559, a sheet that closely resembles it in handling and approach. The larger-scale head study (cat. 37) for Melos at Maser of 1561 is technically even closer, but its idealized type lends it a more remote aura. Although Paolo might have had a black model before him as he drew, portraiture was not his aim. Instead, a generalized interest in type and expression was his primary concern, as it was in the more abbreviated and energetic cat. 27. Here however, in place of a rapid approximation of form and surface, Paolo approached the finished clarity of the painting in

this individual study. The medium, black chalk for shadow, white for highlight, and the discreet but efficacious addition of red chalk for lips and flesh tone, is crucial to this change of purpose. The combination, later generally referred to as “trois crayons,” seems to have been practiced in the Veneto primarily by only two draftsmen, Jacopo Dal Ponte, called Bassano, and Federico Zuccaro. The former had used it since 1538 for the naturalistic purpose of making coloristic distinctions that would lead directly into painting; the latter made a programmatic, not to say academic, practice of using it as a shorthand formula when copying paintings by other artists, although he employed it in life studies in a way analogous to but more rigid than that of Bassano. Paolo was doubtless aware of the paintings of Jacopo Bassano even as a youth in Verona, and he would later send his son Carletto to study the Bassano technique, so it is more than possible that the richly luminous pictorialism of the Louvre sheet reflects an admiration for Bassano drawings. It is, on the other hand, the influence of the Roman classicist Zuccaro that is more palpably present here. Federico, whose older brother Taddeo had probably met Paolo in Verona in 1552, had been in Venice since 1561 and by 1564 showed a clear debt to Paolo’s chiaroscuro drawing style. In turn, Veronese seems here to have made a conscious effort to learn the stringently analytical black/red/white chalk combination used by Zuccaro. Characteristically, Paolo’s native impulse to sensuous naturalism instantly overcame rote, and this drawing is a transformation of the Romanist order into Venetian pictorial terms. The contained deliberateness of this image, so close to that of the painting, is a rare document of Paolo’s interest in foreign draftsmanship. By 1574 a similar chalk study (cat. 59) will have entirely abandoned this brief experiment with aulic central Italian principles.

Literature

Hadeln 1911, 397; Hadeln 1926, 32, no. 51; Osmond 1927, 104; Fiocco 1928, 210; Pallucchini 1939, 216, Dwg. no. 4; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 349, no. A 2133; Marini 1968, 108; Mullaly 1971, no. 70; Pignatti 1976, 132; Rearick [1980] 1976, 53; Cocke 1983, 235; Cocke 1984, 137, no. 54; Crosato 1986, 253

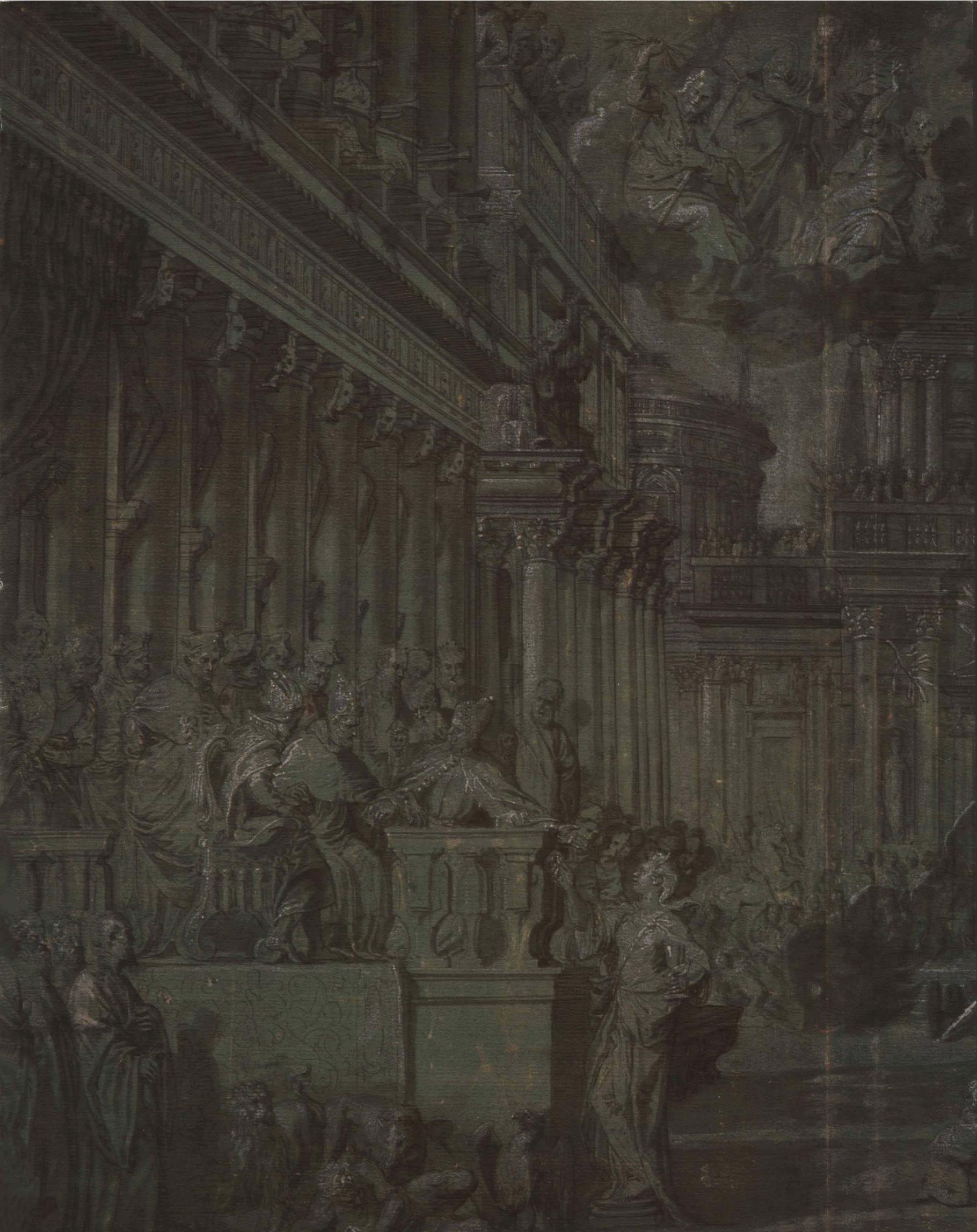


IV *Painter to the Serenissima* 1571–1575

If all seemed tranquil in the Republic of Venice in the spring of 1571, the more farsighted of its statesmen knew that a grave crisis loomed on the eastern horizon. The threat of Islam was about to deprive Venice of its greatest outpost of empire, the island of Cyprus. At home the councils of state were troubled by a less glaring but perhaps more dangerous menace, the almost complete hegemony of the Spanish-Austrian Hapsburg forces in Italy itself. For nearly a century Venice had played the precarious game of shifting alliances to maintain a balance of power on the peninsula, but the only result was steady deterioration of its costly holdings on the mainland and stagnation in the economy. With the Turkish threat a harsh reality, Venetian diplomats, famous for shrewdly devious ploys that seemed for the common good but were essentially self-serving, recognized that by arousing terror of the savage infidel in Pope Pius V and the Hapsburg rulers, the republic could simultaneously staunch the bleeding in its eastern holdings and defuse the Austro-Spanish threat at home. The Venetian ambassadors knew that the plan must be set in motion with the greatest speed, especially since Philip II of Spain secretly opposed it, and it is to their credit that once in Rome they achieved full papal support and even the begrudging participation of the navy of the Holy Roman Empire under Don Juan of Austria. The Holy League was signed there on 25 May 1571, and was proclaimed with elaborate festivities in Venice on 2 July.

It was at this time, probably in late August or early September, that Veronese came into the picture with one of his most ambitious drawings, the *Allegory of the Holy League* (cat. 53), which was prepared by perhaps his only significant sketch in red chalk, the preferred central Italian medium. The program of the finished sheet is elaborate but not particularly erudite and the host of figures is variegated and vividly characterized, but it is perhaps the splendid architectural setting that is most striking. Its encyclopedia of forms and styles would have pleased his old patron Daniele Barbaro who had died the year before, though it seems entirely Paolo's own invention. We can only guess that such a rich illustration of the Holy League was commissioned perhaps as an illumination to an official manuscript, but it is clear why it was never used. On 7 October the allied Christian fleet met the Turks at Lepanto and scored a telling victory. When word reached Venice on 18 October, it touched off a hysterical round of celebrations, including homage to Saint Justina on whose name day the battle had been fought. Since she did not appear in Paolo's chiaroscuro drawing, it suddenly became obsolete.

Lepanto finally gave Venice reason for optimistic self-congratulation, but it had also cost dearly in money, forces, and human life. It fell to Paolo to glorify the victory in several official paintings such as the *Madonna of the Rosary* (Museo Venetario, Murano) of 1573 and the *Allegory of Lepanto* (Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice) commissioned by Pietro Giustinian as an ex-voto for his safe emergence from the fray. In both of these Paolo delegated much if not most of the execution to his shop, primarily to the faithful Benedetto. In addition, he frescoed the Venetian triumph in the guise of Neptune on the facade of Palazzo Erizzo, a lost work documented by his drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 11722) in which Turkish spoils clearly allude to events of 1571. Perhaps the commissions that most nearly touched him were, however, two probably given him by the Barbarigo family, which had suffered the most grievous loss among the Venetian patriciate. Of Agostino Barbarigo, the first and most glorious of the fallen, he painted the grandiose yet reticent posthumous portrait (cat. 54) in which the admiral holds the arrow that pierced his eye during the first assault. On a more intimate scale but with dazzling virtuosity, he joined



Agostino with Andrea Barbarigo as ghostly observers of the martyred Saint Justina as their Turkish adversaries take flight from the vision (cat. 55). As the euphoria over Lepanto grew more forced and artificial, it seems inescapable that Paolo's intuitive grasp of the situation lent a eulogistic tone to his work forecasting the eventual failure of the promised solution.

Indeed, the newly complex involvement with the Papacy only served to strengthen the hand of the Inquisition in Venice. The city had a certain fame as a refuge for heretics and nonconformists, and an aroused vigilance after the start of the Council of Trent in 1545 was kept in check by local control of trials. After the council ended in 1563, and increasingly after 1571, Counter-Reformation pressures affected all aspects of Venetian life. Simultaneously with his *Allegory of the Holy League* in August-September before Lepanto, Veronese was at work designing his largest surviving mural, a canvas (fig. 9) almost thirteen meters (forty-two feet) wide for the refectory of the Dominican monastery of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. A decade earlier he had been requested explicitly by the monks of San Giorgio Maggiore to fill his *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 7) with the maximum number of figures that could comfortably fit into it, and when it was finished, nobody thought to raise an eyebrow at its joyous and sometimes rowdy host of banqueters, not even the censorious Vasari. But in the early seventies the religious climate had changed, and on 18 July 1573 Paolo was summoned before the Inquisition to explain what that body regarded as extraneous and indecorous attendants at the *Last Supper* that he had delivered that April to Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Probably too much has been made of the ensuing exchange, since Paolo never risked being burned at the stake and the intentions of the Inquisition have a tone that seems more cautionary than menacing. Nonetheless, the record of the trial shows Paolo's gentle irony, composure, and intellectual superiority to his judges in every answer, particularly when he observed that ". . . we painters take the same liberties as poets and madmen . . .," perhaps the first such explicit defense of artistic freedom. However, it was his way of accommodating the Inquisition's order to change the offensive parts of the picture that most clearly proclaims his empirical recourse to common good sense: he simply changed the picture's title to the less-sacred *Feast in the House of Levi*. In response the judges were more Venetian than Inquisitors and the matter was allowed to lapse.

Momentary irritants seem not to have clouded Paolo's sunny mood, and the beginning of the new decade found the artist embarked on another burst of astonishing productivity. The impulse to the monumental in size and in grandeur of concept is manifest even in subjects that would normally not have elicited such treatment, such as the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 56). A few years earlier the artist had experimented with the subject in a series of drawings and paintings (cats. 46, 47, 49) of exceptional delicacy and intimacy, but in 1572 he adapted the subject to altar format and endowed it with the summery delight of a family picnic. On a vaster scale he painted a trio of splendid banquet pictures such as the *Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* (Monte Berico, Vicenza) of 1572 and the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Château, Versailles) of 1572-1573, as well as the *Feast in the House of Levi*. In 1571 he had lavished especial attention on the four canvases (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) for the new Cuccina family palace on the Grand Canal (fig. 10), and the great *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 37) for San Silvestro in Venice is one of no fewer than four altar pictures bearing the date 1573. It is hardly surprising that the one to be sent out of Venice, the *Trinity with Saints Peter and Paul* (Museo Civico, Vicenza), was allotted entirely to Benedetto. Despite a troublesome and clearly mistaken reading of a supposed date of 1548 on the imposing *Christ among the Doctors in the Temple* (fig. 5), it too belongs to 1572.

As a draftsman, Paolo's style in the first half of the 1570s also has a particular character. It had been his habit to add at least a few touches of bister wash to his pen sketches, but with the 1570 compositional study (University, Moscow) for the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) he drew exclusively with a wiry, tensile pen line, evoking a rhythmic continuity of form in movement that unfortunately was reduced to inert episodes in the painting. This deft and economical use of pure pen persists in the sketch (Kupferstichkabinett,

Berlin, no. KdZ 502) for the Coccina *Marriage Feast at Cana* of 1571, but perhaps its most spirited example is the fluent sheet (cat. 57) that in the following year prepared the Prado *Christ among the Doctors*. An even more singular experiment is evident in the page of studies (cat. 58) on which Paolo explored ideas for the San Silvestro *Adoration of the Magi* of 1573. Starting at the top and working down, as was his wont, he metamorphosed composition, mass, pose, and details with a breathtaking clarity and dispatch. At this time he used prepared paper, and most surprisingly added white highlights to the pen line, and the effect is brilliantly pictorial. In chalk he was equally flexible and sensitive to light and texture, as in the flickering study (cat. 59) for the 1573 Malipiero altar (San Giacomo dell'Orto, Venice); yet faced with the concrete necessity of recording the rather heavy features of a young woman, he could equally tame his hand to record reality with a firmer touch (cat. 60).

These happy projects were scarcely completed when fire broke out in the Palazzo Ducale on 12 May 1574, gutting the administrative offices in the top floor of the east wing. In the ensuing shift of space and function among those rooms, Paolo was assigned the ceiling fresco in the Anticollegio, and the elaborate ceiling of the Collegio itself, a cycle concluded in 1577 with the *Vénier Votive* on its end wall (fig. 36). Thus began a steadily accelerating round of state commissions for the Palazzo Ducale, which was devastated in 1577 by an even more serious conflagration. But those visions, destined for the most part to remain unrealized, belong to Paolo's later creative phase.

fig. 36. Doge Sebastian Vénier Thanking the Savior for the Victory at Lepanto (*Vénier Votive*). Sala del Collegio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice



Allegory of the Holy League

1571

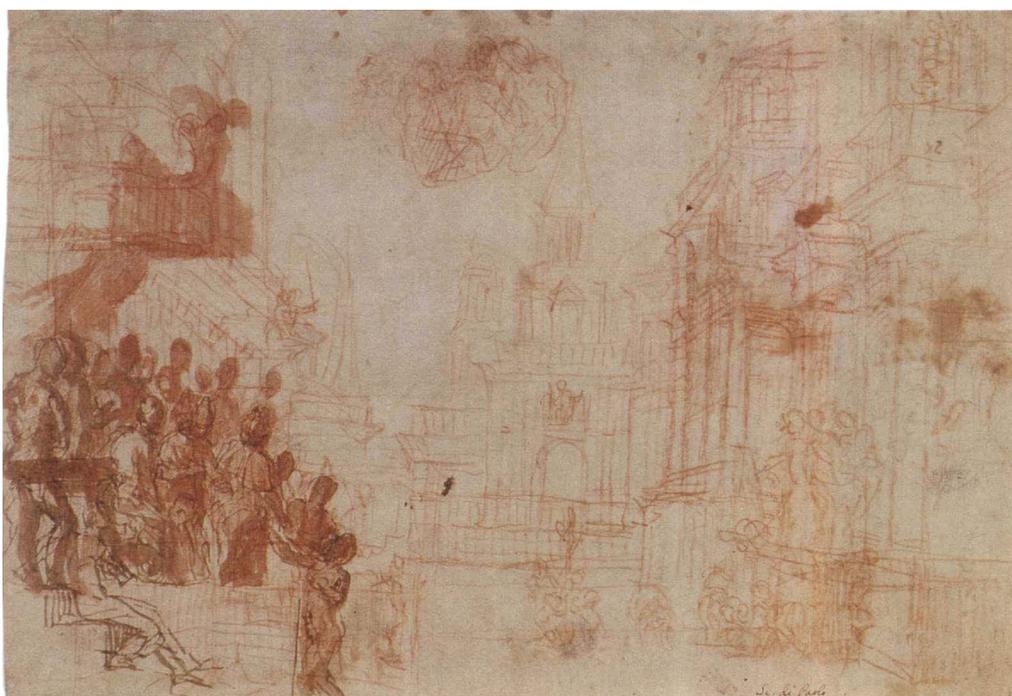
pen and dark brown ink with dark wash over red chalk on ivory paper
21.6 x 31.1 (8³/₈ x 12¹/₈)

inscribed in pen on the recto in a seventeenth-century hand: *Sc. di Paolo*
perhaps from the Sagredo collection, Venice, and a private collection, Lyons

Private collection, Germany

This remarkable sheet was sold (Sotheby's, Los Angeles, 8 March 1976, no. 360) with a doubted attribution to Paolo Veronese. It was recognized by the present writer and recognized and published independently by Cocke as Paolo's autograph study for the elaborate chiaroscuro *Allegory of the Holy League* (cat. 53). Although the familiar Sagredo mount has been removed, there is some reason to associate this sheet with other drawings of a Sagredo provenance that appeared in Los Angeles at about the same time.

This drawing is unusual if not unique among Paolo's autograph studies in several respects. First, although Paolo quite often drew a slight indication of a composition in black chalk that he then covered with an elaboration in pen and wash, this is his only surviving drawing in red chalk, and one of a very small number in which the chalk was not rendered illegible by his reworking. Second, only two preparatory sketches for finished chiaroscuro drawings are known (cats. 4, 46), and both are in pen and wash. Why Paolo chose red chalk, a medium associated with central



Italian draftsmen but seldom adapted by Venetian artists, remains unexplained unless his evident contact with Federico Zuccaro, who was present in Venice a few years before, had introduced it into his repertory. In any case, he did not find it congenial and returned to black chalk in the finished version. His dissatisfaction with the medium might also have contributed to his abandonment of this sheet after a rough start at the pen and wash finish with which one might expect him to have continued it. Another factor was surely the complexity of the project and the generally unresolved approximations with which he had blocked in the setting. Not since his compositional drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 39 031) for the *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 7) of a decade earlier had Paolo undertaken so ambitious an architectural drawing, and it was perhaps pressure to finish it quickly that led him to sketch the setting so casually that many passages are unintelligible. By comparison with the final work, the architecture retains few of the elements adumbrated here. At left the dais with a flight of steps along its side stands under a monumental baldachino and an arch, reduced in the final version to modest drapery; only the Libreria-inspired structure behind would remain in similar form. Further back, what seems to be a Loggia-like building with a Justice statue on it blends into an inchoate round temple, a tall pyramid, and two distant tower gates. Little of this jumble would remain in

place as the design progressed, and even Justice would be transposed to the major gate at rear center. Surprisingly, the flight of architectural perspective at right, so apparently haphazard in design, would remain substantially the same in the finished drawing. In the front center putti with trophies are placed much as they would be, but the playful lion, also studied in a nearly contemporary pen sheet (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, no. 1122), would be shifted to below the dais with the other symbols of the Evangelists. At top center the cloud-borne vision barely indicates the three figures planned.

When he took up pen and bister wash, Paolo had brought his ideas more nearly into focus. Although the nude Faith would be a less timid supplicant, the emperor, pope, and doge are clearly characterized, and most of the councilors lightly suggested in wash alone would remain in the final version. There, however, the steps with the brusquely awkward seated figure would disappear. It is, in fact, precisely the energetic and propulsive rapidity of execution of this sketch that makes it such an exceptional document for Paolo's working methods. It is an intimate glimpse of the artist plunging into a new and challenging project. Like its elaborately finished end product, this sketch may be dated between July and October 1571.

Literature

Cocke 1984, 150, no. 61



53

Allegory of the Holy League

1571
pen and dark brown ink with bistre wash heightened with white body color over traces of black chalk on green prepared paper
43.7 x 58.3 (17 x 22 3/4)
creased vertically at center and subsequently laid down

The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, no. 279

Traditionally ascribed to Paolo Veronese, this remarkable drawing was dismissed by the Tietzes as a typical shop product and was generally ignored until Byam Shaw returned it to the master. Coutts thought the pen work was added subsequently by another hand, and Crosato gave it shop status. Boucher, followed by Cocke and Mason-Rinaldi, recognized its subject and therefore its date. On 2 July 1571, the Holy League against Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, which was signed on 25 May by the Papacy, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, and Venice, was made public and celebrated by a festive mili-

tary procession in Piazza San Marco. We do not know if Paolo was in any way involved in decorations made for the festival, but they must have had a significant role in his formulation of the powerful if rough preliminary sketch (cat. 52) and of this, his most elaborate and demanding chiaroscuro drawing. In a complicated allegorical setting, the delicate figure of Faith, carrying a chalice and holding up an object that the artist first suggested as a disc or host and then developed to the snake biting its tail as in the Faith fresco at Villa Barbaro, raises a supplicating hand toward a dais. Her appeal is recommended by the doge to the pope and emperor, while their attendants, Spanish at left, cardinals at center, and ducal councillors at right, look on. Below the dais in the foreground a quartet of Venetian senators observes the playful symbols of the Evangelists. At top center a cloudy vision of Saints James, Peter, and Mark slowly descends into the Piazzetta as its passengers toss laurel branches of victory to a trio of putti who festoon a halberd with them. At right a kneeling figure binds a fasces to symbolize the unifying import of the league, and the soldiers in the colon-

nade hold not only military gear and drums but also the wheel that repeats the motif of unity. Three allegorical females at right might be the cardinal virtues, although the second carries a yoke with which to subjugate the Turks. Most interesting is the detail at middle right of the naked elderly bearded man who is gently covered with a mantle by a nude woman. He is doubtless Marcantonio Bragadin, who was flayed alive by the Turks at Famagusto on 17 August 1571. In the distance, cannon are fired and cavalry parade. In an extravagant display of virtuosity, Paolo populated the architecture with throngs of celebrants, each vividly characterized. Despite the impediment of allegorical baggage, Paolo brought a certain order and dramatic sense to the ensemble, but it must be admitted that his respectful description requires patient analysis of its symbols, a diligence not possessed by every observer.

Luminous and refined execution lends expressive power to individual figures and a consummate pictorial unity to the complicated setting, one in which the direction of the divine light from the upper right is ordered even to the shadow cast by the descending

Portrait of Agostino Barbarigo

1572
oil on canvas
102.2 x 104.2 (39⁷/₈ x 40⁵/₈)

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. L. E. Holden, Mr. and Mrs. Guerdon S. Holden, and the L. E. Holden Fund

Agostino Barbarigo, born in 1516, held the post of ambassador to Philip II of Spain and administrative roles in the Friuli, at Padua, and on Cyprus before being named provisioner general of the Venetian sea forces in 1570. When the admirals of the combined fleets of the Holy League met to plan tactics for meeting the Muslim navy at Lepanto, Barbarigo played a conciliatory role between opposing factions. He led his galley into the battle on 7 October 1571, taking the full brunt of an attack by six Turkish ships and receiving an arrow in his left eye, a wound from which he died two days later. The Christian victory at Lepanto at once made a heroic martyr of Barbarigo and occasioned the present memorial portrait.

Its identification forgotten, this was probably the picture that passed from the Manfrin collection in Venice in 1856 as Veronese's portrait of Onfrè Giustinian, the admiral who brought news of Lepanto to Venice on 18 October. It was recognized by Gombosi as Barbarigo and has been generally accepted as by Paolo with a usual dating to 1571, with the odd exception of Arslan who gave it to Carletto (who was born only in 1570). We do not know who commissioned this picture or where it was first hung, but its character as a public commemoration suggests that it was either a state project or intended for the place of honor in one of the Barbarigo palaces.

The painting has been reduced in dimensions, which is proven by a later copy (National Gallery of Art, Washington) that shows more of the figure below. It has, given the conjunction of the margin at right and the clumsy intersection of the armor at left, been somewhat cut laterally. I would suggest also that it was originally full-length, because Paolo had made something of an innovative specialty of full-length portraits (cat. 61 and figs. 18, 26). Paolo would not have cut the architecture at such odd places, nor would he have

omitted the horizon line. Indeed, one can well imagine a sea vista with the battle in the lower right corner of the canvas. The impact of the present format is palpable in a *Portrait of Sebastiano Venier* (private collection, Turin) by Tintoretto's shop, a clumsy expansion of that master's half-length image of the victor of Lepanto (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), which itself seems to reflect Paolo's picture.

In its original form Veronese's *Agostino Barbarigo* must have been a potent source of inspiration in the next century, especially for Anthony Van Dyck.

Posthumous and probably based on an unidentified life portrait, the picture shows the sitter holding the arrow as though it were an attribute of secular martyrdom. This sadly reflective mood dominates the expression and even the style of Paolo's painting. Grandiose in format, it is contrastingly without rhetoric or martial swagger. Instead, the artist evoked an elegiac tone of noble remembrance even in its pictorial character, which is flickeringly delicate in the fine strokes that define the head, restrained in the muted gleam of armor, and dusky in the harmony of deep red, aqueous blue, and veined marble in secondary passages. A silvery, grayed light is used to great poetic effect.

Its date is, of course, after autumn of 1571. Pictorially there are still clear reminiscences of the *Cuccina Family Votive* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) of 1571 and an even closer resemblance to the 1572 *Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* (Monte Berico, Vicenza), particularly the exquisite portrait of the abbot before the left column. Later, around 1578, Paolo would add Barbarigo's portrait to the *Venier Votive* (fig. 36), but there the image is quite different in format and treatment. It seems best, therefore, to posit a date of 1572 for the Cleveland picture. A shop replica of just the bust (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest) might be by Benedetto.

Literature

Gombosi 1928, 724, 728; Milliken 1928, 63–65; Kelly 1931, 210–213; L. Venturi 1931, plate 417; Berenson 1932, 420; L. Venturi 1933, plate 568; Fiocco 1934, 32, 124, 127; Bercken 1939, 30; Pallucchini 1939, 130–131, no. 52; Richter 1942, 39; Arslan 1946–1947, 1:27–28; Arslan 1948, 236; Pigler 1954, 39; Berenson 1957, 1:130; Tietze-Conrat 1959–1960, 99; Walker 1965, 138; Garas 1965, no. 45; Marini 1968, III, no. 130–a; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 39; Pignatti 1976, 1:135, no. 172; Pignatti 1979, 124–125, 168–169, no. 44; Pallucchini 1984, 155, 179, no. 130; Mason-Rinaldi 1986, 28, no. 13

cloudbank. The chiaroscuro technique that Paolo here developed to a high level of expertise was not new; he had used it even in his youth (cats. 5, 26), and would in his last decade of activity make it a specialty. As was his habit, he worked with pen, wash, and white simultaneously as well as alternately, in some passages adding the pen definition even after the white body color. Here there is a clear suggestion of haste, which lends this sheet something of the character of a *modello*. In the case of the *Allegory of the Holy League*, the exceptional topicality of the theme and its heroic elaboration suggest a more utilitarian purpose, perhaps as a frontispiece to a propagandistic tract intended to inspire hope in the league's undertaking. It seems doubtful that it was intended to serve a woodcut technician or an engraver, since the former could not have commanded sufficient expertise for its execution and the latter would have found its pictorial character a positive hindrance. Given its chauvinistic emphasis on the role of Venice and its doge, it might have been planned to accompany a state copy of the historic agreement. It is not, in any case, difficult to understand why it was never put to use. The drawing was probably executed well after Bragadin's faying, the news of which did not reach Venice until September, at a moment when Sebastian Venier was embarking to meet the enemy. It is clear, as Mason-Rinaldi has pointed out, that it predates the arrival of the news of the league's victory at the Battle of Lepanto on 18 October, since all depictions thereafter place Saint Justina, on whose day, 7 October, the battle had been won, in a prominent place, and she is nowhere to be found in this composition. Paolo's great project must have been undertaken in September and rendered obsolete by the fast-moving historical events of hardly more than a month later.

Literature

Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 355, no. 2165; Byam Shaw 1973, 30, no. 73; Boucher 1975, 161–162, no. 283; Cocke 1977a, 265; Wolters 1983, 214; Cocke 1984, 150–151, no. 62; Mason-Rinaldi 1986, 20–21, no. 4; Coutts 1986, 403; Crosato 1986, 253; Rearick 1988, 61





*Allegory of the Martyrdom
of Saint Justina*

1572–1573

oil on canvas

103 x 113 (40¹/₈ x 44)

Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Saint Justina was a martyr, venerated by the Benedictine order in a vast new church and monastery in Padua. Veronese had painted a small devotional altar (Museo Civico, Padua) for the private chapel of the abbot in 1565, probably on the recommendation of one of the several Benedictine abbots for whom he had worked, those of San Giorgio Maggiore and Praglia being most prominent among them. His concern with the subject might well have ended there had not the naval battle at Lepanto taken place on her name day, 7 October 1571, which suddenly made Justina a major heroine of the Serenissima. In Venice itself Justina did not even have a proper church until 1640, and although she was accorded official recognition as patroness of Lepanto, it was initially in paintings that her story was celebrated. The present small devotional picture is one of these topical works. Usually described as representing the martyrdom of Saint Justina at the hands of Roman pagans in ancient Sicily, it does not, in fact, include either the narrative elements or the fanciful Roman garb that Paolo had so brilliantly depicted in the little picture for Padua. Instead, here he simply excerpted the saint and her Moorish executioner from his previous painting and inserted them out of context, surrounded by figures entirely extraneous to a historical evocation. The pair of observers at left are clearly Turks of a military type, and their uncertain poses suggest that they are about to take flight. Those at right are harder to characterize, since they wear clothing that is contemporary Venetian and allegorical as well. The white-bearded man bears a distinct but somewhat generalized resemblance to Agostino Barbarigo (cat. 54), but his younger companion is more obviously a portrait, and some details of his clothing are those of a Venetian government official. Here the portrait likeness is more explicit, and comparison with Tintoretto's 1569 portrait (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond) of Andrea Barbarigo

strongly suggests that the young man in red represents him. The younger Barbarigo was named commandant of the Venetian colony of Zara in 1570, and in 1571 assumed captaincy of the galley *La Fortuna* in time to join the allied forces at Lepanto where he was killed on 7 October. Another image of Andrea (formerly Rose Art Museum, Waltham, Mass.) from Tintoretto's shop and dated 1571 includes the battle in the background and is therefore posthumous. It even more closely resembles the man in Veronese's picture. In short, Saint Justina appears symbolically in her moment of sacrifice, her death putting the infidels to imminent flight and provoking a deeply meditative response from the Venetian observers whom I would identify as Agostino and Andrea Barbarigo. I suggest that this is an allegory of Justina's patronage of the victory at Lepanto, commissioned by the Barbarigo family as a commemoration of two members of the clan whose lives were lost in a secular martyrdom for the Serenissima, and who appear here as idealized participants in this symbolic context.

It is unlikely that this votive picture is identical with the *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* listed in a 1632 inventory of the Canonici collection in Ferrara, since the Uffizi picture was sold by the Venetian art dealer and collector Paolo del Sera to Cardinal Leopoldo dei Medici in 1675. Del Sera's sources were almost always Venetian patricians, so it may be posited that the seller was a descendant of the members of the Barbarigo family who commissioned it. From Fiocco on, the modern literature has accepted Paolo's authorship except for a few alternative suggestions of Zelotti or Carletto, and in general it is dated shortly after 1571.

Pictorially, this *Allegory of the Martyrdom of Saint Justina* is a brilliant example of Paolo's capacity for casting old ideas in a fresh tonality. The kneeling saint is a free variant of his 1565 figure, reversed, altered in gesture, but most transformed by the substitution of a glittering, silvery dress, a dazzling display of painterly virtuosity seldom equaled even by Paolo himself. Her Moorish executioner is completely revised from the same source, but the lit-

tle vignette of the saint's capture in the landscape at left retains most of those elements from the Padua painting. The attendant figures do not have precise prototypes, but they would be echoed in the great high altar (Santa Giustina, Padua) of 1575. Its chromatic brilliance recalls the Cuccina paintings (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) of 1571, particularly the *Marriage at Cana*, but the more radiant light seems closer to the *Feast in the House of Levi* (fig. 9) begun in 1571 as a Last Supper and completed in 1573. The portraits seem akin to those in the *Madonna of the Rosary* (Museo Vetrario, Murano) of 1573, and the symbolic paired columns would reappear in Benedetto's copy (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 4682) of *Liberalità* in the allegorical female figures of the early 1580s. A fragment (private collection, Baltimore), including the executioner and Justina's head, seems to be from a shop replica, perhaps by Benedetto and possibly commissioned by another member of the Barbarigo family. In conclusion, it seems correct to date the Uffizi votive to shortly after Lepanto, probably within 1572–1573.

A painted border, probably a seventeenth-century addition, was discovered when the present work was cleaned.

Literature

Campori 1870, 115–116; Caliarì 1888, 275, 289, 351; Berenson 1894, 128; Meissner 1897, 91; Hadeln 1911, 395; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 228; Osmond 1927, 14, 113; Fiocco 1928, 89; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 984; A. Venturi 1929, 2:55–56; Berenson 1932, 421; Fiocco 1934, 112; Pallucchini 1939, 80–81, no. 29; Arslan 1946–1947, 23–24; Arslan 1948, 236; Salvini 1952, 76; Pacchioni 1954, 51; Berenson 1957, 1:131; Pallucchini 1958, 126; Vertova 1960, 68; Marini 1968, 92–93, no. 39; Berti 1971, 99, no. 1; Pignatti 1976, 1:137, no. 181; Pallucchini 1984, 179, no. 136; Rearick 1988, 98

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

1572

oil on canvas

236.2 x 161.3 (93 x 63 1/2)

John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota

This painting, Paolo's most festive treatment of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, is inscribed on the rock below the Virgin [. . .] *PAULI CALIARI VERONESI/ FACIEBAT*. The first word was canceled at an early date and has been hypothesized as alternatively *FILIUS* or *OPUS*. The former is particularly unlikely, since Paolo's oldest son, Gabriele, was born only in 1568 and, as discussed below, this picture was copied in about 1572 when the child was only four or five years old. The latter would be redundant, obviating the use of *faciebat*, and it would require the genitive form of the artist's name. It should be noted that Paolo certainly would not have wasted effort on such a perfunctory form of documentation except on paintings destined for patrons outside Venice, for this form of publicity was deemed unnecessary at home, though potentially useful where he was less known. Such inscriptions are varied in form and sometimes grammatically incorrect, but they do not include the word *opus*. Instead, the missing part of the inscription was probably a date in Roman numerals, as was his wont, although it is hard to find a reason for its early cancellation.

We do not know the original destination of this Rest on the Flight into Egypt, nor does any early author seem to have noted it, but the fact that it was first recorded in the Düsseldorf collection of the elector palatine in 1778 tends to confirm a provincial Italian origin. The formation of the Düsseldorf Gallery in the later seventeenth century took particular advantage of the impoverishment of Venetian territory to buy altars from provincial churches in the Veneto, and this altar might have come from such a source. Although it had traditionally been attributed to Paolo, even after its transfer to the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, it was assigned to Carletto in 1925 in what might have been a plot to raise funds, since within a year it was sold and soon became one of the happiest acquisitions of John and Mable Ringling. Although the name of

Carletto Caliari has been advanced again, and other members of the shop such as Benedetto or Alvise dal Friso have been seen as collaborators in its execution, the great majority of scholars have accepted it as autograph or with marginal shop assistance. About its date, however, there is wide disagreement, opinion ranging from 1560 to 1583.

The Madonna and Child are the nexus of a dynamic composition that burgeons outward through the towering, surging trees filled with acrobatic angels, which go about their homely duties of tossing newly picked dates into a companion's apron, unloading the ass, and hanging the freshly laundered baby dress over a bush to dry. The Madonna is bracketed by a reverent Saint Joseph who pauses in preparing the rustic repast to gaze with deep emotion at the child, and on the lower right by the humble cushion that the angels have just removed from the ass and dropped on the grass. Characteristically, the powerful convergence of all these elements is released by the sudden flight into deep space at right of center, where an idyllic city thrusts its columns and obelisks from cool verdure. Paolo was doubtless still aware of the pastoral origins of this theme in northern graphics and the contemporary manifestation in nearby Bassano, elements on which he had drawn in earlier treatments. Here he combined the bucolic tradition with a majestic power unusual even in his own works.

Dating this picture must in large measure be based on its style, even though we have a specific point of reference in a pen drawing (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, no. I 408) that is a reproduction of the present painting with no significant modification. This rather rough sketch, in all probability a graphic record made before the newly finished painting left the studio, has usually been attributed to Benedetto. It is more scattered, incoherent, and mindless than Benedetto's better drawings, and might be a learning exercise by a junior member of the shop, perhaps Alvise dal Friso who would have been about eighteen years old at the time. The Rotterdam sheet is more useful for its verso, which contains complicated accountings in pen in

Paolo's own hand, among them dated notations, the earliest 4 June 1570 and the latest 26 October 1572. The Caliari workshop was frugal about paper, using letters, accounts, and other scraps for drawings, a habit that confirms that the copy after the Sarasota picture was made after October 1572. Although it is possible that this sheet of accounts was drawn upon at a later date, the haphazard nature of the jottings does not suggest that it was considered a record worth keeping, and it is more probable that a junior assistant appropriated it almost at once for his practice copy of the painting. Therefore, we would suggest that the *Rest on the Flight* was finished almost simultaneously with the double use of the Rotterdam sheet of paper. In the months following October 1572, Paolo was occupied with many large-scale projects, among them the *Feast in the House of Levi* (fig. 9), and some of them, such as the Trinity altar (Museo Civico, Vicenza), were delegated in their entirety to Benedetto or other collaborators. In style and quality the latter is sharply distinct and inferior to the Sarasota painting, which in a large measure parallels the Venice and Vicenza Feast pictures as well as the 1573 *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 37). This does not exclude marginal participation by Benedetto and others in laying in preliminary passages of the painting, but its final surface is almost entirely from Paolo's own brush. Its date probably lies in the last months of 1572.

Literature

De Pigage 1778, 125, no. 116; De Pigage 1781, 125, no. 116; Viardot 1852, 108; Caliari 1888, 384; Schleissheim Galerie 1905, no. 517; Alte Pinakothek 1925, no. 921; Fiocco 1928, 16; Golzio 1928, 272; A. Venturi 1928, 116; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 856; Berenson 1932, 425; Fiocco 1934, 127; Morassi 1935, 250; Pallucchini 1943, 42; Suida 1945, 176; Suida 1949, 81, no. 82; Berenson 1957, 1:136; Voss 1957, 1:30; Tietze-Conrat 1958, 347; Rearick 1967, no. 28; Crosato-Larcher 1968, 221; Marini 1968, 108-109, no. 121; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 40; Cocke 1973, 145, 149; Pignatti 1976, 1:163, no. 320; Cocke 1984, 379; Pallucchini 1984, 149, 186, no. 218





57

Christ among the Doctors in the Temple

1572

pen and brown ink on ivory paper

7.8 x 17.4 (3 x 6³/₄)

severely cut and laid down

from the Richardson collection, London, and the Schwarz collection, New York

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, no. 83.GA.266

That this small drawing is Paolo's preliminary study for *Christ among the Doctors in the Temple* (fig. 5) is agreed upon by virtually all commentators. What is not widely accepted is Levey's allegation that Roman numerals (which he read as *MDXLVIII*) that were inscribed by the artist on the edge of the book in the painting constitute its date, and by extension the drawing's as well. The most compelling evidence for dismissing Levey's idea lies in the stylistic character of both the painting and the drawing. To accept 1548 as the picture's date defies all historical sense as well as requiring that every work normally placed in that context be distributed elsewhere in date, attribution, or both.

The splendid Prado picture finds its stylistic context with the *Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* (Monte Berico, Vicenza) of 1572, in particular in its spacious architectural setting, which was inspired in part by Bonasone's engraving *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, as well as by a woodcut in Barbaro's 1556 edition of Vitruvius. The rich but restrained color, the luxuriantly varied texture, and the luminous integration

of drawing and pictorial touch of the Prado painting all belong to the moment of the Vicentine canvas. Even the patron seems to be the same, the abbot of the monastery of Monte Berico who appears in black against the first column left of center in the *Feast* and stands toward the right in the *Christ among the Doctors*. Perhaps he commissioned the latter, which is probably the painting seen by Ridolfi (1648, I:304) in the Palazzo Contarini, Padua, as a trial run for the monumental Monte Berico canvas. The feeble reflection of its setting in Benedetto's *Venus and Jupiter* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) of about 1582 also militates against an early date.

But if the stylistic evidence for a later dating for the painting is compelling, it is overwhelming in the case of the present drawing. Between about 1568 and 1573, Paolo tended to limit his use of bister wash or, indeed, to eliminate it entirely in favor of pure pen line. The beginning of this trend can be seen in the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (cat. 43), and had reached a particularly ascetic stage in the compositional study (University, Moscow) for the 1570 *Feast in the House of Simon* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). In that drawing, as in the present sheet, elastic contour lines stretch around flexibly secure nude forms; over them Paolo improvised suggestions of clothing, adding with euphoric ease rapid changes in the positions of the heads. The solid surfaces of table, dais, seats, and such are given planar definition with vertical parallel pen strokes in both drawings. This style is even closer in the studies (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KDZ 502, and Courtauld Gallery, London, Princes

Gate Collection) for the *Cuccina Marriage Feast at Cana* and *Road to Calvary* (both Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) of about 1571. By 1573 the drawing (cat. 58) for the *Adoration of the Magi* had already begun to move toward a coloristic mixture of media, even though the handling of the pen remained quite similar. In the Getty *Christ among the Doctors* the positions but not the poses of Christ and the two seated disputants are suggested, as well as of two of the final four spectators at far left. The right-hand group already plays with motifs such as the sage with the book and another who leans over his seated colleague, but they would be radically reorganized in the finished painting. The drawing makes no reference to an architectural setting, and we may assume that other sketches intervened between it and the picture. Another drawing, in black chalk heightened with white chalk, for the seated man with the book by the column base (formerly art market, London) has on its verso a study of nude legs that closely resembles the preparation (cat. 50) for the *Saint Barnabas Healing* (fig. 35) of a couple of years before, a further confirmation of the later date of the entire *Christ among the Doctors* project. As Coutts remarked, the very Titianesque character of these chalk studies places them in the context of Venetian draftsmanship rather than in that of Verona.

Literature

Tietze 1948, 60; Bean and Stampfle 1965, 72, no. 125; Rosand 1971, 203–204; Cocke 1971, 729–730; Pignatti 1976, I:III; Cocke 1984, 36–37, no. 1; Byam Shaw 1985, 308; Coutts 1986, 400, 403; Crosato 1986, 249, 251



58

The Adoration of the Magi

1573

pen and dark brown ink heightened with white body color on pale blue prepared paper

27.8 x 20.2 (10 7/8 x 7 7/8)

tipped down. Inscribed in pen in the artist's own hand: *un rubo*, and in chalk in a later hand: 93

from the collections of Joachim von Sandrart, Queen Christina of Sweden, Cardinal Azzolino, Prince L. Odescalchi, Teyler (1790)

Teylers Museum, Haarlem, The Netherlands, no. B 65

This beautiful sheet has been admired since the seventeenth century by a distinguished line of collectors, and recognized at least since Hadeln's book as Paolo's compositional study for the great *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 37) that stood over the high altar of San Silvestro, Venice, until the church's demolition shortly before 1836. It was his first altar picture of this subject, and its unusual, nearly square format and large size seem initially to have given Paolo some difficulty, since his first experiment on the sheet was a rather densely modeled grouping toward the top right of which only the Madonna, the eldest magus, and the magus Maurice and his groom would be retained in similar

form as the composition progressed. Then, as was his wont, Paolo circled around this group to study a variant for the Madonna, another for Joseph, and an original device of a shepherd resting on a rustic fence at right. The ox, ass, dog, and camel—out of scale—would be shifted in the final version, but it is clear that the setting with steps at right and a monumental colonnade on plinths above was at this stage inspired by Tizian's *Pesaro Altar* (Santa Maria Glorioso dei Frari, Venice). Moving to a further orbit, he revised the eldest magus, first faintly as he was initially shown and then more elaborately as seen nearly from the back, adding a daringly energetic groom bending to adjust the mantle. That idea was judged too drastic and at once was substituted by a young page kneeling at right. That pose was too vertical and, scratching out his upper part, Paolo covered him with another page bending left in the first passage in which he made extensive use of the white highlighting. Still not pleased with this solution, he shifted to the left edge to show the page twisting right, an idea annotated with the word *rubon*, a pose that would be emphasized further to second the movement of the magi in the painting. Pressing on, he dropped to the lowest range, where he tried out the ensemble once again, fixing the Madonna and Child into what would be their final positions, but repeating Joseph three times, the eldest magus twice, and finally adding Maurice, the middle kneeling magus, and his groom. There remained only to revise the shepherd seated on a column, to sketch lightly two shepherds looking down from the architecture, and to abandon altogether

fig. 37. *The Adoration of the Magi*. National Gallery, London



the undignified rear view of the central horse and the questioning horse at left, both studied twice but completely changed in the painting. Remarkable in its medium, which was almost never found earlier but here used with a casual mastery as though Paolo practiced it daily, this drawing achieves visual unity. It holds together even through many metamorphoses because of the artist's steady concentration on the harmonious ideal that remained constant in his inner imagination.

Drawings for this project that would follow this and perhaps other compositional sketches would be dedicated to more detailed and pictorial studies of individual figures, once represented by a fine drawing in black and white chalk on blue paper for the second kneeling magus, unhappily missing since World War II from the Koenigs collection, Haarlem. The painting bears the date 1573, an astonishingly productive year in Veronese's career, and these drawings fully attest to the almost frenetic energy and imagination with which he worked at this moment.

Literature

Hadeln 1925, 303; Hadeln 1926, 29, pl. 32; Osmond 1927, 101; Fiocco 1928, 208; Popham 1931, no. 287; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 343, no. 2070; Pignatti 1976, 1:136; Cocke 1984, 160-161, no. 66; Meijer 1985, 59-60, no. 40; Crosato 1986, 253



59

Saint Lawrence

1573-1575

black chalk heightened with white chalk on blue paper

29.6 x 20.1 (11¹/₂ x 7⁷/₈)

laid down. Inscribed in pen in a seventeenth-century hand on the mounting paper (verso): *P. n:o 65* from the Sagredo collection, Venice, and the Koenigs collection, Haarlem

Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, no. 193

This is Paolo's study for the central figure, Saint Lawrence, in the *Saints Jerome, Lawrence, and Prospero* altar (San Giacomo dell'Orio, Venice) that may circumstantially be dated to 1573, the

year that the Malipiero family chapel in San Giacomo dell'Orio was redecorated following the death of the head of the family, Gerolamo. Although the background of this altar was severely damaged during an early cleaning, the figures are in fair condition and are almost entirely the work of Paolo. In this drawing he explored with a quick but sure line the contours of Saint Lawrence's dalmatic, including passages that he knew would not appear in the painting but which, in his logical fashion, needed to be understood so that the visible portions would carry conviction. Then, with a sumptuous interplay of black and white chalk, he developed the shadow and highlight in the upper part of the figure that was destined for the painting, but with only a hint of the head, since that would require an-

other type of drawing. It is interesting that, as in the analogous but later Saint Lawrence study (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, no. 729) for the Verbosca altar of about 1575, Paolo drew lines toward the dalmatic collar. Here, however, he did not add his familiar letter to indicate the color. Given the quite astonishing amount of work occupying Paolo in 1573, it seems likely that the Malipiero altar might have been put off until the following year. The style of this evocative sheet does, indeed, correspond closely with that of the studies (British Museum, London, no. 1969-4-12-4; Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. RF 38 931; private collection, Paris; and Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, no. 195) for the ceiling of the Collegio, Palazzo Ducale, which we would date close to January 1575.

Literature

Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 344, no. 2075;
Cocke 1984, 174–175, no. 73



fig. 38. *Portrait of a Woman with a Skull*.
J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville



60

Head of a Woman

1574
black chalk heightened with white
chalk on pale blue paper
26.6 x 18.7 (10³/₈ x 7³/₄)
laid down
from the Barlow and Springell
collections, London

The Art Institute of Chicago,
Mrs. Tiffany Blake Restricted Gift,
no. 1962. 809

The association of this handsome life study, first proposed by the Tietzes, with the *Pomona* in the Czartoryski Gallery in Cracow is mistaken on several counts: one, because that painting has nothing directly to do with Paolo or his brother Benedetto, and another, because this drawing is only generically

similar in type and was certainly not its preparation. Nonetheless, most commentators have accepted Veronese's authorship of the drawing, but with no general agreement on its date or an association with a painting. As a type, this full-faced, substantial woman resembles many females in Paolo's paintings after the early 1570s. Then the standard Venetian coiffure with a central part and light curls brushed toward the side gradually gave way to a roll across the front with the point brought down toward the center, an elaboration that assumed extravagant stylization late in the century but here is still restrained. Paolo idealized this head in many later paintings, most notably for the Madonna in the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Timken Foundation, San Diego), a shop picture bearing Paolo's signature, but the portraitlike

features of this woman most closely resemble those of the *Young Woman with a Skull* (fig. 38), a fine if damaged portrait entirely by Paolo and inscribed with the date 1574. Although the angle of the head and the direction of the eyes have been shifted in the painting, the features and hair are similar enough to suggest that this is Paolo's life study. In handling, its secure modeling recalls, in a looser vein, that of the study (cat. 27) for *Christ at the Pool of Bethesda* (fig. 24) of 1559. But its closest parallel may be found in the chalk studies for the ceiling of the Collegio in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, of 1575. This accords with the 1574 date of the Louisville portrait.

Literature

Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 345, no. 2097; Frohlich-Bum 1959, 10; Joachim 1970, no. 4; Rosand 1972, 58; Pignatti 1974, 16, no. 22; Pignatti 1976, 1:176; Joachim and McCullagh 1979, 35, no. 26; Cocke 1984, 302, no. 130

61

Portrait of a Man

1576–1578
oil on canvas
193 x 134.5 (75¹/₄ x 52¹/₂)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California

This impressive portrait was engraved by Zancon in 1802 as Paolo's self-portrait when it was in the Moscardo collection in Verona. It was sold that same year, passing through various private collections in England and Germany before it was acquired by J. Paul Getty in 1964, and it was given to his museum in 1971. Calieri and others accepted the identification of the subject as Paolo himself, but this has been rejected by most recent scholars, Pignatti tentatively suggesting that the distant view of the basilica of San Marco might refer to the sitter's identity as Marcantonio Barbaro. From Berenson on, the modern literature has considered it one of Paolo's masterpieces in the field of portraiture. Its datings have ranged from about 1551 to 1561.

The problem of Veronese's images of himself is complicated by an accumulation of more or less legendary identifications of the artist in the guise of a participant in one of his religious paintings. Among these, the only one that carries conviction is the *viola da braccio* player in the *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 7), identified in 1771 by Zanetti as Paolo's self-portrait in the company of Titian, Tintoretto, and Jacopo Bassano. Because his identification of the other three artists is verifiably correct, that of Paolo himself seems equally reliable and is, in a general way, confirmed by the Ridolfi engraving, that of Agostino Carracci, and Carneri's posthumous bust over his tomb. Conversely, the *Marriage at Cana* image of 1562 excludes several other identifications, such as the Villa Barbaro hunter, the Cuccina majordomo, the Frick youth and others who are either dissimilar in physiognomy or different in age. Since the Getty portrait is frequently dated to 1561, it too must be dropped from the list of self-portraits unless it were to date from about a decade earlier, which is, in fact, sometimes proposed. This is an error, since we would date the painting closer to 1578 on stylistic grounds. We may equally eliminate Marcantonio Barbaro as its subject, since in 1561 he

was forty-three, probably older than the subject of the Getty portrait, which bears, in addition, no close resemblance to any of the known portraits of Marcantonio. In conclusion, this imposing gentleman, certainly not a mere artist and without evident symbols of office, cannot be securely identified. We may, nonetheless, offer an observation that might point the way to an answer to this question. The minuscule facade of the basilica of San Marco, a surreal apparition beyond a green meadow, was inserted at lower left for the evident purpose of alluding to the sitter, perhaps an indication that his name was Marco but more probably because he had a specific connection with either the basilica or, more likely, the Venetian state. He wears an elegant but sober black suit with soft hat and a sword, and stands against an architectural setting consisting of paired columns flanking a niche in which a bronze statue is partly visible, the ensemble supported by a solid plinth decorated on each face by fictive marble reliefs. The significance of the statue is not indicated, but one might guess that it is a female allegorical figure. The reliefs are not easily deciphered and were probably not intended to be fully legible. The one at right shows clearly a standing male warrior wearing fanciful classical military garb. All this suggests a cavalier who affects Spanish dress and has associations with humanist learning and military command, elements characteristic of a foreign emissary, perhaps of imperial allegiance.

This painting stands nearly alone among Paolo's portraits. It is, first of all, clear that although the artist had not forgotten his seminal full-length portrait of Giuseppe da Porto (fig. 18) of about 1551, this is a work of very much later date, for the artist had become easily in command of his idiom, and was able to project pictorial ensemble and characterization without the youthful energy that lends the earlier picture an element of aggression. But it is equally advanced over the subtle refinement of the *Seated Man* (fig. 26) of about 1561, the date most frequently advanced for the present work. Here there is no trace of the nervous delicacy of touch and coolly dusky tonality of that painting. Moving still further along, the *Youth with a Greyhound* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) shares a darker tonality and a sharply detailed description of detail with the Cuccina votive (fig. 10) of 1571. The Getty por-



trait has closest associations among pictures of shortly after 1575. Its emphatic modeling and closed contour are similar to the solid forms of the allegorical ceilings (cats. 63, 64 and figs. 40, 41) for Rudolf II, and it shares their bright illumination and evenly balanced color. Other analogies may be found with the ceilings and, in particular, the *Vénier Votive* (fig. 36) of 1577. The unusually low horizon line that lends a looming pres-

ence to the figure is much like that of the *Wisdom and Strength* (Frick Collection, New York) of about 1578–1579, a device accompanied there by a limpid vista of landscape of nearly identical pictorial character. Finally, a year or two later, Paolo would use the same architecture with its gilt bronze statue, shifted to the left like studio props, for his *Dream of Saint Helen* (cat. 71). We would, therefore, suggest a date of

about 1576–1578 for this splendid painting.

Literature

Zancon 1802, no. 32; Caliarì 1888, 222–223, 238; Tietze-Conrat 1959–1960, 66–99; Marini 1968, 88, no. 14; Fredericksen 1972, 37–38, no. 38; Cocke 1974, 24; Ticozzi 1975, 46–47, no. 133; Pignatti 1976, 1:25, 120, no. 103; Cocke 1984, 44; Pallucchini 1984, 67, 170, no. 50

V *International Court Painter 1576–1582*

It was not mere happenstance that Veronese began to dedicate more of his energies to monumental pictures of mythological themes just as Titian's long career was drawing to a close. The older master had at once recognized Paolo's kindred talent when he awarded him the prized gold chain as the best of the seven painters who had decorated the Libreria Marciana ceiling in 1556, and it is clear that he had befriended the newcomer, welcoming him into his studio to see newly finished works before they were dispatched to their owners. Paolo's inspiration for the *Venus and Adonis* (Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg) was evidently one of the several versions of the subject painted by Titian from 1553 on, although he took pains to transform its formal and pictorial language into his own more delicate idiom. During the next decade Titian painted a suite of paintings, for the most part based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for King Philip II of Spain, whose gallery was not only the envy of other potentates, but was also the model for several ambitious schemes in other capitals. Late in 1568 the aged painter offered a set of no less than seven mythologies to the Emperor Maximilian II. I believe the *Death of Actaeon* (National Gallery, London) belongs to this group rather than to the earlier mythologies made for Phillip II. Maximilian does not seem to have acquired them, but his intention to emulate Philip's collection must have been passed on to his son and successor Rudolf II, whose passion for art was nurtured from his youth by just such episodes. The Hapsburg heir had become king of Hungary in 1572 and of Bohemia in 1575, and seems to have begun collecting before his accession to the imperial throne in 1576. That year Titian died during the great plague, thus closing off any hope Rudolf might still have held for adding Titian's poetic imagery to his gallery in Prague. But an obvious alternative lay in the direction of Veronese.

Rudolf cultivated an elaborate late mannerist court art, convoluted, erudite, erotic if not overtly pornographic, and fussily overdecorated. In that context Paolo's classical serenity must have intruded a foreign note, but clearly it at least satisfied Rudolf's instincts as a competitive collector. Among the first projects Paolo undertook at the behest of the imperial agent in Venice was a set of four ceiling canvases (cats. 63, 64, and figs. 40, 41), which admonish and inspire matrimonial harmony by way of multilayered allegories. Having abandoned the drastic illusionism of Giulio Romano early in his career in favor of a gently tilted disposition of figures overhead (cats. 12–14), Paolo remained firmly committed to this equilibrated approach and here employed it with such balance and grace as to make these canvases his most unified ceiling complex. It is cohesive in its focus of the four diagonals toward a central emblem (doubtless the combined arms of Rudolf and his empress), and thus avoids the episodic fragmentation of the Sala del Collegio ceiling (fig. 11), which was in progress almost simultaneously. In the care with which Paolo avoided intense local color, in the solidly defined structure, and in the nobly handsome figure types, the artist's allegories suggest serene restraint, yet the dashing freedom of spontaneous invention that makes his preparatory sketch (cat. 62) so exhilarating attests to the energetic enthusiasm he expended on them. Less ambitious but similarly harmonious, the *Portrait of a Lady as Saint Agnes* (cat. 65) must have been a local Venetian commission that benefited from the artist's sense of achievement in the ceiling.

Imperial patronage established, Paolo would continue to send Rudolf a series of grandly conceived mythological paintings over the following six years. They were not, however, conceived as a meaningful ensemble, but were executed piecemeal at intervals. Earliest of the set are the *Choice between Virtue and Vice* and

detail, cat. 75

Una Giudice Etalia In testa Aholof

Al. Mado M... E. Paulo
Calani Venueso camp...
E. mo...
E. mo...

Non più

Con un rotolo di...
pura potestate...

A. G. Samuel...
ma...



Wisdom and Strength (fig. 42; and Frick Collection, New York). The former, an allegory in which a youth in contemporary wedding garb stands in for Hercules, was prepared by the dazzling chalk study (cat. 66) that suggests Paolo's sensuous apprehension of light and surface texture. A similar intensity of optical sensation is evident in the chiaroscuro study of armor (cat. 67) for the slightly subsequent *Venus Arming Mars* (lost), of which a fragment of Cupid survives (Museo del Statue, Pontremoli). The ensemble is documented by an early copy (fig. 43). These drawings, together with the effortless elegance of the pen and wash sketch (cat. 70) for a still-later *Venus and Cupid* (lost), show Paolo at his most spirited, flexible, and lustrous command of a wide and diverse range of media. The cycle executed for Rudolf reaches its climax in one of the artist's supreme masterpieces, the radiant *Venus and Mars* (cat. 68). Limpid glazes of blue, green, and gold establish an autumnal setting for the sumptuous figures, at once sensuously present and majestically ideal. Paolo's brushstroke became softer in touch, feathery and caressing, but accents such as jewelry or the generous drops of milk retain definition without interrupting the unity of texture and light. Gone is the slightly earthy wit of earlier mythologies (cat. 38), and the darkness of the late mythologies (cats. 85, 86) has not yet begun to cloud the sunny afternoon of Paolo's felicitous vision of ideal beauty. If the companion *Mercury, Herse, and Aglauro* (fig. 39) seems earthbound by comparison, it is not because of Benedetto's alleged participation in its execution, but is rather an intimation of a more labored descriptiveness slowing Paolo's virtuosic brush. The same tendency to a cool, silvery minuteness of detail is evident in the amusing *Cupid with Two Dogs* (cat. 69), a cheerful travesty of the sober theme of love's power, which was not, apparently, painted for Rudolf, but which stylistically belongs to the concluding phase of Paolo's work for the Prague court. These mythologies would, however, foment a revival of such poetic inventions among collectors, as witness the pendants *Venus and Adonis* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) and *Cephalus and Procris* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg) painted for a Venetian patron shortly before 1582. The former retains much of the physical splendor of the *Venus and Mars*, while the latter is descriptive like the *Mercury and Herse*.

To imagine that Veronese's stylistic evolution was an inexorable process, like some organic natural phenomenon, is to underestimate his discriminating intelligence in attuning his pictorial idiom to the theme at hand. In certain instances such as the *Dream of Saint Helen* (cat. 71), the shift was a slight, if subtle, modulation from the sensuous handling of the mythologies. For it, luxuriant visual detail was simply muted by a dusky afternoon light to create the poised and touching image of imperial majesty caught napping. In other cases the change is indeed startling. There is a persistent tendency to view the *Dead Christ Supported by the Virgin and an Angel* (cat. 72) as an example of Veronese's emotionally charged very late work, but the picture was seen by Borghini by the end of 1582, making that its terminus ante quem. It has, indeed, close formal associations with paintings and drawings of about 1581–1582. The artist's first stage of revision of this traditional theme was simplification, a paring away of nonessentials including a second angel at left in order to concentrate our attention on the massive body of Christ, now foreshortened as though seen from a low vantage point. Its Eucharistic symbolism is underscored by the angel's expository gesture and the tenderly proffered wounded hand. The formal ensemble is among Paolo's most densely monumental compositions. But it is at this point that the painter made his crucial decision about its pictorial character, and his experiment was to set the figures against resonant darkness and to illumine them with a blaze of supernatural light, which is of such palpable vibrancy that it seems to eddy in shimmering patterns over their surfaces. This transcendent luminosity is his expressive device for evoking a pathos of memorable intensity; it is instructive to recognize that he was creating the bedizened pageant of the *Finding of Moses* (cats. 73, 76) at the same moment.

Counter-Reformation strictures apparently fell short of criticizing the imperial mythologies, but in Venice the market for paintings of the pagan gods engaged in erotic dalliance seems to have declined during the ninth decade of the century.

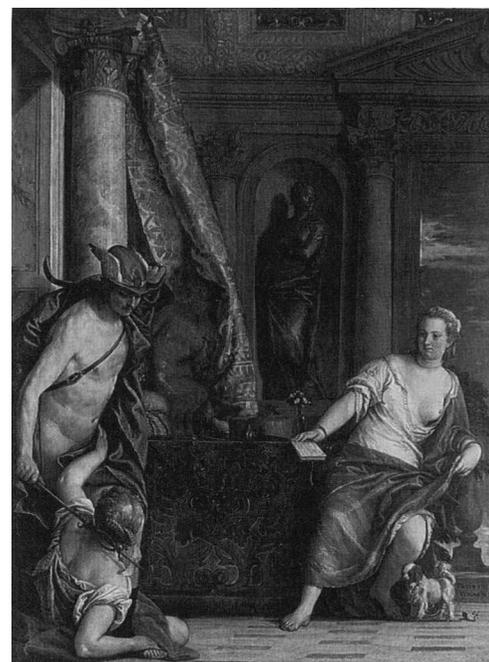


fig. 39. *Mercury, Herse, and Aglauro*. Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

Paolo was always flexible in his range of subjects, as the brush with the Inquisition over his *Last Supper/Feast in the House of Levi* demonstrated; he simply used the expedient of adding festive Old Testament themes to his pictorial repertory. None served better than the *Finding of Moses* with its sumptuous princess, lavish court with dwarfs and dogs, charming baby, and expansive river landscape. Paolo began with a lustrous and enthusiastic sketch (cat. 73) for a now-lost stately pageant picture, which he at once reduced to cabinet format (fig. 46) and then in turn reversed and elaborated in a medium-scale (cat. 74) version. This he expanded in an imposing canvas (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) in which he gave its decorative potential full rein, a theatrical spectacle that is pagan in all but name. And yet a trace of dusky regret seems to mute the fun, a darkening tonality creating a crepuscular mood of reflection in which sunny pleasures have lost their allure.

It was at this juncture, during the summer and autumn of 1582, that Veronese received a surprising commission, a request from the recently crowned Duke Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy for four mural-size paintings of Old Testament subjects doubtless destined to fill a new hall of his Turin palace. Measuring almost six meters (19½ feet) across, each of them constituted a major undertaking. Paolo's cascading rush of ideas in several sketches (cats. 75, 76) attests to the enthusiasm with which he accepted the challenge. The expanse of canvas was another matter, however, and for the *Finding of Moses* (fig. 47) he found it necessary to call on Benedetto and other assistants for a significant part of the execution. The *David and Goliath* has been entirely lost and we do not know how much of it Paolo painted himself, but the *Solomon and Sheba* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin) is inert in brushwork and additive in detail to a degree that betrays preponderant shop execution. The suite was shifted from one hall to another more than once, and in the process all of the canvases were trimmed. Even though Carlo Emanuele had declared the dramatic nocturne *Judith and Holofernes* one of his favorite paintings, it was drastically cut up, and only the detail of the principal figures has survived (cat. 77). Predictably, this firmly painted and clearly analyzed passage is virtually all by Paolo himself. However, its very rigor suggests a degree of tight discipline in which effort has begun to be manifest in a certain density of pigment and a compulsive concentration on plasticity and detail. The artist had by this time moved well beyond the halcyon world of the poetic inventions for Rudolf to one in which Paolo uncharacteristically betrayed fatigue.

Paolo was fifty-four years old in 1582, his faithful brother and amanuensis Benedetto was forty-four, but his sons Gabriele and Carletto, fourteen and twelve respectively, can hardly have completed their training. Nonetheless the family shop did not want for extra hands, since Paolo's orderly program of instruction brought him a steady sequence of apprentices. Each of them received on the job training by being assigned passages of larger paintings according to their talents as well as by producing replicas after the master's originals. Still, the strain on the Caliaro factory becomes increasingly evident in the Sabauda cycle and a host of altar pictures in large format, particularly those commissioned from outside Venice, where shop execution was less likely to be noticed. Paintings done for Treviso, Lendinara, Brescia, Rimini, Pesaro, Parma, and so forth often bear showy signatures, a sure sign that Paolo's role was limited to the concept, and sometimes not even that.

One might expect that this team production would be called on only for canvases of grand dimensions, yet there are smaller devotional pictures and even portraits in which Paolo's hand is limited or often altogether absent. A certain caution, therefore, is understandable when dealing with Veronese's later products. We include in this exhibition two small devotional paintings that are of such quality as to encourage an attribution to the master's own hand even though they may include a few peripheral touches by an associate. The *Baptism of Christ* sketch (cat. 78) is characteristic in its energetic experiment, and the painting (cat. 79) is dynamic and innovative in the principal figures and of such exquisite delicacy in the landscape as to justify its attribution to Paolo himself. More surprising is the intentional archaism of *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (cat. 80),

but again a freshly vivid brilliance of color and his inimitable transparency of touch seems to confirm Paolo's authorship in its entirety. Its retrospective character is, in fact, encountered with increasing frequency in Paolo's later years.

As the problems surrounding the Caliarì family shop grew increasingly pressing, the question of priorities required hard decisions from the master. The 1574 fire in the Palazzo Ducale afforded him smaller-scale projects such as the Collegio that he carried out with panache, but even before he had finished there and simultaneously with his mythologies for Rudolf II, another fire in 1577 had gutted the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, requiring a replacement program of staggering proportions. Its first stage, carried out between early 1578 and early 1582, was the ceiling, of which three of the fifteen major compartments were allotted to Paolo. Paolo set about a program in which he took full and careful responsibility for the design of his canvases and a dominant role in their execution, whereas Tintoretto, occupied with the cycle of the Scuola di San Rocco that was closer to his heart, shamelessly delegated his larger share to his pupils, and Francesco Bassano struggled to adapt his provincial rustic idiom to the unfamiliar environment. Paolo's superior results are evident today, as they were to his contemporaries, who were openhearted in their praise.

Veronese's success with the *Triumph of Venice* also signaled the end of his felicitous patronage from Rudolf II and the brief but intense activity on behalf of Carlo Emanuele I. It opened the prospect for still-more splendid achievements as he was accorded the lion's share of the Maggior Consiglio murals, but that chapter, sadly never to be realized, belongs in the context of the artist's turbulent, final years.

Allegories of Love

1575–1576

pen and brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

32.0 x 22.2 (12 1/2 x 8 5/8)

inscribed in pen on the recto in a seventeenth-century hand: *Carletto C. Laid down*

from the Sagredo collection, Venice, and a private collection, Lyons

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harry G. Sperling Fund, no. 1975.150

Along with a significant group of other sheets, this drawing emerged with Julien Stock's attribution to Veronese from the remnant of the Sagredo collection still kept together in a private collection in Lyons (sold Sotheby's, Los Angeles, 21 May 1975, no. 9). Along with several other pen drawings (formerly Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and others) that are undoubtedly by Paolo, it had been inscribed with Carletto's name by a seventeenth-century collector of the Sagredo family who seems to have acquired a large number of sheets from the Caliaro heirs and who had particular difficulty in distinguishing Paolo's pen sketches from those of Carletto. Bordeaux first published it as a preparation for all four of the allegorical ceilings (cats. 63, 64 and figs. 40, 41) that were first inventoried in the imperial collections in Prague in 1637. The drawing confirms what had already been noted by Mariette (1729–1742, 2:67), that these four canvases were conceived simultaneously as a ceiling decoration. There is, however, still much discussion of their allegorical import and the original order and placement of the canvases in a ceiling complex, so we shall retain here the names assigned them in 1727 when they were in the Orléans collection.

As usual, Paolo began his pen explorations of these compositions at top left with the male figure for *Disinganno* (disillusionment), but its foreshortened pose obviously gave him trouble, so he dropped down to restudy him with the castigating Cupid that he must have sketched previously, since it has almost exactly the pose that would appear in the painting. Still not satisfied, he moved lower for the figure alone—the one most like the painting—and at left



added a variant for Cupid and a nude study for the female at far left. From here he proceeded to a pair of female figures, the first one given alternative head positions, the second and final one looking at the fallen male who, to establish the spatial relation, was quickly drawn twice again. Returning to the top right of the sheet, he rapidly suggested the *Unione Felice* (conjugal concord), the sketch that differs most from its painting (fig. 41), being in reverse direction from the final solution. It is probable that the artist's hand here simply shifted further down for a series of ideas for *Infedeltà* (unfaithfulness), beginning the entire group with strong wash. It was still rather far from its final arrangement. Above he clarified Cupid with a casket, and below he tried another version of Cupid grasping the woman's lower leg. Unexpectedly, directly over this group he returned to the *Unione Felice*, which seems to have troubled him, and sketched the nude fe-

male with a girdle just below her breasts, now slightly turned to the left, and then further right inserted a slight indication of the happy couple, now facing left as they would in the painting. This interesting sequence illuminates Paolo's flexibility. It gives evidence as well of his gradual recognition that, if all of the canvases emphasized a diagonal movement toward the upper right, the ceiling would assume a disquieting counterclockwise spiral movement. The last study on this page is disposed along the lower edge, a series of ideas for *Rispetto* (*Respect*, fig. 40). Once again beginning with the full complement of personages at left, Paolo found that the reclining female could not be fitted into her appropriate place because he had already drawn the composition above. Applying wash only to the group at left, he moved right for a major study of the woman surrounded by two details of her head and arm and an alternative body pose, which sug-

gests that he at least momentarily considered reversing the diagonal here as he had for the *Unione Felice*. In style and handling, this sheet is an expansive and assured example of Paolo's draftsmanship, developed beyond the study (cat. 58) for the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 37) of 1573 and still close to the sheet (Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Kassel, no. 1122) that began with studies for the *Feast in the House of Levi* (fig. 9) of 1571–1573. On the other hand, its fluid and improvisational touch closely resembles that of the sketch (Stattliche Kunstsammlung Kassel, no. 1124) for *Venice Distributing Honors* (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Anticollegio) of 1575–1576. Its closest parallel, however, may be found in the *Entombment* (private collection, Paris), which we would date about 1575. Since the paintings seem clearly to be among the first commissions awarded to Paolo by Rudolf II, who had become king of Bohemia in 1575 and Holy Roman Emperor in 1576, we would suggest a date of 1576 or even late 1575 for this drawing.

Literature

Bordeaux 1975, 600–601; Pignatti 1976, 1:145–146; Cocke 1984, 184–185, no. 78; Bean 1982, 154–156, no. 150

63

Unfaithfulness

1576
oil on canvas
190 x 190 (74 x 74)

The Trustees of the National Gallery,
London

64

Disillusionment

1576
oil on canvas
187 x 189 (72⁷/₈ x 73³/₄)

The Trustees of the National Gallery,
London

These two ceiling pictures, together with two others of almost identical dimensions (figs. 40, 41), were first recorded in the 1637 inventory of the imperial collections in Prague. It is generally assumed that they had been commissioned by Rudolf II, but since no documents survive and Rudolf died in 1612, it is possible that they were added to the Prague collections from an intermediate source. It should be noted that Rudolf's patronage of Veronese is recorded at least from 1581 (Borghini 1584, 563), and that few paintings were added to the gallery of Prague Castle in the years following Rudolf's death. After the Swedish sack of 1648, the pictures were carried away to Stockholm and thence to Rome with the collection of Queen Christina, finally making their way by way of the duc d'Orléans to the earl of Darnley and to the National Gallery in London in 1890–1891. Consistently recognized as major works by Veronese, their subjects have been much debated. These titles are translations of the traditional Italian ones, which were applied in the eighteenth century and seem not to reflect the true subjects. *Unfaithfulness* depicts a seminude woman revolving between a bearded male and a youth to whom she passes a love letter with a fragmentary inscription *CHE UNO POSEDE*. At lower left one child struggles to pull the woman's leg further toward the youth, while another gazes at her apprehensively while reaching into a coffer. They might be Eros, the symbol of illegitimate love, and Anteros with wings, the symbol of legitimate love, while the adults seem to represent Ve-

fig. 40. *Respect*. National Gallery, London





nus wavering unstably between the military figure of Mars and Mercury, the father of Anteros. The fig tree sprouting from beneath Venus' chemise has a double significance of rebirth or fecundity and the female sexual organs. The swiveling circular movement of the figures is echoed in the upward surge of the trees, a dizzyingly brilliant spatial device that achieves its full illusionistic effect only when seen in its original position on the ceiling. *Disillusionment* shows again the winged Anteros, now in the role of Divine Love trampling Vice underfoot while striking him with his bow. At left two women, the fur-

ther one clearly identified as Chastity by her ermine and the other a Venus type, possibly Virtù, look on with bemused approval. The ruins, with sculptured Satyr and Pan and his pipes, allude to the licentious world inhabited by Vice. *Respect* (fig. 40) seems a mistaken title for the erotic encounter between the warrior Mars and sleeping Venus, with Eros as the intermediary who fends off the military sword while brandishing the sexual arrow. The crystal drinking glass on the lower step, the carafe on the ledge above, and the fictive relief in the vault depicting a woman with two attendants doing

obedience to a seated figure all lend the scene a moralizing tone that suggests the taming of militant virility by the limpid joys of love. This is underscored by the expression of illumination that enobles Mars' face as if in response to an inspiration outside the picture at top right. The last canvas, *Conjugal Concord* (fig. 41) shows prosperity or abundance seated on the globe as she crowns the happy couple whose bond is symbolized by an olive branch of peace. The dog represents faithfulness, while Eros vainly attempts to pull the young woman away. Although most analyses of this ceiling complex have tacitly ac-



cepted the view that it illustrates the conflict between the positive and negative aspects of love, it is unlikely that a patron would explicitly adorn a sumptuous chamber with negative and disreputable allusions. Instead, as Pignatti suggests, the complex interweaving of mythology and Christian moralizing symbols is intended as an allegory of marriage, in which the stressful impulses are at every turn encouraged to rise to a more noble plane where the virile and feminine are harmonized into felicitous union.

The style of this allegorical ceiling belongs to a specific moment in Paolo's

development, close but perhaps slightly anterior to the ceiling of the Sala del Collegio of the Palazzo Ducale. Its form is solidly modeled, with a firm contour that emphasizes the plastic integrity of each figure and the dynamic foreshortened space in which they move. The personages themselves counter the somewhat balletic sequences of movement with a rather opaque absence of facial expression, a carefully calculated reticence that avoids rhetoric and establishes a calm harmony extending to the slow and calculated brushstroke as well. Color is muted to a restrained harmony of earth tones

against a pallid sky of a slightly lilac tone, an unusual device used often by Paolo in the 1550s to reduce the suggestion of deep, empty space and focus attention instead on the foreground figures. Among Paolo's works of these years there is a clear echo of the lucid definition and decorous action of the *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Santa Giustina, Padua), which was finished by October 1575. Closest of all, however, is the fresco *Venice Distributes Honors* (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Anticollegio), which was begun shortly after February 1576. The Collegio ceiling was underway by December 1575, but seems not

to have been finished until the end of 1576. This rather long gestation period suggests that Paolo was not only otherwise occupied with the fresco in the next room, but also with another important ceiling, precisely this one for Rudolf II, which we would date to the end of 1575 and the first months of 1576.

The vivid sheet of pen sketches (cat. 62), which documents an intermediary stage in the development of all four ceilings, is helpful in reconstructing the original format of the suite. Although the *Conjugal Concord* would be reversed in its painted form, Paolo posited a diagonal relationship between it and *Disillusionment*; lower he suggested a similar corner-to-corner placement for *Unfaithfulness* and *Respect*. Thus, each canvas would have occupied a corner position in a nearly square room, their tops toward the center so that the correct point of view would have been from the middle of the room with each composition based on a diagonal leading toward the inside corners. Further, as Royalton-Kisch has observed, in this arrangement the principal male figure in each painting looks with evident inspiration toward the center of the room where each canvas points. This clarifies the meaning of the ensemble, since we would suggest that at the crossing of the coffer frames of the pictures there were the combined coats of arms of Rudolf and his empress, thus making the compositional and iconographical nexus of the ensemble the Imperial

Marriage. We do not know the original location of this handsome ceiling in Prague Castle, but given the hymenal message and the prominence of lovely female nudes, it might well have been the imperial bedroom.

A rather roughly finished small picture representing a warrior with a putto and attendant appeared recently on the London art market as by Paolo Veronese. It corresponds with the personages in *Respect* except for the female nude, but the poses are quite different for each. Since the figures in the pen sketch are closer to the finished painting, this would have to precede the study, which would be odd were it a *modello* for the picture. Since I have not studied this small version in the original, I prefer not to express an opinion on its authorship.

Literature

Mariette 1729–1742, 2:67, nos. 25–26; Bottari-Ticozzi 1822, 5:303–304; Waagen 1838, 1:336; Waagen 1854, 2:449, 3:20; Caliarì 1888, 382–383; Osmond 1927, 36, 112; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 882; Fiocco 1934, 121–122; Coletti 1941, 1; Pallucchini 1943, 38; Berenson 1957, 1:132–133; Gould 1959, 149–153; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 96–99; Pallucchini 1966, 730; Marini 1968, 107, nos. 109-b, 109-c; Pallucchini 1969–1970, 156–157; Bialostocki 1970, 168; Braham 1970, 205–212; Gould 1975, 326–330; Bean 1975, no. 32; Bordeaux 1975, 600–601; Ticozzi 1975, no. 67; Pignatti 1976, 1:90, 145–146, nos. 233, 234; Royalton-Kisch 1978, 158–162; Bean, 1982, 156; Cocke 1984, 184–185; Pallucchini 1984, 130–132, 181, nos. 162-a, 162-b



fig. 41. *Conjugal Concord*. National Gallery, London

Portrait of a Lady as Saint Agnes

1577

oil on canvas

84 x 72.5 (32³/₄ x 28¹/₄)Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation,
Houston, Texas

Nothing is known of this picture's history prior to 1906, but the traditional attribution to Veronese has been upheld by Berenson, Cocke, and others, while Marini listed it with attributed works, as did Pignatti before his enthusiastic recent appraisal in which he dated it to the 1580s.

There is an old Venetian tradition dating at least to the last years of the quattrocento of portraying living persons either in the guise of saints or with allegorical trappings. In the present instance the range of symbols is multiple. Primary among them is the lamb, which might equally be an attribute of Saint Agnes, in which case we would assume the lady's name to be Agnese, or a sign of humility as it is in Paolo's own allegorical painting (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Sala del Collegio), in which a young woman caresses a lamb. Equally suggestive is the open prayer book in which *compieta* [. . .] : *Nunc dimittis servum tuum* is clearly legible. This devotional reference is seconded by the rose hedge, the *hortus conclusus* that is a symbol of the Virgin Mary, here more probably an allusion to the virginity of the subject. Her dress, although not overtly meaningful, is not that worn by contemporary Venetian ladies, nor does the pathos of her expression seem appropriate to a portrait. Nonetheless, there is sufficient specificity in her features to suggest that a real person is here rendered nearly abstract by the symbolic accoutrements. Their meaning seems to be that a maiden named Agnes is humbly bidding farewell to her virginity on the eve of marriage. Paolo occasionally painted such portraits, as in the *Young Woman with a Skull* (fig. 38), which is dated 1574.

This painting is in generally excellent condition except for the curtain, which has entirely lost its final green glaze, leaving the golden-toned underpainting. Its style and aspects of its iconography derive from that of the allegorical females on the ceiling of the Sala del Collegio, works datable to 1576. The ceilings (cats. 63, 64) for Rudolf II are



even closer, the bare-breasted woman in *Disillusionment* seeming almost to be the same model. However, the fruity color here, most sumptuous in the blue and gold dress but strong and sensuous in the gold/bronze mantle as well, looks forward also to slightly later mythologies. There, in the *Venus and Mars* (cat. 68) and the *Venus and Adonis* (Museo del Prado, Madrid), the brushstroke is already more feathery and the light more diffused into luminous veils. Here a certain weighty and immobile substance relates the figure more to such paintings as the *Venier Votive* (fig. 36) of about 1577, or the 1578 *Annunciation* (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Sala del Collegio). We would suggest a date of 1577 for the Houston painting. A clumsy copy with variations was published as an original (A. Venturi 1937, 210).

Literature

Berenson 1957, 1:132; Marini 1968, 131, no. 346; Pignatti 1976, 185, 1: no. A124; Cocke 1980, 100; Pignatti 1984, 402, 404; Pignatti 1985, 112–114

Standing Male Figure

1578–1580

black chalk heightened with white
chalk on blue paper29.0 x 22.0 (11¹/₄ x 8¹/₂)

tipped down to a white paper mount.

Inscribed in pen in a seventeenth-century hand (recto): *Paolo V*; in pen in another seventeenth-century hand (verso):*P. n:o 84*; in pen in an eighteenth-century hand on the white mounting paper: *P. n:o 65*; and in pencil in an eighteenth/nineteenth-century hand on the white mounting paper: *Paolo* from the Sagredo collection, Venice, and a private collection, Lyons

Private collection, France

One of a notable group of Caliarì family drawings acquired from the Lyons remnant of the Sagredo collection, this splendid sheet is well preserved despite some wrinkled edges and irregular cutting. Cocke, who first published it as by Paolo, mistakenly described it as successive stages of a figure study, one with its right arm by its side and later with that arm raised. It is, instead, a costume study in which no figural element is actually represented, one in which the wearer has slipped his right arm out of the white satin “spanish”-style jacket and reaches forward, revealing the sleeve and shoulder of his suit, also in white satin, while he holds the jacket in place with his left hand. This complex arrangement is surely meaningful and does, in fact, provide a clue

fig. 42. *Choice between Virtue and Vice*. Frick Collection, New York



to the purpose of the study. The youth in the *Choice between Virtue and Vice* (fig. 42) wears a white satin wedding suit of which the sleeve, shoulder, collar, and leggings are virtually identical to those in the drawing; the jacket is draped across the back, lower but in a similar disposition, and its form is notably simplified from the richly tufted and embroidered one in the drawing, a change suggested by the elaborate dresses of Virtue and Vice, who would flank him in the painting. In short, this drawing seems to be a life study after an elegant matrimonial suit made at an early stage in the preparation of the painting commissioned for the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, a sketch that would be modified to a simpler and more idealized design as the artist progressed toward the painted solution.

In style, this drawing is a particularly intense magnification of the optical sensation of light over satin, the artist's direct response to its physical reality. This luminous naturalism rarely reaches such concentrated tangibility in Paolo's drawings, but it was approached during the later 1570s by those for the ceiling of the Sala del Collegio of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, and echoes a few similarly sensuous earlier sheets (cat. 59)

without, as yet, any intimation of the more diaphanous, visionary character of some of the very late chalk studies (fig. 57). In this it accords well with the approximate dating of the Rudolf II allegories to the years 1578–1580. An illuminating comparison is provided by Carletto's much later study of a costume (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) that is obviously inspired by Paolo's drawing, but which substitutes labored detail for the dazzlingly rapid vitality of the father's eye and hand.

Literature

Cocke 1984, 304, no. 132; Coutts 1986, 402

Armor

1579

gray wash heightened with white body color on blue-gray prepared paper
38.1 x 25.3 (14⁷/₈ x 9⁷/₈)
from the Lawrence, Bale, Haden, and Beckerath collections

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz no. kdz 5120

For this precise study of a suit of armor seen in the same pose but from two different directions, Paolo chose the rather unusual medium of wash applied with a pointed brush on the smoothly prepared surface of the cool, metallic-toned paper. The body in the upper sketch is merely hinted at. Although there is unanimity in the literature regarding Veronese's authorship, opinions still vary widely as to its purpose and date. In fact, none of the armor in his paintings is precisely like this, and it may be assumed that it was borrowed temporarily by the artist (hence the remarkable care with which he recorded its surface and detailing). This was not a rare occurrence, as the example of Francesco Maria delle Rovere, who lent Titian his armor for the preparation of his portrait, attests. The resulting drawing (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampi degli Uffizi, Florence, no. 20767F) was in that case in pen. The armor that Paolo drew here is of very good quality and was probably of Lombard origin, but it does not seem so splendid as to justify being owned by the patron for whose picture it was used. In fact, this study served directly for the monumental mythology, *Venus Arming Mars*, which Paolo painted for Emperor Rudolf II at a date close to 1579–1580. The original was dismembered in the nineteenth century, only one fragment showing *Cupid Leading the Horse* (Museo del Statuo, Pontremoli) surviving today, but its composition is known from a full-size copy (fig. 43) and three fragments of other copies (private collections, Rome and Washington) and an engraving. These confirm that the upper study on this sheet was used for the painting with an adjustment of the left arm and the addition of vertical damascened lines to the cuirass to enhance its decorative effect in the painting. Otherwise, they are identical, something that can be said of no other armor in a painting by Paolo.

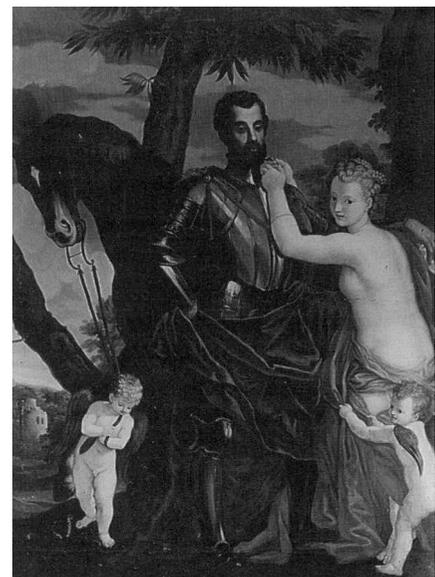


The Berlin study is among the artist's most brilliant and effortless evocations of light and surface texture, doubtless a harbinger of the similar effect in the finished painting, and the concentration dedicated to it confirms that the artist had the armor in this studio but briefly and only for the purpose of preparing *Venus Arming Mars*.

Literature

Loeser 1902, 482; Hadeln 1926, 27, pl. 55; Osmond 1927, 100; Fiocco 1928, 207; Fiocco 1934, 85; Popham 1931, no. 284; Dussler 1938, pl. 38; Pallucchini 1939, drawing no. 52; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 340, no. 2034; Mullaly 1971, 62, no. 68; Pignatti 1976, 1:115; Dreyer 1979, no. 39; Cocke 1984, 130–131, no. 51

fig. 43. Anonymous copy after Veronese, *Venus Arming Mars*. Private collection, Florence



Venus and Mars

1578

oil on canvas

205.7 x 161 (80¹/₄ x 62³/₄)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1910

The painting is inscribed on the architectural fragment at lower right of center *PAULUS VERONENSIS F*. Its condition is in general excellent. Although no documentation of its commission has been found, it was almost certainly the picture mentioned by Borghini as a *Venus and Mars* painted for Emperor Rudolf II and recorded in Prague in the inventory of 1621, and with a more complete description in the 1637 catalogue. Carried off to Stockholm by the Swedish forces in 1648, it passed with Queen Christina's pictures to Rome, and after several changes of ownership, including the Orléans collection, it was acquired by Lord Winborne, who sold it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1910. Given its splendid quality, the attribution is universally accepted and its date is generally placed between 1576, the year Rudolf acceded to the imperial throne, and 1582, the year Borghini collected the information for his book.

Despite the repeated early descriptions of its subject as Venus and Mars, there has been extended discussion of its meaning. That it is Juno who adopts Hercules may be excluded, since neither type, attributes, nor action justify such an identification. Other analyses embellish the Venus and Mars theme with other layers of meaning, such as Love Transforming Charity into Chastity. While this and other undercurrents might be implied, Paolo's most familiar approach to the Venus and Mars legend is to see it as a metaphor for the peaceful, civilizing power of love over male aggressiveness. This is perfectly consonant with the prominent motif of the milk that Venus squeezes from her breast, the *lactans* motif of Charity, here the generosity and nourishment of human as well as divine love. It is this noble idealism that lends Paolo's pictorial evocation such serene monumentality.

Of the suite of monumental mythologies that Paolo sent to Rudolf in Prague, the *Venus and Mars* seems to have been among the earlier commis-

sions, evidently later than the 1576 ceiling canvases (cats. 63, 64 and figs. 40, 41), where the form is more solidly plastic and closed and the color paler. Closer, but also earlier, are the ceiling paintings of the Sala del Collegio of 1576–1577, in which color is brighter and stronger and brushwork somewhat more diffused. Its nearest stylistic parallel may be found in the *Venier Votive* (fig. 36), which is datable by the subject's term as doge to 1577–1578. The softened focus and luminous veils of color of *Venus and Mars* are much like those of the Venier painting, and the preliminary drawings for that state commission provide illuminating insight into its genesis. Pen sketches (formerly Koenigs collection, Haarlem) for the fictive statues flanking the Collegio mural show Saint Justina in a pose clearly based on that of Venus in the present picture, the major difference being in the reversed positions of the arms, while the other ideas for a Charity are equally derived from this pose with the addition of babies, which also vary the putti in Rudolf's painting. In the *modello* drawing (British Museum, London, no. 1861-8-10-4) for the votive, the armored saint at top left (perhaps Theodore) is Mars in reverse. Finally, in the mural itself, Justina retains clear echoes of Venus, and the lovely blond personification of Venice at center is painted with an identical softness of brushstroke. Since Paolo evidently followed his standing practice of beginning with a straightforward reversal of a prior image, a device he then developed in successive stages away from the model, we may conclude that the *Venier Votive* and its illusionistic surround follow the *Venus and Mars*. One may, therefore, date the Metropolitan Museum picture to 1577, or more probably early 1578.

Literature

Borghini 1584, 563; Ridolfi 1648, 1:320; Dubois de Saint Gelais 1737, 374; Mariette 1729–1742, 2:66, no. XXII; Waagen 1838, 1:335; Caliri 1888, 125, 256; Granberg 1897, 15, 36, no. 42; Meissner 1897, plates 79, 80; Cox 1911, 637; Cagnola 1911, 8; Hadeln 1913, 238–243; Stryiński 1913, 56, 155, no. 91; Osmond 1927, 88, 109, 118; Fiocco 1928, 101, 111, 198, 202; Nicodemi 1928, 2:343; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 950; L. Venturi 1933, 571; Fiocco 1934, 75, 127; Tietze 1935, 105; Wehle 1940, 203–204; Pallucchini 1943, 40; Tietze-Conrat 1953, 93–99; Berenson 1957, 1:134; Briganti 1958, 91; Zeri 1959, 43–46; Wind 1960, 94; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 108–112; Ballarin 1965, 80; Pallucchini 1966, 731; Marini 1968, 120, no. 205; Pallucchini 1969–1970, 157; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 139; Zeri and Gardner 1973, 84–87; Pignatti 1976, 1:91, 148–149, no. 248; Cocke 1984, 250; Pallucchini 1984, 114, 126, 182, no. 174



cat. 68



69

Cupid with Two Dogs

1580
oil on canvas
100 x 134 (39 x 52¹/₄)

Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Munich

This unusual and too-neglected painting was first noted, with an attribution to Veronese, in the 1692 inventory of Schleissheim Castle, from which it passed through several Bavarian electoral palaces to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836. Most scholars have recognized in it Paolo's hand, with datings generally close to 1580.

Although its edges have been trimmed, this canvas is not a fragment of a larger work, as has been suggested when no easy explanation of its subject seemed forthcoming. Cupid, god of love, is identified by his sash and his quiver of arrows, and the chains he

holds in each hand bind two large black and white spotted dogs. They or similar canines have appeared before in at least a dozen other paintings by Veronese or his shop (*Feast in the House of Levi*, fig. 9; *Rape of Europa*, Palazzo Ducale, Venice; *Christ and the Centurion*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich; *Death of Adonis*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; *Venus and Adonis*, Seattle Art Museum; *Adoration of the Magi*, State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, etc.). In this instance it is significant that the animal at left is a bitch, its mammarys emphasized, while the one at right is probably a male, and that their expressions are contrasted, melancholy for the male and amusedly contented for the female. It is clear that Paolo's picture is not a genre representation of a pair of dogs in the manner of Jacopo Bassano, who had been commissioned as early as 1548 to paint a picture (private collection, Rome) described as a "pair of hounds, that is two dogs

alone" by a country gentleman who evidently owned them. Closer, and probably Paolo's source for the idea of the Munich picture, is Titian's painting (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) in which a child, probably Cupid although he lacks attributes, stands between a bitch with two puppies at left and what seems to be the sire at right. Although that painting remains mysterious in many aspects of its iconography, it is clear that the baby/Cupid takes the role of patron and protector of the canine family. It is one of the old master's latest works, datable to 1573–1576 and perhaps was not quite finished at his death. Paolo excluded the puppies but strongly suggested that the bitch is pregnant, and made Cupid's dominance explicit. He added the prominent laurel at right, in this instance a symbol of the continuity of natural forces. Thus, although I have not found a specific textual source, the

meaning of Paolo's painting seems to be that Cupid, or love, is the presiding and harmonizing force in the natural world, here symbolized by the faithful canine couple. It is characteristic of Paolo that lofty moralizing is tempered by a faintly conspiratorial wit, lending his allegory an undercurrent of satire.

If Paolo had seen Titian's painting of a similar import and rendered its meaning more overt, he did not and could not follow his aged patron's vaporous and incandescent last pictorial style. Instead, he has made a concentrated effort to render form concretely and minutely descriptive. The dogs' fur is lovingly captured in its texture, the laurel is crisply precise in its sharp leaves, and Cupid shimmers in a crystalline, cool light. Color is sharp but restrained, with brilliant accents in Cupid's blond curls and his sash, but it is the crisp pattern of black, white, and deep green that dominates the pictorial harmony. Cupid figures of this type abound in his later mythologies, especially those for Rudolf II, but in this case the form and pictorial handling are later than the idealized treatment found in the imperial ceilings (cats. 63, 64) of 1576 and the *Venus and Mars* of 1578 (cat. 68), and not so dense in impasto or saturated in color as those of his later years (cats. 85–87). It is instead to pictures such as the *Dream of Saint Helen* (cat. 71) of about 1580–1581 that we must turn for a similar minute brushstroke and dusky tonality. We would, therefore, suggest a similar dating for this charming *Cupid with Two Dogs*.

Literature

Ritterhausen 1788, 241; Eastlake 1884, 32, no. 1135; Caliarì 1888, 383–384; Yriarte 1888, 77; Lermolieff 1891, 94; Jacobsen 1897, 441; Osmond 1927, 89, III; Fiocco 1928, 126, 197; A. Venturi 1928, 210; A. Venturi 1929, IX–4, 950; Berenson 1932, 423; Fiocco 1934, 120; Vertova 1953, unpaginated; Berenson 1957, I:134; Marini 1968, 122, no. 217; Kultzen 1971, 219–221, no. 29; Pignatti 1976, 154, no. 276

Venus and Cupid

1580

pen and brown ink with bistre wash, squared in black chalk, on ivory paper 17.0 x 12.7 (6⁵/₈ x 5)
inscribed in pen in the artist's hand:
spechio

Trustees of the British Museum,
London, no. 1951-II-10-79

In an outdoor setting with drapery hung from a central tree, Venus is seated with a small mirror in her right hand. She turns to the right foreground to comfort Cupid, who has been frightened by a lap dog. Although barely indicated as jumping onto the baby in the detailed study at center right, the dog is sketched in a different position twice on the sheet, at top left and lower right. In developing his ideas, Paolo began with the group at upper left with a suggestion of its setting, and then moved down to an enlarged study of Venus, her hand mirror identified with a quick and characteristically misspelled inscription. Shifting lower, he added two variants of Cupid, a detail of Venus' foot, and two casual observations of the dog before arriving at a satisfactory format, which he then proceeded to square in black chalk for transfer.

The practice of squaring is comparatively rare in Veronese's drawings. Often, as here, it is added casually at unexpected stages of developing a composition, a quite personal approach distinct from the canonical practice that was standard among central Italian draftsmen. Although its use here might suggest the participation of a shop associate in the translation to painted form, there can be no doubt that this flexible, elegant, and spontaneous sketch is by Paolo himself.

There is some confusion, as Cocke has noted, in identifying Paolo's mythologies recorded in the early sources, but a painting of Mars, Venus, and a weeping Cupid was among the pictures sent by Veronese to the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. Since this drawing neither includes nor allows space for Mars, it is unlikely that it prepared that picture, nor is it likely to be a study for the *Venus with a Mirror* reported by Borghini (1584, 563) as the pendant to that first painting. Both these pictures appear to be lost, since neither appears in the earliest inventory of the imperial



gallery at Prague; they served, however, as models for later versions, the *Venus with a Mirror* (cat. 87) and the *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* (fig. 44). The latter is closely modeled on the composition of the present drawing, the pose of Venus following the more upright form, the drapery fuller, a fan substituted for the mirror, and Cupid adapting the pose at right with his left arm raised. The clumsy insertion of Mars and the dusky tonality of the Edinburgh picture mark it as a shop derivation by Carletto, a painting that in turn served Gabriele for an even weaker repetition (Musée Condé, Chantilly). The painting Paolo prepared in the present sketch might better be identified as the one cited by Cocke as in various French private collections between 1743 and 1777, one that represented only Venus with the weeping Cupid, and which, at about 140 x 100 centimeters (54½ x 39 inches), would suggest an intimate erotic mythology of the type this drawing adumbrates. This association is confirmed by the significant impact that picture had on French rococo painting in general and on François Boucher in particular. At least a dozen of his playful Venus and Cupid compositions made use of elements from Paolo's treatment in the years before the canvas was noted as in the Carignan collection. Since that original is lost, there is no basis for judgment of its autograph character, nor does its provenance suggest when or for whom it was painted. There can, however, be little doubt that this study belongs to the moment in which Paolo was occupied with the great mythologies for Rudolf II, not only because of its echoes in the later phase of this activity (cat. 87), but also because of its stylistic links with drawings (cats. 73, 75, 76, 78) that follow it directly. Its date must, therefore, fall close to 1580.

Literature

Thompson and Brigstocke 1970, 101; Pignatti 1976, 1:150; Cocke 1977b, 122; Brigstocke 1978, 182; Cocke 1984, 250–251, no. 106; Crosato 1986, 255



fig. 44. *Venus and Mars*. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh



The Dream of Saint Helen

1580–1581

oil on canvas

166 x 134 (64³/₄ x 52¹/₄)

Musei Vaticani, Pinacoteca

Saint Helen, mother of the first Christian emperor, Constantine, dreamed that an angel showed her a vision of the true cross of Christ's crucifixion, imploring her to go to the Holy Land to rescue it from Muslim hands. Although Ridolfi (1648, 1:304) noted a painting of this subject in the Contarini collection in Padua, there is no firm evidence to link it with either this painting, another (National Gallery, London), or a lost version. The first record of the Vatican picture came with its purchase by Pope Benedict XIV from the Pio da Carpi collection in Rome, a source for several Veronese canvases (cats. 12–14). The literature has regarded it as by Paolo, with a dating that ranges between about 1575 and 1580. It has been cleaned on the occasion of this exhibition.

Rather small to be an altar, this precious picture might have been a devotional work commissioned by a lady named Elena, possibly even the artist's own wife Elena Badile. For his earlier treatment of this theme (National Gallery, London) of about 1558, Paolo uncharacteristically transcribed directly a graphic source, Ugo da Carpi's chiaroscuro print reputedly after a design by Raphael. Clearly polemical in intent, that golden-toned metamorphosis of the classical High Renaissance source into luxuriantly pictorial terms is simultaneously Paolo's homage to its monumental forms. As if to test a totally opposite approach, in the Vatican painting of more than twenty years later Paolo contrasted courtly and intimist elements to touching effect. Adapting the stately column-flanked gilt-bronze statue from his *Portrait of a Man* (cat. 61) of a couple of years before by reversing it and placing it in sharply foreshortened view, he enriched the background with Spanish tooled leather. The figure sits in a contemporary, high-backed chair in her luxuriantly damascened state robes and bejeweled crown. But, as if to reduce the festive display to a gently human level, he shows Helen dozing off, her head poised against her hand. On her features is a subtle reflection of her

dream, which takes on corporeal form as the putto silently brings the giant cross into view. This acute but perfectly natural revelation of her inner vision is played against one of Paolo's most sensuous descriptions of material beauty to create a touching mood of quiet intimacy. One of the repeated effects of the capacity of Venetian painters to evoke palpable atmosphere is to suggest the presence of sound, usually a colorful musical harmony. Here, Paolo used his magisterial technique to conjure up a somnolent, grayed late afternoon light in which one can virtually hear a buzz of silence.

The *Dream of Saint Helen* still displays elements of the lavish pictorial idiom found in the heroic mythologies (cat. 68), particularly in the refinement with which Paolo modulated tone and color over feather-soft surfaces. But it is already further advanced toward a crepuscular, gleaming illumination as though the air were heavy with dust. It has not, however, taken on the thicker impasto and heavier saturation of local color as in paintings of about 1581, such as the various editions of the *Finding of Moses* (see cats. 73–75) or the 1582 *Judith and Holofernes* (cat. 77). A date of 1580–1581, therefore, is suggested for this painting.

Literature

Caliari 1888, 364; Fiocco 1934, 114; Hetzer 1940, 52; Coletti 1941, 273; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Francia 1960, 245; Donati and De Campos 1962, 151; Marini 1968, 119, no. 193; Pignatti 1976, 150, no. 256; Pallucchini 1984, 186, no. 232

Dead Christ Supported by the Virgin and an Angel

1581

oil on canvas

147 x 111 (57³/₈ x 43¹/₄)

State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad

Borghini described this picture when it was in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, but by the early seventeenth century it had been sold, passing by way of the collection of Charles I in England to a sequence of French collectors including Crozat, with whose pictures it was sold to Catherine the Great in 1774. Although its autograph character is universally recognized, there is a persistent tendency to date it to Veronese's very last years.

The Venetian quattrocento tradition of the *Cristo Passo*, or the Dead Christ Supported by Angels, was represented, in the same church for which Paolo painted this picture, by Giovanni Bellini's top-central panel of the Saint Vincent Ferrer altar. The theme declined in popularity during the first half of the cinquecento but never entirely disappeared. By about 1550 the Mantegna formulation in which Christ was represented full-length, seated on the stone of unction and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, had been given a mannerist interpretation of heroic stamp, in part conditioned by Agostino Veneziano's engraving after Andrea Del Sarto's *Pietà*. Paolo himself had painted the subject at least once before (fig. 12), a three-quarter-length conflation of the Bellini and Mantegna types, and included the full figure in the fragmentary top (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) of the 1565 Petrobelli altar from San Francesco, Lendinara. Benedetto was partly inspired by the Lendinara altar for his 1573 *Trinity* (Museo Civico, Vicenza), and Paolo clearly remembered his own earlier treatment in the *Deposition* (Sancti Annunziata, Ostuni) of about the same year.

The Leningrad *Dead Christ* is clearly responsive to the new Counter-Reformation emphasis on emotional drama in the depiction of the sacraments. It still recalls the traditional placement of this subject, the ciborium door behind which the bread and wine of the Mass was stored, and its strongly foreshortened point of view suggests that it was intended to be seen from below, al-

though surely not at the top of an altar. Instead, the spatial device is calculated to emphasize simultaneously Christ's heroic monumentality and his pathetic vulnerability in the proffered wounded hand. Paolo had at first backed up the figure of Christ with an angel on each side and the Virgin at center, but his concern was with simplifying that format in order to concentrate our attention on the corpse, and he finally painted out the left angel, which is clearly shown in X rays and is even faintly visible on the present surface. The glaring concentration of supernatural light reinforces the plastic integrity of the firmly drawn anatomy, a body devoid of mannerist stylization but of a heroic yet natural strength. Color is muted, a ghostly shimmer of light in which the restrained red of the angel's mantel, the gold of his hair, and the deep blue of the Virgin's robe provide a classic triad of tint. It is, instead, the character of the illumination that is the artist's primary expressive device, and which has caused critics to date this painting too late. Dense and sulfurous, it seems to adhere to surfaces, sliding over and around them like a transforming mist. We are here far removed from the serene normality of the empyrean light dear to Bellini and the early Titian, but it is surely the late work of Titian that stands behind Paolo's powerful experiment. Titian's *Pietà* (Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice), left incomplete at his death, must have been known to Paolo, but the veils of dissolving light there are essentially different in character from that of the Leningrad *Dead Christ*. Here the brushstroke is absolutely controlled. Rivulets of highlight are trailed over salient surfaces with an unerring precision; translucent glaze creates the optical effect of a pulsating luminosity, which shimmers just above surfaces, dematerializing them into an image of transcendental reality. Far from an instinctive expression, Veronese's most deeply moving painting of this tragic theme is a supremely calibrated adjustment of his style and technique to achieve that end. It is instructive to note that simultaneously Paolo was creating such contrasted works as the *Finding of Moses* series (cats. 73–76).

This *Pietà* was engraved by Agostino

Carracci in 1582, and Borghini's information for his 1584 book had been gathered by late 1582. There is reason to believe that Paolo's picture in Santi Giovanni e Paolo was a new and much admired work at just that moment, and while it has no particularly close stylistic parallels with most of Paolo's work of that year, it does resemble the dusky luminosity of the *Vision of Saint Luke* (San Luca, Venice) of 1580–1581. Here it might be significant that Paolo must have had occasion to see after an interval of fifteen years his *Dead Christ* in the Petrobelli altar at Lendinara, since in 1581 he executed, with major shop assistance, another altar for the Petrobelli family, the *Ascension* (Santa Maria del Pilastrello, Lendinara). Since the impulse to such intensely expressive handling is unlikely to have come earlier, we would suggest that the Leningrad *Dead Christ* be dated to 1581.

The success of this great painting is attested by the number of replicas and variants produced by the shop over the next few years. In one (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) an angel was added at left front, and in another (fig. 12) Christ is more vertical, with two angels but no Virgin. Both survive in replicas of inferior quality. Benedetto made a variant in which Joseph of Arimathea supports Christ from the left (on loan to North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh). Paolo himself seems to have returned to the subject once more, close to 1586–1587, in a *Dead Christ Venerated by a Friar* (cat. 100), which is only distantly related to the present picture.

Literature

Borghini 1584, 562; Boschini 1674, Castello 58; Mariette 1729–1742, 69; Zanetti 1771, 550; Lacroix 1861–1862, no. 874; Calari 1888, 297; Somof 1899, 32, no. 145; L. Venturi 1912, 210; Ingersoll-Smouise 1926, 2:21–26; Osmond 1927, 61, 118; Ingersoll-Smouise 1928, 2:35; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 947–950; Fiocco 1934, 77, 121; Pallucchini 1943, 43; Kostroff 1955, 32; Berenson 1957, 1:132; Pallucchini 1959–1960, 55; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 124; Calvesi and Casale 1965, no. 33; Pallucchini 1966, 731; Marini 1968, 131, no. 298; Stuffmann 1968, 2:79, no. 173; Formicova 1974, 475; Formicova 1974a, 123; Pignatti 1976, 1:90, 167, no. 339; Hadeln 1978, 161–162; Cocke 1983, 235–236, no. 137; Cocke 1984, 157, 176; Pallucchini 1984, 144, 151, 186, no. 227





73

The Finding of Moses

1581

pen and brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

17.1 x 18.6 (6 5/8 x 7 1/4)

laid down

from the Hudson, Reynolds, Aylesford, Fairfax Murray, and Morgan collections

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. iv 81

This brilliant sheet has always been recognized as Paolo's study for a Finding of Moses, but there is a divergence of opinion about its place among his multiple drawings and paintings of this theme. Paolo seems to have discovered rather late that the Finding of Moses provided an ideal outlet for his capacity to conjure up sumptuous pictorial splendors without transgressing the limits of Tridentine reform. He apparently had not depicted it previously, although he probably already knew the courtly versions painted two generations earlier by Bonifazio Veronese (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; Villa Giusti, Onara di Tombolo). It was probably not long after the completion of the mythologies (Frick Collection and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England) for Emperor Rudolf II

that he began his first painting of this theme, which is lost but is known from a print by J. B. Jackson (fig. 45) and a painted variant by Sebastiano Ricci at Hampton Court. Coutts has given us the best account of that mysterious painting and of this drawing.

Paolo did the present drawing in preparation for that picture. He began sketching at left with a quick pen indication of the princess, a servant bending, and the maid who holds up the new-found baby, adding at once a light wash to explore the illumination of the first two figures, the maid and baby being judged not yet sufficiently developed for that step. Following his usual practice, he dropped slightly lower and to the right for a more nervously agitated pen repetition of the first group, now showing the princess pointing to the infant. Two more repetitions of the maid—now partly missing because the sheet was cut all around—followed, with a touch of the approving wash only in the lower revisions. To emphasize the majestic central figure he sketched the old servant, nude and bending toward her, and another flanking servant at right with a kneeling page to complete the pyramid at lower right. Still not pleased, Paolo went di-

rectly up, and with an even more nervous pen line repeated the princess, here emphasizing her gesture by bringing the servant under her elbow, and, picking up on an uncertainty in the placement of her head already evident in both earlier studies, made a startling series of alternative indications of its position, ending with an amusing caricature to the top right. Now, in an approximate if rather elevated relation to the figures, he suggested the landscape with the river running from the distant left toward the right foreground. After such quick circular progress around the page, Paolo did something unusual but not unknown in his later drawings. He filled the interval with a delicate and luminous evocation of the princess' dress in pen, depending largely on the wash for its plastic and textural description. That this sequence would lead to the lost painting and not to one of the better-known versions is confirmed first by this dress, a gathered fall of satin over which she draws a heavier mantle. This detail is consistent in all four repetitions on this sheet and is found in the painting, but not in any other version. Other details, such as the progressive shifting of the servant at right toward her final position under the princess' arm, the one at left toward her kneeling pose, and the bringing of the dwarf, mostly cut at the left edge, around to substitute for the kneeling page at lower right, all lead directly to the lost painting. Finally, the heavy trees behind the figures in the first study and the di-

fig. 45. John Baptist Jackson, chiaroscuro woodcut after Veronese, *The Finding of Moses*. National Gallery of Art, Washington





rection of the river correspond only with those in the lost version, although they would be adapted for the later revision (cat. 74) in which the action is reversed. In style, the Morgan Library *Finding of Moses* recalls the sketch (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 22070) for the Palazzo Ducale *Triumph of Venice* of a slightly earlier date, and must precede the other two drawings (cats. 75, 76) that prepare the subsequent Turin painting (fig. 47). Since that painting must date to about 1582 and its first drawing is on the recto of a letter dated 18 September 1582, the present study may be placed toward

1581. A cautionary observation may be made about Veronese's consistency in handling similar problems over a fairly long period: the princess here is studied in a manner very much like that of the costume sketches (cat. 84 and Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris) that are firmly datable to 1584.

Literature

Borenus 1921, 59; Hadeln 1926, 30, no. 32; Osmond 1927, 100; Fiocco 1928, 209; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 348, no. 2121; Bean and Stampfle 1965, no. 126; Pignatti 1976, 1:146; Rearick [1980] 1976, 46; Cocke 1984, 242–243, no. 103; Pallucchini 1984, 126; Coutts 1985, 300–302; Coutts 1986, 403

74

The Finding of Moses

1581
oil on canvas
129.5 x 115 (50 1/2 x 44 7/8)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons

Although it might be one of the various paintings of the Finding of Moses mentioned by Ridolfi in 1648, the first record of this picture comes only in 1685 when Neret de La Ravoye sold it to Louis XIV for 5,500 *livres*. The payment is dated 12 March, the price is substantial, and the attribution to Veronese was attested by the shrewd amateur dealer who had already provided

the king with other significant pictures. The attribution was downgraded to a collaboration between master and shop in most of the modern literature, and it was regarded as a derivation from the large canvas (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) of about 1581–1582. Its condition is, in general, satisfactory, with some repaint along the margins and an added strip of canvas at the top.

The subject of this canvas is the infant Moses set adrift in the Nile but saved by the servants attendant on the pharaoh's daughter, who adopted the baby as her foster child. Bonifazio Veronese had painted two monumental treatments of the theme (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; Villa Giusti, Onara di Tombolo) that rank as direct prototypes for Paolo's festive pictures. In the interval between about 1540 and 1580 the theme had gone out of fashion in the backwash of Tintoretto's strenuous innovations. Veronese did not approach the subject until about thirty-three years later in a theatrical treatment that is lost, but for which we have a preliminary study (see cat. 73). From that work Paolo developed a small cabinet version (fig. 46), a picture of particularly minute finish and restrained dramatic action. In turn, the cabinet-size picture provided the point of departure for a more radical revision in the present canvas, which is almost three times larger than its source. He reversed the format, placing the princess with her flanking maids at left. The dwarf jester is given the more functional job of restraining two hunting dogs, and a new attendant holds the princess' lap dog, her dark profile providing a particularly effective *repoussoir* to suggest space. The old nurse kneels to provide a diagonal line to the woman holding the tiny Moses, who looks with precocious awe at his benefactress. The major change from the Prado composition comes at right where, from lower on the bank, a soldier points toward the river where the floating basket was found, and his companion, a striking silhouette against the evening radiance of the sky and the shimmering silver light of the rain-washed landscape, looks down toward the other servant on the riverside. These subtle adjustments are all carefully gauged to lend a grander rhetorical action to the theme.

The pictorial handling of the Lyons *Finding of Moses* shows a shift from the crisp surfaces of its Prado source to a softer brushstroke and a more gentle

harmony of rich but muffled color. Its most striking innovation, however, is the frosty brilliance of a silvery twilight, which floods the landscape against which the figures are already immersed in a grayed luminosity. Paolo had, throughout his career, imposed a conscious and carefully controlled distinction between a broader, more emphatic style appropriate to large pictures to be seen from a slight distance, and a finer, more miniaturist handling befitting small pictures to be studied close up. Even though it is of intermediate scale, the present painting belongs with this second group, an exquisitely detailed but majestically conceived pageant picture for private delectation. It would, nonetheless, provide Paolo with a starting point in proceeding directly to a monumental treatment (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) in horizontal format. There, the figures are distributed horizontally with an added servant, and well-calculated adjustments spread them along the foreground plane. But even in this festive display of brilliant pictorial effect, the cool luminosity of the Lyons painting extends its spell, evoking a similar evening tranquility. For the Dresden picture Paolo called on his brother Benedetto for some marginal assistance, but the execution of a reduced replica (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon) fell to fraternal responsibility in its entirety and a series of careful replicas of the Madrid picture were allotted to other, younger members of the shop. No shop replicas exist of the Lyons version, a clear sign not only that it occupied a transitional stage in the development of this subject, one not considered an end in itself, but also that its rarefied atmosphere did not permit easy repetition.

The general neglect of the Lyons *Finding of Moses* and its frequent relegation to shop status is in part due to the

fact that scholars have not bothered to go and look at it carefully, but also a result of a failure to understand the related drawings (cats. 73, 75, 76). Quite distinct in handling from Benedetto's placidly woolly forms and too early for Carletto's frosty realism, the evanescent touch of Paolo himself is evident throughout this fine painting.

Since the final stage of the master's direct intervention in paintings of this subject is the sprawling treatment (fig. 47) painted in the autumn of 1582 for Duke Carlo Emanuele of Savoy, and since there is strong reason to see the first, lost version as painted in 1581, it seems clear that Paolo devoted a sudden burst of attention to the subject in a brief and transitional span that helps to date the Lyons painting to the latter part of 1581.

Literature

Lepicie 1754, 2:101–102; Daussigny 1877, 110; Caliarì 1888, 217, 373; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 2:212; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, 2:31–32; Fiocco 1934, 116; Fastnedge 1953, 18; Berenson 1957, 1:133; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 128; Marini 1968, 119, no. 194–c; Pignatti 1976, 2:189, no. A-150; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, no. 449; Rearick 1988, 101



fig. 46. *The Finding of Moses*. Museo del Prado, Madrid



fig. 47. *The Finding of Moses*. Galleria Sabauda, Turin

Judith and Holofernes and other studies (recto);
Resurrection of Lazarus
 and other studies (verso)

1582

pen and golden brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper (recto and verso)
 29.8 x 19.4 (11 5/8 x 7 9/16)
 inscribed in pen in the artist's own hand (recto): *una Giudita ch[e] talia la testa A holoferne [. . .]/ Per un Presepio/ Nano/ Per Lazaro, and in the hand of Marcantonio Gandini: Al molto Mag[nifi]co S[igno]r Paulo/ Caliaro Veronese comp[ar]e et/ S[igno]r/ mio coll[en]diss[im]o/ Vinegia/ Con un rotolo di br[acc]ia] 12 1/2 rassa gatonata nera/ A San Samuel presso la fabrica/ nova da ca mozenigo, and in an eighteenth-century hand: P: n:o 44. Inscribed in pen in the artist's own hand (verso): *REMI/ essa p[ro] 50 stampa a la sua spesa folli c[he]/ sarano Carte 50, and in the hand of Marcantonio Gandini: Mag[nifi]co S[igno]r Comp[ar]e/ Mando a V[ost]ra S[ign]oria li br[acc]ia] 12 1/2 rassa, la/ quale credo piacerà à cui/ deve adoperarla; Se in altro posso servirla ella mi comandi/ et di core la saluto. Di trivigi à 18 7 [em] bre 1582. D [i] V[ost]ra S[ign]oria/ Comp[ar]e aff[e]tuosiss[im]o/ + 3/ Marco Ant[oni]o Gandino, and in a nineteenth-century hand: Paulo Veronese*
 from the Sagredo collection, Venice, and the Wauters, Hirsch, and Hammer collections*

National Gallery of Art, Washington,
 The Armand Hammer Collection,
 no. 1987.24.4

Always recognized as an important drawing by Paolo Veronese, this fine sheet presents an unusually complex interworking of themes and ideas, all significantly related to paintings and all conditioned by the letter on which they were drawn. This communication sent to Paolo on 18 September 1582 provides a terminus post quem for the drawings and presumably the paintings as well.

Difficulties arise at once in interpreting what was certainly the first portion of the drawing to be executed, the group at the center right margin in which Pharaoh's daughter steadies herself by grasping a branch as she descends the riverbank, assisted by one servant below and one following. Further down and not necessarily in spatial

relation to the princess, a female figure gestures left, and below a woman displays a child, a motif that should have been further to the left. All of these ideas belong to a Finding of Moses, and, in the case of the standing female lower and toward the left side of the sheet, are derived from the first, lost painting, which was sketched in a drawing (cat. 73) with the princess at lower right as its point of departure. The major group is, however, an unstable early idea for the last, monumental treatment of this subject (fig. 47) a sequence made clear by the artist's decision, emphasized by his note *nano*, that the form of the baby Moses should be transferred to the dwarf who appears in the subsequent sketch (cat. 76) for the Turin painting. This sequence is confirmed by the crouching female at bottom left, a development of the old servant in the earlier Moses sketch and in preparation for the maid who precedes the princess both higher on this sheet and in the subsequent drawing. For clarification, Paolo drew her left arm above and her skirt at left, a delicate passage that recalls the wash detail of costume in the Morgan Library study (cat. 73). If Paolo had followed his usual working process, one might assume that these scattered ideas for the Finding of Moses had been inserted around the preceding drawings of other subjects; but the fact that the upper figures, and particularly the pointing woman, precede the contiguous Judith studies, for which the wash carefully avoids covering the female, suggests that here he modified habitual sequence, perhaps in response to the rush of ideas that he was hurriedly setting down. That contiguous central sketch for Judith and Holofernes, in which the biblical heroine seduces and decapitates the enemy general, was first formulated below, restudied just above, and then given a wash on the first and more satisfactory solution. A cannon was added there in the foreground. Paolo's adjacent notation that this is for a Nativity is perplexing, since there seems to be nothing here that might have served for that subject. Most of the lower half of the present sheet is devoted to ideas for David kneeling over the beheaded giant Goliath, beginning at the bottom where the hero gazes upward, his hands joined in prayer over the corpse which, with distracted clumsiness, he redrew lower at left. He was more attentive to his second study of David above the first, but the horse still higher and the

fleeing Philistines at left and right are in only approximate relation to the central motif. Only one detail remains to be accounted for on the recto of this drawing, the coach approaching along a curved road at left center. It had appeared in almost identical form in two earlier versions of the *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Museo Civico, Padua, and cat. 55), but did not appear in any of the first treatments of the Finding of Moses. In the Turin version of that theme it would be introduced, but in a totally different form, only to turn up again in a later treatment (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). This odd sequence suggests that Paolo had drawn it for the first Saint Justina of about 1565, used it again for the second of 1572, and planned to adopt it for the Turin *Finding of Moses* before deciding that it was time for a new invention. When Gabriele undertook the Liverpool painting after Paolo's death, he had no compunction about returning to his father's first drawing as a model.

The connection among these three Old Testament subjects scattered over this page lies in a commission Paolo received from Duke Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy at an unspecified date. Although Borghini (1584, 562–563) mentioned only *Judith and Holofernes* and *David and Goliath*, but not the *Finding of Moses*, among the paintings done for Turin, it is only this last subject that remains today in the Galleria Sabauda. Here we are assisted by two tiny panels in the royal collections at Hampton Court, one a *David and Goliath* (fig. 48) that reverses the direction of the drawing and conflates the two poses of David, but otherwise is clearly a painted *modello* developing the sketches in relation to a nostalgic memory of his earliest fresco treatment of the subject (Palazzo Cannossa, Verona) of 1545. The other is a *Judith and Holofernes* (fig. 49), pieced out from a panel of the same dimensions as its pendant David, in which Paolo turned the body of Holofernes in the opposite direction but retained Judith and her maid almost exactly as in the drawing, even to the direction of the torchlight adumbrated by the bister wash. In short, the Hampton Court panels, fresh and vivid in execution, are Paolo's oil sketches based on this drawing, ready for shop transfer to the giant lost Savoy pictures. Later repetitions such as the *Judith* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen) are shop products with but a vague memory of this project, but the fine autograph fragment (cat. 77) is, as



fig. 48. *David and Goliath*. Royal Collection, Hampton Court



fig. 49. *Judith and Holofernes*. Royal Collection, Hampton Court

we shall see, more directly related to this study. That Borghini did not mention the *Finding of Moses* as one of the Turin works may be explained by the fact that he had gathered his material for his book by the end of 1582. The *David* and the *Judith* were finished by then; but the *Moses* was a more difficult problem as the drawings attest, and it had not as yet been carried out when Borghini visited the studio late that year.

The sketches on the verso raise questions that can be answered only in part. Again, they are scattered in a confusing sequence, beginning in all probability with the group at right of center in which a seated male is attended by two kneeling figures in front and two more behind. This is evidently a first idea for the *Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (formerly Palazzo Grassi, Venice), which occupied the outside of the organ shutters done for the Venetian church of San Nicolò dei Mendicoli. A subsequent drawing (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 26361) developed this scheme twice in a rougher, more abstracting

hand, which suggests that some time must have passed between the present sketch and a resumption of work that would, eventually, be allotted almost entirely to Carletto for execution. In addition to a heavy application of bister wash to this group, bleeding of wash from the recto makes it harder to puzzle out the forms, a condition even more severe in the case of the left standing figure, which seems to be an early idea for the cleric just above and to the right of the saint in the painting. Most of the remaining studies are for the *Raising of Lazarus* that formed the inside of these organ shutters, planned with Christ and Martha at the right of the pipes and Lazarus at left when the wings were open, but reversed when the paintings were sewn together in modern times. At left of center, Paolo rapidly sketched Christ receiving the plea of the kneeling Martha, reversed their positions to a mirror image, and restudied Martha below, adding a wash. Then, along the lower edge of the sheet, he began at left with a powerful idea for Lazarus, already risen to his feet to the wonderment of an observer behind, a pair repeated with dark wash toward the center and with a hint of architecture above and the kneeling Magdalene at right, the latter repeated in pen alone. Finally, in the bottom right corner, he modified Lazarus to a seated position on the edge of the tomb, and below and partly cut, the Magdalene again, but reversed. She would assume her final position only in the subsequent Berlin drawing. There remained only the crude pen studies of leg muscles at upper left, a passage one might be tempted to assign to a later assistant were Paolo himself not capable of absentminded doodles. As we have been able to establish the autumn of 1582 for the planning stage of the Sabauda commission pictures sketched on the recto, and because artists very rarely used the versos of sheets long after the rectos, it is probable that the organ shutters for San Niccolò were conceived at about the same time, but that the second, Berlin study was made subsequently, and that the paintings themselves were finally done after Paolo's death six years later.

Literature

Lees 1913, 52; Borenus 1921, 54; Hadeln 1926, 27; Osmond 1927, 100; Fiocco 1928, 194, 210; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 339, no. 2028; Cocks 1973, 141–143; Cocks 1984, 231–235, no. 99; Byam Shaw 1985, 309; Coultts 1985, 301; Crosato 1986, 255; Brown 1987, 88–90, no. 9



76

The Finding of Moses

1582
pen and brown ink with bister wash on
ivory paper
30.8 x 21.0 (12 x 8 1/4)
inscribed in pen in the artist's hand:
i remagi/ strada. Laid down
from the Lely, Richardson, Reynolds,
Bellingham-Smith, and Borenus
collections

Lent by the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam
Museum, Cambridge, England, no. PD
21 1977

As we have suggested in discussing the painting (cat. 74) and the earlier drawings (cats. 73, 75) of the same subject, Paolo seems to have been attracted to the theme of the Finding of Moses in the years around and following 1581. He began with the Morgan Library study

(cat. 73) and its lost painting, proceeding to a reduced version (fig. 46) that was reproduced often by the shop, and reversing this for a new picture (cat. 75) and its monumental treatment (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) again repeated by the shop. All of these versions were fresh in his memory when he undertook a much more ambitious canvas (fig. 47) for Carlo Emanuele of Savoy, for which this sheet is the preparation.

He went directly to the upper center of the page to draw the princess striding to the left flanked by attendants and with other figures suggested lower to the right. Further down the riverbank at left, a woman and man show the baby, and further on another figure dresses after swimming to retrieve the floating cradle, a portion of the painting mostly lost in the trimming of the canvas. This animated arrangement

seems to have pleased Paolo sufficiently that he surrounded it with an expansive landscape and applied an unusually dense wash to define its spatial form. Apparently making use of other preceding sheets of studies, including cat. 75 in which the bridge and carriage were sketched, he indicated where they would go by writing *strada* at the appropriate spot. Still not entirely secure about this expanded format, he sketched the princess faintly above, did her again further right with a reduced servant, still again with wash below right, and just her dress at the bottom corner, a detail he would use for the old servant woman in the foreground of the painting who is not yet invented in this drawing. Surprisingly, at lower center he made one more study of the princess in which he returned to his idea (cat. 73) for the first painting, even to the point of repeating the pentimento in the angle of her head. Peripheral figures occupy most of the marginal space on this sheet, beginning with a change in the servant at top left, now seen pulling a branch for support as she would in the painting, and continuing below at left of center with several variations on the fallen dwarf with a dog, of which the last and bottom one would be used. It was probably at this point that Paolo decided to conclude his experiment by returning to his first idea, drawing a line above it and repeating it a little lower, then adding one below to indicate the perimeters of the canvas.

An important part of this drawing remains that is extraneous to the subject of the Finding of Moses, the splendid architectural designs for a portal with a window over it. Its flair for imaginative architectural form and the thoroughness with which Paolo added the profile of the portal consoles confirm his powers of invention in this field. These structures do not appear in exactly this form in any of the artist's paintings, but several slightly later works such as *Susannah and the Elders* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) of about 1584 seem to echo them. To conclude, the artist concerned himself with problems of scale by adding a line with ten demarcations along the bottom of the sheet, perhaps a reference to the dimensions of the canvas, and, more unexpected, a line at bottom left under the swimmer, which is divided into six parts. Since Borghini (1584, 562–563) mentioned the paintings for Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy—including by implication, as Coutts has pointed out,

the *Finding of Moses*—and had gathered most of his information by the end of 1582, we may combine this terminus ante quem with the letter dated 18 September 1582—on the back of which Paolo made sketches for this composition that immediately precede the present sheet—that provides a terminus post quem to suggest that the Cambridge drawing be dated to the autumn of 1582.

Literature

Borenus 1921, 54–59; Hadeln 1926, 30, pl. 33; Osmond 1927, 101; Fiocco 1928, 208; Pallucchini 1939, 224, no. 12; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 346, no. 2099; Cocke 1973, 141–142; Pignatti 1976, 1:210; Rearick [1980] 1976, 14, 46–47, no. 24; Cocke 1984, 240–241, no. 102; Coutts 1985, 301–302; Coutts 1986, 403

77

Judith and Holofernes

1582

oil on canvas

III x 100 (43³/₄ x 39)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie

In the apocryphal Book of Judith, the virtuous heroine of Bethulia went to the besieging Assyrian camp with the apparent aim of seducing the general, Holofernes. After encouraging him to drink himself into a stupor she cut off his head, and gave it to her servant to carry in a sack to the Hebrew city that Judith had saved. Here Veronese chose the most frequently depicted moment of the drama, that in which Judith passed the general's head to her servant. Except for an early misguided attribution to Zelotti, Paolo's authorship has been accepted in the modern literature with a date that oscillates between 1575 and 1583.

Early in his Venetian career, close to 1558, Veronese had painted a *Judith and Holofernes* (Palazzo Rosso, Genoa) with full-length figures in essentially the same poses as those of the Vienna composition. He does not seem to have returned to the theme until late in 1582 when he sketched it (cat. 75), together with ideas for a David and Goliath and a Finding of Moses, on the back of a letter dated 18 September 1582. As we have discussed in relation to that drawing, those sketches may all be related to a suite of four large paintings commissioned by Duke Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy. The fourth canvas, *Solomon and Sheba*, survives, together with the *Finding of Moses* (fig. 47), in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin, but the *David and Goliath* and *Judith and Holofernes* seem to have been lost, probably as early as 1635, when the inventory made after Carlo Emanuele's death does not mention them. There are, however, two small panels (figs. 48, 49) that give every indication of being *modelli* for those two mural-size canvases. There, Paolo reversed the David from his sketch but retained the drawn format for Judith (see cat. 75). After this point, we would suggest, the same motive that had prompted the reversal of the David composition, probably its position in the hall for which the cycle was painted, caused Paolo to reverse the Judith as well. Details of the *modello* such



as the costume, sleeve, and coiffure of Judith, the turban of the servant, the position of Holofernes, and even the green and gold scalloped and tasseled tent flap are simply reversed in the present painting. The bright concentration of a slightly reddish illumination would come from the torch now shifted to the right.

These striking analogies suggest that the Vienna picture is the surviving fragment of Carlo Emanuele's canvas, an idea doubtfully advanced by Fiocco but quickly abandoned thereafter. The Sabauda mural was mentioned by Carlo in 1605 as one of his favorite paintings, but shortly afterward there seems to have been a shift in the location of the suite of paintings, one requiring that

the *Finding of Moses* be cut by about 35 centimeters (13 inches) at left. This had been done before the 1635 inventory, when the *David and Judith* were already missing, perhaps also trimmed and then cut into usable fragments. The Vienna piece was later recorded in the 1659 inventory of the Brussels collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, where it was attributed to Veronese. Internal evidence supports the view that the *Judith* has been cut, not only because its margins show that it has lost an unspecified amount of canvas all around, but also because its composition is manifestly incomplete in its present state. All other treatments of the theme by Paolo and his shop show the figures full-length, and the Hampton Court *modello* is ex-

panded still further laterally to include a cannon, Syrian tents, and Bethulia on the distant heights. As we have noted, the dark shadows behind the figures in the Vienna picture posit a strong source of illumination, the torch outside the present composition. This pictorial device is explicit in the *modello* but is missing in the Vienna fragment. Here we should note that the Hampton Court *modelli* posit a more horizontal format than that used in the two surviving Turin canvases; the compositions were probably expanded somewhat below and more above. Finally, the dimensions of the Vienna fragment, 111 centimeters high, would match perfectly those of the Turin pictures, 344 centimeters high, if we allow for a loss of about 106

centimeters above and 127 below.

We may assume, from the September 1582 date of the preliminary drawing and Borghini's mention of the painting before the end of the year, that the *Judith and Holofernes* must have been painted during that autumn. In style, the Vienna picture belongs exactly to that moment. The Turin *Solomon and Sheba* is similar in details such as the queen's attendant and the bearded courtier to the left of the arch, but its pictorial character is distinct in large measure because of Benedetto's extensive participation in its execution. The *Finding of Moses* is closer to *Judith and Holofernes* in every aspect, partly because Paolo's dominant execution gives both pictures a firmer plastic order and a slightly enameled surface, but also in motival parallels as in the princess, the black maid, and the old nurse. The color, with an emphasis on clear blocks of cobalt blue, burnt orange, emerald green, and fawn, is very closely related in these paintings. Other related works are the *Death of Adonis* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) of late 1581 or more likely early 1582, the *Rebecca and Eleazer* (Château, Versailles) of early 1583 and still others datable to these years. As one would expect, Paolo took almost complete responsibility for the execution of the focal group of Judith, the maid, and the dramatic chiaroscuro, probably turning over peripheral passages of the setting to his shop including here the burnt orange overdress with its even and niggling plastic definition. The head and upper body of Judith are among Paolo's most assured and handsome achievements of this moment, less softly atmospheric than his mythologies of a couple of years before, but firmly realized to dominate their original monumental environment. One cannot fault Carlo Emanuele for listing it among his favorite paintings.

Literature

Borghini 1584, 562–563; Boschini 1660, 59; Tenti 1660, no. 113; Mechel 1783, 14, no. 49; Engerth 1884, 404–405; Caliarì 1888, 394–395; Wickhoff 1893, 1:140; Osmond 1927, 96, 109; Fiocco 1934, 123; Pallucchini 1943, 43; Berenson 1957, 1:139; Klauner 1960, 1:159–160, no. 748; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 131; Ballarin 1965, 75; Pallucchini 1966, 731; Marini 1968, 129, no. 274; Demus 1973, 196; Pignatti 1976, 1:95, 150–151, no. 257; Pallucchini 1984, 152, 187, no. 241; Courtts 1985, 300–302



78

The Baptism of Christ

1582

pen and brown ink with bistre wash over slight traces of black chalk on ivory paper

17.2 x 18.0 (6 3/4 x 7)

trace of red paint on Baptist's foot; corners beveled, laid down formerly Lambert Krahe collection

Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf Graphische Sammlung, no. FP 3550

Formerly listed as by Palma il Giovane, this small sheet was first recognized as the work of Veronese by Gere, who pointed it out to Mullaly. Ballarin and Cocke considered it Paolo's study for the *Baptism of Christ* (Courtauld Institute, London). Oberhuber confirmed the attribution in a note on the mount. As Cocke has observed, Paolo began this study with the group at upper left, where he at once lowered the putto-encircled radiance and corrected the positions of the heads of the angel at left and the Baptist, abandoning the upward gaze of the latter as he had conceived it in the 1566–1567 *Baptism* (parish church, Latisana), an altar delegated largely to Alvise dal Friso for execution. Moving lower and to the right, he restudied Christ and the angel, developing at right the angel faintly indicated

in the first sketch, now with hands prayerfully low and in front, and then, as he added the wash, changed to show his left arm raised to grasp the branch. This modification would be adopted in the second study of the angel figure at the right edge. Since it now clearly had been moved to the right of the Baptist, there was no longer space for the development of that figure, so Paolo simply inserted it above, reinstating the partly hidden angel. Although other sketches might have intervened, Paolo seems to have moved directly to the small Courtauld painting, which is a private devotional image and not a *modello* as has been suggested. In it he made use of most of the motifs in the last phase of this sketch, particularly the angels at the outside edges, but he made drastic changes in the Christ and selected the intermediate phase of the Baptist's left arm, placing it against his chest and shifting the cross to accommodate this position. Finally, he eliminated the angel behind the Baptist and returned to the first form of the radiance, but raised it even higher toward the top edge. The execution of the Courtauld painting was in part assigned to Benedetto, whose hand is particularly evident in



79

The Baptism of Christ

1582
oil on canvas
108.5 x 89 (42¹/₄ x 34³/₄)

The J. Paul Getty Museum,
Malibu, California

There is strong if circumstantial evidence for identifying this small devotional picture of the *Baptism of Christ* with one recorded by Ridolfi in 1648 in the Muselli collection in Verona. This rich fund of Veronese paintings and drawings published by Campori records such a picture in a later inventory, but by the eighteenth century the collection

had passed to the Orléans family in France and thence to a succession of English owners before it was purchased by the Getty Museum. Morassi gave it its first significant modern study, but an authoritative discussion of its place among Paolo's Baptism paintings and drawings has been published more recently by Goldner. Although a few critics have called it a workshop product or a collaboration with an assistant, the majority of scholars accepts Paolo's authorship with a generally late dating. The recent restoration has removed added strips that pieced out the picture surface to 114 x 91 centimeters (44¹/₂ x 35¹/₂ inches).

the angels, but there can be no doubt that Paolo himself designed it, primarily in the present sheet. It is stylistically very close to several drawings we would date to the years around 1582, the period to which we would assign the Düsseldorf drawing.

Literature
Mullaly 1971, 64–65, no. 72; Ballarin 1971, 118;
Goldner 1981, 111–126; Cocke 1984, 244–245,
no. 104; Crosato 1986, 255

Veronese depicted Christ standing in the Jordan River, with the Baptist scooping water to anoint him and a variable number of angels looking on, in at least a dozen other paintings (cat. 39) and four drawings (cats. 78, 104, 105), all but three of them datable to the last decade of his activity. This spurt of interest, surely related to a Counter-Reformation concentration on the sacrament of Baptism, found its most innovative expression in the long horizontal canvas (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) painted close to 1582 for San Niccolò della Lattuga in Venice. That composition was entirely conditioned by the high, diagonal position of the canvas at our left, but the innovative energy that Paolo expended on it would carry him on into subsequent treatments. Early among these, and perhaps from the same year, is the sketch (cat. 78) in which Paolo explored variations in the disposition of the figures, which would be developed in a small devotional picture (Courtauld Institute, London) largely executed by Benedetto. At about the same time, but probably subsequent to the Courtauld painting, he began the present picture, which is about twice as large. By dropping the three angels to kneeling positions he not only emphasized the reverent solemnity of the sacrament, but also opened the middle space for a more dramatically expansive disposition of the principal figures. The stately, ascetic Baptist assumes a balanced position in which his simple gesture is endowed with a grave sobriety. It is, however, the figure of Christ that is most strikingly original here, a dramatic expression of spiritual submission communicated by his outstretched arms and downward gaze. This is the only Christ in a Baptism by Veronese who is nude (except for the red mantle precariously suspended from a diagonal sash), and his powerfully athletic torso suggests a sculptural source, perhaps a work of Alessandro Vittoria. In no other treatment is the theatrical power of the moment so emphasized.

Goldner allows that there might be some slight shop participation, particularly in the putti at the top. I would add that the angel behind Christ is badly structured in anatomy and slightly fatuous in expression, perhaps signs of Benedetto's participation. The principal figures are securely drawn and vigorously painted, but the loveliest passage in the entire picture is the airily luminous evocation of nature in the set-

ting. In his finest miniaturist touch appropriate to smaller pictures, Paolo here brushed in feathery details with a sparkling transparency of luminous glaze only slightly denser than that of the San Niccolò mural, which immediately preceded it. The use of several motifs close to those in the Getty painting in a very late drawing (cat. 103) suggests that Paolo retained positive memories of this painting six years later when he returned to the theme of the Baptism of Christ.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:306; Waagen 1857, 451; Campori 1870, 186; Morassi 1968, 30–38; Pignatti 1976, 1:143, no. 220; Goldner 1981, 111–126; Cocke 1984, 198, 245; Pallucchini 1984, 104, 182, no. 171; Rearick 1988, 102

VI *The Final Years* 1583–1588

As the year 1583 began Paolo Caliari had good reasons for a sense of accomplishment and an optimistic view of his future. Married, as far as we can tell contentedly, surrounded by his children of whom Carletto already showed promise of talent, assisted by his placid brother Benedetto, comfortable in a handsome house on Mocenigo property near San Samuele, Paolo's well-ordered, thrifty manner of living and working seemed about to pay dividends. His professional status could hardly be bettered. Tintoretto, from the day of Veronese's arrival in Venice in 1553 his more famous and less scrupulous competitor, had compromised his status with the Venetian state by delegating progressively more of his enviable share of the Palazzo Ducale decoration to his sons and pupils, finally exciting public complaints when his part of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio ceiling was unveiled in 1582. By comparison, Paolo's three segments of that ceiling (fig. 50) seemed worthy products of his brush, even though he too had assistance in carrying them out. The difference lay in his superior management and sense of responsibility. Nonetheless, having won the prized commission to replace Guariento's fresco over the tribune in the Maggior Consiglio, it was doubtless for helpful motives that the project was assigned to him jointly with Francesco Bassano, who was to do the sides and lower parts of the *Paradiso*. The younger Bassano's style was already that of his experimental father Jacopo, slashes of color against a dark environment, and it must have been evident from the start that the two artists, despite their mutual esteem, would find their styles hard to harmonize in a single, twenty-two meter (seventy-one feet) wide canvas. Paolo drew brilliant sketches (cat. 81) and developed them in the remarkable working *modello* (fig. 51) that would have opened the end of that great hall into an operatic vision of thousands of the elect rising toward a luminous celestial realm. Alas, it was never to go further, and six years later when Paolo died the canvas had not even been purchased. Perhaps he knew the odds were against its realization, since in 1585–1586 he reworked an encapsulated version of the composition into the Ognissanti *Coronation of the Virgin* altar (fig. 56) for which we have his drawing (cat. 98). Equally unfortunate were the commissions for at least four of the historical murals in the Maggior Consiglio, all documented by drawings (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, no. 1953:63; Albertina, Vienna, no. 44718). Much later their execution would fall to his heirs or to an erstwhile imitator, Andrea Vicentino. So it was with many other lesser projects still in the planning stage in 1588.

Despite such exigent commissions, Paolo did expand his range of patrons, adding King Philip II of Spain who ordered the *Annunciation* in 1583 for the high altar of the Escorial. At home he dedicated careful thought to a large cycle of paintings, now dispersed, for San Niccolò della Lattuga, a complex still incomplete in 1588. In addition, he added farther altars and organ decorations to the provincial churches of San Giacomo, Murano, and Sant'Antonio, Torcello, and others still farther afield such as in Maderno near Brescia. The Saint Hercolanus for the latter is signed by Paolo and dated to 1583, but the execution and even its preliminary study (University Art Museum, Princeton, no. 44-6) had been turned over to Benedetto.

Rudolf II must have found northern mannerists such as Bartholomeus Spranger closer to his taste and probably less expensive in the years after 1581. As imperial patronage tapered off, Paolo did not want for local collectors whose attention had been attracted by the splendors shipped to Prague. Sometimes these commissions were of modest proportions (cat. 85), decorations for patrician inte-

detail, cat. 86



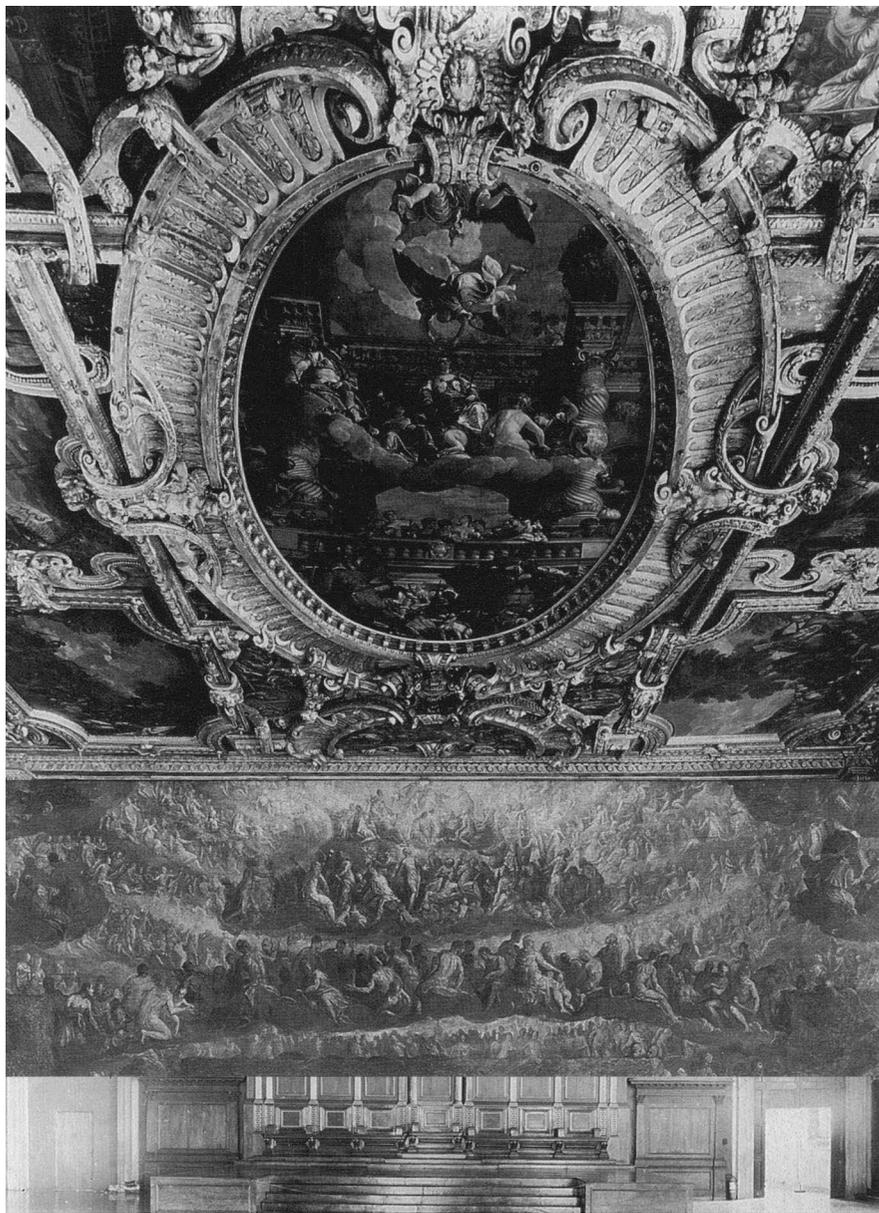


fig. 50 Veronese's *Triumph of Venice* with a photographic reconstruction showing Veronese's *modello* for *Paradiso* superimposed on the end wall. Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice

riors usually deemed worthy of the master's shop, but occasionally by the hand of Paolo himself in cases of especially esteemed clients. In certain cases Old Testament themes such as the set of heroines painted for the Bonaldi would continue Paolo's practice of endowing respectable religious subjects with a pagan spirit, as he had done for the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 74). He did not, however, abandon the heroically scaled mythology, as the dramatic *Perseus and Andromeda* (cat. 86) attests. Less preciously finished than the Rudolfian allegories, this late picture posits a more emphatic chiaroscuro, a deeper color range, and a newly fabulous capacity for conjuring up legendary events. Equally symptomatic of his changing concerns is *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror* (cat. 87). A conscious and somewhat coy variation on Titian's picture (National Gallery of Art, Washington), it illustrates the now well-worn Venetian discussion about art and illusion, mirror and reality, painter, subject, and the spectator. Perhaps the fact that Paolo had little to add to this mid-century mannerist academic discussion lent his painting an unwonted ponderousness of form and saturated density of color. If the Omaha *Venus* suggests that Paolo was momentarily distracted, his approach to such pagan themes would quickly be reoriented to an intimate mood of autumnal nostalgia as in the *Venus and Adonis* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

Unexpectedly, it was at this juncture of overwhelming professional obligations and a clear shift in his approach to painting that Paolo retreated to a medium in which he was the supreme master of the time, but one with which one might assume he had exhausted his prospects: the finished chiaroscuro drawing. On a coloristically rich ground of prepared paper, Veronese worked simultaneously with pen and ink, brush and gray or bister wash, and white highlight in tempera to

create works finished in all but color. This medium had been an essential part of his repertory from the beginning (cats. 1, 5), had gained fluency (cats. 17, 26), and had achieved mastery (cats. 47, 53) well before 1580. Why, then, did Paolo devote such loving attention to it in these last years? The answer probably lies in that it allowed him free range for his fecund power of invention without dedicating weeks or months to the completion of a painting. This is suggested by the plaintive note copied from an autograph inscription onto the verso of the *Holy Family Served by Angels* (cat. 89), in which the artist lamented that if he ever had time he would like to translate this chiaroscuro drawing into a painting. But for whom were these drawings intended? None is recorded as belonging to a private collector during Paolo's lifetime, nor do they seem to have been known outside the Caliari shop. The famous series (cats. 82, 89, and formerly Mooney collection, New York) described by Ridolfi in 1648, when it was the pride of the Muselli collection in Verona, has no internal iconographic unity and may be dated over several years. This suggests that they were acquired by a senior Muselli sometime after the death of Benedetto in 1598. Indeed, several were clearly in the shop after Paolo's death, since they served as models for pictures produced by late pupils and followers. Even almost a century later, in the 1682 inventory (Gattinoni 1914) of the studio remnants left unsold in the house of the last Caliari, there were no fewer than ninety-four finished chiaroscuro drawings. They were not models for the making of chiaroscuro woodcuts, since none served as such before the seicento (nor could that medium hope to capture the pictorial richness of these drawings). The monumental *Allegory of the Redemption* (cat. 83) not only represents the largest, most complex, and most elaborately finished of Paolo's chiaroscuro drawings, but also is the compositional equivalent of his grandiose late altars (cat. 96). Its subject, however, is too arcane for a public commission and must have been formulated by a humanist/theologian of particularly pedantic bent. Since the iconography of these surviving drawings is exotic, they cannot have been intended as a compendium of standard themes for shop reference, nor were they *modelli* for any painting by Paolo or the shop under his direction. Nonetheless, the inscriptions are garbled transcriptions of first-person comments at least partly written by the artist himself on facing sheets of an album in which the drawings were carefully preserved. Although many aspects of these elaborate chiaroscuro works of the 1580s remain ambiguous, they constitute the splendid climax of his especial contribution to cinquecento draftsmanship.

Although much has been made of Veronese's use of theatrical devices in his history paintings and his drawings illuminate the care with which, like an expert director, he orchestrated his language of gesture, we know very little about stage practice in Venice at this time. At least a brief insight is afforded by the hurried attention he dedicated to a project in which his participation was not acknowledged and for which he seems not to have been compensated. Palladio's handsome Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza had been completed after his death in 1580 by Scamozzi and was ready in 1584 for the Olympic Academy to make plans for the inaugural production of Sophocles' *Oedipus the Tyrant*. Although the Vicentine artist Giovanni Battista Maganza had been entrusted with the design and execution of the elaborate costumes, Paolo's assistance was sought, perhaps through the good offices of the Venetian humanist Vittore Soranzo, whose name appears on one sheet of studies. The vividly extemporized pen sketches (cat. 84; and Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, no. 415) were passed on to Maganza for elaboration and execution, a helpful gesture suggesting that the legend of Paolo's friendly collegial relations with other artists (except for Tintoretto) has some basis in fact.

Notwithstanding the frequency with which Venetian painters with active family shops duped clients by providing pictures largely if not totally by assistants for prices appropriate only to authentic works of the master himself, Paolo seems rarely to have aroused public comment for falsification of a painting's true autograph character. This is due more to the general high quality of work produced by Benedetto, Gabriele, Carletto, and others, than it is to any excess of ethics on Paolo's part. He was, indeed, inclined to sign only works destined for outside Venice, and with an especial flourish if they were largely by his associates. He

usually drew the compositional sketches from which his juniors worked, and his brusque, pressured, sometimes approximate handling of pen and wash took on a new urgency and intensity in these late years. In some cases (cat. 93; and Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Kassel, no. 1123), each was a powerful exploration of separate aspects of a painting that would be carried out largely by Benedetto and Gabriele with Paolo's final corrections. In other instances he was so pleased with the effect of a detail, for instance the climactic passage of the great *Crucifixion* mural (fig. 54) just finished in 1584, that he decided to excerpt it in a smaller painting. His pen sketch (cat. 94) is, therefore, more attenuated than usual since it required less inventive experiment, and the painting (cat. 95) recasts its predecessor in a new key, one of restrained but intense pathos. In another type of challenge the quick exploration of figure poses (cat. 90) for the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91) seems casual only because the artist knew that his primary expressive device in the painting would be a volatile, energized brushstroke and incandescent color. He never wasted effort and time on preparation that was not necessary to the result he envisioned in his inner eye.

Religious painting in Venice underwent profound changes in the years around 1580. Not only did the Council of Trent promulgate new theological priorities, such as the importance of the Eucharist and the mystical lesson of sacrifice and martyrdom in Christ's Passion and the deaths of saints, but also the Inquisition busied itself with questions of decorum in the painting of religious themes, and, at least by implication, discouraged an indulgence in frivolous secular themes, in particular erotic mythologies. But the impact of this grim and repressive wave of conservatism went far beyond the artists' range of possible subjects to include as well the actual approach to the style of their representation. Counter-Reformation themes clearly dominate in the later works of Titian, although the fact that they were for the most part destined for export to Spain and the essentially inimitable character of their pictorial idiom limited their impact in Venice. Only Jacopo Bassano and his son Francesco seem in some measure to owe their nocturnal tonality to a study of Titian's last works, and this interest would intensify after 1576 to bring back to Venice an evanescent, visionary handling of paint in the years before their deaths in 1592. Tintoretto at once arrogated leadership in propounding a new approach to painting in the great upper hall of the Scuola di San Rocco. There, between 1575 and 1581, he unleashed his stormy biblical drama in a darkly turbulent ensemble as unsettling as it is overwhelming. But after 1583 even the volcanic Tintoretto damped the fires of his rhetoric in the murals added to the lower hall of the same building. There a hushed and melancholy restraint tames the *Massacre of the Innocents* to the status of urban crime in which assailant and victim lose identity in the dim melee. This symptomatic reduction of Tintoretto's aggressive energies was, in fact, responsive to a current calling for an emphasis on clear, candid, and easily absorbed symbol and narrative. Jacopo Bassano was, by way of his sons Francesco and Leandro who were now his representatives in Venice, a significant force in the diffusion of this naturalistic direction, but it fell primarily to a still-younger generation of native masters to endow it with an authoritative form. Jacopo Palma il Giovane was both the bellwether and mortician of Venetian painting in the last quarter of the cinquecento. His cycle of ceiling canvases in the old sacristy of San Giacomo dell'Orio, datable to 1577–1581, expounds a Counter-Reformation propaganda of the Eucharist through a carefully synthetic absorption of diverse sources into a darkly naturalistic ensemble of pedantic import. Easily digested, its reduced demand on the viewer is a quieter promulgation of the new iconography as well as a symptom of a weary disorientation of the artist's stylistic direction. If this climate of reflection cleared the way for artistic reform and opened new expressive prospects for painters in Bologna and Lombardy, it caused Venice to descend into dark apathy. Palma was destined to announce the advent of this homogenized synthesis and to carry it to its inevitable mummification before his postmature death in 1628.

In this context Paolo Veronese's role is predictably one of intelligent sensibility. In the preceding decade he stood resolute as a classical bastion against Tintoretto's expressionist abstraction, but after 1583 his awareness of the new atmosphere

elicited a highly personal and little-understood response. A few years earlier, the *Dead Christ* (cat. 72) demonstrated the artist's capacity to explore a vibrantly emotional pictorial idiom just as he was bringing his sensuous theatrical spectacle to a new level in the various treatments of the *Finding of Moses* (cats. 73–76). By 1584 his distillation of the *Crucifixion* mural into a private devotional picture (cat. 95) aptly illustrates the direction he chose in this new cultural climate. Abandoning the wild drama of the mural, at least in energy a parallel to Tintoretto's preceding treatments, Paolo stilled all action to a silent panorama of hushed tragedy, a meditative sadness rendered more poignant by the lucid pictorial means with which it was achieved. Concentrated simplification did not lend itself to cheerfully festive themes such as the *Finding of Moses*, and Paolo replaced that subject with the more rustic and Bassanesque *Rebecca and Eleazer at the Well* (cats. 92, 101, fig. 59) in his last years. Here even passages of striking color and fresh brushwork cannot hide the artist's impatience with a narrative so lacking in emotive weight. In the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91) and its sketch (cat. 90), all distractions have been pared away to allow light to become the protagonist, a magical radiance that pulsates with incandescence greater because the surfaces it transfigures are so limited to essentials. Just as this private devotional painting was willed by Simone Lando to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Venice, the endowment that came with it doubtless paid for one of Paolo's last and most eloquent altarpieces, the *Assumption of the Virgin* (cat. 96). Here again the direction taken is that of simplification and concentration, transposing the dizzying ceiling of the *Assumption* (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, Cappella del Rosario) into a grand but subtly logical orchestration of upward movement in which deeply expressive heads carry the primary emotional thrust.

The newly urgent charge of these later pictures moved rapidly toward a startling change in Paolo's painting style—a flaming rapidity of brushstroke and a deeply resonant sonority of dark color. The *Martyrdom and Last Communion of Saint Lucy* (cat. 97) follows a compositional order Paolo had formulated in his youth and continued in limpid, classical scenes of martyrdom from his middle years (cat. 55.). Here it thrusts the giant figures forward, making the physical and spiritual transport of the saint an inescapable reality. Despite, or partly because of the straightforwardness of the description of the secondary figures, Lucy assumes a catalytic pivotal role, her vigorously brushed wine-colored dress as much as her livid flesh expressive of religious ecstasy.

It is hardly surprising that such transcendental concerns rendered portraiture painfully mundane. In a few cases such as the hypnotic *Gentleman* (Galleria Colonna, Rome), the artist set a rigidly hieratic order in conflict with a haunted expression concentrated in the sitter's eyes. The complacent Soranzo bridegroom (cat. 99) was not so fortunate, his dull face taking second place to the subtly severe play of black and white in his suit. Comparison with an earlier picture (fig. 26) illustrates the reversal of priorities. Conversely, a fervent Franciscan monk, commissioning a votive in which he appears as the saint himself in meditation on the dead Christ (cat. 100), might find that the chalky daubs of paint with which Paolo evoked the horror of death extended to the pasty face of the sitter himself. But one last great portrait was still to come in the context of the San Pantalon altar (cat. 103).

Pen and wash was always the preferred medium of Veronese when he required lightning speed of hand to follow the volatile development of his ideas. Occasionally, in very late drawings, pressure and an abundance of possibilities splinter form, reducing the elegantly ductile line to expressive scratching. In some (cat. 101) he turned abruptly to wash and inserted a strongly modeled study of a detail. In general, however, the drawings of 1587–1588 grew more ethereal, flitting from one solution to another with such rapidity that pen skims the surface and elides to wash applied in thin pools of shadow. Disembodied in this flight of fugitive inspiration, studies of a *Baptism of Christ* (cats. 104, 105) were made, less than two months before Paolo's death, in preparation for an important new commission, the *Baptism* altar (fig. 60), which was destined to be left to his bereaved shop for execution. But his heirs could not translate the drawings' dappled touch into

solid paint, and they remain Paolo's valedictory to drawing.

The humble church of San Pantalon, surrounded by a jumble of poor dwellings, was the charge of the elderly parish priest Bartolommeo Borghi. We do not know if he and Veronese were friends, but when he decided to commission a new high altar for his church in 1587, the beleaguered painter not only took on his request, but also carried it out personally (cat. 103). On a sheet of paper (cat. 102) bearing the date 1587, he sketched several alternative ideas, all centering on the miracle in which Saint Pantaleon exorcises a demon that had sickened a youth. At first it was to have been the intercession of the Virgin that effected the cure, but finally the artist settled on an eloquent if complex circuit of forces in which the saint simultaneously summons the miracle through his faith and recognizes that this dawning power opens the way to his martyrdom as well. This realization is set in the most dismal of settings, a twilight slum in which the surrounding figures are depicted with a harsh but tender realism: the fragile, sickly youth, Pantaleon's anxious assistant with the medicine, and most strikingly, Borghi himself, robed in fine vestments but so affectionately and candidly portrayed as to constitute Paolo's last and in certain ways most penetrating portrait. But all of this mundane environment, so suggestive of a new objectivity nascent contemporaneously elsewhere in north Italian painting, is calibrated to set into relief the passionate drama of the saint. Seeming to step forward into the light of the dim church itself, he directs his plea toward the sick boy, to the worshiper below, and above to the trepid angel who announces his coming martyrdom. It is not only the saint's transfigured expression, but also the tremulous, pulsating brushstrokes evoking rather than describing form that generate the strength of expression in this profoundly moving face.

Among Venetian painters active in 1588, Veronese avoided the melancholy retreat into misanthropic abstraction characteristic of Tintoretto's last years as well as the facile eclecticism of Palma and the younger generation. Instead, the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon* consciously plays the concentrated objectivity of its naturalistic setting against the pathos of the saint's emotional transport, a duality in which both elements provide a contrast of great force. Although this volatile friction seems to presage aspects of baroque art being formulated elsewhere just at this moment, in Paolo's painting it is characterized by a restraint that is his alone. Devoid of grandiose rhetoric, its depth of communicative power lies primarily in the painter's capacity to communicate, by his deft and passionate evocation of light and color, through purely pictorial means. As always lucidly intelligent in his grasp of the internal conflicts that beleaguered Venetian painters in this moment of crisis, Paolo was exploring new and alternative possibilities in these paintings. Never before so daring and seldom so completely in command of his idiom, Paolo seems here to have opened the way to a new phase of painting in Venice.

Epilogue

On about 10 April 1588, the artist, barely sixty years old, traveled north to Treviso, perhaps on business, since he owned land in that region and had already received commissions, some recent, from its citizens. There he attended a ceremony in a still-damp church, caught cold, and contracted pneumonia on his return home. During the night of April 19–20 he died in his house at San Samuele. He was entombed, surrounded by his masterpieces, in the church of San Sebastiano. Stunned by his loss and the vast number of commissions still to be executed, his shop drew together under the collective signature of “Haeredes Pauli” to fulfill these obligations. Many were, indeed, completed on the basis of his drawings and *modelli*, but it soon became clear that Benedetto had lapsed into pictorial despondency long before he died in 1598. Gabriele, never more than a feeble imitator, lived on until 1631, and Paolo’s nephew Alvise dal Friso died in 1609. The effective end of the Caliaro tradition came in 1596 when Carletto unexpectedly died at the age of only twenty-six. Endowed with a clear-sighted taste for natural observation of almost Flemish concentration, Carletto had worked with Francesco Bassano, probably with an eye toward bridging the gap between the collaborators on the *Paradiso*, and from him he learned the rustic pastoral idiom of the Dal Ponte. As a painter, he brought a rare note of freshness to 1590 Venice, and as a draftsman he was an even more innovative figure. The condition of Venetian painting had, however, degenerated to such a degree that by about 1592 even Carletto showed signs of flagging vitality, and his early demise might have been merciful in saving his work from further decline.

The vast accumulation of shop material, unfinished pictures, tapestry cartoons, painted *modelli*, and apparently almost fifteen hundred sheets of drawings by every member of the family would remain the treasured relics of Paolo’s grandson Giuseppe Caliaro until his death in 1681 when they were dispersed, a large block of the drawings going to the vast Sagredo collection. Even the gold chain awarded to Paolo by Titian for the Libreria tondi, a relic which old Giuseppe showed to visitors at the least provocation, was lost.

Collectors, however, competed for the paintings and eventually for the drawings, with the result that today the only mythological painting left in Venice is the *Rape of Europa* (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Anticollegio), which Jacopo Contarini gave to the state in 1713. There are no portraits left, and not a single drawing is to be found in the city. During the seicento, baroque painters, particularly visitors such as Rubens, learned much from Paolo’s example, but his true heirs were the masters of the rococo. Sebastiano Ricci, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo inspired a Veronese revival in the settecento that would wane only in the chilly climate of neoclassicism. However, as long as splendid light and color has been an inspiration, Veronese has continued to be admired, by Delacroix, by the impressionists, and perhaps by painters tomorrow.



80

Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane

1582
oil on canvas
79 x 71 (30³/₄ x 27⁵/₈)

Private collection, Switzerland

Ridolfi, in describing the works inherited by Giuseppe Caliari and preserved then in Paolo's last house at San Samuele in Venice, noted a painting of " . . . Oratione nell'Horto, in piccola forma, con raro finimento condotto." For other versions of the theme (cats. 90, 91) in which Christ sinks into the arms of the angel Ridolfi was explicit about that detail, but here he specified that it is instead the moment of Christ's prayer that was depicted. Further con-

firmation that the picture left among Paolo's effects is the present work may be found in the description of it as small in format and executed with rare refinement. Although a small painting of this subject was noted by Waagen in the collection of Lord Ashburton and the present work passed through the London market before entering its present collection, there is no firm record of this picture until Pignatti published it as by Paolo and with a dating close to the frescoes of Villa Barbaro of 1561.

Most surprising about this small devotional picture is its uncanonical and archaic setting. Paolo might well have seen Titian's first *Christ in the Garden* (Museo Nuevo, Escorial) of 1559–1562, and would surely have been familiar with the engraving after it by Bonasone. But, although his figures

echo those of the senior master, he ignored entirely the blaze of light in a nocturnal setting that was Titian's primary pictorial device there. This is particularly unexpected at a moment in which dark tonality was becoming a favored new avenue of experiment for Paolo. Instead, he chose here to return to a quattrocento tradition familiar in the work of both Mantegna and Bellini, in which a cool morning light floods the serene landscape environment. This is counter to the direction of all Venetian painters of the early 1580s, and in particular to Tintoretto's slashing high-lights on a dark ground. Paolo's serene order may, in fact, be a polemical reaction to his great competitor; Tintoretto's *Christ in the Garden* (Santo Stefano, Venice) was completed shortly before 1581. Although its abstracted patterns of

abrupt chiaroscuro were probably repugnant to Veronese, he must have studied it with perplexed ambivalence, since he here adapted the angel at top right with a change only in the left arm. This is, indeed, the only detail in the painting that implies a supernatural source of light, and the only detail that reflects Tintoretto's pallid colors. Even more than the daylight, the setting strikes an unexpected note. The sleeping Apostles, Mantegnesque at right, vaguely Michelangesque at center, and touchingly natural at left, and Christ are all straightforward Veronese types, but their environment is not. Constructed according to a boxy early Renaissance perspectival system that includes an old-fashioned trellis at right, it strikes a picturesque but archaic note of explicitly northern character. Although the exact source remains hidden, I am convinced that a work of graphic art, a German engraving or woodcut, provided Paolo with his point of departure for this charming but unexpectedly retrospective composition.

It is perhaps this return to earlier conventions that suggested an early dating for the *Christ in the Garden*, but its pictorial character belongs instead with Paolo's paintings of about 1581. The clear, strong color, the finely drawn detail, and the overgrown ruins all suggest the slightly earlier *Resurrection* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), and the somewhat denser impasto is much like that of the *Death of Procris* (cat. 85) of about a year later. Even closer are the rarified transparency of touch and the slightly dissonant color juxtapositions of the *Baptism of Christ and the Temptation* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), painted in 1581 for San Niccolò della Lattuga, Venice. The quotation from Tintoretto's contemporary treatment tends to confirm a dating just after 1581. The Caliarì shop made rather frequent use of the picture, particularly in the later *Resurrection* (State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad). Finally, if this is, as we think probable, the little picture that remained with Paolo's estate until Giuseppe Caliarì's time, it is most likely a rather late work, as very few of the paintings left behind in the studio are datable to before about 1580. An unusual work, linked by nostalgia with a long-past phase of Renaissance art, this beautifully finished little picture fits well Ridolfi's description of it as painted with exceptional refinement.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:344; Pignatti 1978, 214



81

Paradiso

1582–1583

pen and brown ink with bistre wash on ivory paper

30.1 x 21.1 (11³/₄ x 8¹/₄)

inscribed in pen and ink in the artist's hand: *Marco, Zuane, and Mato*; in pen in a later hand: *Paolo Veronese*. Laid down from the Lely, Esdaile, Thane, and Oppenheimer collections, London, and the Rasini collection, Milan

Private collection

fig. 51. *Modello* for *Paradiso*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

This is the third and the most developed of Paolo's preparations for the *modello* (fig. 51) for the *Paradiso* planned but never executed for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice (fig. 50). Most of its elegantly disposed figures had first been suggested in the rapid search for a general figural order (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 26360), and further clarified in the more developed study (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. 26356), but here they assume, for the most part, a clear formal and pictorial definition. Paolo began his sketch to-



ward the top of the now somewhat trimmed paper, drawing with pen and minimal wash a group of saints reclining on a cloud bank, the three at right restudied above with added emphasis on their upward gazes, and the strongly muscular figure with a cross, probably John the Baptist, redrawn above at left. Around this homogeneous assemblage there are several figures that are but vaguely related to them, two being angels at the outside edges, the one at right holding aloft the Eucharist, an element that for obvious reasons would prove inappropriate in the final version. More puzzling is the seminude male below to the left who, supported by flying angels, turns to another standing figure. Although there are several figures in the *modello* based on this motif, the lines indicating a radiance should identify him as Christ, but he bears no similarity to Christ in any of the drawings or the *modello*. Are we simply to assume a moment of fancy on Paolo's part? This done, he moved lower to develop this group in a strongly plastic and spatial order, one in which energetic figures exchange opinions, among them only Andrew clearly identifiable by his cross. This motif may have struck the artist as too Michelangelo-like, since he quickly dropped to the left to redraw him in a more humble pose. Not directly related are the three clerics at the extreme left, variants of those he had invented in the first sketch; nor are the pairs of Evangelists who occupy the lower part of the sheet any longer part of the main group. Mark and John are identified at left, and the ox and the angel appear with their masters at right, while brilliantly luminous angels fly over their heads. As a touching afterthought Paolo's hand finally dropped to the lower edge to scratch in a pathetic little figure whose significance is lost today. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this eloquent sheet is the absolute mastery with which Paolo was able to evoke a fully developed characterization with the slightest touch of the pen or brush. Its implications for the *modello* and by extension for the vast, never realized mural cause a new range of possibilities for Venetian painting to be conjured up in the imagination.

Literature

Borenus 1921, 55; Hadeln 1926, 31, pl. 41; Osmond 1927, 101; Fiocco 1928, 209; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 348, no. 2116; Parker 1958, 35, no. 41; Pignatti 1976, no. 45; Cocke 1984, 221-223, no. 96

The Madonna as a Seamstress

1583-1584

pen and brown ink with gray and bister wash heightened with white body color on blue-gray prepared paper

37.7 x 28.5 (14³/₄ x 11¹/₈)

laid down twice, the second mount cut to show the inscription. Rubbed at the edges, slightly torn at top center, and with two drips of candle wax on the pedestal at lower center. Inscribed in pen on the verso of the first mount in a late sixteenth/seventeenth century hand: *Pittura Quarta/ Infiniti sono i modi e l'attitudine, c[he] sono state dipinte di Maria Vergine, et/ sopra tutte da Alberto Durer, et queste quasi tutte a un' modo sempre co[n] il figl [i]o/ in braccio, al petto, et sempre nudo. I greci, tutti lo facevano fasciato, forse p[er] no[n]/ saper far nudi, et ancora p[er] piu divotione. Qua si possano imaginare tutti colori/ i quali dipingono, et son valenti huomini di disegno, c[he] ogni atto puerile, si puo/ dipingere; cosi vestito come nudo; Michiel Agnolo Buonarotti ultimame[n]te l'ha fatto/ adorme[n]tato mentre c[he] la Vergine legge. Resta adunq[ue] c[ome] mai loveduto c[he] la Vergi[ne]/ sia in piedi a una culla; et lo vadia vestendo; et farli attorno angeli, co[n] fiori/ et frutti in mano co[n] istrume[n]ti musicali, et cosi mezzo vestito, et mezzo spogliat/ o, in cuna, o fuori; senza altro Joseph, o Ana, ma angeli solame[n]te*

formerly Muselli collection (pre-1648), Verona, and Crozat (pre-1741), Mariette (pre-1745), and de Conti (pre-1777) collections, Paris

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 4,666

When Ridolfi saw this famous drawing in the Muselli collection in Verona, it had, like its companions that were at least five in number, an inscription on the verso. It gives a rather rambling discourse on the various ways of representing the Madonna and Child, including an interesting reference to a painting then in Venice that bore an apocryphal attribution to Michelangelo, arriving only in the last three lines to the type here represented. The *Madonna Cucitrice* is of Germanic origin and was popular in the later quattrocento in such prints as that of the Hausbuch Meister, works surely in circulation in the Veneto although this homey iconography never achieved more than marginal success with Italian artists and public. Paolo



minimized its rustic character, present only in the ruin in the background, and emphasized a festive mood by accompanying the scene with an angelic concert of great charm. The Madonna stands by a plinth, and with a large pair of shears fits a simple dress for the child, who tenderly reaches up to caress her cheek. This elegant mixture of devotional icon and sweet domesticity is matched by the fluency and pictorial brilliance of Paolo's chiaroscuro technique, seldom so vibrant in its pulsating light. Although the attribution of this sheet to Veronese has never been disputed, there are widely divergent opinions about the date, or dates, of the six chiaroscuro drawings once in the Muselli collection. The inscriptions are, in the case of the *Pittura Quinta* (formerly Mooney collection, New York) and the *Pittura Sesta* (cat. 89), in the first person, although none is in Paolo's own hand. This sug-

gests that all were copied from another, now-lost manuscript in which Paolo commented on his inventions. In the present instance the general vagueness of the text is not uncharacteristic of Paolo's general stream-of-consciousness writing, and might even reflect his uncultivated grammatical oddities. Although there has been much speculation about a programmatic intention in this set of drawings, there is no internal unity to their subjects, and it seems clear that they are independent inventions intended as works of art in themselves and not preparations for paintings. The present composition is also known in an engraving by Dioneigi Valesi of the eighteenth century, which is inscribed as after a painting then in the collection of Antonio Zecchini in Pescara. Although that picture has disappeared, the existence of copies (High Museum, Atlanta) after other Veronese

chiaroscuro drawings by artists who had nothing to do with the Caliarì family shop shows that such drawings were admired models and that paintings were not the end for which Paolo made them. The *Madonna as a Seamstress* has close affinities in its forms with Paolo's later paintings. The delicate Madonna type and the standing child resemble those of the painting (Museo Civico, Cividale) that was commissioned on 26 March 1584 and executed by the shop, as well as the *Madonna and Child with Saints George and Justina with a Benedictine Donor* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), a largely autograph painting of about 1583–1584. Although angelic orchestras are familiar in Paolo's paintings from an earlier date such as the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* of 1574 (Accademia, Venice), the one in this drawing has closest affinities with the *Madonna in Glory with Saints* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon), an altar paid for on 31 May 1586 and allotted largely to the shop for execution, as well as the wings of the Ognissanti organ shutters (Pina-coteca di Brera, Milan) of 1585 or early 1586. These associations suggest that, like the companion chiaroscuro drawings, the *Madonna as a Seamstress* formed part of the shop materials on which Paolo's associates could draw at least by 1584, and that a date close to 1583–1584 may also be suggested for the Louvre *Pittura Quarta*.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:307; Mariette 1741, no. 682; Banson 1775, no. 242; Remy 1777, no. 1133; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:321; Hadeln 1926, 32, pl. 57; Fiocco 1928, 210; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, 25; Pallucchini 1939, 227, no. 15; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 350, no. 2135; Schlosser 1956, 400; Bacou 1967, no. 144; Rosand 1971, 208; Cocke 1977a, 263; Rearick [1980] 1976, 13, 44–45, no. 22; Cocke 1984, 76–77, no. 19; Coutts 1986, 401



83

Allegory of the Redemption

1583

pen and brown ink with gray and bister wash heightened with white body color over traces of black chalk on blue-gray prepared paper

61.3 x 42.0 (23 7/8 x 16 3/8)

inscribed in pen on the verso by Jonathan Richardson, Jr.: *This Divine Poetry represents the Final Completion of the Great and Sublime Mystery of the Redemption of the World: Foretold in various Manners & Distant Times, by the Prophets & Sybils and in its Due Time Fully Accomplished by the Virgin Mary's presenting y First Author of Original Sin to the glorious*

Redeemer, her son; and in the same hand below: the Prophets are plac'd above and near their High Inspirers . . . while the Sibyl[s], whose Prophecies were by Compulsion, without Their being let in to the Knowledge and Tendency of their own high Illuminations, are only attentive to one another, Below. A strip was added to enlarge the paper below before the drawing was begun; the sheet is slightly cut all around, and laid down formerly Lely, Richardson, Jr., Lawrence, Woodburn (pre-1860), and Norblin Fils (pre-1863) collections

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1961, no. 1961.203

Like many of Veronese's finished chiaroscuro drawings, this monumental sheet had a lengthy descriptive text on its verso, translated and transcribed with an additional comment to the back of the mount by Jonathan Richardson, Jr., when it was laid down. As is the case with most of the analogous inscriptions, this one seems to originate in the later cinquecento, but it was probably neither composed nor written by Paolo himself. Although it has been slightly trimmed, this is still Paolo's largest surviving drawing and is his most heroically conceived chiaroscuro. As Cocke has noted, the composition reflects Titian's 1554 *Gloria* (Museo del Prado, Madrid), but more by way of Cort's engraving rather than the original, which the young artist might scarcely have seen on his arrival in Venice. Paolo had developed the idea of a figure group seen from a low angle of view and with a populous cloudly vision above in the great *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Santa Giustina, Padua) of 1575, but it was doubtless the commission for the *Paradiso* in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice that brought the image back for new consideration. The competition for that picture had been opened shortly after the fire of 1577, but we do not know precisely when the decision was taken to award the project to Paolo in collaboration with Francesco Bassano. In any case, three drawings (cat. 80; and Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin nos. KdZ 26360 and 26356); and the *modello* (fig. 51) seem to date from close to 1582. Together, these studies form the basis for Paolo's vision of the upper portion of this drawing, particularly in the second Berlin sheet (KdZ 26356) where the Virgin kneels in the place of Adam but the Trinity group is quite similar to its formulation here. The group of prophets, several identifiable as Noah, Moses, David, and Saul, are in almost every instance variants of figures, some of them also prophets, in the final *Paradiso* drawing and its product, the *Lille modello*. It may also be noted that the head of Saint Jerome in the Vignola altar (San Giuliano, Venice) of about 1581 is almost identical, but reversed, to that of the bearded prophet at center in the drawing. The five Sybils who gather about the open tomb, a symbol of Christ's triumph over death, carry their traditional banderoles and assume rhetorical poses of grave theatricality. The two at left are very close, again in reverse, to the princess and her elderly

servant in the *Finding of Moses* (fig. 47) of about 1583, and the major one at right would appear in a more delicate form in *Rebecca and Eleazer* (cat. 92) and *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), the former datable to about 1584 and the latter probably undertaken by 1584 or early 1585. Finally, many motifs from this *Allegory of the Redemption* would serve, along with the *Paradiso* project, as inspiration for the sadly undervalued *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 56), which Paolo sketched (cat. 98) and painted in about 1585–1586. The date of this chiaroscuro may, therefore, be fixed with some certainty close to 1583, toward the beginning of what seems to have been a resurgence of interest in such chiaroscuro drawings.

Literature

Bean and Stampfle 1965, 73–74, no. 129; Bean 1982, 156–158, no. 151; Cocke 1984, 74–75, no. 18



84

Costume Studies for Sophocles' *Oedipus the Tyrant*

1584

pen and brown ink with golden brown wash on ivory paper

21.3 x 30.3 (8¹/₄ x 11⁷/₈)

inscribed in pen in the artist's hand (recto): *Citadino di riputation/ fatta/ Donzela servente/ Una fi[gli]a dela Reg[in]a/ fanciulina. Un noncio de la Citta/ Fatto/ un noncio forestiero/ Un noncio dila Citta/ giovane/ Un Patron Vechio/ Fatto/ Ellipo vechio/ Chreonte/ Un homo nobile/ Fato/;* and vertically: *d. 65 L. 405/ 403/ L 45;* and (verso): *Chreo[n]te di meza/ Etta. Contemporary inscription in pen in another hand (verso): Al Cl.mo Sig.r il sig.r/ Vettor Soranzo mio S. e Patron/ Oss.mo/ Venetia/ in frezzaria in Cale del Caro*

Elmar W. Seibel, Boston

This sheet, for which the provenance is traceable only to the recent past, was exhibited by Stock as by Paolo and given a more extended publication by Mason-Rinaldi and Cocke. All except Puppi agree that, like the related drawing (fig. 52a, 52b), these are costume sketches for Sophocles' *Oedipus the Tyrant* that Paolo provided to Giovanni Battista Maganza in Vicenza in preparation for the inaugural production in the Teatro Olimpico. Palladio's theater was begun in February 1580, a few months before the architect's death, and was

opened on 3 March 1585. Plans for that production must have begun even before the first record of the committee to oversee the costumes on 6 May 1584, since it was empowered to reimburse expenses, a responsibility alluded to by the annotation in a hand subsequent to the drawing on the Paris sheet, where costs for the past year, 1583, and the present year, 1584, are noted. Although contemporary reports credited Maganza with the Oedipus costumes, it is clear that, with or without the Accademia Olympica committee's knowledge and permission, Veronese's assistance was solicited in the form of these and other rapid pen sketches. In the present instance he used a discarded piece of paper that had been folded previously into eight segments, on one of which the address of Vittore Soranzo in Venice was written in another hand. It is unclear why the verso did not contain a letter, but it is possible that this was the cover of instructions sent to Soranzo, the Accademia's representative to Paolo. The artist annotated each of his ideas to indicate the character for which it was destined. Abbreviated and improvisational though the sketches are, Paolo's prolific imagination and concise understanding of costume form lends them a clarity of concept that permitted Maganza in Vicenza to translate them in his own drawings. On one of these (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Scholz collection), Maganza developed two figures from the Paris



figs. 52a, 52b. Costume Studies for Sophocles' *Oedipus the Tyrant* (recto and verso). Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris



For his composition and figure types Paolo here revised and adjusted his own monumental treatment of the theme (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg), which he had painted for a Venetian collector slightly before 1582. The rather damaged drawing (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, no. KdZ 5072), which seems closer to the reproductive character of a *ricordo*, might have served in place of the painting at this stage. Reversing the figures and conflating a few details from the slightly subsequent *Death of Adonis* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm), Paolo here reduced the heroic aspect of these sources in favor of an intimate and delicate sylvan mood.

This sequence was more often practiced in Paolo's shop, particularly by Benedetto who reduced and adapted his brother's compositions to other purposes. The primary example of this is the set of four *spalliere* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) representing episodes from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. For them Benedetto rummaged through shop material, mostly *ricordo* drawings made after long-departed pictures, and assembled a collage of ill-understood components from a span of about thirty years of Paolo's activity. His execution is timid, labored, and dedicated to easy decorative effect, with the significant exception of one passage: the reclining Acteon who spies on Diana and her nymphs, which is lifted from Paolo's

Venus and Adonis (Museo del Prado, Madrid). The Prado picture is the pendant to the *Death of Procris*, which provided the starting point for the present panel. Its adaptation to the new narrative where head and arms required a different pose having given Benedetto some difficulty, his older brother finally took up brush and colors and painted this figure, his sash, two dogs, and their landscape surround. Paolo's vivid and effortless application of paint animates an otherwise tiresome labor on Benedetto's part, but it hardly justifies the attribution of the four Boston pictures to the master.

Paolo's brief contribution to the Boston set is exactly analogous to the handling of the present panel. Since both the Boston *Diana and Actaeon* and the present picture derive from pendant paintings executed just before 1582, we have a terminus post quem for these five furniture pictures. The *Death of Procris*, with its deeply resonant range of dense, saturated color and strong, firmly applied impasto, finds its appropriate place in Paolo's development in the years around 1583–1584 and may be compared with the more finished small-scale works of these years (cats. 79, 80).

Literature

Fiocco 1934, 120; Suida 1938, 1:175; Berenson 1957, 1:139; Marini 1968, 106, no. 100; Pignatti 1976, 1:196, no. A 207; Pallucchini 1979, 127; Pignatti 1981, 193, no. 69; Pignatti 1981a; Pallucchini 1984, 78–79, 178, no. 118



Perseus and Andromeda

1584

oil on canvas

26.0 x 21.1 (101¹/₂ x 82¹/₄)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes

Perseus, mythic hero of Greek legend, aided by the winged sandals the Graie had given him and by Minerva's shield with the head of Medusa, flies to the aid of Andromeda, an Ethiopian princess offered in expiation to a marine dragon. The subject had been treated by several cinquecento artists, usually in allegorical guise, but in Venice the most commanding prototype had been painted by Titian for Philip II. A painting of this theme had been promised to the king of Spain in 1554 and was described as already sent in 1557, but another version was offered to the Emperor Maximilian II in 1568. The surviving picture (Wallace Collection, London) fits better stylistically at a date shortly before 1568, but X rays show that it had been started with Andromeda bound to the rock at right and Perseus airborne at left center, the same format sketched in a drawing (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampi degli Uffizi, Florence, no. 12911 F verso) datable to about 1558. Since that composition seems to be the one that inspired Veronese, one would suggest that Paolo had either seen and remembered the first 1554–1556 version or that still-another replica of the earlier type was to be seen in Venice nearly a decade after Titian's death. Since Paolo had been inspired by others of Titian's poetic inventions for Philip II and was clearly privy to the elderly master's studio, the most logical explanation is that at some point prior to 1576 the younger painter had been shown work in progress or sketches in Titian's studio.

The provenance of this imposing picture is unknown prior to 1662 when it was impounded along with the rest of the distinguished collection formed by Nicolas Fouquet, the French superintendent of finance. It was purchased by Louis XIV shortly before 1665, when both Chantelou and Bernini saw it in the Gobelins tapestry factory where it presumably had been sent to be reproduced. By 1683 Le Brun recorded it at Versailles, and after a sojourn at Meudon noted in 1700 and at the Surintendance in 1760, it was deposited by

the state with the museum at Rennes where it remains today. Considered a major masterpiece by Veronese for almost three centuries, *Perseus and Andromeda* exerted a significant influence on French painting, particularly during the eighteenth century when it was the inspiration for paintings by Lemoyne (Wallace Collection, London), Natoire (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes), and even Ingres (Musée Ingres, Montauban).

Despite its traditional attribution to Veronese and acceptance by Caliarì, this picture was assigned to Montemezzano or Carletto by various scholars during the middle years of this century. Recently, however, there has been a return, led by Berenson, to the view that it is by Paolo alone. A recent restoration has rendered it more legible, but strips along both sides have been damaged and pieced out.

Perseus and Andromeda continues the great tradition of the mythologies painted for Emperor Rudolf II (cats. 66–68, 70), being even slightly larger than those monumental compositions. In format and pictorial character it is more dramatically conceived as befits its heroic theme. A sequence of brightly illuminated and shadowed planes simultaneously defines space and unifies the pattern of silhouettes, beginning with the powerful figure of Andromeda bound to the dark promontory at right, her knee and hip thrust forward from the picture plane to catch the strong rays of light from low on the right, and her delicate profile set against the distant radiance on the horizon. The subtle half lights and reflections over her body are gauged with a masterful clarity and framed by the exceptionally resonant rusty orange of her mantle. Perseus, a striking exercise in foreshortening, plummets downward, his harmony of gold and mossy green a foil for the reptilian iridescence of his adversary. The dragon is a characteristic Veronese invention, wondrously strange in its clawed wings and toothy maw, but simultaneously vulnerable as it recoils in amazement from the unexpected aerial attack. Its distant ancestor is the collapsed lizard in Paolo's early *Saint George* project (cat. 9). But perhaps the most evocative passage is the maritime city in the distance, a visionary jumble

of exotic architecture of a type developed in Paolo's later drawings and paintings (cat. 93). Shimmering like a mirage in the dawn light, its ramparts traversed by phantom spectators of the foreground battle, this is the perfect setting for a fabulous legend.

Although the pressure of so many commissions required the participation of one or more members of the family shop in most pictures of notable dimensions after about 1580, *Perseus and Andromeda* is so pictorially unified and evenly assured in form, brushwork, and color as to relegate such assistance to preliminary and marginal passages. In any case, it does not resemble in any significant way the work of Montemezzano, who was working independently by about 1565, long before this picture was begun. Its relation to Carletto is more direct, since the boy, then about thirteen years of age, might well have observed and admired the crisp assurance with which his father painted it.

In style *Perseus and Andromeda* signals a darker, more somber approach to mythological themes after the last of the paintings delivered to Rudolf around 1580 (cat. 70), yet not as heavy in impasto or saturated in color as the immediately subsequent *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror* (cat. 87). Among the pictures in the present exhibition, the *Crucifixion* (cat. 95) of 1584 most closely resembles it in the delicacy of the glazes, the muted, golden tones against a stormy sky, and the distant cityscape. We would, therefore, suggest a date of about 1584 for the Rennes painting as well.

Literature

Chantelou 1665 (ed. Lalanne 1885, 220); Le Brun 1683, no. 183 (ed. Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, no. 183); Mariette 1729–1742, 2:65, no. XVI; London 1803, 105–106; Taine 1863–1865, 53; Caliarì 1888, 389; Engerand 1899, 89–90; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 2:211; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, 2:45; Berenson 1932, 424; Vertova 1952, unpaginated; Hulftegger 1954, 132; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Crosato-Larcher 1968, 223; Marini 1968, 120, no. 282; Crosato-Larcher 1972, 79; Constans 1976, 165; Pignatti 1976, 1:203–204, no. A262; Ramade 1980, 1–12

Venus and Cupid with a Mirror

1584–1586

oil on canvas

161.3 x 120.7 (65 x 49)

Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha,
Joslyn Endowment Purchase

This is almost certainly the painting described by Ridolfi as then in the Bevilacqua collection in Verona. The Musselli family seems to have had a claim to it, since the Venetian art historian also noted it as belonging to that Verona clan of collectors, apparently without realizing that the same picture was mentioned twice. That there was but one is proven by the attempt on the part of the Este duke of Modena to buy it in the mid-seventeenth century, an effort foiled by the joint Bevilacqua-Musselli ownership. Thereafter it seems to have remained in the possession of the Bevilacqua who sold it to the English collector Richard Pryor in 1805. Its history is documented from that time until its purchase by the Joslyn Art Museum in 1942. Although it has not figured prominently in the modern literature, Pignatti alone dedicating ample attention to it, most critics accept Paolo's authorship.

Paolo painted a lost version of this subject in about 1580 for Rudolf II in Prague, though its format is suggested by the preliminary pen sketch (cat. 70) in which both the *Venus with a Mirror* and its pendant *Venus, Mars, and a Weeping Cupid* are sketched. Although most of the drawing would be developed into the latter subject, it seems clear that the Prague *Venus with a Mirror* was at least conceived as showing the semi-nude goddess seated in a landscape, Cupid resting by her side, and a hand mirror to her right. It is, of course, possible that since some of these elements would figure in the pendant composition, Paolo made a more drastic revision of the sketch to conclude with a painting of which the Omaha picture is a replica. Another consideration militates against that theory: the present *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror* is a conscious and witty metamorphosis of Titian's great *Venus with a Mirror* (National Gallery of Art, Washington). That painting, executed close to 1560 but apparently never delivered to a patron, remained in the master's studio at his death and was sold by his son Pomponio to Cristoforo Bar-

barigo in 1581. Although Paolo may have seen it earlier, his friendship with the Barbarigo family for whom he had worked earlier (cats. 54, 55) was probably the factor in his admiring study of the picture after they acquired it. With evident allusion to the perennial Venetian discussion about the respective virtues of the arts, he here created a sort of counterpart to Titian's opulent Venus seen from the front and obliquely reflected in the mirror. In Paolo's version she is seated on the edge of an elaborate, red-curtained bed, and, allowing her furlined green and gold dressing gown to fall below her hips, she swivels to adjust a golden scarf in her braided hair and to observe its effect in the boudoir mirror held by an awestruck Cupid. A pair of amorous doves on the floor make it clear that her toilette is in anticipation of a rendezvous with her lover Mars. Despite a highly artificial torsion to her pose and the mannerist device of the reflected reality in the mirror, the general effect of Veronese's painting is one of a sensuous physicality emphasizing her natural presence. The theme here is her beautiful back, just as Titian's had been a more restrained frontal view. Nonetheless, Paolo belongs to a younger generation for whom art and reality had a different, more sophisticated duality. Here the mirrored image of Venus' face is disjunctive from her gaze, creating instead direct eye contact with the viewer who thus assumes the identity of the expected Mars. The eroticism of her welcoming expression emphasized by the slight suggestion of her right nipple, Venus is no longer a remote and idealized goddess, but assumes, instead, the provocative role of a courtesan in the spectator's regard. This hint of pornography is unusual for Paolo, whose mythological lovers are invariably cast either in a serenely classical mode (cat. 68) or a warmly human situation (cat. 38). It was, perhaps, the explicit requirement of the patron that fostered the artificial complexity of the Omaha picture. We do not know who commissioned this painting, since both the Bevilacqua and Muselli families in Verona acquired most of their collections after Paolo's death. Alternatively, it might have been Barbarigo himself who ordered it as a variation on his newly pur-

chased Titian, but we have no documentation for this.

Whatever the circumstances that prompted Paolo to explore a new direction in the *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror*, its pictorial character suggests a new phase in Paolo's development. Its brushstroke is heavier, slower, more thickly applied, with an unusually dense impasto seemingly intent on suggesting the actual surfaces of fur, brocade, linen, or silk. This effect is, in part, a result of the direct inspiration of Titian's richly sensuous texture, but it also belongs to an internal stylistic direction detectable in the artist's later years. Venus' features are hardly idealized, but instead project a mundane realism that verges on the vulgar. Color is strong, concentrated on dark lime, deep rose, and pink flesh with accents of gold, white, and brown, but it is a pungently saturated harmony, densely physical and almost overpoweringly sensual. All of these characteristics together might suggest not just the presence of another hand, but even the creative impulse of another artist, were it not for the mastery with which the painting has been realized. Secure, decisive, and perfectly calibrated in all of its effects, the pictorial handling is far beyond the capacities of the torpid Benedetto, and distinct from the chilly sparkle of Carletto. Its closest parallels may be found in such works as the *Venus and Adonis* (Seattle Art Museum), the *Venus and Cupid* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), and the *Lady with a Lap Dog* (Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Lugano), all works in which a variable amount of shop participation is detectable. *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror* is, nonetheless, stronger than those pictures and directly related to those passages in them that were painted by Paolo. Further, the master himself made two small and lighter-toned variants of it in the *Venus, Mars, and Cupid with a Mirror* (formerly private collection, Milan) and the *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* chiaroscuro drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 4676), both works of about 1584–1587. He is unlikely to have based such playful revisions on the work of an assistant. The date of the Omaha painting must clearly fall rather later than 1584, the date we have suggested for the *Perseus*



and *Andromeda* (cat. 86), and closer but prior to the derivations of 1584–1587. We would, therefore, suggest that it be dated between 1584 and 1586.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:306, 307; Dal Pozzo 1718, 281; Campori 1870, 180; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:320; Hadeln 1929, 115–116; Poglayen-Neuwall 1929, 77; Fiocco 1934, 118; Poglayen-Neuwall 1934, 358, 378, 381; Carr Howe 1938, no. 75; Frank-

furter 1939, 16, no. 11; Comstock 1939, 338–339; Marini 1968, 122, no. 218c; Franzoni 1970, 1; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 39, 476, 615; Cocke 1974, 24; Pignatti 1976, 1:154, no. 275; Pignatti 1979, 128, 169, no. 46



88

Holy Family Served by Angels

1584–1585

pen and brown ink with pale bister wash and darker wash at right and extreme left (recto), brown ink (verso) 19.3 x 20.3 (7¹/₂ x 7⁷/₈) fragmentary accounts in Veronese's own hand on verso, including: *a 26 di marzo*; inscribed in pencil in a twentieth-century hand: *studi j di Paolo per una cena*. Three of the corners are beveled with a tear at lower left, but the ink stains are original formerly Durazzo collection, Genoa, no. 6

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. KdZ 26362

This vivid sheet has been recognized by all authors as by Paolo and was identified by the Tietzes as his preparation for the finished chiaroscuro (cat. 89) described by Ridolfi (1648, I:321) when it was in the Muselli collection, Verona. Cocke suggested a date close to 1557. Since the long list of accounts on the verso had been cut it is difficult to decipher their meaning, but among the annotations running at right angles is the clear date of 26 March, unfortunately without the year. The primary group of sketches on the recto are, together with that (cat. 46) for the *Rest on the Flight*

into Egypt (cat. 47), Paolo's only surviving preparations for a finished chiaroscuro. With the aid of the finished work we can reconstruct his process in developing this composition, an unusual theme in the cinquecento and surely related to Counter-Reformation polemics (a generation later it would become widely popular, particularly in Spain, and would undergo a metamorphosis into *Saint Dominic Served by Angels*). He began at the center of the sheet, which has been cut particularly at left, with a light and fresh indication of the Virgin, Christ, and Saint Joseph seated at table, three flying putti above them and six serving angels behind. The terrace with three columns behind and one at right front is casually indicated with a hint of drapery between those at right, but the artist's lack of concentration on this setting is suggested by the curved line above, evidently simply the margin of the composition rather than a curved architrave as has been suggested. Further, his indication of the column's diameter at right is repeated above and to the right of the Virgin, but here he confused the column's placement and drew the curve between the shafts. He seems to have

been distracted in the barely begun first suggestion for the kneeling angel in front of the table at right, its scale being far too small. He redrew it, together with its companion, lower and larger. Temporarily satisfied, he added a particularly limpid wash to the primary figures in this group and some passages of architecture; but he was not yet finished and added a further clarification to the right kneeling angel below it and a faintly shifted upper portion of Christ outside the top margin line. After a period of reflection on his composition, Paolo must have decided that it was too hieratically centralized, and with a darker ink he added three angels behind a balustrade outside the colonnade at right. Again he was unclear about these columns and drew one angel behind the right one, adjusting its head in a penitimento, but to no avail. For a complete reworking of these angels he dropped lower and drew four of them around a large wine cooler, his dissatisfaction evident in the many pentimenti. In the finished chiaroscuro he would—perhaps after further pen sketches—reduce the angels to two, lower the wine cooler, and shift the balustrade to the right edge of the terrace. One further clarification, a bit of drapery that might be an elaboration of that of the angel seen from behind in the final group, was added at lower right, but it with its angel was destined to disappear from the final composition. Later, but probably in the context of simultaneous projects, Paolo made economical use of the upper right corner of the sheet for a group of figure studies, again in a dark ink with a deep brown wash. The subject was, at least initially, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, adumbrated first in the seated Madonna with the child in her left arm and with her right extended to receive the dates pulled down from the palm by an angel slightly higher at left. Drawn first with its right arm raised, the angel's left arm was changed to a raised position and the right lowered in pentimenti, and then the entire figure was repeated further to the right in this pose. In a surprising experiment, Paolo then drew the Madonna from the back, as though he wished to clarify the figure's gesture from another view, but such an uncanonical concept would not have been acceptable, and with his brush and a dark wash he gave his approval to the first two figures by adding chiaroscuro definition. In a final gesture emphasizing the volatile flexibility of his technique and invention, he



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Holy Family Served by Angels

added with brush alone an extemporaneous but deft ghost image of the donkey just above and to the right of the Virgin. Of the considerable number of his treatments of the Rest on the Flight (including cats. 26, 46, 47, 49, 56) that survive, none was the result of these studies, but several earlier versions, in particular the Sarasota altar (cat. 56) and the Cleveland drawing (cat. 46), are reflected here. It would provide several ideas for a late treatment in which the shop took a significant role (such as in the Spink collection, London, and the Doll collection, Bonn), but it is probable that the impatience shown in these sketches precluded a satisfactory solution and a painting at this moment. The date of this sheet, discussed in greater detail in relation to the Bremen chiaroscuro (cat. 89), may be placed close to 1584–1585.

Literature

Hadeln 1926, 28, pl. 37; Osmond 1927, 100; Fiocco 1928, 207; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 341, no. 2044; Oehler 1953, 33; Cocke 1977a, 264; Cocke 1984, 80–81, no. 21; Coutts 1986, 403

1584–1585
pen and dark brown ink with gray wash heightened with white body color over slight black chalk on gray-blue prepared paper
39.7 x 53.0 (15½ x 20¾)
inscribed in ink on the old French mount in a nineteenth-century hand: *Alessandro Gherardini Fiorentino geboren 1655, and in pencil in a slightly later hand: Alex. Gerard[. . .]*. Laid down, once rolled with some loss of white highlighting, folded vertically near center, stained particularly above Virgin and in sky at right
formerly Muselli collection, Verona (1648), Crozat (pre-1741), Gouvernay (1741), Mariette (1767), Basan (1775) collections, Paris, and Paul Brandt Gallery, Amsterdam (1957)
Kunsthalle, Bremen, no. 57/63

Ridolfi (1648, 1:321) reported in the sixteenth century that among the drawings in the Muselli collection in Verona there were several chiaroscuro sheets. He said this one was inscribed on the

verso: *Pittura Sesta. Se io haverò tempo giamai, voglio rappresentare sontuosa mensa sotto a nobil loggia, ove entri la Vergine, il Salvatore, e Gioseppo, facendogli servire col più ricco corteggio d'Angeli, che si possà immaginare, che gli somministrino in piatti d'argento e d'oro regalate vivande e copia di pomposi frutti. Altri siano implicati in recar in tersi cristalli & in dorate coppe pretiose vivande, per dimostrare il ministero prestato da Beati spiriti loro Dio, come meglio nel fine del libro sarà dichiarato, per intelligenza de' Pittori e per diletto degli amatori della Virtù; della qual inventione io ne vidi un rarissimo disegno.* Before the middle of the next century this as well as most of the other Muselli drawings had been sold. By about 1730 it had been acquired by Crozat and was later catalogued by Mariette in the Crozat collection (no. 695), and subsequently bought by Mariette himself (no. 144), and sold by Basan (no. 253), always with an attribution to Paolo. It was close to this latter sale that it was firmly pasted down to a French-style passe-partout, to which it is still attached, and which hides the inscription one assumes still to be on the verso. This may

have been judged necessary because the paper had previously been rolled with resultant abrasion to its surface. The unexpected inscription of the name of the Florentine late-baroque painter Alessandro Gherardini (1655–1723) on the French mount must have been added by a sophisticated German collector of the second half of the nineteenth century, given its mixture of pseudo-Italian and German. Since Gherardini's drawing style has absolutely nothing to do with that of this drawing, such an error is doubtless due to a mistaken reading of an inventory source, probably the Mariette catalogue of the Crozat collection, since that collection contained sheets by Gherardini. Despite its manifest absurdity, the Gherardini attribution was retained even in a recent exhibition (Bremen 1964, 15, no. 44). Vitzthum cautiously described it as a copy after a lost Veronese chiaroscuro, an opinion repeated by Cocke and by Oberhuber in a note on the mount. Lenz more recently appended his attribution to someone in Paolo's shop, perhaps Carletto, to the mounting. As has been generally recognized in the recent literature, the pen and wash sketch in Berlin (cat. 88) is Paolo's autograph preparation for this composition in which he gradually explored alternative ideas to arrive at a formulation he would transfer with minor alterations to a delicate black chalk sketch on the hard blue-gray surface of the prepared paper. The transfer is barely visible under the richly pictorial development of the gray wash, the pen detail, and especially the magisterial highlights in white. Although surface wear has abraded its luster and despite marginal participation of an assistant, certainly Benedetto, in a few passages such as the too-regular and uninspired pen pattern with which the tree at right was finished, the quality of this chiaroscuro confirms that it is Paolo's original, which Ridolfi saw in Verona, and which was separated from its companion chiaroscuro drawings only late in the eighteenth century. Not only are the nobly conceived figures endowed with Paolo's secure anatomical integrity, with his delicate clarity in endowing gesture and facial expression with just the right communicative weight, and with a polished pictorial vibrancy particularly evident in the Virgin, Christ, and a charmingly perplexed Joseph; but his hand is also evident in details such as the bowls of fruit proffered by the kneeling angels and the shad-

owed angel by the wine cooler. The ensemble is unified by a pictorial control much like that of Paolo's own later paintings. The inscription once visible on the verso was, like those on other chiaroscuro drawings (formerly Mooney collection, New York; and Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. 4.666), not in Paolo's hand; but since it is in the first person it must transcribe Paolo's own description from another source. In this instance the artist began by saying that if he ever had the time he would like to represent this composition and went on to describe it in some detail. This confirms that these chiaroscuro drawings were never made as *modelli* for paintings, but were independent works of art in their own right, in this case a composition that so pleased Paolo that he was enthusiastic over the prospect of translating it into a full-size painting. A picture matching this was, indeed, described by Ridolfi (1648, 1:321) in the Curtioni collection in Venice. Although it seems to be lost, we do have paintings copied after other chiaroscuro drawings, but in every instance they were made by Veronese's followers or by artists with no direct association with the master. These sheets cannot be seen to have functioned as *modelli* when Paolo drew them. Although the Musselli chiaroscuro drawings need not have been produced all at the same time, their style suggests they be dated within a fairly narrow range. Associations with datable paintings range from the San Teonisto *Marriage Feast at Cana* (Montecitorio, Rome), which was done for Treviso in 1580, to the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome), which is undated but for which the preliminary sketch (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, no. 1123) also contains a study for *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (fig. 53). It in turn is the pendant to the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Castle Gallery, Prague) that is prepared by a sketch (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 26 359) on the verso of a letter dated 19 March 1584. Since these latter works share some motifs with the present chiaroscuro, we would suggest a date of about 1584–1585 for the Bremen sheet.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:307; Mariette 1741, no. 695; Basan 1775, no. 253; Vitzthum 1966, 185; Rearick [1980] 1976, 84; Cocke 1984, 80, 81; Coutts 1986, 401

Agony in the Garden

1583–1584

pen and pale brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

13.1 x 17.0 (5 x 6½)

inscribed in pen in the artist's hand:

angonia; and in another sixteenth-century hand: *Al Honorandissimo pitor M Paulo/ Verones et suo osservandissimo/ Venetia/ vicino a Sa Samuel*. Laid down, folded horizontally and vertically, the upper right part cut and pieced out

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. kdz 18 457

This fragile and somewhat damaged drawing was done on a bit of a letter addressed to the artist at his last residence in Venice, the fine house in Calle delle Carozze near San Samuele where he died in April 1588. On it Paolo explored ideas for the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91), which had been commissioned by Simone Lando. The first study at upper left recalls closely the *Dead Christ Supported by Angels* that Paolo had formulated most powerfully in a version which included the Madonna (cat. 72) of about 1581, and more delicately with shop assistance in a composition with but two angels (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Berlin), a type repeated with variations by the shop alone even after 1588. As was his custom, Paolo then moved right and lower for an abbreviated revision in which Christ leans to the left, but this seems not to have satisfied him at first, since he repeated the angel head in its first position further to the right and then dropped to the lower corner for a tremulously emotional evocation in which Christ collapses toward the right, a sketch developed twice in a ghostly echo still further right. In this last as in the first study, light was intended to play a decisive role and is roughly suggested by the diagonal pen lines. Perhaps other studies intervened, but it was, finally, the second idea that he adopted for the painting. Paolo's normally robust energy seems here to have evaporated into a distilled emotional communication of evanescent but powerful simplicity. The *Agony in the Garden* and its preliminary study may, with some certainty, be dated to the autumn of 1583 or early in 1584.

*Literature*

Badt 1981, 47; Cocke 1984, 256–257, no. 109;

Crosato 1986, 255

Agony in the Garden

1583–1584
oil on canvas
108 x 180 (42¹/₈ x 70)

Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

Christ sinks into the arms of a tearful angel in acceptance of the divine prophecy of the coming crucifixion: the Apostles sleep among the ruins in the distance. On 2 January 1584, Simone Lando made a will, probated on the following 1 March, in which he bequeathed a notable collection of paintings and an endowment to the Venetian church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The list, without artists' names, seems to have included several Bassanos, but was predominantly devoted to pictures by Paolo Veronese and his shop. The last mentioned is this *Agony in the Garden*. Ridolfi's list of Paolo's paintings in Santa Maria Maggiore began, naturally, with the great *Assumption of the Virgin* (cat. 96) over the high altar, proceeded to three horizontal canvases from the Lando bequest that seem to have been on the lateral walls of the choir, and concluded with the present painting. Since it is too small and too intimate in spirit to have been intended for an altar, Lando's *Agony in the Garden* must have been commissioned for his private devotional use very shortly before his death. After the Napoleonic suppression of the church and convent, the painting was deposited at the Brera in 1808. Although Osmond was doubtful and Fiocco assigned it to the school, recent authors have come to see it as one of Paolo's late masterpieces.

The subject of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane does not seem to have been treated by Veronese early in his career. Titian had painted two versions (Museo Nuevo, Escorial; and Museo del Prado, Madrid) shortly after 1558, but, although Paolo might have seen them before they were shipped to Spain, their impact in Venice was limited. Tintoretto seems not to have painted this theme before his monumental mural (Scuola di San Rocco, Venice) of 1579–1581. Indeed, the *Agony in the Garden* came into vogue as an ideal Counter-Reformation theme in the years around 1580. Paolo was well aware of Tintoretto's abstracted nocturnal treatments when he painted his own miniature version (cat. 80) of about 1582, and he

chose to follow a purposefully opposite direction, casting it illogically in limpid daylight and with an archaic perspectival space. His approach had changed drastically a few years later when he picked up a letter addressed to him and sketched (cat. 90) ideas for the present painting. Here he tried several variants of Christ supported by an angel, none exactly the motif he selected for the painting. The wash and the shorthand indication of the divine light in the sketch show that the artist already envisioned nocturnal illumination. Despite a generic resemblance to figures in earlier paintings, both Christ and the angel are fresh inventions here, as the Berlin sketch attests. Of the sleeping Apostles only the central pose is developed from his earlier picture. The broken arch, at first glance seemingly familiar from others of his pictures, does not, in fact, appear in this form elsewhere and attests to Paolo's easy capacity for architectural invention.

As Cocke has noted, Paolo here created a precocious illustration of the biblical passage (Luke 22.43) in which an angel supports Christ in his moment of swooning anguish. A few decades later artists throughout northern Italy would make regular use of its emotionally charged drama, extending the motif to Saint Francis as well. Since Paolo's picture was given to a Franciscan convent, one wonders if the association was already implicit here.

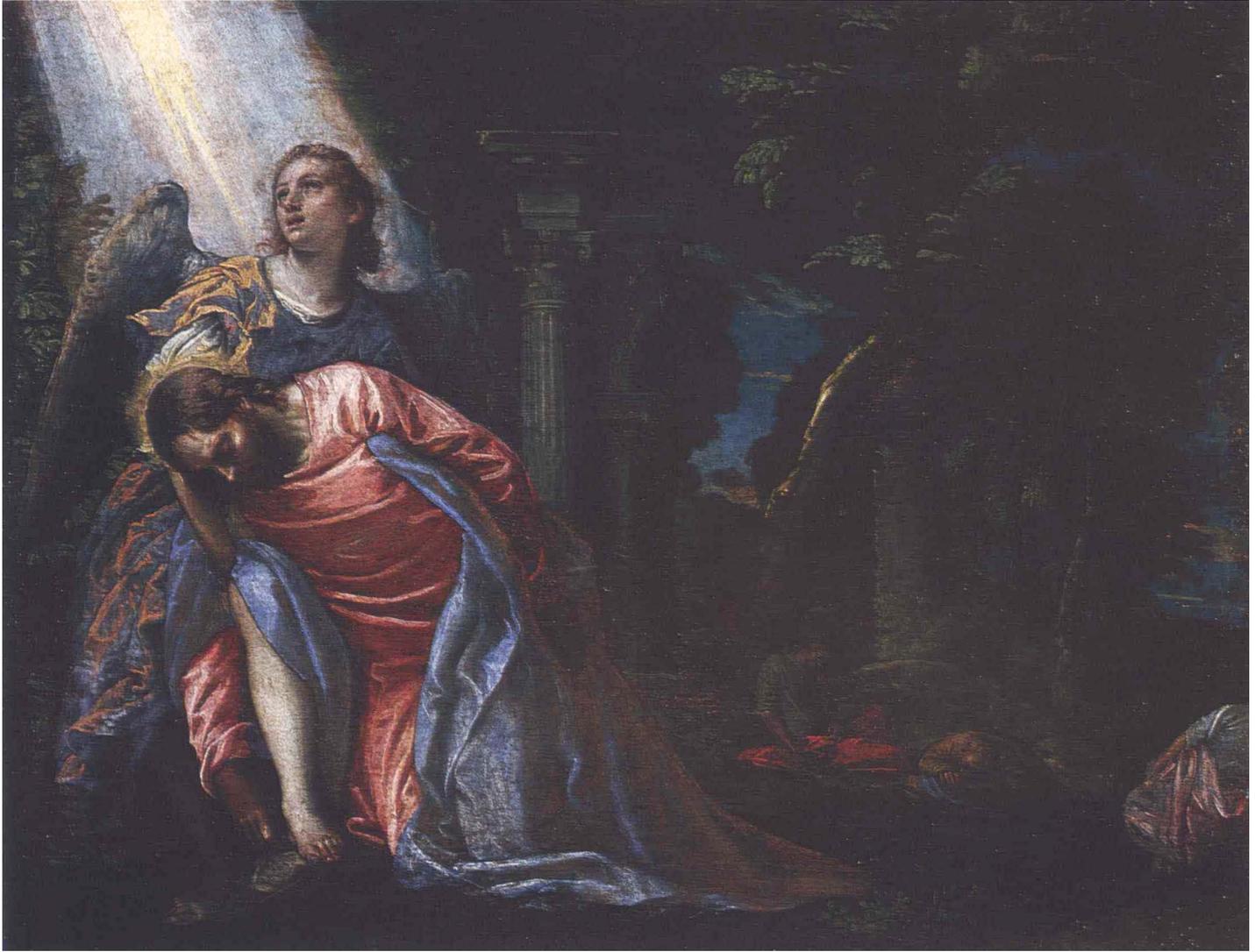
Veronese transformed and transfigured his *Agony in the Garden* through his visionary use of light, similar to but doubtless independent of Correggio's analogous picture (Wellington Museum, London, Apsley House) of more than half a century earlier. In contrast with Tintoretto's arbitrary slashes of illumination, which permit no point of natural reference, Paolo began by establishing a normal setting, a deep and somnolent forest whose fragrant depths are but faintly revealed by the first pale light of dawn. Sleep has overcome the waiting Apostles, and their forms are barely discernible in the sylvan glen in which only the somber ruin is lent substance by the artist's fugitive brushstroke. Nearer, but still part of that other reality, Christ has prayed for release from his impending sacrifice, and, hearing his destiny confirmed, he

slumps down into the arms of the waiting angel whose wonderment and anguish receive the full glare of God's radiance. The tonality of this portion is keyed to the pale lemon of the celestial light, a passage of such dense impasto and subtle modulation to pallid lavender as to dissolve its corporeal substance while paradoxically rendering the act of painting more palpable. Bathed in this supernatural radiance, the rose and blue of Christ's garments turn ashen, a deathly, spent tone perfectly expressive of physical and emotional exhaustion. By contrast, the ethereal angel is electrified, its phosphorescent clothing shimmering with yellow and red lights floating over its energized surfaces. It is the simultaneously natural and transfigured visual image that renders this painting one of Paolo's most involving masterpieces.

If Cicogna's transcription of Simone Lando's will is reliable, we have a terminus ante quem of early 1584 for both drawing and painting. Paolo's family shop seems to have taken it into account almost at once, since Carletto's lost San Niccolò della Lattuga mural of the subject may be presumed to have followed it at a date close to 1586. A vertical variant (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Atrio Quadrato) by a particularly dispirited Gabriele was produced still later. Although its intensely expressive pictorial luminosity suggests Paolo's final masterpiece, the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon* (cat. 103) of 1587, it is entirely possible that *Agony in the Garden* should be dated to late 1583 or early in 1584.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:316; Boschini 1674, Dorsoduro 62; Zanetti 1733, 365; Zanetti 1792, 1:259; Cicogna 1830, 3:419; Calari 1888, 52, 138; Malamani 1888, 378; Ricci 1907, 40, 58; Malaguzzi-Valeri 1908, 139; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:330; Osmond 1927, 81, 114; Coletti 1928, 45; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, 2:32, 35; A. Venturi 1928, 207; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 947; Berenson 1932, 423; Morassi 1932, 28; Fiocco 1934, 114; Modigliani 1935, 38; Morassi 1935, 1:257; Pallucchini 1939, 152–153, no. 65; Coletti 1941, 261–262; Pallucchini 1943, 42; Arslan 1946–1947, 121–122; Berenson 1957, 1:133; Vertova 1960, 68; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 125; Ballarin 1965, 76; Modigliani 1966, 2; Pallucchini 1966, 731; Marini 1968, 126, no. 256A; Pignatti 1976, 1:98, 99, 167, no. 341; Badt 1981, 47; Cocke 1984, 256; Pallucchini 1984, 152, 186, no. 230; Gregori 1985, 227; Rearick 1988, 105





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Rebecca and Eleazer at the Well

1584
oil on canvas
105 x 130 (41 x 50³/₄)

The Burghley House Collection,
Stamford, England

This canvas illustrates the Old Testament episode (Genesis 24.10–22) in which Eleazer, a servant of Abraham, was sent to find a wife for his master's son Isaac in Mesopotamia. When he stopped with his camels by a well, he met Rebecca who had come for water, and being asked for some, not only did the girl dip water for him but also for his attendants and their camels. Convinced by her kindness that she would make a good wife, Eleazer made her a present of bracelets and other jewels.

Although this painting entered the collection of the marquess of Exeter in the eighteenth century with an attribution to Veronese, it has received but scant attention in the literature. Only Ingersoll-Smouse thought it to be by

Paolo, more recent authors calling it a shop variant of another treatment of the theme (fig. 59) which, in fact, dates a year or two later.

Just as the theme of the Finding of Moses enjoyed sudden favor in the Caliari shop between about 1581 and 1582, Rebecca and Eleazer at the Well was preferred a couple of years later. The most monumental and probably earliest version of Rebecca (Château, Versailles) retains festive elements from the Finding of Moses, but a rustic emphasis here in the homely travelers suggests a renewed interest in the work of the Bassano, in particular Francesco, with whom Paolo was to collaborate on the *Paradiso* for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palazzo Ducale. The pale and exotic color juxtapositions of the Versailles painting are muted by a growing tendency to a dusky light. Ridolfi (1648, 1:324) saw the picture when it was still in Palazzo Bonaldi in Venice, together with four canvases depicting

Old Testament heroines, the others being *Susanna and the Elders* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), *Judith and Holofernes* (Musée des Beaux Arts de Caen), and *Esther before Ahasuerus* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). That the Judith derives from Paolo's painting (cat. 77) done in 1582 for Duke Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy gives us a terminus post quem for this suite, which may be dated prior to March 1584, when a still-larger and subsequent set of pictures was already underway (see cat. 93). That suite of paintings, in which Old Testament heroines and the life of Christ are oddly mixed (Castle Gallery, Prague; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; National Gallery of Art, Washington) was begun in 1584 with substantial help from the shop, but it remained incomplete on Paolo's death in 1588 and was enlarged by at least four canvases added by the shop. Although the *Rebecca* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) is in part by Paolo and is a variant of the Bonaldi composition, it is the *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) that has a more direct compositional relation to the Burghley House picture.

This *Rebecca at the Well* has been cut substantially at right, where a camel driver flogs a missing animal, and somewhat less at left. Its proportions were, therefore, similar to but smaller than the Vienna *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*. A restoration, carried out on the occasion of this exhibition, has shown it to be generally well preserved though rubbed, and has finally permitted one to enjoy its exceptionally fresh and subtle color. Rebecca has finished watering the camels at left and right, and shyly fastens a bracelet offered by the patriarchal Eleazer and his two servants. From the Bonaldi composition Paolo adapted the groom by shifting him from left to right, but sharply revised every other element including the peculiar camels. These, as well as other camels in his later pictures, suggest that Paolo might have briefly seen an animal of the long-haired bactrian type, but that memory lent the beast a somewhat mythical form, with high-domed head, beady black eyes, and slack lips all expressive but hardly zoologically accurate. Otherwise, this painting is not significantly derivative from others of the artist's prior works. In fact, the awkward repetition of Rebecca in the Vienna *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* suggests that that picture followed and borrowed from the present work. That

the Vienna picture also repeats the landscape at right from the Bonaldi Rebecca confirms its derivative character. Its loosely atmospheric brushwork, approximate drawing, and warmly shadowed color suggests that it must have been worked on over a long period, most of its present surface datable to after about 1586.

The Burghley House *Rebecca* is particularly remarkable for its pale, cool, yet incandescent color. The heroine sets the tone with her frosty ice-blue mantle, set off by the delicate harmony of fawn, beige, green, and copper of her surroundings. The single, and very striking, dissonance is added at right in the pale peppermint and emerald greens of the groom, seen against a silver and blue sky and distant landscape. Its luminous contrast looks forward to the similar, freer effect at left in the *Martyrdom of Saint Lucy* (cat. 95). Although Carletto must have been profoundly impressed by this and other works he observed as his father painted them, the boy's analytical naturalism cannot be mistaken for the restrained but secure precision of this painting. Its handling recalls the 1583 *Magdalene* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) and the contemporary *Noli Me Tangere* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble). We would, therefore, suggest that it be dated to late 1583 or more probably 1584. Three years or so later Paolo again assayed the subject in a sketch (cat. 101) and painting (fig. 59), using motifs from the Burghley House version but casting it in a still different pictorial mode.

Literature

Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, 34; Waterhouse 1960, 37; Marini 1968, 121; Pignatti 1976, 208, no. A292

Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles

1584

pen and brown ink with dark bister wash on ivory paper

15.5 x 20.4 (6 x 8)

inscribed in pen in the artist's hand (recto): *il Sabeleco et la instoria*; and on the verso of the mount in pen in a late-sixteenth-century hand; Paolo Veronese, and other illegible jottings. Laid down, left corners torn, old ink stains at center from the Durazzo collection, Genoa, no. 3

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. kdz 26 385

Although it has always been accepted as by Paolo, only after the discovery of the painting *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (fig. 53) was this drawing recognized as a development of the first compositional sketch (Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Kassel, no. 1123) for it. Unlike the first study, which concentrates primarily on a linear definition of the figure groups with a secondary suggestion of setting through a light wash at left, this drawing combines a darker ink, a firmer pen line, and a massive application of wash, all toward a dramatic evocation of highlight and deep shadow. This pictorial unity is interrupted only slightly by a penned revision of the head of Christ and the two figures above him at the top center of the sheet, a group that continued to trouble Paolo in the painting and that he redrew here in such quick sequence that the bister wash added to it and to the unrelated interior was added subsequently but almost simultaneously. Later he also added a light horizontal line to mark the lower edge of the composition and marked it with several star-shaped indications. They do not seem to be any actual unit of measure, but are, rather, personal shorthand reminders that, in this case, seem to indicate placement of strong illumination. He had used this device on earlier occasions to indicate dimension. Such a concern with spatial definition in a drawing occurs occasionally in Paolo's earlier compositional studies, but here there is a striking shift of emphasis, one in which the setting sun streams diagonally from the windows at right to illuminate not only salient figure forms,

but also the dusky space of the room as well. Light becomes the protagonist in a metaphorical moment of illumination. The uneasy stirring of the Apostles is endowed with a deeply expressive aura through this visual device, at once tangible and mystical in its evocative power. Although this new awareness of the potential of sharp chiaroscuro is doubtless in part Paolo's response to such immediately preceding paintings by Tintoretto as *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (National Gallery, London) of about 1580–1582, there is probably even more influence from Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, the latter not only present in Venice, but also Paolo's designated collaborator for the great *Paradiso* for the Palazzo Ducale as well. This drawing, however, owes nothing to the graphic manner of either Tintoretto or the Bassano, who almost never used pen and ink and but rarely bister wash, nor indeed does it have any close parallel in Venetian draftsmanship of these years. Paolo's long maturation of a masterful pictorial control of wash assumed new depth at this time, in part through his experience of the deepening nocturnal tone of his contemporaries' paintings, but as a drawing idiom in near isolation. Only the younger generation, primary among them Palma il Giovane, was prepared to watch and learn from Paolo's experimental drawing style. Unfortunately, age and perhaps incipient ill health combined with a crushing load of commissions to prevent Paolo from translating the implied magic of this drawing into painted form of equal power. Here a direct and high-quality transfer, unlike the continuity between the small *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91) and its preliminary sketch (cat. 90), was in some measure blocked when Paolo assigned much of the painting to his shop associates for execution, returning only as it neared completion to add highlights and details, particularly in the figures of Christ and Saint Peter. The sheet of



studies (Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. KdZ 26 385) for the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Castle Gallery, Prague), a drawing that closely resembles the present sheet in its handling and that prepares the painting pendant to the *Washing of the Feet*, has, on its verso, a letter dated 19 March 1584. We may, therefore, date the conception and both drawings to a time very slightly subsequent to the date of that letter, although the execution of the paintings must have extended through several years.

Literature

Hadeln 1926, 28, pl. 43; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 340, no. 2037; Oehler 1953, 34; Neumann 1967, 290–296; Cocke 1984, 280–281, no. 119; Crosato 1986, 256



fig. 53. *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles*. Národní Galerie, Prague

Crucifixion (recto), Circumcision (verso)

1584

pen and brown ink, with light bistre wash on the recto

29.5 x 20.0 (11¹/₂ x 7⁷/₈)inscribed in pen in a seventeenth-century hand (verso): *381 Aqueta* from the Sagredo collection, Venice, and the Hofer collection, Cambridge

Harvard University Art Museums (Fogg Art Museum), Cambridge, Mass., Gift of Philip Hofer, no. 1936.64

Although the Tietzes expressed doubts about Paolo's authorship, most critics have recognized the recto of this sheet as Paolo's preliminary study for the Louvre *Crucifixion* (cat. 95). The point of departure for this composition was the large, horizontal mural (fig. 54) that was part of the ensemble created by Paolo and his associates for the church of San Niccolò della Lattuga, consecrated in 1582 but still in progress in the years following, given the participation of Carletto who would have been only twelve years old in 1582. Nonetheless, that *Crucifixion* may with some probability be dated to 1582–1583. Its drastic diagonal deformation of space, expertly designed for the low angle of view of the spectator to the right, led directly to the focal point of the crosses and the group just below them. The mural completed, Paolo doubtless recognized the beauty and pathos of this detail, and decided to excerpt it for a small devotional picture. It is at this point that he drew the present sketch, eliminating figures no longer appropriate such as the Centurion, which he conflated with the Magdalene in a new pose seen from the back. Dropping the violent gestures of the soldiers below who became meditative observers, he further emphasized the melancholy quietude of the muffled group by adjusting the holy women and Saint John around the fainting Virgin and giving prominence to the holy woman at right, the one who would wear the striking yellow mantle in the painting. Two details confirm that these modifications show an intermediary stage between the mural and the intimate variant. First, the idea for the Virgin follows that of the mural, but the revision sketched just below, with an interesting pentimento to show her

looking up, makes changes that would be retained in the Louvre painting. Second, the first placement of the good thief's leg follows closely that of the large painting, but two rather too-emphatic pentimenti would be rejected, the second, however, serving for the visible left leg in the reduced version. These sequences of experiment clearly confirm that in the present sheet Paolo remembered the mural, but was revising its format toward the Louvre picture. The attenuated and somewhat distracted character of some passages of the recto, such as the bad thief, must have inspired the Tietzes' doubt about Paolo's authorship, but they are simply a casual evocation of a portion of the original with which Paolo was satisfied and had no need to concentrate his attention.

The Circumcision studies on the verso present a different aspect of Paolo's drawing style, that familiar in many pen studies in which he explored a new compositional format. At top left he first lightly suggested the disposition of the figures around the altar, Joseph at left, the High Priest who circumcises Christ, the Virgin, and an offering of doves at right, while an acolyte kneels to offer the healing balm in the foreground. The curved colonnade of the temple interior is suggested behind. Moving to the right, he abruptly restudied the priest in a vigorous forward pose, his staff supported by an acolyte, but this clearly did not lend itself to the theme and was quickly dropped. Lower on the page he gave a tighter definition to the trio around the child and developed the kneeling youth with a smaller ointment jar. He then restored the figure at right in the first sketch, now with a book and with alternative positions for the head, shifted right to sketch him again with a pentimento, and finally gave him another pose at lower right, one that returned to that

of Saint Joseph in the very first group. As much as any other sequence, these suggest the febrile flexibility with which Paolo could move through ideas faster than his virtuosic hand could follow. Given their very different places in his inventive process, there is no reason to see the recto as related to the verso of this sheet. While the painting of the *Crucifixion* exists, the Circumcision does not, and perhaps never was developed into a painting. Its first format shows a vague relation to a *Presentation* (Ateneo Veneto, Venice) that is part of a cycle in which the *Adoration of the Magi* is dated 1576 but that dates rather later and was executed by an assistant, probably Alvise dal Friso. Two other *Presentations* (private collection, England; private collection, Rome) show a dim echo of the present drawing appropriate to their status as post-1588 products of the shop, but the closest reflection may be found in another shop picture (Royal collections, Hampton Court) that might have been produced during Paolo's lifetime, but shows no trace of his brush. In any case, the Circumcision is a distinct subject and does not exist among Paolo's surviving paintings, although a picture of this theme was once in the Palazzo Bonfadini, Venice (Boschini 1660, 332). The complex interrelation of this drawing with known paintings and its stylistic character suggests a dating close to 1584.

Literature

Pallucchini 1939, 218, no. 6; Mongan and Sachs 1940, 107–108, no. 203; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 354–355, no. 2163; Rosand 1972, 43; Pignatti 1976, 1:186; Cocke 1984, 284–285, no. 121

fig. 54. *The Crucifixion*. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice





95

The Crucifixion

1584

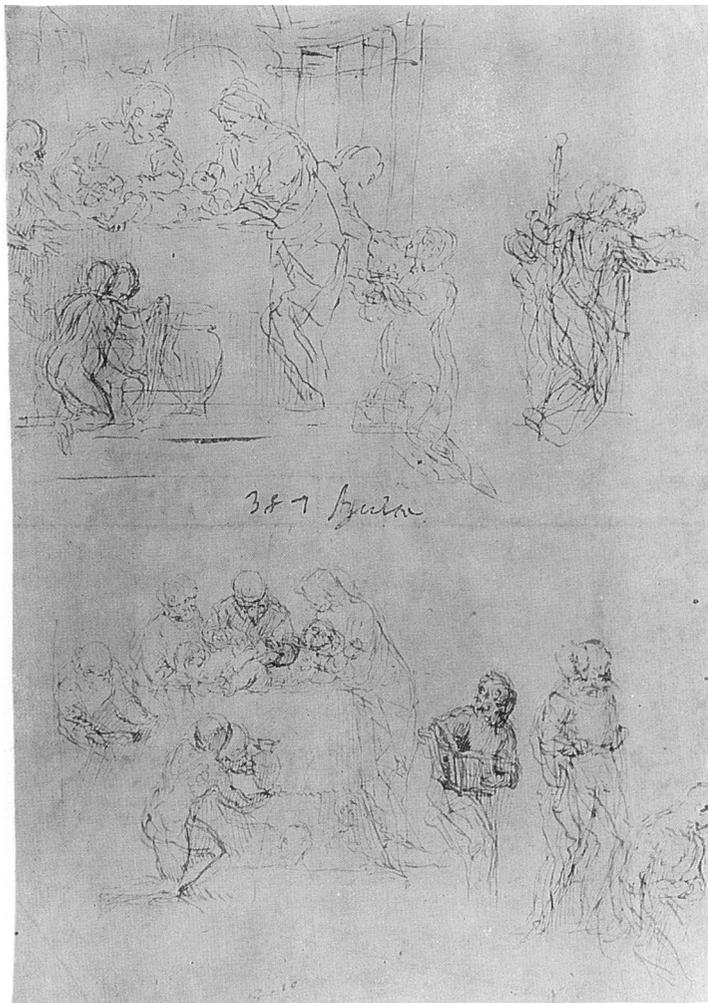
oil on canvas

102 x 102 (39⁵/₈ x 39⁵/₈)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

It is doubtful that this is the painting described by Boschini (1660, 387) in the Palazzo Garzoni in Venice, since several other versions might equally fit his description and the present painting belonged to Jabach in Paris prior to 1662. In 1683 Le Brun gave the dimensions of this work as 99 x 94 centimeters, enlarged by 1709 to 99 x 99, and still later to its present size (added strips are evident along the right side and the top). However, given the awkward intersection of figural elements at left and above, it is probable that the canvas had been trimmed before it was sold to Louis XIV in 1662. Accepted by all critics except Osmond who had doubts that it was from Paolo's own hand, it has been widely considered a masterpiece datable to the mid-1570s by some scholars but correctly placed in his late years by Fiocco and Berenson.

Although there is a distant echo of Tintoretto's 1568 *Crucifixion* (San Cassiano, Venice) in the diagonal emphasis and low vantage point, Veronese's picture owes no especial debt to any previous work, but is instead a natural development of ideas with which Paolo had been familiar for decades. He had treated the Crucifixion a few times in smaller-scale canvases, an especially fine one (formerly Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, destroyed in 1944) destined for Emperor Rudolf II in about 1581–1582 and providing several elements to be reversed and revised in the Louvre picture. The genesis of the present work is tied directly to a more ambitious project, the monumental mural (fig. 54) painted for the small church of San Nicolò della Lattuga. About forty years earlier Titian had painted his *Madonna with Six Saints* (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City) for its high altar, but a major renovation seems to have been undertaken in about 1581. Since Sansovino made no mention of this project in 1581 and the church was reconsecrated in 1582, it is probable that for that event the new pictorial cycle had been projected but not begun. Except for the *Baptism*, the mural paintings were dedicated to scenes from the Pas-





sion, two on each wall of the chancel, and three on each side of the nave. *The Crucifixion* occupied the central position on the right wall of the nave and was carefully calculated to be seen from below and from the right, so that the *repoussoir* figures in the foreground led the eye along a diagonal sequence to the crosses at top left. For this focal group he reversed and revised the Dresden composition, adding the Centurion on the slope below and moving the fainting Virgin still further down to the right. Clearly pleased with the dramatic impact of his composition and, in particular, with the effect of the crucified

figures against the stormy sky, the artist decided to adapt that corner of the mural for an independent treatment of the Crucifixion. Reducing its scale somewhat, Paolo found that the necessary revisions required rethinking most of the figures and their relative positions. It was at this point that he drew the pen sketch (cat. 94) where he eliminated figures no longer appropriate, such as the Centurion whom he conflated with the Magdalene in a new pose. For the fainting Virgin and the good thief he made pentimenti that approach those of the second painting, and the emphatic new vertical of the

mantled Holy Woman adumbrates the impressive woman shrouded in chrome yellow who concludes the composition at right. As he began the painting, his concern with violent contrasts of *chiaroscuro* became muted in favor of a deeply meditative mood in which color is resonant but restrained so that it sets into striking relief the unexpected burst of yellow at lower center. Yellow is not normally associated with the Crucifixion, but here it carries the primary expressive weight against the subtly modulated gray/blue/green of the sky. It is this stormy background, tamed from its mural source and with the striking ad-

dition of the moon, that opens in the distance to a vision of Jerusalem much like other cities in Paolo's late pictures (see cat. 86), but here tremulous in the fading, silvery light. The complex interrelation between the *Crucifixion* mural of about 1583, the Harvard University drawing, which develops it toward the present painting, and the pentimento on the same sheet, which would be developed into the almost contemporary *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91), all suggest a date of about 1584 for the Louvre *Crucifixion*.

Literature

Le Brun 1683, no. 36 (ed. Brejon de Lavergnée 1987); Lépicicé 1754, 115; Engerand 1899, 93, no. 10; Both de Tausia 1885, 76–77; Caliarì 1888, 388; Jacobsen 1902, 185; De Ricci 1912, 1; Brizio 1926, 240; Hauteceur 1926, 42, no. 1125; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 212; Osmond 1927, 80, 110; Fiocco 1928, 96; Brizio 1928, 37; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, 34–35; Nicodemi 1928, 343; A. Venturi 1928, 104–106; Rochès 1929, 27–28; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 844; Berenson 1932, 424; Fiocco 1934, 76, 117; Frankfurter 1939, 180; Pallucchini 1939, 135, 218, no. 54; Mongan and Sachs 1940, 107; Coletti 1941, 226, 251; Pallucchini 1943, 36; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 354–355; Berenson 1957, 1:135; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 94; A. Pallucchini 1966, 387; Pallucchini 1966, 730; Pignatti 1966, 59; Marini 1968, 113, no. 158; Béguin 1970, 6; Rosand 1972, 43; Pignatti 1976, 1:86, 138, no. 186; Cocks 1983, 240, no. 144; Cocks 1984, 285; Pallucchini 1984, 114, 179, no. 137; Ruggeri-Augusti 1988, 163

fig. 55. *The Assumption of the Virgin*. Private collection, New York



The Assumption of the Virgin

1584–1585
oil on canvas
392 x 200 (155¹/₄ x 78)

Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice

According to legend, the Virgin arose from her tomb and was carried bodily into heaven by angels while the Apostles looked on in astonishment. The sweeping dynamism of this *Assumption of the Virgin* clearly echoes that of Titian's altar of this subject (cathedral, Verona), a work of the late 1530s that must have made a certain impact on Paolo as a child. He would have been even more receptive to its warm harmonies in his maturity, and here such motifs as the prayerful Virgin, the agitated Apostles, and the cloudy sky suggest Titian's influence. There is no sign of interest in any of Tintoretto's four treatments of the theme, nor does Giuseppe Porta Salviati's overblown altar (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, Cappella del Rosario) seem to have inspired him. Paolo had, in fact, developed his own tradition for this subject, most strikingly in the 1564 oval (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, Cappella del Rosario) for the ceiling of the Church of the Umiltà. Although the vertiginous upward view of that ceiling is here modified, many figures, gestures, and even the color range suggest that it provided Paolo with a commanding model. Another treatment of the *Assumption* in altar format (abbey, Praglia) is a shop variant of the present picture and dates from after 1588. The present treatment is Paolo's last of this subject, although several versions of the *Ascension of Christ* (San Francesco, Padua; Národní Galerie, Prague; Sanctuary, Lendinara; Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome) share elements of the Apostle group.

According to Cicogna's transcription, Simone Lando made a will (see cat. 91) probated on 1 March 1584, in which he particularly stipulated the embellishment of the high altar area of the Venetian church of Santa Maria Maggiore. In addition to paintings, all by Veronese, that he wanted hung on the side walls of the choir, he left the substantial endowment of a thousand *scudi* to complete the project. It is, therefore, probable that Veronese himself was commissioned shortly after March 1584 to paint this *Assumption of the Virgin* for

that high altar, where it was admired unstintingly by all early sources, Ridolfi listing it as one of the five greatest altar paintings by Paolo in Venice. During the Napoleonic spoliation the church was stripped of its artistic treasures, the altar structure dismantled, and this painting assigned to the Accademia. More recently almost all critics have detected shop participation, often predominant, in its execution. The 1988 restoration revealed it to be rather well preserved, but the varnish used on that occasion has darkened its tonality. The artist's first ideas for this painting are documented in an exceptionally free and airy pen and wash sketch (fig. 55) in which the rotary, upward movement of the ensemble is still clearly related to the Umiltà ceiling. In translating his composition to altar format, Paolo chose a very low vantage point just above the bottom edge of the picture, and established the setting as a dais approached by stairs at left and on which one sees the head of the Virgin's sarcophagus. The dense concentration of the picture space is rendered more claustrophobic by the ingenious device of cropping the lateral figures, most strikingly the Apostle at right whose outstretched arm leads the eye in and up to the group above. There is evidence that the present dimensions are those of the original canvas and that it was not, as has been suggested, drastically cut all around. There are eleven Apostles, the Evangelists indicated by their books, with the addition of an understated Magdalene at left center and Mary Salome kneeling on the steps. The figure in red at upper right is extraneous to the event and is obviously a portrait. Zanotto's identification of this strongly characterized head as Paolo's self portrait is not supported by comparison with better-documented images in which the artist appears nearly bald as early as 1562 in the *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 7). Instead, he is clearly the donor of the altar, portrayed posthumously but certainly known to Veronese, since Lando had commissioned several paintings (cat. 91) from him.

With exceptional dynamism, the painter orchestrated the accelerating rise of the action through the gaze and gesture of each spectator to the rolling banks of opalescent clouds, which partly obscure the pastel bands of musical angels accompanying the tremulous Virgin heavenward. This lozenge-shaped group, with paired angels supporting the mantle, struggling putti



under her knees, and a seraphic circle singing above, constitutes one of Paolo's happiest inventions. Its gentle but firm motion is expertly seconded by the fluent patterns of highlight and the radiant harmony of rose and white. This reprise of the airborne group from his 1562 altar (cat. 41) aptly suggests the more deeply emotional tenor of Veronese's late work.

Like virtually all of Paolo's large-scale paintings, this *Assumption* was carried out with some participation from the Caliaro shop. It is unlikely, however, that such a notable project as the high altar of a significant Venetian church, which already contained masterpieces by Giovanni Bellini, Titian, and Palma Vecchio, would have been delegated to assistants. Nonetheless, Benedetto's somewhat prosaic brush may be detected in the Apostles at the extreme top, the Holy Women, and peripheral passages of the angelic choir. Carletto's glittering attention to surfaces is to be found in the brass holy water container below and the seraphim above. Saints Peter and John to the left of the tomb, Saint Luke in yellow and blue, the donor at right, and particularly the pair of Apostles kneeling in front are all painted with Paolo's deft authority and are particularly vivid in their ecstatic wonderment. The slashing energy with which the white paint evokes the mantle seen from the back and the fervor with which dabs of paint communicate the expression of the white-bearded Apostle is an achievement worthy of Paolo alone. Finally, the entire upper portion of this painting is one of the most radiant passages to be found in his late work.

The Santa Maria Maggiore *Assumption* must have been begun after March 1584, the date on which Lando's endowment was made. Although it need not have been started at once, the preliminary study shows his first idea for the altar drawn simultaneously and partly over a sketch for an *Adoration of the Magi* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons). That painting came from the Palazzo dei Cammerlenghi, Venice, and bears the coats of arms of the three chamberlains who commissioned it, two being those of the Molin and Contarini families, and the third that of the Zane family. Since these officials were in office between October 1583 and October 1584, it suggests that the *Adoration*, delegated to Benedetto and Gabriele for execution, and the *Assumption*, retained very largely by Paolo himself, were undertaken simultaneously in 1584.

Literature

Sansovino-Stringa 1604, 190; Ridolfi 1648, 1:316; Sansovino-Martinioni 1663, 269; Boschini 1664, 387; Boschini 1674, Dorsoduro 60; Dal Pozzo 1718, 100; Zanetti 1733, 363; Cochin 1758, 98; Zanetti 1771, 186; Moschini 1815, 2:518; Cicogna 1830, 3:419; Zanotto 1830-1834, 2:106; Zanotto 1833, 1:32; Zanotto 1863, 49, no. 603; Ruskin 1877 (ed. 1901), 258; Caliaro 1888, 138, 139, 345; Meissner 1897, 91; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:330; Hadeln 1926, 27; Ingersoll-Smouse 1927, 212; Osmond 1927, 81, 101, 115; Fiocco 1928, 185; A. Venturi 1929, IX-4, 898; Berenson 1932, 366; Fiocco 1934, 105; Suida 1938, 1:172-173; Coletti 1941, 253; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 349; Gamulin 1955, 92; Berenson 1957, 1:136; Lorenzetti 1961, 681; Moschini Marconi 1962, 93, no. 150; Marini 1968, 126, no. 258; Safarik 1968, 98; Schulz 1968, 72; Rosand 1972, 45; Pignatti 1976, 1:215, no. A344; Cocke 1977, 786; Ticozzi 1977, 36; Cocke 1984, 229-230; Perissa Torriani 1988, 176-183

97

The Martyrdom and Last Communion of Saint Lucy

1585-1586

oil on canvas

139.7 x 173.4 (54¹/₂ x 67⁵/₈)

National Gallery of Art, Washington.
Gift of The Morris and Gwendolyn
Cafritz Foundation and the
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

Conflating diverse episodes from the legend of Saint Lucy, Paolo shows her kneeling as the executioner plunges the dagger into her breast, her gaze directed to the host as a priest offers her last communion. Her mother Eutychia approaches apprehensively from the left, flames behind show the previous unsuccessful attempt to kill her, and in the distance at left the team of oxen tries vainly to drag her to a brothel to which she had been condemned. The Counter-Reformation emphasis on the Eucharistic aspect of the saint's life suggests that the painting was designed to stand over an altar dedicated to Lucy, a Sicilian virgin martyr whose relics had been brought to Venice and deposited at San Giorgio Maggiore in 1204, transferred to the new church of Santa Lucia in 1280, given a new church based in some part on Palladio's ideas between 1580 and 1617, and finally moved to San Geremia when the church and convent were demolished in 1860 to make way for the railway station. As Brown has pointed out in her thorough publication on the present painting, there is no mention of Veronese's painting as part of the decoration of Santa Lucia in Venice or elsewhere for that matter. It is possible that, like the analogous *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (cat. 55), which adorned the abbot's private chapel in that monastery in Padua, this devotional picture was in the convent of Santa Lucia and therefore unavailable to early commentators. Either the original, a variant, or copies were known in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, since, as Brown points out, copies by artists ranging from Alessandro Maganza to Giambattista Tiepolo are known. This painting may have been dispersed during the Napoleonic spoliation, as it had been acquired by the avid collector Teodoro Lechi of Brescia by 1814, and subsequently passed through collections in Great Britain and Germany before it was acquired by the National Gallery of



Art in 1984. It had received but scant attention in the literature before it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1960, but more recently it has found a place among Paolo's works of the early 1580s.

Paolo had as a youth formulated a composition built around a kneeling female figure with a semicircle of attendants bending over her, the forward, claustrophobic thrust relieved by a sudden flight off-center to the illuminated middle distance. In the 1545 *Conversion of the Magdalene* (National Gallery, London), a mannerist tension was projected that was relaxed in the radiant splendor of the 1565 *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Museo Civico, Padua). In the *Saint Lucy*, Paolo revived his motif in a new and distinct pictorial key. Sharp edges and evenly illuminated plastic forms dissolve into a vibrant play of loosely fluent brushwork and deeply resonant veils of color, a transition from a classical idiom to one dedicated to communication directly through the handling of the medium. The powerful thrust of the drama is, first, forced upon the spectator by bringing the figures forward so that their looming presence abolishes emotional distance, making us

virtual participants in the bloody proceedings. This is underscored by the dramatic focus of the tragic event, the tremulous *repoussoir* figure of Eutychia at left, the severe but realistically described priest with his acolyte, the coarse but diffident executioner, and most striking, the tearful fixation of Lucy on the communion wafer. All of these devices are symptomatic of a post-Tridentine emphasis on ecstatic emotionalism in scenes of Christian martyrdom, and an insistence on the centrality of the Mass in the hope of redemption. They would have been mere modish rhetoric were it not for Veronese's metamorphosis through pictorial means of his familiar compositional type into a penetrating expression of tragic emotion. This is perhaps most significantly achieved through pure color; the livid pulsation of Lucy's flesh, the stunning interplay of three tones of plum, wine, and rose in her dress, and—most exhilarating—the contrast of pink-violet in the banner against a cold blue-green sky. Coloristic and textural unity are underscored by the distant saint in the same tone, but she is so disproportionate in scale with her tormentors as to create a surreal, visionary mood in per-

fect accord with the febrile character of both theme and treatment. This use of purely painterly means to achieve a deeply emotional expression was in some measure a conscious choice on Paolo's part, one employed for the *Dead Christ Supported by the Virgin and an Angel* (cat. 72), which must date to about 1581 when other works were still given a cheerfully hedonistic gloss (cats. 71, 74). But it was in his very last years that it seems an involuntary welling up of emotion, a depth of feeling adumbrated in the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91) and most powerfully realized in the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon* (cat. 103). It is in the middle phase of this development, around 1585–1586, that we believe Paolo painted the Saint Lucy altar, perhaps for the new church and convent in Venice.

Literature

Lechi 1814, no. 49; Caliarì 1888, 281; Watson 1959–1960, 267; Bowness 1960, 33; Vertova 1960, 68–71; Waterhouse 1960, 38–39, no. 67; Pallucchini 1961, 75; Pallucchini 1963–1964, 124–125; Ballarin 1965, 79; Lechi 1968, 184, no. 107; Marini 1968, 109, no. 122; Pignatti 1976, 95, 155, no. 279; Pallucchini 1984, 185, no. 209; Brown 1988, 61–68



98

The Coronation of the Virgin
(recto); *Coronation of the Virgin,*
Annunciation, Sibyls (verso)

1585–1586

pen and dark brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

30.5 x 21.0 (11⁷/₈ x 8¹/₄)

inscribed in pen in the artist's own hand, from top down (recto): *questo/ basso/ andrea/ Zuane/ [. . .]/ Pau[lo]/ Dan[iele]/ Giona/ Giesue/ S. chopo/ S. Bastia/ S. Lorenzo/ S. bartolamio/ S. Franc[esc]o/ S. benedeto/ S. antonio/ S. Paulo/ S. andrea/ S. Giacomo/ Giacobi/ Davito/ abram[o]/ moisse/ moise/ [. . .]va/ stefano/ bartol[omeo]/ agata/ anton[io]/ Fran./ et agionto/ S. benedeto/ Sta. monica*; (verso): 13/ 13/ 20/ 12 0 30/ 2/ 7/ 8/ 8/ 3, and below 27/ 27/ 27, and in another later hand: *Veronese*

from the Lely and Guise collections

The Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford, no. 0341

Although since Hadeln's publication the recto of this fine drawing has been

recognized as Paolo's preparation for the *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 56), the purpose of the sketches on the verso has not been correctly understood. The *Coronation* was painted as the high altar of the Venetian church of the Ognissanti at an undocumented date that is circumstantially placed just before the consecration of the altar on 21 July 1586. Although today it is almost always passed over as a routine product of the Caliaro shop or even as the work of another artist such as Montemezzano, the Ognissanti altar was a major commission for which Paolo drew on his previous experience with the *Paradiso* project (fig. 51) for the Palazzo Ducale to produce a condensed version. The Ognissanti *Coronation* is a composition of exceptional power and originality that he carried out with less shop assistance than was normal in altars of this size. Its preparation and the thoughtful care Paolo devoted to it are documented in this particularly rich and varied sheet of studies. He already had its basic format in mind when he sketched three progressive stages of the central group, beginning at top center

with a variant of the figures at top left in a *Paradiso* drawing (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 26 356) in which the Virgin kneels at left in profile. Moving directly below, he took elements from the second idea on the Berlin sheet, this time turning the Virgin to a frontal position, suggesting a pair of attendant angels at left, and separating Christ and God the Father above and to the sides. Finally, he dropped down again to repeat the central trio in a denser concentration, eliminating one angel at top left and transforming the *Paradiso* Baptist into an angel to create a balance of two just as in the chiaroscuro *Holy Family Served by Angels* (cat. 89) of a year or so before. Satisfied, he added wash, in particular for the dove as it would appear in the painting. Now the time had come to organize the host of saints who would float majestically on shoals of cloud at the sides and below. He began by sketching a quartet at left center, labeling them Andrew, John, another whose name is illegible, and Jonah, and then went higher to revise them with a lighter wash. Turning to the right

group, he sketched a bearded patriarch surrounded by a radiance without a label and a group just below that includes Saints James, Paul, and Daniel, the label for the last applied to the wrong figure since in the painting it is the seated one who is accompanied by the lion. At this stage the artist must have recognized that it was becoming difficult to keep track of the saints required to populate his cloudbank; he began to write their names in rows in the space below the Coronation. For Paolo words were poor substitutes for real figures, and he lapsed into drawing a spirited host of sprawling figures in two tiers as though they were spectators in the galleries at a theater, sprinkling names among them, sometimes in relation to the list above but more often at random. It seems to have been at this point that Paolo recognized the impossibility of fitting his expansive horizontal plan for the *Paradiso* into the limited vertical format of the altar. With his usual intelligent sense, he brought the lateral figures down and forward to fill the lower front corners of the picture space and then strung a concatenation of the other saints through the cavellike central opening with a luminous host dimly discernible in the distance. Here he felt the need for a dramatic thrust to set them in motion, and at top right on the page he lightly experimented with five variants of a downward flying angel reminiscent of the arrow-wielding figure in the *Allegory of Lepanto* (Accademia, Venice) of about a decade earlier and later to be used for the angel above in the *Vision of Saint Luke* altar (San Luca, Venice). He marked the top one for selection with a note that it would go below, but in fact he used the one at lower center for the angel in the lower middle distance of the painting. Although he had used up all the space on his sheet, Paolo was not quite ready to proceed to a *modello* or directly to the canvas, and he turned the paper over and drew at the top a particularly delicate and luminous evocation of the Coronation's central group close to but still not exactly like the final painted image. Subsequent to this study but almost simultaneously, he turned his attention to another unrelated project that must have been in progress at this same moment. With a light and extemporaneous touch he drew an Annunciation indicated as a pair of canvases forming the open wings of an arched organ shutter design. They do, in fact, adumbrate the format which, with significant modifi-

cations, would be developed into the opened form of the organ shutters (fig. 57) that Paolo was commissioned to design for Sant'Antonio, Torcello, in his late years. This organ was a particularly elaborate complex of architecture and painting, with the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi on the inside and outside surfaces of the shutters, three grisailles on the front of the loft parapet, two on its ends (all Museo Provinciale, Torcello), and a pair of reclining sibyls (Libreria Marciana, Venice) framed by the wooden top of the organ case. It is this latter portion that occupied Paolo's attention in the four variant studies filling the bottom half of the sheet. Selecting the design above at right, Paolo then took up another page (private collection, Paris) and drew the left-hand sibyl in a richly finished *chiaroscuro* style. On the other side of the same sheet he added a revision of the Virgin Annunciate to a study for an *Entombment* (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva). We have, therefore, an interworking of drawings and paintings that helps to date not only the *Coronation of the Virgin*, the Sant'Antonio organ, and the Geneva *Entombment*, but also these two sheets of studies to the months preceding July 1586. This is confirmed by the style of the Christ Church sheet, more abrupt and careless about elegant detail than the finished preparation for the *Paradiso* (cat. 81) of about 1582, and similar to the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, no. KdZ 26 359), which is on a letter dated March 1584. It is not yet so ethereal in touch as drawings (cats. 102, 104, 105) that date to Veronese's last years.

Literature

Hadeln 1926, 31–32, pls. 38, 39; Osmond 1927, 101; Fiocco 1928, 210; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 349, no. 2128; Parker 1958, 35, no. 41; Matthieson 1960, no. 78; Popham 1960, 219, no. 565; Marini 1968, 126; Mullaly 1971, 59, no. 64; Byam Shaw 1976, 213–214, no. 793; Pignatti 1976, 1:215–216; Cocke 1984, 274–277, no. 117; Byam Shaw 1985, 309; Crosato 1986, 255; Rearick 1988, 84



fig. 56. *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

fig. 57. *The Annunciation*. Museo Provinciale, Torcello



Gentleman of the Soranzo Family

1586–1587

oil on canvas

184 x 113 (71³/₄ x 44)Lord Harewood, Harewood House,
Leeds

This solemn portrait is almost certainly to be identified with one of a pair of pictures mentioned by Ridolfi as belonging to Giovanni Reinst and as representing a member of the Soranzo family and his bride. The paintings were sold in 1666 with the estate of the Flemish painter Nicholas Regnier and described as pendant portraits of a gentleman of the Soranzo family and of his wife, full length, seated in Roman chairs with an architectural setting. Since they were measured at eleven and a half by eight *quarte*, they were then somewhat larger than the present painting. Earlier sources seldom mentioned family portraits, and the multibranch Soranzo family provides too many candidates to allow us to suggest a more precise identification of this gentleman whose wife seems to have been lost before this picture entered the Charles Robinson collection. The modern literature is unanimous in accepting Veronese's authorship, but the dating has ranged from about 1565 to about 1580.

The tradition of full-length portraits, essentially of German origin, had been endowed with a noble Latin formulation by Moretto and other Brescian painters in the second quarter of the cinquecento. In Verona the young Paolo had given it new vitality (cats. 10, 11) and continued to practice it occasionally (cats. 54, 61) in his middle years. Although he was not alone—not only Titian but also Lambert Sustris and Tintoretto painted distinguished full-length portraits in the years between 1545 and 1575—Paolo's sumptuous paintings seem to have set an unapproachable example during the third quarter of the century.

Paolo's own prototype is the subtly volatile *Portrait of a Seated Man* (fig. 26) of about 1561. More than twenty years later, his pictorial and psychological concerns had changed dramatically. In preparing it he drew a costume study in black and white chalk (fig. 58) with abbreviated reminders of where the ermine fur would go. Its gray, unaccented regularity of touch is a direct prelude to

the painting. Although there are telling touches of red in the chair's fittings and less emphatic dark green highlights in the curtain, it is the somber pattern of black and white that dominates and against which the sitter's flushed complexion provides but scant warmth. Indeed, the artist's attention seems to have gone primarily to the filaments of silvery white light in the fur against velvety blacks in the suit, a melancholy colloquy attuned to his lack of sympathy for his subject. Soranzo is, indeed, an opaque cypher, a blank-faced scarecrow without detectable virtues or vices. His head turns condescendingly away to the left, and one assumes that his spouse to our right was equally distracted.

Although at no point did the Caliarì family shop manufacture standardized portraits of Venetian officials in the manner of Tintoretto and his clan, those by Paolo himself became exceedingly rare in his last years. The portrait of Girolamo Campagna (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) of about 1587 is, despite a worn and dry surface, similarly austere in its grayed light and handling of clothing. Even closer, but strangely abstract in pose and handling, is the *Portrait of a Man* (Galleria Colonna, Rome), which we would date even later into 1587. We would, therefore, date the *Harewood Soranzo Gentleman* to the last year of Veronese's life. Its execution is predominantly Paolo's, but an assistant might have been assigned the coarsely painted curtain and the insubstantial architecture. Carletto's talent for portraiture was nurtured on such paintings, as he soon demonstrated with the impressive *Portrait of a Cleric* (private collection, Venice), which was painted at this time when the boy was about eighteen.

Literature

Ridolfi 1648, 1:325; Hadeln 1924, 209; Osmond 1927, 112; Berenson 1932, 422; Borenius 1936, 39; Pallucchini 1939, 178–179, no. 76; Savini-Branca 1965, 96; Marini 1968, 122, no. 220; Pignatti 1976, 1:153, no. 270; Cocke 1983, 238, no. 141; Cocke 1984, 183; Pallucchini 1984, 155, 185, no. 210; Rearick 1988, 109



fig. 58. *Seated Man*. Location unknown





Dead Christ Venerated by Saint Francis

1587

oil on canvas

86 x 125 (33¹/₂ x 48³/₄)

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Arnold, Jr., in memory of Hugh Roy and Lillie Cullen

This devotional picture is a variation of the traditional Venetian subject of the *Cristo Passo*, the Dead Christ Supported by an Angel, here with the addition of Saint Francis who meditates on Christ's wounded hand, which the angel proffers for his veneration. Although he is called simply a friar in the literature, except for Marini, the stigmata clearly visible on his crossed hands identify him as Saint Francis after he had received the signs of Christ's crucifixion. Conversely, the young monk who has all the characteristics of a portrait is surely the commissioner of this devotional image, in which he appears in the guise of his patron saint. Pallucchini first published this picture as by Paolo with a dating of 1582–1585, a view generally endorsed by the subsequent literature.

It is evidently a sign of Counter-Reformation sentiment that Paolo began to devote new attention to the more intensely emotional aspects of Christ's Passion in the years around 1580. The theme of the *Cristo Passo* does not appear among his early works, and the dismembered altar of the *Dead Christ with Angels* (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) adored by donors and saints (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh; and Dulwich College Picture Gallery, London), which he painted in 1565 for the Petrobelli chapel at Lendinara, clearly gave him compositional problems that he did not resolve with much conviction. In 1573 he assigned the analogous altar of the *Trinity with Saints* (Museo Civico, Vicenza) to his brother Benedetto in its entirety. Finally, not much before 1581, he created a masterpiece of tragic power in the *Dead Christ Supported by the Virgin and an Angel* (cat. 72), a perfect fusion of his nobly classical figure type and an incandescent pictorial expressivity. His shop took up the theme and reduced its impact in replicas and variants (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille), and Paolo himself, amply assisted by Benedetto, did a more

delicate vertical variation with just two angels (fig. 12), again repeated in poor shop replicas (Monte di Pietà, Bologna; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and others).

The Houston painting is distinct from all these pictures in both format and pictorial idiom. As Marini has pointed out, Paolo seems to have known the *Cristo Passo Vendramin* (private collection, Princeton), a painting generally thought to be an unfinished Giorgione completed by Titian. Characteristically, he did not borrow any detail from that source, but its pathos is very kindred in spirit. The addition of the saint/donor is an archaism suggestive of the late Bellini tradition, and the horizontal format with distant landscape at left reinforces this retrospective character. Indeed, its hushed devotional intimacy suggests a conscious return to conventions long gone.

If its format is archaic, the pictorial handling could not be more prophetic of Counter-Reformation expression. A blaze of white light from high on our right transfigures surfaces, dissolving their substance but intensifying their visionary character. This chalky tone, cruel in its deathly pallor but vibrant in the nervous dabs of the brush, is set against a few vivid accents of color. Approximate in smudged detail, form vibrates with a loose pictorial evanescence, which transcends surface description to imply a purely emotive communication. Particularly striking is the distant landscape, a ghostly mirage conjured up with a few strokes of ashen white against a cobalt sky.

Although the salient passages seem well above the expressive potential of any member of Paolo's shop, there is evidence that the middle stage of the painting's execution involved other hands. Paolo doubtless drew preliminary sketches in which he developed the principal motif of his 1585 *Entombment* drawing (private collection, Paris), which Carletto elaborated in detailed drawings (private collection, Venice), and the frostily fussy painting (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva). Excerpting the pose of the dead Christ from his own sketch, the artist roughed in his idea for the present painting, working directly on the canvas but in a freely

improvisational vein. At this stage the broad application of paint was assigned to assistants, the delicately refined passages of the angel to Carletto and the incoherently structured body of Saint Francis to a lesser talent, perhaps Gabriele. None of the significant, highlighted areas were permitted to his sons, and most of the present surface seems to be executed by Paolo himself. This is emphasized by comparison with *Dead Christ with Nicodemus and an Angel* (private collection, on loan to the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh), a variant painted soon afterward by Benedetto. Poor drawing, mistaken proportions, and labored execution prove a measure of the expressive power of Paolo's original.

The loose, smudged brushstroke and dense, incandescent color suggest works of Paolo's very last years. Comparison with *The Martyrdom and Last Communion of Saint Lucy* (cat. 97), the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. 91), and the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon* (cat. 103) indicates that the *Dead Christ Venerated by Saint Francis* should be dated to 1586–1587.

Literature

Pallucchini 1959–1960, 39–45, 54–56; Ballarin 1968, 81; Marini 1968, 131, no. 301; Rosand 1972, 28; Pignatti 1976, 1:165, no. 330; Pallucchini 1984, 151, 186, no. 228

Rebecca and Eleazer at the Well

1588

pen and brown ink and dark bister wash on ivory paper

15.2 x 16.0 (5⁷/₈ x 6¹/₄)inscribed in pen and brown ink in the artist's hand: . . . *So potamia/ . . . eal avendo/ [a]damento molte/ .[v]olte di fare.* Laid down

formerly Richardson, Sr., Reynolds, and Harewood collections

Private collection, United Kingdom

Despite mistaken associations with other Veronese paintings, it is clear that this unusual sheet is largely if not completely devoted to ideas related to Rebecca, to whom Eleazer proffered jewelry at a meeting by a well. After about 1582 Paolo and his shop painted several variations on this subject, of which one (Château, Versailles) is the most monumental and probably the earliest, and another (cat. 92) is a more intimate variant of slightly later date. The motif of the latest version (fig. 59), painted largely if not exclusively by Paolo himself, is the most closely related to the present drawing. Rapidly sketched in pen alone, the lower part of this heavily cut sheet shows two standing figures, of which the one at left is clearly female and therefore Rebecca. Between them and below a servant holds a jewel case, but Paolo moved to the right to revise this figure to one who holds up jewels, then again to the right for a variant who indicates the coffer, and finally to the extreme edge for the figure seen from the back. This would be his choice, and at the left he developed the motif with greater force and indicated Eleazer above and behind, both very close to the solution used in fig. 58, where the protagonists exchange places but retain details of pose from the sketch. Above at left Paolo drew several camels' heads, all reminiscent of those in the Versailles and Burghley House (cat. 92) pictures but used most directly for the camel feeding at lower right in the Brocklesby Park version, precisely one of the peripheral portions of the picture that Paolo assigned to Gabriele. It seems clear, therefore, that these sketches show Paolo developing elements of his earlier treatments in preparation for the later painting.

The most unusual part of the present drawing does not seem directly related



to the Rebecca and Eleazar theme, although it might have served, reversed, for Rebecca's hands. In the center of the page, but apparently subsequent to the camel studies that it partly covers, Paolo dipped a brush in a dark bister wash and drew female hands, the one at right holding a glove that is delicately touched by the hand at left. This motif, so appropriate to a portrait of an elegant lady, does not appear in any autograph work by Paolo, but one may have been done, since several female portraits by the shop (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin) and by apprentices such as Montemezzano (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) seem

to echo it. The technique, without pen and with an unusually abrupt chiaroscuro, is seldom found in Paolo's drawings. The context of pen sketches undoubtedly by him (cats. 88, 93, 102) makes it clear that this is the master in an experimental moment. Its date probably lies in Paolo's last years, between 1586 and 1588. Carletto executed a fine chiaroscuro drawing (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) after the figure of Rebecca in the finished painting.

Literature

Borenus 1921, 59; Hadeln 1926, 30, no. 27; Osmond 1927, 101; Fiocco 1928, 208; Pallucchini 1939, 221, no. 9; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, 346, no. 2102; Cocke 1984, 238-239, no. 101; Crosato 1986, 255



fig. 59. *Rebecca and Eleazar*. Earl of Yarborough, Brocklesby Park

Miracle of Saint Pantaleon

1587

pen and brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

21.4 x 24.5 (8³/₈ x 9¹/₂)

inscribed in pen in the artist's hand (recto): 1587-1159 = 428, and in pen on the verso a letter which, where it is visible from the recto, is evidently not in Veronese's hand. Cut, torn, and ragged along three sides. Laid down on a heavy white mount inscribed in pen in a late-seventeenth-century hand: *Carletto Calliari*. The verso of the first mount is inscribed in pen in a seventeenth-century hand: *C. C. n:o 7*. That mount is tipped down to a second white paper inscribed in pen in an eighteenth-century hand: *C. C. n:o 30*

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, no. RF 38.928

Bacou acquired this drawing for the Louvre with a remarkable group of sheets that had been in Lyons with the last remnants of the Sagredo collection. She identified it as Paolo's studies for the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon* altar (cat. 103), which was commissioned in 1587 and which is recognized as one of his last and most moving paintings. This view has been generally endorsed in the subsequent literature. Generations of Sagredos in Venice added sheets by Paolo to the family albums at various times, but it was evidently not long after the 1682 inventory (Gattinoni 1914) of the materials reverently kept together by Paolo's descendants that a large number of Calliari family drawings were bought by the Sagredo. Since they contained studies by every member of the family shop, the annotator was hard put to identify which Calliari was the author of which sheet. Surprisingly, as here, he wrote Carletto's name on a number of studies undoubtedly by Paolo, an attribution that persisted through two later remountings. The letter on the verso is, unfortunately, not quite legible from the recto, but its orthography is clearly not that of Paolo. The odd vertical fold with a single horizontal fold to the right is that of the letter.

Bartolommeo Borghi, parish priest at San Pantalon, Venice, commissioned Paolo to paint the church's high altar in 1587. As Byam Shaw noted, on the present sheet the artist wrote the year

1587, subtracted 1159, and got the date 428. I have been unable to discover the significance of the year 428 and the commemoration of it 1,159 years later, but it cannot have to do with the church, since Venice had not yet been founded. It is more likely to be a notation having to do with the patron saint and the transportation of his relics to this site. Since this calculation seems to have been applied after the drawing had already been done, it is probable that this study was made in 1587, but the reference might equally be to the year of the commission.

Paolo uncharacteristically began his sequence of sketches at lower right, where he rapidly suggested in pen alone the powerfully turning saint who gazes upward to implore healing for the sick child supported by Borghi, but his process would be a gradual diminution of such dramatic movement, and he moved to the lower left to begin again. Before the sheet was trimmed, this group was not as close to the bottom of the page. There he rapidly but expressively drew Pantaleon standing and gesturing down to the sick youth who at this stage was represented at lower left as a small child supported by Borghi. His medical assistant stands to the right of the saint, and above an architectural ruin in twilight is suggested. Here there occurs an odd ambiguity in the re-studied motive of a child on an adult's lap added above at left and directly below this second group. It echoes the first Borghi and the child, but its form seems more that of a Madonna and Child, an element soon to make an appearance at right, but which is unexpected at left, since the saint's imploring gaze is already directed to the upper right. This skittish uncertainty is characteristic of the entire drawing, even to the charmingly tiny dragon that Paolo rapidly indicated below, moving directly up to the right to give it a fuller form, one still recalling that of his youthful *Saint George and the Dragon* (cat. 9). At this point the problem of the Virgin to whom Pantaleon addresses his plea became crucial. At first the artist thought of including her as an apparition above, and drew the remarkable densely shadowed standing Virgin at top left, a figure of such Gothic attenuation as to suggest either a medieval sculptural model or a conscious style reference to an earlier epoch. She was to be topped by a crown borne by a

pair of putti, probably the subject of the top two of the quick ideas for angels' heads at right. For a moment Paolo seems to have entertained the possibility that this figure might occupy the top half of the altar, and he drew it again, shifting the child and developing the wash indications of modeling. Here it must have been obvious that the format and dimensions of the altar picture, certainly already specified, would not permit such a vertical arrangement, and the artist abruptly decided to change iconography, eliminating the Virgin and Child and substituting the less-demanding putti with the crown. At this point he shifted right, where he began his revision with a new group, Borghi supporting an adolescent youth. The lower part of the saint in this arrangement seems to have given way quickly to a larger-scale elaboration above at left, which more closely resembles the painted solution. Problems remained to be solved, and further up at right he developed the angels, no longer putti, who descend with the crown; realizing that the crown was no longer valid with the Madonna gone, he inserted a martyr's palm at the saint's right hand without modifying its downward turn. Eventually, a lone putto would descend with that palm in the painting.

It is tempting to endow this study with an emotional weight as Paolo's last known drawing, but the reality of his professional situation is that he was at the apogee of his success both in Venice and abroad, the presiding head of a large and smoothly functioning family shop with a vast number of unfulfilled projects on the drawing board, and at the age of sixty a master who might look forward to perhaps two more decades of active career. On the other hand, the tremulously expressive pen line, the evanescent wash, and the vaguely distracted way in which he shifted subject reflects that all of these circumstances also produced a state of mind suggesting pressure, anxiety, and perhaps incipient ill health. One final detail is touching: in the midst of his febrile activities over multiple projects, Paolo picked up this letter leaving the clear imprint of his dirty right thumb.

Literature

Bacou 1983, 260–261, no. 10; Scrase 1983, 300, no. D82; Bacou 1984, 20, no. 22; Cocke 1984, 296–297, no. 127; Byam Shaw 1985, 309; Crosato 1986, 256



cat. 102

103

Miracle of Saint Pantaleon

1587
oil on canvas
277 x 160 (108 x 62³/₈)

San Pantalon, Venice

Pantaleon, Christian physician to the pagan emperor Maximian, discovered his capacity for miraculous healing when his prayers exorcized a demon who had possessed a youth, an act that brought about his martyrdom and eventual sainthood. The old thirteenth-century church of San Pantalon was oriented with its south side on the small adjacent square and its apse over the Calle di San Pantalon at right. In 1587 the parish priest Bartolommeo Borghi, evidently a man of some means, commissioned Veronese to paint an altar picture for the apse of his church. As Paolo's preliminary sketch (cat. 102) shows, there was an initial ambiguity, or at least flexibility, in the formulation

of the subject. For the painting, Paolo simplified and concentrated the essential figures in a massive, strongly illuminated foreground group. The sumptuously garbed imperial physician is the pivotal figure, his eyes cast toward heaven, his right hand indicating the sick youth supported by the priest, and his left hand turned away from the medicine box proffered by his assistant to point outward and down to the Eucharist on the actual altar table below and outside the picture. The symbolic sequence is clear: the rejection of pagan medicine in favor of faith, a choice that assures his martyrdom as the putto with the palm announces it, but that inspires his recommendation of the sacrament of Communion to the congregation as the path to salvation.

As his sketch shows, Paolo's progress in formulating his picture was one of simplification. The saintly legend does not explain the setting, a gray and dirty slum, partly ruined and showing an elevated wooden toilet closet of a type



then characteristic of poor districts of Venice. The limbless statue, which might be based in a general way on a fragmentary Greek third-century torso of Silenus that had been given to the Venetian state by the Grimani in 1586, is primarily intended to suggest the impotent disintegration of the pagan, classical world. Although this idealized head is in no sense a self-portrait, it bears a striking resemblance to reputed images of Veronese in his later years. In particular, a drawing of a head (Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, no. 24290) was early on copied from a Caliaro shop picture under the impression that it was Paolo's self-portrait. Although this is not documented, the resemblance to the herm is very strong and suggests a generic self-image on the artist's part. The strange little demon, a descendant of similar dragons of monumental scale (cats. 9, 86) that Paolo had created almost with sympathetic delight, has been exorcised and squirms away at lower right. Bartolommeo Borghi seems to have been more than just a client to Paolo, since the painter not only agreed to include him in the altar, but also depicted the elderly priest with one of his most penetrating and sympathetic portraits. Gently dignified and perhaps a bit myopic, Borghi gazes with enquiring solicitude at his charge, a frail youth whose somber black and white suit resembles in handling that of the *Soranzo Gentleman* (cat. 99) but who is far more subtly characterized. Despite his perfectly limp passivity projected by the strikingly understated pose, one already sees the faint flush of color returning to his face as though warmth liberated by the miracle had begun to circulate through his body. His vivid foil is the tousleheaded assistant at right, mundane and efficient but perplexed by what he cannot comprehend. But it is Pantaleon himself who dominates both the drama and its pictorial realization. The towering apex of the supporting human pyramid, he alone is fully aware of the supernatural cause of the youth's revival just as he also recognizes his destiny in the sad putto, pink and bronzy green in the shimmering, gray radiance, who diffidently brings him the palm of martyrdom. In one of his most audacious and brilliant passages of pure painting virtuosity, Paolo used three distinct tones of scarlet for Pantaleon's physician's garb, each so close to the other as to blend and harmonize without losing its integrity. Brushed onto the canvas with such ra-

pidity that pentimenti such as the right sleeve remain clearly visible, this blaze of light and color transcends description to achieve an emotional tenor of direct intensity. And yet, it is the saint's head that concentrates this quiet, dusky ensemble into a powerful focus. Crosscurrents of conflicting emotions radiate from this ecstatic, weeping face, an image conjured up from thick daubs of rough paint miraculously coalescing into piercingly human expression.

One entered Borghi's old church from a south porch so that the first view of the altar would have been diagonal from the right. Not only does Paolo's composition take subtle account of this relationship with the viewer, but its illumination comes from high on the right, the line of southern windows that were almost the only source of illumination in that dark interior. When, in about 1668, the body of the Gothic church was pulled down, its replacement was turned ninety degrees counterclockwise so that the facade faced south. The old apse and its lateral chapels were, however, reconstructed as chapels along the right side of the nave. Thus, Paolo's altar remains in part in its original position, although the frame and altar were replaced in 1720 and the picture today is imprisoned too deep and high in its chapel to make its full effect.

During 1587, while this altar was being painted, Paolo was under such exceptional pressure that all but small projects of particular interest to him were shared with one or more members of his family shop. Although this has led most recent scholars to admit some participation by assistants in the *Miracle of Saint Pantaleon*, particularly in the background and the putto above, who has been assigned by them to Carletto, there is no reason to detect here any hand other than that of Paolo himself. Even the still, leaden sky and the shadowed dappling of ivy on the wall behind the saint is painted with a delicately restrained sensibility that one is loath to credit to any member of Paolo's family, even the talented but realistic Carletto. Paolo's choice to undertake this picture alone must have been personal, but in any case it remained his province alone.

No member of his corps of associates dared attempt to reproduce this quietly unforgettable masterpiece or even to try to understand its magical pictorial character.

Literature

Sansovino-Stringa 1604, 179a; Ridolfi 1648, 1:311; Martinoni 1663, 246; Boschini 1664, 377; Boschini 1674, Dorsoduro 51; Dal Pozzo 1718, 96; Zanetti 1733, 357; Gradenigo 1746 (ed. 1942), 75; Zanetti 1771, 195; Moschini 1815, 2:244; De'Pievani . . . di San Pantalon 1837, 2:13-14; Paoletti 1840, 3:115; Caliaro 1888, 137, 344; Zannandreis 1891, 166; Caliaro 1909, 137; Hadeln 1911, 397; Ridolfi-Hadeln 1914, 1:325; Lorenzetti 1927, 534; Osmond 1927, 94, 117; Fiocco 1928, 105; Fiocco 1934, 107; Gallo 1939, 146; Pallucchini 1939, 205-207, no. 89; Coletti 1941, 262; Pallucchini 1943, 43; Arslan 1946-1947, 1:119-120; Gamulin 1955, 92; Berenson 1957, 1:137; Lorenzetti 1961, 570; Pallucchini 1963-1964, 133-134; Ballarin 1965, 71; Pallucchini 1966, 731; Neumann 1967, 296; Marini 1968, 131, no. 307; Mariacher 1971, 68, no. 31; Pignatti 1976, 1:99, 168, no. 343; Cocke 1980, 106; Bacou 1983, 260-261; Cocke 1983, 242, no. 147; Scrase 1983, 300; Bacou 1984, 20; Cocke 1984, 297; Pallucchini 1984, 164, 188, no. 262; Rearick 1988, 22, 109; Ruggeri-Augusti 1988, 195-199



fig. 60. Haeredes Pauli (Paolo Veronese's heirs), *Baptism of Christ*. Church of the Redentore, Venice



104

The Baptism of Christ

1588

pen and brown ink with bister wash on ivory paper

21.9 x 9.5 (8½ x 3¾)

inscribed in pen in three separate hands (verso): *B.A.B n.o 123, 1-6, P. Ver:s.o 3.1.* Top corners beveled, torn, and patched from upper left

formerly Gibson, Reynolds collections

National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, no. D4945

As was recognized at the time of its last sale (Sotheby's, London, 26 June 1969, no. 8), this is a very late work by Paolo and is closely related to the studies of the same subject (cat. 105) that are on the recto of a letter dated 4 February 1588. Cocke agreed, relating both to the *Baptism* (Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), which by implication he dated after the date on the letter. Both sheets are clearly preparations for the *Baptism* altar (fig. 60), which was probably commissioned in 1587, designed by Paolo in February of 1588, and executed

after his death in April and inscribed *Haeredes Pauli* by his shop. The relation of the present drawing to this project is, however, rather complex. None of the many variations on the poses of Christ and the Baptist relates as closely to the solution finally selected for the painting as that in the upper right of the Harvard University sheet (cat. 105), but most seem to be variations, all eventually rejected, on that formulation. It is probable that almost simultaneously with his experiments on the Harvard letter, Paolo turned to this sheet and on the recto started at the top with an aggressive variant of his preceding idea, turning the Baptist into near profile and placing both hands under the bowl. Although he first drew Christ in a submissive pose that harks back to a much earlier painting (cat. 39), perhaps by way of a drawing that was still among his sheaf of working material in the shop, he brusquely modified it to a strong diagonal that echoes the 1567 altar (parish church, Latisana) and even hints at the *maniera* torsion of his earliest treatment of the theme

(Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig). Then, perhaps with that picture still in mind, he made an even more extreme shift, placing the Baptist to the left of Christ, but, uncertain about so drastic a change, he sketched only the upper body in mirror image of the first placement and then quickly dropped lower to try it with the head raised. Retreating from this experiment, he drew in pen alone a circular series of four Christ figures with hands prayerfully clasped toward the left, the last turning the arms to the right, a solution that pleased him enough to add wash and a brief indication of the Baptist's head and arms at right. Here once again an eccentric inspiration broke into his orderly process. Below and generally related to this last Christ, he rapidly suggested the Baptist kneeling over the bank to dip water from the Jordan River, a motif he quickly recognized as iconographically inadmissible, returning to the first solution in pure pen at bottom right. Apparently pleased with the placid stability of this arrangement, he moved left to give it a more finished treatment with wash, but recognizing the ambiguity of the physical and spatial relationship of the figures, he repeated them with corrections directly below. Normally, this would have concluded his restless search for just the right compositional order. But in this case Paolo was clearly unsatisfied and, turning the sheet over, he used a device found very rarely among his drawings: following the image of his wash, which showed through on the verso, he re-drew in pen the Christ from the group at center left on the recto and the Baptist from that at lower left, both obviously reversed from the model. Finally, doubtless looking once again at his previous sheet of studies, he drew still another time, now with a more decisive wash, the two figures with the Baptist's arm extended as it would appear in the painting. As with the Harvard drawing, we would suggest a date between 4 February and about 10 April 1588 for the present sheet, noting that it must be one of Paolo's last surviving drawings.

Literature

Mullaly 1971, 65, no. 73; Goldner 1981, 111-126; Cocke 1984, 293-295, no. 126; Coutts 1986, 404



105

The Baptism of Christ

1588

pen and brown ink with bister wash (recto); pen and brown ink (verso) on ivory paper

20.0 x 18.0 (7³/₄ x 7)

lower left corner cut. Letter on the verso in the artist's hand: *Io come homo c[he] mai manca della sua parolla/ no mi amato p[er] per fare qual ch[e] [h]o'pottuto p[er] darli/ satisfacio[n]e e tralascio op[e]re da importanza/ ch[e] mi collia farli meno e percio de cio ch[e] co[n]/ mia tirato a farli no[n] vollo i p[er] che senza/ stima[n]do li omini p[er] il suo pezzo ma li vido con/ p[er] qua[n]to digno e posso. E li tuto cio che altre ebbi p[er] elli p . . . / cupato un pezzo de te[m]po e ch[e] . . . di questo/ no[n] sia Patroni ch[e] li accertavo vole [n]tieri. P[er]ch[e] i . . . / il te[m]po no[n] li ama[n]cava ricapito e co[n] maggior/ Cosa prima la mi avese ma[n]dato senzaltro da me r . . . / li avria ogni paze e tra[n]quilita di animo m . . . / hora ch[e] altri li piacia cussi, io no[n] posso di . . . / sento ch[e] facio piasti ma da leser suo ch[e]*

de 5 du[cati]/ ma il si te[n]ga p[er] dono/ che la li avera a lui altri tanti come a[l]tri si gr . . . / qual primola date p[er] d[ucati] 15, nel junia p . . . / mil cento la mil charita es[s]ela mia criava o . . . / me servira ad altro, con ch[e] con nostro cuore all . . . / me racoma[n]do di Venezia li quatro Fevraio 1587 formerly (1924) Denman Ross collection, Boston

Harvard University Art Museums (Fogg Art Museum), Cambridge, Mass., Gift of Denman W. Ross, no. 1924.101

Mongan at first accepted the traditional attribution to Veronese, noting the importance of the date on the autograph letter on the verso and associating the studies with the *Baptism of Christ* (Renditore, Venice, sacristy). Later, finding that painting (Portogruaro 1930, 198) to be datable to 1561, she, with Sachs, subsequently shifted the association to the *Baptism* (fig. 60) signed by the Haeredes Pauli. The subsequent literature has confirmed Paolo's authorship of this drawing but has varied

widely about its association with his paintings of this subject, Cocke in particular relating both this sheet and that in Edinburgh (cat. 104) to another *Baptism* (Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence). Of Paolo's letter it can be said only that it seems to deal with a business matter of unspecified import in his usual imperfect prose; it does not appear to be a draft, but is rather a letter dated to 4 February 1588, (1587 *more veneto*) which he never sent but in his economical fashion used for a drawing instead. That this drawing dates from only about two months before his death is essential to both its style and its purpose. In the sequence of Paolo's development of the theme of the Baptism of Christ, this drawing still shows a nostalgic recollection of the major figures in his mature painting (cat. 39) of more than a quarter-century before as well as his monumental treatment (parish church, Latisana) of 1566–1567, but relates to the unusual San Niccolò picture (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) of 1581–1582 only in the quickly abandoned idea

at lower left for the Baptist at the left of Christ. Closer in date and concept is the still-later small painting (cat. 79) and its variant drawing (cat. 78) and painting (Courtauld Institute Galleries, London), and its immediate prototype is the solemn altar (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) done close to 1582–1583.

In the present sketch, Paolo followed, in part, the creases in the folded letter that divided its verso into four quarters. He began with the upper left group, which not only develops the three central figures from the Padua altar, but also shows a clear interest in Tintoretto's altar of this subject (San Silvestro, Venice), a work of about 1582. His concern was purely motival and not pictorial, for at once he moved to the lower right for a rapid evocation of the principal figures, which returns in certain aspects to the San Niccolò version, even to the point of reversing the Baptist at lower left to a position corresponding to that used in his earlier painting. Finally, he moved to the upper right to suggest three of the participants in a composition that would eventually serve as the model for the altar. Despite alternative proposals in the literature, there can be little doubt that the altar on which Paolo was here beginning work was the picture (fig. 59) planned for the second on the right in Palladio's newly completed church of the Redentore, projected in 1577 and far enough advanced to allow the altar frames to be allotted a final payment on 16 May 1588. Although there are documentable variations to such a practice, it was usual to allocate the commissions for altars just prior to or simultaneously with their frames, and since it usually took marble cutters about six months to produce the type of frame designed by Palladio for the Redentore, we may posit a commission for both picture and setting in December 1587 or January 1588. This accords with the date we would suggest for the other five altar pictures for the Redentore by Francesco Bassano, Domenico Tintoretto, and Palma il Giovane. Because Paolo was exceptionally freighted with demanding commissions in 1587, he may from the beginning have planned to delegate much if not all of the execution of the Redentore *Baptism* to his associates, but, as was equally his practice, he assumed responsibility for its design and seems to have made a start in this direction by picking up his unsent letter of 4 February 1588 for the present drawing. Although the final sketch at top right is

very close, in the Christ and the Baptist as well as the angel standing at the left of Christ, to the figures in the painting, Paolo was not yet satisfied with this solution and took up another sheet of paper (cat. 104) for some rather free and surprising alternative ideas before returning in a general way to the format arrived at here. We cannot tell if the canvas had been begun in the artist's lifetime, but when it was finally consigned it bore the humble inscription of the Haeredes Pauli; there is no trace of the master's brush on the present surface. When he died during the night of 19–20 April 1588, he was reported to have been ill for more than a week. This establishes the time frame of 4 February to about 10 April for this sheet as well as the related Edinburgh drawing. Its hurried, approximate handling must reflect the pressures of the moment, but the fragile, visionary quality of his images might equally suggest declining health.

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