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# Some Italian Drawings for Known Works

Since 1962, when it was decided to acquire drawings for a study collection, a modest number of examples useful for teaching has been assembled. Among them are drawings which are preparatory for known works of art and hence possess special interest. Four of these, all from Italy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are presented here.

While both the attribution and the relation of the drawing at Missouri (Fig. 1) to Agostino Carracci's painting, *The Last Communion of St. Francis* (Fig. 2), have been accepted since Michael Jaffé published it in 1956, there has been some question about the date.<sup>1</sup> Jaffé, who sees strongly Venetian qualities in the painting, places it early in the 1590's, after the artist's second sojourn in Venice.<sup>2</sup> Calvesi, on the other hand, cites it as evidence of Agostino's style before his first trip to northern Italy, claiming that its dependence on Bolognese Mannerism would not be in evidence after the early 1580's.<sup>3</sup> The style of the drawing can be compared to one of Agostino's studies for his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a painting documented by Faberio's citation of it in his oration at Agostino's funeral, which probably dates in 1584.<sup>4</sup> The subcortical and hence automatic traits of the artist's handwriting are similar in both drawings: drapery is defined by meandering, angular outlines, facial structure built over a quickly sketched oval, ears and eyes indicated by the same shorthand symbols. However, the sketch for the *Adoration* is bolder and obviously done quickly and with some ease, in comparison to the timid and painstaking Missouri drawing. This is most likely due to the fact that the latter was made some years earlier.

Circumstantial evidence of an early date for our drawing is supplied by another *Last Communion of St. Francis* which was unknown to Jaffé and Calvesi at the time when they wrote (Fig. 3). Although it had been attributed to Cerano, it was associated with the name of Denis Calvaert when Griseri published it in 1958.<sup>5</sup> It does, in fact, coincide with Calvaert's stylistic de-

velopment in the latter half of the 1570's, just after he had returned to Bologna, leaving his master Lorenzo Sabbatini in Rome, where they had worked for several years.<sup>6</sup> It was during this first period of Calvaert's complete independence that he forged the Flemish, Bolognese and Roman elements of his background into a coherent personal style, a process which was completed by 1579.<sup>7</sup> The compositional scheme of the Turin *St. Francis* is related to his paintings from earlier in the decade, while the saint himself represents a type he used from about 1580 onward.<sup>8</sup> Much the same can be said of the handling: the harder and more acid areas of color are indicative of his earlier works, while the rich surface of some sections predicts his mature style. The Turin *St. Francis*, then, a product of Bolognese Mannerism, probably was made by Calvaert in Bologna between 1575 and 1579, that is, during the period of Agostino's early training in his native town, when he was primarily concerned with the older, Mannerist generation of artists, including Calvaert.<sup>9</sup>

Agostino, who had worked with various Bolognese masters until 1581, radically changed his style shortly afterward, owing to the influence of a journey through northern Italy.<sup>10</sup> This is reflected in his reproductive engravings, which, after depending on Mannerist works through 1581, suddenly switch to the "colore" tradition in 1582.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, his interest in Calvaert probably dates from shortly before his first journey northward, after the Flemish master had established himself in Bologna on a permanent basis. It is doubtful that the relationship between the Dulwich and Turin paintings is due to Calvaert's having copied Agostino, since in 1581 the latter was an unknown artist in his early twenties who had yet to receive a single public commission, while Calvaert, an established master, had already opened an "academy" in Bologna.<sup>12</sup>

It would seem, then, that Agostino based his painting on Calvaert's example shortly after it had been completed, which leads to a date of ca. 1580-81. In the







1. (Opposite page) *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, by Agostino Carracci (1557-1602). Pen and brown ink on off-white paper. Inscribed "(D)el Carracci" in pale brown ink in the lower center. H.23.7 cm., W.14.2 cm. Museum purchase, 65.20.

2. (Below) *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, by Agostino Carracci. Picture Gallery, Dulwich College (courtesy of the Governors of Dulwich College).

3. (Right) *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, by Denis Calvaert. Accademia Albertina, Turin (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Piemonte).





process he imbued the image with greater simplicity and integration. By means of a series of minor yet significant changes the complicated surface patterns of the Turin example are transformed into a stable and balanced composition. Except for the central group, which remains relatively unchanged, the figures are transposed by means of color, value and positioning, in a manner which clarifies their function within the surface composition. In the main this consists of separating and isolating the central group, simplifying the architectural background and juxtaposing similar colors on either side of a central axis, so that a series of geometric units (rectangles, triangles) and bilateral symmetry become immediately perceptible.<sup>13</sup> However, since the Missouri drawing is not identical to either of the painted examples, its place in this process needs some definition.

The general disposition and the poses of the central group of figures are identical, for the most part, in the drawing and the two paintings (Figs. 1-3). This in itself is inconclusive, since rather than narrowing down the various possible relationships, it merely indicates that the drawing could be preparatory for or derived from either of the painted versions, as well as being a link between them. On the other hand, certain of the details in the drawing correspond to Calvaert's version alone (the four candlesticks on the altar, rather than two on a raised step at the back of the altar), while others, which depart from the Turin example, appear in Agostino's canvas (the simplified frame and picture behind the altar). The drawing, then, either was made after Calvaert's painting in preparation for Agostino's, or else was made with both examples in mind. The fact that some of the details in the drawing relate to neither painting (such as the position of the left arm of St. Francis and the pose of the monk standing to the right of the altar) suggests that the latter alternative is the more accurate.

Michael Jaffé has pointed out that Agostino's painting was cut down at the sides, since it is doubtful that the two monks holding tapers were meant to be bisected by the frame.<sup>14</sup> If one reconstructs the Dulwich painting in accordance with this suggestion, it is immediately evident that there is a more direct relation between the two canvases than there is between either of them and the Missouri drawing. The latter, then, most likely does not form one of the steps in Agostino's process of transforming Calvaert's example into

a less Mannerist entity, but rather seems to be an afterthought that goes beyond his painted solution. While it, as well, most likely was cut down (since the kneeling monk on the right is abruptly bisected), the position of the background curtains suggests that such cutting was relatively minimal. The drawing, then, advances one step beyond the second painted version, in reducing the number of figures, moving the center of interest from the physical center of the picture plane and establishing a spatial recession that moves on a diagonal from the lower right corner, rather than receding from both sides toward the middle. Therefore the drawing predicts the type of composition that Agostino would eventually use in his *Adoration*, which he painted after his return from northern Italy in 1584.<sup>15</sup> It is but another indication of his turn from central Italian Mannerism toward the more dynamic propensities of the north Italian "colore" tradition, which can be traced in his dated prints as well.<sup>16</sup>

A highly finished drawing now at Missouri<sup>17</sup> is closely related to Francesco Vanni's *Flight into Egypt*, painted for the church of SS. Quirico e Giulietta, Siena, shortly after his trip to Rome in 1603 (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>18</sup> In spite of its correspondence to the painting in both composition and details, there is clear evidence that the drawing is not a copy after the canvas. While this evidence, in part, consists of minor details,<sup>19</sup> it is the freer and more limber conception and handling of the drawing, as compared to the stiff and frozen forms in the painting, which ultimately belie the copyist's hand. The relation of the drawing to the painting, then, runs counter to the exact, tightly drawn duplications or loosely handled, free interpretations that are usually manifest in copies.

There is no difficulty in relating both the figure style and handling of the Missouri sheet to Vanni's drawings from the 1590's on. The rhythmic patterns of both poses and drapery folds, insistent outlines tempered by parallel lines of hatching over a rubbed background, and indication of highlights by means of discrete, untouched areas of the original paper, can be found in such equally finished studies as the *Sieneſe Saints* for the upper section of the engraved *Map of Siena* (ca. 1595)<sup>20</sup> or the *modello* in Worcester for the painting *St. Ansano Baptizing the Sieneſe* (completed in 1596).<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, details of handling and physiog-



nomic types in the Missouri *Flight* are extremely close to those in the Worcester *Baptism*; compare, for example, the heads of the Madonna, St. Joseph and the angel who leads them in the former, with the kneeling female and male saint in the center foreground and the Virgin toward the upper right corner in the latter.<sup>22</sup> Since this comparison is further supported by the general characteristics already mentioned, as well as the degree of finish and medium of the two sheets,<sup>23</sup> the Missouri drawing can be attributed to Vanni with a high degree of certainty.

In addition to offering stylistic evidence, the Worcester drawing serves to define the purpose of the Missouri sheet in Vanni's working process. The contract for the *Baptism* states that Vanni had given a drawing of the composition to the "Opera" of the church, which he was to improve and amplify further in the final canvas.<sup>24</sup> There can be no doubt that the Worcester drawing is that mentioned in the contract, since it is inscribed on the *verso* by Vanni himself, where he states that he is obligated to execute the design in oil.<sup>25</sup> The drawing, then, served as a *modello*, made explicitly for the commissioners of the painting so that they might have some idea of the appearance of the projected altarpiece. As Riedl has pointed out, it was neither the first nor the last step in his working process, since drawings survive which lead up to this phase of the composition as well as beyond it, to include sketches of individual figures which illustrate the way in which poses were reworked before being brought together in a compositional study.<sup>26</sup> Given the fact that such highly finished *modelli* were common in Vanni's *oeuvre*, and that, for example, the preparatory sheet for the *Plan of Siena* closely corresponds to the final engraving,<sup>27</sup> it is not impossible that a further *modello* was made by Vanni after he had reworked the composition represented by the Worcester drawing, and just before he began to execute the canvas. Most likely this is the stage of his working process represented by the Missouri *Flight into Egypt*: a highly finished *modello* on which the painting is based—the last in a series of such sheets, in their turn separated by studies for individual figures.

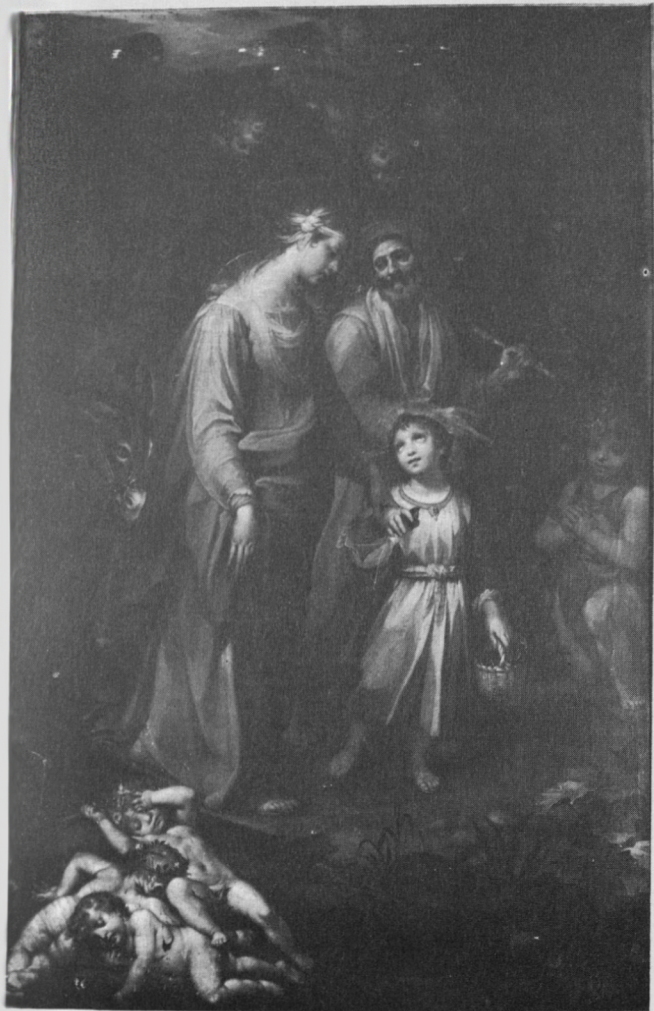
We now come to a drawing<sup>28</sup> which was published by Tancred Borenius and Rudolf Wittkower in 1937. At that time they pointed out that the figures on the *recto*

correspond to two etchings by Salvator Rosa and, furthermore, that they are reverse images of the prints, which depart from them in some details (Figs. 6, 8, 9).<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, their conclusion that the drawing may be preparatory for rather than a copy after the etchings was extremely tentative.

The pen studies are somewhat untypical of Rosa's drawing style, which in the main is extremely free and tends to suggest rather than describe the objects being represented. While the scene on the *verso* of the sheet, most likely a group of mythological figures, does conform to this image and can be related to other drawings by his hand (Fig. 7),<sup>30</sup> it is equally true that his preparatory studies, even if one considers only those for prints, are extremely heterogeneous in character. For example, they run from the refined and almost Mannerist elegance of a pen and wash sketch for *Apollo and the Cumean Sybil* to a bold drawing for one of the *Capricci*, where blotches of strong shadow overwhelm the line, to the bravura of a frenetic pen and wash study for the *St. Alberto* to the hesitant and, in places, unresolved pen drawing for the *Genio*.<sup>31</sup> Since the majority of his prints were made in the relatively limited period of ca. 1656-1664 (the former being the date of the etchings in question),<sup>32</sup> one can postulate that the differences which strike the eye when perusing the preparatory drawings for them are due to an inherent variety in Rosa's style and handling rather than to his internal chronological development. While other drawings by his hand that display the same finesse and hesitation in the line as the *recto* of the Missouri sheet are rare, they are by no means nonexistent, as can be seen in certain portions of the study for the *Genio*, mentioned above, and a sheet of miscellaneous figures in Leipzig which is preparatory for his *Battle Scene* in the Louvre (1652).<sup>33</sup> Therefore, although the *Studies of Soldiers* on the Missouri example may be unusual for Rosa, the fact that they are not unique in his production, in conjunction with their relationship to his signed etchings and the more typical sketch on the *verso*, strongly suggest that Borenius and Wittkower were correct in attributing the drawing to him. On the other hand there is room for hesitancy, for his prints and paintings were copied widely, and in the eighteenth century his style was so much a part of English taste that this process was accelerated.<sup>34</sup>





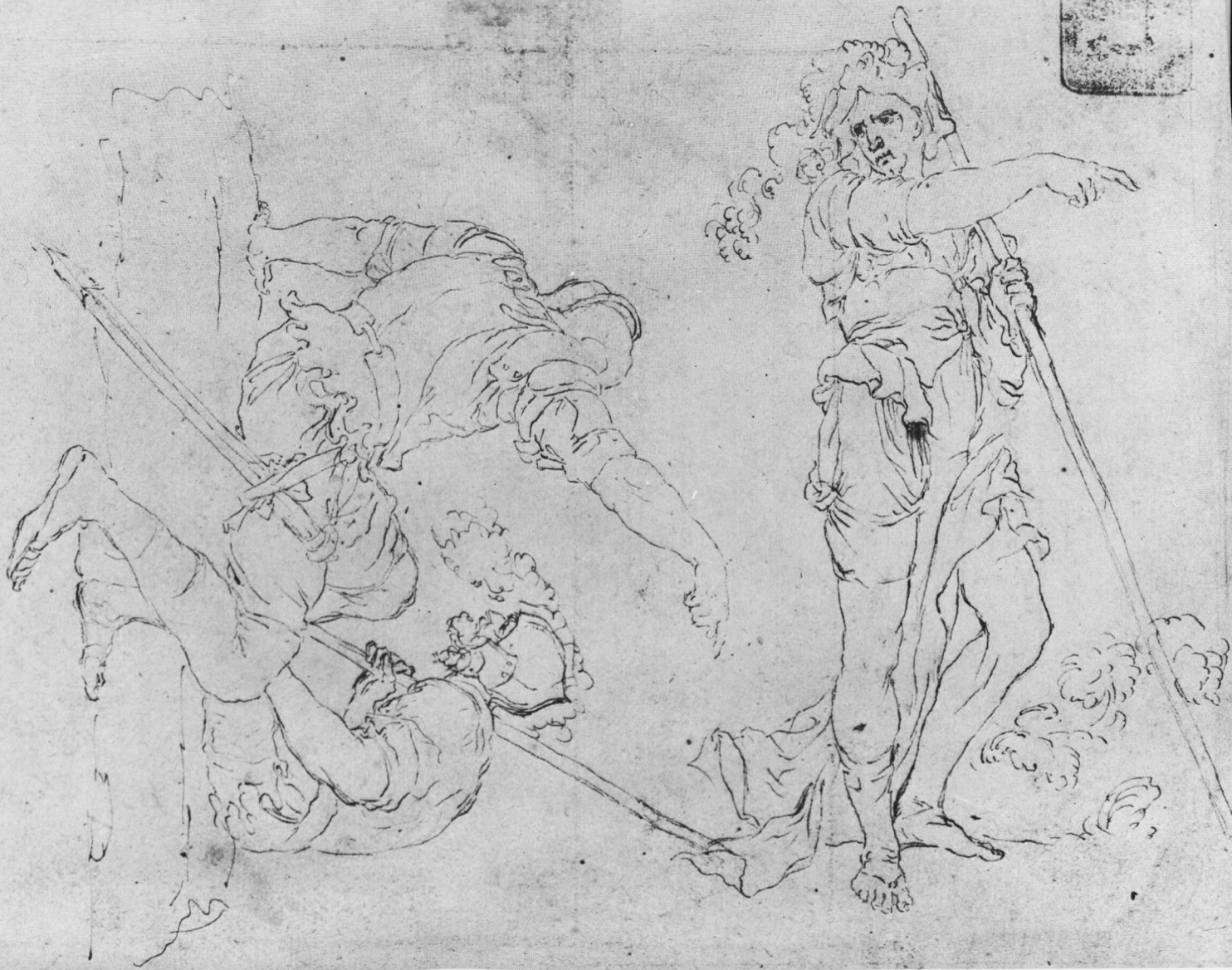


4. (Left) *The Flight into Egypt*, by Francesco Vanni (1563-1610). Black and red chalk on light, buff paper, pasted down. H.27.1 cm., W. 18.4 cm. Museum purchase, 64.88.

5. (Above) *The Flight into Egypt*, by Francesco Vanni. SS. Quirico e Giulietta, Siena (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Siena).

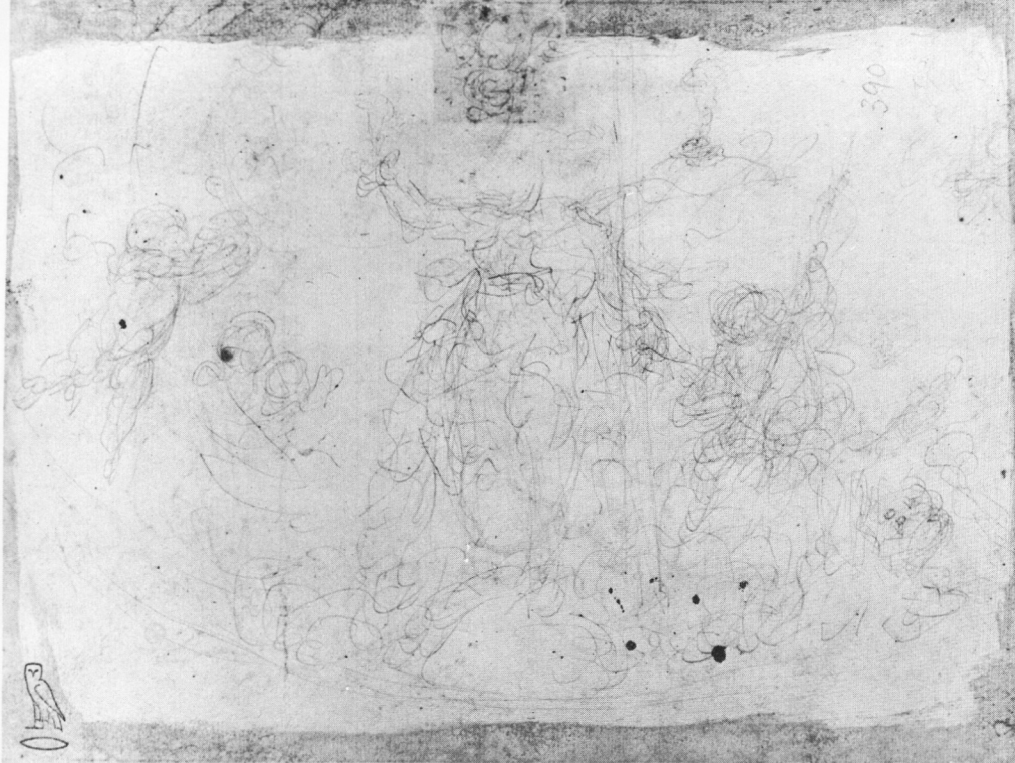
Further difficulties arise when one seeks to define the relation of the drawing to the two etchings in question (Figs. 6, 8). While it is true that the drawn versions are not exact reproductions of the prints (nor would they be even if they were not reverse images), it is equally true that their dimensions are identical and, furthermore, their careful handling and complete lack of shading belie the rough, free and sketchy quality of the etchings. Since it is the finished product rather than the preparatory drawing which is more loosely handled, it is difficult at first to see just what purpose the drawing served. While it is tempting to suggest that they formed the bare outlines of the poses and compositional relationships of the figures, which Rosa then freely developed on the plate itself, this would overlook the fact that in the prints the figures are not defined by outlines in their entirety. For example, the profile of the weight-bearing leg of the standing soldier in the etching is delineated by a contrast of light and shadow, where sections of unworked plate meet a series of parallel lines that run at right angles to it, while in the drawing all that separates the mass of the leg from the bordering area is a thin contour (Figs. 6, 8). We are faced here with basically different approaches, the one (in the print) dealing with mass and space, the other (in the drawing) with line alone. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the etching of the two seated soldiers could be an amplified version of the stage represented by the drawing (Figs. 6, 9), this relationship cannot be claimed for the drawing and both of the related etchings in their entirety.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, this dualism of conception does not only hold true when one compares the drawing to the prints, but also for different portions of the same etching: the pointing arm and weight-bearing leg of the standing soldier, for example (Fig. 8). Therefore it is not impossible that the drawing did serve as the starting point for the prints, since the original outlines still can be seen. This is equally evident in other prints from the series, where outline and value contrast are used in separate portions of the same figure.<sup>36</sup> To use the line in the drawing as a guide for the outer limits of the hatching in the print is a simple matter, as is the reverse process, reducing the edge created by the meeting of light and shade to a thinly drawn contour. The relation of the drawing to the print, then, could



6. *Figures of Men in Armor*, by Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). Pen and brown ink on white paper.  
H. 16.5 cm., W. 23.5 cm. David T. Owsley Purchase Fund, 65.189.





7. *A Mythological Scene*, by Salvator Rosa. Lead pencil on white paper. *Verso* of Fig. 6.

8, 9. *Soldiers*, by Salvator Rosa. Etchings (B.27, B.47), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest (courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art).





10. *The Head and Hand of a Turbaned Youth*, by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, called Baciccio (1639-1709). Red chalk with white heightening (in part oxidized) on light brown paper. H. 27.2 cm., W. 41 cm. David T. Owsley Purchase Fund, 65.147.





11. *Studies of Legs and a Head*, by Giovanni Battista Gaulli. *Verso* of Fig. 10.

be either that it was part of Rosa's working process, moving toward the print, or the work of a copyist, moving away from it. Therefore the reversal of the image is of primary importance, for such would not normally be the case if the drawing were a copy of the engraving, while it is the automatic result of working from a drawing to a plate, to the printed version. This, in conjunction with the fact that the dimensions of the figures in both the drawing and the prints are identical, leads to the conclusion that the drawing was transferred by Rosa to the plate, which was then freely enriched, using this minimal indication of pose, contour and composition as a guide.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, we present a sheet of sketches which once formed part of a sketchbook attributed to Gaulli (Figs. 10, 11).<sup>38</sup> Given the present fluid state of scholarship on this master's drawings, and the paucity of works by him in chalk, it would be difficult to attribute it to him on the basis of style alone.<sup>39</sup> To the best of my knowledge there are but two securely attributed examples (also in red chalk) which could serve as comparative material. A study in Oxford for the dead infant in the lower left corner of Gaulli's *Madonna and Child with St. Roch and St. Anthony Abbot* (mid-1660's) displays the same fluid contours and physiognomic type.<sup>40</sup> The handling, however, is much looser and by far more hesitant, possibly owing to the fact that it is an early work which pre-dates the Missouri sheet by some two decades. On the other hand a page of studies in a private collection in Rome, which are for the *Glory of St. Ignatius* (1685) and hence contemporary with the Missouri example, is extremely close to the *verso* of our sheet in terms of its handling as well as specific details.<sup>41</sup>

This scant evidence would tend to place the Missouri drawing in Gaulli's *oeuvre* with a date in the mid-1680's, which is confirmed by the fact that the *Turbaned Youth* on the *recto* is related to the figure which appears toward the left edge of Gaulli's *Sacrifice of Noah*, a painting datable ca. 1685-90 (Figs. 10, 12).<sup>42</sup> Although the study is identical to the painted version in all its details and takes into account the way in which the lower part is cut off by two female figures, it is doubtful that the sketch is a copy after the painting rather than preparatory to it. The drawing, in fact, is more complete and includes the left side of the turban



12. *The Sacrifice of Noah*, by Giovanni Battista Gaulli. The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia (courtesy High Museum).



and all of the hand, areas that are cut off in the canvas by the frame and by the figure of Noah respectively.<sup>43</sup>

On the basis of this evidence the Missouri sheet can be attributed to Gaulli and dated ca. 1685-90 with a high degree of certainty. Both it and the earlier Oxford drawing, and to a lesser extent the page for the Gesù frescoes, seem to be complete and relatively final studies for individual figures. While drawings in chalk lend themselves to exacting descriptions of details and modeling, this aspect of Gaulli's creative procedure is not illustrated by them alone. For example, a drawing in mixed media (chalk, pen and wash), in Berlin, for the St. Joseph in his *Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and the Infant St. John*, serves much the same purpose.<sup>44</sup> Nonetheless, his drawings in the chalk medium are relatively distinct from those in pen and wash, which for the most part seem to be quickly laid down and generalized studies of poses and compositions.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the position of the more detailed drawings within Gaulli's working process has been defined with considerable precision. He first made a series of free pen and wash compositional sketches, and then based his *bozzetto* on them, before turning to exacting studies for individual parts which he transcribed with great accuracy in the final painting.<sup>46</sup> The Missouri sheet, which illustrates the penultimate step in the artist's resultant movement from freedom to exactitude, bears the same relationship to the finished painting as the Berlin *St. Joseph*, mentioned above, does to its related canvas. Unfortunately one preliminary sketch, the *bozzetto* and a detailed study are all that are known of this latter series, since the completed painting either was lost or never was made.<sup>47</sup> However, by referring to our sheet and the *Atlanta Sacrifice* for which it is preparatory, both dating from approximately the same point in his career, the various steps of Gaulli's working process can be traced in their entirety.

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<sup>1</sup>For the literature on the drawing (which came from the Michael Jaffé Collection) see M. Jaffé, "Some Drawings by Annibale and by Agostino Carracci," *Paragone* 83 (1956) 16, n. 20; M. Calvesi, "Note ai Carracci," *Commentari* 7 (1956) 274, 276; A. Griseri, "Una revisione nella galleria dell' Accademia Albertina in Torino," *Bollettino d'arte* 43 (1958) 77; C.C. Van Hasselt, *Exhibition of 17th Century Italian Drawings*, Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge 1959) 10, no. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Jaffé, *op. cit.*, 15.

<sup>3</sup>Calvesi, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup>Windsor, Royal Collection, inv. 2286 (R. Wittkower, *The Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen at Windsor Castle* [London 1952] 111, no. 91, pl. 24). The attribution of this drawing to Agostino has been repeated by R. Bacou (*Dessins des Carrache*, XXVIII<sup>e</sup> exposition du Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre [Paris 1961] 22, under no. 17); D. Mahon (*Mostra dei Carracci, disegni*, 2nd ed. [Bologna 1963] 46, no. 45); and C.C. Van Hasselt (*op. cit.*, 8, under no. 14). For the date and secure attribution of the *Adoration* and the significance of Faberio's citation, see S. Ostrow, "Diana or Bacchus in the Palazzo Riario?," *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender* (New York 1965) 127, n. 1, and 131, n. 21. For an illustration of the painting see *ibid.* fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup>N. Gabrielli attributed the work to Cerano, while Griseri placed it toward Denis Calvaert, seemingly on Longhi's suggestion (N. Gabrielli, *La Regia Galleria dell'Accademia Albertina in Torino* [Rome 1933] 10, no. 202; Griseri, *loc. cit.*). Quite obviously it has none of the characteristics of Cerano's massive, powerful and mannered figure style (see E. Arslan, *Le pitture del Duomo di Milano* [Milan n.d.] figs. 30-33, 73-76, 103-107).

<sup>6</sup>S. Bergmans, *Denis Calvaert* (Brussels 1934) 7-10.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.* 39-40.

<sup>8</sup>For the earlier works see the *Flagellation*, and for the later ones *The Madonna and Child in Glory with St. Francis*, both in the Pinacoteca, Bologna (L. Venturi, "Note sulla Galleria Borghese," *L'arte* 12 [1909] 45-48 and fig. 11; Bergmans, *op. cit.* 46-48 and pl. 8).

<sup>9</sup>See his engraving after Calvaert's *Jacob and Rachel by the Well* which is inscribed "... Dionisius Calvaert In. Bon. 1581." (A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur* 18 [Leipzig 1867] 36, no. 2).

<sup>10</sup>For this first journey in northern Italy see Ostrow, *op. cit.* 131, n. 20.

<sup>11</sup>For example, from 1579 through 1581 he engraved after Baldassare Peruzzi, Orazio Sammacchini, Cornelis Cort, Franco Francia, Raffaellino Motta da Reggio and Denis Calvaert, while in 1582 his sources are Barocci, Veronese and Tintoretto (A. Bartsch, *op. cit.* 42-43, no. 11; 37, no. 5; 83, no. 87; 84, no. 88; 36, nos. 2, 3; 57, no. 32; 90, no. 98; 70, no. 78; 93, no. 102; 69, no. 63).

<sup>12</sup>S. Bergmans *op. cit.* 5, 10-13.

<sup>13</sup>Since the bilateral symmetry is achieved by means of color, it is not so evident in a photograph as in the original painting.

<sup>14</sup>Jaffé, *op. cit.* 16, n. 20. He suggests that the canvas was cut down on the top as well.

<sup>15</sup>See n. 4 above.

<sup>16</sup>See n. 11, above.

<sup>17</sup>From the Benjamin West Collection. The stamp in the lower left corner was placed there by the executors of the estate after West's death in 1820 (F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes* [Amsterdam 1921] 71, no. 419).

<sup>18</sup>For the painting see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* IX, 7 (Milan 1934). 1078, 1083 and fig. 602; B.C. Kreplin, "Francesco Vanni," in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* 34 (Leipzig 1940) 98; C. Brandi, "Francesco Vanni," *Art in America* 19 (1930-31) 81.

<sup>19</sup>For example, the drawing does not show the wreaths on the dead children in the lower left corner, or the cherub toward the middle of the upper edge, and it also changes the position of the middle fingers on the Madonna's right hand. See our Figs. 4 and 5.

<sup>20</sup>John Pope-Hennessy Collection. See J. Pope-Hennessy, "Some As-

- pects of the Cinquecento in Siena," *Art in America* 31 (1943) 75-77 and fig. 7.
- <sup>21</sup> Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, acc. no. 1951.54. See H. Vey, "Some European Drawings at Worcester," *Worcester Art Museum Annual* 6 (1958) 20-21 and fig. 11; P.A. Riedl, "A Few Drawings by Francesco Vanni," *The Connoisseur* (American edition) December 1960, 163-167.
- <sup>22</sup> Our Fig. 4 and Riedl, *ibid.* fig. 4.
- <sup>23</sup> Both are in black and red chalk (see Vey, *op. cit.* 20).
- <sup>24</sup> See Riedl, *op. cit.* 163.
- <sup>25</sup> I can only agree with Riedl's conclusion that the drawing is an authentic and original Vanni untouched by a later hand, which takes exception to Vey's tentative hypothesis that it might be worked over or a copy (Riedl, *ibid.* 165; Vey, *op. cit.* 21, n. 8). For a quotation of the inscription see Riedl, *op. cit.* 163, n. 4.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 163-167 and figs. 2-8.
- <sup>27</sup> See Riedl's remark on the frequency of these finished sheets (*ibid.* 165) and Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.* 76.
- <sup>28</sup> Provenance: Comte J. von Ross Collection, Sir Robert Ludwig Mond Collection, Dr. Leo Steinberg Collection, New York. The stamp of Comte von Ross, a Berlin collector (1787-1848), most likely the one that appears in the upper right corner of the *recto*, is now almost completely illegible. However it is cited by Borenius and Wittkower without qualification (F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes* [Amsterdam 1921] 507, no. 2693; *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters, Formed by Sir Robert Mond*, by Tancred Borenius Assisted by Rudolf Wittkower [London 1937] 55, no. 226). The stamp of Sir Robert Mond of London (1867-1938) is on the lower left corner of the *verso* (F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes, supplément* [La Haye 1956] 403, no. 2813a).
- <sup>29</sup> *Catalogue of the Collection... formed by Sir Robert Mond, loc. cit.* Also see A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur* 20 (Würzburg 1920) 167-168, no. 27; 169, no. 47. I am grateful to Mr. Hyatt Mayor, former Curator of Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for information on and photographs of the two etchings in question (Joseph Pulitzer Bequest).
- <sup>30</sup> For example, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 24557 and 25371 *verso*, which, among the many free sketches by his hand, come relatively close to the example in question (A. Stix and A. Spitzmüller, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der staatlichen graphischen Sammlung Albertina* 6 [Vienna 1941] 54, nos. 589, 590r, and pls. 129, 130).
- <sup>31</sup> In the Louvre, Windsor Castle and Holkham Hall (See L. Salerno, *Salvator Rosa* [Milan 1963] 135, no. 83b, 137, no. 94d, 138, nos. 95, 98, and the respective plates).
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 149.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 95; H. W. Schmidt, "Drawings by Salvator Rosa in the Leipzig Stadtbibliothek," *Old Master Drawings* 6 (1931-32) 60-61 and pl. 53.
- <sup>34</sup> For copies after Salvator's paintings, drawings and etchings see the examples cited by T. Bodkin ("A Note on Salvator Rosa," *Burlington Magazine* 58 [1931] 91-92). For Rosa and English taste see E. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England* (New York 1925).
- <sup>35</sup> Earlier states of prints in the same series do not seem to be either more or less committed to the use of outline (see Petrucci, *op. cit.* 33-34, and the two states of the etching illustrated on p. 28).
- <sup>36</sup> See Petrucci's comment on this type of handling, and the plates he cites as illustration (*ibid.* 35 and B. 37 and 59 on p. 29).
- <sup>37</sup> There is no indication on the drawing itself of any work with a stylus, which leaves the question of the process Rosa employed in transferring the image open to further investigation.
- <sup>38</sup> Dr. Leo Steinberg Collection. I am grateful to Dr. Steinberg, to Mrs. Trude Krauthheimer and to Dr. Robert Enggass for information about the Roman sketchbook.
- <sup>39</sup> For evidence of the state of scholarship on Gaulli's drawings see the critique in M.V. Brugnoli, "Inediti del Gaulli," *Paragone* 81 (1956) 31-32, n. 1. The predominance of pen drawings among those attributed to Gaulli is exemplified by the fact that all of the thirty drawings given to him in the catalogue of the Düsseldorf collection are in this medium (I. Budde, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der staatlichen Kunstakademie Düsseldorf* [Düsseldorf 1930] 41-45, nos. 297-326).
- <sup>40</sup> Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 850, published as Gaulli by Parker, Brugnoli and Enggass (K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* 2 [Oxford 1956] 441, no. 850, pl. 184; Brugnoli, *op. cit.* 22, fig. 13; R. Enggass, *The Paintings of Bacicio* [Pennsylvania State University Press 1964] 72, fig. 101). The painting in San Rocco, Rome, most likely his first altarpiece, generally is dated in the mid-1660's (Enggass, *ibid.* 3-5, 147-148, fig. 2).
- <sup>41</sup> The profile head on the *verso* of our drawing is defined by the same outline as that in the uppermost of the two angels on the Roman example (see our Fig. 11 and N. C. Chioyenda, "Della 'Gloria di S. Ignazio' e altri lavori del Gaulli per il Gesuiti," *Commentari* 13 [1962] 290-291, pl. 101, fig. 7). *The Glory of St. Ignatius*, on the vault of the left transept of the Gesù in Rome, was completed in 1685 (Enggass, *op. cit.* 139-140 and fig. 97).
- <sup>42</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Robert Enggass for confirming this opinion, which he arrived at independently on the basis of a photograph of the Missouri drawing. The painting, which was in the Conte Contini Bonacossi Collection and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation Collection, before being given to the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, is datable in ca. 1685-90 (Enggass, *ibid.* 121, which includes a complete bibliography on the painting).
- <sup>43</sup> In the catalogue of a Gaulli exhibition at Oberlin, Ohio, published since this article went to press, it was indicated that the sketches on the *verso* of the Missouri sheet might be related to a group of figures in the lower right corner of a drawing representing *Joseph and His Brethren* (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. 5548), a connection which is entirely plausible ("An Exhibition of Paintings, Bozzetti and Drawings by Giovanni Battista Gaulli called Il Baciccio," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 24 [1967] 93-94, no. 37; 97, no. 47, and figs. 37, 47).
- <sup>44</sup> Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. See Brugnoli, *op. cit.* 32, n. 1; R. Enggass, "Drawings Related to the Czernin 'Holy Family' by Gaulli," *Art Quarterly* 21 (1958) 284, fig. 2. No details as to inventory number, dimensions or medium are given in either of these articles.
- <sup>45</sup> See Enggass' remarks on this subject (*The Paintings of Baciccio*, 71-74).
- <sup>46</sup> See Enggass in *Art Quarterly*, *op. cit.* 283-284.
- <sup>47</sup> The project dates from ca. 1590. See the series of publications by Enggass ("Gaulli's Late Style, 1685-1709," *Art Quarterly* 20 [1957] 5-6; *Art Quarterly* 21 [1958] 283-284, figs. 1, 2; *The Paintings of Baciccio*, 160, fig. 128).