

Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino in Art Collections and in the History of Collecting

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Edited by

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2023

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-9127-1

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-9127-1

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PREFACE

This book aims to reconstruct and trace the different strands of the history of collecting Raphael's paintings, drawings, prints and all other forms of art in which the Renaissance genius expressed himself and through which his ideas have been received, copied, conveyed and transposed, analysing aspects of the fortune of the master's works in the collections of various geographical areas from the 16th to the 20th century. The uninterrupted appreciation of Raphael was fostered by the expansion of the art market in Italy and abroad in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the growing diffusion of his works in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries in Europe and overseas. On this topic, the book attempts to offer the reader an insight into questions of taste, power, wealth and the creation of public collections.

The origin of this publication goes back to the winter of 2017, when Cambridge Scholars Publishing agreed to publish it. The book was planned to be one of the earliest scholarly publications to mark the quinqucentenary of Raphael's death. The essays that comprise the publication were authored between the autumn of 2017 and winter of 2018, as was the compilation of the bibliography. However, due to unforeseen circumstances, I was only able to edit the essays in 2022. Despite this gap of time, the contributing authors and myself took the decision not to update the bibliography as the essays collected within this volume have been known to the community of scholars since 2017 when they were presented and discussed at a conference that I co-organized with Sybille Ebert-Schifferer. The conference, *Collecting Raphael: Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino in the Collections and in the History of Collecting*, was held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome and the American University of Rome between 12 and 14 October 2017. Many of the conclusions to be found in these essays have shaped and influenced subsequent research published from the autumn of 2017 to date.

I am particularly grateful to Tom Henry for his generous comments and suggestions and to the Directors of the Bibliotheca Hertziana Tanja Michalsky and Tristan Weddigen who gave full support to this project from its inception and hosted the conference *Collecting Raphael* in 2017. I wish to thank Kostas Gravanis for his help in the final editorial stages.

My gratitude goes to the authors who contributed to the book with their original essays.

Claudia La Malfa
5 December 2022

PART ONE

THE AGE OF CONSUMPTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE DE' MEDICI AS COLLECTORS OF RAPHAEL'S PORTRAITS*

MARZIA FAIETTI

The paintings by Raphael that made their way into the de' Medici collections from the start of the sixteenth century to the early 1670s represent the majority of works by the artist now in the Uffizi¹ with respect to the rare, but just as relevant, acquisitions made at the end of the seventeenth century² or during the Lorraine

* *The bibliography of this essay is updated to November 2018. Note only 28 mentions of a 2020 publication, as it allowed by to rectify the opinions formulated on the occasion of the previous restorations concerning the Portrait of Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi in the Gallerie degli Uffizi. A different version of this essay, focusing on various aspects, is now in Marzia Faietti, 'Leone X e Leopoldo de' Medici committenti e collezionisti di Raffaello: tre esempi', *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Storico Lombardo di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, 154, 2022, in publication.*

¹ Information on the origin of the paintings was mainly taken from RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE 1984; CHIARINI 1984, pp. 207-221; PADOVANI ED. 2014. See also ACIDINI LUCHINAT 2015, pp. 34-43. Further documentary additions or different interpretations of the sources released later are indicated in the notes referring to the single works. As for the paintings, due to space constraints, I have only used the following three volumes as a fairly updated repertory instrument: MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001; *Id.* 2005; *Id.* 2008. The additional bibliographic sources provided each time were selected on the basis of the specific emphasis of the intervention.

² *Madonna and Child in throne with saints Peter, Bernard, James the Major (?), Augustine and angels*, known as the *Madonna del baldacchino*, Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 165 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 276-281, no. 40; *Id.* 2008, p. 222, no. 40, Addenda). In 1697, the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici initiated negotiations to buy the painting, originally commissioned by the Dei family for its chapel in Santo Spirito: Alessandro Cecchi, in RAFFAELLO A

era.³ It should be noted, however, that not all are indicative of the de' Medici's taste, as a great many were acquired through expropriations and confiscations, or from legacies and inheritances. As regards the acquisitions endorsed in that period, we only have reliable information about a few: *The Vision of Ezekiel*⁴ and perhaps also the *Madonna della seggiola* (fig. 1),⁵ respectively linked to the figures of Francesco I⁶ – whose predilection for small formats between 1567 and 1568 drove him to commission Vasari and his collaborators to produce small paintings with mythological allegories – or, more probably, Leo X⁷, and of Francesco I's brother, the future Ferdinando I.⁸ In addition to these paintings there is the *Madonna del cardellino*,⁹ in all likelihood acquired by cardinal Carlo to prevent the

FIRENZE 1984, pp. 119, 121, no. 10; Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 334-336, no. 70.

³ *Madonna and Child*, known as the *Madonna del granduca*, Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 178 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 206-210, no. 24) and the portraits of Agnolo and Maddalena Doni, with, on their reverse, *The Flood* and *The creation of a new race of men* both attributed to the Master of Serumido, Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. Palatina 1912, no. 61 and 1912, no. 59 (*ibid.*, pp. 294-297, no. 45 A and B) were respectively bought by the grand dukes Ferdinando III in 1800 and Leopoldo II in 1826.

⁴ Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 174 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2005, pp. 158-161, no. 60). The execution by Giulio Romano after a design by Raphael (already proposed by Joseph A. Crowe and Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle in 1885) is agreed on by Tom Henry and Paul Joannides in HENRY/JOANNIDES EDS 2012, pp. 109-117, no. 8. The attribution of this painting to Raphael was thereafter reaffirmed by, among others, Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 350-359, no. 72; Stefania Pasti, in PASTI 2016, pp. 8-32 and by Achim Gnann in GNANN ED. 2017, pp. 346-348, no. 114.

⁵ Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 151 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2005, pp. 137-143, no. 57).

⁶ The painting, documented until 1560 in Palazzo Ercolani in Bologna, is mentioned in the Galleria of the Uffizi in 1588. According to L. Monaci Moran (in RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE 1984, p. 201, no. 18), Francesco I most likely bought it from the Bolognese Agostino Ercolani, who, on behalf of his city, held the position of ambassador of the de' Medici court between 1574 and 1579. Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, p. 351, no. 72, believes that the sale could have taken place thanks to Agostino's son, Germanico, who, from 1579, covered the political and diplomatic role for the de' Medici court.

⁷ PASTI 2016, pp. 8-32.

⁸ The *Madonna della seggiola* was probably bought during his Roman cardinalate, before becoming grand duke in 1587: Gabriella Incerpi, in RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE 1984, p. 151; Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 316 and 318, no. 68.

⁹ Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 1447 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 219-222, no. 27; *Id.* 2008, p. 219, no. 27, Addenda).

painting from leaving the family assets following the auctioning of Cardinal Giovan Carlo's property which was arranged, after his death at the beginning of 1663, by the grand duke Ferdinando II.¹⁰ Although the de' Medici's resolute appreciation for the religious subjects executed by Raphael cannot be excluded (from the small devotional work to the altarpiece), their taste in this area was hardly unusual, reaffirming their admiration for religious paintings, in turn endorsed by the wealthy Florentine families Taddei,¹¹ Doni,¹² Dei,¹³ Altoviti,¹⁴ Nasi,¹⁵

¹⁰ La *Madonna del cardellino*, contemplated in 1666 in the inventory of the inheritance of Cardinal Carlo (Alessandro Cecchi in *RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE* 1984, p. 77) and previously in the Casino di via della Scala, according to the inventory of 1647 (BAROCCHI/BERTELA 2007, p. 42), had belonged to Lorenzo Nasi, a personal friend of Raphael, who commissioned the artist to produce it for his wedding: VASARI 1966-87, vol. 4, pp. 160-161.

¹¹ The *Madonna and Child with saint John in a meadow*, called the *Madonna del Prato*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 628 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 214-219, no. 26). Filippo Baldinucci, in BALDINUCCI 1846, p. 23, recalled it was in Casa Taddei; it can perhaps be identified with one of the two paintings with which Raphael, according to Vasari who did not specify the subject, wished to reciprocate Taddeo Taddei's generous hospitality, certainly not the one belonging to the 'maniera prima di Pietro', but rather to the other 'che poi studiando apprese molto migliore': VASARI 1966-87, vol. 4, p. 160 (quotation from the 1568 edition) see below. The first painting, also not described by Vasari, is sometime identified with the *Madonna Bridgewater* in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (ACIDINI LUCHINAT 2015, p. 37).

¹² See n. 3.

¹³ See n. 2.

¹⁴ *Madonna and Child with saint Anne, a young female saint and saint John*, called the *Madonna dell'Impannata*, Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 94 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2005, pp. 144-149, no. 58). Described by Vasari in the Torrentiniana edition of 1550 at the Florentine houses of Bindo Altoviti, and in the Giuntina edition of 1568 on the altar of the chapel dedicated to the saints Cosmas and Damian, in Leo X's quarters in Palazzo Vecchio - VASARI 1966-87, vol. 4, pp. 187-188 -, the painting was appropriated into the ducal collections after 2 August 1554, following the expropriation of the Florentine assets of Bindo Altoviti and the confiscation of the dowry of his wife, Fiammetta Soderini, ordered by Cosimo de' Medici on 30 December 1555: Ettore Allegri, in *RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE* 1984, p. 166; Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 304, 306, no. 67. The *Portrait of Bindo Altoviti* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. 534, no. 72; MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 109-114, no. 72), which escaped expropriation, may have been conserved in Palazzo Altoviti in Rome.

¹⁵ See note 10.

Canigiani,¹⁶ Tempi,¹⁷ and Niccolini.¹⁸



Fig. 1 Raphael, *Madonna della seggiola*, oil on poplar, ø 71,5 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 151.

¹⁶ *Holy Family*, known as *Canigiani Holy Family*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 476 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 227-232, no. 30; *Id.* 2008, p. 220, no. 30, Addenda).

¹⁷ *Madonna and Child*, known as the *Madonna Tempi*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. WAF 796 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 266-268, no. 37).

¹⁸ *Madonna and Child*, known as the *Large Cowper Madonna* or *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna*, Washington, National Gallery of Art in Washington, inv. 25 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 272-276, no. 39). I am omitting the *Madonna and Child*, known as the *Colonna Madonna*, now in Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 248 (*ibid.*, pp. 264-266, no. 36), whose belonging to the Casa Salviati in Florence, before becoming part of the Colonna collection in Rome, is based on late eighteenth-century information.

Nor was there a shortage in Florence, in the early sixteenth century, of portraits of ladies and gentlemen by Raphael, but thereafter only some of them entered the de' Medici and Lorraine collections, as was happily the case of two paintings with effigies of Agnolo and Maddalena Doni.¹⁹ Their dispersion was abetted by the law issued by Ferdinando I on 24 October 1602, which, while limiting the exportation of paintings, exempted portraits from any restrictions, together with landscapes and small devotional paintings.²⁰

Yet this very interest in the portraiture genre brought together several members of the de' Medici family, and this is the subject I wish to focus on. I shall limit myself to mentioning some significant, well-known cases, dwelling instead with reference to the interpretation of the subject corresponding to an artist's self-portrait. Indeed, it is no coincidence that three of the four paintings Raphael was commissioned to produce by members of the de' Medici family were portraits – the fourth, the *Transfiguration* which Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, future Pope Clement VII, had originally ordered for Narbonne cathedral, which from 1515 became the seat of his archbishopric,²¹ despite its capital importance in the final phase of the artist's career, is beyond the scope of the matter I wish to address here. I am therefore referring to the *Portrait of Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi* in the Gallerie degli Uffizi (fig. 2),²² the *Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici*, third son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and younger brother of Leo X, known through the version in the Metropolitan Museum which is highly compromised in terms of its state of conservation, generally considered to have been produced by the Urbino-born artist's workshop with his possible participation,²³ and the *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici*, cousin of Leo X, now in a private collection, thought to be original, at least for the most part.²⁴

¹⁹ See note 3.

²⁰ CHIARINI 1984, p. 207.

²¹ Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. 333 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2005, pp. 195-209, no. 66).

²² Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 40 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 162-167, no. 81).

²³ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules Bache Collection, 1949, inv. 49.7.12 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 183-188, no. A 22, as Raphael? and workshop). According to Tom Henry, in HENRY/JOANNIDES EDS 2012, pp. 262-265, no. 72, it is by Raphael and workshop.

²⁴ MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 156-161, no. 80 (as autograph); for possible partial intervention by Giulio Romano in the textures see HENRY/JOANNIDES EDS 2012, pp. 269-272, no. 74.



Fig. 2 Raphael, *Portrait of Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi*, oil on poplar, 155,5 x 119,5 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1912, no. 40.

The first work, accurately described by Vasari²⁵ just a few years after it was sent to Florence in September 1518, was the focus of various demands that led to copies being made by important artists, including those

²⁵ VASARI 1966-87, vol. 4, pp. 188-189.

by Andrea del Sarto²⁶ and the Aretine himself.²⁷ At first, below the figures of Giulio de' Medici (cousin of Leo X and future Clement VII) and Luigi de' Rossi (elected cardinal by the pontiff, a relative on his mother's side, who was the illegitimate sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent) the underdrawing was considered absent. That belief led to the assumption that there had been a subsequent intervention, sometimes ascribed to a collaborator of Raphael. Therefore, the original picture would have contemplated only the charismatic image of the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, born Giovanni de' Medici and elected Pope on 15 March 1513, after Julius II. According to this interpretation, the two figures of cardinals were added on the occasion of the 1518 celebrations in Florence for the wedding of Maddalena de la Tour d'Auvergne, related to Francis I of France, with Lorenzo (the Pope's nephew, dressed 'in the French style' in the painting mentioned above, conceived as an engagement gift). The investigations carried out during the recent restoration have demonstrated that the two cardinals, together with the Pope, were painted before the application of the background. Even if, at first, Raphael could have thought of an individual portrait, almost immediately after, he had to conceive a more complex composition, whose elaboration was certainly no stranger to the will of the de' Medici Pope.²⁸

The portrait was therefore a celebration of papal power, in which the political and religious spheres intersected in an inseparable way, combining with the dynamics underlying the intertwining of private and family relations and diplomatic strategies (the alliance with France). Other religious values have been identified,²⁹ but I believe that the complexity and charm of the painting lie in the fact that Raphael knew how to balance the private and dynastic-family components with the celebration of a perfect union between spiritual and temporal power, without however neglecting

²⁶ In the *Life* of the Florentine painter Vasari states that the copy by Sarto, now in the Museo Nazionale of Capodimonte, was secretly commissioned by Ottaviano de' Medici to satisfy Federico II Gonzaga, who had asked Clemente VIII for the original by Raphael, and at the same time not to deprive Florence of such a precious relic: VASARI 1966-87, vol. 4, pp. 378-380. On the interpretation of the episode above all in the nineteenth century see CARDELLI 2016.

²⁷ For the attribution to Vasari of the copy now conserved in Norfolk, Holkham Estate, see the stylistic arguments by Arnold Nesselrath in FRANKLIN ED. 2009, pp. 198-200, no. 46.

²⁸ CASTELLI/CIATTI/RICCIARDI/SANTACESARIA/SARTIANI 2020, with information on previous restorations.

²⁹ MINNICH 2003, after having summarized the previous secular-dynastic and religious interpretations, offers a new reading, glimpsing in the painting the representation of the private recitation of the divine office by a deeply pious pope.

an individual and psychological exploration of the characters. Highlighting one aspect rather than another prevents us from grasping Raphael's intention to create a perfect balance between the different components. As for the portraits of Giuliano de' Medici and Lorenzo de' Medici, both dedicated to two members of the family on whom the hopes of a secular Medici dynasty in Florence were pinned,³⁰ they intentionally convey the psychological characteristics of the two figures who were very different from each other, irrespective of the incidental occasion of their execution.

Additional portraits appeared late in the inventories making the reconstruction of how they entered the de' Medici collections uncertain: there are some rather famous examples (*La Gravida*;³¹ *La Muta*;³² *Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena*³³); on the other side, a portrait proudly displayed in 1589 in the Tribuna of the Uffizi as autograph Raphaellesque work, has nothing to do with Raphael.³⁴ None of them, therefore, can be ascribed with certainty to the original de' Medici collecting, however, their presence in the family collections, together with that of the *Donna Velata* (fig. 3) which Cosimo II received in 1615 with the bequest of Matteo Botti,³⁵ has over time helped to strengthen the inclinations towards the portrait displayed by the de' Medici since Raphael was still alive.

³⁰ MINNICH 2003, p. 1031.

³¹ Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 229 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 300-302, no. 47; *Id.* 2008, p. 223, no. 47, Addenda); see also Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED., 2014, pp. 367-368, no. 74.

³² Urbino, Florence, GU, inv. 1890, no. 1440, deposit in Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, inv. 1990 DE 237 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 298-300, no. 46; *Id.* 2008, p. 223, no. 42, Addenda); see also PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 367-368, no. 74. A possible provenance from the 1631 inheritance of Vittoria della Rovere is hypothesized by Agnese Vastano, in MOCHI ONORI ED. 2009, pp. 184-185, no. 41.

³³ Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 158 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 171-174, no. A 18, as Raphael? and workshop). Often tentatively assigned to Raphael and his workshop, or considered an enigma (HENRY/JOANNIDES EDS 2012, pp. 265-268, no. 73), only recently has it been traced back to the autograph works by the artist: Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 325-330, no. 69. For the presence in the collections of Giovan Carlo de' Medici read BAROCCHI/BERTELA 2007, pp. 42-43 (Casino di via della Scala, inventory of January 1647).

³⁴ *The Portrait of a woman*, Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 1443, in which modern historiography has for some time recognised the hand of Sebastiano del Piombo: DUSSLER 1942, pp. 34, 130-131, no. 15, with previous bibliography; HIRST 1981, pp. 94-95.

³⁵ Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 245 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 116-119, no. 73): Gabriella Incerpi, in RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE 1984, pp. 174-175, no. 15; Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 372, 374, no. 75.



Fig. 3 Raphael, *Donna Velata*, oil on canvas, 82 x 60,5 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1912, no. 245.

In this regard, a rather significant role was played by the group of portraits belonging to the legacy of the future Grand Duchess Vittoria della Rovere, wife of Ferdinando II, which were transferred from Urbino to

Florence in 1631, even prior to the wedding celebrations.³⁶ The inheritance certainly included the *Portrait of Elisabetta Gonzaga*,³⁷ mentioned in the inventories without any indication of an author,³⁸ as well as the *Portrait of Pope Julius II* assigned to Raphael in the *Nota dei quadri buoni che sono in Guardaroba di Urbino* of 1631, which is actually a workshop replica of the original conserved at the National Gallery in London.³⁹ Another two paintings without attributions may have also belonged to the same inheritance: the *Portrait of a Young Man with an Apple* (*Francesco Maria della Rovere?*)⁴⁰ and the *Portrait of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro*, which can perhaps be identified with the one reported to be an original by Raphael ('[...] di mano di Raffaelle') in the 1623 inventory of the Palazzo Ducale in Pesaro,⁴¹ today of disputed authenticity.⁴² Finally, the *Self-Portrait* (fig. 4),⁴³ which is the main subject of this contribution, is perhaps from the same legacy, and already attributed to the Urbino-born painter in the *Nota dei quadri buoni*.⁴⁴ The *Self-Portrait* was in all likelihood donated by Vittoria

³⁶ On the documents related to Urbino see GRONAU 1936; SANGIORGI 1976; BIGANTI 2002, pp. 111-121; *Eadem* 2005.

³⁷ Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 1441 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, p. 314, no. X-13, rejected attribution); the authenticity of the painting has been claimed by many authors even recently; for an updated summary of the bibliography see above all Michele Grasso, in FAIETTI/MARKOVA EDS 2016, pp. 134-135, no. III.

³⁸ GRONAU 1936, p. 80.

³⁹ Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 1450: GRONAU 1936, pp. 78-79 (no. 31). Ascribed to Raphael with the help of the workshop by Ettore Allegri, in *RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE* 1984, pp. 144-150, no. 12, it is rather a copy: see MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, p. 106, no. 71/II.7), under no. 71 (relating to the original in the National Gallery of London, inv. 27) and note 45, pp. 107-108.

⁴⁰ Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 8760 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 284-286, no. 42). On the provenance, see above all GRONAU 1936, p. 80 and Maurizio Zecchini, in *RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE* 1984, pp. 71 and 73, no. 4.

⁴¹ GRONAU 1936, p. 79 (no. 39); Maurizio Zecchini, in *RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE* 1984, pp. 64 and 66, no. 3.

⁴² Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 8538 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, p. 314, no. x-14, rejected attribution).

⁴³ Florence, GU, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 1706 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2001, pp. 286-290, no. 43).

⁴⁴ GRONAU 1936, p. 80 (no. 32); for a summary of the bibliography see Michele Grasso in FAIETTI ED. 2015, p. 191, no. I.1; Raimondo Sassi in FAIETTI/MARKOVA EDS 2016, pp. 126-127, no. 1; Achim Gnann in GNANN ED. 2017, pp. 184-186, no. 52. Recently OLSZEWSKI 2016, pp. 27-37, re-proposed an opinion challenging the autography based on infrared reflectographic investigations that apparently reveal

della Rovere to her brother-in-law Leopoldo de' Medici⁴⁵ and was thus part of the initial core of the new collection of self-portraits which the prince, who had not yet been named cardinal, had begun to put together, giving rise to a large-scale and undoubtedly original collecting project. I will return to this painting after mentioning a second work that rather reveals the cardinal's tastes and that was directly acquired by him. It was in fact through an acquisition by the heirs of the patron, Tommaso Inghirami, nicknamed Phaedra, that the prince came into possession of the portrait of the Tuscan humanist, appointed prefect of the Vatican Library in 1510 and who later became one of Leo X's favourites (fig. 5).⁴⁶ After Phaedra's death, the work was handed down to his brother Nello in Volterra, where it remained among the family's assets until it was sold or transferred, perhaps around 1640, to Leopoldo,⁴⁷ who later exhibited it in the 'Salone de' Quadri' in his private apartments in Palazzo Pitti.⁴⁸ I have reason to believe that the de' Medici prince, a highly cultured man with a lively intellect and many and disparate interests ranging from the humanistic to the scientific fields, but certainly not handsome,⁴⁹ would have been very pleased with the portrait of a man so cultured and brilliant as to even deserve the nickname Cicero for his eloquence, but not at all physically attractive. Moreover, between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some portraits had mercilessly scrutinized even the most conspicuous physical defect or the most repellent deformity, contributing to the development of the great potential of the portrait genre

repeated linear signs between the nose and the mouth typical of a copyist, but his reading, only partially justified by the scientific analysis, does not take into account the early period in which the painting was executed and the painter's style at that time.

⁴⁵ Gloria Chiarini in *RAFFAELLO A FIRENZE* 1984, p. 47, no. 1 (who accepts GRONAU 1936, p. 80).

⁴⁶ Florence, GU, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1890, no. 171 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 90-93, no. 69); Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 343-350, no. 71.

⁴⁷ BATISTINI 1996; according to the scholar, a copy, probably dating back to the time the authentic painting left Inghirami's house, must have been sold in 1898 as an original to the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, while a further version now with the Inghirami family corresponds to the replica made in 1858 by the portraitist Ignazio Zotti at the request of Jacopo and Lodovico Inghirami.

⁴⁸ BAROCCHI/BERTELA 2011, II, 139. *Inventario in morte del Cardinale Leopoldo 1675-1676*, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 826, p. 618, [2132] 58 *Galleria*, c. 57 v.; see also FILETI MAZZA 1997, p. 116; Serena Padovani, in PADOVANI ED. 2014, pp. 343-344, no. 71.

⁴⁹ I recall above all the portrait in cardinal clothing by Giovan Battista Gaulli, known as Baciccio; for a recent entry on the painting see Goldenberg Stoppato, in COTICELLI/GENNAIOLI/SFRAMELI EDS 2017, pp. 236-237, no. 7.

where painters were called on to contend with rendering naturalistic verisimilitude and phenomenological *varietas* without however neglecting the requirements of *inventio*. Raphael did not seek to evade this double challenge, and in portraying Phaedra Inghirami he seemed to compete with Apelles, who, to hide the physical abnormality of King Antigonus, who was missing an eye, had decided to depict him in a three-quarter view.⁵⁰ Unlike the mythical Greek painter, his aim was not to hide the defect of the cross-eyed eye, but rather to enhance it. The direction of the gaze and the pose of the inspired writer thus recalled the figures of the Evangelists and of the Fathers of the Church absorbed in the meditation of writing.⁵¹



Fig. 4 Raphael, *Self-Portrait*, oil on poplar, 47,5 x 33 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture, inv. 1890, no. 1706.

⁵⁰ See TALVACCHIA 2007, p. 121. On this episode, read PLINIO SECONDO 1988, pp. 386 and 387 (XXXV, 90).

⁵¹ WILLIAMS 2017, p. 161, for the subtle allusion to Homer, the blind poet. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-168, for an overview of Raphael's portraiture.

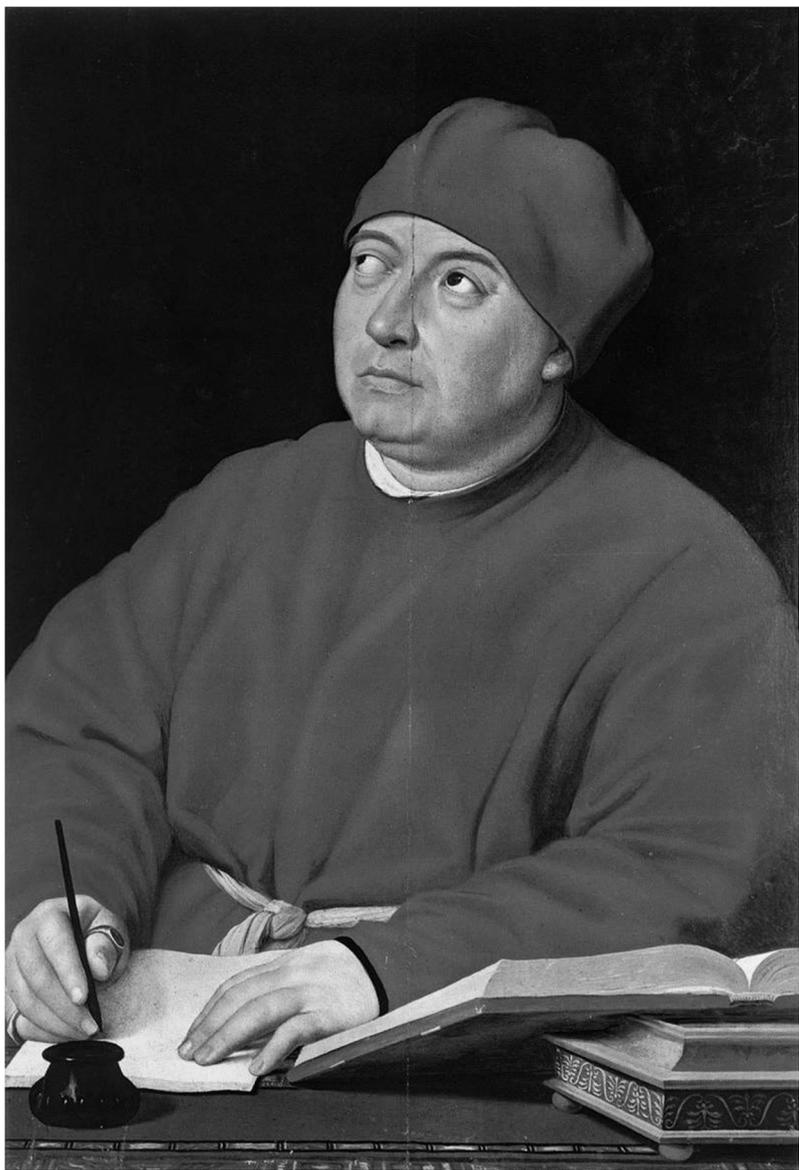


Fig. 5 Raphael, *Portrait of Tommaso (Fedra) Inghirami*, oil on poplar, 89,9 x 62,5 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1890, no. 171.

Throughout his career, Raphael succeeded in happily harmonizing details and generalities in his portraits using a variety of methods depending on the final destination of the work and the personality of the figure represented, in other words nature in its different and tangible manifestations and its varied aspects, including imperfections, with ideal typing. The latter was the final result of his correction of naturalistic observation through the idea ('Iddea') that came into his mind, a process that the artist himself explained with regard to the *Galatea* at Agostino Chigi's villa in a letter addressed to Castiglione (perhaps in truth written by the scholar around 1522).⁵² The *Portrait of Tommaso Inghirami* is an illuminating example of the level of skill Raphael achieved as a young young artist because, in this painting, he combined literary knowledge with acute naturalistic observations without falling into easy descriptivism. For this reason it would have been very attractive to Leopoldo, who in turn contemplated in himself the quirks of the scientist and humanist.⁵³

On the other hand, I am not so sure that the *Self-Portrait* gained the full favour of the cardinal, a curious and multifaceted collector.⁵⁴ Much has been written about his collection of self-portraits,⁵⁵ also in relation to the disparate circumstances that would have encouraged the development of that particular type of collecting in Florence: from the stimulus exerted by the Academy of Drawing (*Accademia del Disegno*) founded in 1563, in the context of which a collection of artists' portraits was endorsed; to Vasari's undertaking of the *Lives*, which in the Giuntina edition of 1568 was accompanied by prints depicting the faces of the protagonists; to the fortune initially encountered with Cosimo I by the collection of half-bust portraits of illustrious men by Paolo Giovio (the famous *Raccolta degli uomini illustri*), copied from Cristofano dell'Altissimo as of 1552, where however artists were almost non-existent; up to the establishment of a Gallery on the second floor of the Uffizi Palace commissioned in 1581 by Francesco I. With just under twenty years between them, the foundation of the Academy of Drawing and of the Gallery strongly contributed to raising the position

⁵² SHEARMAN 1994; SHEARMAN 2003, doc. 1522/1, pp. 734-741 (quote on p. 735). The letter was republished in 1554 by Dolce in his *Lettere di diversi eccellentissimi huomini* (in *ibid.*, II, p. 1038) and some believe it is a forgery by Dolce himself (HOPE 2011, pp. 213-221), but even in this case, the letter does not betray Raphael's original thought, which Dolce proved to be a sensitive interpreter). The reference to Zeuxis through Pliny's account is clear: PLINIO SECONDO 1988, XXXV, 64, p. 361.

⁵³ For the vast scope of his interests read the recent contribution by MIRTO 2017.

⁵⁴ The substantial bibliography has recently been summarised in CONTICELLI/GENNAIOLI/SFRAMELI EDS 2017.

⁵⁵ See, among others, PRINZ 1971; *Id.* 1980; CANEVA 2002, pp. 175-180.

and social weight of artists. I will therefore not dwell on this subject, limiting myself to the observation that their self-portraits served to celebrate the Grand Duchy and Florence, confirmed in its role as a city cradle of art, which just over one century before the historiographical enterprise of Vasari's *Lives* had greatly contributed to spread and the creation of the Academy of Drawing helped to codify. In that historical-cultural context the artist's self-portrait could only have met with remarkable success due to its double 'sacredness' connected to the pictorial knowledge of its author and that inherent in its own image, destined to assume the value of a relic after his death.⁵⁶ Perhaps even before 1664, or at the same time Leopoldo began to commission artists directly to produce their own self-portraits (the first two effigies were requested from Guercino in Bologna and Pietro da Cortona in Rome), he found among his assets Raphael's self-portrait from Urbino, an eloquent expression of the artist's early period, around 1505 or just after.⁵⁷ It is unknown whether it too had to some extent inspired the project to organise a pre-existing family collection, which was rather modest and mainly focused on the self-portraits of Florentine artists.⁵⁸ It was expanded to include national and international works (with the so-called *Oltremontani*), which from the early 1640s Leopoldo sought for his collection of drawings with the help of correspondents tasked with making reports and conducting negotiations, the same ones then used for the self-portraits.⁵⁹ In this regard one can also suppose that it was Leopoldo himself who solicited that gift from Vittoria della Rovere, regardless of his artistic inclinations. Two portraits by Raphael appeared in the inventory upon the death of the cardinal (*Inventario in morte del Cardinale Leopoldo 1675-1676*), both kept in the 'stanza de' Pittori',⁶⁰ namely the one mentioned above and a half-figure pastel on paper that is no longer identifiable but which we know came from the knight Francesco Fontana in Venice;⁶¹ it was sent to the cardinal on 22 June 1675 by Marco Boschini, who defined it as

⁵⁶ OSANO 2010.

⁵⁷ For a chronology to 1509, already indicated by K. Oberhuber and C. L. Frommel, see Achim Gnann in GNANN ED. 2017, pp. 184-186, no 52.

⁵⁸ Returning to the subject, with previous bibliography, SFRAMELI 2007, p. 28 and n. 10 and 12.

⁵⁹ See ALIVENTI ET AL. 2017, pp. 116-131, with bibliography.

⁶⁰ BAROCCHI/BERTELA 2011, Tome II, 139. *Inventario in morte del Cardinale Leopoldo 1675-1676*, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 826, respectively p. 642 [2328] 222, c. 68 v. and p. 650 [2383] 277, c. 72. See also FILETI MAZZA 1997, respectively p. 136 and p. 141.

⁶¹ PRINZ 1971, pp. 71-74, with a mention of the pastel on p. 73, also indirectly mentioned several times in the documentary section/part on pp. 169-172 (doc. nos 18-23).

unique ('cosa unica').⁶² For a third portrait, the subject of failed negotiations with the owner Paolo Agostino, it was Giovanni Battista Cinatti in Genua who stood in as intermediary in the spring of 1682, after the cardinal's death.⁶³ The steady search for the effigy of Sanzio in Florence should come as no surprise, since Vasari, in the preface to the third part of the *Lives*, had always considered him one of the three great advocates of the shift to the *maniera moderna*, despite Michelangelo's overwhelming supremacy.⁶⁴ But what if there were other reasons for that repeated search? The fact is that following the death of Cardinal Leopoldo, a lack of appreciation for the *Self-Portrait* transpired in a letter dated 5 April 1681, addressed by Baldinucci to Apollonio Bassetti, in the passage where he says: 'the portrait by the hand of Raphael is already in the rooms: it is of the first manner, of the time when he was at or was fresh out of the School of Perugino'.⁶⁵ The Italian passage that reads 'ma però della prima maniera' summarizes a critical judgement that in the Florentine context would have recurred several times and on different occasions. I am thinking, for example, of how Vasari described the two Raphaellesque paintings in Taddeo Taddei's house, one belonging to the first maniera suggested by Perugino ('maniera prima di Pietro') and the second instead expressing the other manner, the latter much better than the former and learned later on, through the study ('che poi studiando apprese molto migliore').⁶⁶ And, to support this, in his Life of Raphael, Baldinucci only focused on the latter, namely the *Madonna del Prato*.⁶⁷ In short, perhaps Leopoldo would have preferred a self-portrait from the Roman period or, at least, one more linked to the Florentine culture, as he too, like Vasari and Baldinucci, was convinced that Raphael had made a qualitative leap in Florence that was decisive for his artistic evolution. If my interpretation is correct, we would be faced with a strong divergence between the collector's taste and the artist's objective. In fact, for the young Raphael, that painting corresponded to a fundamental declaration of poetics, which would have been valid for all his future art, and this regardless of stylistic trends, which are certainly more indicative of his initial training.

⁶² *Ibid.*, doc. 23, pp. 171-172 (quote on p. 172).

⁶³ The only documentary information about this portrait: *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁴ VASARI 1966-1987, vol. 4, pp. 8-9; for the English translation: VASARI 1996, vol. 1, p. 620.

⁶⁵ PRINZ 1971, pp. 182-183, doc. 61 (ASF, Med. Princ., f. 1526, diversi): 'Il Ritratto di mano propria di 'Raffaello' già è nelle stanze: ma però della prima maniera, del tempo quando egli o stava o era uscito di fresco dalla Squola del Perugino'.

⁶⁶ VASARI 1966-1987, vol. 4, p. 160 (quotation from the 1568 edition).

⁶⁷ See note 11.

Elsewhere I have underlined the importance for the Urbino-born artist of the dialectic between word and image on the one hand, and between poetry and the face on the other, investigating a particular aspect of that fruitful competition summarised by Horace in the famous locution *ut pictura poësis*. I promised myself that I would demonstrate how the face, perceived as an image by definition or rather the *Imago* itself of painting, became an ideal subject for Raphael's artistic reflections and experiments from the outset.⁶⁸ Of the various aspects then discussed, I will briefly mention only a few to reaffirm the centrality of the Florentine *Self-Portrait* in the general economy of Sanzio's artistic career and, consequently, to demonstrate the gap between the artist's goals and the penchants of collectors (in this case Leopoldo de' Medici) in relation to that painting.

In the years prior to Sanzio's training, the legend of Narcissus had provided the inspiration for a competition between image and word thanks to Leon Battista Alberti's *De pictura* (1435), in which the myth about the young man was connected to the genesis of painting.⁶⁹ However, the interpretation in terms of the contention between word and image came from a more distant past, at least from the time of Philostratus the Elder and of the little known rhetorician Callistratus.⁷⁰ In Raphael's time the artistic repercussions of that ancient competition had not yet diminished; the version of the myth in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* ensured that it was always a topical subject, where in fact the story of Narcissus intersects with that of Echo.⁷¹ While Echo seems to allude to the impossibility of the word (oral or written) translating into visible images, Narcissus symbolizes the deceptive nature of painted images, creatures devoid of life when removed from their author. The challenge of many artists was, vice versa, to provide consistency to their works, overturning Ovid's conclusions. Raphael was definitely among them, and although he left only two self-portraits of certain authenticity,⁷² the early *Self-Portrait* in the Uffizi and the late *Self-Portrait*

⁶⁸ FAIETTI 2016. On the relationship between poetry and painting, referred to Italian painting, see: BOLZONI 2008; *Eadem* 2010. More generally, on Raphael's poetics see RIJSER 2012. On some examples of the celebration of Raphael during his life and immediately after his death by contemporary scholars see GAMBIN 2016.

⁶⁹ ALBERTI 2011, pp. 250-251 (II, 5, 43-46). For a summary bibliography on Alberti and Narcissus see FAIETTI 2016, pp. 24-25, n. 2.

⁷⁰ See PELLIZER 2003.

⁷¹ See OVIDIUS ED. 1994, pp. 108-117 (book III, verses 339-510; and verses 356-401, pp. 110-113 for the part dedicated to Echo).

⁷² I am referring to the autonomous gender of self-portrait in painting, while I am omitting the identifications, or the attempts at identification, in more complex pictorial contexts such as frescoes.

with a friend (*Giulio Romano?*) in the Louvre (fig. 6),⁷³ both demonstrated strong awareness of the relevance and autonomy of that artistic genre.

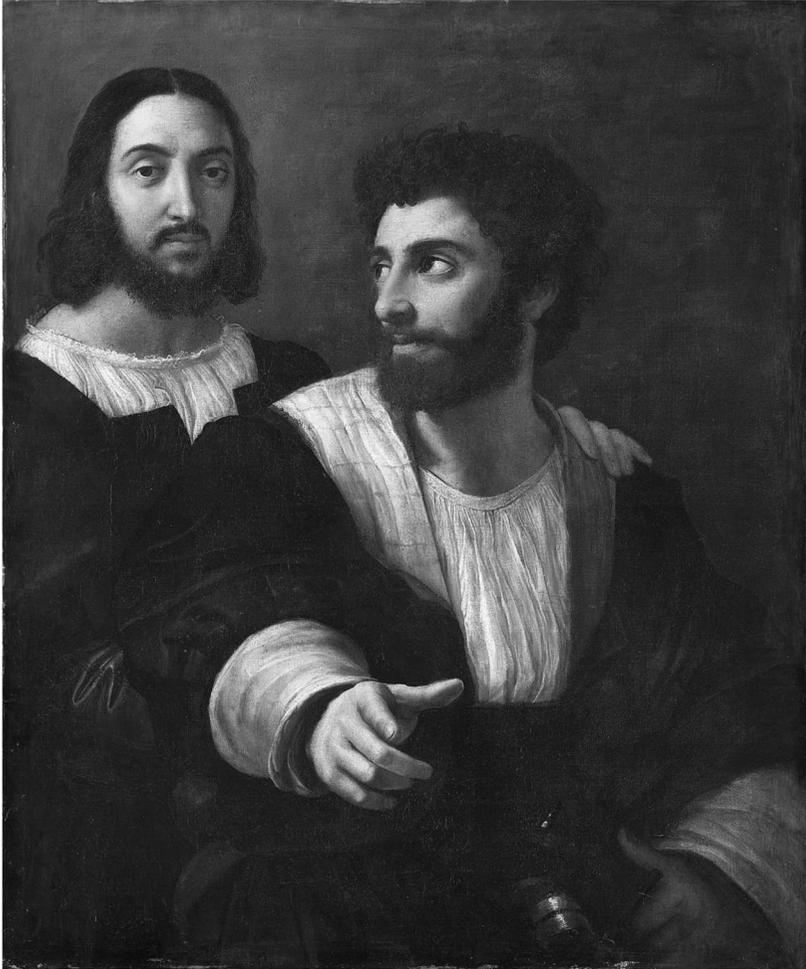


Fig. 6 Raphael, *Self-Portrait with a friend (Giulio Romano ?)*, oil on canvas, 99 x 83 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Peintures, inv. 614.

⁷³ Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Peintures, inv. 614 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 136- 143, no. 77).

In the Uffizi *Self-Portrait*⁷⁴ the shadow projected in the background seems to me to draw on a different legend related to the art of modelling in clay, in turn associated with the origins of painting, to which it would represent an alternative with respect to Narcissus myth, as it emphasizes the role of the portrait rather than that of the self-portrait. In the *Naturalis historia* Pliny narrates how Butade Sicionio, a potter from Corinth, discovered the art of making portraits in clay due to his daughter who had drawn on the wall outlines of her lover's shadow projected by the light of a lantern.⁷⁵ The story was indirectly echoed by Leonardo when he observed how the origin of painting should have traced back to a single line, the one that surrounds the shadow projected by the sun on the wall.⁷⁶ Raphael was certainly aware of the story of Butade Sicionio's daughter, given the wide circulation of Pliny's text (also thanks to the vernacular translation of Cristoforo Landino, published in Venice in 1476), but if my interpretation of the meaning of the shadow in the background is true, he used it for his own self-portrait, freely interpolating between the myth of Narcissus and that of the girl from Corinth. On the other hand, a highly subtle boundary border separates the self-portrait from the portrait; this is stressed by the famous aphorism 'every painter paints himself' ('Ogni pittore dipinge sé'), which between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially in the Florentine area, become widespread; it strongly affirmed the idea that every painting, and above all every portrait, was in fact a self-portrait⁷⁷ and ended up weaving itself into Leonardo's writings and Michelangelo's poems, with the themes of self-knowledge and love.⁷⁸

By representing his own face in the *Self-Portrait*, the young Raphael had therefore identified himself with the origins of painting, the myth of Narcissus and the girl from Corinth, and the inextricable relationship between word and image. All central themes that continued throughout his artistic research, but were not understood in that work by Baldinucci who in turn could have reflected the thinking of Leopoldo himself, both interested in latching onto examples of Raphaellesque self-portraits, also in the hope of running into someone who could illustrate the best manner of the painter (*maniera migliore*). The collection of self-portraits, moreover, also functioned as an iconographic apparatus connected

⁷⁴ I have focused elsewhere on the painting in the Louvre: FAIETTI 2015a, pp. 139, 146 and n. 4, p. 157.

⁷⁵ PLINIO SECONDO 1988, pp. 472-473 (XXXV, 151).

⁷⁶ For the Leonardo's textual references see VECCE 2003, p. 60 and n. 2 on p. 76.

⁷⁷ On this topic see above all CHASTEL 1964, pp. 109-112; KEMP 1976; ZÖLLNER 1992, with bibliography.

⁷⁸ BOLZONI 2010, pp. 140-144.

to the collection of drawings organised into volumes, where the sheets were neatly ordered according to the artistic genealogies of the respective authors.⁷⁹ The image of the artists painted by their own hand provided an understanding of the arrangement of the books, and at the same time supplied further indications on the personality and style of the characters portrayed. The classificatory and systematic intent of the self-portraits' series must, therefore, have been guided by critical concepts and, at times, by preconceptions or prejudices such as those which, in the case of Raphael's painting, had compromised their understanding.

In 1550, in the Preface of the Third Part of the *Lives*, Vasari effectively summarized the reasons for the Urbino-born artist's excellence in compositions as follows: 'his invention was facile and peculiar to himself, as may be perceived by all who see his painted stories, which are as vivid as writings'.⁸⁰ Seven years later, in his *Dialogo della Pittura*, Lodovico Dolce, staging a conversation between Francesco Fabrini and Pietro Aretino, had the Aretino praise the 'invenzione' (invention) as a gift necessary for a good painter which Raphael undoubtedly possessed to a high degree, and coined a fitting expression for him, calling him a 'mute poet' ('poeta mutolo').⁸¹ This is a clear reference to the aphorism Plutarch attributed to Simonides of Ceos, according to whom painting is mute poetry, and poetry a painting that speaks.⁸² In turn, it inspired the verses of an epigram in Latin addressed to Sanzio between 1516 and 1520 by the humanist Girolamo Borgia,⁸³ who, in Rome at the time, would have had Raphael's portraits of Baldassarre Castiglione⁸⁴ and Antonio Tebaldeo⁸⁵ as reference points, as well as the double portrait of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano.⁸⁶

Dolce and Vasari, in praising Raphael's invention, certainly had in mind compositions of a certain level or at least complex and detailed micro-stories. However, I believe that the definition of 'poeta mutolo' can also fit

⁷⁹ ALIVENTI ET AL. 2017, pp. 116-131, with bibliography.

⁸⁰ VASARI 1996, p. 9: 'l'invenzione era in lui sì facile e propria quanto può giudicare chi vede le storie sue, le quali sono simili alli scritti'.

⁸¹ DOLCE 1557 in BAROCCHI ED. 1960-1962, vol. 1 (1960), p. 192.

⁸² LEE 1940, p. 197, with a reference in n. 3 to Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, III, 346f-347c. On Simonides of Ceos see also PELLIZER 2003, p. 93.

⁸³ SHEARMAN 2003, I, pp. 278-279.

⁸⁴ Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Peintures, inv. 611 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 120-126, no. 74 ; *Id.* 2011, pp. 9-25).

⁸⁵ Location currently unknown (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 127-129, no. 75, as an autograph work or copy from 1515 ca.; MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2011, pp. 26-31).

⁸⁶ Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili, inv. FC 130 (MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 2008, pp. 130-135, no. 76); see also BRUGNOLI/PERETTI 2015, pp. 143-148; CASADEI/FARINELLA 2017, pp. 65, 71 no. 25.

portraits, as Borgia wrote. Here the artist metaphorically had at his disposal the contained space of a poem, rather than the broader space of a passage of prose, in which to briefly narrate a story, or express or hide feelings, and fulfil the various aims of the patron. He overcame that limit just fine, elevating the portraiture genre to the dignity of complex histories, and from the time he produced his youthful *Self-Portrait* facing an even more difficult challenge, that of comparing his image with the mythical and legendary origins of painting and equating his face with the icon of the painting itself.⁸⁷ More than a century after its creation, Filippo Baldinucci, intent above all on defining the evolution of the artist, seemed not to have understood that such a simple image actually concealed the already mature development of a personal poetry, expressed with the bare essentiality of a poetic fragment.

⁸⁷ That face in turn became an icon for various artists from the nineteenth century up to the present day: see MAZZOCCA 2018, pp. 94 and 96 (the scholar reports without comment that the painting in the Uffizi has now been called into question); and Valentina Gervasoni in RODESCHINI ED. 2018, pp. 274-275, no. 63.