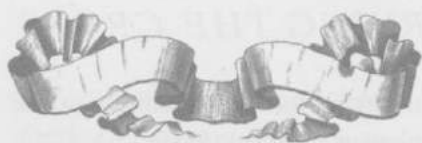




fig. 1.1

Giorgio Vasari, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, circa 1555–64, oil on panel, 59.2 x 44 cm, Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Museum purchase, State funds, 1953.0015



FROM FLORENCE TO LAWRENCE: VASARI'S *Christ Carrying the Cross*

Sally J. Cornelison



he Spencer Museum of Art's newly restored *Christ Carrying the Cross* (or *Way to Calvary*) is an example of mannered virtuosity, visual complexity, and careful craftsmanship (fig. 1.1; plate 1). Painted between circa 1555 and 1564 by Giorgio Vasari (1511–74), the small panel has not previously been the subject of a sustained art historical study. Indeed, since the University of Kansas acquired Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross* nearly six decades ago, persistent questions regarding the authorship of the work have obscured its history and significance. The painting has been attributed to a number of artists associated with Vasari and his workshop, including Francesco Salviati, Francesco Morandini (il Poppi), (Giovan) Battista Naldini, Jacopo Zucchi, the Flemish painter Jan van der Straet (Giovanni Stradano), one of van der Straet's anonymous compatriots, and to Vasari himself.¹ But the present article demonstrates that the painting's extraordinary and well-documented provenance, as well as its style and iconography, leave little doubt that Vasari painted the panel. During his long career, he revisited the subject of this work and certain elements of its iconography multiple times in both large- and small-scale works in oil and fresco. Vasari derived the painting's composition from Northern European prints, Italian prints, and a famed Raphael painting. Almost certainly based on an altarpiece that he painted in the early 1550s in Rome, the picture influenced Vasari's later work and that of his assistants and followers. Although small in scale, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* occupies a place of central importance in Vasari's oeuvre.

VASARI, BORGHINI, AND THE CHRIST CARRYING THE CROSS



ne of the most famous personalities of the Italian Renaissance, Giorgio Vasari (fig. 1.2) is best known as the author of the *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (hereafter the *Lives*), a compilation of artists'

biographies that was among the first of its kind.² Published in 1550, the *Lives* was reissued in 1568 as an expanded edition that included woodcut portraits of most of the artists whom it profiled.³ In 1563 Vasari helped found the Florentine Accademia del Disegno

(Academy of Design), a school for artists and the institution after which later European art academies were modeled.⁴ By far, the lion's share of scholarship on Vasari's life and work is devoted to the *Lives*, but he was also a successful painter and architect, and his workshop trained many of the leading artists active in 16th-century Italy. A native of



fig. 1.2

Giorgio Vasari,
woodcut from the
*Ragionamenti del Sig. cavaliere
Giorgio Vāsari, pittore et
architetto aretino, sopra le
inventioni da lui dipinte
in Firenze nel palazzo di
Loro Altezze Serenissime,*
Florence: Giunti, 1588; n.p.,
Spencer Research Library,
The University of Kansas,
Summerfield C1204

the Tuscan city of Arezzo, Vasari executed religious and secular paintings commissioned for churches, palaces, and civic buildings in cities as far north as Bosco Marengo (near Alessandria), Modena, and Venice, and as far south as Rome and Naples. He spent a majority of his career, however, in Florence, where he enjoyed and profited from the patronage of various members of the Medici family, including Cosimo I (1519–74) and Cosimo's first son and heir to the grand ducal crown, Francesco I (1541–87).⁵ ¶ Vasari worked on a number of important Florentine projects that included renovating the late-medieval mendicant churches of Santa Maria Novella (from 1565) and Santa Croce (from 1566), which he and his assistants outfitted with new altars and altarpieces.⁶ At Duke Cosimo I's request, Vasari and the members of his workshop created the ambitious and iconographically complex paintings found in various rooms in Florence's town hall and ducal palace, the Palazzo Vecchio. They also saw to the

fig. 1.3

Vincenzo Borghini,
woodcut from Vincenzo
Borghini, Filippo Giunta,
and Jacopo Giunta,
*Discorsi di Monsignore don
Vincenzio Borghini*, vol. 1,
Florence: Giunti, 1584;
frontispiece,
Spencer Research Library,
The University of Kansas,
Summerfield C136



decoration of Francesco I de' Medici's intimate private study, or *Studiolo*, in the same building, and the construction of the Palazzo Vecchio's adjacent administrative annex, the Uffizi (1560–80).⁷ Equally adept at painting portraits, mythological scenes, allegories, historical events, and religious subjects, Vasari was able to fulfill his many commissions expeditiously, although sometimes at the expense of quality. At his death in 1574, he left incomplete the *Last Judgment*, a fresco that he had begun painting on the interior of the dome of Florence Cathedral. ¶

The iconography of the cupola fresco, along with the schemes of many of Vasari's courtly commissions from the Medici, was the brainchild of Vincenzo (or Vincenzio) Borghini (1515–80) (fig. 1.3), a learned Benedictine monk and pioneering philologist and one of the great Florentine intellectuals of the period. In 1552 Cosimo I appointed Borghini Prior of Florence's Ospedale degli Innocenti (Hospital of the

Innocents), a charitable orphanage founded in the 15th century.⁸ In addition to collaborating with his longtime friend Vasari on various artistic projects and on both editions of the *Lives*,⁹ Borghini drafted the constitutions of the Accademia del Disegno, and Cosimo I named him the Academy's first lieutenant.¹⁰ Vasari and Borghini corresponded regularly and, what is more relevant to the present study, the Spencer Museum's *Christ Carrying the Cross* was a prized object in Borghini's personal art collection. ¶ Vasari did not mention the painting in either his retrospective record book, known as the *Ricordanze*, or in the description of his works (the *Descrizione*) that he published in the second edition of the *Lives*. Nor is it mentioned in his correspondence or the other surviving documents related to his life and work.¹¹ Vasari did note, however, that he painted quite a few small pictures (*quadretti*) similar to the Spencer Museum's panel, which counts, in the artist's words, among the "many other pictures, designs without number, models,

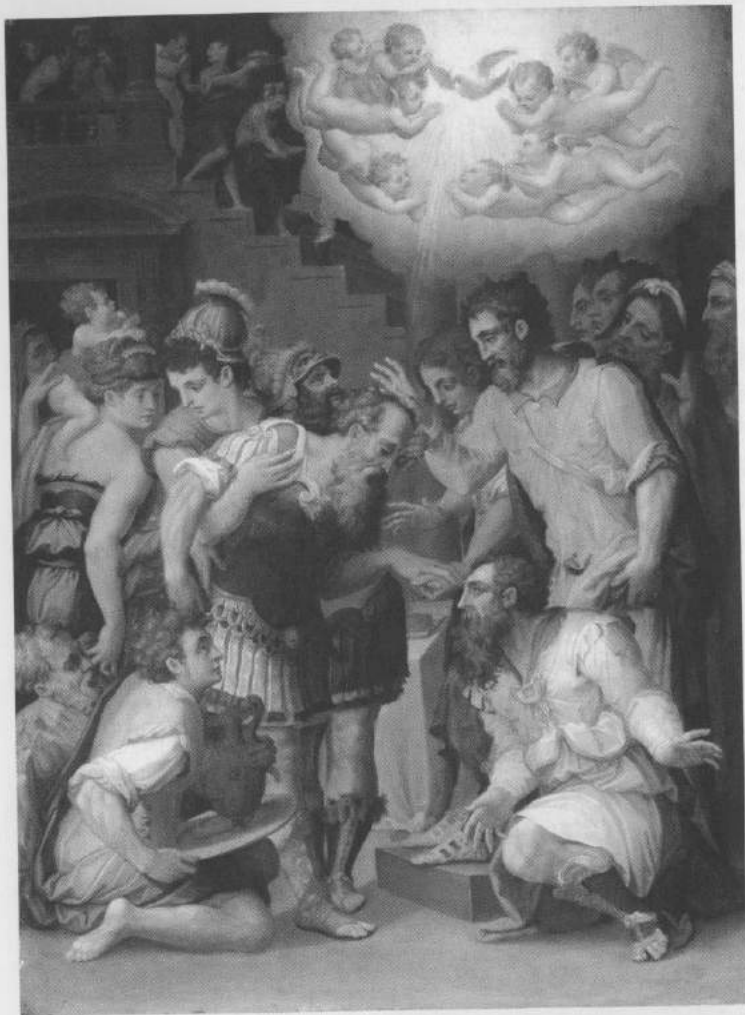


fig. 1.4

Ventura di Vincenzo Olivieri,
called Livo (attr. to),
Conversion of St. Paul,
circa 1565–67, oil on panel,
60 x 43.5 cm, Bob Jones University
Collection, Greenville, SC

and masquerades” that he executed but that for the sake of brevity he did not name in the *Descrizione*.¹² Instead, the first known reference to the painting dates from 1 September 1580, when the Florentine notary Raffaello Eschini recorded it in an inventory he took of Vincenzo Borghini’s possessions not long after the monk passed away on 15 August. Although his clerical status prohibited Borghini from commissioning and collecting works of art on the scale of his contemporary courtly patrons, the nearly sixty objects housed in his apartment within the Ospedale included manuscripts, paintings, drawings, prints, sculptures, and sculptural models in marble and wax dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries.¹³

¶ In the inventory Eschini noted the subjects of twenty-three paintings, but only four times did he associate them with a particular artist. He identified the Spencer Museum’s Vasari painting simply as “a [large] painting [with a gilded frame]

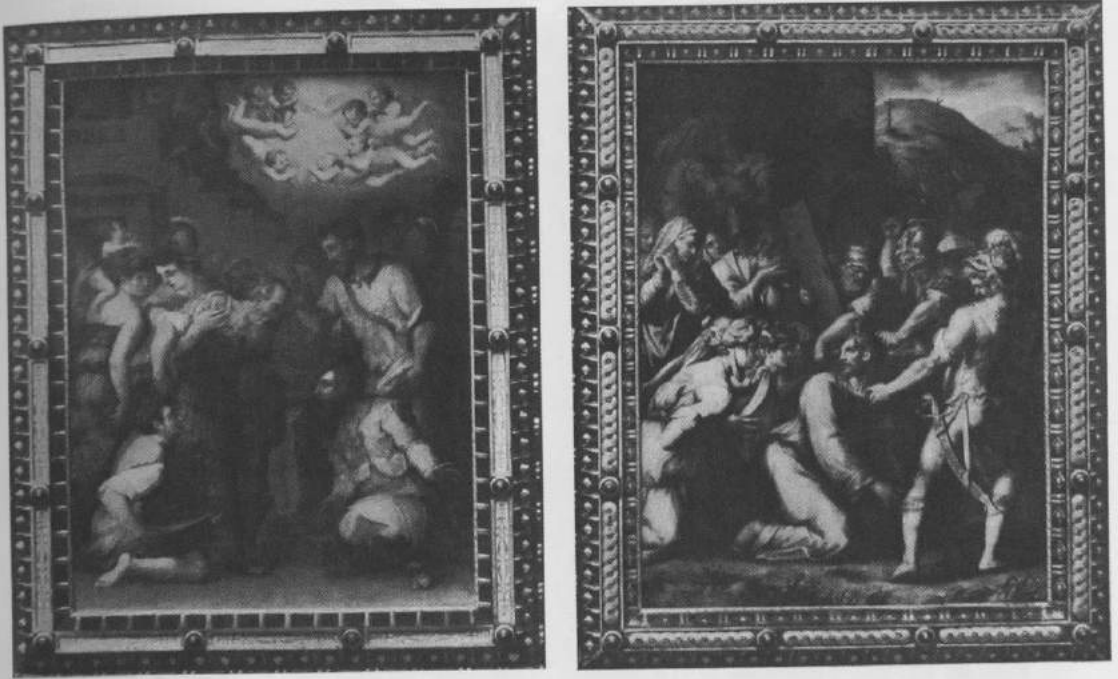


fig. 1.5

Livo and Vasari paintings in their original frames, from Galardelli and Mazzoni, *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et objets d'art composant la galerie et le musée de feu le Marquis Ferdinand Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona*, Florence: Imprimerie Bonducciana-A. Meozzi, 1902; no. 31

of a Christ carrying the cross.”¹⁴ It had a pendant, a similarly framed and sized painting depicting the *Conversion of St. Paul*, which now belongs to the Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery in Greenville, South Carolina (fig. 1.4; plate 2).¹⁵ The *Conversion* recently has been attributed to Ventura di Vincenzo Olivieri, a painter and good-natured prankster who had grown up at the Ospedale and whom Borghini familiarly called “Livo.”¹⁶ An early 20th-century photograph shows the two pictures in gilt gallery frames, likely the original ones, that since have been lost (fig. 1.5). Each frame had five projecting knobs, or bosses, on the long sides and four on the short ones, but the frame of the Vasari painting was the more elaborate of the two, with additional guilloche and other carved patterns.

A document dated 1581 shows that the picture also was equipped with a green taffeta curtain, presumably to protect it from light and dust, whereas the *Conversion* was not.¹⁷ ¶ The *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *Conversion of St. Paul*, and another small painting by Vasari in Borghini’s collection that depicts the *Adoration of the Magi* all echo the compositions of larger Vasari altarpieces.¹⁸ Livo’s painting is based on one of Vasari’s most successful sacred works, the *Conversion of St. Paul* (1550–52) in the Del Monte Chapel, which Vasari designed for Pope Julius III at San Pietro in Montorio, Rome (fig. 1.6).¹⁹ At times, Vasari was paid for such small-scale replicas, and on other occasions he apparently presented them as gifts to important clients and close friends.²⁰ For example, he painted two diminutive versions of the *Allegory*



fig. 1.6

Giorgio Vasari and Bartolomeo Ammannati, Del Monte Chapel, 1550–52,
San Pietro in Montorio, Rome

of the *Immaculate Conception* (1540–41), which he executed for the banker Bindo Altoviti's chapel in the Florentine church of Santi Apostoli.²¹ One of them must be the "little picture, almost in miniature" (*un piccol quadro, quasi di minio*), which Vasari stated, in the *Lives*, that he had made for Altoviti in Rome.²² In his *Ricordanze* the artist noted that he had executed the painting with "great diligence" and that Altoviti kept it in his study.²³ Possibly intended as a gift for Cosimo I, the *Miracle of Elisha* at the Uffizi is a small-scale reproduction of a painting on canvas that Vasari made in 1566 for the convent of San Pietro in Perugia.²⁴ ¶ Not all of the paintings *in piccolo* that Vasari and others made after his altarpieces are exact copies of the originals upon which they were

based, as we shall see subsequently with regard to Livo's *Conversion*. What distinguishes Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross* from most of the artist's other cabinet paintings is its high degree of detail and painterly precision. These characteristics evince Vasari's early training as a goldsmith, his maturity as a painter, and testify to his ability to produce works of high quality, especially when working at a small scale. Perhaps it was his affection for Borghini that led him to present his friend with such a beautifully crafted work. ¶ In the *Christ Carrying the Cross*, two Roman soldiers dressed in elaborate, classically inspired helmets and armor abuse Christ, who falls to his knees under the weight of the large cross that he carries on his back. Their strong, muscled



fig. 1.7

Detail of fig. 1.1

forearms and hands, and those of a third, bearded soldier, surround Christ's head and stand in sharp contrast to his comparatively small, claw-like left hand, which grips the cross's transverse beam (fig. 1.7). Three rays of divine light emanate from Christ's thorn-crowned head as he turns to look in the direction of the intricately coiffed St. Veronica, who advances to wipe his face with her veil. Hers is the first of a striking trio of female heads that Vasari painted behind the figure of Christ. Veronica is haloed, as is St. Mary Magdalene, whereas the lined face and veiled head of the older woman next to the Magdalene enhance the youth, beauty, and elaborately braided hairstyles of the first two. The low, genuflecting positions of these women, as well

as their concerned expressions, provide a compassionate and gendered balance for the violent, standing male soldiers on the other side of the cross. The Virgin Mary and a weeping saint, who is likely John the Evangelist but who wears blue garments rather than St. John's typical red, stand behind Veronica. At upper left, bearded and turbaned elders on horseback exit Jerusalem's gate, and a mounted soldier carries a banner emblazoned with the Roman motto SPQR (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*, or "the Senate and the Roman People").²⁵ In the hilly distance at upper right, two empty crosses with unsettled dirt at their bases stand on Mount Calvary, marking the destination of the torturous procession in the foreground.



PICTORIAL GENEALOGY

Representations of Christ carrying the instrument of his martyrdom to the site of his crucifixion are among the most visually compelling devotional images dating from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and the Spencer Museum's Vasari painting is no exception. Indeed, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* is a compendium of Renaissance Passion imagery that can be traced to Northern Europe in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Vasari's most immediate precedent for the picture, however, is an engraving depicting the same subject by Agostino Veneziano, a Venetian artist also known as Agostino dei Musi. The image was

printed first in 1517 and again in 1519 (fig. 1.8).²⁶ From 1516 Agostino worked in Rome with Marcantonio Raimondi, the master Italian engraver to whom Vasari attributed the print in the 1568 edition of his *Lives*. The painting upon which it is based is an altarpiece of circa 1517–20 that Raphael made, probably with the aid of his assistants, Giulio Romano and Giovan Francesco Penni, for the Olivetan church of Santa Maria dello Spasimo in Palermo, Sicily (fig. 1.9).²⁷ Because of its iconography, which corresponds to the dedication of the church in which it was installed, the painting has long been known as *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*—literally the “Spasm of Sicily.”²⁸ The *spasimo* in question is the Virgin Mary’s anguished physical reaction, or swoon, at the sight of her son’s suffering, to which Jacopo Basilicò, the patron of both the painting and the church that it decorated, fostered a particular devotion.²⁹ ¶ Vasari only knew the *Spasimo di Sicilia*, which now resides at the Prado in Madrid, from Agostino Veneziano’s print. In his *Life of Raphael*, Vasari recounted that the Sicilian painting had achieved cult status because it was the only entity, animate or inanimate, to survive when the ship transporting it to Palermo was destroyed during a storm at sea. Raphael’s painting supposedly washed ashore near the Ligurian city of Genoa, still in its packing crate and completely unscathed (*illesa e senza macchia o difetto alcuno*). When it finally reached its destination thanks to the intervention of Medici pope Leo X, it garnered “more fame

fig. 1.8

Agostino Veneziano, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1517, engraving, 40.4 x 27.9 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Elisha Whittelsey Collection, the Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, acq. no. 49.97.8



fig. 1.9

Raphael, *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, circa 1516, oil on canvas (transferred from panel),
318 x 229 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

and reputation than the Mount of Vulcan [Etna] itself.”³⁰ In addition to Agostino’s print, the *Spasimo* was replicated over and over again in a wide variety of media including tapestry, maiolica, marble, paintings, drawings, and, as an example in the Spencer Museum of Art attests, reverse painting on glass (fig. 1.10; plate 8).³¹ ¶ Vasari noted in Raphael’s altarpiece the “lack of piety” (*impietà*) and “fury” (*grandissima rabbia*) of those who conducted Christ to his death on Calvary, traits that are more apparent in his

Christ Carrying the Cross than they are in its painted and printed Italian precedents. He further commented that in the Sicilian altarpiece “one sees among the others Veronica, who extends her arms, offering a cloth with an attitude of great charity.”³² This is not the case. Instead, of the five haloed figures in the *Spasimo*’s lower right corner, Veronica likely is the woman in pink, kneeling next to Mary, who gingerly lifts the distressed Virgin’s gold-trimmed blue veil. Clearly, Vasari was attracted to this figure. Indeed, as Sharon Gregory has shown, he adopted Veronica’s bare foot as a model for Christ’s foot in the Spencer Museum’s panel, although Raphael rendered the female saint’s foot with more anatomical accuracy.³³ Vasari also gave his Veronica a more elaborate version of Raphael’s depiction of Veronica’s hair, whose plaits are more pronounced in Agostino’s print than they are in its painted prototype. ¶ When Vasari described *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia* as depicting Veronica holding out her veil to Christ, he must have had in mind its most important precedent: a woodcut of *Christ Carrying the Cross* that Albrecht Dürer executed in 1498 for his *Large Passion* series and sold as a single print (fig. 1.11).³⁴



fig. 1.10

After Raphael, *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*,
late 16th or early 17th century,
reverse painting on glass, 33.02 x 26.67 cm,
Spencer Museum of Art,
The University of Kansas,
Gift of the Paul Ward Family, 1993.0037



fig. 1.11

Albrecht Dürer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*,
from the *Large Passion*, 1498, woodcut, 38.7 x 28.2 cm,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919, acq. no. 19.73.236

The woodcut's relationship to the Prado painting has long been noted in the literature, and it was not the only graphic work to which Raphael looked. Apparently he also knew Martin Schongauer's influential, engraved *Large Bearing of the Cross* of circa 1470 (fig. 1.12).³⁵ Innovative for its representation of Christ collapsing under the weight of the cross and the extreme abuse that Jesus suffers at the hands of his tormentors, Raphael's painting followed Schongauer's right-to-left composition. However, the vertical format, iconography, and setting of Raphael's image are far closer to Dürer's print, which better suited the painting's function as an altarpiece.

¶ Like Raphael, Vasari admired Northern prints, and Dürer's works in particular.³⁶ He appears to have owned several Dürer prints, and in his *Life of Pontormo* he praised the German artist's *Large and Small Passion* series for having "all the perfection and excellence of engraving with the burin that could ever be achieved."³⁷ The *Christ Carrying the Cross* also suggests his awareness of the Dutch engraver Lucas van Leyden's *Christ and Veronica* (1515) and *Way to Calvary* (1521).³⁸ Vasari was not alone in looking to Raphael and to Northern and Italian prints for his rendition of Christ's journey to Calvary; the Lombard and Veneto painters Polidoro da Caravaggio and Jacopo Bassano did the same. Before 1534 Polidoro executed for a Sicilian chapel an altarpiece that is vertical like its predecessors, whereas Bassano favored horizontal and nearly square formats for his renditions of the subject.³⁹ As did Vasari later on, the two Northern Italian artists deviated from Raphael's *Spasimo* by switching the narrative emphasis from the Virgin Mary and her grief to the solicitous Veronica. ¶ The circle of soldiers' hands that Vasari painted around Christ's head must have been inspired by Raphael's painting, in which reaching, grasping, lifting, and stabilizing hands frame Christ's body. Vasari also borrowed Raphael's iconography—two distant crosses erected on Golgotha—in the landscape in the distance, a motif that also appears in another possible source, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's *Procession to Calvary* (circa 1505–10) at the National Gallery,



fig. 1.12

Martin Schongauer, *Large Bearing of the Cross*, circa 1470, engraving, 28.73 x 43.18 cm, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 33-1452

London, which the biographer praised for the quality of its portraits.⁴⁰ However, the *Christ Carrying the Cross*, as in most of Vasari's works, is not a rote rehashing of its printed and painted precedents.⁴¹ For example, Vasari rejected the motif of the fallen Christ supporting himself on a rock with one or both hands, as well as the figure of Simon of Cyrene lifting the cross, which Schongauer, Dürer, and Raphael employed. Both motifs find their textual sources in the synoptic gospels of Matthew (27:32), Mark (15:21), and Luke (23:26). Vasari also reversed the right-to-left movement of Raphael's composition, a change that one expects but does not find, in Agostino's engraving. Iconographically unconstrained by church and altar dedications to the Virgin's swoon as Raphael was, the Vasari image has more in common with Dürer's woodcut and Van Leyden's engravings in that Veronica, rather than Mary, interacts with Christ. The Virgin stands above Veronica before Jerusalem's gate and, rather than falling to her knees as she does to dramatic effect in Raphael, or crossing her hands over her chest in a gesture of submission as in Dürer's woodcut, she raises her clasped and helpless hands to her face. ¶ The swarthy complexion and tall, conical red fur hat, or *zamt*, identify the man whose head appears behind the presumed figure of St. John the Evangelist in Vasari's painting as a Burji Mamluk soldier from Egypt or Syria.⁴² The head of another Mamluk appears in the painting's upper left, emerging from

Jerusalem's gate, behind the two elders on horseback. Presumably attracted to their Islamic exoticism, Vasari had access to a number of images from which he could have drawn these minor figures. The Mamluks, whose centuries-long rule in the eastern Mediterranean lasted until 1517, had been depicted in Venetian paintings since the late quattrocento. Vasari would have known those works from the time he spent in Venice in 1541–42,⁴³ and he surely was aware of the Mamluk soldier at the far right of Filippino Lippi's fresco of the *Exorcism of the Serpent* at the entrance to the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1489–1502).⁴⁴ But the most likely source for the unobtrusive Mamluks in Vasari's small panel

is the Mamluk who stands behind the soldier on the far right in the woodcut *Christ Carrying the Cross* from Dürer's *Small Passion* series of 1509–11 (fig. 1.13).⁴⁵ ¶ In addition to incorporating elements from the work of artists who hailed from Northern Europe and Italy, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* is rife with stylistic traits and figural motifs that are common in Vasari's visual repertoire. These include his repeated use of a hand gesture in which the two middle fingers are held close together, whereas the little and index fingers are spread apart.⁴⁶ Present also in Andrea del Verrocchio's sculptures and Raphael's and Bronzino's paintings, this gesture creates an effect of mannered elegance. In the *Christ Carrying the Cross* Vasari adopted the motif for both of



fig. 1.13

Albrecht Dürer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*,
from the *Small Passion*, 1509, woodcut,
12.6 x 9.7 cm, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art,
Kansas City, 33–184–219

Christ's hands and for Veronica's right one. Mary's clasped hands are representative of another gesture that Vasari recycled, revised, and reversed from figures such as Mary Magdalene in the very early *Christ Carried to the Sepulcher* (1532) in Arezzo, his Camaldoli *Deposition* (begun 1539), and the Virgin Mary in the *Deposition* from the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano, which he made for Duke Cosimo I in 1562–63.⁴⁷ ¶ The energetic expressions, actions, and gestures of the two soldiers on the right in the Spencer Museum's painting recall the battling warriors in Leonardo da Vinci's lost mural depicting an episode of the *Battle of Anghiari* for the Palazzo Vecchio's Great Council Room.⁴⁸ Vigorous, muscular soldiers who wear brightly colored armor, ornate footwear, and helmets with elaborate crests abound in the Palazzo Vecchio's Vasarian panels and frescoes. They and similar figures in many of Vasari's paintings, such as the *Deposition* now at Santissima Annunziata in Arezzo (1535–37) and the *Adoration of the Magi* in Rimini (1547), are the siblings of those in the *Christ Carrying the Cross*. ¶ The slightly upward tilt of Christ's head, which turns in the direction opposite to that of his torso and legs, was also a favorite motif of Vasari's. He repeated this pronounced torsion in a variety of sacred and secular works. These include the image of Abraham, the figure at bottom left in all of the versions of the *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, the allegorical representation of Venus as the month of April on the ceiling that he frescoed in Bindo Altoviti's Roman palace in 1553–54 (a figure that exhibits the same awkwardly bent right foot found in the Spencer Museum's Christ), and the ailing man in the *St. Roch Healing the Infirm*, which is on

the reverse of the double-sided processional banner that Vasari painted in 1568 for the Aretine confraternity of San Rocco.⁴⁹ The visage of the bearded soldier positioned just above Christ in the Spencer Museum's painting has a precedent in the figure at the bottom of the *Resurrection*, which Vasari painted in 1550 for Filippo di Averardo Salviati. In this work the pronounced *contrapposto* of the soldiers' heads and bodies at the sides is also very similar to the pose of Jesus in the *Christ Carrying the Cross*.⁵⁰ ¶ Vasari's quotation of the work of Leonardo, Raphael, Dürer, and others was common to an era in which sampling diverse sources and combining them in innovative ways resulted in a visual code that his artistically sophisticated viewers and patrons were intellectually equipped to decipher and that demonstrated his own artistic erudition and prowess.⁵¹ In addition to echoing the work of some of the most prestigious artists active both north and south of the Alps in the late 15th and 16th centuries, Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross* is a self-referential collection of themes, compositions, motifs, figures, and gestures.⁵² It is also one of at least five versions of the same narrative that Vasari painted over the course of his long career.

VASARIAN VARIATIONS



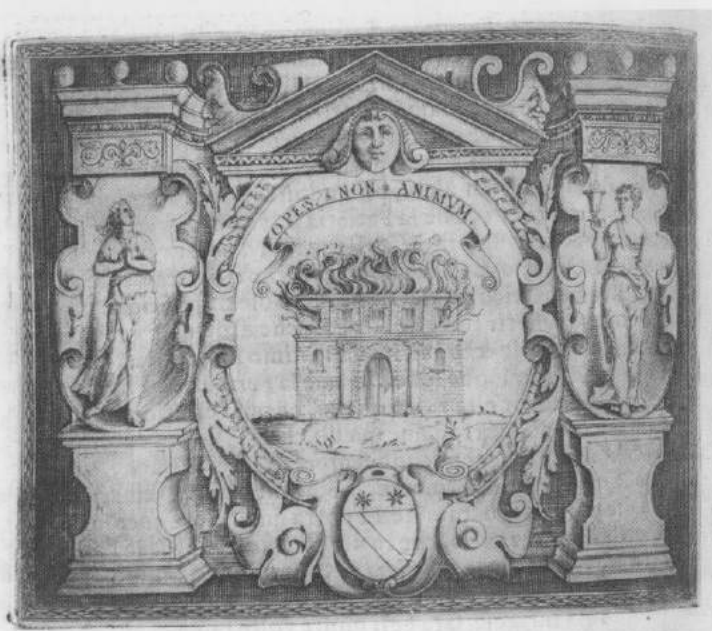
Although Vasari was a prolific painter of religious images, relatively few studies are devoted to that aspect of his artistic production. The contents of the *Zibaldone*, which served as both a diary and collection of notes on his various artistic “inventions,” privilege his historical and allegorical images at the expense of his sacred ones.⁵³ Vasari’s *Ricordanze*, however, is rich with references to his commissions, and it lists many religious paintings that no longer survive. Among the entries pertaining to his lost works is one dated 28 April 1530, which notes that he frescoed a *Christ Carrying the Cross* over a door leading to the garden in the Servite monastery of San Piero in Arezzo.⁵⁴ A further entry dated 14 July 1545 pertains to a commission from Fra Matteo d’Anversa, Abbot-General of Monte Oliveto in Naples, to fresco that monastery’s hospice (*foresteria*) with twelve figures carrying crosses (six male and six female) and one of “Our Lord Jesus Christ with his cross in the middle of the vault.”⁵⁵ ¶ It is via the *Ricordanze* and the *Descrizione* that we know Vasari made a third picture depicting the *Way to Calvary*. Because it no longer survives, this painting has been mentioned in the literature mostly in passing. However, as Rick Scorza has also noted, evidence points to its being the painting of which the panel in the Spencer Museum is a reduced-scale copy.⁵⁶ Vasari wrote in the *Ricordanze* that on 6 May 1553 the Roman gentlewoman Ersilia de’ Cortese, the wife of Fabbiano del Monte, commissioned for the altar of her chapel a painting depicting “Our Lord Jesus Christ carrying

the cross" that was to measure approximately six feet by four feet and for which the artist was to be paid sixty gold scudi. After the work was finished, and as he awaited payment, Vasari left the picture in his room in Rome in the care of Pierantonio Bandini.⁵⁷ Six years later, the painter gave the altarpiece that he had made for "la Signora Ersilia," which was still in Bandini's hands, to Andrea della Fonte.⁵⁸ Although in the *Descrizione* Vasari implied that he had painted the *Christ Carrying the Cross* circa 1553, he did not name Ersilia Cortese as its patron. Describing it as a "large picture of a Christ who carries the Cross, with lifelike figures," he stated that he had made it for a relative of the pope, but in the end, "it was not to [Vasari's] advantage to give it to him/her," so he presented it instead to his dear friend Della Fonte.⁵⁹ ¶ Ersilia Cortese (1529–circa 1587, see fig. 3.10) was the illegitimate daughter of the Modenese Jacopo Cortese, a lawyer who enjoyed considerable favor at various papal courts. She was not Vasari's only female patron, but she was among the most prestigious of the secular and religious women who commissioned paintings from him.⁶⁰ Raised by

her father in Rome in a cultured environment, in 1544 she wed not Fabbiano del Monte as Vasari stated, but rather Giovanni Battista di Baldovino del Monte. Her husband's uncle, Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte, the future pope Julius III (r. 1550–55), was a close friend of Ersilia's father and had insisted upon the marriage. A well-educated and renowned beauty, who was the subject of flattering poems and sonnets and who wrote poems herself, Ersilia was one of the most celebrated women in 16th-century Rome. During the five years that Julius III occupied the papal throne, she benefited from the social and financial privileges that came with being one of the pontiff's favorites.⁶¹ ¶ Widowed at the age of twenty-three,⁶² Ersilia Cortese commissioned the *Christ Carrying the Cross* from Vasari one year after her husband died on the battlefield.⁶³ Little is known about her patronage activities beyond this commission and one other, a request for a personal emblem bearing a motto. She first solicited this *impresa* in 1554 from the humanist poet and scholar Annibale Caro, but his idea displeased her. After Julius III's death in 1555 she apparently devised her own *impresa*,

fig. 1.14

Ersilia Cortese's *impresa*, from
 Girolamo Ruscelli,
Le imprese illustri, Venice:
 Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1572;
 118v, Spencer Research Library,
 The University of Kansas,
 Summerfield C55



an image of a burning house flanked by the theological virtues Hope and Faith, with a motto derived from Seneca's *Medea*: *Opes Non Animum* ("Wealth does not mind"). Girolamo Ruscelli included it in his *Imprese illustri*, which was first published in 1566 (fig. 1.14), noting that the image and its text reflected the personal and monetary trials and tribulations that Ersilia experienced at the vindictive hands of Pope Paul IV, an enemy of the Del Monte family, in the years following Julius III's death.⁶⁴

¶ Vasari did not specify the destination of the altarpiece, but Ersilia Cortese may have ordered it for a chapel inside her home, a large palace known as the Aragonia, located near the Trevi Fountain. Her father-in-law, Baldovino, purchased it in 1551, and in 1554 the residence was undergoing unspecified renovations. A document dated September of the latter year records the purchase of bricks for "the building (or construction) of the most illustrious Lady Ersilia de Monte," a structure that the document further identified as the

"said palace of the most Illustrious Lord Baldovino and Ersilia."⁶⁵ The palace renovations may explain Ersilia Cortese's delay in paying Vasari for the painting, which he had surely finished before December 1554, when he moved to Florence to work for Cosimo I de' Medici. The following year Julius III died, and Ersilia Cortese's fortunes took a turn for the worse. Regardless of what altar the picture was to decorate or why Ersilia Cortese never claimed it, the fact of its commission testifies to her familiarity with the Aretine painter's work. Vasari had designed and provided paintings for Julius III's chapel at San Pietro in Montorio, painted a number of other pictures and portraits for the pope, and contributed to the design and decoration of the Villa Giulia.⁶⁶

¶ Although Vasari may have repeated in Borghini's small painting some elements of the overdoor and ceiling frescoes that he painted in Arezzo in 1530 and in Naples in 1545, which depicted Christ's punishing walk to Calvary, the painting in the Spencer Museum

of Art is far more likely to be a replica of the lost Cortese altarpiece. If so, that painting's commission in 1553 provides a *terminus post quem*, a relatively firm date after which the Lawrence panel was executed. However, the smaller picture's Florentine provenance suggests that it was painted after Vasari moved to Florence late in 1554. ¶ Vasari held in particular esteem artists like himself whose careers had thrived in both Tuscany and Rome, and the *Christ Carrying the Cross* stands as a testament to that success.⁶⁷ The probable connection between the Cortese altarpiece and the *Christ Carrying the Cross* also explains why the picture in Lawrence was paired with Livo's *Conversion of St. Paul* in Borghini's collection (fig. 1.4). Not only was the latter work based on the altarpiece that Vasari painted for Pope Julius III's Del Monte Chapel, but Charles Davis has suggested that the sculpted profile portraits on the chapel's marble balustrade depict on the right and left, respectively, Ersilia Cortese and her recently deceased husband, Giovanni Battista (fig. 1.6).⁶⁸ Therefore, in addition to resembling each other in terms of their size, type of frame, New Testament subjects, and physical proximity, together the paintings represent two of Vasari's prestigious Roman commissions of the early 1550s that are associated with the pope and his extended family. ¶ On yet another level, in both paintings Vasari responded in different ways to the work of three of the 15th- and 16th-century masters whom he most admired: Dürer, Raphael, and Michelangelo. We have seen in the *Christ Carrying the Cross* that Vasari's debt to the first two artists is abundantly clear. With regard to the *Conversion of St. Paul* for the Del Monte Chapel, however, the painter remarked that he deliberately deviated from Michelangelo's fresco of the same subject in the Pauline Chapel at the Vatican (1538–40). Instead of showing an older, blind St. Paul unseated from his horse in a landscape as Michelangelo did, Vasari made "S. Paul young, as he himself writes, and fallen from his horse, and led blind by the soldiers to Ananias, from whom by the imposition of hands he receives the lost sight of his eyes, and is baptized."⁶⁹ Julius III had mandated that Vasari's plans for the chapel be submitted to Michelangelo, thus creating a chain of artistic command that may have led Vasari to avoid emulating the older artist's

Vatican prototype.⁷⁰ ¶ Livo's version of the Del Monte Chapel's *Conversion of St. Paul* does not exactly reproduce the Roman altarpiece on which it is based. Borghini owned a now-lost preparatory drawing for the Del Monte painting that probably guided the artist as he executed his small painting and that may explain some of the compositional and iconographical details that distinguish the two panels.⁷¹ Scorza has argued that these differences reflect Borghini's interest in Pauline theology,⁷² but it is also possible that they were made so that the petite rendition of the *Conversion*, which probably dates from circa 1565–67, complemented the composition and iconography of Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross*. For example, Livo replaced the colonnaded background of the Del Monte Altarpiece with a balcony and stairs extending over and alongside an open door topped by a segmented pediment. The balcony and steps are populated with figures who converse and carry plates of food. The painter must have derived this setting from the very similar one in Vasari's *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* in Bologna (1539–40), which he may have known from a drawing now in the Louvre.⁷³ The result is an architectural background and portal that fill the left side of his picture, as Jerusalem's monumental gate does in the Lawrence painting. ¶ A figural and generational *contrapposto* exists between the two paintings. In the center of the *Christ Carrying the Cross* an elderly soldier sustains the cross of the comparatively youthful Christ, whereas in the *Conversion* a young soldier supports Paul, who is old in this redaction of the scene. Furthermore, in both paintings two figures kneel in the foreground, an expressive circle of hands draws the viewer's attention to their respective narrative foci, the principal figures are arranged in a frieze-like composition in the foreground, and pink, blue, and yellow pastels dominate their palettes.⁷⁴ In addition, the bread on the table in the background of Livo's painting is a Eucharistic euphemism for Christ's body in the center of Vasari's small picture.⁷⁵ Thus, the panels formed a beautifully matched set.⁷⁶

PICTORIAL LEGACY



he work of two of Vasari's pupils and associates confirms that he had completed the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and given it to Borghini by circa 1564–66.⁷⁷ The first artist in question is Francesco Morandini (1544–97), a resident of the Hospital of the Innocents, who is better known as il Poppi after the small Tuscan hill town where he was born.⁷⁸ According to Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo*, the young Morandini came to Florence from his provincial hometown to study under Vasari. There, Vincenzo Borghini "most courteously" (*molto cortesemente*) took him in.⁷⁹ A member of the Accademia del Disegno and an accomplished draughtsman, il Poppi's corpus of surviving drawings shows that part of his artistic education involved copying works by leading 16th-century painters such as Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, and Michelangelo, in addition to Borghini's



fig. 1.15

Francesco Morandini (il Poppi), Studies of female heads, circa 1564–71, pencil, 12.7 x 10 cm, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Florence, Uffizi 4264F



fig. 1.16

Francesco Morandini (il Poppi), Studies of soldiers' heads and helmets, circa 1564–71, pencil, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Florence, Uffizi 4267F



fig. 1.17

Francesco Morandini (il Poppi), Studies of soldiers' heads and helmets, circa 1564–71, pencil, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Florence, Uffizi 4268F

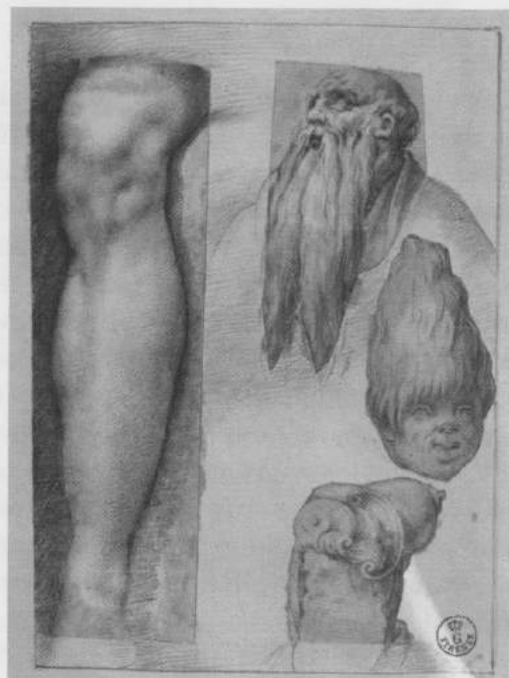


fig. 1.18

Francesco Morandini (il Poppi), Studies of heads and a leg, circa 1564–71, pencil, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Florence, Uffizi 4270F

version of Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross*.⁸⁰ ¶ Four small folios of pencil drawings from the artist's now unbound sketchbook at the Uffizi include figure studies that he copied directly from the painting. As someone who lived at the Ospedale—and Borghini's and Vasari's protégé—il Poppi would have had ample access to the work (figs. 1.15–1.18).⁸¹ He was attracted to the most visually compelling figures in the Vasari painting and, as Scorza has observed, it is unlikely that he would have expressed such an interest in the work of a lesser artist.⁸² Taken in the order of their catalogue numbers, which probably reflect the sequence in which il Poppi added

them to his sketchbook, the drawings based on the *Christ Carrying the Cross* depict the triad of female heads behind Christ (Uffizi 4264F); the head of the aged, bearded soldier who wraps his arms around the transverse bar of the cross (Uffizi 4267F); the heads of the two aggressive soldiers on the right (Uffizi 4268F); and the head of the Mamluk positioned behind the presumed figure of St. John, whose face il Poppi gave doll-like features; and that of the turbaned, bearded elder on horseback directly above him (Uffizi 4270F).⁸³ Especially with regard to the latter three drawings, the artist was as interested in the figures' headgear as he was in their physiognomies. ¶ The sketches

probably date from after circa 1563–64, when il Poppi joined Vasari's workshop. They must have been completed before 1571–72, when he incorporated helmets inspired by the Lawrence version of *Christ Carrying the Cross* into the *Bronze Foundry* and the *Alexander Giving Campaspe to Apelles*, which he executed for Grand Duke Francesco I's *Studiolo*.⁸⁴ In the *Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist*, which he painted for the Badia of San Fedele in Poppi between 1575 and 1581, Morandini revisited the motifs of soldiers with decorative helmets, as well as the weapons, the banner with the motto SPQR, and the other Roman processional paraphernalia that appear in Vasari's painting.⁸⁵ Il Poppi painted a line of similar banner-carrying soldiers in crested helmets in the background of *The Finding of the True Cross* (1584–85), which he made for the high altar of the Florentine convent of the Crocetta that is now in Florence's Museo di San Salvi.⁸⁶ Another painter and resident of the Ospedale, whom Borghini and Vasari jointly took under their wing, Battista Naldini (1535–91), looked to Vasari's picture when devising the composition of his first Florentine altarpiece (fig. 1.19).⁸⁷ A member of Vasari's workshop after 1564, when he returned from a period spent in Rome, and a member of the Accademia del Disegno, Naldini painted his *Christ Carrying the Cross* circa 1566–68. These were the same years in which he helped Vasari decorate the Salone dei Cinquecento at the Palazzo Vecchio.⁸⁸ The picture remains in situ on the altar of the Lenzoni Chapel, which is located to the left of the chancel in the Badia, Florence's venerable Benedictine abbey, where Vincenzo Borghini had taken his vows in 1532.⁸⁹ According to Stuart Currie, Pontormo's fresco of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1520s) at the Certosa di Galluzzo outside Florence is the most important source for Naldini's altarpiece.⁹⁰ Naldini had studied and lived with Pontormo, and the Certosa fresco did influence the much

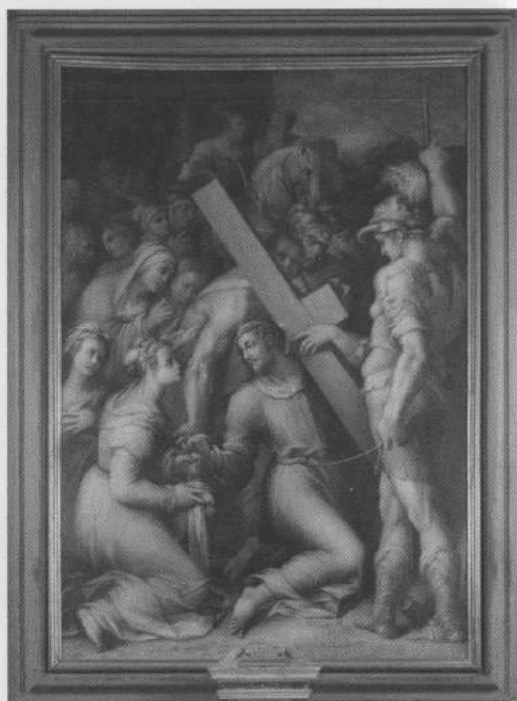


fig. 1.19

Battista Naldini, *Christ Carrying the Cross*,
circa 1566–68, oil on panel, Lenzoni Chapel,
Badia, Florence

later Badia altarpiece; however, Naldini's painting has considerably more in common with the Spencer Museum's panel.⁹¹ ¶ As a long-term resident of the Ospedale,⁹² Naldini clearly was well acquainted with Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross*, as it hung in the same collection in which some of his own paintings were displayed.⁹³ In addition, Vasari weighed in during the planning stages for Naldini's altarpiece. In 1566 the younger artist showed Vasari a preparatory study for it—perhaps one of two drawings now in the British Museum.⁹⁴ Indeed, Paola Barocchi noted that Vasari probably influenced Naldini's painting, and although the elder artist said little about the picture in the 1568 edition of his *Lives*, he did remark upon its "many fine figures" (*molte buone figure*).⁹⁵ Naldini's picture, like Vasari's smaller one, has a vertical format appropriate for an altarpiece. Its iconography, such as the orientation of the cross and Christ's body; the Virgin Mary's raised, clasped hands; the bearded pair of elders on horseback; and the hirsute soldier in an elaborate helmet looking down behind the cross are all indebted to Vasari's *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Unlike Vasari's painting, in the Badia altarpiece Simon of Cyrene prepares to take up Christ's burden with a powerful, Michelangelesque right arm. As he did with his other emotionally modulated paintings,⁹⁶ Naldini tempered the intensity and violence of Vasari's image, a quality that is particularly evident in the soldier on the right, who holds the end of the rope tied around Christ's waist and calmly observes the actions that take place before him. Naldini borrowed Vasari's color scheme, namely Veronica's pink dress, Christ's blue robe, and the blue-and-yellow uniform of the soldier on the right. However, he muted its bright, crisp tones, favoring instead the suffused, painterly style of Andrea del Sarto and Correggio, artists whose pictorial impact is pronounced in all but Naldini's late works. ¶ In addition to influencing Morandini and Naldini, the Spencer Museum's *Christ Carrying the Cross* informed the altarpiece of the same subject that Vasari painted for Santa Croce in Florence (fig. 1.20). One of three altarpieces that Vasari executed as part of his renovation of that church, the large panel was commissioned in 1568 and completed by 1572.⁹⁷ Its iconography was determined not by the patron of the chapel for which it was made, Michelangelo's nephew and heir Lionardo Buonarroti, but rather by its place in Vasari's unified program for the church's altarpieces, which depict key moments during and after Christ's Passion. The *Christ Carrying the Cross* is the fourth in a series beginning in



fig. 1.20

Giorgio Vasari, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1568–72,
oil on panel, Buonarroti Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence

the church's right side-aisle with Andrea del Minga's scene of the *Agony in the Garden*.⁹⁸ Although today the Buonarroti altarpiece is not regarded as one of Vasari's best works, Vincenzo Borghini was quite enthusiastic about it, stating in a letter addressed to Vasari in Rome dated 20 December 1572, "yesterday evening I was in Santa Croce and I saw the two new panels; and it seemed to me that they came out very well, and that the Buonarroti panel is even a bit better [than the *Doubting Thomas* for the Guidacci Chapel]."⁹⁹ Of the two paintings Borghini reported upon to his friend, scholars understandably have favored the clarity of composition of Vasari's *Doubting Thomas*. Despite the fact that he had advised Vasari on the latter painting's iconography,¹⁰⁰ Borghini's bias toward the one above the Buonarroti altar may be explained by its dependence upon a work in his own collection—a work that, unlike the Santa Croce painting, which remains in situ, changed location and owners several times before coming to the University of Kansas.

THE PAINTER, THE NOBLE, THE MAGNATE, AND THE GAMBLER



fter Vincenzo Borghini's death in August 1580, the artist Livo inherited many of Borghini's paintings and drawings. In the following year, when he lent those bequests to the Ospedale's new prior, Livo counted the *Christ Carrying the Cross* among his possessions.¹⁰¹ A document dated May 1581 pertaining to the loan describes the picture as "a colored painting in oil of a Christ who carries the cross with [a carved and gilded walnut frame, with its curtain of green taffeta]."¹⁰² Livo's loan was not short-lived; Borghini's works remained at the Ospedale into the second quarter of the 19th century, when the institution's commissioner, who preferred contemporary art to that of the past, sold most of the collection.¹⁰³ An 1840 inventory of the hospital's collection contains the earliest known documented attribution of the Spencer Museum's panel to Vasari, listing it as, "A painting on panel representing our Lord on his way to Calvary with a carved and gilded frame by Giorgio Vasari." The panel was valued at 200 lire, and a marginal note records that in 1833 the Marquis Panciatichi purchased it, along with another painting by Vasari and the *Conversion of St. Paul*, for 440 lire, well below their estimated collective value of 800 lire.¹⁰⁴ ¶ According to Ugo Cherici's early 20th-

century guide to the Ospedale degli Innocenti, it was Federigo Panciatichi who bought the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Conversion of St. Paul*.¹⁰⁵ It seems, however, that the actual purchaser was Ferdinando Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona (1813–97), Marquis of Saturnia in Tuscany and of Esche in Bavaria and the head of his family for most of the 19th century.¹⁰⁶ Luigi Passerini's genealogy of the Panciatichi family notes that Marquis Ferdinando loved the fine arts and that he sponsored artists. He augmented the family collection, which, in addition to Old Master paintings, included works in jade, rock crystal, and marble, as well as furniture, bronzes, and Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Ferdinando established a museum to house the collection, which remained intact for several years following his death. In 1902 Ferdinando's heirs auctioned a majority of the works in the collection to facilitate the division of his property.¹⁰⁷ In the sale catalogue, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *Conversion of St. Paul* retained their attributions to Giorgio Vasari and were described as "two paintings on panel, representing: the first, the *Conversion of St. Paul* after he recovered his sight; the other Jesus falling under the weight of the cross at the moment of his encounter with Veronica. Sculpted and gilded walnut frames."¹⁰⁸ ¶ The paintings are next documented in the collection of American sugar baron Henry O. Havemeyer, called Harry, and his wife Louisine. The Havemeyers are best known as collectors of French Impressionist masterpieces—some of the finest examples of which Louisine donated to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1929. Their tastes were eclectic, crossing multiple geographical and chronological boundaries, and the Vasari and Livo panels were among many early European

paintings that they owned.¹⁰⁹ They probably purchased Borghini's paintings in the 1902 Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona sale on the recommendation of A. E. Harmisch, an expatriate German artist who lived in Florence. Harry Havemeyer secured Harmisch's exclusive services as an agent during a visit that he, his wife, Mrs. Havemeyer's sister, and their close friend, the Impressionist painter Mary Cassatt, paid to the Tuscan city during the unusually chilly month of March in 1901. Fully trusting Harmisch's connoisseurial expertise, for many years the affluent couple purchased works attributed to prominent masters of Renaissance painting and sculpture on his advice. Decades later Louisine reminisced that these purchases represented "some of the finest pictures we ever owned," but the attributions of many of those objects turned out to be inflated.¹¹⁰ Frances Weitzenhoffer and others have suggested that either Harmisch's eye was faulty or his dealings with the Havemeyers were underhanded, but the recent reattribution of the Spencer Museum's painting to Vasari suggests that in at least one instance his eye was more reliable than was previously thought.¹¹¹ ¶ The attributions of the paintings to Vasari notwithstanding, between late 1908 and the spring of 1914, Louisine, whose husband died in 1907, consigned Borghini's panels no fewer than four times to the New York branch of the famed French Durand-Ruel Gallery. On at least one occasion, she did so to raise money to purchase other paintings. But the small Florentine pictures remained unsold and were returned to their owner in May 1914.¹¹² Both are listed as works by Vasari in the Durand-Ruel records, but by the time they were sold on 10 April 1930 in the first of a five-part, twelve-day-long auction of many

of the Havemeyer's possessions, which took place after Louisine died in 1929, they had been reattributed to an anonymous 16th-century Ferrarese painter.¹¹³ ¶ According to the American Art Association's list of the works sold at the Havemeyer auction, Samuel Schepps purchased the paintings for \$250 each.¹¹⁴ This was an interesting turn of events. The buyer must have been Sam Schepps, a dapper gambler, jewelry salesman, failed film actor, and inveterate con man with close ties to New York's criminal society. Schepps was also a key witness in a famous and controversial 1912 murder trial in which the corrupt policeman Charles (Charley) Becker was convicted of and executed for orchestrating the assassination of the gambler Herman Rosenthal. Newspaper coverage of the crime, the trial, and Schepps's subsequent legal and illegal activities was peppered with references to his work as a dealer in art and antiques.¹¹⁵ For example, during his divorce in 1913, his soon-to-be-ex-wife testified that he "sold pictures and picture frames, when he worked," information that might indicate that Schepps sold the Vasari and Livo paintings' original gilded walnut frames, which were separated from the pictures sometime after they were photographed for the Panciaticchi Ximenes d'Aragona sale of 1902 (fig. 1.5).¹¹⁶ Schepps continued to buy and sell jewelry, art, and antiques until his arrest in 1933 for forgery, at which time the fifty-eight-year-old criminal and his brother ran an antiques and jewelry business named Maison Cluny on Madison Avenue.¹¹⁷ He was incarcerated and died three years later, and in June 1937 his estate was liquidated at public auction.¹¹⁸ ¶ Whether Schepps kept the paintings for himself or sold them is unclear. Therefore, there is a gap in our knowledge of their location between 1930, when he purchased them from the Havemeyers' heirs, and circa 1952, when Julius Weitzner, a New York dealer who specialized in Old Master paintings, acquired them at auction. Weitzner's purchase marked the beginning of the end of the painted pair's centuries-long coexistence. Although he offered both to the University of Kansas, the university's museum could afford to buy only one, acquiring the *Christ Carrying the Cross* in 1953. Five years later, Weitzner sold the *Conversion of St. Paul* to Bob Jones University.¹¹⁹ ¶ The years between 1950 and 1960 marked a decade of exceptional growth for what was then the University of Kansas Museum of Art, one in which many of its finest European works, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *La Pia de' Tolommei*, Theodor Rombouts' *Two Musicians*, and Tilman Riemenschneider's *Virgin and Child*, were purchased or acquired through donations. As a pictorial repository of the artistic, courtly, and intellectual culture of the Italian Renaissance—one that expands our understanding of Vasari's considerable oeuvre—the newly cleaned *Christ Carrying the Cross* can now be counted with the latter works as one of the Spencer Museum of Art's most prized objects—just as it was when it was part of Vincenzo Borghini's collection in the 16th century.



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 8. Attilio Piccini, "Ricordi documentari o poco noti sulla costruzione dell'Ospedale degli Innocenti e su opere d'arte ad esso appartenenti o appartenute," in *Il Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti a Firenze*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1977), 14–15; Laura Corti et al., "Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari," in *Giorgio Vasari* (Florence: EDAM, 1981), 152–74; Philip Gavitt, "Charity and State Building in Cinquecento Florence: Vincenzo Borghini as Administrator of the Ospedale degli Innocenti," *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 2 (1997): 230–70; Gino Belloni and Riccardo Drusi, eds., *Vincenzo Borghini: Filologia e invenzione nella Firenze di Cosimo I* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2002); Diana Bullen Presciutti, "Carità e potere: Representing the Medici Grand Dukes as 'Fathers of the Innocenti,'" *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 2 (2010): 235–41.
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 12. "Ma perchè troppo sarei lungo a volere minutamente raccontare molte altre pitture, disegni che non hanno numero, modelli, e mascherate che ho fatto..." Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:711–12. Translation from Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 2:1064.
 13. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 63–122. For Borghini's print collection, see Eliana Carrara and Sharon Gregory, "Borghini's Print Purchases from Giunti," *Print Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (2000): 3–17.
 14. "uno quadro [grande con cornice dorata] di uno Cristo che porta la croce." Archivio di Stato, Firenze (hereafter ASF) Notarile Moderno,

- Protocolli, 638, Eschini, Raffaello, fol. 37v; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 121. Its large size, as noted in the inventory, must reflect its dimensions in comparison with other, smaller paintings in Borghini's collection, for the dimensions of the *Christ Carrying the Cross* are modest.
15. ASF, Notarile Moderno, Protocolli, 638, Eschini, Raffaello, fols. 38v–39r; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 120. For the *Conversion of St. Paul*, see *The Age of Vasari* (Notre Dame, Ind. and Binghamton, NY: Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame and University Art Gallery, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1970), 35 no. P21; D. Stephen Pepper, *Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Art: Italian Paintings* (Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University, 1984), 79 no. 80.1; Richard P. Townsend, *Botticelli to Tiepolo: Three Centuries of Italian Painting from Bob Jones University* (Seattle: The Philbrook Museum of Art in association with The University of Washington Press, 1994), 114–15 no. 3; John Nolan, *Selected Masterworks from the Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery* (Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Museum & Gallery, Inc., 2001), 33 no. 15; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 87–93; David Franklin, ed., *From Raphael to Carracci: The Art of Papal Rome* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2009), 294–97 no. 89.
 16. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 66–67; Philip Gavitt, *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 159.
 17. For examples of cinquecento gallery and other types of Italian Renaissance frames, see Timothy J. Newberry, George Bisacca, and Laurence B. Kanter, *Italian Renaissance Frames* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990). For the curtain and status of Vasari's painting in Borghini's collection, see Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 112.
 18. For the *Adoration*, which is a copy after the altarpiece of 1566–67 that Pope Pius V commissioned from Vasari for the church of Santa Croce in Bosco Marengo, see Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 99–101 and Scorza in David Franklin, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance in Florence* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada in association with Yale University Press, 2005), 314–17 no. 115.
 19. For the Del Monte Chapel, see Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:692; Paola Barocchi, *Vasari pittore* (Milan: Edizioni per il Club del Libro, 1964), 133 no. 43; Alessandro Nova, "The Chronology of the De Monte Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 66, no. 1 (1984): 150–54; Nova, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550–1555): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.), 297–307; Corti, *Vasari*, 82–83 no. 62; Franklin, ed. *From Raphael to Carracci*, 224–25, 458 no. 57.
 20. This was a common practice in the Renaissance, as the small paintings executed by Vasari and some of his contemporaries in the "Cinquecento Corridor" (Room 33) of the Uffizi Gallery and Marcello Venusti's copies after Michelangelo's compositions attest. William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo and Marcello Venusti: A Case of Multiple Authorship," in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 137–56; <http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/musei/uffizi/visita/sala.asp?idSala=27>
 21. *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo generale* (Florence: Centro Di, 1979), 580 no. P1852; Anna Maria Maetzke, "Pittura vasariana dal 1532 al 1554," in *Giorgio Vasari* (Florence: EDAM, 1981), 336–37 no. 19; Florian Härb, "Giorgio Vasari's smaller version of the *Immaculate Conception* made for Bindo Altoviti in 1544," in *Raphael, Cellini, & a Renaissance Banker: The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti*, ed. Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano, and Dimitrios Zikos (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 411–13 nos. 22a–b; Catherine Casley, Colin Harrison, and Jon Whiteley, eds., *The Ashmolean Museum: Complete Illustrated Catalogue of Paintings* (Oxford: University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 2004), 229–30; *Vasari: Gli Uffizi e il Duca*, 144 no. II.16.
 22. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:669.

23. Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 13r.
24. Barocchi, *Vasari pittore*, 62–63; *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo generale*, 581 no. P1853; *Vasari: Gli Uffizi e il Duca*, 174–75 no. III.11.
25. A portion of the “R” is visible in the Roman motto SPQR, but it is obscured by the present frame, which overlaps the painting’s edges by approximately ½-inch.
26. Sharon Gregory, “Vasari, Prints, and Imitation,” in *Drawing 1400–1600: Invention and Innovation*, ed. Stuart Currie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 134–35. It was an image Vasari sampled for his own paintings more than once. See also Gregory, “Vasari’s Early Interest in Dürer: ‘Un nordico ritratto’ in *Christ Carried to the Sepulchre*,” *Apollo* 141, no. 397 (1995): 34. For Agostino Veneziano, his print, and related bibliography see Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 5:23, 420; Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 26 (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), 44–45 nos. 28–I, 28 A–I; Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, 1981), 200–01 no. 69; *Raffaello in Vaticano* (Milan: Electa, 1984), 276–77 no. 103; Donata Minonzio, “De Musi, Agostino,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 38 (Rome: Società Grafica Romana, 1990), 685–88; Gregory, “Vasari’s Early Interest in Dürer,” 35 n. 21.
27. Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1971), 44; Helen S. Ettliger, “Raphael’s *Lo Spasimo*: Its Historical and Iconographic Background,” *Source* 2, no. 4 (1982): 13–15; Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 235; *Raffaello in Vaticano*, 272–76 no. 102; Maria Antonietta Spadaro, *Raffaello e lo Spasimo di Sicilia* (Palermo: Accademia Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere, e Arti di Palermo, 1991); Eva-Bettina Krems, *Raffaels römische Altarbilder: Kontext, Ikonographie, Erzählkonzept, die “Madonna del Pesce” und “Lo Spasimo di Sicilia”* (Munich: Akademischer Verlag München, 1999), 171–273; Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings*, trans. Stefan B. Polter, 3 vols. (Landshut: Arcos, 2001–08), 2:150–57 no. 59. In keeping with Raimondi’s working practices, Agostino may have based his engraving on a finished drawing rather than the painting. Innis H. Shoemaker, “Marcantonio and His Sources: A Survey of His Style and Engraving Techniques,” in *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, 1981), 8–10; Shoemaker and Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, 200.
28. For the church, see Giuseppina Cotroneo and Francesco Saverio Brancato, *La chiesa palermitana di S. Maria dello Spasimo* (Palermo: Italo-Latino-Americana Palma, 1986), esp. 25–26; Anna Maria La Fisca and Giovanni Palazzo, *Santa Maria dello Spasimo* (Palermo: Edizioni Guida, 1997), esp. 24–28.
29. For *spasimo* iconography, see Harvey E. Hamburg, “The Problem of *Lo Spasimo* of the Virgin in Cinquecento Paintings of the *Descent from the Cross*,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12, no. 4 (1981): 45–75; Amy Neff, “The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary’s Labor at the Foot of the Cross,” *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (1998): 254–73; Krems, *Raffaels römische Altarbilder*, 201–24.
30. “nel qual luogo ha più fama e riputazione che ‘l monte di Vulcano.” Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 4:357–58. English translation from Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 1:733. See also Silvia Ferino Pagden, “From Cult Images to the Cult of Images: The Case of Raphael’s Altarpieces,” in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 172–74.
31. *Raffaello in Vaticano*, 277–80 no. 104; Spadaro, *Raffaello e lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, 15–24; Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, “L’attribuzione della targa del Victoria and Albert Museum con lo *Spasimo di Sicilia*,” *Faenza* 93, no. 4–6 (2007): 290–98; J.V.G. Mallet, *Xanto: Pottery-Painter, Poet, Man of the Italian Renaissance* (London: The Wallace Collection, 2007), 76–77 no. 15. For the Spencer Museum’s glass rendition of Raphael’s painting, see Mildred Lee Ward, *Reverse Paintings on Glass* (Lawrence, KS: Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, 1978), 87–88 no. 5.
32. “oltre ciò si vede fra loro Veronica che stende le braccia, porgendoli un panno, con uno affetto di carità grandissima.” Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 4:357.
33. Gregory, “Vasari, Prints, and Imitation,” 135.

34. For the *Large Passion*, see Charles W. Talbot, ed., *Dürer in America: His Graphic Work* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1971), 174–78 nos. 121–33; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 10 (1980–81), 251 no. 210, 105 no. 10; Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 59–62.
35. Claude Phillips, “Plagiarisms of the Old Masters: Raphael,” in *The Magazine of Art* (London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne: Cassell and Company Limited, 1886), 374; Rolf Quednau, “Raphael und ‘alcune stampe di maniera tedesca,’” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46, no. 2 (1983): 167–71; Spadaro, *Raffaello e lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, 10–11; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 8 pt. 1 (1996), 36–37 no. 009; George L. McKenna, *Prints, 1460–1995* (Kansas City and Seattle: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in association with the University of Washington Press, 1996), 4–5 no. 2; Krems, *Raffaels römische Altarbilder*, 243–51.
36. Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, “Sui rapporti fra l’opera artistica del Vasari e del Dürer,” in *Il Vasari storiografo e artista: Atti del congresso internazionale nel IV centenario della morte* (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1976), 701–15; Avraham Ronen, “Il Vasari e gli incisori del suo tempo,” *Commentari* 28 (1977): 92–104; Sharon Gregory, “Vasari and Northern Prints: An Examination of Giorgio Vasari’s Comments on, and Use of, Woodcuts and Engravings by Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, and Lucas van Leyden” (MA thesis, Queen’s University, 1992).
37. “... nelle quali era tutta quella perfezione e bontà nell’intaglio di bulino che è possibile far mai per bellezza...” Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, 6:266. Translation from Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 2:354. For Vasari and prints, see also Herrmann-Fiore, “Sui rapporti fra l’opera artistica del Vasari e del Dürer,” 709; Robert H. Getscher, *An Annotated and Illustrated Version of Giorgio Vasari’s History of Italian and Northern Prints from His “Lives of the Artists” (1550 & 1568)*, 2 vols. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002); Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), Chapter 1.
38. Quednau, “Raphael und ‘alcune stampe di maniera tedesca,’” 170; Gregory, “Vasari, Prints, and Imitation,” 135.
39. For Bassano’s paintings of the subject, see Spadaro, *Raffaello e lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, 16; Alessandro Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano*, 2 vols. (Padua: Bertonecello Artigrafiche, 1995), 1:99–100, 118–25; Dunkerton, Foister, and Penny, *Dürer to Veronese*, 56–60. For Polidoro da Caravaggio’s altarpiece and the preparatory drawings and oil sketches he executed for it, see Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio: Fra Napoli e Messina* (Milan and Rome: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore and De Luca Edizioni d’Arte, 1988), 119–31; Maria Giulia Aurigemma, “Un disegno polidoresco per l’*Andata al Calvario*,” *Ricerche di storia dell’arte* 53 (1994): 67–73; Larry Keith, Minna Moore Ede, and Carol Plazzotta, “Polidoro da Caravaggio’s Way to Calvary: Technique, Style, and Function,” *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 25 (2004): 36–47; *La Pinacoteca Vaticana: Catalogo dell’esposizione* (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2008), 150, 152 no. 3.
40. Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, 6:535; Krems, *Raffaels römische Altarbilder*, 241–43; David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence 1500–1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 106–8.
41. For Vasari’s modification of his pictorial models, see Florian Härß, “Modes and Models in Vasari’s Early Drawing Oeuvre,” in *Vasari’s Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 83–110, 267–72.
42. Leo Ary Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1952), 32–33; Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (London: Islamic Art Publications, distributed by Sotheby Publications, 1982), 41; Yedida Kalfon Stillman and Norman A. Stillman, *Arab Dress: A Short History from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69.
43. Juergen Schulz, “Vasari at Venice,” *Burlington Magazine* 103, no. 705 (1961): 500–09, 511. For Mamluks, Venice, and their representation in Venetian painting, see Patricia Fortini Brown,

- Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), esp. 196–216 and Deborah Howard, "Venice and the Mamluks," 72–89; Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting in Venice, 15th–17th Centuries," 121–34; and pages 304–06 nos. 26–29 in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (New York, New Haven, and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2006).
44. Lippi's Mamluk surely is an example of the "novelty and variety of the bizarre things" in the chapel that Vasari praised as being deserving of the highest commendation. *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 1:568.
45. The *Flagellation* and *Pilate Washing his Hands* from the *Small Passion* also include prominent Mamluks. The *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 10 (1980–81), 293 no. 237, vol. 27 (1978), 291 no. 605–I; Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 142–43. Raby has shown that whereas Dürer depicted Ottomans in prints he made after his first Venetian sojourn of circa 1495, following his second visit there in 1505–06 he added Mamluks to his compositions. Venice, *Dürer, and the Oriental Mode*, 25–30. Vasari was not alone in adopting this motif, for in Polidoro da Caravaggio's *Way to Calvary* Simon of Cyrene, who otherwise is dressed in western garb, wears a cone-shaped, red hat with slits that resembles a *zamt* as he bends over to pick up Christ's cross. Vasari may have known this Sicilian painting from the woodcut that prefaces Cola Giacomo d'Alibrando's *Il Spasmo di Maria Vergine*, a lengthy poem recounting the history of the picture that was published in 1534. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:654; Leone de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 128–31 nos. X.7–8; Cola Giacomo d'Alibrando, *Il Spasmo di Maria Vergine: Ottave per un dipinto di Polidoro da Caravaggio a Messina*, ed. Barbara Agosti, Giancarlo Alfano, and Ippolita di Majo (Naples: Paparo Edizioni, 1999); Keith, Moore Ede, and Plazzotta, "Polidoro da Caravaggio's *Way to Calvary*," 39–40.
46. Sharon Gregory, "Giorgio Vasari and Francesco Marcolini," in Jim Harris, Scott Nethersole, and Per Rumberg, eds., *'una insalata di più erbe': A Festschrift for Patricia Lee Rubin* (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011), 24, 29.
47. For the Poggio a Caiano painting see Vasari: *Gli Uffizi e il Duca*, 172–73 no. III.10.
48. For Leonardo's battle scene, copies made after it, and related bibliography, see Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 226–40, 361–62.
49. For some of Vasari's paintings and drawings in which the same head gesture appears, see Barocchi, *Vasari pittore*, 121; Paola Barocchi, *Mostra di disegni del Vasari e della sua cerchia* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1964), 49 no. 47 fig. 30; Corti, *Vasari*, 126 no. 104.
50. Vasari: *Gli Uffizi e il Duca*, 146 no. II.17.
51. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 40–41; Gregory, "Vasari, Prints, and Imitation," 134–35.
52. For Vasari's repetition of his and others' visual formulas, see Paola Barocchi, "Complementi al Vasari pittore," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Colombaria* 28, nuova serie 14 (1963–1964): 260–62.
53. An exception is a lengthy letter addressed to Florence's Duke Cosimo I de' Medici in which Vasari described the double-sided altarpiece he had painted for Arezzo's Pieve. Alessandro DelVita, ed., *Lo zibaldone di Giorgio Vasari* (Arezzo: Tipografia Zelli e C., 1938), 248–54.
54. Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 3v; Barocchi, "Complementi al Vasari pittore," 292.
55. "il Nostro Signor Giesù Cristo con la sua [croce] nel mezzo della volta." Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 14v; Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:676; Barocchi, "Complementi al Vasari pittore," 300; Umberto Baldini, *Giorgio Vasari: Pittore* (Florence: Edizioni d'Arte Il Fiorino, 1994), 167.
56. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 94.
57. "Ricordo come oggi questo dì 6 di maggio 1553 la Signora Ersilia de Cortesi moglie del Sig. Fabbiano de Monti mi diede da fare un quadro per la sua capella drentovi il Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo che porta la croce, per prezzo di scudi sessanta d'oro. Il qual quadro finito perché ella lo pagassi restò in mano a Pierantonio Bandini in Roma a stanza mia e così, se ancora, per scudi 60, era detto quadro braccia 2 largo alto 3 scudi 60. Questo quadro si dette a Andrea della Fonte com'è segnato innanzi." Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 20v; Donatella Pegazzano, "A Banker as Patron," in *Raphael, Cellini & A Renaissance Banker*:

- The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti*, ed. Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano, and Dimitrios Zikos (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 78. See also Barocchi, "Complementi al Vasari pittore," 292.
58. 1559 "Ricordo che il quadro del Cristo che porta la croce fatto per la Signora Ersilia di scudi 60, che avea Pierantonio Bandini, lo diedi Andrea della Fonte, ebbesi canne 4 di dobletto, il che tutto fa per fine in fra di noi scudi 60." Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 23v.
59. "...fui forzato ritrarre per Andrea della Fonte, mio amicissimo, una sua donna di naturale; e con esso gli diedi un quadro grande d'un Cristo che porta la croce, con figure naturali, il quale aveva fatto per un parente del papa, al quale non mi tornò poi bene di donarlo." Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:695.
60. With the help of Pope Paul III, her father had her legitimized in 1541. Eduardo Melfi, "Cortese, Ersilia," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 29 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983), 720.
61. For Ersilia Cortese, her fame, fortune, and related bibliography, see Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori nati degli stati del serenissimo signor Duca di Modena*, vol. 2 (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1782), 167–78; Carlo Malmusi, "Di due celebri donne modenesi del secolo decimosesto," *Memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Modena* 8 (1866): 10–13; Raffaele Erculei, "Una dama romana del XVI secolo (Ersilia Cortese Del Monte)," *Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti* 3rd ser., 52 (1894): 499–520, 686–707; Melfi, "Cortese, Ersilia," 719–21. Documents show she received a monthly stipend of fifty scudi from the Apostolic Camera. Maria Giulia Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze in Campo Marzio* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2007), 51.
62. For widows as patrons of art during the Renaissance, see Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300–1550* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), esp. Chapter 3.
63. Around the same time, Vasari made a smaller, iconic painting of the half-figure of *Christ Carrying the Cross* for Bindo Altoviti. He repeated its composition for two other clients in Rome in 1553 and for the archbishop of Pisa in 1554. Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 20v; Barocchi, "Complementi al Vasari pittore," 292; Jacks, "The Composition of Giorgio Vasari's *Ricordanze*," 771; Catherine Monbeig-Goguel, ed. *Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), ou la Bella Maniera* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 134–35 no. 28; Pegazzano, "A Banker as Patron," 78; Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano, and Dimitrios Zikos, *Raphael, Cellini & a Renaissance Banker: The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 431–32 no. 33.
64. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri* (Venice: Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1572), 118–20; Erculei, "Una dama romana," 689–91; Monica Calabritto, "Women's *Imprese* in Girolamo Ruscelli's *Le imprese illustri* (1566)," in *The Italian Emblem: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Donato Mansueto and Elena Laura Calogero (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2007), 68, 76–79.
65. "...prefecto fabrice Ill.ma D. Hersilie de Monte" and "palatio predictorum Ill. morum D. Balduini et Hersilie." Aurigemma, *Palazzo Firenze in Campo Marzio*, 42, 51. For Ersilia Cortese's residence and the Aragonia, see also Nova, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III*, 206–07, 243 n. 9.
66. Vasari's work for the Cortese family extended to the prelate Jacopo Cortese, who appears to have been Ersilia's father's cousin and who held the position of Bishop of the French diocese of Vaison-la-Romaine from 1551 to 1568. Prior to relocating to France and one month before Ersilia contracted Vasari to paint her altarpiece, Jacopo commissioned from him a panel depicting the *Holy Trinity*. Vasari, *Ricordanze*, fol. 20v; Ann Sutherland Harris, "Un Christ mort par Giorgio Vasari," *Revue de l'art* 18 (1972): 36–37; Corti, *Vasari*, 86 no. 65; Pegazzano, "A Banker as Patron," 78; Chong, Pegazzano, and Zikos, *Raphael, Cellini & a Renaissance Banker*, 430–31 no. 32; Clara Gelly, Nancy, *Musée des Beaux-Arts: Peintures italiennes et espagnoles, XIVe–XIXe siècle* (Roche-la-Molière: IAC, 2006), 148 no. 189.
67. Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence*, 213.
68. Charles Davis, "Balaustra di marmo con ritratti di membri della famiglia Del Monte," in *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari* (Florence: EDAM, 1981), 93–94.

69. "per variare da quello che aveva fatto il Buonarrotto nella Paolina, feci San Paolo, come egli scrive, giovane, che già cascato da cavallo è condotto dai soldati ad Anania, cieco, dal quale per imposizione delle mani riceve il lume degli occhi perduto, ed è battezzato." Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:693. Translation from Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 2:1051.
70. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:226–27. See also Florian Härb's entry on Vasari's preparatory study for the chapel in Franklin, ed. *From Raphael to Carracci*, 224–25 no. 57.
71. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 89.
72. *Ibid.*, 91, 93; Scorza in Franklin, ed. *From Raphael to Carracci*, 294.
73. Catherine Monbeig-Goguel, *Vasari et son temps: Maîtres toscans nés après 1500, mort avant 1600* (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1972), 147–48 no. 190; Corti, *Vasari*, 24–27 no. 11.
74. For the differences between the Del Monte altarpiece and Livo's painting, see also Scorza's catalogue entry in Franklin, ed. *From Raphael to Carracci*, 294–97 no. 89 and Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 93.
75. Townsend noted a Eucharistic relationship in the iconography of the two pictures, although he mistakenly identified the Livo painting as a scene of Abraham meeting Melchizedek. *Botticelli to Tiepolo*, 114.
76. Borghini's copy of Vasari's *Adoration of the Magi* altarpiece for Bosco Marengo exhibits most of the same compositional and iconographic characteristics as the other two. While its physical relationship to them in the context of his collection is unclear, its origins were likewise rooted in the papal court, for the original upon which it is based was Vasari's first commission from Pope Pius V.
77. In the past the painting has been identified as a copy of Vasari's Buonarrotto altarpiece and consequently dated as late as circa 1571–74. Huntley, "A Panel by a Follower of Vasari," 31; Broun, ed. *Handbook of the Collection*, 38. For the Santa Croce altarpiece, see pp. 37–39.
78. For il Poppi's biography, see Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 13–14; Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini*, 17–64.
79. Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584), 641; Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, trans. Lloyd H. Ellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 315. See also Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 13–14; Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini*, 17–18; Rick Scorza, "Vasari, Borghini, and Michelangelo," in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 186; Gavitt, *Gender, Honor, and Charity*, 158.
80. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 93.
81. For il Poppi's book of drawings, see Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, "Di alcuni disegni manieristi," *Artista* 1 (1989): 128–39; Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 15–16; Giovannetti, "Note sul Poppi disegnatore," in *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1992), 260–67.
82. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 93.
83. Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 34–35 nos. 29, 30; Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini*, 218 no. D27.
84. Petrioli Tofani, "Di alcuni disegni manieristi," 136; Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 13, 17; Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini*, 83; Feinberg, "The Studiolo of Francesco I Reconsidered," 56; Valentina Conticelli, "Guardaroba di cose rare et preziose," *lo Studiolo di Francesco I de' Medici: Arte, storia, e significati* (Lugano: Agorà Publishing, 2007), 374–90 nos. 13, 14.
85. Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 100 no. 52; Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini*, 94–95 no. 34.
86. Giovannetti, *I disegni, i dipinti di Poppi e Castiglion Fiorentino*, 30 no. 15, 172; Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini*, 104 no. 55, 214 no. D14; Meghan A. Callahan, "The Politics of Architecture: Suor Domenica da Paradiso and her Convent of La Crocetta in Post-Savonarolan Florence" (PhD diss., Rutgers, 2005), 235–36.
87. In the 1550s Naldini taught drawing to the children at the Ospedale. Later, as a member of Vasari's workshop, he executed four altarpieces

- for Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella and contributed to the decorations on Michelangelo's tomb. Victor Lasareff, "Appunti sul manierismo e tre nuovi quadri di Battista Naldini," in *Arte in Europa: Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan* (Milan: Tipografia Artipo, 1966), 582–84; Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 68–72; Zygmunt Wazbinski, "Giorgio Vasari e Vincenzo Borghini come maestri accademici: Il caso di G. B. Naldini," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985), 285–99; Elizabeth Pilliod, *Pontorno, Bronzino, Allori: A Genealogy of Florentine Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 44–47, 77–79; Scorza, "Vasari, Borghini, and Michelangelo," 184–86; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 118; Gavitt, *Gender, Honor, and Charity*, 156–58.
88. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:610–11; Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass*, 2:272; Stuart Currie, "Invenzione, disegno e fatica: Two Drawings by Giovambattista Naldini for an Altarpiece in Post-Tridentine Florence," in *Drawing 1400–1600: Invention and Innovation*, ed. Stuart Currie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 150.
89. Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine, divise ne' suoi quartieri*, 10 vols. (Florence: Viviani, 1754–62), 1:199; Walter Paatz and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 5 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1940–54), 1:286, 310 n. 112. Bocchi attributed the painting to Cecchino Salviati. Francesco Bocchi and Giovanni Cinelli, *Le bellezze della città di Firenze* (Florence: Giovanni Gugliantini, 1677), 384; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini as Iconographic Adviser," 16.
90. Currie, "Invenzione, disegno e fatica," 157–58. For the Certosa fresco, see Ignacio L. Moreno, "Pontorno's Passion Cycle at the Certosa del Galluzzo," *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 2 (1981): 308–12; Elizabeth Pilliod, "Pontorno and Bronzino at the Certosa," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992): esp. 82–84.
91. See also Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 94. For Naldini's relationship with Pontorno, see Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:610–11; Paola Barocchi, "Itinerario di Giovambattista Naldini," *Arte antica e moderna* 31–32 (1965): 3–5; and Pilliod as in n. 87.
92. Wazbinski, "Giorgio Vasari e Vincenzo Borghini come maestri accademici," 294–99.
93. These were a *St. Vincent Ferrer*, a series of Passion scenes on parchment that probably were derived from the *Grand Passion* he painted for the hospital of Misericordia e Dolce in Prato, and a small *Judith and Holofernes*. Alessandro Cecchi, "Borghini, Vasari, Naldini e la 'Giuditta' del 1564," *Paragone* 28, no. 323 (1977): 100–07; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 104–09.
94. See Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass*, 2:271–72; Barocchi, "Itinerario di Giovambattista Naldini," 252–53; Currie, "Invenzione, disegno e fatica," figs. 9.2 and 9.3.
95. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:611; Barocchi, "Itinerario di Giovambattista Naldini," 11, 32 n. 90; Licia Raggianti Collobi, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari*, 2 vols. (Florence: Vallecchi, 1974), 1:160, 2:288 no. 490; Currie, "Invenzione, disegno e fatica," 150–51.
96. See Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 68.
97. *Ibid.*, 63–64, 124–26; Corti, *Vasari*, 143 no. 120.
98. The *Entry into Jerusalem* that now begins the sequence was painted at a later date. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 132–34.
99. "Iersera fui in Santa Croce e vidi su tutte le due nuove tavole; e parmi che tornino molto bene e quella del Buonarroti anche un po' meglio..." Text from Vasari's *Carteggio* published online by the Fondazione Memofonte. See also Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass*, 2:734; Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 125.
100. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini as Iconographic Adviser," 229–30.
101. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 64, 66–68, 70–71.
102. "Uno quadro colorito a olio d'uno Cristo che porta la croce con [suo ornamento di noce intagliato et messo d'oro, con sua cortina di taffetà verde]." Archivio Innocenti, Filza d'Archivio 17, fol. 346; Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini's Collection," 121.

103. Ugo Chierici, *Guida storico-artistica del R. Spedale degli Innocenti di Firenze* (Florence: Stab. Tipografico Bandettini, 1926), 38–39; Piccini, “Ricordi documentari o poco noti,” 19–20.
104. “Un Quadro dipinto in Tavola rappresentante N° Sig.^a che vā al Calvario con Cornice intagliata, e dorata di Giorgio Vasari.” Published in Piccini, “Ricordi documentari o poco noti,” 26. See also Scorza, “Vincenzo Borghini’s Collection,” 87 n. 109.
105. Chierici, *Guida storico-artistica*, 44.
106. The only member of the family named Federigo whom Luigi Passerini included in his genealogy of the Panciaticchi lived during the 13th century. See *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Panciaticchi* (Florence: M. Cellini, 1858), esp. 234–35; Galardelli and Mazzoni, *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et objets d’art composant la galerie et le musée de feu le Marquis Ferdinand Panciaticchi Ximenes d’Aragona* (Florence: Imprimerie Bonducciana-A. Meozzi, 1902), VII–VIII.
107. Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Panciaticchi*, 237; Galardelli and Mazzoni, *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et objets d’art*, VII–VIII.
108. “Deux panneaux sur bois, représentant: le 1^{er} La conversion de S.^t Paul, après avoir recouvert la vue; l’autre Jésus tombant sur le poids de la croix au moment de sa rencontre avec Veronique. Cadres noyer sculptés [sic] enluminés d’or.” Galardelli and Mazzoni, *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et objets d’art*, 8.
109. Gary Tinterow, “The Havemeyer Pictures,” in *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, ed. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen and Gary Tinterow (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 3–53.
110. Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1961), 107–29; Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 139–40; Susan Alyson Stein, “Chronology,” in *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 228.
111. Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers*, 139–40; Denys Sutton, “The Collecting Life,” *The New Criterion* 6 (1987): 77.
112. Stein, “Chronology,” 248, 266.
113. “Paintings Sold at Auction: List of Sales—Season of 1929–1930,” *American Art Annual* 27 (1930): 469 nos. 50 and 51. A privately printed catalogue of the Havemeyer collection similarly identifies them as 16th-century Ferrarese paintings. *H. O. Havemeyer Collection: Catalogue of Paintings, Prints, Sculpture and Objects of Art* (Portland, ME.: SouthWorth Press, 1931), 494; Stein, “Chronology,” 287. This puzzling attribution was repeated in the catalogue for the 1993 Havemeyer exhibition held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which listed the pictures as missing. Stein, “Chronology,” 248, 350 nos. 332 and 333.
114. “Paintings Sold at Auction,” 469.
115. For the murder and trial, see Andy Logan, *Against the Evidence: The Becker-Rosenthal Affair* (New York: McCall Publishing Company, 1970); Mike Dash, *Satan’s Circus: Murder, Vice, Police Corruption, and New York’s Trial of the Century* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2007).
116. “No Divorce to Mrs. Schepps,” the *New York Times*, 29 March 1913.
117. “Sam Schepps Held in \$10,775 Forgery: Witness in Becker’s Trial for Rosenthal Murder Seized in Prosecutor’s Office,” the *New York Times*, 4 October 1933; “Schepps Held in Forgery: Rosenthal Witness Accused with 2 Others of \$10,575 Fraud,” the *New York Times*, 1 November 1933.
118. Advertisements for the auction were published in the *New York Times* on 1–4 June 1937.
119. Spencer Museum of Art curatorial file, letter of 11 September 1978 from Joan Davis, Director of the Bob Jones University Art Gallery & Museum; Townsend, *Botticelli to Tiepolo*, 115 n. 7.