

context, in the *Death of Hippolytos*³⁵ about 1612–13. Similarly the backview of the grey rearing upward into the stream of light which has struck Phaeton and his team is virtually repeated in the finished painting of the *Conversion of St Paul* about 1615.³⁶ The idea of horses plunging through stormy waters, first exercised in the *Crossing of the Red Sea*, came again uppermost in his mind when in the spring of 1635 he was considering painted stagings to welcome the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand to Antwerp. The head and neck of Neptune's nearest horse in the huge '*Quos Ego*' decoration, which like the *Meeting at Nordlingen* is entirely the work of the master's hand,³⁷ follows the form of the left-most horse of

³⁵ SEILERN, *ibid.*, No. 19, pl. XLV.

³⁶ SEILERN, *ibid.*, No. 21, pl. XLVII–LI.

³⁷ *Kl. d. K.* [1921 ed.], 362 and 363. I am grateful to Dr H. Menz, the Director of the Dresden Gallery, and to Dr V. Oberhammer, Director of the Vienna Gallery, for affording me special facilities to examine these very large canvases in their respective charges. The Vienna picture has recently been cleaned most

Pharoah's quadriga. Comparison of these two equine heads, painted thirty years apart, effectively reminds us of the majestic course of Rubens' own progress. And a detail of the oil sketch for the '*Quos Ego*'³⁸ is illustrated here (Fig. 13, p. 425) to make the point. But it is hard to say that such a detail of his late work, though miraculously more fluid in touch, was painted with conspicuously greater freedom and assurance. So early did he find his way.

successfully. The appearance of the Dresden picture would likewise benefit enormously from careful cleaning. Both canvases are painted with unsurpassable verve and fluency. None but Rubens himself could have realized the designs of his own sketches on this grand scale, knowing full well that he had barely three weeks to complete his revised scheme for this archway before the Cardinal-Infante was due to enter Antwerp in triumph. And his hand is everywhere manifest.

³⁸ AGNES MORGAN: *Rubens Drawings and Oil Sketches from American Collections*, Cambridge/New York [1956], No. 43, p. XXIX, illustrates and discusses the splendid sketch now in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University, for the '*Quos Ego*' composition.

MICHAEL LEVEY AND FRANCIS HASKELL

Painters and Painting at the 'Age of Rococo' Exhibition in Munich

THIS exhibition was well worth holding, and that at once made it an unusual event. Ambitiously and intelligently conceived, it ranged over nearly every branch of eighteenth-century art and culture and made a splendid general impression. No age lends itself more to such an assemblage. And here the books and the porcelain, the musical instruments and the furniture, even the suggestions of the gardens and the buildings created during the century were collected and displayed in a way never attempted before. Painting was not, of course, neglected: indeed it was in many ways the thread that bound the whole survey together and gave it coherence. For that reason alone, granted the intelligent conception underlying the whole exhibition, it is worth discussing seriously what emerged about painters and painting.¹

Unfortunately the general planning was vitiated by a confusion of aims. On the one hand, if it was really the intention to carry out what the title 'The Age of Rococo' proclaimed the exhibition to be, then there was no justification for the inclusion of works by Angelica Kaufmann, Reynolds, and Mengs – let alone Goya! On the other hand, the whole character of the exhibition implied that the aim was not at all to restrict the display to the Rococo itself but to embrace the art of the eighteenth century as a whole (or, rather, of the first three quarters of the century). If the visitor were to adopt this premise, then he could reasonably complain of the absence of any hint of the revolutionary changes occurring during the period, of the failure to present anything but a smooth and steady flow of paintings, quite undisturbed by the existence of Winckelmann – despite the fact that a portrait of him and some of his books were on show. The confusion was reflected in the fact that Kaufmann, Reynolds, and Mengs were represented only by portraits, as though the organizers had regarded these as just making sense within a rococo framework, but not by subject pictures, the inclusion of

which would have made the title quite nonsensical: yet the eighteenth century cannot be understood without these subject pictures.

More insidious, and less pardonable, was the propagation of the French gospel (see Réau *passim*) that French art spread throughout Europe increasingly during the century and influenced every national school in turn. At its worst this idea was expressed in the catalogue's statement that Rosalba was influenced by French rococo painting 'which she saw while in Paris in 1720/21' at the age, according to the catalogue's ungenerous calculation, of 55! The actual presence of too many French artists and the consequent neglect and underrepresentation of Italian painters endorsed this legend far more seriously than the inaccuracies of the catalogue – and, to be fair, we must point out that these extended some way into other fields as well.

It was distressing, for instance, to find *five* female portraits by Nattier, and a baker's dozen of Boucher's pictures (none of the highest quality) and but one rather dim history painting by Amigoni. There was not a single portrait by this artist although these are of the very essence of the Rococo and are plentiful in England and Germany. Nothing suggested in any way that he was one of the pioneers of the style throughout Europe – in London, Munich itself, and Madrid. However, an artist of equal importance – Pellegrini – had a slightly better showing, though it was a pity that his large allegory from the Elector Johann William series (Fig. 14)² eventually proved too big to hang in the exhibition as had been intended, as the whole series constitutes the most elaborate treatment of German iconography by an Italian artist before Tiepolo's frescoes at Würzburg, and the picture actually chosen (No. 150) from the group is far less impressive.

² Dr Robert Oertel kindly drew attention to this Pellegrini in the depot of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, through whose courtesy it is published here.

¹ C. N. P. POWELL has already given a general review of the exhibition in the August 1958 issue, pp. 280, 283.

Italian history painting (still of vital importance during the first half of the century) in general received too little consideration – most glaringly in the case of Sebastiano Ricci, represented (if that is the word) by two dreary little pictures hung in pious disgrace among the vestments in a corridor. Must one still at this late date emphasize his colossal reputation and importance in Paris, London, Vienna and elsewhere in Europe? Even if one confined oneself to his work after the turn of the century, such a showing would be quite inadequate. As for Neapolitan painting the greatest figure Solimena, to whom the same remarks apply, was allowed the generous allotment of *two* pictures, presumably expected to do service also for de Mura, Conca, and Giacquinto – the latter one more peripatetic artist inexplicably neglected (except for one drawing).

Even more difficult to understand than the underestimation of Italian history painting in the eighteenth century was the poor representation of Canaletto. He was shown with four not particularly interesting pictures, all from the same decade – three Venetian views and one rather laboured Roman *capriccio*. As if to emphasize this ungenerous treatment Francesco Guardi was given nine views, mostly dated too early anyway.

The whole branch of ruin pictures – so popular throughout eighteenth-century Europe – was ignored except for one large example. Nobody will be surprised to learn that it was by Hubert Robert, while Panini (once so lavishly patronized by the French . . .) was given a single commonplace Roman topographical scene and nothing else. Marco Ricci was represented by one Magnascoesque picture, nothing hinting at his best landscape work.

So much for the central figures and trends neglected. Of less important artists and outsiders, there was no Paret, one poor little Dietrich, and one Magnasco at his least interesting.

On the positive side, the arrangement of the pictures grouped round themes (such as the theatre, hunting, etc.) rather than by schools, often provided stimulating juxtapositions. It was rewarding, for instance, to see Pittoni's *Diana and Actaeon* (No.161), perhaps the most 'French' of Italian eighteenth-century paintings, hung next to a series of works by Boucher. The contrast could hardly have been more striking between the blatant sensuality of Boucher's work and the tame formula of Pittoni's conventional nude. Indeed this contrast vividly expresses one fundamental difference between the art of Paris and Venice during the century despite the usual concentration on Casanova, assignations in gondolas and beautiful nuns. Zuccarelli in the same room carried this contrast still further with his *Rape of Europa* (No.241) hung next to Boucher's version of the same subject (No.17). The use of classical imagery in Venetian eighteenth-century painting is still 'authentic' in the terms established by Renaissance artists, whereas for the French it is essentially a pretext for 'dignifying' salacity.

The gallery of portraits also provided some piquant contrasts: and there was, for example, much to be learned of two very different environments in the confrontation of A. Longhi's official personage (No.120) with the insouciant *Abel Moysey* by Gainsborough (No.66). Perhaps nobody in eighteenth-century Venice was sufficiently at ease to be portrayed with such negligent yet graceful spontaneity.

Giambattista Tiepolo is an impossible person to represent properly at any exhibition; one might as well try and do justice to Balthasar Neumann. Short of issuing tourist tickets to Würzburg the organizers at Munich could hardly have succeeded better with Tiepolo's genius in the limited space. It was his bad luck that – unlike Piazzetta and Watteau – he was not represented by any masterpiece. And the lack of any large altar-piece by him was a grave gap. Nevertheless his showing was coherent and stimulating, and the pictures were quite seriously treated in the catalogue. It is perfectly true that the Rijksmuseum *Telemachus and Mentor* (No.193) cannot possibly represent these two people who were not of an age. The two youths of this picture seem wrapped in a sort of dreamy poetic friendship, which might suggest Achilles and Patroclus or even David and Jonathan. Like most other problems of Tiepolo's iconography, the question has yet to be raised, let alone discussed. Meanwhile the present title is merely silly.

The two Hamburg *Passion* pictures (Nos.196–7) do not really seem acceptably by G. B. Tiepolo himself. Rejection of them has already been hinted by one of the present writers in the *National Gallery Eighteenth Century Italian Schools Catalogue* (under No.5589, Domenico Tiepolo), and careful examination of them at Munich confirms this view. It may be that they are 'studio' – a term which Tiepolo scholars oddly avoid. But it is more likely that they are by Domenico; the nervous drawing is typical of him, as is the hot colour. One should insert in parenthesis that this opinion has already been put forward quite independently by Dr Terisio Pignatti. Conversely the Stuttgart sketch for the Kaisersaal ceiling (No.198) must certainly be by Giambattista as Prof. Morassi believes and as catalogued here. Its quality is high and the recent attempt to supplant it by an inferior sketch at Würzburg itself was deplorable. The Würzburg sketch is probably not accepted by any scholar of the *Settecento*, and is doubted by many as being even Italian. It looks like a Bavarian(?) artist's copy *after* the ceiling. The organizers are therefore to be congratulated on having obtained the Stuttgart original and having dispensed with this object which has figured in at least one recent exhibition.

Art-historically speaking, the most interesting of the Tiepolo exhibits were the pair of genre pictures from Barcelona (Nos.202–3), versions of those semi-stock designs *The Charlatan* and *The Minuet*. The problems raised by the various versions are considerable, and the Munich catalogue made its own contribution to the general muddle. Indeed it even went so far as to claim that the Barcelona pair were included in the Tiepolo exhibition at Venice in 1951; in fact the pair shown then belong to the Louvre, and are anyway of different design as well as of different date. One of the Barcelona pair, *The Charlatan*, bears a date 1756 on the quack's banner, and that is probably the date of their execution. It seems right to link these scenes in general with Domenico's genre style, as one sees it most obviously at Valmarana in the following year. At Munich the Barcelona pair were catalogued as Giambattista, but increasingly the ascription of such pictures to him seems doubtful. The basis for supposing him ever to have executed such work is chiefly that a pair of genre scenes similar in design to those now in the Louvre were in the Algarotti collection as by him. The Algarotti 'catalogue' lists no paintings by Domenico Tiepolo, but that

might well be simply from a wish to present every item in the best possible light. Leonardis engraved those two pictures in 1765; but he noted them simply as by Tiepolo *tout court*. The next fact usually quoted about this pair is that they turned up in the Princesse Mathilde sale in 1904 (whence they were acquired for the Louvre). It is doubtful if this claim is based on anything more than the fact that those pictures follow Leonardis' engravings. Other pairs following Leonardis' engravings also exist.

In any case the Algarotti pair appeared in London in the sale of Gaetano Bartolozzi (son of the famous engraver) at Christie's, 23rd June 1797 (lot 92) as *A Pair of Venetian Masquerades* by Tiepolo from the collection 'of the late Count Algarotti'. Nothing indicates *which* Tiepolo. *En passant* one may remark that one of the earliest appearances of 'Tiepoli' in an English sale was with *A Venetian Masquerade* (Anon sale, London, 6th February 1766, lot 3; that is during Giambattista's lifetime).

Algarotti never refers to commissioning such work from Giambattista. The only indication he gives that comparable subjects were ever treated by the elder Tiepolo is in a letter to Mariette, where he speaks not of paintings but of *disegni* . . . 'io credo di possedere i più belli polcinelli del mondo di mano del celebre nostro Tiepoletto'.

With these documentary considerations firmly in mind, one can now examine the Barcelona pair of pictures. They are certainly of high quality, but many passages in them reveal the hand of Domenico, such as the 'worked' quality of the technique, the types of faces, and the hot and heavy colours. Indeed the whole atmosphere they exude is typical of him. But here and there a passage of virtuosity – like some of the figures on the balcony in *The Charlatan* – makes one feel almost in the presence of Giambattista. It is not surprising that the tempting theory of collaboration has been advanced. It is difficult to rebut this except by saying that anything in the nature of real collaboration on pictures of this small size (by Tiepolo standards) is unlikely; of course the father might have added a few touches to some picture by his son. And it remains a possibility that Giambattista had executed some drawings once which the son copied in paintings. But that is quite unproven. The compositions are quite unlike Giambattista's, being crowded and more attractive at first sight than on close examination when they are seen to be rather awkward. As both spirit and execution are far removed from Giambattista, it is difficult to see why the pictures should not join the remainder of this genre group which is already recognized as by Domenico.

Finally with regard to Tiepolo, it was delightful to see included four of Giambattista's etchings – two from the *Scherzi di Fantasia* (Nos. 421 a and b) and two of the *Capricci* (420 a and b). Tiepolo scholars are notoriously shy of these works (see the pathetic 'literature' listed in the Munich catalogue). The iconography of the *Scherzi* has of course never been discussed, nor their extraordinary affinities with Castiglione's work which we know to have been collected in eighteenth-century Venice. The so-called *Six persons watching a snake* actually shows them watching *two* entwined snakes. Whether this is loosely derived from the incident witnessed by Tiresias or perhaps the omen which warned Titus Sempronius Gracchus of an impending death, the half-magical, half-classical scene sets up its own peculiar vibra-

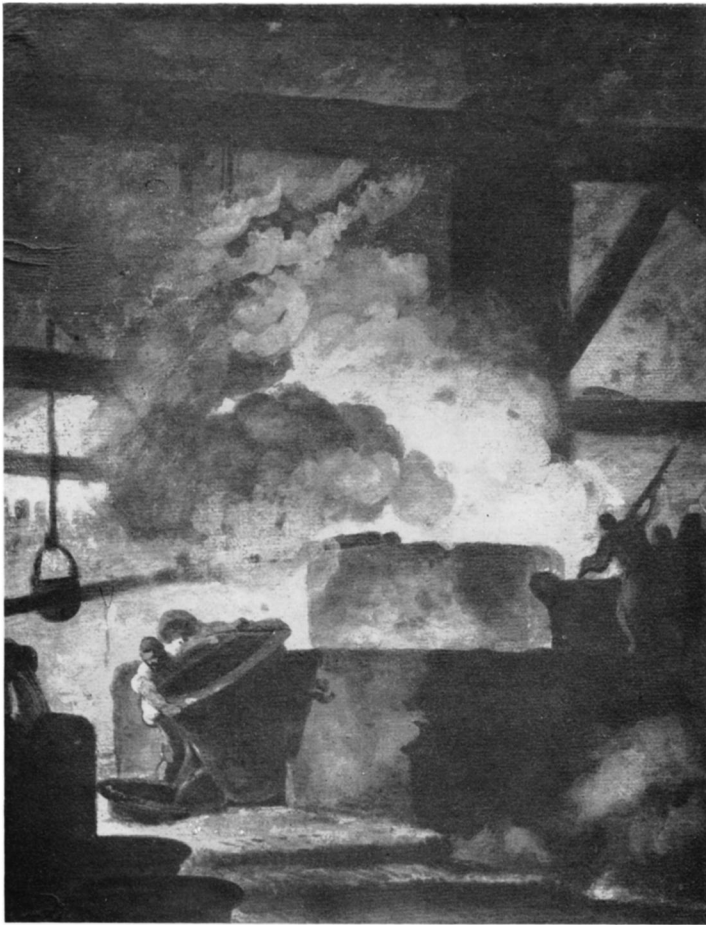
tions. In any case it seems clear that the classical significance attached to snakes as omens is – however obliquely – present. We know that such depictions of brooding *magi* and ruins were appreciated in some Venetian circles in the eighteenth century. This private fantasy world is seen for instance in a painting by Zuccarelli, for Potsdam (and referred to by Algarotti), of philosophers brooding over 'some fallen Runic stone', themselves fled from the strife of cities and at peace in rural shades. One key into that picture is provided by a quatrain set beneath Volpato's engraving after the original. How one misses such a key into Tiepolo's etchings.

G. M. Crespi, while not as well represented as he might be, made an impressive impact with his *Bookshelves in a Music Library* (No. 43 a/b). This extraordinary work, in which the sombre covers of the books, broadly painted with loaded brush-strokes, seem alarmingly alive, belongs to a different world from one's ordinary conception of eighteenth-century still life. It has absolutely nothing in common with Chardin (as a photograph might suggest) and parallels would have to be sought outside the century – in Géricault, for instance.

Nothing pays higher tribute to the wide scope of the exhibition and the serious concept underlying it than the admirable collection of scientific books and instruments which were the first objects confronting one on entry and which reminded one that science and philosophy were the greatest preoccupations of the age – not the fine arts. The interest was only fitfully revealed in the pictures actually exhibited, but there were enough to show the two contrasting attitudes to the sciences taken up by artists in the second half of the century. To English eyes, accustomed to Wright of Derby (represented by *The Academy*, No. 229), the most striking of the revolutionary works was Brand's *Sand Pit* (No. 22), already reproduced and referred to in this Journal by Mr C. N. P. Powell (see note 1). But as notable as this complete break with the pastoral landscape tradition was a work more akin to Wright himself, and approximately contemporary with him. This was Durameau's remarkable *Saltpetre Factory in Rome* (No. 268) (Fig. 12), a water-colour of 1766. With its impression of being by Daumier, this extraordinary genre scene was one of the great surprises of the exhibition. It seems a significant sign of things to come that Diderot should have hailed it with approval.

A totally different, but equally enthusiastic approach to Science was provided by Zick's *Allegories of Newton's Service to Optics and the Theory of Gravitation* (Nos. 233/4). As a piece of homage to this patron saint of the eighteenth century, these pictures made use of the usual rococo conventions to express the apotheosis of the intellect. Still in the same spirit, a yet more elaborate homage to scientific and rational thought was Cochin's frontispiece to the last volume of the *Encyclopédie* (No. 981) which shows the Sciences and the Arts grouped about 'the radiant veiled figure of Truth'. No one in eighteenth-century eyes was better fitted to unveil her than the figure here shown: a crowned personification of Reason.

The age was essentially one of contrasts. Reason and Tradition, the 'Grand Manner' and genre (Tiepolo and Pietro Longhi; Boucher and Chardin), extraordinary flights of fantasy and the closest observation of natural phenomena. All were represented at Munich, but perhaps there were few really new lessons to be learned by those who have studied the period; while for those who have not it is doubtful



12. *Saltpetre Factory in Rome*, by Jean-Jacques Durameau. Signed and dated 1766 on original mount. Body colour, 52.8 by 40.2 cm. (Louvre.)



13. Detail from sketch of *Quos Ego*, by Peter Paul Rubens. Panel. (Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass.)



14. *Allegory of Peace and Happiness under Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz*, by Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini. 1713–14. Canvas, 353 by 541 cm. (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.)

whether the trends were presented clearly enough. Certainly for neither the one group nor the other can the catalogue be said to have been a very valuable guide. The introductions to some sections bordered not only on the naïve, but on the incomprehensible; the entries for the pictures were often insufficient, and sometimes misleading or inaccurate. Lack of space charitably prevents substantiation of this statement here. And finally one must deplore the NATO-like principles of selection (and therefore representation) which were so particularly disastrous in an exhibition concerned with an age of peripatetic painters and interchanging influences.

Yet as an event the exhibition was notable. Its site in the newly rebuilt Residenz (itself a tribute to Munich's industry and imagination) was well chosen. And the inclusion within it of the Cuvillies Theatre, marvellously reconstructed on new foundations, was at once a symbol and a fitting end to the display. Amid much that was beautiful and interesting, one supreme masterpiece painted early in the century dominated the exhibition – Watteau's *Enseigne de Gersaint* (No. 222). It alone survived unchallenged even after a visit to the Alte Pinakothek had established a ruthlessly severe standard by which to judge eighteenth-century European painting.

HERBERT KEUTNER

The Palazzo Pitti 'Venus' and Other Works by Vincenzo Danti

'Unter den Nachfolgern Michelangelos trägt der Peruginer Vincenzo Danti (1530–1576) sicher die interessanteste Künstlerphysiognomie': so wrote J. v. Schlosser almost fifty years ago. Strangely enough, the suggestion he made has so far not been followed up.¹ If we seek to discover anything about Danti's work we have to go back to the excellent summary in the article by W. Bombe who put together the lost and surviving *œuvre* of Danti, on the basis of the information provided by the *Vite* by Vasari, Borghini, and Pascoli, or we have to consult A. Venturi who reproduced the ten known works of the sculptor.² The principal facts concerning the development of Danti's style were first clarified by F. Kriegbaum, who tried to ascribe the London *Cupid* to Danti – an opinion which meanwhile has been proved to be untenable.³ Kriegbaum realized that the master passed from the sphere of Michelangelo's influence to that of Giovanni Bologna about 1568.

We can agree with Kriegbaum's definition of the Michelangelesque phase so long as we do not lose sight of Danti's individual interpretation of Michelangelo. The group of *Virtues and Vices* in the Museo Nazionale in Florence (1561) must be understood in relation to Michelangelo's two-figure projects; the three-figure group for the Uffizi *Testata* (ordered in the year 1563) must be regarded as a variation of the groups on the tombs in the Medici Chapel; the *Madonna*

in the Cathedral at Prato (1565–6) is clearly influenced by the Bruges *Madonna*; whilst the *Madonna* in S. Croce (1567–8) reminds us of the sibylline Medici *Madonna*.

In contrast to all these works the group of the *Beheading of St John* seems to indicate a new stylistic departure.⁴ It was finished in 1570 and was placed over the south door of the Baptistery. This group, together with the idealized statue of Cosimo I (Florence, Museo Nazionale), is the only work known so far to have been executed after 1568.⁵ If it does not show a 'direct influence' of Giovanni Bologna (as Kriegbaum says), it does reflect for the first time something of the new taste for the courtly art introduced by the Flemish artist. This new style attempts to substitute graceful movement for massiveness, elegance for intensity, and beauty for power of expression.

The Salome in the *Decapitation* group (Figs. 15 and 21), probably designed about 1568–9, shows many characteristic signs of the new style in Danti's work. It is planned in sharp outlines to be seen from the front, and is principally composed of lines running in a vertical direction. A graceful, oval-shaped head rises above a sturdy body and narrow shoulders; the forehead is framed in a diadem of hair, the eyes are set in shallow sockets, the long nose hardly protrudes at all, the mouth is small with a short upper lip. The drapery and the arms cling to the body, the legs are set close together; but whatever movement there is in the limbs, is expressed by a sharp, angular change of direction. The left hand does not clasp what is held out to it, but just touches lightly what comes into contact with it. The feet cling to the ground as though gliding into it. Leaving aside these generally recognized indications of an authentic Vincenzo Danti,

¹ J. v. SCHLOSSER: 'Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance. Fragmente zur Geschichte der Renaissanceplastik', II; 'Eine Bronze von Vincenzo Danti', *Jahrb. d. Kunsth. Smlgn.*, XXXI, Vienna [1913–14], pp. 73 ff. J. v. Schlosser attributes the Vienna bronze *Hercules* (Inv. No. 5658) to Vincenzo Danti, an opinion which is supported by L. PLANISCIG (*Die Bronzeplastiken*, Vienna [1924], p. 134), but this attribution is not acceptable. Comparing the *Hercules* statuette with the two *Sebastians* by Alessandro Vittoria in S. Francesco della Vigna and in S. Salvatore, with the *Daniel* in S. Giuliano, or the *Atlantes* in the Palazzo Rezzonico in Venice, we are forced to the conclusion that this *Hercules* must be a work from the circle of this Venetian artist.

² W. BOMBE, in THIEME-BECKER, VIII [1913], pp. 384, and A. VENTURI: *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, x, 2, Milan [1936], pp. 507 ff.

³ F. KRIEGBAUM: 'Zum "Cupido des Michelangelo" in London', *Jahrb. d. Kunsth. Smlgn.*, N.F., III, Vienna [1929], pp. 247 ff. Kriegbaum's attribution of the London *Cupid* to Danti, repeated by C. DE TOLNAY (*The Youth of Michelangelo*, 2nd ed., Princeton [1947], p. 204) is not only untenable on grounds of style, but cannot be supported by the evidence of a document (G. GAYE: *Carteggio inedito d'artisti* . . . , III [1840], p. 402), the contents of which refer to the *Perseus* in Pratolino (since 1776 in the Boboli Gardens) rather than to the London *Cupid*. Meanwhile J. POPE-HENNESSY ('"Michelangelo's Cupid": the End of a Chapter', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, xcvi [1956], pp. 403 ff.) has proved that the *Cupid-Narcissus* is to be regarded as an antique which must have been refashioned by Valerio Cioli or in his studio in the second half of the Cinquecento.

⁴ The casting of the three figures of the group of *The Beheading of St John* was completed in December 1570: 'il Perugino gittò la 3.^a et ultima statua et tutto e venuto bene'; see the letter of Don Vincenzo Borghini from Florence to Giorgio Vasari in Rome on 9th December 1570 in K. FREY: *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, II, Munich [1930], p. 548.

⁵ For the statue of Cosimo see H. KEUTNER: 'Das Standbild im Cinquecento', *Münch. Jahrb. f. bild. Kunst*, 3. Folge [1956], pp. 148 ff. In the years after 1567–8 Danti also created the stucco statue of a seated *St Luke* in the Cappella degli Accademici in the SS. Annunziata. This stucco has not yet been included in the list of Danti's work (W. and E. PAATZ: *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, I [1940], p. 118). Before his final departure from Florence Danti worked at the seated *Perseus* (see also note 3), ordered for the Villa in Pratolino, but it was not finished until the year 1577 in the workshop of Giovanni Bologna (see G. GAYE, *op. cit.*, III, p. 402).