

# Giorgio Vasari's *St Luke Painting the Virgin*: a reconsideration of its possible sources\*

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*St Luke drawing the Virgin* by Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1435, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (fig. 1) is one of the best-known works of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlandish painting. Rogier seems to be the first Northern artist to represent St Luke portraying the Virgin in the large format (137.5 × 110.8 cm) of an altarpiece; numerous Netherlandish and German painters followed his example well into the next century. On the other hand, the subject is conspicuous by its absence in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century Italian art. The first surviving example on a monumental scale in Italy dates from as late as around 1570 when Giorgio Vasari painted a fresco of *St Luke* (fig. 2) for the Chapel of the Accademia del Disegno in Santissima Annunziata, Florence.

Despite such art-historical significance, Vasari's *St Luke* seems to have been singularly neglected by Vasari specialists. In a catalogue of his paintings, the entry on this work is one of the shortest (six lines), and one-third of it relates that the execution was interrupted by Vasari's various duties as academician and finally left to Alessandro Allori.<sup>1)</sup> This assumed status, a studio work without much artistic importance, clearly is one of the reasons for its slight. I do not share this low opinion and believe that Vasari must have been involved in its production more actively than has usually been assumed, since he had a special interest in the subject, as will be discussed later.

But even if the master had left its execution largely to his collaborators, the finished work would have been rightfully his own, according to the artistic theory of his time, in so far as its design had been his original. The deeper reason for the lack of scholarly attention to Vasari's *St Luke* concerns this question of originality: 'Un quadro di questo tema si trovava anche a Roma, nella chiesa di S. Luca... (oggi nell'Accademia di S. Luca)...Su questo dipinto romano, ma probabilmente anche su modelli nordici, si basa l'affresco del Vasari.'<sup>2)</sup> In other words, Vasari's picture has been considered to be merely derivative of earlier works with the same subject: a painting once in the church of San Luca in Rome (now in the Accademia di San Luca) and some Northern models as well. The Roman painting (fig. 3), attributed to the school of Raphael and consequently placed in the 1520s, was once famous

as an autograph work by Raphael, in which his 'self-portrait' as a young man intently watches St Luke portraying the Virgin and Child who appear to him in the air. This presence of eyewitness(es) and the representation of the Virgin and Child as an apparition are certainly the characteristics that Vasari's fresco shares with its Roman 'predecessor'. In 1985, however, Ważbiński convincingly revealed the Roman painting to be Federico Zuccaro's late 16<sup>th</sup>-century pastiche, clearing Vasari of dependence on Raphael or his school.<sup>3)</sup> It was most likely Vasari who supplied the painter of the Roman *St Luke* with a convenient model, not vice versa.

How then should we consider Vasari's dependence on Northern models? The 'genre'-like element in Vasari's representation, an apprentice grinding pigments, certainly has a Northern flavour, and since the subject of *St Luke painting the Virgin* was far more popular in the North than in Italy in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, it has been generally assumed that Vasari referred to Northern antecedents in designing his fresco. It thus becomes necessary to reconsider his relationship to art and artists from north of the Alps. In this paper, after dealing with the legend and the iconographical tradition of St Luke as portraitist of the Virgin, I examine possible influences, both Northern and Italian, on Vasari's *St Luke*, and then discuss five notable *St Lukes* by contemporary Netherlandish artists. Finally, I reconsider Vasari's *St Luke* in the light of the recent art-historical hypotheses about the significance of this subject to the generations of *Northern* painters, and regard Vasari's picture for the chapel of the Accademia del Disegno as a synthesis of the two different traditions of artistic self-recognition and self-assertion, Italian and Northern, textual and pictorial.

## **I. The Legend of St Luke as Portraitist of the Virgin**

Surprisingly enough, the legend of St Luke as portraitist of the Virgin is not found in the chapter on the Evangelist in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (c. 1260), the most complete, influential Western collection of hagiographies. In the chapter on St Gregory the Great, however, Jacobus mentions an image of the Virgin by St Luke, which was carried in the procession ordered by the pope to dispel the plague raging in Rome: 'It is said that this image is still in the church of Saint Mary Major in Rome, that it was painted by Saint Luke, who was not only a physician but a distinguished painter, and that it was a perfect likeness of the Virgin.'<sup>4)</sup> In fact, in the old Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore, a Byzantine icon of the Virgin and Child attributed to St Luke still remains the object of special

reverence.

The legend of St Luke as portraitist of the Virgin is thought to have emerged in the Byzantine East during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>-century period of iconoclasm;<sup>5)</sup> in the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Orthodox liturgical text on the feast of St Luke it is clearly stated that the saint was the first painter to depict 'the Virgin with our Lord in her arms', that he dedicated the picture to the Virgin and was given her blessing for it.<sup>6)</sup> It is not difficult to understand the circumstances in which the legend arose or was recorded for the first time: in the Iconoclastic Controversy in the Byzantine Empire the iconodules needed some indisputable authority to justify the veneration of Christian images.

Why St Luke was called to do the office is not so self-evident. Although he is described as the 'beloved physician' by St Paul (Col. 4:14), neither the Bible nor the Church Fathers' writings tell us anything about his other profession. Even *The Golden Legend* gives us no detailed information about his being an artist. But since St Luke is the only Evangelist who recounts the angel's annunciation to Mary, and other episodes related to the Mother of God as well as to the Infancy of Christ, it was assumed that his 'gospel was disclosed by the Virgin Mary' and that from her he 'received sure knowledge about many things, above all about matters that concerned her alone...'.<sup>7)</sup> Going a step further, it was quite natural for St Luke the Evangelist to become the portraitist of the Virgin and Child. But according to modern art historians, the earliest extant Marian icons, including that in Santa Maria Maggiore, are from the 6<sup>th</sup> century:<sup>8)</sup> about a century after the Council of Ephesus (431) that proclaimed Mary the Mother of God, and prepared the way for her icons to be made as object of a cult. Later, also in the East, the representation of St Luke working on such an icon emerged, probably after the legend had been established in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Legendary Marian icons by St Luke became known in Western Europe by the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Pilgrims' guidebooks to Rome were particularly effective in publicising them. In the 1375 edition of a guidebook called the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (Wonders in the City of Rome), the passage about the icon in Santa Maria Maggiore reads as follows: 'There we also find the image of the Blessed Virgin, which was also produced *divinitus* [at God's will], but was left to St. Luke to paint.'<sup>9)</sup> This guidebook also mentions more Marian icons by St Luke in other Roman churches: Santa Maria Nova [now Santa Francesca Romana], San Sisto, and Santo Spirito on the Hill.<sup>10)</sup> Other Italian cities such as Siena also had a *Madonna di San Luca*. They are either imported Byzantine icons or their copies, whose archaic style must have given them the air of authenticity. Similar examples of *St Luke Madonna* were not unknown in the North, but they were recent imports from Italy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. One in

the cathedral of Freising, Germany, for example, is thought to have been painted in Constantinople around 1100, but was presented by an Italian bishop to his titular cathedral only in 1440.<sup>11)</sup> Another *St Luke Madonna* (in this case a 14<sup>th</sup>-century Siennese work) in the cathedral of Cambrai (then in the Netherlands, now in France) was brought back from Italy by a certain canon, who presented it to the newly constructed cathedral in 1450.<sup>12)</sup>

The existence of these ‘authentic’ portraits of the Virgin encouraged the veneration of St Luke the painter from the late Middle Ages onwards, when associations of painters—roughly speaking, professional guilds in the North and religious confraternities in Italy—were organised under the protection of St Luke. The Compagnia e Fraternita de’ Pittori di San Luca in Florence, founded by 1339 (the date of its earliest statutes)<sup>13)</sup> was the earliest documented of such painters’ associations in Europe. If any such organisation had wanted an altarpiece for itself, the most suitable subject would have been *St Luke painting the Virgin*. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlands paintings with that scene were not uncommon, but their assumed function as altarpieces for painters’ guilds has rarely been verified. In Italy, on the other hand, Vasari certainly writes about such an example in his *Life* of Iacopo di Casentino: an altarpiece representing ‘St Luke who is portraying Our Lady in a picture’ (un S. Luca che ritrae Nostra Donna in un quadro) painted for the chapel of the above-mentioned Florentine fraternity of painters in the church of Santa Maria Nuova.<sup>14)</sup> This altarpiece from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, now thought to have been a work by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini from around 1383,<sup>15)</sup> is not preserved today, an accident which makes its chronicler’s fresco in Santissima Annunziata effectively the first independent, public work with this subject in Italy.

## II. The Iconographical Tradition of *St Luke the Painter* in Italy

The earliest extant representation of *St Luke painting the Virgin* in Italian art is a manuscript illumination by an anonymous Venetian artist from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16)</sup> The composition (fig. 4) is modelled on the traditional Byzantine type: the painter in profile sits alone by his easel which is seen in a frontal view, working on a half-length image of the Virgin (here without her Child); instead of a palette he uses several small dishes for his colours. In the Byzantine East this formula was established by the 13<sup>th</sup> century (the estimated date of the earliest known examples)<sup>17)</sup> and followed by generations of icon painters there until the 18<sup>th</sup> century or later. In Western Europe, however, this

subject took a new turn in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlands, where it gained special popularity: St Luke, who had been shown alone by his easel with the image of the Virgin (and Child) on it, came to be provided with the model(s). Rogier van der Weyden's version of c. 1435 (fig. 1), supposedly the altarpiece for the chapel of the painters' guild in Brussels,<sup>18)</sup> remained authoritative among his fellow countrymen for more than a century.

Although Vasari describes an altarpiece with this subject painted in Florence in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, some half a century before Rogier painted his in Brussels, no such Italian works predating Vasari's own survive today. Italians did not overlook St Luke's profession as artist, but indicated it less conspicuously than northern Europeans. In Giuliano di Simone's polyptych, *the Virgin and Child with Two Angels and Four Saints* (1392–95, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi, Lucca) St Luke in one of the side panels carries a small painting of the Virgin and Child as his attribute. A Marian icon as Luke's attribute is also found in the *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 5) signed by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna and dated 1444 (San Pantaleone, Venice). Michelino da Besozzo's miniature (c. 1410, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 944, fol. 76r) (fig. 6) shows a standing saint with a small picture; but here he is actually working on his attribute with his painting materials beside him.

As far as I know, there is only one Italian altarpiece predating Vasari's fresco<sup>19)</sup> that features St Luke actually painting: Neri di Bicci's *Annunciation with Sts Apollonia and Luke* (1459, Museo Civico, Pescia) (fig. 7). But in contrast to Vasari's, Neri's St Luke is not a protagonist, merely shown in the right-side-panel, working on his picture in a very cramped studio or study. The choice of Luke the painter in this context is quite understandable, as he is the only Evangelist who tells us about the angelic annunciation to the Virgin. This altarpiece was painted for a Compagnia di San Giorgio of the church of San Giorgio alla Costa, Florence,<sup>20)</sup> and thus seems unrelated to any painters' organisation.

From the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>, *St Luke painting the Virgin* was often shown in ecclesiastical fresco series representing *the Four Evangelists* or *the Four Evangelists and the Four Church Fathers*.<sup>21)</sup> In such series, the traditional image of the Evangelist as writer is replaced, in Luke's case, by the Evangelist as painter. The following are the major examples known to me. Of these six, only the series decorating the pendentives of Andrea Mantegna's funerary chapel is related to an actual painter.

1. Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, *The Four Evangelists*, c. 1450, formerly Chiesa degli Eremitani, Padua.

2. Lombard School, *The Four Evangelists and the Four Church Fathers*, c. 1450, Confraternita di Santa Croce, Rocca Canavese.
3. Bonifacio Bembo, *The Four Evangelists and the Four Church Fathers*, c. 1450, Sant'Agostino, Cremona. (figs. 8, 8a)
4. Andrea Delitio, *The Four Evangelists and the Four Church Fathers*, late 15<sup>th</sup> century, Santa Maria Assunta, Atri (Abruzzo).
5. Pintoricchio, *The Four Evangelists*, c. 1509–10, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.
6. Mantegna and his followers, *The Four Evangelists*, early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Cappella funeraria del Mantegna, Sant'Andrea, Mantua.

In all these Italian examples the Virgin and Child are present only as figures in St Luke's picture, never as sitters either physically or metaphysically, and there is no reason to think that the lost altarpiece by Iacopo di Casentino (or Niccolò di Pietro Gerini) was exceptional in this respect. Vasari merely says that the artist painted 'St Luke who is portraying Our Lady in a picture'. In Mantegna's case even the pictorial presence is not visible to the viewer, since the panel forms nearly a right angle with the picture plane. There is at least one fresco series of *the Four Evangelists*, however, in which the Virgin with two angels appears to St Luke (figs. 9, 9a). It is true that St Luke here is writing rather than painting, and the Virgin's presence is explained by the legend told by Jacobus de Voragine that Luke's gospel was disclosed to him by the Virgin Mary herself. But this representation of the Virgin as an apparition beside Luke may have suggested the idea to Vasari. The series in question, the mid 15<sup>th</sup>-century ceiling painting by Bicci di Lorenzo, is found in San Francesco in Arezzo, Vasari's hometown, above the *Legend of the True Cross* by Piero della Francesca. In this series, each of the other Evangelists is also provided with an apparitional figure; a crucifix is recognisable beside St John with his eagle, but the fresco is in such a poor state of preservation that further identification is difficult.

### III. Vasari's *St Luke Painting the Virgin*

*St Luke painting the Virgin* by Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) is a fresco (294×320 cm) in the Cappella di San Luca, one of the chapels surrounding the cloister of Santissima Annunziata, the Servite church in Florence. Although it is painted on the wall, its composition is that of an altarpiece, and an altar is placed in front of it. Originally, the chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the altar was in front of Alessandro Allori's

painting of the *Trinity*, presumably designed by Bronzino. Vasari's *St Luke* is on the wall to the viewer's left when looking at the Allori; on the opposing wall, facing Vasari's fresco, is Santi di Tito's *Solomon constructing the Temple of Jerusalem*. Later, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the chapel was formally rededicated to St Luke, the altar was moved before Vasari's fresco, and a new entrance to the chapel was opened facing it. At the time of this renovation two of the twelve stucco statues decorating the chapel were disposed of; half of the original twelve represent figures from the Old Testament (Moses, Abraham, Melchizedek, Joshua, David and Solomon), the other six New Testament personages (Paul, Peter and the Four Evangelists)<sup>22)</sup>. Most of these statues were by minor sculptors, but Moses and Paul were made by Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli (1507?-63), collaborator of Michelangelo in the Medici Chapel, restorer of the *Laocoön* in the papal collection, master of works of the cathedral in Messina, and the founder of this chapel in Santissima Annunziata.

As Vasari recounts in his *Life* of Montorsoli, the sculptor was a Servite, that is, a member of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Mary in Florence. He returned to secular life in his artistic prime, but took the habit again in 1558. In 1560 'having obtained leave from his fellow-friars of the Nunziata by means of Maestro Zaccheria [his friend and the Prior of Santissima Annunziata], he erected in the centre of the chapter-house of that convent, where many years before he had made the Moses and S.Paul of stucco, as has been related above, a very beautiful tomb for himself and for all such men of the arts of design, painters, sculptors, and architects, as had not a place of their own in which to be buried...'<sup>23)</sup> Montorsoli's project came to involve Vasari himself, who continues as follows: 'This design having then been imparted by Fra Giovanni Agnolo and Maestro Zaccheria to Giorgio Vasari, who was very much their friend, they discoursed together on the affairs of the Company of Design, which had been created in the time of Giotto, and had a home in S. Maria Nuova in Florence.'<sup>24)</sup> This association of artists, however, the above-mentioned Compagnia e Fraternita de' Pittori di San Luca, which had once possessed an altar with *St Luke painting the Virgin* by Iacopo di Casentino in Santa Maria Nuova, had been later 'removed and driven from that place ... so that it was almost entirely dispersed, and no longer assembled'<sup>25)</sup> in Vasari's time. Montorsoli's funerary chapel was dedicated on 24<sup>th</sup> May, the feast day of the Holy Trinity, in 1562, and many important artists in Florence attended the ceremony. Meetings were then called to discuss the renovation of the Compagnia de' Pittori, and eventually a new organisation of artists called the Accademia del Disegno was established early in 1563 under the patronage of Duke Cosimo I. Vasari was the prime mover of this development. The chapel (the former chapter-house) was yielded



by the Order to the Academy in 1565, and Vasari's fresco, along with two others, was painted in the late 1560s. In accordance with the chapel's function, the frescoes on the side walls, Vasari's *St Luke* and Santi di Tito's *Solomon*, refer to painting and architecture respectively; the statues made by Montorsoli and others represent the art of sculpture.

Vasari's fresco (fig. 2) shows St Luke in the centre sitting at his easel, on which stands a panel or canvas with the half-painted image of the Virgin and Child. On the left his models appear to him in the air, and the saint looks up at them attentively, moving his brush according to the directions of the Virgin, who holds out her left hand towards him. The painter wears a costume recalling that of a Roman patrician and sits on a Classically adorned stone stool.<sup>26)</sup> On the right, behind St Luke, two men and an ox with peacock's wings watch the painter and the apparition. The ox is St Luke's traditional symbol and attribute, but the two bystanders are not so easily explicable. They are all in a spacious room adorned with Classical architectural motifs, reminiscent of the interior of Vasari's own house in Arezzo. Through the opening at the end of this room is seen a smaller space, where a sturdy apprentice grinds pigments. A second opening further back shows a small figure, presumably a boy, practising drawing.

#### IV. Sources of Vasari's *St Luke*

Since Vasari's fresco has no direct antecedents in Italian art, it is natural that Northern influences on it should have been presupposed. Especially, the 'genre'-like element of an apprentice in contemporary clothing at the worktable seems to be derived from Northern sources. Klein suggests an engraving dated 1526 by the Netherlandish artist Dirk Vellert (fig. 10) as a possible influence on Vasari.<sup>27)</sup> The most conspicuous feature in Vasari's fresco, the Virgin and Child as an apparition, also seems to be related to Northern models, this time German rather than Netherlandish, since we have only one such example in Netherlandish art: Jan Gossaert's *St Luke* from about 1520 (fig. 19). On the other hand, the motif of the Virgin and Child as an apparition was not uncommon in German woodcuts of St Luke around 1500, and Klein regards them as sources for both Gossaert and the pseudo-Raphael.<sup>28)</sup> It should be added that the earliest of them (fig. 11), an illustration of a German edition of *The Golden Legend* (1488), also features an apprentice grinding pigments.

Rather than searching for Northern models, however, Ważbiński, who published the most detailed analysis to date on Vasari's *St Luke*, emphasises this painting's novelty: 'To interpret



this painting of Vasari is very difficult: we know neither the literary 'conchetto' nor the possible prototype the artist could resort to. The latter is all the more important, in that it would enable us to decide the extent to which Vasari's declarations about the Accademia being a renovated confraternity found their expression in the iconography of the novel representation of the patron saint of artists.<sup>29)</sup> According to Wązbiński, Vasari's representation is not so much related to the traditional iconography of *St Luke painting the Virgin* as to that of *Apelles painting Campaspe*.<sup>30)</sup> It is quite understandable that the presence of witnesses behind an artist painting his beautiful model suggested the latter subject to Wązbiński, but no iconographical tradition seems to have been established for this episode in Vasari's time, although the story told by Pliny the Elder was certainly known to educated people. The Greek painter Apelles fell in love with Campaspe, the mistress of Alexander the Great, while painting her portrait at the order of the king. Alexander, who held the painter's art in very high regard, magnanimously presented her to him.<sup>31)</sup> But as a subject of painting the tale was still a rarity, and the compositional type reminiscent of Vasari's *St Luke* only appeared later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32)</sup> Vasari himself had painted the subject in 1548 on the wall of his own house in Arezzo, but although the painter is here shown between Alexander and Campaspe, it is the king who sits and whom the artist faces; the king's mistress stands demurely behind Apelles, while the two men discuss the painting between them, or her lot and that of her portraitist. The earliest known example of this subject is part of the fresco decoration by Primaticcio at Fontainebleau (1541–44, destroyed but known through a contemporary etching after it by Léon Davent)<sup>33)</sup>, in which not only Campaspe but also Alexander, both in the nude, sit on a bed for their very erotic double portrait.

Instead of this still nonexistent iconographical 'tradition' of *Apelles painting Campaspe*, I propose that Vasari was inspired by representation of another Christian subject, the *Vision of St Bernard*. Fra Bartolomeo's masterly composition (1504–07, Uffizi, Florence) (fig. 13) has the closest affinity to Vasari's fresco. Its possible influence on the pseudo-Raphael was already suggested by Klein<sup>34)</sup>, and since this painting has been convincingly judged to be dependent on the Vasari, her observation is equally applicable to Vasari's representation. In his *Life* of Fra Bartolomeo, Vasari ardently praises this work painted for the chapel of the Badia, or Benedictine abbey, of Florence: '...the saint is writing, and gazing with such deep contemplation at the Madonna, with the Child in her arms, being borne by many angels and children, all coloured with great delicacy, that there is clearly perceived in him a certain celestial quality, I know not what, which seems, to him who studies it with attention, to shine out over that work, into which Baccio [Fra Bartolomeo] put much diligence and

love.<sup>35)</sup> Vasari must have studied the picture most attentively; although he does not mention the presence of two witnesses, St John the Evangelist and St Benedict, behind St Bernard, their position and reverential attitude correspond to those of the two spectators in Vasari's fresco.

The *Vision of St Bernard* had not always been represented in that way. Although Filippino Lippi's Virgin is accompanied by a group of angels, they are shown literally down to earth, and instead of two witnesses, a donor looks up at the encounter of the Virgin and St Bernard from the bottom right of the picture (c. 1484–86, Badia, Florence). In Perugino's painting (1494, Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (fig. 12) there are two witnesses behind St Bernard, but here, too, the Virgin appears to him standing on the floor rather than borne by angels. Yet Fra Bartolomeo's composition is prefigured in its essence by one of the earliest representations of this subject, an altarpiece by Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini (1365–70, Accademia, Florence) (fig. 14). The Virgin flanked by two angels appears in the air, and two monks behind the kneeling saint raise their hands in wonder. This episode is not included in *The Golden Legend*, and is believed to be a 14<sup>th</sup>-century invention based on St Bernard's special devotion to the Virgin<sup>36)</sup>. This development is almost parallel with the process through which St Luke, the Evangelist most knowledgeable about the life of the Virgin, became her legendary portraitist.

The compositional affinity to Fra Bartolomeo's *St Bernard*, however, gives us no clue as to the identity of the two men in Vasari's *St Luke*. Ważbiński's interpretation of them as portraits of Montorsoli and his disciple Martino is based on information external to the picture.<sup>37)</sup> When Vasari painted his *St Luke* in the late 1560s, Montorsoli and Martino, who had died in 1563 and 1562 respectively, were the only artists resting in this funerary chapel, apart from Pontormo (d. 1556), whose remains had been moved here at the inauguration. Since Montorsoli's portrait in the *Lives* has a beard and no portrait of Martino is known to us, this identification cannot be conclusive, and when we think of their compositional antecedents in Fra Bartolomeo's *Vision of St Bernard*, the idea of depicting them as portraits of actual people seems to have been an afterthought. St Luke's face, on the other hand, is undeniably a self-portrait of Vasari (figs. 15, 16). Since Rogier van der Weyden's representation of St Luke, almost every image of Luke the painter has been considered to be its creator's self-portrait, but hardly any case is as definite as Vasari's. This fresco's counterpart in the chapel, *Solomon constructing the Temple of Jerusalem* by Santi di Tito, includes several explicit portraits of contemporary artists: a self-portrait and the likenesses of Jacopo Sansovino and Michelangelo, among others;<sup>38)</sup> it is quite likely that Vasari shared

with Santi di Tito this idea of inserting portraits of contemporary artists into a history painting, even if in a more subtle way.<sup>39)</sup>

As has been shown, Vasari's representation of *St Luke painting the Virgin* is mostly explicable in the context of Italian art in general, and by the function of the fresco in particular. Even the most 'Northern' element in it, an apprentice grinding pigments, is not necessarily derived from artistic sources beyond the Alps. The motif is thought to have first appeared in the German woodcut of 1488 (fig. 11) already mentioned, and soon became widely accepted by both German and Netherlandish artists depicting this subject.<sup>40)</sup> Yet the motif of an apprentice in contemporary dress working in St Luke's studio appeared earlier in Italy, around 1450 in Bonifacio Bembo's above-mentioned ceiling fresco series of *the Four Evangelists and the Four Church Fathers* in Sant'Agostino, Cremona. Here (fig. 8a) the saint is shown in his throne-like carrel, painting the image of the Virgin and Child without the models. Outside his carrel there is a worktable-cum-cupboard, and although the apprentice is not actually grinding pigments (he seems to be polishing a panel set against the carrel), the tools for that work are most prominent among the painter's paraphernalia in this studio. Encountering 'genre' elements in Italian Renaissance art, art historians often assume Northern influence. In this case, at least, the Italian artist could not have been influenced by something that had yet to emerge in the North.<sup>41)</sup>

It may also be that Vasari did not need any pictorial models to depict a pigment-grinder in the background. The idea may have been suggested to him by real life: in Italy as well as in the North an assistant or apprentice grinding pigments was indispensable in any artist's workshop. Vasari could also have justified the presence of a common workman in a dignified painter's studio by the authority of a Classical text: in the *Natural History*, just before the episode concerning Campaspe, Pliny recounts another anecdote about the close relationship between Apelles and Alexander the Great. Alexander, who often visited Apelles's studio, 'used to talk a great deal about painting without any real knowledge of it, and Apelles would politely advise him to drop the subject, saying that the boys engaged in grinding the colours are laughing at him.'<sup>42)</sup> Vasari did not depict such 'boys' when he painted the episode of Apelles, Alexander and Campaspe, but a pigment-grinder certainly appears in another scene—Zeuxis painting Helen from several most beautiful maidens—in his series of ancient painters based on Pliny (fig. 17). He painted this series in 1548, twenty years before the fresco for the Academy's chapel in Santissima Annunziata, to decorate the main room in his house in Arezzo; the motif seems to have had a special appeal to him.

## V. *St Luke Painting the Virgin* in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlandish Art

Although it has been assumed that Vasari's *St Luke* was dependent on Northern models, our reconsideration of the work itself has led us to think that he would have been able to design his *St Luke* independently of such antecedents. Yet it is worth enquiring whether there were any specific Northern *St Lukes* that could have inspired the Florentine painter.

When turning towards Northern examples, we at once notice that most 16<sup>th</sup>-century representations of St Luke were painted by so-called Romanists, that is, Netherlandish artists such as Jan Gossaert, Maerten van Heemskerck and Frans Floris, who spent some time in Italy trying to assimilate Italian Renaissance style and ideas. Their *St Lukes* have therefore been regarded as works realised under Italian influence.

Jan Gossaert (c. 1478–1532), who visited Rome in 1508–09 with his aristocratic patron, Philip of Burgundy, is thought to have been the first Netherlandish painter to introduce some of the achievements of Italian-Renaissance masters to the Netherlands. He painted *St Luke* twice. The first version (1513–15, Národní Galerie, Prague) (fig. 18) is a rare example of a work whose original function as an altarpiece for a painters' guild is well documented. This picture, the largest ever painted by Gossaert, was commissioned by the guild of St Luke in Mechelen. Italianate architectural motifs and Classical sculptural decoration clearly show the painter's familiarity with contemporary Italian styles. The construction of picture space also shows his mastery of linear perspective, which he uses not just formally but meaningfully: the vanishing point is placed on the Virgin reappearing in the background, dictating to the Evangelist writing his Gospel. On the other hand, the types of the protagonists and their arrangement in the foreground still depend on Rogier's archetypal solution.

Gossaert's second, smaller, version (c. 1520, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (fig. 19), however, is totally different. As it had no comparable Netherlandish antecedents, scholars have sought in vain for Italian models from around 1500.<sup>43)</sup> But as has been pointed out above, the Virgin as an apparition was a usual feature in German woodcuts of St Luke. And the image of the Virgin and Child in a brilliant mandorla, the Virgin in Glory, was not so rare in late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlandish art, nor the related image of the Woman of the Apocalypse. Gossaert's second version may thus be independent of any Italian sources, apart from the architectural elements in the background.

The angel directing the painter-saint's hand had no precedents either in Netherlandish,

German or Italian art. But the idea of divine inspiration is far from new in the representation of the Evangelists, even if the angel usually accompanies St Matthew rather than St Luke. What is interesting is that here the Gospel is closed and put away under the prie-dieu at which the saint is drawing. Mensger points out that in this painting, for the first time in Netherlandish art, the humanistic idea of poetic creation inspired from above is transferred to artistic creation; she considers this to be the effect of Italian influence.<sup>44)</sup> In my opinion, however, Mensger's interpretation is more appropriate for Heemskerck's Haarlem painting, to be discussed below. The attitude of Gossaert's St Luke, wondering at the miraculous image materialising on his sheet through angelic guidance, is reminiscent of the above-mentioned legend about the *St Luke Madonna* in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, recounted in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*: that the image was produced at God's will, but left to St Luke to paint. Gossaert's second *St Luke* emphasises the image produced by divine agency rather than the artist who mediated it.

The unprecedented feature of Moses' presence in the background has been interpreted as a reference to the Old Law being superseded by the New Dispensation,<sup>45)</sup> or as a comparison of Luke to Moses in front of the Burning Bush (Ex, 3: 1–10),<sup>46)</sup> burning but not consumed, a symbol of the Virgin Mary in medieval theology. It is true that the discarded shoes on the floor recall the episode of Moses and the Burning Bush, when he was ordered by God to take off his shoes, being on holy ground. It is significant, however, that Gossaert's statue of Moses holds the tablets of the Ten Commandments, reminding the viewer of the Second Commandment's ban on idolatry. When Gossaert painted this picture, Protestantism was on the rise in Germany and the Netherlands, causing controversy over the traditional use of images by the Catholic Church. Consequently, this picture can be interpreted as a painted argument *for* the veneration of Marian icons originating with St Luke, Moses' presence assuring the viewer that an image of such miraculous origin now being produced under his eyes is anything but an idol, whose worship is forbidden by the Second Commandment.<sup>47)</sup>

Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), too, left two versions of *St Luke painting the Virgin*. The first version (Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem) (fig. 20) was painted and presented to the painters' guild in his hometown, Haarlem, on the eve of his departure to Italy. The trompe-l'oeil sheet of paper within the picture bears his farewell message and the date, 23 May 1532. But without such evidence, it might easily be mistaken for a product of, or after, his Italian period, 1532–35/7. The Christ-Child looks like an infant Hercules; St Luke's stool is decorated with a relief showing the saint and his ox in the way that alludes to

the abduction of Europa by Jupiter, as told by Ovid; behind the painter, represented as a white-haired old man with a red cap and a pair of glasses, there stands an ivy-crowned man reminiscent of some ancient deity, if we disregard the tight, long-sleeved brown shirt he wears rather incongruously under his green drapery. Karel van Mander considered this figure to be the personification of poetry, assuming that Heemskerck may have thus asserted a close relationship between poetry and painting.<sup>48)</sup> According to Panofsky, who detected in the relief an analogy of the 'moralised' or Christianised version of the Ovidian story, '...as Luke the Evangelist obeys the dictates of the Holy Spirit, so does Luke the painter... obey the dictates of Plato's "divine frenzy"'.<sup>49)</sup> Unlike Gossaert's angel, the figure behind St Luke does not guide his hand directly, merely inspiring him and allowing him to concentrate intently on his task. In contrast to Gossaert's St Luke in Vienna, it is not the image on his easel but the artist that is regarded as extraordinary, and exalted as such.

This is not surprising, since the painting was a gift for the painters' guild. What surprises us is the fact that Heemskerck managed to paint such a Romanist picture *before* his Italian journey. He could, however, have learned an Italianate style, and some Renaissance motifs, from his teacher, Jan van Scorel, who had returned from Italy in 1524 and had received the younger painter as his assistant in 1527. Scorel, who supposedly had a certain humanistic education, could also have provided Heemskerck with some new artistic ideas from Italy. It is also possible that Heemskerck had spent some time with Gossaert before his association with Scorel, and was familiar with Gossaert's second *St Luke*.<sup>50)</sup> But it is clearly anachronistic to resort, as Grosshans does, to Italian art theory published by Vasari and Federico Zuccaro in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in order to explain Heemskerck's notion of the artist as divinely inspired.<sup>51)</sup> It also shows how little we know about the actual situation concerning the development and circulation of artistic theories, both in Italy and in the North earlier in the century.

Heemskerck's second *St Luke* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes) (fig. 21), undated and undocumented, is also full of Italian-Renaissance elements, but there is nothing unexpected in this. The painting is generally placed around 1550; by then, the artist had been to Italy and had also made friends with humanists in Haarlem, such as the philosopher and doctor Hadrianus Junius.

The scene is set inside an Italianate palazzo, with some Classical sculptures in the courtyard at the back. St Luke and the Virgin with her Baby sit side by side in the foreground, turning towards each other. Although the saint is painting, not drawing, this arrangement and his use of a drawing board instead of an easel remind us of Rogier's

archetypal composition.<sup>52)</sup> It is in other ways a quite different rendition of the same subject. In the figure of the Virgin, several borrowings from both Classical and Renaissance precedents have been detected: for example, she is modelled after one of the statues in the courtyard, and this background is based on Heemskerck's sketch of an actual collection of antiquities in Rome; the pose of the Virgin's feet derives from that of Michelangelo's *Isaiah* on the Sistine ceiling. What is of special interest is the open book in front of her. The Greek letters identify it as Galen's *Anatomy*, but no 16<sup>th</sup>-century editions of this book are illustrated, and the figures on the other page are from Vesalius's books on anatomical studies.<sup>53)</sup> Two of the books above the Mother and Child bear the names of Greek physicians: Nicander and Dioscorides. The urine flask by the ox is the traditional attribute of a doctor. And the armillary sphere here also suggests medical diagnosis, which used to take the movement of the stars into consideration.<sup>54)</sup> They all refer not only to the painter-evangelist's other profession, but also to the new ideal of the painter as an intellectual. St Luke himself is shown according to this ideal, dignified and well-dressed, pursuing work that requires little physical labour but much mental effort. When we compare him with the humbly clad sculptor in the background tackling a huge recumbent statue with his sleeves rolled up, it becomes evident that one of the most important and fashionable artistic issues of the time, the *paragone*,<sup>55)</sup> is also indicated, with the painter's superiority over the sculptor clearly marked.

Frans Floris (1519/20–1570) painted his *St Luke* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) (fig. 22) in 1556 as a gift for the chamber of the St Luke's guild in Antwerp, whose shield is affixed to the forehead of the ox.<sup>56)</sup> The purpose may explain the picture's landscape format, in its original state without later additions to the top and the bottom<sup>57)</sup>. Another unusual feature of this picture is that the Virgin is doubly absent. She does not appear as the model, and the surface of St Luke's painting is hidden from the viewer. Her presence may be inferred in the viewer's space to which the painter is turning, and Floris may have wanted to emphasise Luke's activity as a painter, rather than the subject he paints.<sup>58)</sup> Equally uncommonly, the pigment-grinder here is almost as conspicuous as his master. Although by this time a pigment-grinder had become almost indispensable in German and Netherlandish representations of St Luke's studio, this supporting part had never gained such prominence before. Both the saint and his assistant show portrait-like individuality, and since the 18<sup>th</sup> century the latter has been said to be a self-portrait of Floris, although the resemblance to any known likeness is not convincing.<sup>59)</sup> Karel van Mander, silent as he is on this point, gives us information on the model for the saint. In his *Life* of



the painter Rijckaert Aertsz, Van Mander tells us that Floris portrayed this minor artist in his old age as St Luke, because he was much loved and ‘also had a handsome face, just right for being painted’.<sup>60)</sup> It was not, then, a special artistic merit that caused him to be remembered as St Luke, and it may not be necessary to attach much importance to the portrait-like character of these two men.

According to Van Mander, Floris painted an altarpiece with four double shutters with scenes from the life of St Luke.<sup>61)</sup> It was commissioned by a namesake of the saint, an Abbot Lucas in Ghent, rather than by a painters’ association, showing St Luke not only as artist but also as evangelist, preacher and martyr. This work is now lost, although it survived the Protestant iconoclasm that raged through the Netherlands in 1566.

Among these five Romanist versions of *St Luke painting the Virgin*, those by Gossaert and Heemskerck reveal the artists’ knowledge of some contemporary Italian ideas and motifs, but the use of these imported elements varies from work to work, and it is not always clear how the artists acquired their familiarity with them. Nor can we say that any of these Italianate Northern representations of St Luke depended entirely on any particular Italian model. Such a convenient model was not yet available in Italy in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62)</sup>

Conversely, there is no significant resemblance discernible between Vasari’s *St Luke* and any of these pictures, although Gossaert’s second version, c. 1520, shows some similarity to Vasari’s composition. Might it have inspired the latter, half-a-century after its production? The earlier provenance of Gossaert’s small panel (109.5 × 82 cm) is unknown before it was first recorded in Antwerp in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>63)</sup> yet in truth the notion remains unlikely. Most probably, Vasari designed his *St Luke* independently of Northern models, even if he may have received some ideas from beyond the Alps in the form of prints, whose artistic merits may not have impressed him very much.

## VI. Vasari’s *St Luke*: Northern Influence on it Reconsidered

As shown above, Vasari required no Northern precedents with the same subject when he designed his *St Luke painting the Virgin*. Nor were such models available to him, apart from a few German prints that show the Virgin and Child as an apparition, or feature an apprentice working, but whose influence is difficult to discern in Vasari’s fresco. And yet, I think that his *St Luke* would not have been painted without some impact from the North.

In the first place, he must have been well aware of the importance of this subject among

the painters beyond the Alps. His additions to the second edition of the *Lives* include information about contemporary Netherlandish artists. He had some correspondents in the Netherlands, such as the art-loving humanist Domenicus Lampsonius, whose 'fan letter' to Vasari of 1564 is included in the chapter dealing with Northern artists. Vasari's attitude towards them is neither disparaging nor patronising, which is rather surprising from someone who deplores Pontormo's stylistic 'decline' through his fascination with Dürer's prints, saying, 'Did not Pontormo know, then, that the Germans and Flemings came to these parts to learn the Italian manner, which he with such effort sought to abandon as if it were bad?'<sup>64)</sup> Of course, Vasari discusses these 'Germans and Flemings' favourably precisely because they 'came to learn the Italian manner'. He writes of his acquaintance with some of them, including Martino Emskerck, that is, Maerten van Heemskerck, 'buon maestro di figure e paesi (good master of figures and landscapes)'.<sup>65)</sup> Although Vasari does not mention any painting by Heemskerck, he discusses prints after Heemskerck's designs in the chapter on the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi, describing them as 'drawn by Martin in a bold, well-practiced, and most resolute manner, which is very similar to the Italian',<sup>66)</sup> and 'inventions full of fancy, and very ingenious'.<sup>67)</sup> As his considerable knowledge about them is evident in his more than two-page long list of etchings and engravings designed by Heemskerck, covering work from 1543 to 1563,<sup>68)</sup> Vasari's high compliments to the Northern master's art do not seem to be mere lip service.

According to Vasari, he met Heemskerck in Rome in 1532. It has been deduced that this encounter occurred in early summer, soon after Heemskerck's arrival in the Eternal City.<sup>69)</sup> Vasari says nothing about their conversation, but the topic might have included the Netherlander's recent farewell present to the St Luke's guild in his hometown, and the significance of the subject to both Northern painters in general and himself in particular. Heemskerck would have been very proud of his recent achievement. As can be assumed from his singular gesture of authority and generosity towards the painters' guild, the thirty-four-year-old Heemskerck was no longer a neophyte but a mature master in the profession. Vasari, on the other hand, was just a fledgling painter of twenty-one in Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici's retinue. It is quite possible that Heemskerck made a strong, positive impression on the young Vasari.

When Vasari started to revive the Confraternity of St Luke in Florence, and consequently came to paint his *St Luke* in the Academy's chapel, more than thirty years had passed since this encounter. At the same time, however, Vasari was also revising and enlarging his *Lives*, the success of whose first edition of 1550 had brought him a high reputation as historian

and theorist. He had also gained new acquaintances, such as Lampsonius, through the publication of the first edition. His recent collaborators included Flemings such as Jan van der Straat (Joannes Stradanus) and Pieter de Witte (Pietro Candido). It can be safely assumed that Vasari was in a position to learn a great deal about the latest artistic affairs in the Netherlands; hence some information on contemporary Netherlandish masters was added to the second edition of his *Lives*, conceivably refreshing his memory of meeting Heemskerck. But the most disturbing news from the North that the ‘beeldenstorm’, the iconoclastic riot, which raged over the Netherlands from 1566, involved religion and politics as well as art, would have immediately reached not only Vasari but all those concerned with the Catholic veneration of sacred images, arousing an acute sense of crisis. It is quite conceivable that these circumstances prompted Vasari to take up the subject, which had not been depicted in large-scale paintings in Florence for nearly two centuries; no other subject could have defended the veneration of images as effectively as St Luke painting the Virgin.<sup>70)</sup>

It is Vasari who is thought to have decided on this subject.<sup>71)</sup> In a document dated 1567, Vasari was assigned to a subject from the Old Testament, and another from the New Testament was to be painted by Santi di Tito. Neither subject was specified at that stage.<sup>72)</sup> The assignments were exchanged later, undoubtedly on Vasari’s initiative, who must have been more influential in the Florentine art world than Santi di Tito, his junior by 25 years and recently arrived on the scene. It is also known that it was Vasari who adopted St Luke, the traditional protector of painters’ guilds and confraternities, as the patron saint of the newly founded Accademia del Disegno, despite keen opposition from some of the members.<sup>73)</sup> Its insignia shows the winged ox, an age-old symbol of St Luke.

Vasari’s singular adherence to St Luke must have also been related to his aspirations for his profession and himself. The saint, representing Vasari’s alter-, and superior, ego, is shown in Classical attire similar to that worn by Apelles, painted by Vasari in his house in Florence around this time, circa 1569–1573 (fig. 23). Vasari thus assumes the double authority of the foremost painters, Classical and Christian.<sup>74)</sup> One of the beholders is admiring the miraculous apparition, but the other the miraculous ability of the artist to make the supernatural materialise in paint. Even if their presence, on the one hand, underlines the heavenly origin of the Marian image and its propriety in the Christian liturgy, it also affirms the artist’s higher prestige, social as well as moral. In stressing the dignity of his profession, Vasari’s fresco finds its closest comparison in Heemskerck’s Rennes painting.<sup>75)</sup>

The accepted wisdom about ‘probable Northern models’ for Vasari’s *St Luke* has turned

out to be untenable. Yet his *St Luke* seems to have come into existence with a certain dependence on Northern art, not in concrete but in abstract terms. Some art historians have recently come to interpret the continual popularity of this subject in Netherlandish art, starting with Rogier's masterpiece, as artistic self-recognition and self-assertion in the North. It has generally been thought that discourses on these topics were the monopoly of artists and art theorists in Renaissance Italy, and that, from Dürer at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to Karel van Mander a century later, similar endeavours in the North were all inspired by Italian models. According to the recent interpretation, however, 15<sup>th</sup>-century Northern artists, from Rogier van der Weyden down, articulated their ideas about art, artists and artistic tradition in purely pictorial terms, by depicting St Luke painting the Virgin. The subject was an ideal vehicle for asserting the significance of artistic activities, and the dignity of the artist's profession; generations of artists were also able to express their sense of tradition by inheriting and modifying the same subject.<sup>76)</sup> Although this theory was originally advanced for 15<sup>th</sup>-century images of *St Luke*, it is also applicable to the paintings by 16<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlandish artists discussed above. It does not seem to be a coincidence that *St Luke painting the Virgin* virtually disappeared from Netherlandish art, even in Catholic regions, after 1604 and the publication of Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, a Northern version of Vasari's *Vite*, the epitome of the Italian literary tradition of artistic self-definition.<sup>77)</sup> Vasari himself, however, must have been aware that the topic had already been addressed in pictorial form elsewhere. He felicitously combined both traditions in the chapel of the Accademia del Disegno, becoming the first Italian artist to produce a *St Luke painting the Virgin* that is comparable, in significance as well as in composition, with its Northern counterparts.

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1) Laura Corti, *Vasari: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Florence, 1989, p. 121. Umberto Baldini's *Giorgio Vasari Pittore* (Florence, 1994, pp. 187f.) gives a longer entry to it, but its content is mostly the general information on the iconography and on the founding history of the Accademia del Disegno. Paola Barocchi refers to it as just a representation of a painter's studio in Florence translated into religious terms in 'I complementi al Vasari pittore' (*Atti dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"*, XXVIII, p. 267), not mentioning it at all in her

- Vasari Pittore* (Milan, 1964). Nor does Patricia Lee Rubin, although her *Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven and London, 1995) has a detailed 'Biographical Outline' and, what is more, deals with the second 1568 edition of *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architettori* by Vasari as one of the main topics, the preparations for which must have been almost simultaneous with those for *St Luke Painting the Virgin*.
- 2) Julian Kliemann, in *Giorgio Vasari: Principi, letterati e artisti nelle carte di Giorgio Vasari*, exh.cat., Arezzo (Casa Giorgio Vasari and S. Francesco), 1981, p. 301.
  - 3) Zygmunt Ważbiński, 'San Luca che dipinge la Madonna all'Accademia di Roma: un "pastiche" zuccariano nella maniera di Raffaello?', *Artibus et historiae*, 12, 1985, pp. 27–37. The attribution of the work to Zuccaro is accepted in recent monographs on the Zuccari brothers (Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*, Milan, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 178f.) and on Raphael (Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael: a critical catalogue of his paintings*, Landshut, 2005, vol. 2, p. 282f.) This reattribution has not, however, gained unanimous support—see Sylvia Fereno Pagden, in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, eds. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp, Cambridge, 1990, p. 189, note 81, who is uneasy about the fraud; Konrad Oberhuber, in *Raphael. The Paintings*, Munich, 1999, p. 247. On this question of attribution see Appendix to the present article.
  - 4) Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan, Princeton, 1993, vol. 1, p. 174.
  - 5) Dorothee Klein, *St. Lukas als Maler der Maria: Ikonographie der Lukas-Madonna*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 8f.
  - 6) Ibid., p. 9: 'Die grossen Menäen zum 18. Oktober und 30. Juni (Griech. 12 Aposteltag) sagen, Lukas habe als erster das Bild der Maria "wie sie auf den Armen trägt unseren Herrn" gemalt; er habe es ihr dargebracht und sie habe es gesegnet.'
  - 7) *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 254.
  - 8) Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, Chicago, 1994, p. 57.
  - 9) Ibid., Appendix, 35 (p. 538)
  - 10) Ibid.
  - 11) Ibid., p. 333.
  - 12) Ibid., p. 438.
  - 13) Klein, op. cit., p. 14.
  - 14) Vasari, *Le Vite*, eds. P. Barocchi and R. Bettarini, Testo II, p. 274. It is interesting that the information on Iacopo's St Luke altarpiece for the confraternity of painters appeared for the first time in the second edition, during preparation of which Vasari also engaged himself in renovating the confraternity and then founding a new academy to replace it.
  - 15) Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Milanese, Tomo I, p. 675 (note).
  - 16) Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. III, III. George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy*, Florence, 1978, p. 638, fig. 799.
  - 17) The earliest attested representation of St Luke painting the Virgin is found in a Byzantine lectionary, Harvard College Library, Cod.gr. 25, fol. 52v. This manuscript was written in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but the images were added a century later. (Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, exh.cat., Benaki Museum, Athens, 2000, p. 390). An 11<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine manuscript of *Liturgical Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* in Jerusalem (Patriarchal Library, Taphou 14) has a contemporary miniature showing a painter portraying the Virgin and Child who are sitting to him. Although this image has often been mistaken for the earliest representation of St Luke with his holy sitters, the accompanying text confirms that it shows the legendary painter whom the Persian king dispatched with the three Magi to bring back a portrait of the divine

- Mother and Child (Ibid. p. 392). This image suggests that a similar representation of St Luke painting the Virgin might have appeared by this time, but no such examples in Byzantine art predating Western European ones are known to us.
- 18) Colin Eisler, *New England Museums*, Les Primitifs Flamands, vol. 4, Brussels, 1961, p. 86.
  - 19) Originally, Vasari's fresco was not painted as an altarpiece, but since it came to function as such later, having appropriate iconographical and compositional characteristics, I treat it as an altarpiece in this article.
  - 20) *Luca evangelista: Parola e Immagine tra Oriente e Occidente*, exh.cat., Museo Diocesano, Padua, 2000, p. 340.
  - 21) Klein, op. cit., pp. 31–34.
  - 22) For the history of the chapel, see Zygmunt Ważbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento: Idea e Istituzione*, Florence, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 111–114.
  - 23) Vasari, *Lives*, trans. Gaston de Vere, New York, London and Toronto, 1996 (first ed., 1912), vol. 2, p. 550.
  - 24) Ibid., p. 551.
  - 25) Ibid.
  - 26) Ważbiński points out that both the stool and St Luke's sleeve are decorated with masks symbolising painting. (*L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno...*, pp. 131f.)
  - 27) Klein, op. cit., p. 86.
  - 28) Ibid., pp. 82 and 85.
  - 29) Ważbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno*, p. 130. 'L'interpretazione del dipinto di Vasari è molto difficile: non conosciamo né il 'concetto' letterario, né l'eventuale prototipo cui l'artista si riallacciava. Quest'ultima questione è tanto più importante in questo ci consentirebbe di stabilire fino a che punto le dichiarazioni del Vasari a proposito dell'Accademia intesa come compagnia rinnovata trovarono espressione nell'iconografia della nuova rappresentazione del patrono degli artisti.'
  - 30) Ibid., p. 132.
  - 31) Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1984 (1<sup>st</sup> printed 1952), Book XXXV. 86–87.
  - 32) The subject became especially popular in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Antwerp, replacing St Luke as an image of the ideal artist (Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550–1700*, Princeton, 1987, p. 25). See a finished pen drawing by Jan Wierix (ibid., fig. 13; 1600, Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, Antwerp); this drawing is represented in the *Cabinet of Cornelis van der Gheest* by Willem van Haecht (1628, Rubenshuis, Antwerp). Van Haecht also painted his own version of *Apelles' Studio* (Mauritshuis, The Hague) at about the same time, with Apelles strongly reminiscent of Vasari's St Luke. As Van Haecht had spent some time in Italy in the early 1620s, he could actually have been inspired by Vasari's work.
  - 33) A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest, 1974 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), vol. 2, p. 366. According to Pigler, who does not mention Vasari's wall painting in Arezzo, the second example of 'Apelles malt die schöne Kampaspe' is an oval painting by Francesco Poppi in Francesco I's studiolo in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. The subject is more precisely *Alexander Giving Campaspe to Apelles*, and although painted by one of Vasari's collaborators at about the same time (1571) as his *St Luke*, this picture, showing all three in the open, the king and the painter looking at each other with Campaspe between them, has no compositional resemblance to Vasari's *St Luke*.
  - 34) Klein, op. cit., p. 84.
  - 35) Vasari, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 674.
  - 36) Laura Dal Prà, 'Bernardo di Chiaravalle: Realtà e interpretazione nell'arte italiana', *Bernardo di Chiaravalle*

*nell'arte italiana dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, Certosa, Florence, 1990, pp. 52ff.

- 37) Ważbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno*, pp. 133f.
- 38) *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 39) In a drawing in the Prado Museum, which is generally regarded as Vasari's preparatory study for this fresco, there are three spectators rather than two, and St Luke has none of the facial features we know from Vasari's self-portrait in the Uffizi. Ważbiński denies the attribution of this work to Vasari, considering it to be a copy after the fresco by a follower of his. (Ważbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno*, p. 129)
- 40) Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 41) This motif of a pigment-grinder had, however, appeared earlier in the North in another medium and with a secular subject, in the French illuminated manuscript of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (Of Illustrious Women) from 1402 (Paris, Bibli. Nationale, Ms.fr 12420, fol. 86r).
- 42) Pliny, XXXV. 85–86.
- 43) They may have assumed only, without searching for models in earnest: 'The master [Gossaert] had a second opportunity to tackle this theme, and he did it in an altogether different way, stimulated perhaps by an Italian model...; he thought matters over and broke with native tradition, simply from common sense.' (M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. VIII, Leyden/Brussels, 1972, p. 30.); 'Zahlreiche Versuche, das Bild auf eine bestimmte italienische Vorlage zurückzuführen, lassen sich nur in einer allgemein gefassten Annahme zusammenfassen, wonach eine italienische Komposition um 1500 das Vorbild für die *Lukas-Madonna* geliefert haben könnte.' (Numerous attempts to trace the image back to a particular Italian precedent have only resulted into a general assumption that an Italian composition around 1500 could have been the model for the *St Luke Madonna*.) (Ariane Mensger, *Jan Gossaert: Die Niederländische Kunst zu Beginn der Neuzeit*, Berlin, 2002, p. 203).
- 44) Mensger, p. 207.
- 45) Irving Lavin, 'Addenda to "Divine Inspiration"', *The Art Bulletin*, 56 (1974), p. 590.
- 46) Gisela Kraut, *Lukas malt die Madonna: Zeugnisse zum künstlerischen Selbstverständnis in der Malerei*, Worms, 1986, p. 54; Mensger, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
- 47) Such significance of the statue of Moses in this picture with its religio-politico background is discussed in detail in: Jean O. Schaefer, 'Gossaert's Vienna *Saint Luke Painting* as an early Reply to Protestant Iconoclasts', *Source. Notes in the History of Art* 7 (1992), 31–37.
- 48) Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, from the first edition of the *Schilder-boeck*, trans. & ed. Hessel Miedema, vol. 1, Doornspijk, 1994, p. 238: 'Behind St Luke stands a sort of poet, his head crowned with ivy or leaves of the pea-plant and it rather looks as if it could be a portrait of Marten himself at that time. But whether he meant this to say that painting and poetry are related and painters need to have a poetic, inventive spirit or whether he wished to express that this scene was itself an invention, I do not know.'
- 49) Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, New York, 1972 (1<sup>st</sup> published in Stockholm, 1960), p. 190.
- 50) R. Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck. Die Gemälde*, Berlin, 1980, pp. 33f.
- 51) *Ibid.*, pp. 112f.
- 52) Since Rogier some Netherlandish artists including Gossaert depicted St Luke as drawing rather than painting the Virgin. At least two reasons for this preference are conceivable. 1) Concern for verisimilitude: to



draw a likeness was the first stage in the process of portrait-painting at that time, and normally the only stage that involved the sitter. 2) Avoidance of a compositional problem an easel might cause: as typically seen in Colijn de Coter's *St Luke* (c. 1493, generally believed to be a copy after the lost work by Robert Campin, Parish Church, Vieure, France) an easel put between the Virgin and St Luke tends to obstruct the painter's view, especially when the model and the painter are shown in the foreground at the same depth. This awkwardness is avoidable if either is moved forward or backward, but asymmetry may lessen the monumentality of the composition (fig. 10). Although Heemskerck's *Rennes St Luke* is actually painting on a panel with temporary mouldings (see Jill Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese: Sixteenth-Century Painting in the National Gallery*, London, 1999, pp. 214f.), it shows that to use a small drawing-board or a similar device instead of an easel is the simplest and best solution. The Virgin floating above St Luke is another solution; to depict her as an apparition may have a compositional reason in addition to an iconographical one.

- 53) Ilja Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, Maarsen, 1977, p. 118.
- 54) *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 55) A comparative argument over superiority between two artistic genres, especially painting and sculpture. Leonardo da Vinci's judgement favouring painting is best known, but more than a century before him, Cennino Cennini already expresses a similar opinion in his *Craftsman's Handbook* (c. 1390): 'And let me tell you that doing a panel is really a gentleman's job, for you may do anything you want to with velvets on your back.' (trans. Thompson, New York, 1960, p. 91). The idea of great painters in luxurious dress is already told by Pliny in the *Natural History*. (See Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*, New Haven & London, 2000, p. 72.)
- 56) Filipczak, op. cit., p. 24.
- 57) The fact is mentioned by Carl Van de Velde in *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Leven en Werken*, vol. 1, p. 237.
- 58) Filipczak, op. cit., p. 24.
- 59) Carl Van de Velde, op. cit., p. 238.
- 60) Van Mander, op. cit., p. 249. St Luke's peculiar sitting pose may be explained from the same source: Rijckaert used a peg leg as a result of an accident he had when young.
- 61) *Ibid.*, p. 225.
- 62) Thus far, I have found two Italian examples of *St Luke* with his models that predate the Vasari: one is a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century painting ascribed to Francesco di Gentile (in Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb; see Luigi Serra, 'Francesco di Gentile da Fabriano' in *Rassegna Marchigiana per le arti e le bellezze naturali*, 1933, p. 107), and the other is a work by Girolamo da Carpi (in a private collection, London; see F.G. Grossmann, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, exh.cat., Manchester, 1965, No. 117), which could stylistically be placed in the 1530s. But both are dissimilar to each other or to any of the Romanist paintings discussed above. If anything, the latter looks like an Italianised version of the early Netherlandish type.
- 63) Mensger, op. cit., p. 201. According to a contemporary record, it had passed two collectors' hands in Antwerp in the 17<sup>th</sup> century before entering into Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's collection in 1659.
- 64) *Lives*, II, p. 355.
- 65) Vasari, *Vite*, eds. Barocchi & Bettarini, vol. VI, p. 224; *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 862.
- 66) Vasari, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 97.
- 67) *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 68) Veldman, op. cit., p. 16.

- 69) Ibid., p. 12.
- 70) Post-Tridentine theologians attached great importance to the legend of St Luke as a painter, and the legend about the Marian image—started by a painter but finished by the angelic agency—in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Annunciation* in the very monastery church of Santissima Annunziata was published in 1567 by a chronicler of the monastery. Vasari's *St Luke*, started at about the same time, may have been painted in rivalry with this painting. See Ważbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno*., pp. 138–40.
- 71) Ibid., p. 129.
- 72) Ibid., p. 113.
- 73) Ibid., p. 140. Benvenuto Cellini expressed his disapproval in a sonnet titled 'lasciate il bue (Leave the ox out)'.
- 74) It is intriguing that Frans Floris, too, depicted St Luke in antique attire in a preparatory drawing for the painting mentioned above (University Collection, Göttingen). The same idea as Vasari's may have occurred to him earlier, but it is unlikely that Floris's drawing was known to Vasari.
- 75) In pictorial terms, Heemskerck and Vasari share the same idea. From Rogier's earliest representation onwards, the Virgin had faced the viewer rather than St Luke who paints her. In Gossaert's second version the Virgin turns towards the painter, although both as model and as painted image her faces show a similar three-quarter view. In Heemskerck's first version, for the first time, the image that St Luke is painting is shown definitely from his viewpoint. His second version shows the same device, and this is also the case with Vasari's *St Luke*.
- 76) 'In marked contrast to these assumptions [that attach exaggerated importance to artists' expression of self-esteem in a literary form], this essay will attempt to investigate the hypothesis that in fifteenth century Northern art such theoretical assertions could eventually be epitomized by purely pictorial means.' (Till H. Borchert, 'Rogier's *St Luke*: The Case for Corporate Identification', *Rogier van der Weyden, St Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (published in Turnout, Belgium), 1997, p. 62.); 'To my mind, Rogier's principal achievement in the Boston *St. Luke* was to have devised pictorial means of articulating ideas about art, artists and artistic tradition that were addressed elsewhere in literary writings and allusions.' (James H. Marrow, 'Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting: The Place of Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*', *ibid.*, p. 57.
- 77) Pigler (op. cit., p. 450) gives only three Netherlandish paintings with this subject that post-date the Floris mentioned above: those by Maerten de Vos (1602, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp), Abraham Janssens (c. 1603, Sint Romboutskerk, Mechelen) and Leonard Bramer (Kunstmuseum, Basel). The former two were painted, just before the publication of the *Schilder-boeck*, as central panels of triptychs for the painters' guilds in Antwerp and Mechelen respectively, the Janssens replacing Gossaert's first version taken to Prague by Archduke Matthias in 1580. (Kraut, op. cit., p. 123.) Conversely, *St Luke Painting the Virgin* was truly a 'Baroque theme' in Italy, the number of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Italian examples given by Pigler in *Barockthemen*, vol. I (p. 449) being over twenty. This striking increase clearly shows the importance of the image of St Luke the painter in the Post-Tridentine Catholic Church.

## Appendix: The question of attribution of *St Luke Painting the Virgin* in Rome

*St Luke painting the Virgin*<sup>1)</sup> (fig.3) in the Accademia di San Luca, Rome, was long renowned as a masterpiece by Raphael, but was excluded from his oeuvre in 1839, when Passavant ascribed its execution to Raphael's workshop, and specifically to Giovanni Francesco Penni. This verdict was followed by most art historians until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, although some had cited those artists independent of Raphael's workshop, such as Timoteo Viti (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1882–83) or Eusebio di San Giorgio (Berenson, 1909), as its authors, or there was the odd attempt to rehabilitate the picture—at least in its original state—as Raphael's autograph (notably Cellini, 1936–37, 1958).<sup>2)</sup> In 1985, however, Ważbiński argued instead that it was in fact a pastiche by Federico Zuccaro, the first president of the Accademia and the donor of the painting in question.<sup>3)</sup> His theory has been accepted in the latest publications on the Zuccari brothers and on Raphael<sup>4)</sup>.

What led Ważbiński to his new attribution were three puzzling facts about the picture: 1) the silence over it on the part of Vasari and other writers until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; 2) the timing of its appearance just perfect for the inauguration of the Accademia di San Luca; 3) the fact that the painting seems derivative from other works by Raphael.

Ważbiński points out that *St Luke painting the Virgin* was presented by Zuccaro to the Accademia in 1593, as recorded a decade later (in 1604) in a publication called *L'Origine e progresso dell'Accademia di San Luca a Roma* writtn by Zuccaro himself in collaboration with Romano Alberti. It is noteworthy that the artist's name was not mentioned in this record. But the painting was already considered to be Raphael's in 1601, when Lelio Arrigoni, an artistic agent for the duke of Mantua, described it as such in a letter to his master. Arrigoni also wrote, quoting one of the members of the Academy, that the masterpiece was donated by Raphael himself to the Accademia (more precisely, its predecessor, the painters' guild of St Luke). A seemingly still earlier account on it was recently brought to light: 'In a small church of St Luke [is] a painting with St Luke portraying the Virgin over the main altar, which is truly by Raphael of Urbino, who is present in it watching the work....'<sup>5)</sup> This is a passage from notes on Italian artists written by Pablo de Céspedes, a Spanish painter who was in Rome from about 1570 to 1577. If this was actually written during this period, the passage could be taken as the earliest reference on the painting, but since the manuscript is thought to have been composed after 1600 and the Spaniard was a friend of Zuccaro's, we cannot tell whether he is 'a good or a bad witness to the picture's authenticity'.<sup>6)</sup>

Baglione tells us in his *Life* of Federico Zuccaro of 1642 that Zuccaro asked Scipione

Pulzone to restore Raphael's *St Luke* after presenting it to the Accademia, and that Zuccaro was later furious with Pulzone who added his signature to the picture, 'because he was so zealous in upholding the honour of great masters and of excellent works.'<sup>7)</sup> Baglione also refers to the picture in his *Life of Antiveduto Grammatica*, a painter who became president of the Accademia in 1624 only to resign in the same year. The direct cause of his resignation was supposedly the exposure of his plan, by a fellow academician Mao Salini, to replace the Raphael with his own copy in order to sell the original.<sup>8)</sup> This episode seems to suggest that the members of the Accademia believed in the authenticity of the picture at this early stage of its history, a circumstance that would seem to count against the forgery theory. Baglione, however, also reveals that there had already been a feud between the two artists, implying that the true concern of Mao was Antiveduto's downfall rather than the prevention of the sale. This interpretation is supported by the facts known from the archives of the Accademia: firstly, Antiveduto's copy was made on commission from the Accademia in 1623 to replace the original in their church so as to keep it from further deterioration and in a better condition at their headquarters;<sup>9)</sup> secondly, Antiveduto made no secret of his plan to sell the Raphael to raise money for rebuilding their church of Santi Luca e Martina, and won official agreement for this, only to lose it.<sup>10)</sup> The Accademia's cancellation of this plan certainly indicates their appreciation of and attachment to the painting, but as it was a piece of their property saleable at a very good price, no academician would have admitted it to be a pastiche, even if he had had suspicion about its origin.

The painting clearly looks suspicious, even if we take into account the fact that it has been heavily restored. As Wązbiński has pointed out, the image of the Virgin and Child on the easel recalls the famous *Madonna del Granduca*, and the portrait of Raphael derives from his self-portrait in the *School of Athens*.<sup>11)</sup> On the other hand, St Luke's ambiguous posture, neither standing nor sitting, is totally uncharacteristic of Raphael, and the dark, rather non-specific, background is also unusual with him. It is of course such features that have induced art historians to attribute its execution, if not its design, to the master's workshop, but the style on the whole looks closer to that of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Federico Zuccaro, swimming with the tide, moderated his Mannerist style, 'strengthening its classicistic implications by references backward towards early-sixteenth-century style—Raphael's especially.'<sup>12)</sup>

From the iconographical point of view, this painting has the double novelty, in Italian art, of introducing the Virgin and Child as models and of representing them as an apparition. Although these new features do not seem to have impressed art historians enough to

prompt them searching for their sources, the compositional influence of the *Vision of St Bernard* by Fra Bartolomeo (fig.13) on the Roman *St Luke* has been noted by Klein and Cellini.<sup>13)</sup> But there is a picture by Vasari of *St Luke painting the Virgin* (fig.2), made for the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, that in fact shows closer similarities to the *Vision of St Bernard*, and the deviations in the composition of the Roman Academy's painting from the latter can best be explained if we suppose that Vasari's *St Luke* was an intermediary between them. The artist who painted *St Luke* in the Roman academy undoubtedly knew Vasari's fresco in the chapel of its Florentine counterpart and took it as his model when he depicted the same subject.

Now, Federico Zuccaro was a very close *follower* of Vasari. After Vasari died in 1574, leaving the *Last Judgement* in the dome of the Florentine cathedral unfinished, Zuccaro completed the work in five years. Meanwhile, he built a house for himself and decorated it in the manner of Vasari's houses in Arezzo and Florence; later in Rome he did likewise. And he played a pivotal role in 1593 in founding the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, just as Vasari did thirty years earlier in the case of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence. Zuccaro might have thought then that a *St Luke painting the Virgin* in a style that could pass as Raphael's could enhance the prestige of the new institution considerably. As mentioned above, no painter appears to have been named as author when Zuccaro presented the picture to the Accademia. If he had wanted to avoid a false declaration but expected others to deduce Raphael as its author, he was quite successful in his scheme.

But the painting seems to have another puzzling feature below its surface. Cellini's two articles on it<sup>14)</sup>, based on X-ray photographs of the painting and results of its recent restoration respectively, have shown that the picture has been repainted and repaired many times. Although Cellini's attribution of its first layer to Raphael is not convincing, his report on a trace of a window in the place now occupied by the figure of Raphael is intriguing.<sup>15)</sup> If we also consider the uncomfortable placement of the Virgin and Child, strangely marginalised and a bit too low as the object of St Luke's gaze, the figures on both sides come to appear to be later additions. It is conceivable that the original composition consisted of the saint at his easel, his ox, and a window behind it, according to the traditional formula for this subject in Italy. The painting in its original state might have derived from Raphael or his workshop after all. But the iconographical novelty that is seen in its present state seems to rule out the idea that this is a revision by Penni or another minor follower of Raphael. The picture as we see it today must have been a product of Zuccaro *after* Vasari.

- 1) Canvas, transferred from wood, 220 × 160 cm.
- 2) I am indebted to the following publications for the history of attribution of the painting: Hugo Wagner, *Raphael im Bildnis*, Bern, 1969, pp. 76f.; Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A critical catalogue of his pictures, wall-paintings and tapestries*, London, 1971, p. 64 ; Ważbiński's article cited below.
- 3) Zygmunt Ważbiński, 'San Luca che dipinge la Madonna all'Accademia di Roma: un "pastiche" zuccarino nella maniera di Raffaello?', *Artibus et historiae*, 12 (1985), pp. 27–37.
- 4) Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*, vol.2, Milan, 1999, p.178f.; Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael: a critical catalogue of his paintings*, vol. 2, Landshut, 2005, pp. 282f.
- 5) 'En una iglesita de San Lucas un cuadro en el altar mayor donde está San Lucas retratando a Nuestra Señora que verdaderamente se mene la mano con el pincel i Rafael de Urbino, que está atento mirando la obra....' (John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources: 1483–1602*, New Haven and London, 2003, vol. 2, p. 1260).
- 6) Ibid., p. 1261.
- 7) Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, Rome, 1642, p. 124.
- 8) Ibid., pp. 293f.
- 9) Karl Noehles, *La Chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina*, Rome, 1970, p. 47.
- 10) Ibid., p. 57.
- 11) Ważbiński, op. cit., p. 30.
- 12) S.J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500 to 1600*, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 446.
- 13) Dorothee Klein, *St. Lukas als der Maler der Maria*, Berlin, 1933, p. 84; Pico Cellini, 'Il restauro del S. Luca di Raffaello', *Bollettino d'arte*, LXIII (1958), p. 260.
- 14) Ibid.; Cellini, 'Il San Luca di Raffaello', *Bollettino d'arte*, XXX (1936–37) , pp. 282–288.
- 15) Cellini, 1958, p. 260.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7





Fig. 8



Fig. 8a



Fig. 9



Fig. 9a



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 15



Fig. 14



Fig. 16



Fig. 17





Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

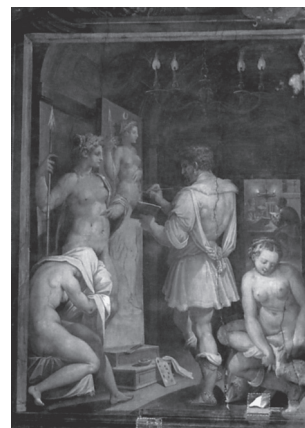


Fig. 23

## 論文要旨

### ヴァザーリ作《聖母を描く聖ルカ》——その美術史的位置づけ

高橋 裕子

「聖母を描く福音書記者聖ルカ」という主題は15～16世紀のネーデルラント絵画に目立つが、同時期のイタリアでは珍しく、この主題を単独で扱った公的作品は、1570年頃ヴァザーリがフィレンツェの美術家組織の礼拝堂に描いた壁画が最古の現存例である。その意義が看過されてきたのは、伝ラファエロの同主題作品やネーデルラントの作例の影響下に描かれたとの推定による。しかし近年、伝ラファエロ作品はフェデリコ・ツッカロによる16世紀末の模作と見なされており、両者の類似はヴァザーリからの影響ということになる。

また、ヴァザーリの《聖母を描く聖ルカ》の特徴は、イタリア美術史のなかで説明が可能である。新たな主題の絵画化に際して、ヴァザーリは16世紀初頭のフラ・バルトロメオによる《聖ベルナルドゥスの幻視》の構図を参照し得た。ヴァザーリ作品の「北方的」特徴とされる風俗画的モチーフ（工房で働く徒弟）にしても、すでに15世紀半ば、クレモナのボニファチオ・ベンボ作の天井画の四福音書記者像において、聖母を描く聖ルカの傍らに登場している。風俗画的要素はネーデルラント絵画に由来するとは限らない。

一方、16世紀ネーデルラントの「聖母を描く聖ルカ」の作例は、「ロマネスト」（ルネサンス美術を母国に移植しようとしたイタリア帰りの画家）によることが注目される。従来、こうした作品の一部については、イタリアの同主題の作例を手本としたことが漠然と想定されていた。しかし、ホッサールトやヘームスケルクなどこれらロマネストが活動した16世紀半ば以前には、手本とすべきイタリアの絵はまだ誕生しておらず、影響は背景の古代建築モチーフなど一般的なものに留まっている。つまり、ここにもネーデルラントとイタリアの具体的な影響関係は認めがたい。しかし、ヴァザーリのこの主題への関心は、彼がローマで出会ったことを記しているヘームスケルクに刺激された可能性がある。

伝統的に、美術家は職人として学者文人よりも地位が低かった。イタリア・ルネサンスの美術家による理論書や伝記の執筆は、美術活動を知的営為と主張する理論闘争であった。ヴァザーリの『美術家列伝』はその代表格である。こうした理念は北方ではイタリアから輸入されたと考えられてきたが、近年の研究によれば、15世紀初頭以来、ネーデルラントの画家たちは聖なる画家ルカを描くことを通じて画家の業の高貴さを主張してきた。ヴァザーリはこの北方の伝統を知り、言葉で主張するイタリアの伝統に加えたと考えられる。

**キーワード**【聖ルカ ヴァザーリ ラファエロ ロマネスト アカデミア・デル・ディセーニョ】

## ENGLISH SUMMARY

### **Giorgio Vasari's *St Luke Painting the Virgin*: a reconsideration of its possible sources**

Hiroko TAKAHASHI

St Luke the Evangelist, also the patron of painters, was often shown portraying the Virgin and Child in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlandish altarpieces. In Italy, by contrast, the first extant work of this type appeared only around 1570, when Vasari painted the subject in the chapel of the artists' association in Florence. But the significance of Vasari's innovation has not been recognised, and the picture itself has been little regarded even by specialists, who have considered it to be dependent on a *St Luke* ascribed to Raphael as well as on Northern antecedents. The so-called Raphael, however, was recently attributed instead to Federico Zuccaro, a close follower of Vasari. And the features of Vasari's painting that might appear to derive from Northern precedents are actually explicable otherwise.

Nevertheless, Vasari's interest in the subject may have been stimulated by his acquaintance in Rome with the Netherlandish artist Maerten van Heemskerck, who had painted a masterly *St Luke* for the painters' guild in Haarlem just before leaving for Italy. Italian Renaissance artists were eager to improve their intellectual status, traditionally much lower than that of poets or scholars, and Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* was one of the most important schemes for realising this goal. In the recent scholarly literature, the popularity of the theme of *St Luke* among Netherlandish artists has been connected to similar aspirations. Viewed in this light, Vasari's *St Luke* can be regarded as an assimilation of that self-assertion in visual terms by the foremost representative of the verbal alternative.

*Key Words:* St Luke, Vasari, Raphael, Romanist, Accademia del Disegno