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The earliest illustrated printed fencingbook is the Opera nova of the Bolognese master Achille Marozzo, published in 1536. This deals with the use of a variety of bladed weapons by means of a simple descriptive text linked to '[woodcuts of] figures which show, with the arms in hand, all the effects and guards which can be made'. The book established a basic vocabulary and method of using it for exposition, and had an instant and continuing success. More significant for future development, however, was Camillo Agrippa's Trattato di scientia d'arme, con un dialogo di filosofia of 1553. The author, a distinguished mathematician and engineer, sought to use mathematics to place personal combat on a scientific basis. His method, which involved the use of geometrical diagrams and symbols as well as human figures, was followed by others. It reached its apogee in the sumptuous folio Académie de l'espée of Girard Thibault of Antwerp, who used a system 'of mathematical rules based on a mystic circle' related to the proportions of the human body. Published by authority of Louis XIII in 1630, and illustrated by a team of distinguished graphic artists headed by Crispin van der Pass the Younger, it is justly described by Professor Anglo as 'one of the greatest illustrated books in the history of printing'. He also makes a case for taking Thibault's system more seriously than did some other masters, and also Egerton Castle, but, whatever its merits, it was not a success in practical terms.

The more popular approach to the problem of notation was through the purely representational recording of movement. Variations of this continued to be tried until well into the last century, for the latter part of this period in parallel with attempts to record dance-movements, including the familiar phantom footprints on the fencing/ball-room floor. Some of the illustrations published could be adapted without difficulty for a zoetrope, while others resemble strips of the cinematograph film that was eventually to provide the answer to the problem of recording movement.

Anglo has much that is new to say about the systems advocated by the various masters, which he analyses in detail, and also about the weapons and armour they used. Particularly interesting are his accounts, based on contemporary sources, of the actual techniques of the tournament, and the niceties of wearing armour, which are subjects that no modern writer seems to have considered before. One surprising piece of information, culled from a work of 1509 by Pietro Monte, who advised Leonardo on physical activities, was that the great armour innovators of the late-fifteenth century were the Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol, the Burgundian Claude de Vauldray, and the Italian Galeazzo di San Severino (he makes no mention of the Emperor Maximilian I who is regarded by modern writers as the great innovator).

One finds oneself in disagreement with the author only over his revival of the old controversy about what a rapier was, which appeared to have been settled by recent writers on the history of the sword, such as the late A.V.B. Norman. These advance the

view that the main reason why treatises on the art of fencing started to proliferate in the early-sixteenth century was because at that period the fashion for gentlemen to wear swords as part of their normal everyday dress, which seems to have originated in Spain, started to become general in Europe. In contemporary, mainly English, sources the sword so worn is called a 'rapier', while that for use in battle or the tournament is called an 'arming sword'. There is much evidence to show that neither term denoted a sword of specific form, but merely one that was appropriate to its function. Despite this, Anglo discusses evidence about the exact form of the rapier: he finds this 'confusing' - as the reader undoubtedly will but only because he refuses to accept the simple conclusion just propounded. His reason is that swords were undoubtedly regularly worn with civilian dress in the later Middle Ages. But this is to miss the point: they were only so worn for specific purposes, and the carrying of swords by gentlemen as a normal part of their everyday dress only became general in the sixteenth century.

This is a learned and important work on a little-studied subject, produced to Yale's usual high standards. It deserves to reach a wider academic public than the subject normally attracts.

CLAUDE BLAIR

Leonardo. Una carriera di pittore. By Pietro C. Marani. 384 pp. incl. 200 col. pls. + 100 b. & w. ills. (Federico Motta Editore, Milan, 1999), L.It.260,000. ISBN 88-7179-196-7.

This book, beautifully produced with lavish illustrations, deals with several aspects of Leonardo da Vinci's career as a painter. In six chapters, three of which have been published before, Marani discusses practically all the paintings attributed to Leonardo, plus a number of important drawings and sculptural projects. After the main text there follows a catalogue of paintings attributed to Leonardo (including works by Verrocchio and other painters in which the young Leonardo may have been involved) and of lost works. The catalogue gives technical data and brief information about the provenance of each painting and in some cases a few bibliographical references. An appendix follows with a choice of a hundred documents edited by Eduardo Villatta, mostly concerning Leonardo's career as a painter. The documents, most of them previously published by Beltrami in 1919, have been checked against the original sources in the archives of Florence, Milan, Mantua, Rome, Paris and Naples. This is a valuable undertaking because Beltrami's book is not only now out of date, given that important documents have been discovered in the last few decades, but also because very often it does not indicate the exact archival references.

The *leitmotiv* of this book is the relationship between Leonardo's paintings and drawings on the one hand, and sculpture, both antique and contemporary, on the other. Although no single work of sculpture which could reasonably be attributed to Leonardo has come down to us, the theme 'Leonardo and Sculpture' has haunted generations of scholars. Probably, this interest reflects two very simple facts: first, the importance of three-dimensional models in the training of young artists in the fifteenth century and, secondly, the high aesthetic and cultural value attached to antique sculpture. But in discussing Leonardo's interest in the antique, one should not forget that most of his drawings are studies after nature or fantastic variations on natural themes.

Marani's first chapter deals with Leonardo's training as an artist in Verrocchio's workshop and draws particular attention to the use of sculptural models, for example for the depiction of drapery. He tries to identify Leonardo's hand in three of Verrocchio's Madonnas - in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, and in the National Gallery in Washington - and also in the Tobias and the Angel in the National Gallery in London. In particular the landscape backgrounds in these paintings show some similarities to landscape settings in Leonardo's drawings, thus suggesting that the younger artist could have contributed to his master's paintings. The evidence for this kind of attribution is naturally open to question and one could argue that for example in the case of the two Berlin Madonnas Verrocchio used popular types of landscape. Some years ago, E.H. Gombrich directed our attention to a similar procedure for the use of facial types in Madonnas by renaissance artists, and the same might be true for landscape types used by both Leonardo and his teacher.

Leonardo stayed for quite a long period in Verrocchio's studio, yet his ability to depart from his master's particular style becomes evident in his portrait of Ginevra de' Benci, which Marani believes to have been produced on the occasion of Ginevra's wedding in 1474 (pp.38–48). Given the arguments presented by Jennifer Fletcher some years ago, this assumption is not convincing: most likely, the painting was commissioned between 1478 and 1480 by Bernardo Bembo and for this reason could not have been a wedding portrait.² Bembo's device on the back of the small painting clearly indicates Fletcher's interpretation to be correct.

be correct.

In discussing the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi and the St Jerome in the Vatican, Marani introduces the issue of antique sculpture which he considers responsible for Leonardo's rendering of three-dimensional forms in his early paintings. Thus he argues that Leonardo was inspired by the study of antique sculpture in Lorenzo de' Medici's garden at Piazza San Marco and finds this view confirmed by the Anonimo Gaddiano who speaks of Leonardo's attachment to the garden (pp.113-16). Whereas one is inclined to see some vestiges of a study of antique sculpture in Leonardo's St Jerome, the same cannot be said of his Adoration of the Magi. Given the size, format and spatial arrangement of the latter, its major points of reference are not antique reliefs (which the artist may or may not have seen), but rather Botticelli's Del Lama Adoration (with

a similar arrangement of figures) and Fra Angelico's S. Marco altar-piece (still the most important prototype for high altarpieces in Florence before the turn of the century). It is the typology of such high altarpieces that underlies Leonardo's Adoration and, of course, its iconography, to which Marani devotes surprisingly little attention.3 One might add that Leonardo's preliminary drawings for the Adoration are by no means inspired by antique sculpture, but show in some instances (e.g. Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne, inv. no.460) the typical features of life drawings. The 'sculptural' qualities of the figures in the Adoration of the Magi thus have more to do with the study of nature than with the study of antique art.

A very substantial chapter with mostly new suggestions is devoted to Leonardo's first Milanese period, and to both versions of the Virgin of the rocks produced for the confraternity of the Immaculate Conception in S. Francesco Grande, Milan between 1483 and 1508. Almost all the issues regarding the two versions are complicated and have, therefore, produced a great deal of controversy. Following the largely accepted opinion that the Louvre version was produced first, that is between 1483 and 1486, and then sold to Ludovico il Moro or some other client of similar importance, Marani comes up with some interesting ideas about the second version, now in the National Gallery in London. He argues that Leonardo had begun this version in 1493, and that it was then reworked in 1502 and finished in 1508 with very considerable involvement on the part of his pupils Marco d'Oggiono and Giovan Antonio Boltraffio (pp.140-42). Given the visual evidence supplied by detail photographs of Boltraffio's and d'Oggiono's Resurrection of Christ in Berlin, this could in fact be accepted for the landscape background of the National Gallery picture, as the somewhat schematic details of the rocks in both paintings are very similar. But for other features, such as plants and flowers, the argument seems far less convincing. Rather more acceptable is the assertion that the haloes and the stick with a cross of the infant St John are later additions (p.139).

Another of Marani's suggestions concerns a golden necklace, donated to the confraternity of the Immaculate Conception in July 1482. The most accepted theory about this piece of jewellery so far has been that the necklace adorned the wooden sculpture of a Madonna which was placed either on top of the altar-piece or within the whole structure; thus the sculpture was effectively covered by Leonardo's Madonna of the rocks for most of the year and was displayed only on the feast of the Immaculate Conception. Marani, however, concludes that the necklace mentioned in the documents was fixed directly to the painting itself, because an Xray photograph of the relevant part of the National Gallery picture shows two holes (subsequently closed with lead white and painted over) close to the Madonna's neck. These holes supposedly held two nails on which the necklace was hung (pp.142-43).

This is certainly an ingenious solution, but some objections must be raised. First, the two 'holes' are placed asymmetrically,

one penetrating the Madonna's right shoulder, and the other, in a slightly higher position, the rocks behind her left shoulder. Therefore any necklace between these points would look as if it were fixed to a rock by a nail! Secondly, the 'hole' could just be one of many losses in the painted surface, which are not unusual in old panel paintings. In fact, the London panel has a number of such losses: about half a dozen of them are visible in the photographs published on pages 137, 139 and 143 (and similar holes can be seen on the X-rays of the Uffizi Annunciation on pages 58 and 59). Thirdly, by the beginning of the sixteenth century Leonardo was already considered to be one of the most excellent painters of his time and it is hard to imagine that nails would have been driven into one of his Madonnas.

In the next chapter Marani discusses the history of the attributions of Leonardo's portraits and gives a detailed and useful summary of the known technical data concerning them (pp.157–207). He also devotes particular attention to the importance for Leonardo of Antonello da Messina's portraits and advocates the older view (put forward by Carlo Amoretti) that the Belle Ferronière in the Louvre should be identified with Leonardo's portrait of Lucrezia Crivelli mentioned in the Codex Atlanticus.

In the following section, 'Verso un nuovo classicismo: dal Cenacolo alla Sant'Anna', Marani re-introduces the fascinating idea that Leonardo had seen several pieces of antique sculpture excavated in Tivoli in March 1501 (i.e. the Muses, now in the Prado, Madrid) and that this experience led him to develop particular 'sculptural' qualities in his paintings, which later came to be seen as constituting the 'High Renaissance Style'. This certainly is an intelligent explanation for stylistic changes which occurred around 1500, although one should also point out the impact of Michelangelo's early Florentine works on Leonardo's paintings and drawings in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that we are not sure what Leonardo actually saw at Tivoli. There is also a slight problem with the evidence for the date of Leonardo's visit there, consisting of two short notes in the Codex Atlanticus (fol.618v, formerly fol.227va, here p.259). The first note reads 'A Tivoli vecchio, casa di Adriano' and bears no date; the second gives the date: 'Laus deo 1500, a di 20 [?] marzo', but its handwriting is somewhat different and the date almost illegible. For this reason both Carlo Pedretti and Agostino Marinoni had suggested that the date was not written by Leonardo at all,6 though later Pedretti convinced himself of the authenticity of the handwriting (p.297).7 However, some doubts remained and to explain the different handwriting Carlo Vecce suggested that the artist had written the date with a 'mano tremolante' as if writing while travelling.8 Since the whole argument for Leonardo having studied antique sculpture in Tivoli in March 1501 is closely linked to this slender piece of palaeographic interpretation one hopes for some stronger evidence to emerge.

In his concluding chapter Marani turns

to yet another difficult issue, Leonardo's St John the Baptist in the Louvre. Almost everything about this painting is controversial: the attribution, date and occasion of its commission, as well as its exact meaning. Marani, like most scholars in the last decade, opts for a date around 1508. Thus he can return to the leitmotiv of his book, the importance of sculpture for Leonardo's painting. In this case Leonardo's ideas for the Trivulzio Monument supposedly influenced the sculpture-like form of his St John.

In conclusion, then, this book contains an impressive amount of up-to-date information about Leonardo's paintings and adds some interesting suggestions about his use of antique sculpture. It is in its discussion of pictorial content that the book sometimes turns out to be rather unsatisfactory, and one would have wished to be provided with at least the basic references concerning the iconography of individual paintings. There are also occasional minor errors: for example Filippo Lippi's Novitiates' Chapel altar-piece from S. Croce in the Uffizi is incorrectly given to Domenico Ghirlandaio (p.17).

FRANK ZÖLLNER University of Leipzig

¹E.H. GOMBRICH: 'Ideal and Type in Italian Renaissance Painting', New Light on Old Masters, Oxford [1986], pp.89–124.

²J. FLETCHER: 'Bernardo Bembo and Leonardo's Portrait of Ginevra Benci', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, CXXXI [1989], pp.811–16. For this portrait, see also A. DÜLBERG: *Privatporträts*, Berlin [1990], pp.11, 23–24, 123–24 and 227–28.

³See in particular M. LISNER: 'Leonardos Anbetung der Könige. Zum Sinngehalt und zur Komposition', Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, XLIV [1981], pp.201–42; C. STERLING: 'Fighting Animals in the Adoration of the Magi', Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, LXI [1974], pp.350–59; F. FEHRENBACH: Licht und Wasser. Zur Dynamik naturphilosophischer Leitbilder im Werk Leonardo da Vincis, Tübingen [1997], pp.89–114.

For a recent discussion of Leonardo's preparatory drawings, see M. WIEMERS: Bildform und Werkgenese. Studien zur Zeichnung in der italienischen Malerei zwischen 1450 und 1490, Munich and Berlin [1996].

⁵P. VENTURINI: 'L'ancona dell'immacolata concezione di San Francesco Grande a Milano', in *Giovanni Antonio Amadeo*, ed. J. SHELL and L. CASTELFRANCHI, Milan [1993], pp.421–37.

°C. PEDRETTI: A Chronology of Leonardo's Architectural Studies After 1500, Geneva [1962], pp.79–81; A. MARINONI, ed.: Leonardo da Vinci. Il Codice Atlantico nella Bibliotheca Ambrosiana di Milano, commentary, VII, Florence [1978], p.242.

'See c. PEDRETTI: The Codex Atlanticus of Leonardo da Vinci. A Catalogue of its Newly Restored Sheets, II, New York [1979], pp.42–43; I was not able to consult idem: 'Leonardo da Vinci: 13 marzo 1500', Ateneo Veneto, XIII [1975], pp.121–23, where Pedretti changed his mind.

⁸C. VEGCE: Leonardo, Rome [1998], p.200. One finds the same argument in c. PEDRETTI: The Codex Atlanticus of Leonardo da Vinci. A Catalogue of its Newly Restored Sheets, II, New York [1979] p.43: 'The dated note is in a trembling script as if it had been written on a stage coach.' One might add that Leonardo's interest in the antique is most evident in his study and use of antique coins; see J. CUNNALLY: 'Numismatic Sources for Leonardo's Equestrian Monuments', Achademia Leonardi Vinci, VI [1993], pp.67–78.

Petrae": A Note on Leonardo's "Virgin of the Rocks", Renaissance News, VII [1954], pp.92–95; J. SNOW SMITH: 'Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks (Musée du Louvre): A Franciscan Interpretation', Studies in Iconography, XI [1987], pp.35–94 (for the Virgin of the rocks). C. GILBERT: 'Last Suppers and their Refectories', The Pursuit of

Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, ed. c. TRINKAUS AND H.A. OBERMANN, Leiden [1974], pp.371–407; d. RIGAUX: A la table du Seigneur. L'Eucharistie chez les primitifs italiens (1250–1497), Paris [1989] (Last Supper), E. BATTISTI: 'Le origini religiose del paesaggio veneto', Venezia Cinquecento, I [1991], fasc.2, pp.9–25; m. schapiro: 'Leonardo and Freud: An Art Historical Study', Journal of the History of Ideas, XVII [1956], pp.145–78 (Louvre St Anne). m. Aronberg Lavin: 'Giovanni Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism', Art Bulletin, XXXVII [1955], pp.85–101. p. Barolsky: 'The Mysterious Meaning of Leonardo's "Saint John the Baptist"', Source, VIII [1989], pp.11–15 (St John).

Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice. By Patricia Meilman. 260 pp. incl. 8 col. pls. + 70 b. & w. ills. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), £45. ISBN 0-521-64095-4.

It is perhaps the fate of any in-depth scholarly study devoted to a lost work of art to try the patience of its readers. Patricia Meilman's recent book is, despite the breadth of treatment implied by its title, largely focused on Titian's St Peter Martyr altar-piece, a famous work of the Venetian high renaissance destroyed by fire in 1867. Had the author taken a more adventurous approach to her topic, she might have explored (or at least acknowledged) the particular conditions attached to the study of once famous lost objects. Such works have a habit of becoming cultural icons, offering a special allure through their tendency to both encourage and resist interpretation. Meilman, though, is at pains to downplay the more imaginary aspects of her project, offering instead a workmanlike contextual study which aims to reconstruct the 'objective' meaning of the Peter Martyr in its original context. It is symptomatic of her approach that when she comes to describe the appearance of the lost painting she uses the present tense, fostering a sense that the work is still extant, and that she stands authoritatively before it in the nave of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The book begins with a useful discussion of the relation of the Peter Martyr to earlier Venetian altar-pieces commissioned by or for the Dominican order. Meilman also throws new light on the significance of the painting's iconography in the context of long-standing Dominican commitments to preaching and the eradication of heresy. She goes on to relate this to contemporary concerns over the spread of the Protestant reformation in the 1520s. The work was commissioned by a lay confraternity in 1526, but the Dominican friars of SS. Giovanni e Paolo undoubtedly influenced the choice of subject-matter, and were fully aware of the topical relevance of an image showing the brutal murder of a famous Catholic preacher at the hands of a heretic. Meilman is also very convincing on the stylistic sources for the painting. She suggests that Titian drew on antique sculptures then in Venice (such as the Falling Gaul), and on prints after narrative altar-pieces and istorie by Raphael, in order to arrive at a dramatic language of form which departed from Venetian tradition. She is, though, unclear

about the exact nature of Titian's new style. Was it characterised by greater idealisation, or by a new degree of narrative realism, or both?

The clarity of her argument on the style of the picture is not helped by her tendency to over-interpret its iconography. The physique of St Peter, we are told, is idealised in order to imply 'that he possessed the ability to fight until the end', while that of his assassin, Carino da Balsamo, 'alludes to the possibility of virtue even as the abhorrent act is being committed' (p.90, p.112). But the adoption of an idealised vocabulary of form does not usually entail such specific meanings and it is unclear how we are to recognise them from what Titian actually painted. In a subsequent discussion, Meilman assumes that Peter's prominent hand refers to the story that the dying saint wrote the opening words of the Credo in blood (p.129). But Titian's saint points rather than writes, as if he sought to avoid explicit reference to this often-depicted incident. A similar case is provided by Titian's avoidance of the traditional cut-tree motif common in earlier depictions of the theme. In these instances, the author's tendency to 'read-in' leads her to miss the point. It is surely Titian's suppression of traditional symbolic references which is notable, and which allows him to concentrate attention on the dramatic immediacy of the narrative.

The chapters in which Meilman attempts to place the Peter Martyr within the broader context of Venetian theory, and to explore its impact on other artists, are also inconclusive. Her attempt to read various comments on the painting by contemporary writers as referring to a specifically 'Venetian aesthetic' appears forced. Aretino's ekphrastic description of the painting cannot really be taken as confirming its especial naturalism, since this was the most common mode of writing about pictures in the sixteenth century and was used to describe works in widely differing styles. And Dolce's assertion that Titian had defeated nature herself in the picture can hardly be taken as defining a specifically Venetian appreciation, given that such rhetorical claims were a commonplace in much renaissance art theory. Questions are also raised, but not convincingly answered, when Meilman turns to the impact of the Peter Martyr on subsequent Venetian sixteenth-century altar-pieces. She notes that the painting seems to have had little discernible effect on altar-piece iconography or design prior to the decree of the Council of Trent on sacred images of December 1563. But her point is undermined by her failure to find any paintings definitely influenced by Titian's altar-piece after this date.

Meilman's study is useful on the iconography and religious context of Titian's lost altar-piece. But her book fails to establish the painting's precise rôle in the evolution of Venetian renaissance art, or its more general legacy to later artists. Had she widened her discussion to include analysis of the impact of the *Peter Martyr* on narrative painting in the Western tradition more generally (one thinks of its very discernible impact on famous Baroque paintings by Caravaggio and Rubens), her analysis would have

concluded in more certain fashion. Instead, we are treated to a short, and rather negative, excursus on the drawings related to the painting, none of which, we are told, are by Titian. With this parting shot, the lost painting threatens once more to recede into obscurity, withholding the mysteries of its genesis just as, in the course of Meilman's entire study, it has withheld its wider meaning for the history of art.

TOM NICHOLS
University of Aberdeen

Malvasia's Life of the Carracci. Commentary and Translation. By Anne Summerscale. 416 pp. incl. 14 col. pls. + 35 b. & w. ills. (Pennsylvania State Press, University Park, 2000), \$85. ISBN 0-271-01899-2.

Malvasia's Felsina Pittrice, first published in 1678, is one of the most important Seicento sources of information on Bolognese artists, and notably on the Carracci. It is also one of the most difficult and controversial. We have learned much in recent years about Malvasia's arch-rival as a biographer, Bellori, not least thanks to the magnificent exhibition devoted to him last year in Rome. Malvasia has remained far more problematic. Malvasia's prose is written in a style which he somewhat disingenuously described as 'rough' and 'familiar', although it is actually and consciously extremely complex. The book was only ever published twice, the most recent edition dating from 1841. The need for a complete modern edition is a pressing one, though it would be a formidable undertaking. In the meantime, this annotated translation of the key triple biography of Ludovico, Agostino and Annibale Carracci is most welcome.

Malvasia's text lies at the heart of many of the problems which continue to vex Carracci scholarship today. His notorious cambanilismo and his blatant championing of Ludovico as the best of the Carracci because he remained true to his native Bologna inevitably raise questions as to the reliability of his account, particularly when he is setting up contrasts with Agostino and Annibale. This is compounded by the fact that he was writing in conscious opposition to the Roman stance of Bellori, writing in praise of Annibale. In recent years our understanding of his historical method has been greatly clarified, largely thanks to the scholarship of Giovanna Perini. But his ways of working have continued to attract debate over the issue of whether he falsified the documents which he published in support of his arguments, although most scholars would now accept that his alteration of texts was largely editorial rather than fictional.2

Anne Summerscale's translation is a remarkable achievement. She has sought, as far as possible, to retain Malvasia's elaborate sentence structures, and she is sensitive to Malvasia's use of rhetoric and to his often disarming changes of register, which are used to make critical points. Her introduction usefully summarises what is