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MICHELANGELO'S CARTOON FOR THE *CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER* RECONSIDERED

Carmen Bambach Cappel

The most notable survivor of Michelangelo's cartoons is the fragment for the Pauline Chapel *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (Fig. 1), now in Naples at Capodimonte (inv. no. 538). It depicts back views of three soldiers and the cropped front view of a fourth one.[1] These figures are seen at the lower left in the fresco on the west wall of the Pauline Chapel.[2] This very polished drawing was produced sometime between 1541 and 1546. The precise date for the cartoon's execution would depend on which of the two Pauline Chapel frescoes—the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* or the *Conversion of St. Paul*—was painted first.[3] This is the only extant cartoon by Michelangelo for one of his own frescoes. From the beginning this cartoon seems to have been prized, for it was already described as a framed work of art in an inventory conducted on 31 January 1600, at the death of the famed collector Fulvio Orsini,[4] who was one of the drawing's first owners:

> 59. quadro grande corniciato di noce, nel quale è un pezzo dell'historia di S. Pietro della Capella Paolina, di mano del med o. . . . . . . 20 [scudi][5]

Since Ernst Steinmann published his article on Michelangelo cartoons in 1925, the Capodimonte cartoon fragment has rarely been ignored in studies of Michelangelo's drawings.[6] Because scholars have focused their attention almost exclusively on the question of authorship,[7] the nature of this cartoon's function has been misrepresented. Speaking broadly, this is a pricked cartoon, a full-scale drawing used in the painting of a fresco. All previous literature maintains that the outlines of the figures in the cartoon were pricked for direct transfer to the *intonaco*, citing the pricking of the outlines as sufficient evidence for this being primarily a working drawing.[8] I would argue that the Capodimonte cartoon
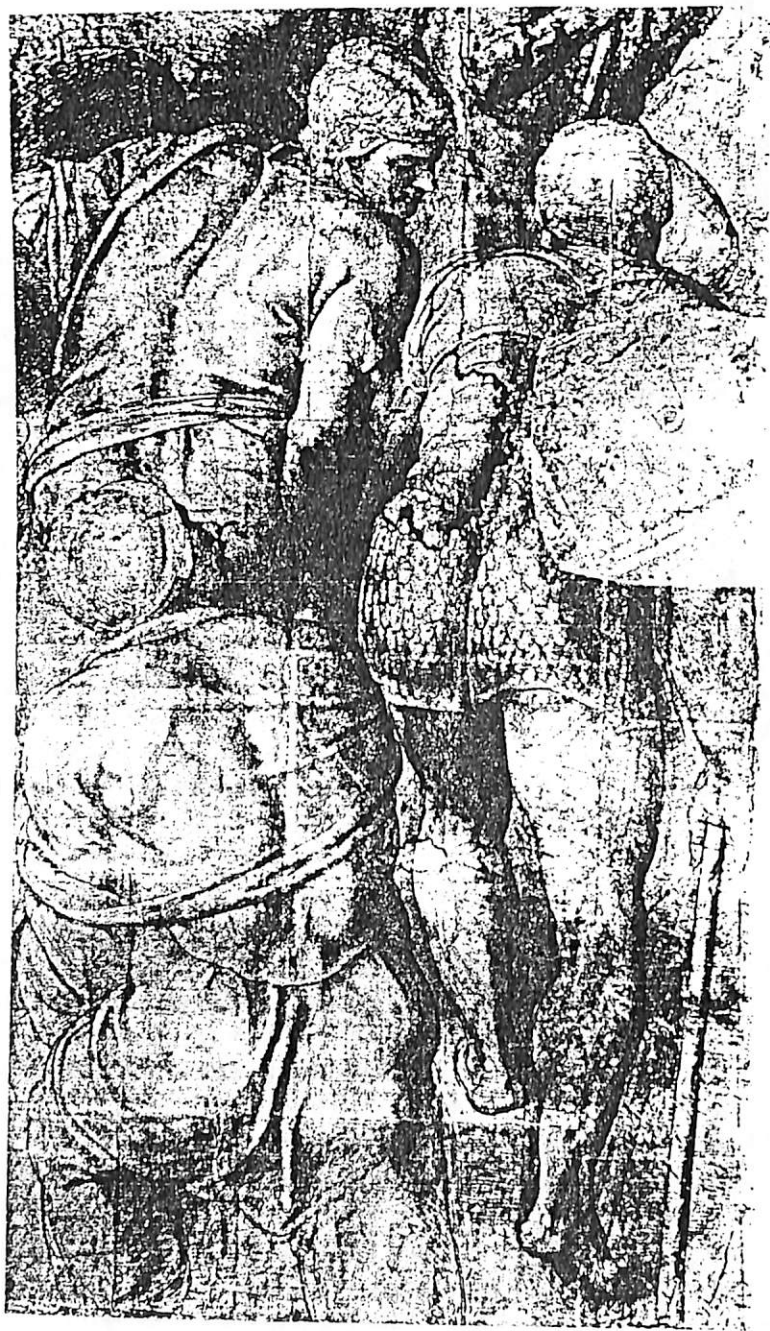
Fig. 1 MICHELANGELO.

Cartoon for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (fragment).

Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

fragment was originally pounced onto a simplified "sub-cartoon"—in the manner recommended by Giovanni Battista Armenini in his 1587 treatise—because when the cartoon for the fresco was first drawn, it was already considered a valuable drawing in itself.

As is well known, theoretical writings from the 1540s onwards make amply clear that Michelangelo was especially esteemed by his contemporaries because of his supreme mastery of *disegno*.[9] Already during Michelangelo's lifetime his friends, fellow artists, and pupils avidly sought the master's drawings.[10] These desirable sheets encompassed a variety of functions, such as sketches, studies, cartoons, and presentation drawings.[11] Michelangelo's cartoons were especially collected. The Capodimonte cartoon may have been conceived initially as a type of full-scale presentation drawing as much as a full-scale working drawing. This was probably why it appealed to the taste of a collector such as Fulvio Orsini. By a happy accident, physical evidence in Michelangelo's cartoon fragment provides invaluable clues on this point.

A consideration of the size of the Capodimonte cartoon is interesting from the point of view of working practices.[12] As Fulvio Orsini's inventory attests, by 1600 this cartoon for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* was already fragmentary—"un pezzo dell' historia."[13] It is possible that zealous admirers of Michelangelo drawings, who could not get enough works by the master's hand, had already cut the complete cartoon for the fresco into pieces. Such had been the fate of the famous *Battle of Cascina* cartoon.[14] It is equally possible, however, that in spite of the relatively small area of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* fresco, there never was one complete cartoon for the composition, but separate cartoons for the different sections. A major piece of evidence for this—in the absence of plumb lines—is the centering circle with vertical and horizontal axes that is drawn and pricked at the bottom right corner of the cartoon.[15] In all likelihood, the cartoon fragment has remained the same size since it was first recorded as a fragment in the Orsini inventory.

Today this highly finished drawing measures 2625 by 1555 mm. (103½ x 61½ inches). As it is mounted and framed now, the cloth mat, which is not glued to the drawing's paper, obscures approximately 3½ inches around the perimeter of the cartoon's surface. The car-

toon fragment is composed of thirty *fogli reali bolognesi*, glued edge to edge and not always aligned to each other. The condition of the cartoon is precarious; in several places the drawing's relatively thin ivory-beige paper is flaking off the canvas support on which it was glued sometime before 1697.[16] Large stains and multiple ochre discolorations, partly due to the glue used in attaching the cartoon to the canvas, very much inhibit an appreciation of the handling. Out of its glass, the drawing appears somewhat flat and the handling slightly frigid. It is executed in soft strokes of black chalk. Charcoal may have also been used. There are some very slight spots of a whitish tinge that can be misunderstood as faded white heightening, which are probably discolorations due to damage. The incipient forms are cradled in nets of reinforcement lines; the modeling of the forms is achieved through rubbing and parallel hatching.[17] Though the holes themselves are irregularly spaced, the pricking follows the outlines of the design more or less faithfully, except for the *pentimento* of the lance at the legs of the left soldier. All pricking was done from the recto. There are three patches of paper on the cartoon, the paper appearing to be of the same kind as the rest of the cartoon.[18] The most important of the three patches is in the center and extends to the right edge (Fig. 2).

Evidence concerning transfer methods in Michelangelo's own drawings is meager. Other than the Capodimonte cartoon fragment, only one pricked drawing, depicting a Samson and Delilah and now in the British Museum, can be connected with a Michelangelo composition.[19] By contrast, artists such as Leonardo and especially Raphael used pouncing extensively to transfer both cartoons and other types of drawings, as their numerous extant pounced drawings attest.[20] Compared with the working practices of his contemporaries, Michelangelo's use of pouncing to transfer the designs from the cartoons to the wall surface seems slightly unusual as late as the 1540s. Biagetti—although approaching matters from an entirely different angle—found it surprising that Michelangelo would resort to pouncing the cartoons for the Pauline Chapel frescoes, especially after having employed the much more energetic and efficient method of stylus-tracing—*calcare*—in the later sections of the Sistine Ceiling.[21] It is worth remembering, however, that Michelangelo used pouncing extensively, not only in the Sistine Ceiling, but also in the *Last*

Fig. 2 Detail of Fig. 1.

Judgement. Only a tiny portion of the *Conversion of St. Paul* shows evidence of having been transferred from the cartoon by means of stylus-tracing: the two angels at the top right corner.[22] The remainder of the *Conversion of St. Paul*, as well as the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, show evidence of pouncing.[23] Clearly, then, Michelangelo's use of pouncing here as elsewhere was a response to special problems.[24]

Pouncing would not seem very practical if time were valuable to the artist, but it certainly would be if he suffered from timidity, were assisted, or had to transfer a complicated design. Because of the laboriousness of the task—pricking minute holes closely following an outline—pouncing must be done carefully and slowly,
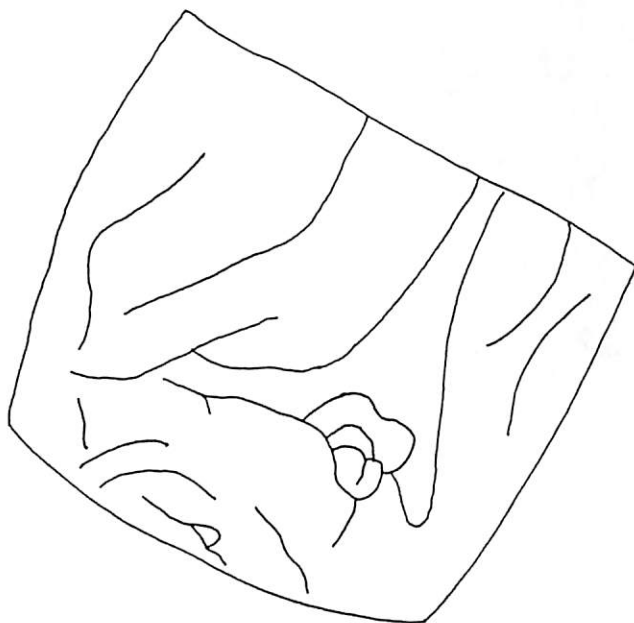
Fig. 3 Reconstruction of patch on the cartoon fragment for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter.*

Fig. 4 MICHELANGELO.

The Crucifixion of St. Peter (detail, with reconstruction of patch on the cartoon fragment).

Rome, Vatican. Photo: Alinari/Art Resources.

thus ensuring to a great extent a correspondence of design between the cartoon and the fresco. Unlike stylus-tracing, pouncing was a task more easily delegated, because it required less self-assurance on the part of the assistant and it also preserved the drawing for future reference in the painting of the fresco. Despite the damaging discolorations and the doubts that Berenson expressed concerning the Capodimonte cartoon fragment, the drawing is indisputably a good example of Michelangelo's style in the 1540s. When Michelangelo undertook the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, his health was failing, and as he himself expressed to Vasari:

> che la pittura, passata una certa età, e massimamente il lavorare in fresco, non è arte da vecchi. . . . [25]

Because a few documents register payments to his assistant Urbino for grinding colors, Biagetti tentatively proposed that perhaps Urbino was responsible for the pouncing of the cartoon.[26] But this was no ordinary cartoon. Faced with a highly polished, full-scale drawing by the hand of the most famous artist of his time, an assistant, possibly Urbino, may have been ordered by Michelangelo to prick the outlines of this cartoon onto another sheet. This became the more simplified version
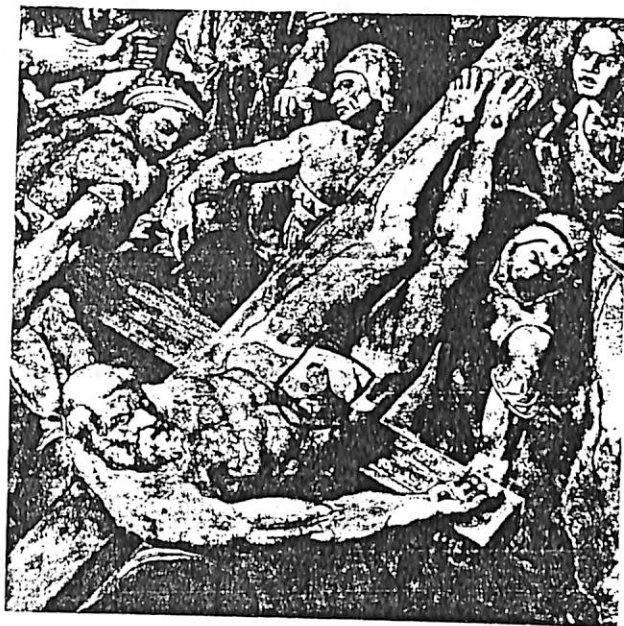
of the cartoon. Raphael seems to have employed a similar procedure with his *School of Athens* cartoon.[27] Vasari, Borghini, and Armenini implied in their treatises that stylus-tracing was the usual method of cartoon transfer.[28] Armenini, however, went out of his way to recommend a type of simplified, pounced sub-cartoon in his 1587 treatise *De verii precetti di pittura:*

> Ma a salvarli poi illesi, dovendosi dopo questo calcar i contorni di quello su l'opere che si lavorano, il miglior modo si è a forarli con un ago, mettendoci un altro carton sotto, il qual rimanendo come quello di sopra bucato, serve poi per spolverare di volta in volta per dove si vol dipingere, e massime su le calce, a benchè molti poco di ciò curandosi, calcano il primo, il qual si tien tuttavia per esempio, mentre si fa l'opera con i colori, il che è più commodabile il primo.[29]

Armenini made a strong case for saving the carefully elaborated cartoons, which in many ways he regarded as important as the final works. The wording concerning the making and saving of cartoons rings like an eloquent plea throughout his second *libro*. Obviously, the damage inflicted on the cartoons by both stylus-

Fig. 5 GIOVANNI BATTISTA CAVALIERI, after
MICHELANGELO.
The Crucifixion of St. Peter. Engraving.

tracing and transfer to the moist plaster was great, for
Armenini clearly thought of pouncing as a special proce-
dure—a bit tiresome, but worth it—or he might not
have described it in such detail.[30]

There is in our case good evidence to suggest that the
process Armenini so painstakingly described was indeed
used on the Capodimonte cartoon fragment: namely the
large patch of paper towards the middle of the right
margin (Fig. 2). This patch, which is remarkably free of
spots or damage, measures approximately 19½ by 19½
inches, the shape of an unevenly cut square. Curiously—
a point not mentioned in the Michelangelo literature—
this prominent patch of paper has perforated outlines.
The pricking here is done in the same manner as in the
rest of the cartoon, but there is no chalk drawing on this
otherwise unmarred ivory colored paper. These perfo-
rated yet undrawn outlines are totally unrelated to any-
thing in the cartoon, as my reconstruction of this patch
demonstrates (Figs. 3 and 4). They represent a cropped
view of a nude male pelvic area in a tilted position. The
scale of the anatomy on this patch matches the bodily
proportions of the three soldiers depicted in the rest of
the cartoon fragment. Hence, the cropped portion of
the body in the patch probably belongs to a figure in
this same fresco. The only likely candidate is St. Peter
being raised on the cross. This is confirmed by Vasari's
remark in the 1568 edition of the *Vite* that:

Nell'altra è la Crocifissione di san Pietro, il quale è confitto
ignudo sopra la croce, che è una figura rara. . . .[31]

Except for Goldscheider's brief footnote in a privately
printed essay, none of the scholars who have written
about the Pauline frescoes has noted that sometime in
the past a loincloth was painted to cover St. Peter's orig-
inal nudity.[32] Biagetti's diagrams recording the repainted
portions in the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* include the loin-
cloth covering St. Peter's pubic area.[33] However, Biagetti
provides no dates or references in the text specifically
concerning the repainting of St. Peter.[34] Surely the very
reason that St. Peter was originally painted completely
nude merits some scholarly attention. Steinberg de-
scribed the influence of the Counter Reformation on the
repainting of the nude angels in the top half of the *Con-
version of St. Paul* shortly after Michelangelo's death.[35]
One could extrapolate that this was also the case with
the nude St. Peter, with even more reason because he
was the rock of the Church.[36] Furthermore, two Italian
mid-sixteenth-century prints depicting the Pauline
Chapel fresco show St. Peter nude, before the restoration
of decorum occurred: an engraving by Giovanni Battista
Cavalieri, which is reversed, and an etching by Michele
Lucchese (Figs. 5 and 6).[37] The portion of St. Peter's
pelvis in the prints closely matches the perforated, but
undrawn, outlines on the patch of the Capodimonte

Fig. 6 MICHELE LUCCHESE, after MICHELANGELO.
The Crucifixion of St. Peter. Etching.

Fig. 7 ANONYMOUS, after MICHELANGELO.
The Crucifixion of St. Peter (detail).

New York, Collection of Mrs. Dorothy Orefice.

cartoon fragment. Hence, the pricked design on the patch of this cartoon fragment provides a document of Michelangelo's original intention that St. Peter appear completely nude in the Pauline Chapel *Crucifixion*, and adds to his *oeuvre*.[38] The tempera painting on panel (now in the collection of Mrs. Dorothy Orefice in New York), which has been attributed to Michelangelo and held to be the *modello* for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* is most probably a non-autograph, nearly contemporary, version after the fresco.[39] But interestingly, this panel shows that St. Peter here, too, was painted completely nude originally and that later a loincloth was thinly painted over the pelvic area (Fig. 7).[40] Lastly, St. Peter may have retained his original nudity in the fresco until at least 1568, if Vasari could be trusted, for he mentioned Giovanni Battista Cavalieri's print, where St. Peter is depicted nude, in the *Vita di Marcantonio Bolognese*.[41]

The large patch on the Capodimonte cartoon fragment, which contains the perforated outlines depicting the male pelvis, corresponds to the type of sub-cartoon that Armenini said should be laid underneath the actual cartoon while it was pinpricked in order to save it. This secondary cartoon was the one that the assistant (or, less likely, the artist) later pounced onto the fresh *intonaco*. As Armenini stated, the sheet that constituted the sub-cartoon did not need to be drawn, since the perforated outlines which were rubbed with chalk dust sufficed for transfer onto the moist plaster. This way, the artist could still use the finished cartoon as a guide in painting. Only if the paper of this patch is understood to be a part of the sub-cartoon does it make sense that there are pricked outlines on the patch, but no drawing. Though the notion of sub-cartoons is known to scholars from Armenini's description of the procedure, this patch is the first sub-cartoon to be identified as such.

It would seem an odd coincidence that one piece of the sub-cartoon that was cut out and applied as a patch

on the Capodimonte cartoon is exactly the same as the portion of the fresco that was repainted. It is not improbable that, when it was decided to paint over St. Peter's pubic area with a loincloth, the artist in charge of restoring the fresco may have excised the offending part of the design in the sub-cartoon and substituted a pattern for the loincloth to be used in the repainting of the fresco, as Creighton Gilbert suggested.[42] As I have mentioned above, it is very possible that the cartoon or cartoons for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* were still owned by Pope Paul III's heirs, and hence available for consultation and use. Then, the discarded piece of the sub-cartoon with the pricking, which would have been more or less illegible from a distance, would have been handy to patch the damaged area in Michelangelo's finished cartoon (the Capodimonte cartoon) when it deteriorated in the center of the right edge. It is also possible that fragments or shreds of the sub-cartoon—among these, and purely by chance, our patch—may have been kept by the artist himself after the execution of his fresco for re-use in the studio. In this case, a perforated design would have gone nearly unnoticed and would have served adequately as either drawing surface or patching material.

Patching the cartoon fragment with paper containing outlines is probably the sign of an old restoration that may have been performed within fifty years after the cartoon was produced.[43] For in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian workshop perforating or pouncing a sheet of drawings did not seem to involve damage to either the drawing or the paper. Several extant sheets of Italian Renaissance drawings show perforated outlines that are undrawn. Often the perforations appear next to or on top of unrelated drawings and necessitate reconstruction. (See Appendix for an example that I have reconstructed and which illustrates this point well.) In most cases artists re-used paper with perforations on it to draw or, as happened with the Capodimonte cartoon, to repair a good drawing by a famous artist. Although the supply of paper was certainly plentiful by the sixteenth century, paper was still a commodity not to be wasted. The patch on the Capodimonte cartoon was probably regarded then as an almost unused sheet of paper, the pricking being only a minor cosmetic flaw.

The function of the Capodimonte cartoon fragment is complex. Although still technically belonging to the category of working drawing, it seems that in name

Fig. 8 Attributed to BARTOLOMMEO DELLA GATTA. Study of a Male Head.

Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica.

only. It is full scale and pounced, but it is carefully—almost frigidly—polished, having some of the hazy delicacy of execution that underlies Michelangelo's presentation drawings of the late 1530s to 1540s. No wonder Armenini recommended that such finished cartoons be saved from the usual fate that befell working drawings for frescoes. Even the technique of pouncing was by then considered old-fashioned, and, as is evident from Armenini's entreaty, by the 1580s it had certainly evolved into a scrupulous means of conservation rather than an efficient labor saving device in the artistic process. The almost ekphrastic praise that Vasari lavished on cartoons executed by Leonardo, Raphael, and, above all, Michelangelo, should itself be indicative of how much the cartoon came to be prized, particularly since many of the cartoons so praised never became finished works of art.[44]

Fig. 9 Attributed to BARTOLOMMEO DELLA GATTA.
Study of a Male Head.

Verso of Fig. 8.

Fig. 10 Reconstruction of pricked outlines
appearing on Fig. 9.

APPENDIX

This sheet of drawings is in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica in Rome (Figs. 8 and 9).[45] Although this sheet has borne attributions to both Signorelli and Piero di Cosimo in the past, it is now given to Bartolommeo della Gatta (Piero Dei).[46] The recto depicts the foreshortened head of an old man heavily rendered in black chalk against a background of dark brown wash.[47] The drawing is very polished and is in dark bluish chalk with some white heightening on beige ground. There are many *pentimenti* along the edge of the cheek to the left and on the top right corner a *74* is inscribed in dark brown ink. The verso shows the profile of a male head, lightly drawn in black chalk. The paper on the verso is of an almost uniform rust tone and has some white heighten-

ing. There is a *pentimento* of an eye above the present and correct position of the eye. A *75* is inscribed with brown ink at the top right. Though clearly evident even in photographs of both recto and verso, the pricked outlines on the sheet, which are unrelated to the drawings there, have not been discussed in the literature. These pricked outlines are unintelligible when viewed right side up. The pricked holes, which are very small but not pin size as in embroidery cartoons, are very close to each other and were done from the recto. If one connects the dots, one obtains a three-quarter view of a cropped, androgynous bust missing the top of the head and apparently by the hand of a late quattrocento Umbrian artist (Fig. 10). The sheet may have functioned as a sub-cartoon before it was re-used for drawing. The rusty tone of the verso may indicate that this side was in contact with humidity.

Mr. and Mrs. Alberto L. Bambach. I am especially indebted to Professor Creighton E. Gilbert for his continuing encouragement in my study of Italian Renaissance drawings and for revising this manuscript in its many forms. A note of thanks to Dr. Anne-Marie Logan, Professor Judith Colton, Professor George Hersey, to my husband, Steven T. Cappel, for patient editing; as well as to Dott. Nicola Spinosa, acting director, and Dott.ssa Rossana Muzii, curator of drawings, at the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte; to Dr. Patricia Wainwright of the Archivio Fotografico and Dott. Fabrizio Mancinelli, director, at the Vatican Museums; and last but not least, to Mrs. Dorothy Orefice, for generously allowing me to examine and publish her picture.

1. Two drawings have been related to the figures appearing in the Capodimonte cartoon fragment. A black chalk drawing at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (150 x 105 mm.), which is as often given to Michelangelo as to Daniele da Volterra, is a study for the two standing soldiers that appear to the right in the cartoon fragment. On the left the two male nudes are roughly sketched in and, towards the right, the two nude figures are more carefully elaborated in a stance close to that shown in the cartoon. See K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, II, Oxford, 1956, p. 171, no. 331; F. Hartt, *Michelangelo Drawings*, New York, 1970, p. 28, no. 400; F. Baumgart and B. Biagetti, *Gli affreschi di Michelangelo e L. Sabbatini e F. Zuccari nella Capella Paolina in Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1934, pl. LVa, gave the drawing to Daniele da Volterra.

A black chalk study (206 x 141 mm.), depicting in three-quarter length the soldier who stands between the other two in the cartoon, is now at the Art Museum in Princeton University. This drawing has been attributed to a follower of Michelangelo. C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: The Final Period*, V, Princeton, 1960, p. 145, thought this drawing a copy after the painting, perhaps by Giulio Clovio. See F. Gibbons, *Catalogue of Italian Drawings in the Art Museum, Princeton University*, I, Princeton, 1977, p. 136, no. 438; II, pl. 438.

A third drawing possibly connected with this cartoon fragment is a copy by Allori (?) of the top-left figure, once in the Frank J. Mather collection, Washington Cross, Pennsylvania. See B. Berenson, *The Florentine Painters*, II, 2nd ed., Chicago, 1938, p. 194.

2. I list the differences between cartoon and fresco to correct some past misunderstandings. The top left corner of the cartoon does not show the two cropped faces of the soldiers in the fresco. The soldier in frontal view, who is cropped and is towards the top right in the cartoon, is clothed in the fresco. The helmet of the soldier, who is in the center towards the top in the cartoon, has bands with beading. The top half of the soldier's lance, which should be towards the right edge of the cartoon, is not shown, perhaps due to damage of the paper. The soldier towards the bottom left in the cartoon has his left knee lower than in the fresco,

while his knee is very indistinctly rendered as flexed. In the fresco this soldier is represented more clearly in the act of energetically climbing the stairs. The left edge of the cartoon includes slightly more of the composition, for in the fresco the composition is cropped closer to the left soldier's head. There is but the faintest evidence for the steps of the stairs towards the right on the cartoon.

3. L. Dussler, *Die Zeichnungen des Michelangelo: Kritischer Katalog*, Berlin, 1959, p. 118, no. 187, has been the only one actually to state a date for the cartoon itself—between 1546 and 1547—for he believed the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* to be the last painting to be executed in the chapel.

The standard argument for the *Conversion of St. Paul* having been executed first is stated by C. de Tolnay, pp. 70, 136–37, 143, 198. See also M. Dvořák, *Geschichte der Italienischen Kunst*, II, Munich, 1929, pp. 128–35; A. Neumeyer, "Michelangelos Fresken in der Capella Paolina des Vatikan," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII, 1929–30, p. 182; Baumgart and Biagetti, pp. 15–26, and pp. 69–81, for pertinent documents; D. Redig de Campos, *Affreschi della Capella Paolina in Vaticano*, Milan, 1950, pp. 15–17; G. Vasari, *La Vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568*, P. Barocchi, ed., III, Milan-Naples, 1962, pp. 1408–20; and L. Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings*, New York, 1975, pp. 44–46. The later dating of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* has been implied by all scholars writing on the Capodimonte cartoon fragment; see note 6.

C. Gilbert, "The Usefulness of Comparisons Between the Parts and the Set: the Case of the Capella Paolina," *Actas del Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte*, III, Granada, 1973, pp. 519–31, reversed the traditional chronology of the two Pauline frescoes.

4. On Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), Canon of S. Giovanni Laterano, erudite librarian and antiquarian to the Farnese family, author of *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum, ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum annotationibus ex bibliotheca Fulvi Orsini*, Rome, 1570 (Antwerp ed., 1598), see P. de Nolhac, "Une Galerie de Peinture au XVIe Siècle: Les Collections de Fulvio Orsini," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX, 1884, p. 427–29. See Dussler, p. 38 and J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Michelangelo and his Studio*, London, 1953, pp. 115–16, for brief remarks on the Michelangelo drawings in the Orsini collection. Observations by the following authors reveal the extent of Orsini's intellectual pursuits: J. A. Orbaan, "Milaneesche Gegevens," I, *Oud Holland*, XLVI, 1929, pp. 115–29; L. Partridge, "The Sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola (Part II)," *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, pp. 53–56; W. Prinz, "The *Four Philosophers* by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting," *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, pp. 410–12; C. Brown and A. M. Lorenzoni, "Major and Minor Collections of Antiquities in Documents of the Late Sixteenth Century," *Art Bulletin*, LXVI, 1984, pp. 504–505.

5. Inventory published by De Nolhac, p. 433. Fulvio Orsini could very well have been the drawing's first owner, but it is more probable that he was a second or third owner. It is possible that the drawing may have come into Fulvio's collection in 1587 at the death of his employer and friend, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who after all was a nephew of Pope Paul III. Paul III being the patron who commissioned the Pauline frescoes, it should not surprise that Fulvio Orsini may have obtained the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* cartoon fragment so directly. The original of the complete Orsini collection inventory is lost, but a copy is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. The cartoon, like all the other works of art, came into the possession of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese—who had already inherited most of the collection of Cardinal Allessandro Farnese when Fulvio bequeathed his collection to Odoardo as a token of his esteem (see also *ibid.*, pp. 427–28). The Michelangelo cartoon may have entered the Farnese collection together with Raphael's *Moses* cartoon, now also at Capodimonte; see K. Oberhuber, *Raphaels Zeichnungen, Abteilung IX*, Berlin, 1972, p. 98, no. 411. An inventory dated 7 May 1697, lists the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* cartoon fragment as the property of the Farnese Duke of Parma (*Inventario di tutti li mobili essistenti nella Guardarobba e Palazzo del Ser. Sr. Duca di Parma in Roma*, fasc. 1302, "Carte Farnesiane," Archivio di Stato di Napoli): "118. Un cartone grande tirato en tela con tre figure fatti di lapis nero, mano di Michelangelo." See *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane: Notizie e Documenti*, V, Rome, 1902, p. 275; and E. Steinmann, "Cartoni di Michelangelo," *Bollettino d'arte*, I, 1925–26, p. 16. The cartoon fragment remained the property of the Farnese family till the death of the last Farnese, Antonio, Duke of Parma in 1731. His successor Don Carlos de Borbon (later Charles III of Spain), after being crowned King of Naples, had most of the Farnese treasures moved to the Capodimonte Palace. The cartoon fragment was moved there in 1759, for there is a reference to this effect in Vasari, *Vita di Michelangelo*, Rome, 1760, p. 75, n. 2. From there it came to the Museo Nazionale in Naples and finally to the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte. De Tolnay, 1960, p. 198, and C. de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo*, III, Novara, 1975, p. 48, give the standard abbreviated form of the provenance.

6. E. Steinmann, pp. 11–16. The modern bibliography on the Capodimonte cartoon fragment seems to begin with the short notices in H. Thode, *Michelangelo: Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, II, Berlin, 1908, p. 81, and III, Berlin, 1913, pp. 260–61, no. 554. See also the following: A. Neumeyer, "Michelangelos Fresken in der Capella Paolina des Vatikan," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII, 1929–30, p. 182; Baumgart and Biagetti, pp. 23, 45; B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, II, 2nd ed. (not included in 1st ed.), Chicago, 1938, p. 194, no. 1544; A. L. Goldscheider, *Michelangelo Drawings*, London, 1951, p. 56, no. 117; Wilde, pp. 116, 133; Dussler, p. 118, no. 187; Hartt, pp. 282–83, no. 407; De Tolnay, 1960, p.

198; Comitato Nazionale per le Onoranze a Michelangelo nel IV Centenario della Morte. *Michelangelo: Mostra di disegni, manoscritti, e documenti*, exh. cat. by Casa Buonarroti, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 1964, p. 72, cat. no. 151, pl. CI; C. de Tolnay, *I disegni di Michelangelo nelle collezione italiane*, Florence, 1975, no. 111; De Tolnay, *Corpus*, p. 48, no. 384 recto; C. Bambach, "A Note on Michelangelo's Cartoon for the Sistine Ceiling: Haman," *Art Bulletin*, LXV, 1983, pp. 664–65. Cf. also S. Tsuji, "Il *cartone* non era spesso: il vero significato del cartone da pittura," *La pittura nel XIV e XV secolo: il contributo dell'analisi tecnica alla storia dell'arte, Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, III, Bologna, 1979, p. 158.

7. Since the drawing was first published no scholar has rejected outright the Capodimonte cartoon fragment, although a possible reworking by Daniele da Volterra has been suggested. For various opinions, see Berenson, p. 194, no. 1544 A; De Tolnay, 1960, p. 198; De Tolnay, *Corpus*, III, p. 48; and Goldscheider, p. 56.

8. For instance, De Tolnay, 1960, p. 198. De Tolnay, *Corpus*, III, p. 48: "Poiche i contorni delle figure sono bucherellati, e chiaro che questo e il cartone usato da Michelangelo direttamente per il trasferimento sull'intonaco."

9. See survey of the literature in connection with this topic in Vasari/Barocchi, II, pp. 30–34. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, Princeton, 1981, chapter XVII, "Panepistemon," pp. 250–61, provides a brief discussion of Michelangelo and the general theory of *disegno*.

10. See Vasari/Barocchi, I, pp. 68, 117–19.

11. *Ibid.*, II, p. 119, and *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1931–32, no. 71.

12. Thanks to Dott.ssa Rossana Muzii, curator of drawings at the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, I was able to examine the Michelangelo cartoon firsthand—undisturbed by frame, glass or walls—before the cartoon was sent for conservation to the Istituto de Patologia dell'Libro in Rome. Dott.ssa Muzii will publish the results of the conservation project sometime in the future.

13. See De Nolhac, p. 433.

14. Vasari/Barocchi, I, p. 27.

15. This centering circle probably acted as a point of reference for the orientation of the neighboring cartoons that were to be nailed to the *intonaco*. The short vertical and horizontal axes inside the circle helped ensure that the positioning of the various portions of the design aligned with the outer frames of the composition and, ultimately, with the chapel's architecture. Although very much smaller in scale, several of Raphael's pricked drawings show plumb lines, which are a similar alignment device. Pricked (or stylus-incised) vertical lines from the top and the bottom edges of the sheet, or pricked horizontal lines from the left and right edges, sometimes vertical and horizontal, which are pro-

jected to run through the center of the composition, helped orient the composition with respect to its frame. For examples of this practice, see P. Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael with a Complete Catalogue*, Los Angeles, 1983, p. 56, no. 12, which is a cartoon for a panel painting, and p. 204, no. 287, which is a study.

16. See note 5, inventory of Roman Palace and *Guardarobba* of Duke of Parma dated 7 May 1697: "un cartone grande tirato en tela. . . " Wilde, p. 115, noted that the *Epifania* cartoon by Michelangelo, now in the British Museum, was also recorded in Fulvio Orsini's inventory of 1600 as already glued onto canvas and framed. It is possible that the Capodimonte cartoon fragment was glued onto the canvas support when it was framed, hence before 1600, as Wilde assumed from the Orsini inventory citation of the *Epifania* cartoon. Backing cartoons with canvas seems to have been current practice then.

17. See G. B. Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura, libri tre*, "libro secondo," Hildesheim-New York, 1971 (1st ed. 1587), pp. 102–103, for a shortcut to rendering large areas of shadow in cartoons, a hint that Michelangelo may have followed here.

18. The three patches are along the right half of the cartoon. The topmost, which is also the smallest, is triangular in shape. The second largest patch, the one that has the drawn calf of the soldier at the bottom right, is about 10½ x 12 inches, and the paper has turned to an almost brick color. The drawing of the cartoon continues on these two patches, as do the pricked outlines, hence the two patches seem to have been regarded as part of the original drawing surface from the beginning.

19. See Wilde, p. 125, no. 90, pl. CXLII, who dates it to 1528–30. Red chalk; 275 x 383 mm.

20. There are at least twelve pounced drawings by Leonardo and at least forty-five by Raphael. The subject of transfer methods of drawings, more specifically pouncing, will be covered in my forthcoming dissertation *Raphael and the Tradition of Pouncing Drawings in the Italian Renaissance Workshop*.

21. Baumgart and Biagetti, p. 45.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

23. The photographs taken by Takashi Okamura to record the two Pauline frescoes in A. Chastel, *The Vatican Frescoes of Michelangelo*, II, New York, 1980, prove the correctness of Biagetti's view. The photographs of Christ's face and the two angels on the top right corner of the *Conversion of St. Paul* (Chastel, pls. 136 and 142) show clearly the respective evidence from the techniques of *spolvero* and stylustracing.

24. I owe many thanks to Dr. Fabrizio Mancinelli for his thoughtful observations concerning Michelangelo's use of

cartoon transfer techniques on the Sistine Ceiling. The current cleaning of the frescoes has permitted us an invaluable glimpse into Michelangelo's idiosyncratic ways of transferring cartoons and of the painter's developing technical habits.

25. Vasari/Barocchi, I, p. 82.

26. Baumgart and Biagetti, pp. 45–46. At least, the proposition that the cartoon was pounced by an assistant should be accepted.

27. See K. Oberhuber, *Il cartone per la Scuola di Atene*, Milan, 1972, p. 9; K. Oberhuber, *Polarität und Synthese in Raphaels Schule von Athen*, Stuttgart, 1983, p. 10; Joannides, p. 82, no. 25. Examination of the surface of the *School of Athens* indeed shows the traces left by the stylus incisions upon the sub-cartoon. Cf. also E. Borsook, "Technical Innovations and the Development of Raphael's Style in Rome," *Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*, XII, 1985, pp. 127–36.

28. See G. Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazione del 1550 e 1568*, R. Bettarini, ed., annotated by P. Barocchi, I (text), Florence, 1966, p. 121, the text quoted in the 1568 edition is more complete; R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584, pp. 170–71; Armenini, p. 103–104.

29. G. B. Armenini, pp. 103–104. The chapter is entitled "Di quanta importanza sia a far bene i cartoni, della utilita, & effetti loro, in quanti modi, e co che materia si fanno, & qual siano le vie piu espedite, & facili, & indi come si calcano, & spolverano nelle opere senza offendersi, & come si imitano in quelle."

30. See also Vasari/Bettarini-Barocchi, I (text), p. 134 (1568 ed.), and Borghini, p. 173, for an alternative procedure, involving a type of carbon paper, to preserve cartoons from damage in the transferring of designs.

31. Vasari/Barocchi, I, p. 81. See also, Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano, *Due dialogi di M. Giovanni Andrea Gilio . . .* , Camerino, 1564, p. 113 recto and verso.

32. See L. Goldscheider, *Michelangelo's Last Painting*, London, 1968, p. 18.

33. Baumgart and Biagetti, pl. XLVII.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

35. See Steinberg, p. 17. De Tolnay, 1960, p. 142, fig. 299, published a drawing (415 x 520 mm.) now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes (Ba. 6, IV, fol. 2), which represents the composition of Michelangelo's *Conversion of St. Paul*, and noted that the drawing was probably done to show the Pope the loincloths to be painted on the nudes which in the drawing are distinguished by a darker wash.

NOTES

36. See Steinberg, pp. 46–50; P. Fehl, "Michelangelo's *Cruci-fixion of St. Peter*: Notes on the Identification of the Locale of Action," *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, pp. 327–43; and Gilbert, pp. 526–27, on the iconography of St. Peter's Crucifixion.

37. The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, owns impressions of both prints. The engraving (575 x 433 mm.) by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri is recorded in Ch. Le Blanc, *Manuel de L'Amateur d'Estampes*, I, Paris, 1854, p. 616, no. 27. The etching (410 x 325 mm.) by Michele Lucchese is recorded in J. D. Passavant, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, Leipzig, 1863, VI, p. 167, no. 6. See also De Tolnay, 1960, p. 145, no. 303 and no. 302. Neumeyer, p. 181, no. 2 and no. 6, published the text of the respective Latin inscriptions on the prints. Note also the impression of Cavalieri's print at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica in Rome (FC 69816) and of Lucchese's at the Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence (inv. XXXI), both recorded in L. Passerini, *La Bibliografia di Michelangelo Buonarroti e gli incisori delle sue opere*, Florence, 1875, pp. 177, 210; and M. Rotili, *La Fortuna di Michelangelo nell'incisione* (exh. cat., Museo del Sanno), Benevento, 1964, pp. 27, 42 (n. 31), 72 (no. 48), 74 (no. 55). Two other bits of evidence might be provided for the original nudity of St. Peter, but they are open to doubt. An engraving of St. Peter alone by Michele Lucchese was recorded by Neumeyer, p. 181, no. 7; Baumgart and Biagetti, p. 17, no. 18; and De Tolnay, 1960, p. 145. But as Steinberg, p. 58, has noted, no impression of this print has been located. Steinmann, p. 16, noted that a red chalk drawing in the Kupferstich-Kabinett of Dresden (Braun no. 18), which was ascribed to Daniele da Volterra, depicted St. Peter and one of the *sbirri*.

38. The complete nudity of St. Peter in the scene of his crucifixion does not seem to have a direct iconographic precedent, but is Michelangelo's own invention. In the *Last Judgement* Michelangelo had already depicted St. Peter nude. There is also a parallel in depictions of the nude Christ by Michelangelo himself and by earlier artists. Observations by P. Fehl, "On the Representation of Character in Renaissance Sculpture," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XXXI, 1973, pp. 291–307, apply to the depiction of the nude St. Peter. The analysis of Michelangelo's Christ in S. Maria sopra Minerva, pp. 306–307, is particularly relevant here. See also P. Fehl, "The Naked Christ in S. Maria Novella in Florence: Reflections on an Exhibition and the Consequences," *Storia dell'Arte*, 1982, no. 45, pp. 161–64.

39. See De Tolnay, 1960, p. 145; and Goldscheider, 1968, pp. 10–12.

40. As Mrs. Orefice explained to me, the loincloth on her painting quickly dissolved when the panel was conserved in the late sixties, revealing that the pigment here was not intrinsically bonded to the layers on the surface of the picture that seem original. See also Goldscheider, 1968, p. 18.

41. ". . . come nella crucifissione di san Pietro, e nella conversione di san Paulo dipinte nella Capella Paulina di Roma et intagliate da Giovambatista de' Cavalieri." See Vasari/Barocchi, I, pp. 233–34, no. 77. Vasari might have noted the repainting of the Pauline frescoes if it had been done before the second edition of the *Vite* was published, in connection with either the print mentioned in the *Vita di Marcantonio* or the frescoes as described in the *Vita di Michelangelo*. Goldscheider, p. 18, suggested 1559, the date for the repainting of the *Last Judgement*, as the date for the repainting of the Pauline frescoes, which in my mind cannot be so confidently proposed.

42. In conversation.

43. See also Goldscheider, 1951, p. 56, no. 117, for a consideration of Daniele da Volterra's involvement in the cartoon. In any case, the cartoon must have been patched when it was decided to glue it onto its canvas support and to frame it.

44. See G. Vasari, *Le Vite de'più Eccellenti pittori, Scultori ed Architettori scritti da Giorgio Vasari pittor aretino*, G. Milanesi, ed., IV, Florence, 1906, p. 43; Vasari/Barocchi, I, pp. 25–26.

45. Professor Creighton Gilbert kindly brought this sheet to my attention. 230 x 200 mm., inv. no. 130522 recto and verso.

46. B. Berenson, *I disegni dei Pittori Fiorentini*, rev. ed., Milan, 1961, no. 1861, p. 434. See also B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 2nd ed., Chicago, 1938, p. 260, no. 1861, where he had described the verso briefly, with no mention of the recto; A. Jahn Rusconi, "I disegni di antichi maestri nella Galleria Corsini," *Emporium*, XXV–XXVI, 1907, pp. 266–67, 271–72; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VII, Part 2, Milan, 1913, p. 440; U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, XIII, Leipzig, 1920, p. 246. The brief mention of the sheet in H. Ost, *Leonardo-Studien*, Berlin-New York, 1975, pp. 61–62 (especially n. 227; see also additional bibliography cited) and Enrichetta Beltrame Quattrochi, *Dibujos toscanos y umbros del primer Renacimiento de la colección del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe*, exh. cat. by Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes Buenos Aires, 1980, cat. no. 9, pp. 28–29, pls. 92–93 came to my attention belatedly.

47. I believe this foreshortened male head may be a study in connection with the old apostle, who is standing fourth from the left border in the *Assumption of the Virgin with Saints* at the Church of S. Domenico in Cortona. U. Pasqui, *Di Bartolommeo della Gatta Monaco Camaldolese Miniatore, Pittore e Architetto*, Arezzo, 1926, p. 22, pl. 14, dated the altarpiece to 1483. See also Venturi, pp. 435–36, fig. 338.

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