CARDINIAL ANTOINE PERRENOT DE GRANVELLE
BY SCIPIONE PULZONE
**A COMPREHENSIVE REPORT BASED ON CONSERVATION AND
ART HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

THE COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART RESEARCH FORUM:

CONSERVATION AND ART HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

WORKS FROM THE COURTAULD GALLERY PROJECT

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I: Introduction

The *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle* by Scipione Pulzone is a rarely seen sixteenth-century gem from the Courtauld Gallery's collection (fig. 1). In an effort to learn more about this impressive panel and improve its physical state, art historical research has been combined with technical study and detailed physical examination. This report is the result of a seven-month collaborative investigation of the painting conducted by one student pursuing a Masters in the History of Art and one student pursuing a Postgraduate Diploma in the Conservation of Easel Paintings, both at the Courtauld Institute of Art.

The initial goal of this project was to contextualise the painting within the lives of both Pulzone and Granvelle as well as learn more about the materials and techniques of the artist. Subsequently, the exact nature of the commission was investigated and broader themes relating to its intention and function were developed in relation to the panel. This report summarises the various avenues of inquiry that were pursued and proposes various hypotheses about the panel in the hopes of illuminating its essentially undocumented and unpublished history.

The portrait is a large (81.7 cm H x 61.6 cm W x 2 – 3 mm D) oil on copper panel bust-length depiction of Cardinal Granvelle, painted in 1576. The sitter wears a red watered-silk robe, his left hand clasps a book, and he is seated before a grey wall over which luxurious gold-trimmed blue drapery cascades. Despite indications in contemporary literature that the painting was well-known shortly after its execution – as discussed below – the panel's provenance is largely undocumented. The Courtauld Gallery acquired the painting through the bequest of Lord Lee of Fareham in 1947.[1]

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[1] Kenneth Clark, *Catalogue of the Lee Collection* (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 1962), 45 – 46.

Lord Lee had purchased the panel in 1924 at Christie's from an anonymous seller, now known to be the Duke of Westminster, Hugh Grosvenor.[2] The direct chain of ownership ends with the Duke, and the only other certainty is that the panel was lent to the British Institution in 1829 for an exhibition, its only public display besides an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1937 – 1938.[3] The owner at the time of the British Institution display was Sir James Annesley Stewart, and this was a century and a half before the cardinal in the painting was identified correctly, as discussed later in this report. There are some claims that the panel was in the collection of Robert Strange in the 1760s and 1770s, but the evidence remains unclear at this time.[4] Therefore, much is left open to interpretation as the portrait's documented history is scarce, especially in the century following its execution.

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[2] The panel was sold on 4 July 1924 at the Westminster Sale of Christie, Manson & Woods by an anonymous party. For an interpretation of the documentation proving the seller's identity, see Gillian Kennedy, Assistant to the Curator, Courtauld Institute of Art, to Pierre Curie, Paris, 9 February 1988, Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle by Scipione Pulzone, Curatorial Records, Courtauld Gallery, London.
[3] Clark, *Catalogue of the Lee Collection*, 45.
[4] For the hypothesis that places the Courtauld panel in the collection of Robert Strange, see Gillian Kennedy, Assistant to the Curator, Courtauld Institute of Art, to Pierre Curie, Paris, 9 February 1988, Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle by Scipione Pulzone, Curatorial Records, Courtauld Gallery, London.

II: The Artist - Scipione Pulzone, called 'Il Gaetano'

Thanks to the signature as well as contextual and stylistic evidence, the Courtauld panel is securely attributed to Scipione Pulzone. The inscription reads 'Scipione from Gaeta made this in the Year of Our Lord 1576' (fig. 2).[5] Pulzone, born in 1546 and died in 1598, was also known as 'Il Gaetano' in reference to his birthplace Gaeta, a seaside town south of Rome. He was active across the Peninsula, but most of his career was spent in the eternal city, although he did maintain a significant presence in Naples and Florence. Pulzone's work is often labelled as 'Counter Mannerist', reacting against the stylisations of the second generation of Mannerist painters in the mid and later sixteenth century.[6] Counter Mannerism rejected the distortions and artificiality of high Mannerist style, returning instead to the classicism and balance of earlier Renaissance art. In his formative years in Rome, Pulzone likely trained in the workshops of Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta and subsequently Jacopino del Conte, both of whom painted in the Counter Mannerist style.[7] It is unknown if Pulzone arrived with previous experience and perhaps even training from a local Gaeta workshop. However, it is clear that Pulzone developed a distinct and commercially successful style once he was established as an independent artist in Rome.

Pulzone painted religious works such as the *Lamentation* (fig. 3), but it was for his portraiture that he was most renowned. He excelled in the representation of details and materials in his depictions of individuals for which he was and still is well

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[5] Original Latin: 'Scipo Gaietanus / faciebat An Dni / 1576.'

[6] See, for example, Erasmo Vaudo, *Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta, Pittore* (Gaeta: Centro Storico Culturale: 1976), 11.

[7] See Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma: L'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta* (Torino: G. Einaudi Editore, 1957), 19 – 20.

known. Specifically, he masterfully harmonised minutely rendered physiognomy with a delicate treatment of light, combining them to depict the sitter in a veristic yet aesthetically pleasing manner. Throughout his portraiture, there is a clear idealising approach to the painting of facial features, especially the eyes and mouth, which he would conform to a standard of beauty, yet he managed to retain individual likenesses overall in sitters who ranged from youths to elderly statesmen.

Documentary sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries evidence his reputation as one of the greatest portrait artists of the period, praising the attention to detail and realism of his works. For example, in 1642 artist and biographer Giovanni Baglione wrote:

> '[Pulzone] was an excellent painter, particularly in painting the effigies of others [...] and he not only surpassed his master, but did not have any equal in his time; and he painted them so lifelike and with such diligence, that all the hairs could be counted, and especially the draperies that he portrayed in those [paintings] seemed more true than their originals, which gave them a wonderful taste.'[8]

Through painting portraits of illustrious Roman citizens, such as Giacomo Boncompagni (fig. 4), Pulzone actively advanced himself by creating a network of patrons that extended across the city and even to other centres in Italy. He painted many of the most illustrious ecclesiastical figures of the era as well, including Cardinal 'Alessandrino,' Pope Gregory XIII, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, Pope Pius V, and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (figs. 5 – 9). His most important relationship at the start of his career in Rome, however, was with Cardinal Ricci, whom he painted

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[8] Original Italian: 'fu eccellente pittore, e particolarmente in far l'altrui effigie, così egli a' suoi tempi ritrasse gli altrui aspetti, e non solo passò il Maestro, ma nel suo tempo non hebbe eguale; e si vivi li faceva, e con tal diligenza, che vi si sarieno contati sin tutti i capelli, et in particolare li drappi, che in quelli ritraheva, parevano del loro originale più veri, e davano mirabil gusto.' 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: Stamperia di Andrea Fei, 1642), 52 – 53.

in 1469; this commission is Pulzone's earliest extant signed and dated work (fig. 10).

Ricci was the financial manager of the Curia, and it is likely that his influence gained

Pulzone his first patrician commissions that led to the development of a larger patron

network. Once the painter was connected with the powerful and long-established

Colonna family – perhaps through one such commission (see fig. 12) – Pulzone

received many more requests to paint portraits of cardinals and other noble families.

He rapidly grew to commensurate fame within numerous elite circles and maintained

a close relationship with the Papal Court for the duration of his career. Pulzone

became one of the major artistic figures of the sixteenth century in Italy, especially

during the age of Counter Reformation, and was highly esteemed by a variety of

prestigious patrons, ecclesiasts, and writers.

III: The Sitter - Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle

While it is now clear that Pulzone's portrait depicts Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the sitter was misidentified until 1957 when Federico Zeri disproved the previously accepted identification and confirmed that this was indeed Cardinal Granvelle.[9] Up to that time, the sitter was believed to be Cardinal Antonio Sartorius, translator of the Vatican Septuagint, likely due to an incorrect label on its frame that may have been inadvertently switched, as indicated by auction records.[10] However, as is argued by Zeri and evident when compared to the numerous portraits of Granvelle, it is clear that Cardinal Granvelle was indeed Pulzone's subject.

Granvelle, who was born in 1517 and died in 1586, was one of the most influential European politicians in the era of Counter Reformation. Described as the 'dominating Imperial statesman of the whole century'[11] by modern scholars, he was active and heavily involved in all aspects of politics for over fifty years, frequently travelling between nations and rulers. His career was chequered by major successes and failures across Europe. An international figure from youth onwards, he studied law at Padua and divinity at Leuven before returning to Besançon to hold Canonry. Besançon was the city of his birth and, at the time, also a free Imperial City in the Franche-Comté. In 1540, at the young age of 23, Granvelle held Bishopric at Arras, and was ordained a priest the same year. Through his father, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, Granvelle gained political

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[9] For Zeri's full discussion of the sitter in the Courtauld panel, see Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma*, 105 – 106.

[10] See Arthur Hamilton Lee and Tancred Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, etc. At 18 Kensington Palace Gardens, London, Collected by Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), cat no. 90; Clark, *Catalogue of the Lee Collection,* 45 – 46.

[11] Hugh Redwald Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts (1517-1633)* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 112.

experience and responsibilities. This included attending the Council of Trent at various intervals and addressing the Council himself on behalf of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V on 9 January 1543. In 1550, he succeeded his father, becoming Secretary of State under Charles V. Five years later, upon the abdication of Emperor Charles, he transferred his services to Philip II, as illustrated in a contemporary print (fig. 11).

Philip sent Granvelle to the Netherlands as his Chief Minister in the country, and the priest became largely responsible for the implementing the disastrous foreign policy that led to the eventual revolt of the Netherlandish people against the king's rule. Granvelle repressed the population by actively trying to convert the Netherlands into a Spanish dependency, publicly criticizing the local regent Margaret of Parma, and instituting a policy of religious persecution. During this turbulent time, in 1560 he was elevated to the Archiepiscopal See of Mechelen and, one year later, became a cardinal, both thanks to Pope Pius IV. However, the growing hostility of the local Netherlandish population as well as the government he had repressed led him to relocate to his native Franche-Comté in March 1564 at the firm suggestion of King Philip. He spent the following six years in limbo waiting to return to the Netherlands, but was never sent back.

In 1570, Granvelle travelled to Rome on a mission for Philip. He was charged with arranging an alliance between the Papacy, Venice, and Spain against the Turks. This union led to victory in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The same year, perhaps due to his diplomatic success, Granvelle became the Viceroy of Naples under Philip II's command for the next four years. In 1575, Granvelle briefly returned to Rome before being summoned to Madrid to become the President of Italian Affairs for the Spanish king. In 1584, Granvelle was named the Archbishop of his native Besançon.

However, the cardinal died two years later in Madrid from a protracted illness before he could return to be enthroned.

IV: The Commission of the Portrait

The first area of inquiry in this project was to determine how the panel fit into the lives of both Pulzone and Granvelle. As can been seen in the inscription, it is dated to 1576 (see fig. 2). Pulzone arrived in Rome in the mid 1560s, joining the local painters guild of Saint Luke in 1567.[12] As previously mentioned, in 1569 he signed and dated his earliest extant painting, the portrait of Carindal Ricci (see fig. 10), which also exists in three other versions by Pulzone. It was at this time – the late 1560s and early 1570s – that Pulzone developed a new formula for portraiture which became the standard for patrician portraits, especially in Rome. These depictions showed the sitter at chest instead of waist length.

The decade of the 1570s marked the moment that Pulzone's career blossomed, and he was commissioned to paint portraits for many of the most illustrious patrons in Rome, including Pope Pius V, and members of the oldest and most prominent local families, such as the Colonna (see figs. 8 & 12). In July 1574, Pulzone's son was born, and Francesco Colonna was named the godfather, demonstrating how intimately connected the artist was within this dense network of powerful patrons.[13]

In 1576, a letter from a chamberlain in the service of the Curia described the talents of Pulzone to William V of Bavaria, referring to him as the best portraitist in Rome.[14] The letter also indicated that the portraitist was occupied with numerous commissions and could not finish them all himself due to the volume, so he hired Jacopino del Conte – his supposed former master – to assist him. The involvement of another documented hand working for Pulzone has brought up the as-yet unanswered

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[12] See Alexandra Dern, *Scipione Pulzone (ca. 1546-1598)* (Weimar: VDG, 2003), 21.
[13] See Ibid., 32.
[14] For a transcription and discussion of this letter, see Ibid., 33.

question of how the master's shop operated and who was responsible for the portraits as well as their copies since many of his works seem to exist in multiple versions. This letter also indicates that Pulzone had high-class patrons who were willing to wait, suggesting that he was in extreme demand at the time. It seems that the master had attained a high level of prestige and fame. Around this time, in late 1575 or early 1576, Pulzone was called to Naples to paint a now lost portrait of John of Austria, the local Commander of Philip II at the time.[15]

For Cardinal Granvelle, the decade of the 1570s was a return to political activity following the period of limbo spent in his hometown of Besançon after he was effectively exiled from the Netherlands. In 1570, he was sent to Rome by Philip to attend to important diplomatic affairs. His successful facilitation of the king's alliance that led to victory in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 likely brought about his appointment as Viceroy of Naples the same year, where he immediately relocated and lived for the following four years. In 1575 he returned to Rome, briefly, before being summoned to Madrid to become President of Italian Affairs for Philip, where he remained until his death in 1586. The portrait was made towards the end of the Cardinal's long political career, in a period of stability and success. This context of the work is important, as it could suggest that the painting was intended to be the final portrait of the Cardinal. It is, therefore, important to delve deeper into the relationship between Pulzone and Granvelle as well as the quality of Pulzone's paintings that led to his elevated status as a painter of the most powerful and important spiritual and political rulers of his time. The close relationship between patron and artist as well as the historical context could suggest that Pulzone's portrait was commissioned as a lasting and durable final image of the cardinal. This theory is expanded through the

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[15] For more on this commission, see Ibid., 34.

investigation of other aspects of the painting, and will be developed further throughout the report.

In examining the lives of both artist and sitter at the time the painting was executed, it seems there are a few possible scenarios that could explain the circumstances surrounding Granvelle's commission of Pulzone to paint his portrait. First, as Granvelle was viceroy in Naples from 1571 – 1575, he could have met Pulzone in the city when the portraitist was called south to paint John of Austria. While that commission is lost, artist and biographer Giovanni Baglione wrote in 1642 that Pulzone was in Naples in the 1570s.[16] This is sometimes doubted since Pulzone's only extant works that were painted in Naples date from the 1580s and 1590s after being called to the Aragonese Court in 1584. A second possibility is that the commission could have originated from the time when Cardinal Granvelle returned to Rome from Naples in 1575, just before or after Pulzone travelled south.

It is, however, most likely that the events leading to the commission of the portrait were part of a relationship between the artist and patron that developed over the years Granvelle spent in Rome and Naples. Pulzone and Granvelle could have met for the first time in Rome when the Cardinal arrived in 1570, or when they were both in Naples, and the portrait may have been commissioned in either city before he left for Spain in 1575, with the final version of the panel being completed in 1576 and subsequently delivered to him. It is certain that by this point Pulzone's reputation was well-known in the Curial Court, and Granvelle, as an esteemed connoisseur, patron, and collector of contemporary art, was likely to have known of the painter and would have been alerted to his presence in Naples to paint another servant of Philip II. It is also around this time, circa 1575, that Granvelle began writing about Pulzone and

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[16] For Baglione's full biography of Pulzone, see Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori*, 52 – 54.

recommending him to other notable European politicians. Through these and other writings, it is clear that the cardinal became a major patron of Pulzone, actively helping the painter gain prestigious commissions from a variety of influential figures. The documentary evidence reviewed below reveals the high regard Granvelle held for Pulzone and also demonstrates that the artist would certainly be an obvious choice for an important commission from the cardinal, such as the final portrait of himself.

While in Rome in 1565, just before Pulzone became well-known as a portraitist in the city, Granvelle wrote a letter that demonstrated his desire to locate a talented Italian or Flemish painter. He stated 'we have no painters at hand (in the Netherlands or Rome) for Titian at Venice is now very frail and Michelangelo is dead, and after them I see none better that we can find.'[17] This letter shows Granvelle's eagerness to find a new portraitist worthy to paint both him and his network of powerful allies. The cardinal, a passionate collector, had formed a lifelong appreciation for Italian art during the years he studied Divinity at Padua.

In 1578, two years after Pulzone painted Granvelle's portrait, Juan de Zuniga, the former tutor and current ambassador of Philip II of Spain, wrote to the Philip II of Granvelle's preferences of painters of the time, saying 'the cardinal approves much Girolamo Muziano as a draughtsman, and Marcello Venusti to paint, and to render portraits from life Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta.'[18] Therefore, by this date, the fame of Pulzone as a portraitist was circulating well outside of Rome, and the cardinal was one of his primary promoters, likely based on his contentedness with the portrait

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[17] As translated and transcribed in Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists*, 64.
[18] Original Spanish: 'Granvela aprueva mucho a Hieronimo Monciano para hazer designo y a Marcelo [Venusti] para dar colores y para retratar al natural a un Scipion da Gaeta.' As transcribed in Rudolf Beer, 'Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivio General zu Simancas,' *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XII (1891): 198, no. 8471.

Pulzone painted for him. It seems that Granvelle had found in Pulzone what he had been looking for.

Finally, in 1584, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, artist, art theorist, and art historian, published his *Treatise on the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture.* He defined Pulzone as one of the 'modern painters,' saying: 'we see Pulzone's best in the portrait of Pope Gregory XIII and, especially, his portrait of Cardinal Granvelle, in which we see all the most beautiful aspects of nature, as rendered in the dignity of his face, which exudes magnificence.'[19] Clearly, the portrait of Granvelle by Pulzone had achieved an iconic status within less than ten years since its creation. This was certainly the result of Granvelle's position in society, renown for his artistic taste, and the Cardinal's promotion of Pulzone as a portraitist of the ecclesiastical, military, and patrician elite, as well as – perhaps most importantly – Pulzone's talent as a painter.

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[19] Original Italian: '[…] massime nel ritratto di Gregorio XIII, e del cardinal Granvela, dove vediamo tutto il più bello della natura, come la dignità del volto in quello, ed in questo la magnificenza.' Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura ed architettura*, Vol II (Rome: Presso-Saverio Del Monte, 1844), 374 – 375.

V: Contextualizing the Portrait

It is now important to introduce the relevant wider groups of artwork related to Granvelle's portrait. These are Pulzone's portraits of other cardinals, Granvelle's own collection, and portraits of Granvelle himself by Pulzone and others. As has been discussed, Pulzone painted quite a number of portraits of cardinals and members of the Curia in the 1570s, including Pope Gregory XIII, Cardinal Farnese, and many more (see figs. 5 – 10). The portrait of Granvelle was completed in 1576, in the middle of this series, and it is interesting to consider the similarities and differences between these portraits. The most obvious way the portrait of Granvelle differs from the others is in its material and size. Only one other cardinal is painted on copper, and few are as large as Granvelle's portrait. The *Portrait of a Cardinal* at the National Gallery, London is actually slightly larger than Granvelle's portrait and is also on copper.[20] However, the panel is composed of tin plated copper, and is unsigned and undated. The Gallery estimates that it was painted circa 1575 – 1598. These two large portraits on copper are the exception in Pulzone's series, not the rule, and caution must be used when categorising them with works on other supports.[21] Generally speaking, the fact that many of Pulzone's portraits of cardinals exist in multiple versions can be connected to the idea of patrician patrons using portraits of themselves as diplomatic gifts. However, as will be proposed in the Conclusion of this report, this may not be the case for Granvelle's portrait, which is markedly atypical of the series in material as well as size.

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[20] The National Gallery panel measures 94.3 x 71.8 cm, while the Courtauld panel is 81.7 x 61.6 cm. For an illustration of the National Gallery panel, see Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma*, fig. 89.

[21] There is a third panel on copper attributed to Pulzone, although its authorship is contested. See 'VI: Copies of Pulzone's Portrait' on pp. 21 – 23 of this report for further information.

The second wider group that is important to consider when studying the portrait is Granvelle's art collection, especially as a potential intended home for the Courtauld panel. The cardinal was one of the greatest private art collectors of the century. He had inherited a significant collection from his father but he added to it substantially, becoming a friend and patron of many artists across Europe. Granvelle was also in a key position to collect art; artists affiliated with courts were often called to rulers to execute portraits, and Granvelle's collection features portraits and other compositions by artists affiliated with both Charles' and Philip's courts, such as Titian and Leone Leoni. Titian had been called to Augsburg by the Emperor in 1548 and painted a portrait of Granvelle during his trip (fig. 13). The cardinal also managed many of the artists and artistic affairs at both Charles and Philip's courts. His collection, overall, provides interesting visual evidence of the political ties of both of these distinct parties.

Granvelle quickly became a renowned connoisseur and patron of contemporary European artists. Whilst in the Netherlands, for example, the cardinal discovered the talents of Antonis Mor and introduced him to Philip's court after commissioning a portrait for himself (fig. 14). In Antwerp, he commissioned works from Giambologna and arranged the artist's first visit to Italy. Granvelle's collection also contained works by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (fig. 15), another Netherlandish artist he was acquainted with during his time in the country. Furthermore, Granvelle took Jacques Jonghelinck, a friend of Brueghel's, under his wing, giving him a studio in his palace in Brussels. The sculptor produced a medal of the cardinal at this time (fig. 16). Clearly, Granvelle was very invested in contemporary art from diverse regions across Europe.

At his death, Granvelle's collection passed to his nephew Francois de Granvelle, comte de Chantecroy, who shared his artistic taste. However, Francois involuntarily sold the most illustrious pieces to Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II in 1597. The Emperor had sent him a list of thirty-three works he wanted and the price he would pay for them. Granvelle's nephew protested as the price offered was less than a separate offer he had received for just six of the paintings. Furthermore, Cardinal Farnese had also expressed interest in the collection, offering as much for just one painting as the Emperor paid for the thirty-three. The portrait of Granvelle by Pulzone, likely part of the collection at the time, was not on the Emperor's list and therefore would have remained in Besançon if it was part of his personal collection.[22]

The third contextual group of artworks that must be considered when studying Granvelle's likeness as rendered by Pulzone are the other portraits of the cardinal commissioned throughout Granvelle's life. The number of portraits ordered by the ecclesiastical elite, and the fact that they exist in copies, indicates a larger network of patrician gift-giving of the portraits, using them to give visual evidence of social and political allegiances, or as diplomatic gifts. The repetition and dissemination of one portrait also suggests the prominence of the respective sitter and degree of appreciation and even power they had at the time. As discussed, Granvelle commissioned portraits from Mor, Titian, and many others over the years, sometimes in multiples, indicating that he took part in this practice (see figs. 1, 13 – 14, 16 – 19).

It is clear that portraits were extremely important to the cardinal as he commissioned many over the course of his life in a variety of media, some of which were retained to enter his esteemed collection while others were, apparently, dispersed to other spiritual and political leaders. It is therefore significant to note that

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[22] For a detailed description of the Emperor's acquisition of part of Granvelle's collection, see Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists*, 112.

the cardinal's portrait by Pulzone is the last known image of Granvelle produced during his lifetime. Even though he lived for another decade, there is no record of any subsequent drawing, sculpture, or painting that captures the cardinal's likeness, with the exception of works derived directly from the Pulzone panel. This portrait appears to be that last image of himself that Granvelle commissioned, thereby providing further evidence for the theory that this panel may have been intended as a lasting and final image of the cardinal.

VI: Copies of Pulzone's Portrait

When studying the portraits of Granvelle to better understand the function and importance of Pulzone's version, the depictions that are directly related to the Courtauld panel yield valuable contextual information. The most closely tied version is currently located in Besançon, Granvelle's native city, and was also painted upon a copper support (fig. 19). Despite the overarching similarities and obvious connections between the two paintings, there are many key aspects of the Besançon version that indicate it was not a simple copy, especially since they are different sizes and proportions (fig. 20). The background, for example, does not include the blue curtain, the cardinal's left hand and the book he holds are in a different position, he wears no ring, and his body is turned more definitively to his right. The details of his robe and the lace sleeves are also different (fig. 21). Finally, the Courtauld portrait is signed and dated, while the Besançon version is not.

Traditionally, scholars have regarded the Besançon version as a copy by a follower or assistant of Pulzone, modelled after the Courtauld version.[23] Alexandra Dern in particular argued that the Besançon painting lacks the quality of detail associated with an autograph work, especially in the facial features.[24] There is also a somewhat awkward seating position not usually seen in works by Pulzone, and a slight disproportion between the head of the sitter and his body. However, a recent catalogue and exhibition of Pulzone's work featured the Besançon version prominently, and described the painting as being a high quality product of the master

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[23] See, for example, Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma*, 105.
[24] Dern, *Scipione Pulzone*, 113.

himself.[25] Therefore the attribution of the work remains uncertain and it is questionable if it is by Pulzone, his workshop, or a follower after the Courtauld version. Without a more detailed technical examination of the Besançon version and in-depth comparison, the relationship between the two paintings remains difficult to determine.

The museum in Besançon assert that their version is by Pulzone himself and was recorded in a 1607 inventory of Granvelle's art collection and estate.[26] They report that, roughly fifty years later, the portrait passed to Jean-Baptiste Boisot, (1638 – 1694), abbot at Saint Vincent, Besançon, who also acquired various manuscrips from the cardinal's collection. Upon his death, Boisot left everything to the city of Besançon, thus giving rise to the oldest museum in France. However, the inventory reference does not go into enough detail to distinguish conclusively which specific version of the portrait it describes, identifying the sitter, artist, support, and measurements only in the broadest terms.[27]

In fact, the measurements given in the inventory do not match the Besançon version and are actually closer to the proportions of the Courtauld version, perhaps with a frame (fig. 22). An identification of the Courtauld portrait as the panel in the 1607 inventory could be possible, as the earliest date in its provenance is 1769, as discussed in the Introduction. Unfortunately, there is no further documentation at this

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[25] See Alessandro Zuccari and Alessandra Acconci, ed. *Scipione Pulzone: da Gaeta a Roma alle Corti Europee* (Rome: Palombi, 2013), 275 – 278.

[26] See *Salles des Peintures: Guide-Catalogue du Visiteur, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon* (Besançon: Imprimerie de L'est, 1949), 16; *Besançon: Le Plus Ancien Musée de France, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Février-Avril 1957* (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1957), 23.

[27] The inventory reads: 'pourtraict de fut monsieur le cardinal de Granvelle, sur lame de cuivre, de la main de Scipion Gaëtan, d'haulteur de deux piedz unze polces et demy, large de deuz piedz un polce, molure noire, no 171.' As transcribed in Auguste Castan, *Monographie du Palais Granvelle a Besançon* (Paris: Impr. Impériale, 1867), 55.

time that can help discern which of the two panels is referred to in the inventory, or if it indicates the existence of a third panel. In any case, this inventory record shows that at least one copper portrait by Pulzone was not given to another politician as a gift, but rather was transported to Besançon from Italy to become a permanent part of the cardinal's prestigious collection.

In Besançon, there is an additional copy on canvas after their copper panel which features the addition of Granvelle's coat of arms but was almost certainly not painted by Pulzone or one of his assistants.[28] Supposedly there are two further copies of the Courtauld prototype in Mechelen where Granvelle also had strong political and personal ties.[29] These versions seem to be of lesser quality and, like the canvas version in Besançon, have not been regarded as important or even by Pulzone or his workshop. The Besançon version on copper remains by far the closest companion to the Courtauld panel in both aesthetics and their shared support material, and it must be considered when interpreting Pulzone's autograph portrait of Cardinal Granvelle.

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[28] For images of this painting, see Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle by Scipione Pulzone, Curatorial Records, Courtauld Gallery, London.
[29] For more information on these variants, see Dern, *Scipione Pulzone*, 113.

VII: Paintings on Copper

This panel is one of only two oil on copper paintings accepted as autograph works by Pulzone, the majority of his compositions being painted on canvas or wooden panels. Investigation of the use of copper by artists during this period, and the factors influencing them in choosing the support, was conducted in tandem with the art historical and contextual research. The results help to explain what may have driven Pulzone's decision to paint this particular work on copper, and provide further understanding about the function of the portrait and the intentions of the artist.

Artists in the sixteenth century experimented with unusual supports for paint – such as metal, marble, slate, and tile – and copper became increasingly popular during this period. Early in the century, Sebastiano del Piombo, Parmigiano, and Correggio all produced paintings on copper. In the 1560s the practice gained followers, and Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino and Allessando Allori also utilised copper as a support (figs. 23 – 25). Copper supports were then adopted by Northern artists working in Italy, and the practice spread north through the Alps.[30]

One factor influencing the popularity of copper supports during this period must have been the increased availability and reduced cost of copper panels. Thousands of tonnes of copper were mined annually in Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic, and by the end of the Middle Ages Venice was the key emporium for the copper trade.[31] Although it is difficult to judge the cost of copper from contemporary documentation, its frequent use for everyday objects indicates it was

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[30] Michael K. Komanecky, Isabel Horovitz, and Nicholas Eastaugh, 'Antwerp Artists and the Practice of Painting on Copper,' in *Painting Techniques, History, Materials and Studio Practice: Contributions to the Dublin Congress 7-11 September 1998,* ed. Ashok Roy and Perry Smith (London: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1998), 140 – 144.
[31] Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 324.

readily available and may have been relatively inexpensive; copper basins, kettles and other vessels were found in virtually every European home.[32] Another indication that copper plates must have been widely available is the sheer number that were used in the printmaking industry during this period. In the sixteenth century, commercial publishers set up large workshops that produced tens of thousands of prints, each of which would have required a copper plate. The size of the Courtauld panel is, however, unusually large for a painting made on copper, but it seems that large plate sizes were available for printmaking as early as the fifteenth century.[33]

The use of copper panels for printmaking may have had some influence on the choice of the material as a support for paintings. Many painters also produced etchings and engravings, and therefore would have been familiar with the material and had convenient access to plates. Sometimes copper panels that were used as supports for paintings have indications that they were originally manufactured as printing plates. However, in the case of Pulzone's work, this was not the case, as discussed in the following section. Moreover, there is no evidence that Pulzone produced etchings or engravings at all. It would seem to follow that the factors influencing his choice of the material came from elsewhere.

The use of copper is often associated with small-scale works, intended to be held in one's hand and admired at close range. The smooth, non-absorbent surface allows for minutely fine details, rich colours, and a luxuriously smooth finish. During the late sixteenth century, appreciation for rare and unusual objects developed in

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[32] Michael K. Komanecky, ed., *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper (1575-1775)* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1999), 4.
[33] The map of the world in Francesco Berlinghieri's *Geographia* (43 x 60 cm) and the *Interior of a Ruined Church* (71 x 60 cm) by Bernardo Prevedari are two examples of large plates from the 1480s. See Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching 1400-2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (London: Archetype Publishing, 2012), 144.

cultural humanist circles. The 'cabinet of the marvels of art' was a fixture in many princely collections, containing small works of art such as stone sculptures as well as paintings on marble, slate, lapis lazuli, amethyst, and other precious supports (fig. 26). Paintings on copper were thus appreciated as rare and treasured objects alongside works on ivory, amber, and exotic woods, demonstrating the refined taste of the owner of the cabinet. Pulzone's Courtauld panel is markedly larger in scale than such works and although his meticulous painting style is appreciable on the smooth surface of the copper, it is not different from his works on canvas or wood. For example, the minute detail in the lace on this painting is comparable to the lace work in his oil on canvas *Portrait of Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess* (fig. 27).

Another aspect of painting on copper that many artists explored was the metal's natural warm red colour, which could be used as a ready-made imprimaturer. When painting on copper, only a thin layer of lead white and oil is necessary as there is no need to isolate the support from the oil paint layer. In most paintings on copper, only a thin pale ground of lead white and oil is found, through which the metallic nature of the copper is still evident.[34] However, in this painting, Pulzone's three layers of ground completely obscure the copper colour; he does not appear to have been interested in this particular quality of the support.

Beyond its natural colour, another reason artists might have chosen a copper support was its durability. In the sixteenth century, artists were experimenting with materials to find a more durable support than canvas or wood. Vasari wrote of Sebastiano del Piombo's use of 'stone, marble, porphyry, and similar materials, on which paintings last a very long time; [Sebastiano] also demonstrated how one could

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[34] Isabel Horovitz, 'The Materials and Techniques of European Paintings on Copper Supports,' in *Copper as Canvas*, ed. Michael K. Komanecky (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1999), 73.

paint on silver, copper, tin, and other metals.'[35] Vasari himself experimented with these materials that he believed 'neither flame nor worms could harm,'[36] painting on at least one copper panel (see fig. 23).[37] In Venice, Veronese's son Carletto Caliari painted a large altarpiece for San Giobbe on copper, ostensibly to protect it against the north wind.[38]

There is also some evidence that the patrons themselves were concerned with the durability of their portraits. In a letter, Sebastiano told Michelangelo that Pope Clement had visited his studio to see a new portrait of himself painted on canvas. He wrote that the pope ordered another version for his collection, but specifically requested that this one be painted on stone. Pope Clement apparently shared Sebastiano's desire to immortalise the portrait.[39]Although there are no surviving documents related to Cardinal Granvelle's commission of Pulzone, the context of the portrait seems to suggest that he desired a painting that would endure. It could be that the reputed durability of copper was the primary reason for Pulzone's use of the metal as the support for the Courtauld panel.

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[35] Original Italian: '[…] ha lavorato sopra le pietre di peperigni, di marmi, di mischi, di porfidi e lastre durissime, nelle quali possono lunghissimo tempo durare le pitture; oltre che ciò, ha mostrato come si possa dipingere sopra l'argento, rame, stagno e altri metalli.' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, Vol. V, *Testo*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Florence: Sansoni, 1966), 99.

[36] Original Italian: '[…] e che né il fuoco né i tarli potessero lor nuocere.' Vasari, *Le vite*, 97 – 98.

[37] See Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique* (New York: Baldwin Brown, 1960), 239.

[38] For more on this panel, see Horovitz, 'The Materials and Techniques,' 64.

[39] Dawson Carr, *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Paintings* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1997), 30.

VIII: Materials and Techniques

Detailed examination of the painting reveals even more about the materials, techniques, and intention of the artist. The close study also provided further evidence for the theory that Pulzone's choice of copper was likely driven by a concern for longevity and durability. The method of production of the panel, however, is unclear. No hammer marks can be identified on the back of the panel but as a high level of refinement could be achieved by hammering, it is still possible that this method was employed. It is also possible that the panel was rolled. An early design of a rolling machine for metal can be seen in Leonardo's *Codex Atlaticus.*[40] However, machines available in the sixteenth century were probably not used for heavy reductions in thickness as they were limited in strength until the invention of cast iron and steam power.[41] Occasionally, copper panels that were used as supports for paintings have indications that they were originally manufactured for use as printing plates, such as having very regular sides with parallel edges, and well-rounded edges and corners. This panel, however, was likely produced specifically for use as a painting support because, as at 2.5 mm thick, it would have presented problems when passing through a printing press.[42]

This panel has been roughened (fig. 28) in order to provide a greater surface area available for bonding with the paint. Almost all contemporary paintings on copper examined appear to have a roughened surface to some extent, demonstrating the painters' concern with the potential problems of adhesion between the paint and

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[40] For more on this point, see Horovitz, 'The Materials and Techniques,' 66
[41] Ibid.
[42] Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching*, 148.

the support.[43] Some documentary sources describe how garlic was then rubbed onto paintings before the application of further preparatory layers.[44] The purpose of this layer is not clear, however it may have been thought to further improve the adhesion between paint and support; possibly the acid in the garlic would etch the plate, or perhaps the juice would simply provide a sticky film. It is not possible to determine whether this practice was used in the preparation of the Courtauld panel.

Underneath the preparatory layers, cross sections show the presence of a green transparent layer (fig. 29). There is also a green layer forming a portion of the lower ground. These layers are commonly found on copper panel paintings and are thought to be formed through a reaction between the copper ions and the fatty acids found in oil. Whether the fatty acids have come from the medium used in the paint, or whether a layer of oil was applied before the preparation layers, is not known. It is suggested that such a layer may have been applied to assist application of additional layers, clean the painting from ashes sometimes used for roughening, or as a hard ground containing oil and colophony (a process also used in etching which may have been employed in preparing panels for painting).[45]

A project conducted by Heloise Paquet employed reconstructions to investigate whether the different methods used to prepare copper plates could affect the formation of a corrosion layer between the ground layer and the copper plate.[46] Her results found that the green layer formed had the same composition and thickness for each method of preparation, meaning that the presence of such a layer cannot help

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[43] Horovitz, 'The Materials and Techniques,' 67.
[44] Alison Stock, 'Preparing a Copper Panel for Painting: A late Sixteenth Century Reconstruction,' In *Artists Footsteps: The Reconstruction of Pigments and Paintings*, ed. Lucy Wrapson et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2012), 198.
[45] Stock, 'Preparing a Copper Panel,' 198.
[46] Heloise Paquet, 'The Formation of a Corrosion Layer on Paintings Made with a Copper Support,' *Bulletin of the Research on Metal Conservation (BROMEC)* (9 February 2004): 5.

to determine the exact method of preparation of the Courtauld panel. She did find, however, that the thickest layers were found in paintings using a linseed oil medium. As the layer in this work by Pulzone is thick it could indicate that linseed oil was used. In Paquet's analysis, Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) spectroscopy and X-ray diffraction (XRD) of the green layers suggested they are composed of metal soaps. Under the microscope the green transparent material can also be seen in the cracks (fig. 30). SEM-EDX analysis of a sample taken containing material inside a crack indicated the presence of copper.

As mentioned in the previous section, many artists utilised the copper colour in their works, using only a very thin priming layer and thereby allowing the warm copper sheen to show through the paint layers.[47] In contrast, Pulzone's painting has been prepared with three layers of a pale grey-pink ground made of lead white and oil with a small amount of gypsum, and tinted with red lake, carbon black and yellow ochre (fig. 31). These layers completely obscure the colour of the metal support. This may provide evidence for the theory that Pulzone selected a copper support due to its reputed durability rather than its aesthetic qualities. Visual examination of Pulzone's painted copper panel at the National Gallery also indicates that he chose the metal for its structural support rather than its colour as the tin-plated sheen is completely obscured by multiple layers of ground and pigment.

As discussed, Pulzone was celebrated for the elaborate detail and realism of his portraits. The quality of Pulzone's painting technique is certainly evident in the portrait of Granvelle. Pulzone achieved a complex and enigmatic expression in the portrait, conveying the power and status suited to cardinal's position. The artist managed to portray an accurate likeness of Granvelle, but at the same time produced

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[47] Horovitz, 'The Materials and Techniques,' 70.

an idealised and beautiful image. No underdrawing has been detected on the Courtauld panel through infra-red reflectography or examination with a microscope. Similarly, conservators examining other portraits by Pulzone have not been able to detect any indication of underdrawings.[48] However, the extremely accurate application style and absence of changes to the composition suggest the painting must have been carefully planned out in some way. It is possible that the artist used a material that would not be absorbed in infra-red light, such as red chalk.

Pulzone's depiction of facial features is refined. The paint was applied with careful accuracy to convey the shadows and contours of the face, with brushstrokes blended carefully into each other to give the illusion of smooth flesh. In some areas, pale pink paint was dragged lightly over dark shadows, creating the appearance of depth and translucency of skin (fig. 32). Tiny brushstrokes of brighter pink highlight the contours and describe the light catching the flesh (fig. 33). There was a great attention to detail. For example, in depicting the eyes, tiny pale pink and white lines were painted in the corners of the eyes (fig. 34) and scattered particles of ultramarine blue pigment were added to the whites to provide a cool tone (fig. 35).

Pulzone celebrated luxurious fabrics in his paintings with a meticulous attention to detail. In the Courtauld panel, the lace collar is incredibly meticulous, with even the smallest stitch depicted (fig. 36). The tiny brush strokes have a slightly raised impasto effect against the smooth surface of the copper, and every stitch is rendered. The wavy sheen of the watered silk was created by applying layers of red

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[48] Conservators examining *Cardinal 'Alessandrino,' Carlo Michele Bonelli* (see fig. 5) at the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University could not detect any underdrawing, for example. Personal communication with Kate Smith, Project Painting Conservator at Harvard Museums, Massachusetts. The infra-red photograph of *Portrait of Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess* (see fig. 27) also did not show any underdrawing. Personal communication with Ingrid Hopfner, Paintings Conservator, Kunthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

lake paint. In some areas, each layer appears to have been allowed to dry completely before the next was added (figs. 37 & 38). In others, the paint was intentionally applied wet on wet to allow the paint layers to be marbled into each other and create a rippled effect which emulates the sheen of silk (figs. 39 – 40). Clearly the construction of this fabric was well planned, with an expert knowledge of how to exploit the different qualities of oil paint.

Although the attention to detail in this painting could be described as utilising the smooth texture of the copper panel, when compared with Pulzone's other paintings on canvas or wood, the techniques are remarkably similar. It would be interesting and potentially fruitful to compare the techniques used in other works in a wider and more detailed study that explores Pulzone's methods upon diverse support materials. Technical analysis is currently being conducted on the oil on canvas *Portrait of Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess* at the Kunthistorisches Museum in Vienna (see fig. 27); the results of this research will allow further conclusions to be drawn about Pulzone's methods.

Pulzone balanced the rich colours so that they give a certain opulence to the painting without overpowering the portrait. Ultramarine blue and red lakes, for example, create strong and pure colours (figs. 41 – 42). The two pigments were also layered to create purples and purple-pinks in the foreground (figs. 43 – 44). The purple appears to have been made using a layer of red lake, over which a glaze of ultramarine was applied. The cover on the book was painted using a layer of ultramarine and then a red lake glaze on top (see fig. 44) and the pages of the book were painted with lead-tin yellow (fig. 45).

The paint has a craquelure pattern covering the entire surface of the panel. The cracks have ductile edges and vary in width, indicating that they may have been

caused by a drying defect. They are wider in more thickly painted passages such as the face. The cracks go through the paint and ground, implying that the ground was also involved in the drying phenomenon. It seems the paint and ground had not been able to adhere to the copper during the drying stage, and slid back, revealing the copper support. Usually this process occurs when the layer below has not dried fully. As mentioned earlier, it could be possible that the preparation of the panel included a layer of oil, which was slower to dry than the lead-white pigmented ground and paint. Drying problems may have been exacerbated as the copper is non-absorbent and non porous. Wide cracks such as the ones in this panel are not common in paintings on copper, and may therefore be related to the unusually thick application of ground.[49]

Technical analysis has demonstrated that Pulzone was not concerned with utilizing the warm colour of the copper, nor does he appear to have experimented with the different techniques that the smooth and rigid support would have allowed. This indicates that his choice of copper was likely driven by a concern for longevity and durability, as well as the need to create an enduring image suggested by the historical context of the work. Furthermore, examination of Pulzone's painting techniques reveal the expert manipulation of oil paint and meticulous attention to detail which led to his reputation as one of the greatest portrait painters of the sixteenth century.

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[49] Personal communication with Isabel Horovitz.

IX: Conclusion – A Durable and Lasting Image

As previously discussed, Granvelle commissioned numerous portraits of himself throughout his career, often within the same year or decade (see figs. 1, 13 – 14, 16 – 19). However, it seems odd that the cardinal apparently never commissioned another portrait after the Courtauld panel by Pulzone, even though he lived for an additional eleven years and worked closely with of the most powerful and artistically-inclined rulers of the century. Furthermore, it is clear that Granvelle held Pulzone in the highest esteem, recommending him to political and ecclesiastical leaders across Europe. This could indicate that the Pulzone portrait of Granvelle was intended as the last official depiction of the Cardinal. It is possible that Cardinal Granvelle, nearing the end of a long career, chose Pulzone, a renowned master of portraiture, to produce a final magnificent and arresting image.

The commission came right when Granvelle was called back to Spain to take a permanent position in Madrid, whereas his previous appointments had been somewhat temporary, and his high regard for Pulzone's work may have led him to request a commanding image for posterity from this master whom he knew would be able to produce an impressive and veristic yet ideal depiction. Before leaving Rome, perhaps forever, Granvelle may have decided to request the image of himself to add to his already illustrious collection. The notion that this portrait was intended as a lasting image of the cardinal is also indicated by its support as well as the materials and techniques of the artist, as discussed at length in the previous sections. Although there are no surviving documents related to Cardinal Granvelle's commission, the context of the portrait suggests he may have required a painting which would endure, perhaps leading to Pulzone's use of the reputedly durable copper as a support. The results of

the technical examination of this painting conducted during this project are consistent with the idea that the choice of copper was driven by concern for longevity, rather than an interest in the aesthetic properties of the support.

       In conclusion, the materials and techniques of the painter as well as the historical and documentary evidence surrounding both the sitter and painter suggest that this portrait was likely intended to be a final and lasting image of one the century's most powerful and important political and religious figures. Furthermore, the examination of this panel demonstrates the talents of Pulzone as a master of portraiture in the late sixteenth century.

X: Further Study

This report has endeavoured to demonstrate the wide range of technical and historical information as well as distinct contexts that must be taken into account when examining Pulzone's portrait of Cardinal Granvelle. As a primer for future study, the information presented here opens many diverse avenues for future scholars to pursue as the artist, sitter, and painting itself continue to be examined. Furthermore, various hypotheses have been presented regarding the date, circumstances, and intentions behind the commission of this important portrait that drew together two of the most important figures of the sixteenth century. It is clear that art historical research and technical examination must be utilised together in the study of this panel; the combination of approaches has led and will lead to discoveries that bridge the two fields and explain many of the unique aspects of one of Pulzone's masterpieces.

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Fig. 13: Titian (ca. 1488 – 1576) | *Cardinal Granvelle*, 1548 | Oil on canvas, 111.3 x 88.3 cm | Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (30-15)

Fig. 14: Anthonis Mor (act. 1544 – 1576/1577) | *Cardinal Granvelle*, 1549 | Oil on Oak Panel, 107 x 82 cm | Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG 1035)

Fig. 15: Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525 – 1569) | *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, 1563 | Oil on Panel, 49.6 x 68.4 | The Courtauld Gallery, London (P.1978.PG.47)

Fig. 16: Jacques Jonghelinck (1530 – 1606) | *Cardinal Granvelle Medal*, 1561 | Silver, 5.23 cm diameter | Private Collection

Fig. 17: Willem Key (ca. 1515 – 1568) | *Cardinal Granvelle*, 1561 | Oil on panel, 114 x 88 cm | Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen, Weimar (G 1174)

Fig. 18: Follower of Anthonis Mor | *Cardinal Granvelle*, ca. 1555 | Oil on Panel, 14 cm diameter | Private Collection

Fig. 19: Attributed to Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, ca. 1576 | Oil on Copper, 73 x 56 cm | Collection Musée du Temps, Ville de Besançon (1694.1.4) © Charles Choffet

Fig. 20: Scaled Comparison - Left: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1576 | Oil on Copper, 81.7 x 61.6 cm | The Courtauld Gallery, London (P.1947.LF.332) / Right: Attributed to Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, ca. 1576 | Oil on Copper, 73 x 56 cm | Collection Musée du Temps, Ville de Besançon (1694.1.4) © Charles Choffet

Fig. 21: Comparison - Left: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1576 (Details) | Oil on Copper, 81.7 x 61.6 cm | The Courtauld Gallery, London (P.1947.LF.332) / Right: Attributed to Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, ca. 1576 (Details) | Oil on Copper, 73 x 56 cm | Collection Musée du Temps, Ville de Besançon (1694.1.4) © Charles Choffet

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Fig. 23: Giogrio Vasari (1511 – 1574) | *The Forge of Vulcan*, ca. 1567 – 1568 | Oil on Copper, 38 x 28 cm | Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 24: Agnolo Bronzino (1503-1572) | *Allegory of Happiness,* 1564 | Oil on Copper, 30 x 40 cm | Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 25: Allesandro Allori (1535 -1607) | *Allegory of Human Life,* 1570-90 | Oil on Copper, 37 x 27 cm | Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Illustrations

Fig. 1: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1576 | Oil on Copper, 81.7 x 61.6 cm | The Courtauld Gallery, London (P.1947.LF.332)

Fig. 2: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1576 (Detail, Black and White) | Oil on Copper, 81.7 x 61.6 cm | Courtauld Gallery, London (P.1947.LF.332)

Fig. 3: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *The Lamentation*, 1591 | Oil on Canvas, 289.6 x 172.7 cm | The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1984.74)

Fig. 4: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Giacomo Boncompagni*, 1574|
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Fig. 5: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Cardinal 'Alessandrino,' Carlo Michele Bonelli*, 1586 | Oil on Canvas, 136.5 x 105.2 cm | Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Museum (1905.12)

Fig. 6: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Pope Gregory XIII (Preparatory Study for Lost Portrait)*, ca. 1580 | Oil on Canvas, 60.4 x 49.5 cm | Private Collection

Fig. 7: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici*, 1580 | Oil on Canvas, 185 x 119.3 cm | Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide (985P39)

Fig. 8: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Study for a Portrait of Pope Pius V*, ca. 1576 – 1580 | Oil on Panel, 40 x 27 cm | The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

Fig. 9: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*, ca. 1579 | Oil on Canvas, 135 x 107 cm | Galleria Nazional d'Art Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome (2217)

Fig. 10: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Cardinal Ricci*, 1569 | Oil on Canvas, 66.7 x 51.4 cm | Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Museum (1934.66)

Fig. 11: Franz Hogenberg (1535 – 1590) | *Charles V's Abdication at Brussels, 25 October 1555*, ca. 1566 (Detail and Full View) / Etching, 20 x 27 cm | The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (59.5970.2001)

Fig. 12: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Marcantonio II Colonna*, 1575 | Oil on Canvas, 202 x 119 cm | Galleria Colonna, Rome

Fig. 13: Titian (ca. 1488 – 1576) | *Cardinal Granvelle*, 1548 | Oil on canvas, 111.3 x 88.3 cm | Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (30-15)

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Copper, 37 x 27 cm | Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 26: Frans Franken (1581-1682) | *Chamber of Art and Curiosities,* 1636 | Oil on
Panel, 86.5 x 120 cm | Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Fig. 27: Scipione Pulzone (1546 – 1598) | *Portrait of Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess*, 1584 | Oil on Canvas, 57 x 47 cm | Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
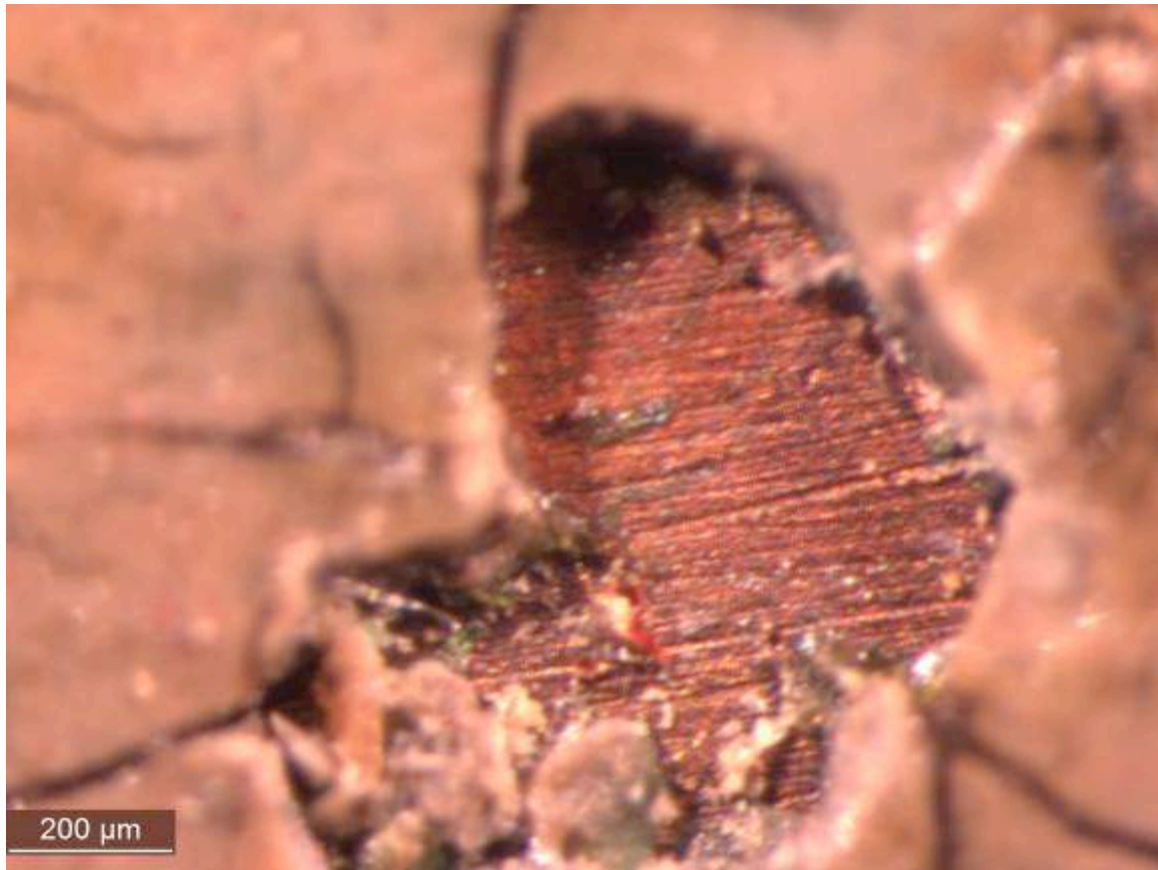
Fig. 28: Micrograph Showing Roughening of Copper Panel
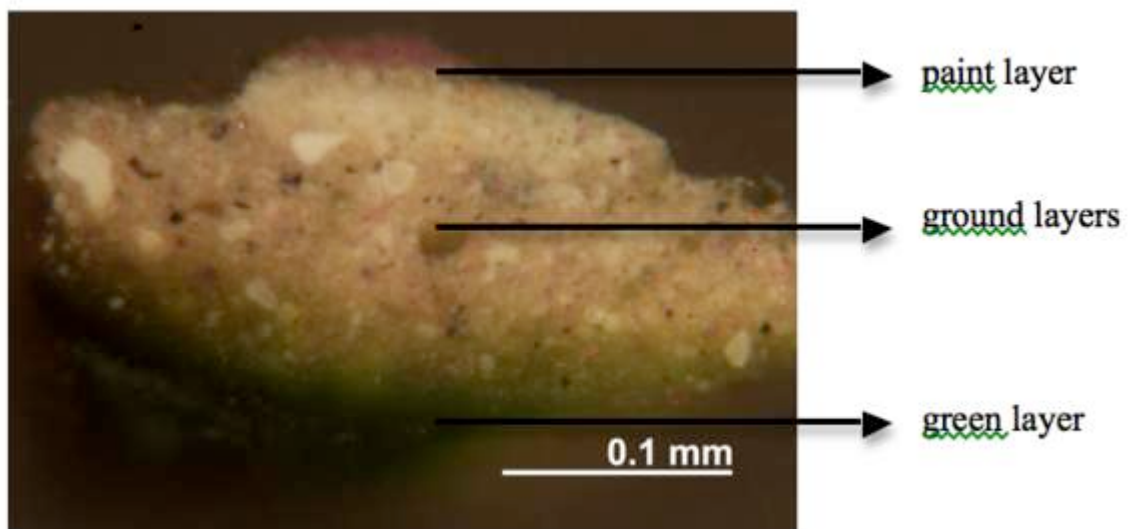
Fig. 29: Cross Section of Paint Sample Taken from the Edge of a Paint Loss in the Crimson Robe, Showing the Transparent Green Layer under the Paint
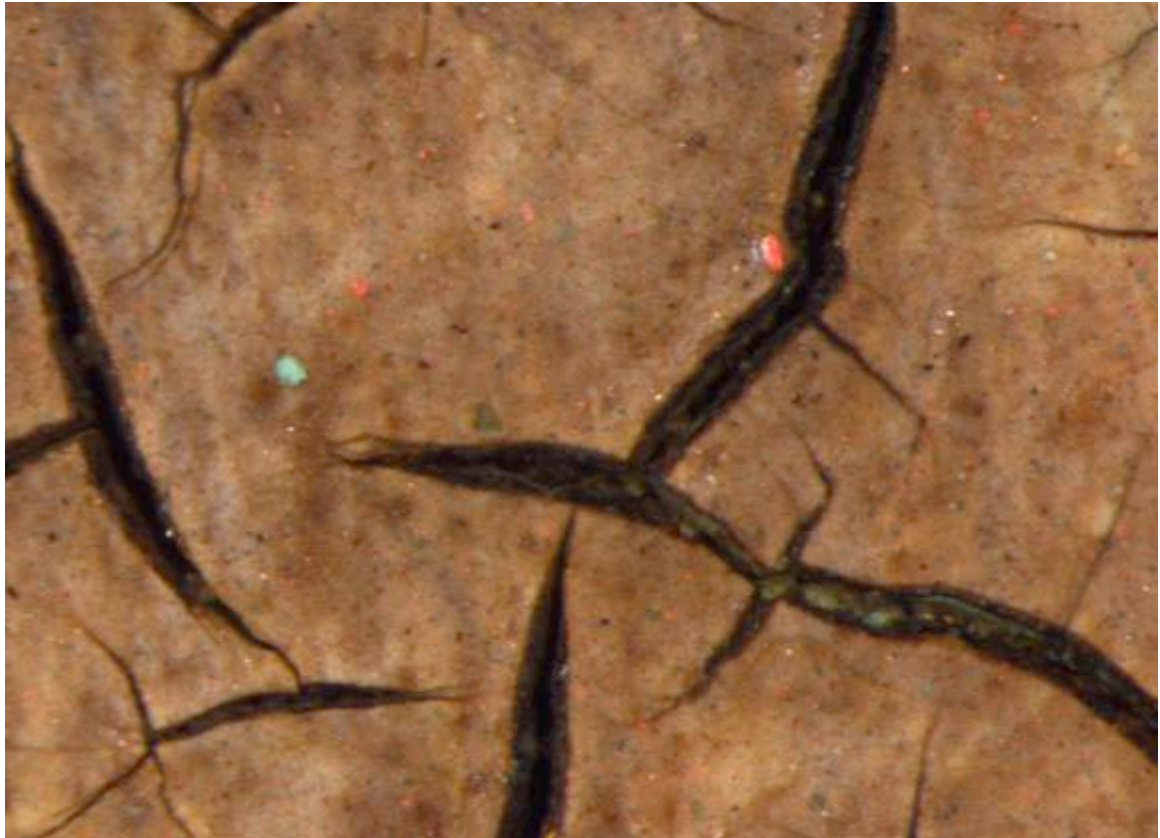
Fig. 30: Micrograph of Green Material (Possible Copper Soaps) Visible Inside Cracks

flesh paint layer
upper ground layer
middle ground layer
lower ground layer

0.1 mm
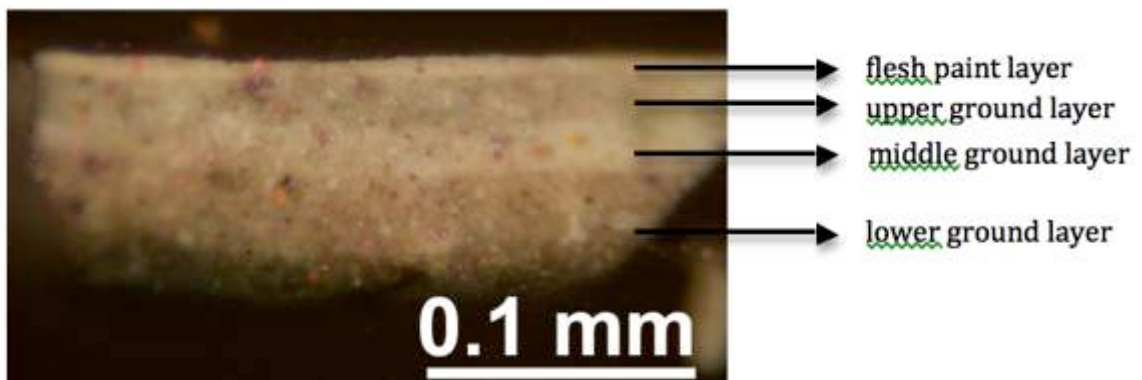
Fig. 31: Cross Section of Sample Taken from the Edge of a Loss in the Flesh Paint of
the Hand, Showing Three Layers of Ground

Fig. 32: Micrograph Showing Pale Pink Applied over Shadow in Flesh of the Face

Fig. 33: Micrograph Showing Bright Pink Highlight Above Eyebrow
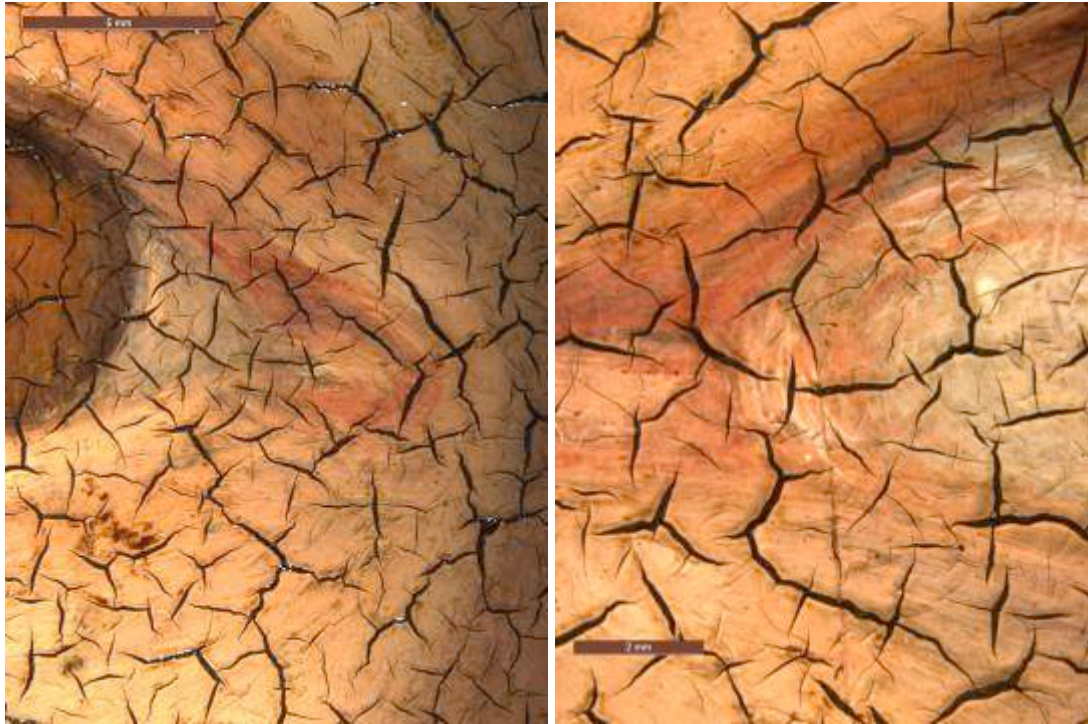
Fig. 34: Micrographs Showing Bright Pink Highlight in Corner of the Eye

Fig. 35: Figure 23: Micrograph Showing Ultramarine Pigment Particles Scattered in White of Eye
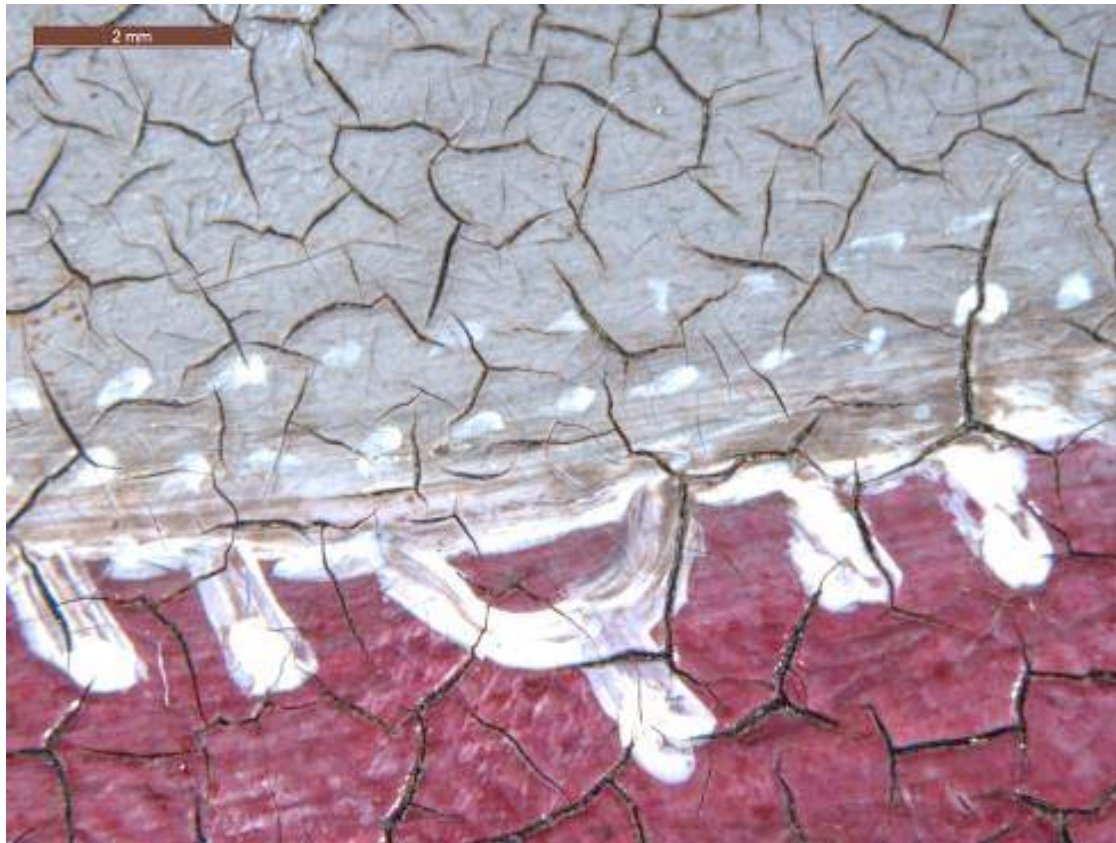
Fig. 36: Micrograph Showing Detailed Stitches on the Edge of the Lace Collar
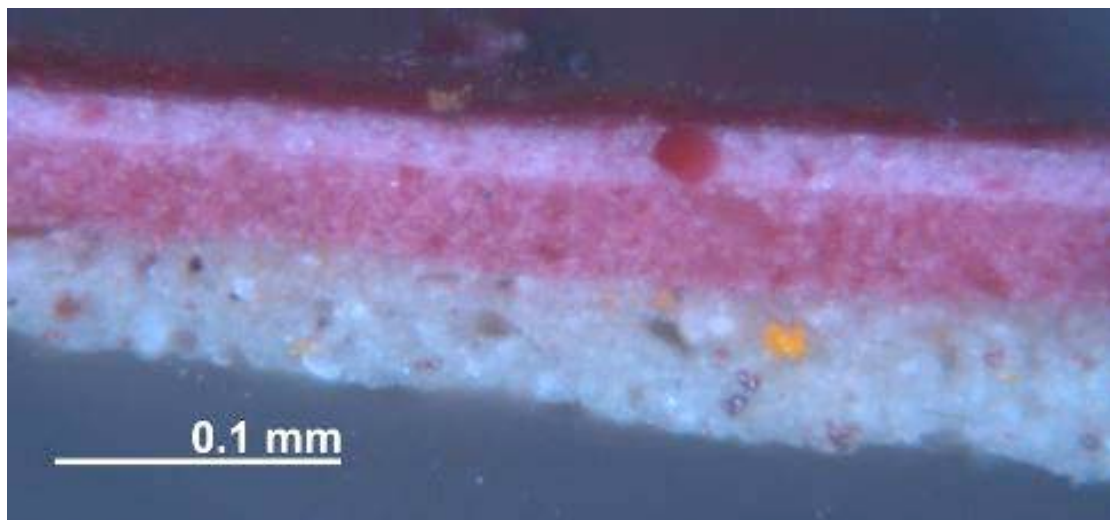
Fig. 37: Cross Section Taken From the Crimson Robe - Each Red Lake Paint Layer Has Been Allowed to Dry Before the Next is Added

Fig. 38: Micrograph Showing an Area of Crimson Robe where each Red Lake Paint Layer Appears to Have Been Allowed to Dry before the Next is Added
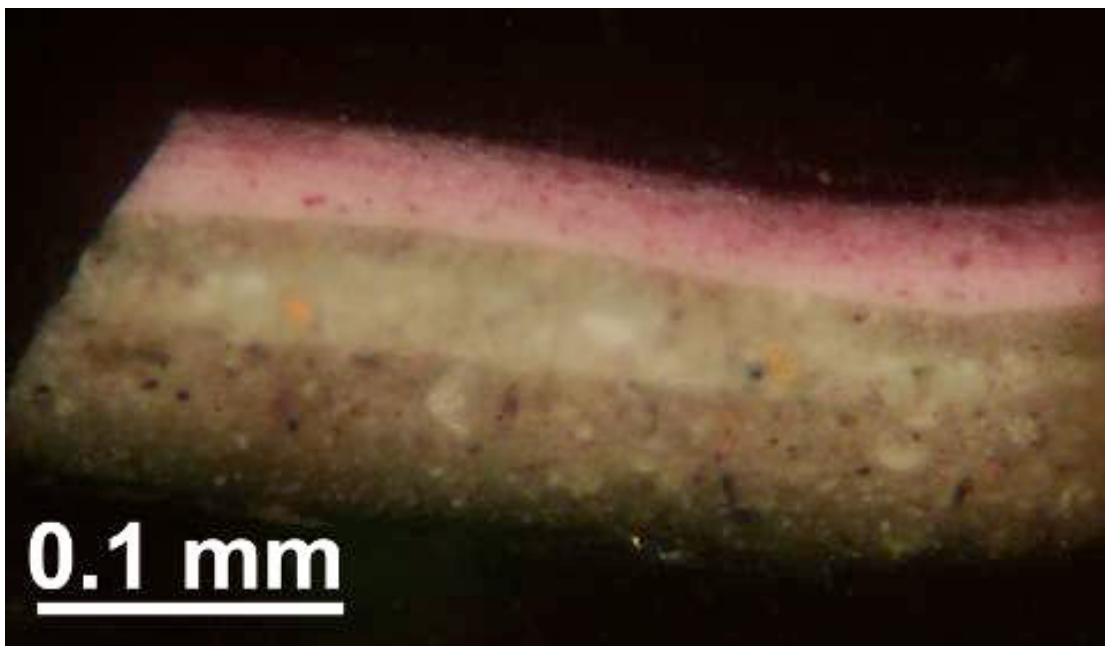
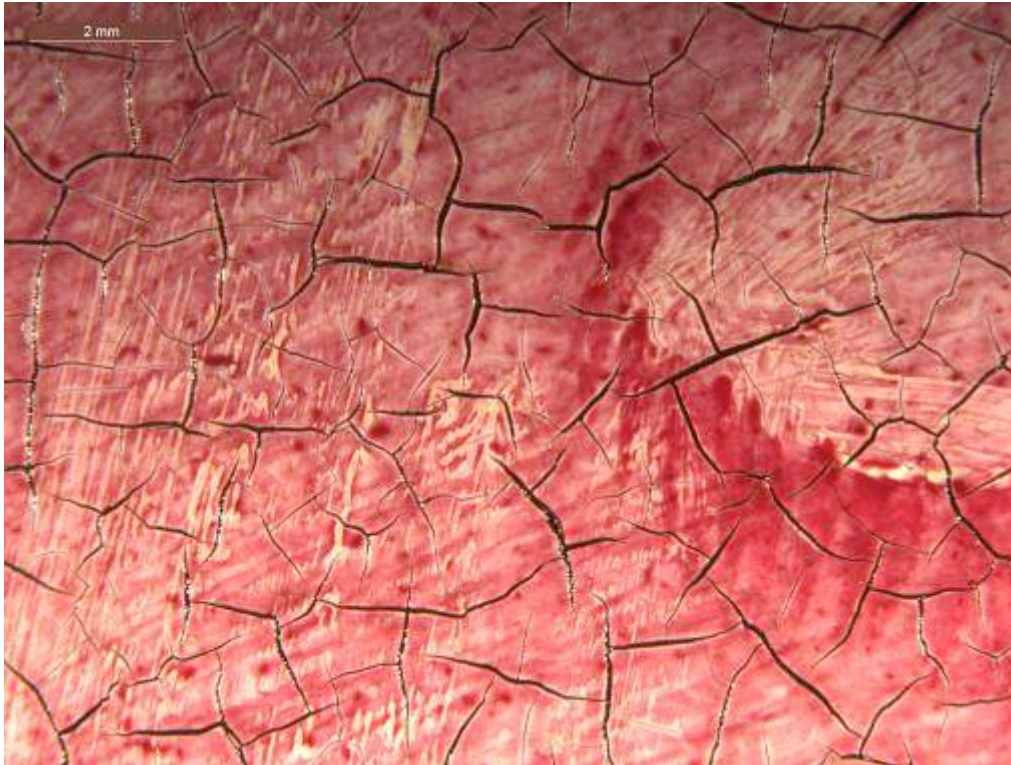Fig. 39: Cross Section Taken from Crimson Robe - Layers Appear to Have Been Applied Wet on Wet

Fig. 40: Micrograph Showing an Area of Crimson Robe Where the Paint Layers
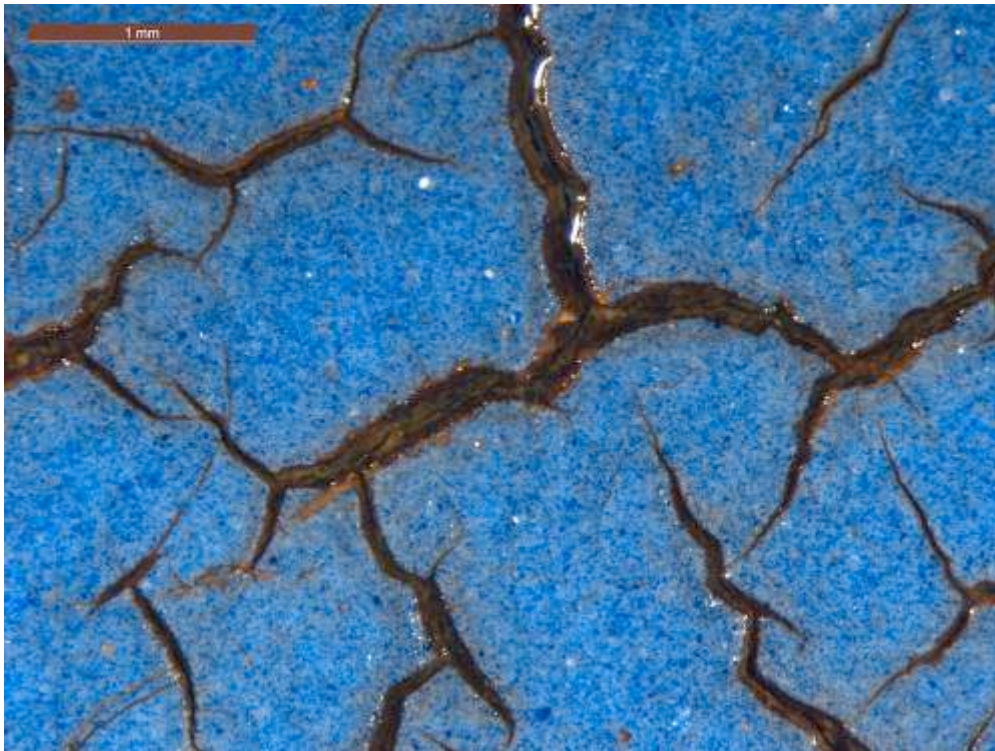Appear to Have Been Marbled Together

Fig. 41: Micrograph Showing Ultramarine Blue in the Blue Curtain

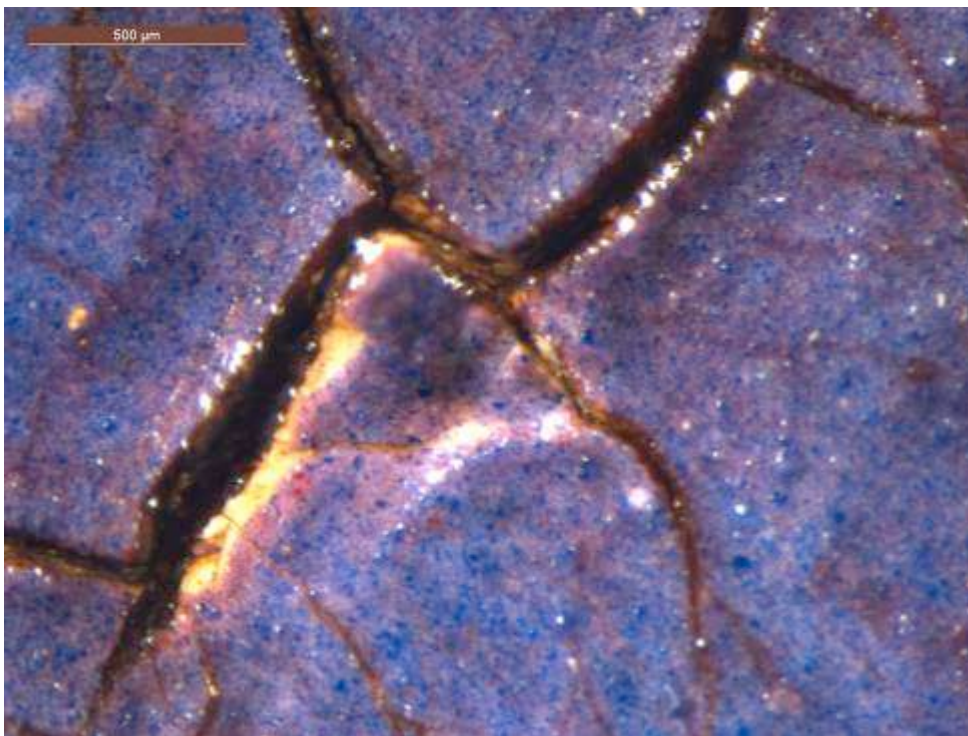Fig. 42: Micrograph Showing Red Lake in the Crimson Robe

Fig. 43: Micrograph Showing Red Lake Layer with Ultramarine Blue Layer Above,
Creating the Purple at the Bottom of the Painting

Fig. 44: Micrograph Showing Ultramarine Layer with Red Lake Layer Above, Creating the Purple-Pink of the Book Cover

Fig. 45: Micrograph Showing the Lead-Tin Yellow Pages of the Book