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# THE COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART RESEARCH FORUM
# CONSERVATION AND ART HISTORY IN ASSOCIATION

## Bartolomeo Montagna
## *The Gambier Parry Holy Family*

## Courtauld Gallery

By Alexander Röstel & Jae Youn Chung

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**Bartolomeo Montagna's *Gambier Parry Holy Family***

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## Part I

## Introduction

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"The task of writing about a minor master is admittedly a peculiarly difficult one. His stylistic development will almost certainly lack the inevitability and inner drive which distinguish the work of the great masters and the temptation is always to play the game of 'spot the influence', thus missing the precious core of originality which is what makes the master worth studying".[1]

After several months of combined art historical and technological research on Bartolomeo Montagna, we could not have found a more appropriate *leitmotiv* than John Steer's perceptive remarks. Written in response to Lionello Puppi's important 1962 monograph of the Vicentine artist, they were as much specific to their historic moment as they looked beyond it.[2] While more than fifty years have passed since the publication of Steer's, a more prominent discussion of that "precious core of originality", whose absence the scholar had already regretted, is still felt lacking.[3] In focusing on Bartolomeo Montagna's *Holy Family* from the Courtauld Gallery (Fig. 1), this report will allow for a nuanced investigation of a

[1] J. Steer, *The Burlington Magazine*, 106, 1964, pp. 515-516.
[2] L. Puppi, *Bartolomeo Montagna*, Venice, 1962.
[3] M. Lucco, et al., *Bartolomeo Cincani detto Montagna: Dipinti*, Treviso, 2014.

painting all too easily dismissed as a standard product of the workshop from which it originated. Combining the latest results of a comprehensive technical analysis carried out by Jae Youn Chung with an in-depth art historical discussion by Alexander Röstel, this report will offer the reader a broader range of interpretative tools than typically accorded to comparable paintings. This text is divided into two parts of which the first will provide an overview of the state of scholarship on the painting and the artist as well as a careful visual and technical analysis. The second part will deepen specific areas of investigation both from an art historical and technological point of view, focusing on previously unpublished discoveries. In doing so, the structure of this report closely follows the two papers presented by the authors as part of this association in January and May 2015. It is hoped that this report will provide both the art historian and the conservator who is interested in related areas of research with information and inspiration.

## Iconography

The composition of Bartolomeo Montagna's Gambier Parry *Holy Family* is dominated by the pyramidal figure of the Virgin in the centre whose hands are clasped in prayer and directed at her son. The light and dark greens of her cloak match the colour of a cuboid-shaped marble block standing upright on the lower left-hand side against which the Christ child is leaning. His right arm is resting on its top, the head carefully protected by Joseph who takes an active part in the composition, unlike many contemporary depictions of Holy Families in which he acts merely as an onlooker in the distance. Indeed, in a version of the *Courtauld Holy Family*, now preserved in a private collection, he is missing altogether.[4] His tilted head is parallel with his wife's shoulder, forming a crescent-shape that elegantly counterpoises the angularity and linearity of the interior. This crescent shape continues through the body of the Christ child, which is placed on a marble sill in the foreground, cushioned by the Virgin's mantle spread on top of it. He is sunk into a deep sleep, possibly a foretelling of his fate, as it might be recounted in the book which is placed between his right arm and left leg. Indeed, his

[4] For an illustration and bibliography of this painting, see: Lucco, p. 405.

precariously exposed legs, genitals and shoulder reminisce his defencelessness at the Cross, juxtaposing with the various layers of garments worn by his mother.[5] The holy family is set against a cloth of honour suspended from the coffered wooden ceiling whose dark green tone mirrors the colour of the trees which are only seen through a window on the right because the figural arrangement is crowded towards the left. Next to different green tones, variations of brown dominate the picture plane, as evidenced in the marble sill, the plastered walls, the wooden ceiling and the undulating landscape. This landscape background has invited comparison to the hilly region surrounding Vicenza and nearby Brescia, therefore firmly locating the work within the workshop of Bartolomeo Montagna.

**Provenance**

Despite the impaired condition and thorough conservation treatment (of which more will follow below), the tenderness with which the Virgin's cloak and Joseph's hands shelter the Christ child, in combination with the carefully thought-out composition and some highly achieved details, such as the beautifully rendered marble block in the foreground, make it easy to understand why our painting attracted the attention of Thomas Gambier Parry. He acquired the painting on the Venetian art market in or around 1858 and displayed it prominently on the west wall of the drawing room of his Highnam Court estate (Figs. 2 & 3).[6] A hand-written note in a nineteenth-century inventory of the Gambier Parry collection records the painting as "A wonderfully pure picture – none but unimportant parts are repaired. I bought this in Italy".[7] This acquisition stands out even more when considering, as Anthony Blunt did, that Gambier

[5] For an interpretation of Christ's exposed genitals, including a reference to our painting, see: L. Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance art and in modern oblivion*, New York, 1983.
[6] The curatorial files kept at the Courtauld Gallery contain more detailed information on the acquisition, including what appears to be the original sales record, which is written in Italian. A more thorough investigation of the provenance was beyond the scope of the present paper. For further information, see: A. Gerstein,"Thomas Gambier Parry: Collecting in the Gothic Revival", in: J. Lowden & A. Gerstein (eds.), *Medieval and Later Ivories in The Courtauld Gallery, Complete Catalogue*, pp. 26-37; The painting is listed in a nineteenth-century inventory of Highnam Court as No. 19.
[7] See curatorial records, unpaginated.

Parry had already started focusing on early Florentine works by that time, turning away from sixteenth-century paintings.[8] His appreciation was shared by his successors who neither sold nor displaced it. Montagna's *Holy Family* remained in the possession of the family until 1966, when Thomas' grandson, Mark Gambier Parry, donated it to the Courtauld Gallery as part of the Gambier Parry Bequest to the University of London. Not much is known about the earlier provenance but from circumstantial evidence we can glean that the *Holy Family*, along with another painting by Montagna formerly in the Gambier-Parry Collection and now in the Courtauld Gallery, was bought from the Venetian art dealer Calzavara.[9] Nothing is known about this dealer and more research is needed to elucidate the painting's whereabouts before its acquisition by Thomas Gambier Parry.

**The Artist**

For the moment, the Venetian provenance and compositional elements confirm the tentative attribution to the painter Bartolomeo Montagna, who is often said to have trained under Giovanni Bellini.[10] Indeed, some of the earliest known documents and a preparatory drawing preserved at the Morgan Library in New York (Fig. 4) witness the artist at work at the Scuola Grande di San Marco in the early 1480s, where he would have collaborated with Bellini and other major Venetian artists.[11] Among Montagna's various altarpieces executed throughout his career, his chef d'oeuvre, too, the so-called *Pala Squarzi* (Fig. 5), betrays an unmistakable debt to Giovanni Bellini's Venetian altarpieces. For the Vicentine church of Santa Corona, both Bellini and Montagna executed important

[8] A. Blunt, 'The history of Thomas Gambier Parry's Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, 109, 1967, pp. 112-116; see also: D. Farr (ed.), *Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-1888) as artist and collector*, London, 1993.
[9] We are grateful to Alexandra Gerstein for discussing this matter with us. Further research on the early provenance of Gambier Parry's acquisitions of Italian Renaissance paintings remains to be undertaken.
[10] For a discussion, see: C. Gilbert, *The Art Bulletin*, 49, 1967, pp. 184-188; For a more recent discussion, see: Lucco, op. cit., pp. 21-38, and J. Fletcher's review of Lucco's monograph, to be published in a forthcoming edition of the Burlington Magazine.
[11] For the documents pertaining to Montagna's career, see: M. Barausse, in: Lucco, op. cit., pp. 94ff, in particular: pp. 118-119.

altarpieces in the early sixteenth century (Figs. 6 & 7).[12] Montagna's works in small scale, almost exclusively religious, serve to illustrate the high demand for private devotional paintings that characterizes the period in question - a demand to which Bellini catered prodigiously and whose output Montagna is unlikely to have overlooked, in particular against the background of Bellini's presence in Vicenza and Montagna's in Venice.

As the major Vicentine artist of the last quarter of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth century, Bartolomeo Montagna, born presumably in Orzinuovi around 1450, has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention. Since Tancred Borenius' pioneering 1909 study of *The Painters of Vicenza*, Zorzi's commendable archival research and Lionello Puppi's 1962 monograph of the artist, scholarship advanced to an extent that allows us to trace most of Montagna's long career, which is documented from the 1470s right up until his death in 1523 and includes a large number of paintings for predominantly, but by no means exclusively, ecclesiastical patrons in Vicenza.[13] Prestigious commissions for the Scuola Santo in Padua, the Certosa in Pavia and the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice bear witness to a reputation extending far beyond his hometown. This might be attributed in part to his organizational talent as the head of a large workshop, his skills as a draftsman and designer as well as his versatility in both fresco and panel painting.[14] Further monographic dissertations by Kai-Uwe Nielsen and Elizabeth Carroll, published in 1995 and 2006 respectively, as well as numerous journal articles have provided much contextual detail surrounding the life and work of the artist.[15] Most recently,

[12] On Bellini's work in Vicenza, see: J. Allen, "Giovanni Bellini's Baptism of Christ in its visual and devotional context: transforming sacred space in Santa Corona in Vicenza", *Renaissance Studies*, 27, 2013, pp. 681-704.
[13] T. Borenius, *The Painters of Vicenza, 1480-1550*, London, 1909; G. G. Zorzi, "Ilvero cognome del Montagna", *Giorn*ale *di Vicenza*, 17, 1913; G. G. Zorzi, *Contributo alla storia dell'arte vicentina nei secoli XV e XVI*, vol. 1, Venice, 1916; L. Puppi, Bartolomeo Montagna, Venice, 1962; We are grateful to Jennifer Fletcher for discussing Montagna's origins in Orzinuovi with us, aspects of which will feature in her fortcoming review of Lucco's monograph in the Burlington Magazine.
[14] For an analysis of Montagna's exceptionally substantial corpus of extant drawings, see: K.-U. Nielsen, op. cit., pp. 187-209; for an excellent account of Montagna as the head of a workshop, see: Ibid, pp. 21-44. The most recent catalogue of Montagna's paintings is to be found in: Lucco, op. cit., pp. 156ff.
[15] E. Carroll-Consavari, *Bartolomeo Montagna: civic and artistic identity in early sixteenth-century Vicenza*, PhD Diss. (Indiana University, Bloomington), 2006; K.-U. Nielsen, *Bartolomeo Montagna*

Mauro Lucco's new monograph appeared, which, in concentrating on all the known paintings provides a plausible trajectory of the artist's career, always substantiated by an analysis of their visual appearance and related archival documents.

Despite these scholarly efforts, the Vicentine school is still often dismissed as either derivative or peripheral in comparison with the artistic production in Venice. [16] Such notions contributed to marginalizing Montagna's creative solutions and they are at odds with what we know about his thriving workshop, aspects of which will be addressed below. Indeed, his active workshop may account for the fact that two versions of our painting as well as a number of related paintings have survived in various collections around the world. Those share some formal characteristics with our painting but often showcase a considerable variance in terms of style, level of execution and possibly workshop participation, a problem which none of the authors cited above have addressed sufficiently. It is for this reason that a closer technical investigation of this painting will be our starting point in elucidating the features that characterize Montagna's technique.

*und die venezianische Malerei des späten Quattrocento* (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich), 1995.

[16] On notions of centre and periphery, generally, see: T. DaCosta-Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago, 2004; with regards to Bartolomeo Montagna, see: E. Carroll-Consavari, 'Interpreting Bartolomeo Montagna as Artist from the Periphery', in: 'Other Venice(s): Alternative Notions of Venetian Art I: Side Steps in the Venetian Periphery?', Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting, Berlin, 27 March 2015.

## Materials and Technique

### Primary Support

The painting is on a single wooden board (Fig. 8). Against the background of the painting's North Italian provenance, it is probably poplar but this has yet to be confirmed. The dimensions of the painting are 84 cm in height and 69 cm in width, which corresponds with the maximum width of a single poplar board available during this time.[17] The panel is 2.5 cm thick with original tool marks at the back, which suggests that the painting has not been thinned. Also, no signs of saw marks were found on the sides of the panel, which suggests that no change in size has occurred. The raking light image (Fig. 9) shows a convex curvature that the panel acquired over time due to its uneven reaction to moisture. Due to the prominent vertical wood grain one can deduce that the panel is almost radially cut (Fig. 10).

An X-ray confirms the existence of two splits, one dovetail button and woodworm channels which are visible on the back of the painting (Fig. 11). The two splits have been addressed in the past. Observed from the back, one split starts at the top, 20.5 cm from the left edge of the painting, which extends down to 20 cm. This split may have been initiated by the extensive woodworm damage and repaired with a butterfly button inserted at a later stage. Another split starts from the bottom, 14.5 cm from the right edge, and extends up to 45 cm. On the verso, large areas of woodworm damage were filled and covered with wax and some yellow ochre paint, perhaps in an attempt to disguise the fills. Although there is evidence of extensive woodworm damage in the past, the panel seems to be stable and not prone to movement.

A treatment report written in 1993 at the Conservation and Technology Department at the Courtauld Institute of Art suggests that the empty nail holes on all four sides of the painting derive from wooden strips which were attached to the painting for fitting and were subsequently removed during treatment.

[17] Boards were as wide as 60-70 cm, although a width of 20-40 cm is the more commonly encountered.

**Ground**

The ground layer is applied directly onto the wood. It extends to the edge on both sides, but stops to allow for a border of about 12-13 mm at the top and bottom edges of the painting. Where visible through areas of paint loss, the ground is yellow in colour. It is moderately thick in relation to the paint layers. There are incision lines that the artist scratched into the ground to define architectural elements and to construct the perspectival scheme (Fig. 12). The current condition of the ground layer appears stable. However, it is very hard to be certain, as the ground and paint layers are hidden under thick layers of varnish (Fig. 13).

The ground is composed of a single layer of calcium sulphate (gesso) mixed with glass particles and very small amounts of orpiment and earth pigments. Unlike the ivory-smooth gesso grounds of the fourteenth and early fifteenth-century described by Cennino Cennini, which were primarily prepared for subsequent gilding, this painting has a tougher and more absorbent surface.[18] In fact, at the turn of the sixteenth century, the laborious process of ground preparation had been simplified significantly.[19] The ground layers of the cross-sections taken from the painting, in UV light clearly shows the translucent particles, which are glass particles, detectable as the elements silica, aluminium, potassium, socium, and manganese. A recent study of the use of glass in fifteenth and sixteenth-century European oil paintings at the National Gallery has identified many examples of the use of ground glass, not only as a siccative in slow drying paint layers.[20]

There is a glue size layer over the ground, which was identified by staining tests. Previous studies have suggested that this layer was applied to reduce the porosity of the ground. However, these layers can also cause flaking of paint,

[18] cf. C. Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, translated from the Italian by D.V. Thompson, New Haven and London, 1935.
[19] cf. J. Dunkerton, S. Foister, N. Penny, *Dürer to Veronese: sixteenth-century painting in the National Gallery*, London, New Haven and London, 1999.
[20] M. Spring, "Colourless Powdered Glass as an Additive in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century European Paintings", *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 33, 2012, pp. 4-26.

which may explain the current condition of the painting.[21] X-radiography of the painting shows how much of the original ground has delaminated from the primary support. Most of the losses to the ground have occurred in the green cloth of honour shown suspended from the coffered ceiling. The loss of the ground layer also correlates to the vertical wood grain. This observation implies that the surface of the primary support has responded to relative humidity at some point. The profile of the panel will be monitored during treatment to ascertain whether further warping will occur and whether preventive conservation options are required. It can be verified that Bartolomeo Montagna's studio was using a system of ground preparation based on the traditional Italian use of gesso grounds. However, at the turn of the sixteenth century, variations from this method have been observed, which include the use of large proportions of glue in the gesso and the applications of coats of size on top of the gesso layers.

**Paint Layers**

The painting is thinly painted, without any highly raised impasto. A general network of aged cracks covers the entire painting. The condition of the paint layer appears to be stable but it is difficult to ascertain this observation, as they are mostly under a thick layer of varnish and overpaint. The X-radiography, IR, and UV photographs clearly show the extent of areas of retouching (Fig.14 & 15). Especially the hanging green cloth of honour in the back is extensively overpainted, as well as other areas with abrasions. This may indicate that the paint layer is in a vulnerable state, however, wood-to-ground adhesion is more problematic.

The infrared image shows that the underdrawing is painted in a fluid medium (Fig. 15). For the most part, the lines are overpainted heavily but they are traceable in parts of the Christ child's feet (Fig. 16). There are no signs of transfer methods, such as squaring or pouncing marks. The outlines of the composition are applied assuredly and have no hatching lines. Furthermore, the X-

[21] For comparison, see J. Dunkerton A. Roy, "The Technique and Restoration of Cima's The Incredulity of S. Thomas", *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 10, 1986, p. 4.

radiography image shows no change to the composition that lies beneath the paint surface, which suggests that the painting could be a copy of an existing composition available in the workshop of Montagna.

One of the interesting features observed through X-radiography was the textured underpainting of the flesh. The textures appear like fingerprints or palm-prints (Fig. 17). At first sight, just by looking at the X-ray image, it was impossible to identify which of the layers carried this distinctive feature. However, under high magnification, it is possible to see that the textured creamy-white paint layer was applied on top of the ground (Fig. 18). Thanks to a sample taken from the flesh tone of the Christ child's leg (Fig. 19), it became clear that the textured layer is the *imprimatura*. The elemental analysis confirms that the *imprimatura* layer also consists of lead-tin yellow, which would have been added to reduce the glaring whiteness of lead white. The diagram (Fig. 20) shows that the *imprimatura* layer was applied locally in the flesh tones, where it provided the base colour and reduced the amount of time to complete the painting. The other samples confirmed that this layer is absent from other parts of the painting.

All pigments identified with inorganic analysis using SEM-EDX (scanning electron microscope - energy dispersive x-ray) and XRF (X-ray fluorescence) correspond with those found contemporary paintings. While the range and quality of pigments available in Venice was superior to many other places in Europe, this painting has a fairly limited palette, including azurite, ultramarine, verdigris, vermilion, red lake, lead tin yellow and orpiment. The use of glazes is apparent. Copper resinate glaze in the green cloth of honour and the Virgin's robe as well as thin layers of red lake glaze in the flesh tones were observed under high-magnification. It is clear that the glazes and some paint layers are abraded due to extensive cleaning in the past (Fig. 21). The areas of paint loss and abrasion become apparent with studio spotlight, as the yellow ground layer shows through, which makes the figures and space depicted look less convincing and appear flat.

Overall, the painting is executed with several different tones of green, such as the Virgin's inner and outer robe, the cloth of honour, the green marble, and the landscape in the background. According to the paint stratigraphy and elemental analysis on cross-sections taken from the painting, the choice of pigments and colour indicates that this painting is painted with a knowledgeable and economic use of pigments.

For example, the Virgin's robe, which is usually depicted in blue using ultramarine, is painted in greenish-blue. The cross-section taken from the Virgin's outer robe clearly shows that the lower bright blue paint layer is mixed with lead white, azurite, and spherical malachite, and then the top dark blue layer containing a high amount of ultramarine mixed with lead white and orpiment is applied (Figs. 22). The economising use of ultramarine through underpainting with cheaper pigments is not unique to the workshop of Montagna and is, above all, a result of the fact that ultramarine was up to ten times more expensive than azurite. Furthermore, the light green inner drapery of the Virgin's robe is rendered using materials economically in terms of pigment choice and layering. (Fig. 23). The modeling of the drapery is built up with a base underlayer, which is opaque, using a mixture of lead white, lead-tin yellow and copper pigment. By using a glaze-like mixture of copper pigments, lead white, and orpiment to render the robe it becomes apparent that the artist understood how to use the more opaque underlayers in order to create the effect of folding draperies in a simple manner.

**Surface Coating**

There are at least three layers of varnish on the painting (Fig. 24). Under ultraviolet light, the varnish layer fluoresces bluish-green with a murky tinge to it. Retouching carried out with watercolour at the conservation department in 1993 is visible in UV light, which fluoresces dark in colour and is on top of the final varnish layer. Possible flaking of previous retouching campaigns that are

bound in egg, watercolour, or resin medium is delaminating from the varnish layer along the hand of the Virgin.

The varnish layer is glossy overall but uneven, because of the matte overpaint and multiple retouching campaigns (Fig. 25). Thin layers of surface dirt are present on top of the varnish. Several accretions are observed on the surface, especially around Joseph, which appear to be residues of the adhesive used in previous treatments to consolidate the painting (Fig. 26).

The materials and techniques of the painting support the assumption that this painting as a workshop copy. The painting has been carefully planned out from the beginning, not only in terms of its composition, but also in the layering structure of its paint and ground layers. Technical examination has shown that the painting has been painted economically, utilising cheap pigments in underlayers and with a practised knowledge of the best way of using these materials.

**Part II**

Up to this point, we introduced Bartolomeo Montagna's *Holy Family*, situating the painting within its Vicentine context and the artist's oeuvre. We provided a general overview, focusing on recent debates in scholarship, the iconography of the Holy Family in an interior setting and the painting's nineteenth-century provenance to the Venetian art market, where Thomas Gambier-Parry acquired it. Furthermore, we examined the painting with different light sources, which provided information on the current condition of the painting, some of its technical features as well as its conservation history. We closed by reflecting on Montagna's working methods, especially with regards to the production of such small-scale paintings within a workshop practice. In the following section, we will attempt to clarify the relationship between the Gambier Parry Holy Family and works of art that are closely related to it, including, above all, a version of the painting now preserved at the Pinacoteca Malaspina in Pavia. By discussing our painting against the background of Montagna's later output and workshop organization, issues of dating will be brought into sharper focus. A selection of visual comparisons will situate our painting within a dynamic and thriving artistic environment and contemporary devotional trends.

Our journey began at the Museo Civico in Vicenza. Among the paintings attributed to Montagna, a number showed the Virgin and Child in arrangements comparable to ours (Fig. 27).[26] Yet, upon closer inspection they exhibited striking visual differences. The variety extends into the materials and techniques that were used in each case. This phenomenon is particularly striking when considering that with the exception of one work that is painted on canvas, these paintings were roughly of similar dimensions and on wooden supports, all on a single board no larger than 66.4 cm in hight and 52.8 cm in width[27]. According to the technical studies published in the museum catalogue of 2003, these paintings have different ground compositions (gesso or chalk) and use different methods

[26] We would like to thank Dr Chiara Signorini for having allowed us access into the collection.
[27] M.E. Avagnina, M. Binotto, G.C.F. Villa, *Pinacoteca Civica di Vicenza: Dipinti dal XIV al XV secolo*, Catalogo Scientifico delle Collezioni, vol. 1, 2003, pp. 518-549.

and materials for the underdrawing and paint medium.[28] Although all five paintings painted on canvas were primed with calcium carbonate (chalk), only two out of seven devotional pieces were primed with chalk and others were primed with calcium sulphate (gesso). This variety may be explained by the fact that in the decades around 1500 artists in the Veneto, generally, explored different techniques.[29] The ways in which oil expanded the tonal range and increased the flexibility in rendering volume and applying colour were gradually seen as advantageous to the stiff hatching of the tempera medium. Montagna's paintings from around 1500 often feature a combination of both techniques, while at the same time experimenting with different tonal ranges.

Further published technical studies of paintings by Montagna such as those by Maria Clelia Galassi, Henk van Os and Anne Ruggles confirm a plurality of approaches across painting genres and the artist's career.[30] For example, a study by Anne Ruggles compares the materials and techniques of two paintings showing Saint Jerome (one in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan, and another in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) by Bartolomeo Montagna, which were executed in different stages of the artist's career.[31] The two paintings not only have different primary supports and priming material (the former is painted in tempera on wood and has a light whitish-ochre gesso ground, and the latter is painted with oil on a twill canvas and has a dark ground), but also striking different appearances with different renditions of light and colour. Ruggles explains these findings by pointing to the historical context, generally a period of transition. Rather than switching immediately to adapt to oil paint, artists were adjusting and experimenting along the way. In the future, it might be beneficial to combine technical studies carried out at different institutions, because there is

[28] Ibid,, pp. 518-549.
[29] For a helpful overview, see: J. Dunkerton, S. Foister, N. Penny, *Dürer to Veronese: sixteenth-century painting in the National Gallery*, London, New Haven and London, 1999.
[30] M.C. Galassi, "Indagni sul disegno sottostante di Bartolomeo Montagna: precisazioni sulla prima attività", *Arte Veneta*, 55, 1999/2001, pp. 103-112; A. Ruggles, "Towards an Understanding of Change; The Materials and Techniques of St. Jerome in Penitence by Bartolomeo Montagna", *National Gallery of Canada Review*, 3, 2001, pp. 145- 159.; H. van Os, The early Venetian paintings in Holland, Maarssen, 1978, p. 118.
[31] A. Ruggles, op. cit.

a distinct possibility that one can link technological evidence with our knowledge of the artist's career.

From an iconographic point of view, Montagna's *Holy Family* sits squarely within the artist's output. Of the circa 103 paintings that Lucco attributes to the artist, 65 are devotional images of comparable dimensions. 39 of these show the Virgin and Child. Following iconographic prototypes developed during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, such as Antonello da Messina's *Benson Madonna* and Giovanni Bellini's *Alzano Madonna* (Fig. 28), Montagna tends to show the Virgin in half-length, often behind a marble sill and against a landscape background. By varying the figural arrangement he and the artists in his workshop explored the psychological relationship between mother and child in diverse ways. As already observed, the different iconographic emphases match the stylistic and technical diversity. In attempting to provide an explanation for this phenomenon, it might be helpful to cite Felton Gibbons, who, writing about Giovanni Bellini's painting practice, observed that "it was Bellini's custom to assign a design of a Madonna to each assistant, who then reproduced it at will, often basing his copies on a matrix version painted jointly by master and pupil".[32] Considering that Montagna is likely to have trained in Bellini's workshop, as most scholars argue, one could speculate that Montagna emulated not only iconographic prototypes but also Bellini's workshop organization.

To this one might add aspects of Bellini's painting technique. As shown above, a paint layer textured with finger or palm prints is one of the characteristic features of the painting. Thanks to a sample taken from the flesh tone of the Christ child's leg (Figs. 17-19), it became clear that the textured layer is the *imprimatura*. To prevent the oil from seeping into the porous ground layer, artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries applied various sealing layers to the ground.[33] Often the drying oil was combined with lead white, which had the

[32] F. Gibbons, "Practices in Giovanni Bellini's Workshop", Pantheon, 23, 1965, pp. 146-155; see also: Ibid., "The late Giovanni Bellini and his workshop", PhD Dissertation (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA), 1960.
[33] M. Stols-Witlox, "Grounds, 1400-1900", in J. Hill Stoner & R. Rushfield (eds.), *Conservation of Easel Paintings,* London and New York, 2012, pp. 167.

advantage of increasing the rate at which the layer dried while at the same time restraining the reflective properties of a white ground. The elemental analysis confirms that the *imprimatura* layer also consists of lead-tin yellow, which would have been added to reduce the glaring whiteness of lead white. The diagram (Fig. 20) shows that the *imprimatura* layer was applied locally in the flesh tones, where it provided the base colour and reduced the amount of time to complete the painting. The other samples confirmed that this layer is absent from other parts of the painting. Due to a history of over-cleaning, the palm print is now visible to the naked eye. It may well be that the texturing of this layer had a limited visual effect when the painting was finished. In fact, it was much harder to detect such textures in any of the approximately thirty paintings by Montagna preserved in and around Vicenza and there are paintings attributed to Montagna, which do not seem to have this textured *imprimatura* layer, such as the *Madonna and Child* from the Rijksmuseum,[34] and two of the three *Virgin and Child* paintings at the National Gallery in London.[35] As these observations were primarily made on the basis of X-radiographs, further research in relation to available cross-sections available would be helpful in confirming these observations. Furthermore, there are also technical studies that confirm the presence of textured *imprimatura* layers. Correspondingly, conservator Maurizio Seracini recalled in conversation how "X-ray images of Montagna paintings had such a unique 'fingerprint' due to the specific technique the artist used", assuring us that "one would recognize them right away among hundreds of others".[36] Seracini's assertion is slightly qualified by David Skipsey's research on the workshop practices of Giovanni Bellini, which demonstrated that several paintings by Bellini in UK collections featured fingerprint marks in the *imprimatura* layer.[37] They also appear in works by artists associated with the Bellini's workshop, such as Andrea Previtali.[38]

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[34] H. van Os, *The early Venetian paintings in Holland*, Maarssen, 1978, p. 118; Duncal Bull from the Rijksmuseum mentioned that the Italian paintings from the collection are currently being analyzed thoroughly and the forthcoming report should contain further information.
[35] Confirmed by accessing Bartolomeo Montagna Dossiers (NG No.3074, 1696, and 1098) at the National Gallery, which included x-ray images of paintings, on 29 April 2015. Textured palm-prints or tool marks in certain areas of NG No.1098 resembled the Gambier Parry *Holy Family*.
[36] E-Mail correspondance, 9 April 2015.
[37] D. Skipsey, *The Workshop of Giovanni Bellini*, Final Year Project, unpublished dissertation (Courtauld Institute of Art), 1993: Skipsey analysed the following paintings by Bellini that have

These findings seem to corroborate the hypothesis that Montagna was, indeed, associated with Bellini to some extent. After all, one of Montagna's first documented commissions are the panels, now lost, for the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice, where he would have worked alongside Bellini.[40] Around twenty years later, between 1500 and 1502, Bellini executed his *Baptism of Christ* for the church of Santa Corona in Vicenza (Fig. 7), which might have initiated further exchange between the two artists, explaining the striking technical and iconographic similarities between their Virgin and Child paintings.[41] At the same time, Montagna created a Madonna type very much distinct from that of Bellini. Rather than holding the Christ child that is lying, standing or sitting on her lap, as Bellini often depicts it, the hands of the Virgin in Montagna's devotional paintings tend to be clasped in prayer, recalling donor figures in contemporary paintings from north of the Alps, such as those depicted in Hans Memling's *Triptych of the Moreel Family* of 1484 (Fig. 29). Was this type better attuned to the devotional preferences of his predominantly Vicentine clientele? Peter Humfrey has demonstrated how Cima da Conegliano, who worked alongside Montagna at the church of San Bartolomeo in Vicenza, reacted to Montagna's compositions, challenging the commonly held notion of Vicenza's peripheral status in comparison with the dominating artistic centre of Venice.[42] Montagna's designs had repercussions far beyond the confines of Vicenza's city walls, enjoying wide circulation not only in the form of paintings but also as prints, medals, woodwork and sculpture.[43] The Virgin and Child iconography came to enjoy particular popularity across the Venetian *terraferma*, which

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finger marks in the *imprimatura* layer: The Assassination of St Peter Martyr (Courtauld Gallery), The Madonna od the Meadow (National Gallery, London), The Virgin and Child (Glasgow Art Gallery), The Madonna with Red Cherubims, Madonna with Saints Paul and George (both Venice).

[38] J. Dunkerton, S. Foister, N. Penny, *Dürer to Veronese: sixteenth-century painting in the National Gallery*, London, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 218-219; X-radiograph of *Salvator Mundi*, by Andrea Previatali is published with the finger print marks in the *imprimatura* layer.

[40] For a detailed discussion, see: Lucco, op. cit., pp. 25-29

[41] For a discussion of Bellini's altarpiece and his stay in Vicenza, see: J. Allen, op. cit.

[42] P. Humfrey, "Cima da Conegliano at San Bartolomeo in Vicenza", *Arte Veneta*, 31, 1977/1978, pp. 176-181.

[43] In relation to our painting, see in particular the discussion in: J. Warren, *Medieval and Renaissance Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, vol. 3: Plaquettes, Oxford, 2014, pp. 878-879; We are grateful to Douglas Lewis for discussing this issue with us. A more comprehensive review will be published by him in the forthcoming catalogue of plaquettes from the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

explains why the *Courtauld Holy Family* survives in more than one version. Of particular significance is the version preserved at the Pinacoteca Malaspina in Pavia (Fig. 30).[44]

At first sight, both paintings yield striking similarities (Fig. 31). However, upon closer inspection, divergences clearly show that the two paintings have undergone different conservation treatments. The sizes of the two paintings are different. The Courtauld version is larger by 7 cm in width and 6 cm in height. The Pavia painting is also painted on a single wooden board, possibly poplar, also radially cut, but has rough saw marks at the right edge of the panel, which suggests that there may have been a change in the width of the painting. Observing the painting from the back, there is clear evidence of previous woodworm damage, which explains why the panel had been thinned at some point in the past. A wooden cradle was attached to the panel that, unlike the Courtauld version, is very flat (Fig. 32). The ground layer is also applied directly onto the wood, which extends to the edge on both sides, but stops to allow for a border of about 12-13 mm at the top and bottom edges of the painting, which correspond to the Courtauld version. Large areas of loss, especially around the Virgin's hands and her kerchief, impede the reading of the painting and, unlike the Courtauld version, they have not been reconstructed (Fig. 33). The paint *craquelure* of the Virgin's face strongly suggests that it is painted on the log's pith where it has low strength and is prone to longitudinal cracks.[45] Therefore, the cut of the wood may be the cause of the large area of loss.

We have already likened the organization of the workshop to that of Bellini and suggested that several artists, some of whom working in different media, were joint in collaboration under the supervision of Bartolomeo Montagna. The artists documented in Bartolomeo's workshop include his three sons Filippo, Paolo and Benedetto, who are often remunerated for their share in the execution of large

[44] For more information on this painting, see: M. Lucco, op. cit., pp. 404-405; We would like to express our gratitude to Dr Davide Tolomelli for allowing us access to this painting and the curatorial files.
[45] L. Uzielli, "Historical Overview of Panel-Making Techniques in Central Italy", in: K. Dards & A. Rothe (eds.), *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings,* Proceedings of a Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum, The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, 24-28 April, 1995, p. 115.

commissions and who were installed as procurators of the family workshop.[46] Various artists and assistants are listed in different types of documents, appearing as witnesses to contracts or forming joint ventures.[47] If the success of Montagna's workshop can be measured by his real estate transactions, then a much larger number of collaborators needs to be assumed. Filippo and Paolo seem to have died before 1510 and Benedetto was designated as the universal heir of the workshop in Bartolomeo's testaments of 1521 and 1523. Among the several named artists often associated with Montagna, there are Giovanni Buonconsiglio, Giovanni Speranza and Francesco Verla.[48] One might speculate that the stylistic and iconographic variety displayed in the 39 Virgin and Child paintings and their versions are partly a result of the dynamic relationship between artists operating in the Montagna workshop. Several documented instances as well as a disproportionately large corpus of extant drawings attest to Montagna's role as artistic mastermind, delegating or participating in the execution of paintings according to the demands imposed by his commissions. Against this background it might miss the point to firmly establish an attribution or a chronology. Can the *Courtauld* and *Pavia Holy Families* instead be seen as products of the Montagna enterprise?

In order to qualify this proposition, we prepared a tracing of the Courtauld painting, which we were able to put on top of the Pavia painting (Fig. 34). Although it was no perfect match, as a photoshopped image illustrates (Fig. 35), the figures, individually, did match up very well (Fig. 36). Particular parts such as the heads, the Virgin's hands and Christ's legs corresponded almost precisely. This suggests that partial cartoons and stock images were used during the execution.[49] A similar method has been discerned in Giovanni Bellini's two versions of *The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr* preserved at the National

[46] For Paolo collecting paintings, see, for example: M. Lucco, op. cit., p. 132; regarding the procura: Filippo (1498), p. 134, for Benedetto (1504), p. 139 and for Paolo (1505), p. 140.
[47] Ibid, pp. 94-154.
[48] F. Barbieri, *Pittori di Vicenza, 1480-1520: Bartolomeo and Benedetto Montagna, Giovanni Buonconsiglio, Giovanni Speranza, Francesco Verla, Marcello Fogolino, Girolamo di Stefano, Giacomo da Vicenza, Girolamo dal Toso*, Second ed., Vicenza, 1982.
[49] On the use of cartoons and stock images, see: C.C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop*, Cambridge, 1999.

Gallery and Courtauld Gallery respectively.[50] While the individual figures were transferred on exactly the same scale, the forest settings, which they inhabit, were modified in relation to the size of the support (Fig. 37). Analogously, due to the different sizes of the *Courtauld* and *Pavia Holy Families*, the positions of the three figures were adjusted by approximately 1-2 cm. This explains why the overall tracing would not match when individual parts were perfectly aligned. Incision lines were used in both paintings to delineate the boldly foreshortened interior setting. These, too, were adjusted to the dimensions of the available panels (Fig. 38). Whether or not this implies a process of up-scaling or down-scaling is difficult to establish. Scholars in the past have had diverging views on the chronology of the two paintings, often merely judging on the basis of photographs. Lionello Puppi suspected that the *Courtauld Holy Family* is a copy of the Pavia version whereas Mauro Lucco argued for the opposite scenario.[51] There is some new evidence to suggest that the Courtauld painting was created after the Pavia one. Although this infra-red image of the Courtauld version shows no evidence of transfer methods such as squaring or pouncing marks, it indicates that the underdrawing was applied assuredly. A closer look at the landscape background is particularly revealing. It shows that in the initial stages the Courtauld painting was supposed to resemble the Pavia version more closely (Fig. 39). For example, the trees on top of the castle ruin in the Pavia version approximate the original underdrawing of the Courtauld version. Similar observations can be made for the sharp-edged mountains as well as the trees and bushes covering the hilly ground. This affirms that both paintings originate from the same workshop environment, however, further comparative technical analysis on both paintings will be essential on finding evidence for Montagna's workshop practice. Which light does this shed on the circumstances of their commission?

The Courtauld and Pavia paintings stand out for their inclusion of Joseph, who joins the Virgin and Child in only two other known paintings by the artist, now preserved in Strasbourg and Venice respectively (Figs. 40). Although quite

[50] cf. D. Skipsey, op. cit.
[51] Lucco, op. cit., pp. 382-383.

different in terms of composition and execution, the figural type of Joseph shows a remarkable resemblance across these paintings. It is interesting to note that in a little-known version after our painting, whose whereabouts we can now trace until 1985, he has been taken out (Fig. 41). This could suggest that whenever Joseph *is* depicted, it has repercussions with devotional preferences. Carolyn Wilson argued that Joseph acquired particular significance in Northern Italy in the decades around 1500, revising earlier assertions according to which his cult developed during the Counter Reformation.[52] As far as Vicenza is concerned, it is known that the preaching of Bernardino da Feltre effected the founding of a Saint Joseph confraternity in 1494.[53] Around the same time, the Zoga Chapel in the Cathedral of Vicenza was rededicated to Saint Joseph (Fig. 42).[54] Two bays further east, between 1495 and 1496, Bartolomeo Montagna frescoed the three walls of the chapel belonging to the Proti, one of the wealthiest families in Vicenza of his day (Fig. 43).[55] Unfortunately, they were entirely destroyed during the devastating air raid in 1944. All the visual evidence that survives is a worn black and white photograph of unknown date showing the south wall of the chapel obviously already in a dilapidated state prior to its destruction (Fig. 44). It is just sufficient to locate the Holy Family in the centre. Joseph is given prominence as he kneels besides the Virgin. Both are united in adoration of the Christ child positioned between them, arranged in an inverted pyramidal composition that is set against a rocky landscape with buildings in the far distance. These elements were stipulated in the commission contract, which Luca Clerici published recently.[56] The description of the fresco to be painted as "a

[52] C.C. Wilson, *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: new directions and interpretations*, Philadelphia, 2001.
[53] Ibid.
[54] E. Arslan, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di Antichità d'Italia: Vicenza*, vol. 1, Le Chiese, Rome, 1956, pp. 20-27.
[55] On these frescoes, see: M. Lucco, op. cit., p. 337.
[56] L. Clerici, "Tra storia socio-economica e storia dell'architettura e dell'arte: Lorenzo da Bologna nella campagna vicentina di fine Quattrocento e Bartolomeo Montagna nel duomo di Vicenza", *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa*, 59, 2001, pp. 121-169; IPAB, Ospedale dei Proti, b. 32, Libri partite degli affettuali dell'Ospedale: 1492-1497, reg. 17, fols. 117v-118r,
cited in: L. Clerici (2001), pp. 162-163, doc. 7: "Maistro Bartolomio Montagna depintore de' dare per robe e dinari ha habuto per lo lavoro dela capella de domo de messer Zuanpiero de i Proti, la quale de' adornare e depingere a questo modo […] Dala parte oposita a l'arca sopra el bancho ge de' fare una Madona che adore el suo Fiolo, posto sopra un limbo del suo manto in terra, cum el preseppio lì apresso e sancto Isepo, cum quelli lontani e paesi sirano a proposito, fingendo la

Madonna adoring her son, who is lying on a strip of her mantle on the ground with Saint Joseph besides" would also match the *Strasbourg Holy Family* (Fig. 45). As if consolidating the large-scale fresco in a small-scale panel painting, the two works correspond very closely. Similar observations could be made about the relationship between the fresco and the *Courtauld Holy Family*. The head of Saint Joseph and the position of Christ's legs are particularly akin. Tancred Borenius, in his seminal 1909 publication "The Painters of Vicenza" showed that these similarities extended into the colour scheme, for he is the only scholar who recorded the colours of the fresco: "The Virgin", Borenius noted, "wears a red tunic, a blue mantle with green lining and a violet kerchief; St. Joseph an orange tunic and a green mantle".[57] The fact that the fresco was prominently displayed within the cathedral makes it a possibility that our painting was meant to evoke it. Members of the Proti family might have enjoyed the *Courtauld Holy Family* within their home. Alternatively, the governors of the Proti hospital, who commissioned Montagna to execute the fresco, could have asked for a painting to be displayed within the hospital. Unfortunately, we were unable to trace the provenance of the painting further back than to the Venetian art market in the mid-nineteenth century but the Proti chapel fresco is not the only point of reference for our Holy Family. A Virgin and Child, now preserved at the Clark Institute (Fig. 46), shows a remarkably similar composition, down to details such as the way in which the Virgin's hands are joined in prayer and her mantle spreads over the marble sill.[58] The Clark painting, in turn, is said to have provided the basis for an engraving by Bartolomeo's son and collaborator, Benedetto Montagna (Fig. 46), although one could argue that the direction went the other way and none of the 53 engravings attributed to Benedetto are securely datable.[59] These instances make a case for a workshop in which artists collaborated and designs circulated freely. A plaquette by the so-called Pseudo Fra Antonio da Brescia would support this point (Fig. 47). The sleeping Cupid resting against a marble block copies the pose of our Christ child and re-appears

venuta de li tri Maghi de lontano, e da uno lato san Piero e dal'altro san Zuane evangelista in acto de adorare el fiolo de la Verzene"

[57] Borenius, op. cit., pp. 50-53.

[58] On this painting, see: M. Lucco, op. cit., pp. 88-89, 383-384, pl. 96.

[59] On the engraving, see: J.A. Levenson, K. Oberhuber & J.L. Sheehan (eds.), *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art,* Washington, 1973, pp. 312-313.

in several different contexts, from church facades to woodwork and carved tables. Douglas Lewis has attributed this plaquette to an artist active in Vicenza around 1507.[60] This would correspond with the common dating to the first decade of the sixteenth century of both the *Clark Virgin and Child* and the print derived from it. The *Courtauld Holy Family*, however, seems much closer in style to works even later in Montagna's career, such as the altarpiece he executed in 1521 for the cathedral of Cologna Veneta (Fig. 48) and Mauro Lucco suggested that all the works just mentioned should be post-dated accordingly.[61] Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that the altarpiece was commissioned by the Scuola di San Giuseppe, a Josephite confraternity, which might account for the inclusion and visual similarity of the saint in both the altarpiece and related devotional paintings.

**Conclusion**

While issues of chronology and attribution cannot be settled within the present framework, we hope to have opened the discussion for alternative routes of investigation. Having embedded the *Courtauld Holy Family* within a collaborative workshop environment allowed us to provide an explanation for the stylistic variety, drive for iconographic variation and interest in material experimentation. Highlighting the individual qualities of a painting currently relegated to the reserve collection prompted important considerations, such as the devotional context of which it formed part, the actual painting process, notions of centre and periphery and the interconnections between different media. We put a painter into spotlight who is still lacking a monographic exhibition and we hope that our research will inspire further engagement both on a technical and an art historical level, which, in our experience, are very closely allied.

[60] Conversation via e-mail; see also: J. Warren, *Medieval and Renaissance Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, vol. 3: Plaquettes, Oxford, 2014, pp. 878-879.
[61] Conversation via e-mail; see also M. Lucco, op. cit., pp. 390-391.

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## Appendix: Digital Images

**Fig, 1** Bartolomeo Montagna, *Holy Family*, c. 1500-1520, Oil on wood, Courtauld Gallery, London

**Fig. 2** Highnam Court

**Fig. 3** Drawing Room, Highnam Court with Bartolomeo Montagna's *Holy Family*

**Fig. 4** Bartolomeo Montagna, Drunkenness of Noah, c. 1483, 22.8 x 35.7 cm, Morgan Library, New York

**Fig. 5** Bartolomeo Montagna, Pala Squarzi, c. 1498, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

**Fig. 6** Bartolomeo Montagna, Pagello Altarpiece, c. 1514-1515, Santa Corona, Vicenza

**Fig. 7** Giovanni Bellini, Baptism of Christ, c. 1502-1503, Santa Corona, Vicenza

**Fig. 8** Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1500-1520, Courtauld Gallery, London
Dimension : 69 x 84 cm, front and back image of the painting

**Fig. 9** Raking light image of the painting

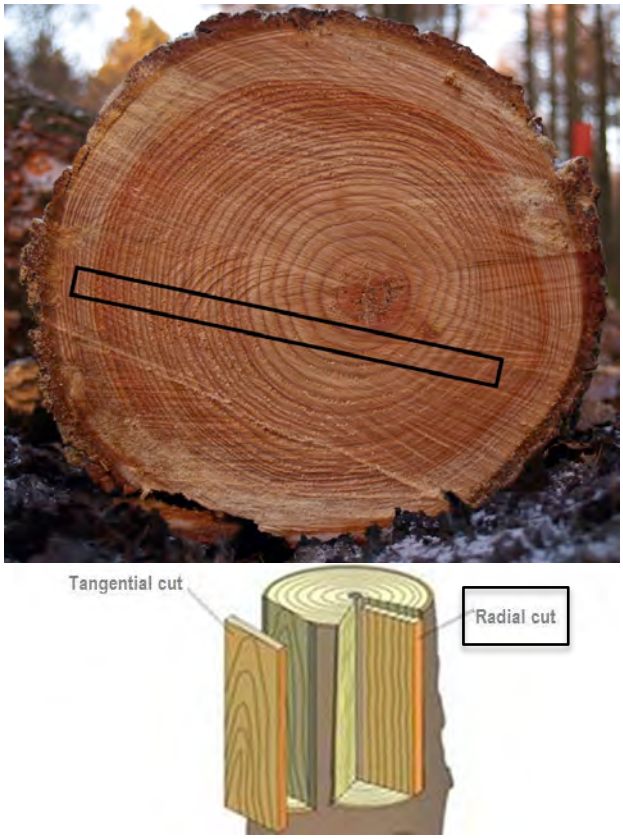



**Fig. 10** Estimated radial cut of panel

**Fig. 11** X-radiography of the painting

**Fig. 12** Diagram of incision lines

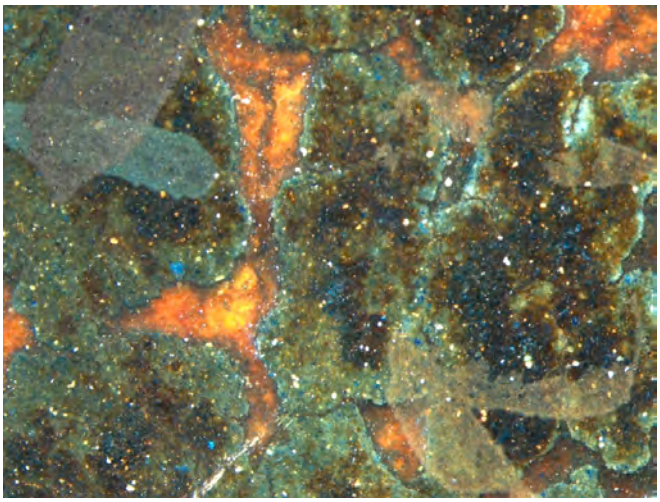


**Fig. 13** Detailed micrograph of original ground and paint - under thick layer of varnish and overpaint

**Fig. 14** Ultraviolet light image of the painting

**Fig. 15** Infra red image of the painting

**Fig. 16** Detailed micrograph of the Christ child's foot, visible fluid underdrawing

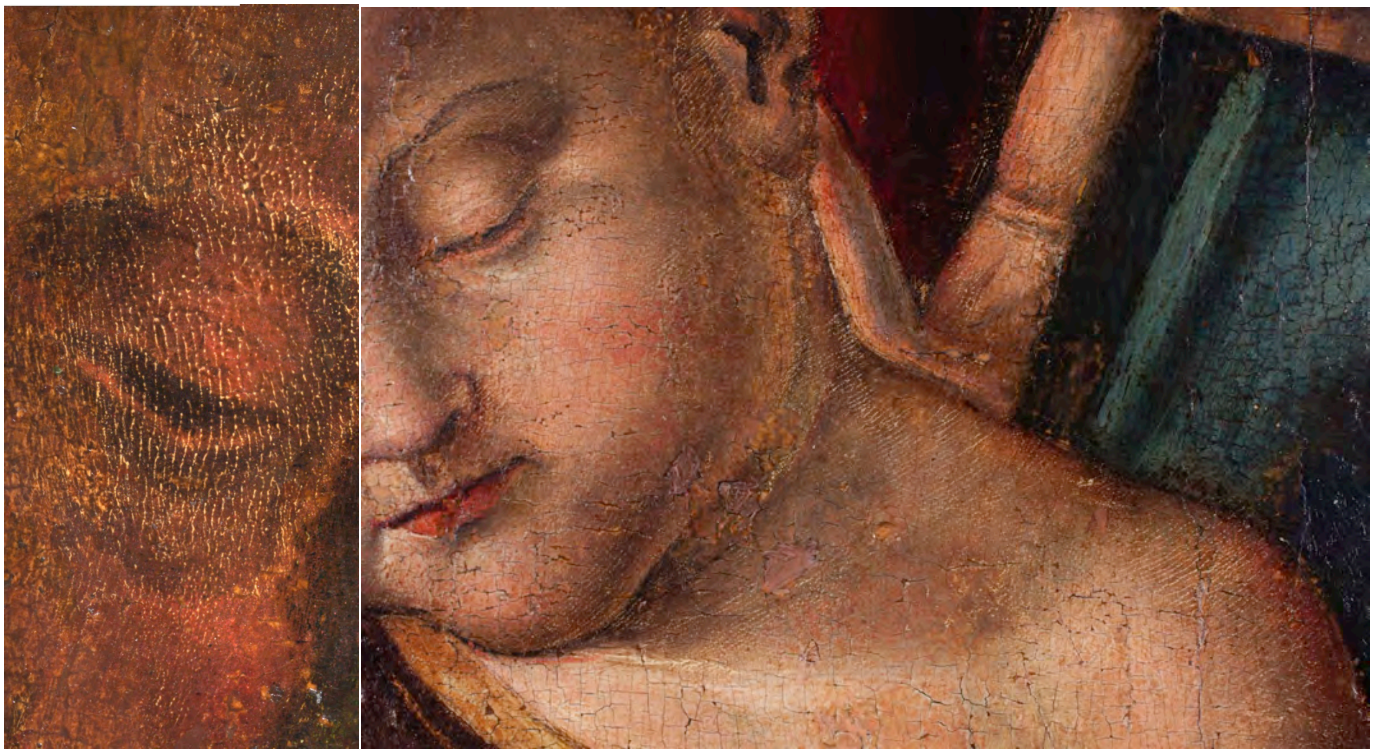


**Fig. 17** Detail images of textured *imprimatura* showing through the abraded paint

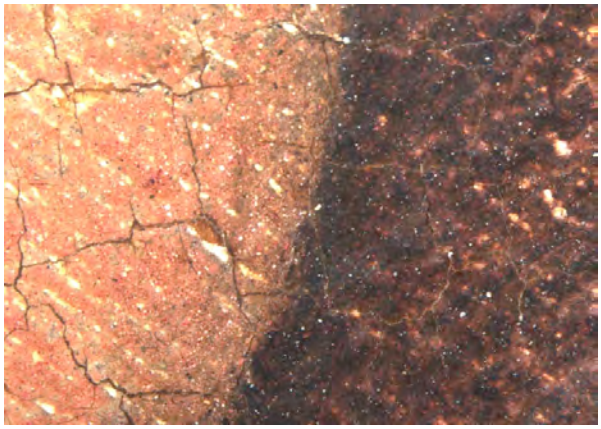


**Fig. 18** Detailed micrograph of textured *imprimatura* showing through the abraded paint

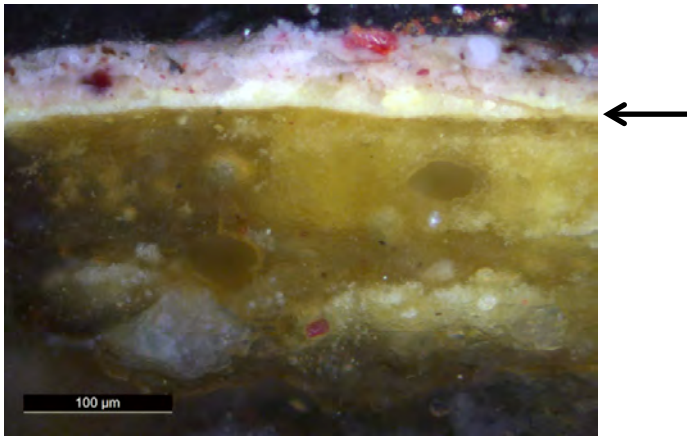



**Fig. 19** CIA1748, cross-section of sample D, arrow pointing to the *imprimatura* layer

**Fig. 20** Diagram of the area with textured *imprimatura*

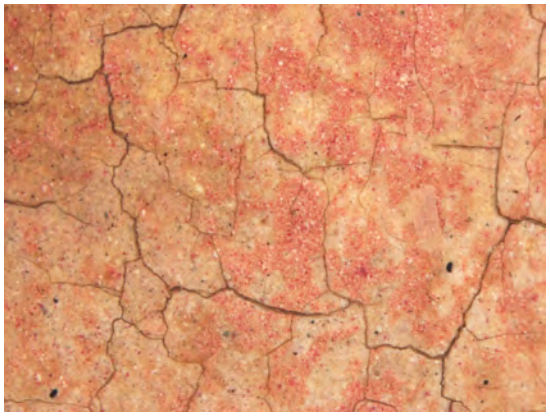
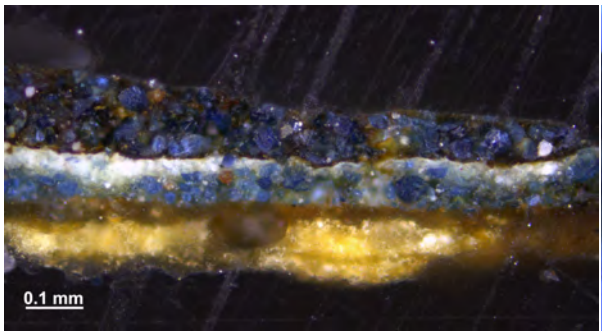
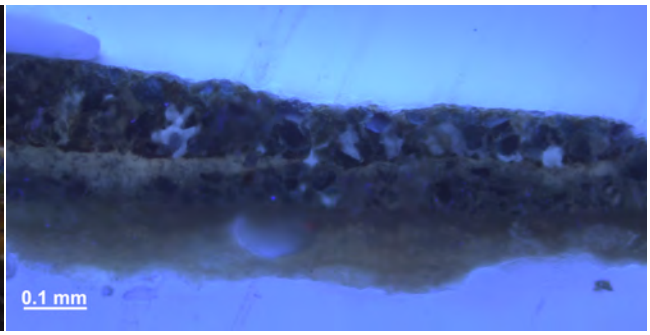


**Fig. 21** Detailed micrograph of abraded (original) paint surface

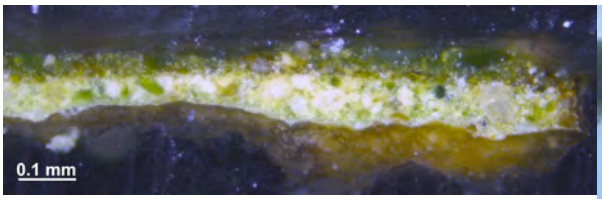



Cross-section B: normal light, 20 magnification

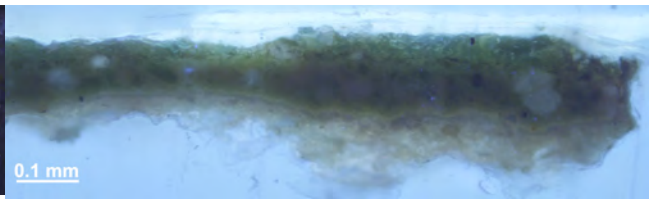



Cross-section B: UV light, 20 magnification


**Fig. 22** Sample B, taken from the greenish-blue Virgin's outer robe, before cleaning




Cross-section F: normal light, 20 magnification




Cross-section F: UV light, 20 magnification

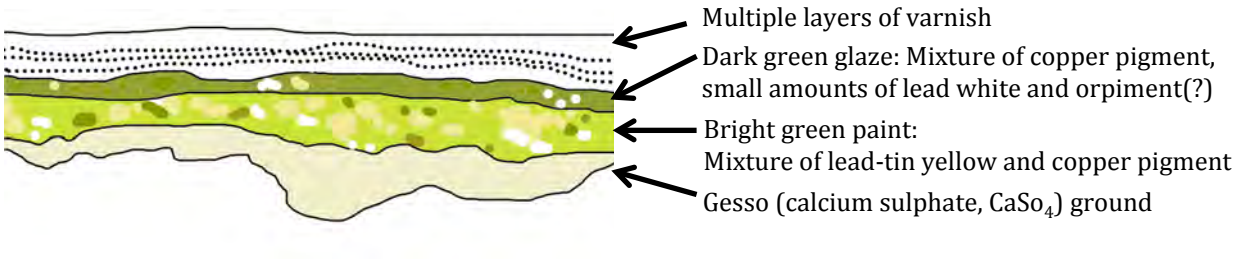



**Fig. 23** Sample F, taken from the yellow-green inner Virgin's robe, before cleaning

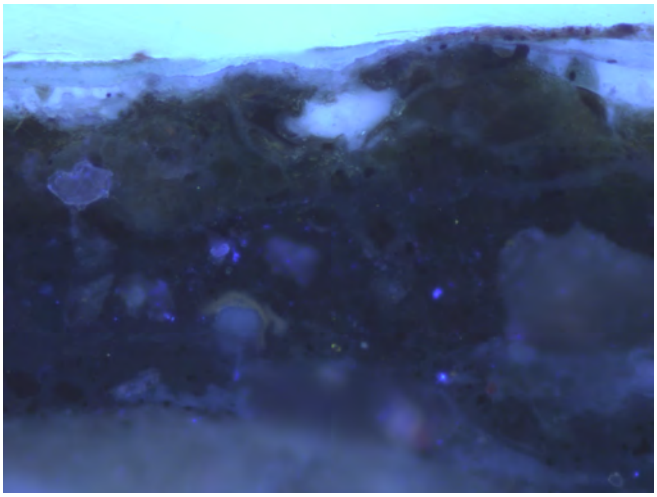


**Fig. 24** Detail of cross-section sample A, 100 magnification, UV light, showing three layers of varnish

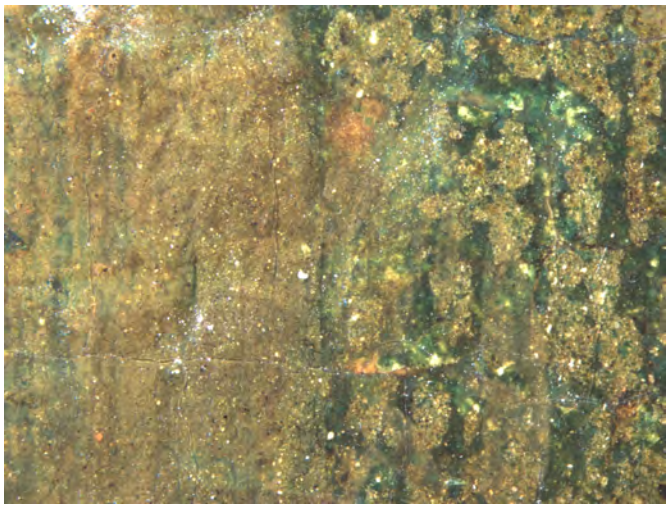


**Fig. 25** Detailed micrograph of the boarder of previous retouching (left) and the original paint (right)

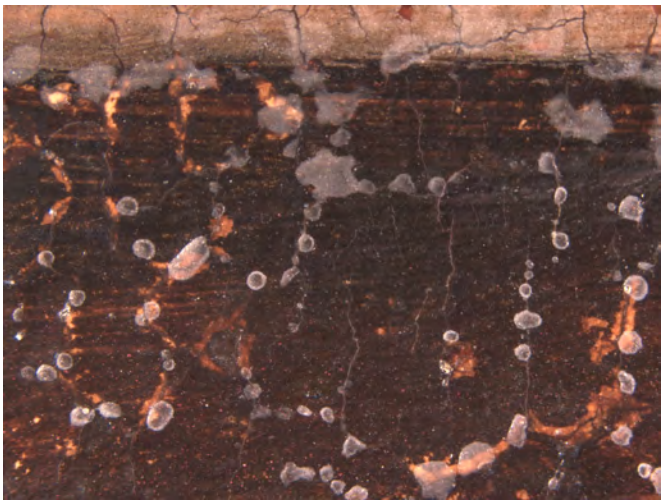


**Fig. 26** Detailed micrograph of adhesive residues, possibly from previous consolidation

**Fig. 27** Devotional paintings by Bartolomeo Montagna at the Museo Civico in Vicenza

Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1500-1520, 84 x 69 cm, oil on wood, Courtauld Gallery, London

Antonello da Messina, Virgin and Child (Madonna Benson), c. 1475, 58 x 43 cm, oil and tempera on wood, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Giovanni Bellini, Virgin and Child (Madonna di Alzano), 83 x 66 cm, oil on wood, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

**Fig. 28** The Gambier Parry *Holy Family* in context

**Fig. 29** Hans Memling, Moreel Triptych, (detail of right wing), c. 1484, oil on wood, Groeninge Museum, Bruges

**Fig. 30** Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1500-1520, oil on wood, 78 x 62 cm, Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia

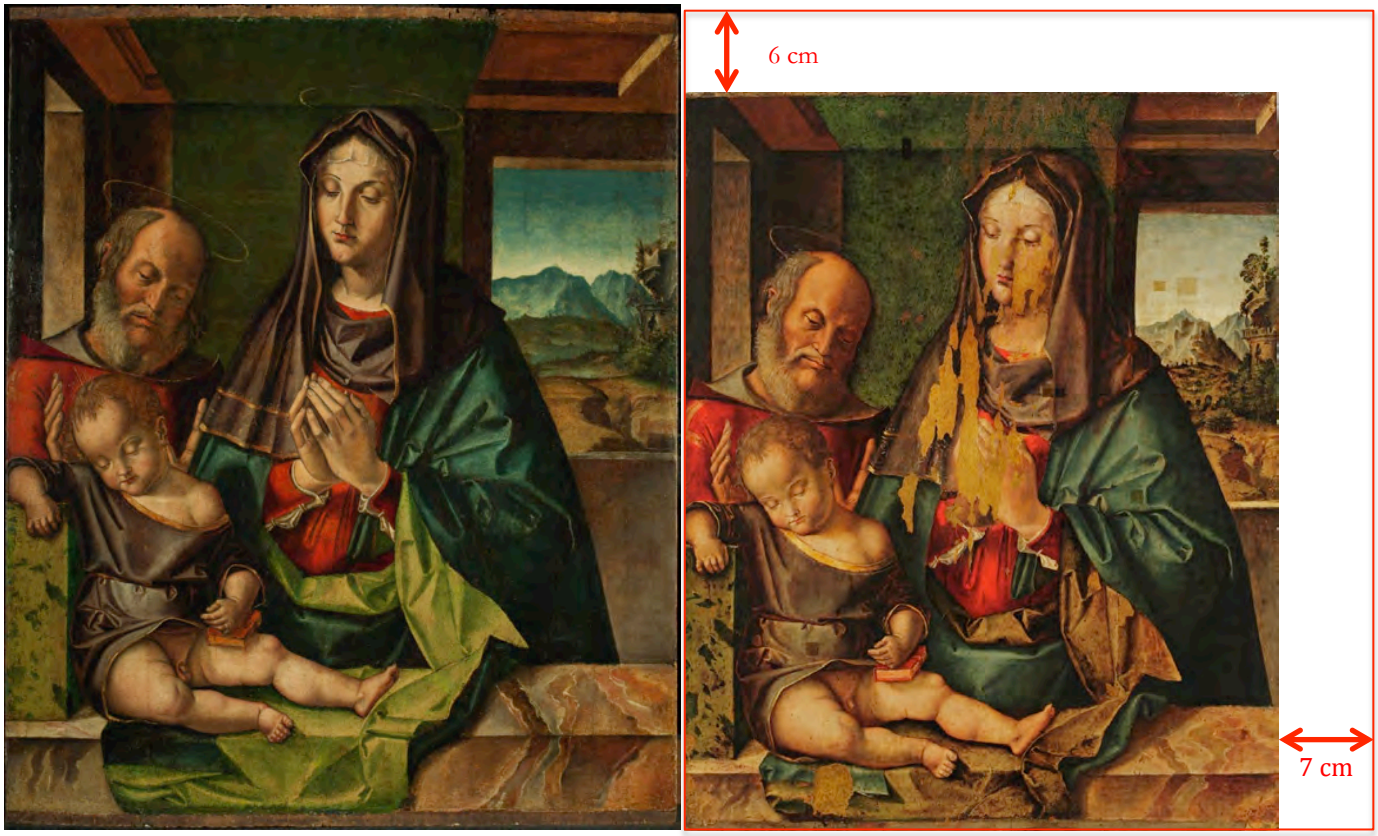



**Fig. 31** Different size of the two versions of *Holy Family* by Montagna (Courtauld Gallery, London), 84 x 69 cm (Left) Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia, 78 x 62 cm (Right)

**Fig. 32** Front and back of Pavia *Holy Family*

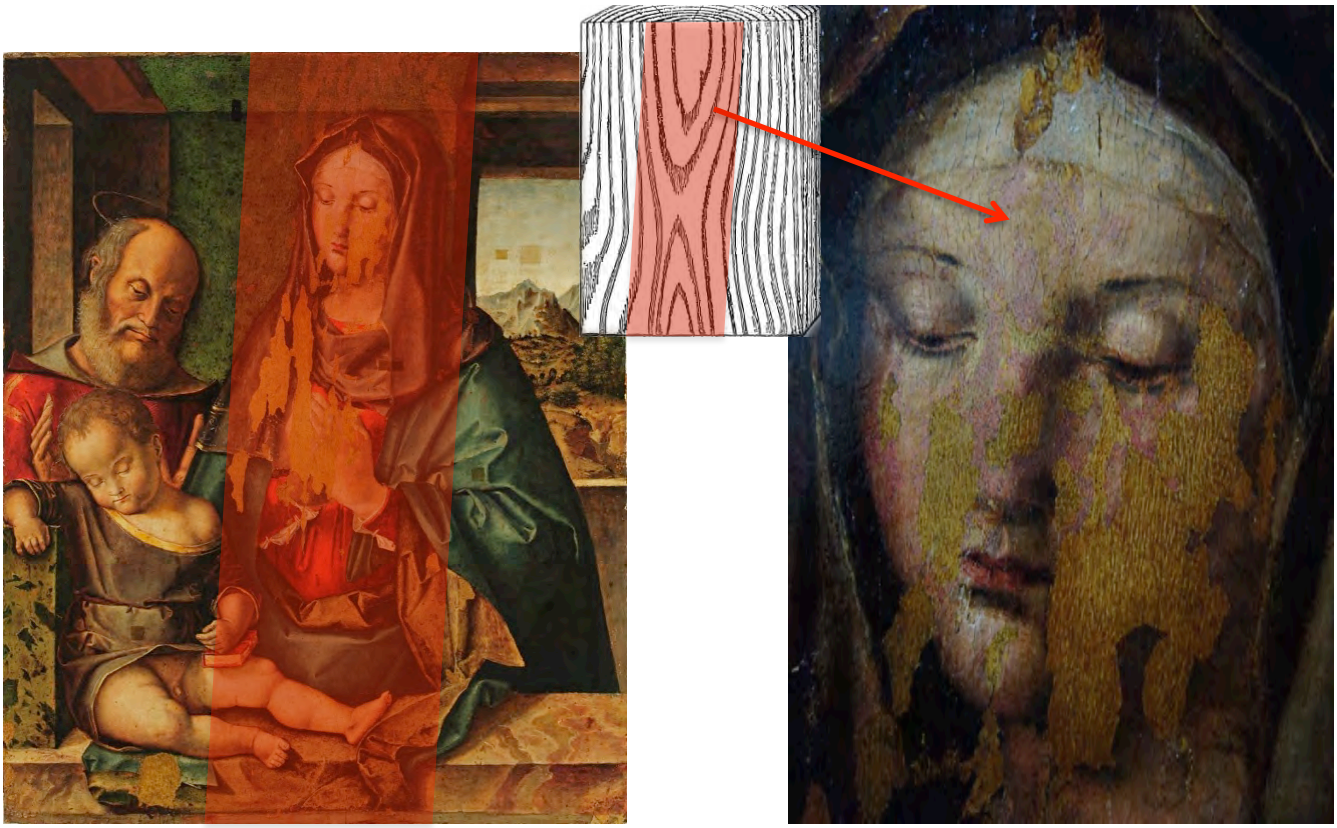


**Fig. 33** Detail of the Virgin's face (possible location of pith of the wooden support) from Pavia version

**Fig. 34** Images of actual process of laying down the Courtauld tracing onto the Pavia painting

**Fig. 35** Photoshop overlay of Pavia Holy Family tracing on top of the Courtauld version

**Fig. 36** Images of actual overlay, showing tracing matching with all individual figures

**Fig. 37** Comparative examples for similar use of cartoons:
Giovanni Bellini, The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr, c. 1507, oil and tempera on wood, 99.7 x 165.1 cm, National Gallery, London (Left)
Giovanni Bellini (Workshop), Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr, c. 1509, oil on panel, 68.1 x 100 cm, Courtauld Gallery, London (Right)

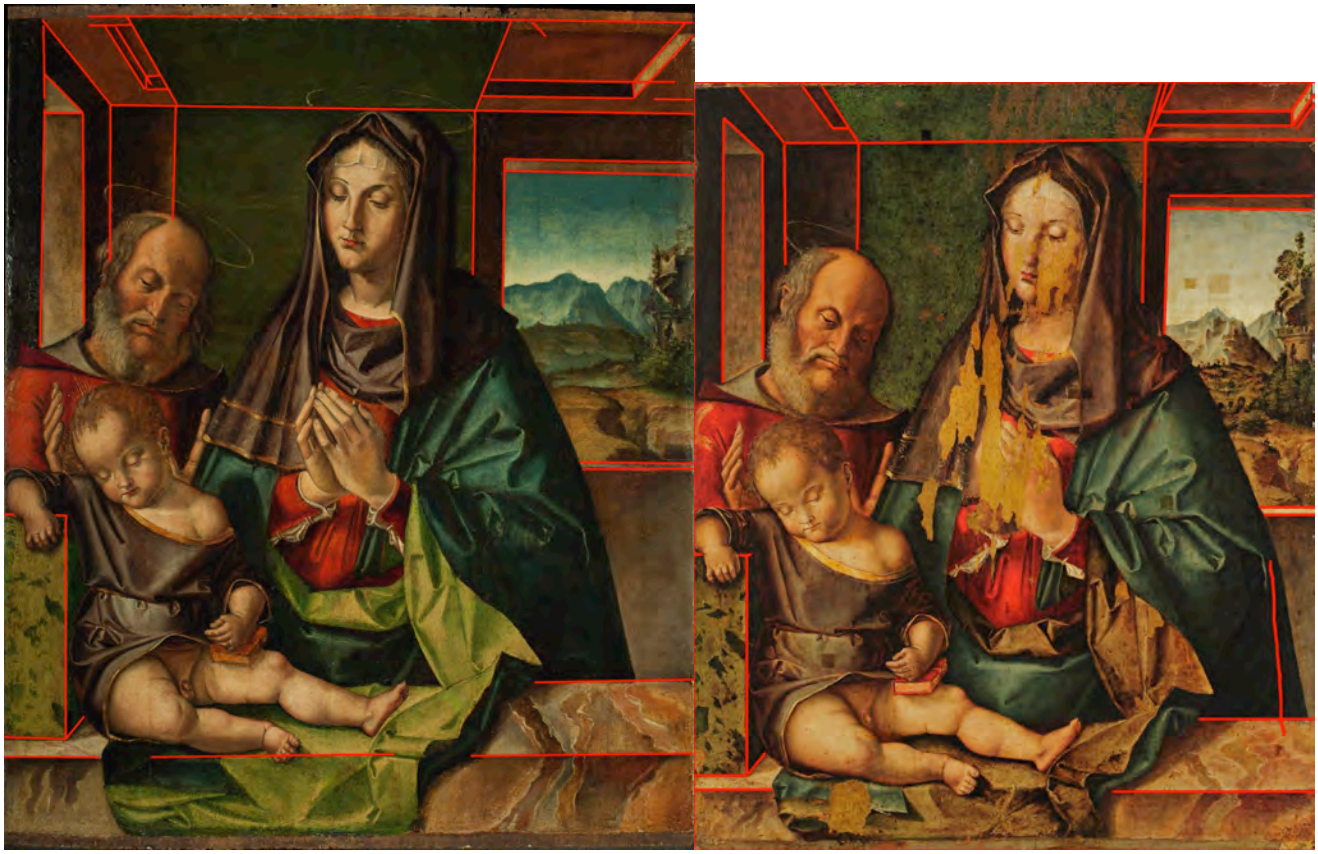


**Fig. 38** Diagram of incision lines of the two versions of *Holy Family* by Montagna
Courtauld Gallery, London, 84 x 69 cm (Left) & Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia, 78 x 62 cm (Right)

Landscape of Courtauld version

Infrared image of Courtauld underdrawing

Landscape of Pavia version

**Fig. 39** Detailed images of the landscape of two versions of Holy Family by Montagna

Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1520, oil on wood, 84 x 69 cm, Courtauld Gallery, London

Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1520, tempera and oil on wood, 81 x 56 cm, Museo Correr, Venice

Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1520, tempera and oil on wood, 92,5 x 73,5 cm, Musee des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg

**Fig. 40** The Gambier Parry *Holy Family* in context

**Fig. 41** Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1520-1550, 63,5 x 52 cm, current whereabouts unknown (sold for $9350 as "Circle of Montagna" at Christie's on 5 June 1985 as lot 87)

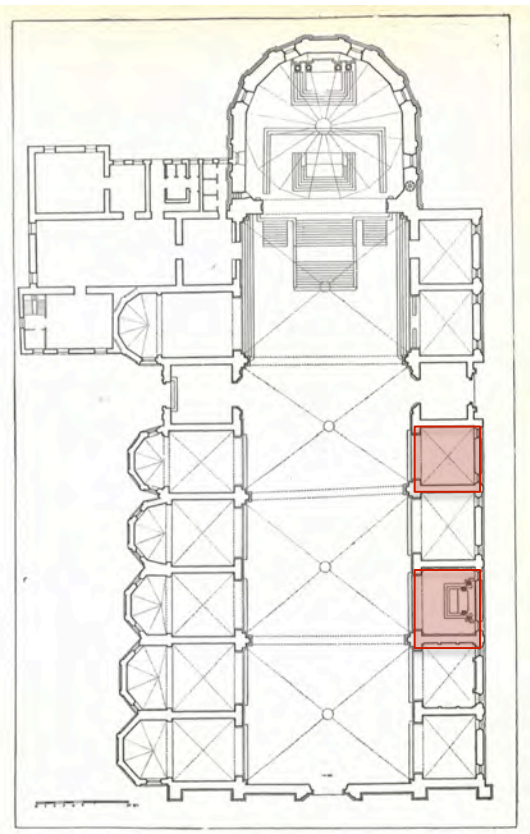



**Fig. 42** Groundplan of Vicenza Cathedral (after E. Arslan, 1957)

**Fig. 43** Bartolomeo Montagna, Fresco from the Proti Chapel in Vicenza Cathedral, 1495-1496, photograph, before 1944 (from M. Lucco)

**Fig. 44** Bartolomeo Montagna and workshop, Detail of Fig. 45, Holy Family

**Fig. 45** Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1520, tempera and oil on wood, 92,5 x 73,5 cm, Musee des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg

Bartolomeo Montagna, Holy Family, c. 1520, oil on wood, 84 x 69 cm, Courtauld Gallery, London

Bartolomeo Montagna, Virgin and Child, c. 1500-1520, oil on wood, 77,5 x 62,5 cm, The Clark Art Institute, Williamstown

Benedetto Montagna, Virgin and Child (inverted), second state, c. 1500-1520, National Gallery of Art, Washington

**Fig. 46** The Gambier Parry *Holy Family* in context

**Fig. 47** Pseudo Fra Antonio da Brescia, Sleeping Cupid, c. 1507, plaquette, diameter: 6.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art

**Fig. 48** Bartolomeo Montagna, Adoration of the Shepherds, 1520-1522, oil on canvas, 180 x 162 cm, Duomo, Cologna Veneta